

Voodooism

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-J.B.Hollis Tegarden.

In referring to that phenomenon known as Voodooism, I am using an American spelling of the French word, Vaudouxisme, which spelling seems to have become a part of good usage, as most writers use the American formed words, Voodoo, Voodooism and Voodooist. The word Voodoo and its derivatives may take the spelling, Voodoo, Voudou, Vodoo, or Voodou. George W. Cable says, "In Louisiana it is written Voudou and Voodoo, and it is often changed on the negro's lips to Hoodoo." The spelling Voodoo seems to prevail among American and English writers. Because the negro has given Voodoo the name Hoodoo, and individual negro practitioners went North with Voodooism, it seems to be known in its magic practice in the northern part of the United States as Hoodooism. The French spelling of the word is not always the same. It may be spelled Voudoux, Vaudou, or Vaudau by the French, but the spelling generally employed by them is Vaudoux. George Cable makes this statement also in regard to the name Voodoo, "In Louisiana as I have been told by that learned Creole scholar the late Alexander Dimitry, Voodoo bore as a title of greater solemnity the additional name of Maignan, and that even in the Calinda dance, which he has witnessed innumerable times, was sometimes heard at the height of its frenzy, the invocation, 'Aie! Aie! Voodoo Maignan.'"

According to W. W. Newell, who has written extensively on the subject in the American Journal of Folk-Lore, the 'Sect of Vaudoux' is first mentioned by Moreau de Saint Mery, in his "Description de L'Isle Saint Dominique", which was printed in 1797, but St. Mery describes the state of the island in 1789; that is before the insurrection of 1791. St. Mery used the spelling, it will be noted, Vaudoux.

Wherever in the English Colonies this cult of Voodooism is practised it is known as Obiism, sometimes called Obeah. Obeah is the corresponding word for Voodoo, and Obiism is for Voodooism. I asked a native of the island of Granada, which is an English possession, if he knew anything about Voodooism, and he answered, "Oh, you mean Obi." Many spell Obeah, O-b-i, because the native pronounces it, Obi. In Southern States of English settlement, as

Virginia, the equivalent word for Voodoo seems to be conjury. Thus, to summarize, we have the same practice called in the English colonies, *Oblism*; in Haiti and the French colonies, *Vaudouxism*; in Louisiana, *Voodooism*; in Southern States of English settlement, *conjury*; in the Northern States, *Hoodoo*. It might be well to mention here something that I shall consider later, namely, the words *conjury* and *Hoodoo* refer only to the individual magical performances of the Voodoo medicine men, or priests, and not to the group ceremony of *Voodooism*.

In reading about Voodooism one will discover that different writers denominate different things by the one word Voodoo. One author will use the word to denote the evil one, while another writer will call the cannibalistic rite, Voodoo. In some articles the word Voodoo is employed to mean the priest, while in other writings the serpent takes the name, Voodoo. Most writers, however, use the word Voodoo to refer to the whole phenomenon, -the sect, its ceremonies and beliefs. In the latter sense it will be used in this paper. Voodoo is a mysterious spiritual influence or potency, and if the devotee thinks that the mysterious influence is in the serpent, or in the priest, or in a rite, or in the unseen evil one, he will refer to that thing as Voodoo; then when he so uses the word to some investigator, or writer, the latter person employs the word in the same sense. It must be for some such reason that Voodoo gets into print referring to one specific thing connected with a cult.

Is there really a cult known as Voodooism? The New International Encyclopedia writes, "Voodoo, or *Vaudoux* (perhaps a dialectic form of Fr. *Vaudois*, Waldensian, the Waldensians, as heretics, being suspected of sorcery). A term referring to certain beliefs and practices considered to be prevalent among the negroes of the West Indies and the Southern United States. Research has made it certain, however, that there are no recognized beliefs and ceremonies which could be regarded as constituting a Voodoo religion." A superficial view of the last statement would make it appear that we are writing about myths when we consider anything connected with Voodooism. The research

to which the New International Encyclopedia refers must be articles written by Mr. W. W. Newell in the American Journal of Folk-Lore, Volumes 1 and 2, 1888, for he is the one who has endeavored to show that the word Voodoo came from the Christian sect known as Waldensians. Mr. Newell is arguing in his articles, not against the existence of a cult, known as Voodooism, but against the claim that human sacrifice and cannibalism exist in Voodooism. The writer of the article in the New International Encyclopedia must be using the word Voodooism to refer to the cannibalistic rites, for he says further in his article, "Careful examination of apparently circumstantial accounts of the Voodoo rites and orgies has eliminated the more shocking phases in practically every instance. If cannibalism has occurred it has probably been merely sporadic. Other features are nothing more than shamanistic and magic practices common the world over." In this last statement he assumes that there is a Voodoo rite, but he is skeptical about the human sacrifice and cannibalistic rites connected with it, and here he is following Mr. Newell. To say that cannibalism is not connected with Voodooism is one thing, which will be considered later in this article, but to say "there are no recognized beliefs and ceremonials which could be regarded as constituting a Voodoo religion" is quite another thing. The Encyclopedia uses Voodoo here in the narrow sense of a cannibalistic belief and ceremony. Everyone recognizes the fact that there is a Voodoo cult, even Mr. Newell does, for he says in one of his articles, "Mr. Whidden is of the opinion that, if the truth were ascertained, there would be found no more cannibalism in Hayti than in Jamaica. On the other hand, he thinks that there is no doubt concerning the existence of a Vaudoux worship and dance, which latter he has frequently seen and heard." Mr. Newell assumes unconsciously in all his writings the existence of that "Vaudoux worship and dance." I am sure that the writer in the New International Encyclopedia, who produced the article on Voodooism, would grant the existence of the "Vaudoux worship and dance" if he came to see that he had used the word Voodoo in a narrow sense in his writing.

What is the origin of the word Voodoo, as well as the sect Voodooism?

The inception of the word should throw some light on the beginning of Voodooism. But here we meet with differences of opinion among writers. Most writers trace the source of the word to Africa, but Mr. Newell thinks that it originated elsewhere, and a few writers follow him in this view, as we have already seen the New International Encyclopedia does. A writer of an article in the New York American, February 13, 1921, says, "Voodooism comes straight from Africa. It had its origin on what is called the Slave Coast of Africa, the district between the river Volta on the west and Porto Novo on the east. The word comes from a native verb, 'Vo', meaning to make afraid; 'du' is a descriptive noun, signifying a god. The combination means literally 'the god who makes afraid.' The term is not applied by natives to any particular deity, it is descriptive of any god, since as they believe, all gods are things to be feared. Down in the southeastern part of the Slave Coast the tribes worship the python, which, as they think it a god, they call vodu. Back in 1724 the Amazon armies of the Dahomeyans invaded this country and sold thousands of these serpent worshipping people into slavery. These slaves were shipped to Hayti to work the plantations and brought, of course, their serpent worshipping, or vodu, with them. From Hayti the religion spread to Cuba and other West Indian islands, and also into Louisiana." Most writers follow this view that the word Voodoo came from the African Vodun, and that serpent worshipping slaves from Africa brought the cult into the West Indies; then by importation of some of these slaves to Louisiana, it was brought to the latter place. To quote others of this view, C. G. Warner says, "The barbaric rites of Voodooism originated with the Congo and Guinea negroes, who were brought to San Domingo, and thence to Louisiana.... In its origin it is serpent worship." Another investigator writing in the Saturday Review says, "With the exception of the Mohammedans, all the natives of Africa are still believers in a Shamanism of peculiarly gross and savage character. Among white men this is known more or less accurately as Obeah, Fetish, Ju-Ju, and Mumbo-Jumbo, according to their partial knowledge of it. On the Guinea coast the name for the faith is Vodun, which is based on the worship of a peculiar kind

of serpent, and it is interesting that it should so much resemble in the name the Vuotan deity of Central America, who, in his chronicle, always calls himself 'a serpent.' Transferred to America the Cult is known in Hayti and the Spanish islands and Main as Vaudoux, and in the United States as Voodoo, while by more ignorant coloured people in the latter it is spoken of with fear as Hoo-doo."

Now we may turn to another account of the origin of the word Voodoo, and the cult. Mr. W. W. Newell gives his view of the etymology of Voodoo when he writes, using 'cannibalistic Voodoos', of course, in a sarcastic sense, "Now, etymologically, the cannibalistic Voodoos of Hayti are identical with the devout Waldenses of Piedmont.. The word 'vaudois', feminine 'vaudoise', had in fact come to mean a witch, as its abstract 'vauderie' or 'vaudoiserie' signified sorcery. It is easy to understand how this confusion came about. As the Waldenses were a particularly active and dangerous sect, their name became representative of that connection with Satan which, according to Mediaeval ideas, was implied in heresy, and which involved the practice of witchcraft.. The word survives in dialect. In the canton of Vaud the form is vaudai, a sorcerer; in the Morvan (departments of the Yonne and the Nièvre) it is 'vaudoué' feminine 'voudouelle'; a witch, and the corresponding verb is 'envaudoueuiller', to bewitch, 'voodoo'. The term conveys a strong moral reproach; for this reason the inhabitants of Vaud object to the name 'Vaudais', by which they would naturally be designated, and endeavor to maintain the original vowel and use the form 'Vaudois', contrary to the practice of the dialect; the folk of the surrounding cantons, however, do not observe this distinction." Mr. Newell proceeds to tell us how the term Voodoo, which is of European origin, came to be introduced into Haiti, then into Louisiana. He writes, "Hayti, originally Spanish, passed in the seventeenth century into the hands of French buccaneers. The colony was peopled chiefly by males, when Ogéron (after the middle of the century), becoming governor, bethought himself of introducing wives from France. His first cargo was composed of fifty orphan girls; the second party, voluntary emigrants, were made up of the less reputable part of the community.

These the rude settlers apportioned by lot, and received without nice questions. There is therefore no difficulty in understanding how the word Vaudoux was introduced into the island. The negroes, who began to be imported about the same time, must have borrowed the term from the Europeans; and little more than a century later Saint-Méry, writing in French, but unaware that the name was equally current in France, supposed the strange sound to indicate primitive barbarism, and went so far as to name the particular African tribe by which the alleged rites had been introduced, a stretch of fancy in which he has been followed by subsequent narrators." In a footnote Mr. Newell writes, "In a similar way the word obtained currency in the French settlement of Louisiana."

The New International Encyclopedia gives the derivation of Voodoo as Mr. Newell does, but the latter is correct in stating that Saint-Méry has been followed by every narrator in stating that the word Voodoo and the cult Voodooism came from Africa. These narrators could equally well accuse Mr. Newell of employing a "stretch of fancy" when he says, as quoted above, "The negroes, who began to be imported about the same time, must have borrowed the term from the Europeans." There is no record, of course, of such borrowing, and it can be only speculation to make the statement. Saint-Méry was a Frenchman, familiar with the French language, and a devoted Catholic. He wrote from observations. He also must have known about the Waldensians, and if he were a devoted Catholic it seems he might have tried to show that the Voodoo religion was a continuation of the heretical Waldenses, and thus stigmatize the Waldenses. Saint-Méry had an historic sense. These considerations would make us skeptical about Saint-Méry's using a "stretch of fancy" in giving his description of Voodooism and its origin. Mr. Newell endeavors to prove that the word, Voodoo, is not only of European origin, but also that the beliefs known as Voodooism are "equally imported from Europe." He attempts to prove in the third place that the sect had no existence, but that it is "a product of popular imagination." In this last contention Mr. Newell, like his follower the New International Encyclopedia, must be thinking only of the human sacrifice and cannibalistic rites which have been connected with

Voodooism, as we have previously noted that he concedes a Voodoo worship and dance in his quotation from Mr. Whidden. Mr. Newell makes no attempt to discuss at all the serpent worship and Voodoo ceremony, but he appears to be interested only in trying to shatter the belief that there was any cannibalism in it, which, to him, means Voodooism. His side-tracking of Voodooism into reports of cannibalism weakens his contentions as to the origin of the word, Voodoo, and its beliefs. How do we know that the Frenchmen in Haiti and their imported wives knew anything either about the Waldensian sect, or the charges against the Waldensians? Mr. Newell is assuming that they know both facts when he traces Voodooism from Waldensians in Europe through them to Haiti, which is not a valid assumption. Then he makes no attempt to trace the origin of the Voodoo dance, Voodoo serpent worship, and Voodoo magic. The only suggestion that I can see he gives us, as to origins, is that the slaves in learning the French language learned the French word 'vaudai', a sorcerer, and thus came to call their magical work, vaudoux. On this one point we need also to be skeptical. If in Africa they worshipped a python they called Vodou, as some writers contend, it seems more probable that the word is of African origin. Mr. Krehbiel in an article on Afro-American Folksongs throws some light on this problem when he says, "In the songs which have been heard by the few people who have left us accounts of the Voodoo rites, African words are used though their meaning has been lost. The phenomenon is not at all singular. Plato found the Egyptian priests using in their prayers, instead of words, the sacred vowels of their language, which they said had been taught their ancestors by Isis and Osiris. Buddhist monks in China, I have been told, still recite prayers in Sanskrit, though they do not understand a single word; small wonder, for nearly two thousand years have passed since Buddhism was introduced into China from India. The Gothic Christians at the time of the venerable Bede recited the Lord's Prayer in Greek..... A greater sanctity attaches in worship to sounds than to words, for the first prayers were exclamations which came straight from the emotions- not words but musical cries. It is for this reason that sacred music endures longer than articulate speech."

Voodoo and vodu are two different spellings of the same sound. Vaudoux is the French spelling of the same sound. Here we have it seems a sound originating in Africa, coming into the West Indies, then into Louisiana, remaining the same throughout, but receiving different spellings. If Vodu is a word used on the western coast of Africa to denote the snake God worshipped there, then Voodoo must come from Africa, because as Khehbiel says, "A greater sanctity attaches in worship to sounds than words." Whether Vodu was original and came into French spelling Vaudoux, into English spelling Voodoo, or Vodu was only an invention of some writer after he learned of the Voodoo sect, is a matter that can be settled only by an authority on African dialects. Mr. Newell's contention about the European origin of Voodoo beliefs does not apply to Voodooism as we use the term. The Waldensians did not worship snakes, hold dances and have Voodoo priests and priestesses. But as to Mr. Newell's sole contention that the reports of cannibalism are myths, comparable to myths about the Waldensians and other peoples, we shall examine that later.

In studying Voodooism we find various opinions only when human sacrifice and cannibalism are mentioned, such as would naturally be reflected in different views on origins. If we are still in doubt as to the origin of the word Voodoo because no authority on African dialects has taken any interest in this subject, we shall be able to see, I think, before we have finished, that the sect has an African source, in that what we find in Voodooism, we can find also on the Slave Coast, whence slaves were taken to the West Indies, and from the latter place over into Louisiana.

Before taking up undisputed aspects of Voodooism we might make here a distinction, which though necessary, no one writing on this subject heretofore has consciously made. There is the group gathering for the Voodoo ceremony, in which there is the group dance, the leadership of the priest or priestess, and many times an orgy at the end. There is the individual practice of Voodooism, known as conjuring and hoodooing, in which certain magical charms or spells are worked to ward off dangers to the individual. The priest for compensation may work a charm for a person to inhibit some calamity from coming upon the individual. A lay person may be taught to work such spells, or may

learn to wear some charm, to bring about individual desires or ends. Many people think of Voodooism only in relation to this aspect of conjuring and hoodooing, and, perhaps, know nothing about the gathering of a group of Voodoo believers to worship. We shall take up first the group worship in the West Indies, then in Louisiana, then consider the individual conjuring and hoodooing. Of course magical performances enter into the group worship as well as into individual operations.

The Voodoo ceremony in the West Indies is always held in some lone spot, generally secret. The usual time for holding a meeting is at night. Drums play a great part in the ceremony, and the meeting on many occasions is called by the rumbling of the drum. A Voodoo priest, in some cases a priestess, officiates, sometimes both at the same ceremony. The priest is called papa-loi and the priestess, mamma-loi. The loi must be a corruption of the French word for king, roi. Lights are used at the gathering, and standing in a conspicuous place is generally an altar. A harmless snake plays a part in the ceremony. In regard to the snake worship, I shall give full attention to that later. Sometimes at the end of the dance a sacrifice of a fowl or animal is held, and if a human sacrifice be offered it comes at the conclusion of the program, according to all who report its happening. Judge Austin, who has been to the West Indies, writes in the New England Magazine for August 1912, "The rites of the Voodoo are well known, for daring men, both white and colored, have managed to disguise themselves and at the risk of their lives attend the gatherings of the devotees. The center of the Voodoo gathering, according to eye-witnesses, is occupied by a sort of raised dais, if a natural elevation of the ground cannot be found. There are the seats, or 'thrones' of the Papa-Loi and the Mamma-loi. Between them is placed the covered box or urn in which is the sacred snake. The priest and the priestess are robed in red and sometimes add to their impressiveness by flaming red-fillets about their heads on which the plaited wool stands out at every angle. They are always full-blooded blacks, and their appearance thus, with a bonfire blazing in front of them to light up the ceremonies is described as diabolical. In a semi-circle facing

the two leaders and the snake are gathered the devotees, and the beginning of the ceremony consists of much beating of the drum and dancing with frequent drinking of 'tafia', the raw white rum of the country. The Papa-loi and Mamma-loi direct the course of this alternate dancing and drinking until the congregation has reached a sufficiently exalted or intoxicated condition. Then comes the signal for the presentation of requests for favors. Any member of the gathering who wishes help, comes forward and states his wish to the priest and the priestess. These requests, of course, run the gamut of human desires. One may want vengeance on an enemy, another may seek to win the love of some indifferent member of the opposite sex, since both men and women attend meetings. But, according to those few white men who have gained admittance in disguise to the Voodoo rites, by far the greater number of requests is for help in making money. Each person as he states his case drops an offering in a vase placed in front of the cage of the sacred snake, which, by the way, is kept covered at this stage of the proceedings. As to the replies of the priestess, the procedure differs, evidently, since accounts of various eye-witnesses vary here. In some cases she stands upon the box containing the snake and replies at once to each question. At other times she waits until all the questions have been submitted and then lifts the cloth from the cage and places her face close to the bars. The forked tongue of the snake which is not poisonous, may be seen flicking itself against her cheek or forehead, and this is taken to be an indication of the communication of divine wisdom to her by the immortal serpent. After this, she arises and makes replies that are supposed to deal with the case of each question in turn. As is not surprising, these replies are couched in the ambiguous terms favored by all oracles from the days of Delphi to the present back parlor fortune-teller." Judge Austin, who believes firmly in the human sacrifice and cannibalism as belonging to Voodooism, relates how this rite is carried out after the priestess has imparted her knowledge.

There is always some initiation service in connection with anyone's being taken into a secret society, or into a church, so there is the report of a ceremony of initiating people into Voodooism in the West Indies.

F. F. Schrader, Junier, is reported in an article in the New York American, February 13, 1921, to have seen such an initiation ceremony. I have been unable to find anything written by Mr. Schrader so I can give only what the American contains. It reports, "The initiates lay face down upon the ground with backs bare. To the clamour of the drums a mamma-lei, a priestess, advanced upon them, brandishing in one hand a long whip and shaking in the other a rattle. Viciously she lashed the black backs. The tortured negroes made no outcry. After a certain number of strokes this part of the ceremony was over and the initiates were allowed to take part at the sacrifices." The sacrifices are said to be white roosters and white goats, and those who argue that human sacrifices are held say that the Voodooists call the human child to be sacrificed, "the white goat without horns." in San Domingo, tells

It is reported that the ceremony in the West Indies many times, if not everytime, ends in an orgy. The dance, with the constant rumbling of the drums, works the crowd into a frenzy, which with close contact, causes it to end in sensuality. The writer of the article on Voodooism in the Saturday Review says, "For Vaudeux is in a very gross form also a worship of sensuality, bearing a resemblance to that of the Sakti, 'the power of energy in the divine nature in action' (History of the Sect of Maharajas, London, 1865), whose votaries in India adore a woman. As in the rites of Sakti, those of the Vaudoux, wherever held, be it in Hayti, New Orleans, or New York, end in orgie."

The Voodoo cult aided immensely in the Revolution in Haiti. This was the only organization that the negro slaves had. It was the only incentive for bringing them together in a group. Then the beliefs in charms and spells, which were part of Voodooism would naturally give them courage in battle. At their Voodoo gatherings which were secret, and unknown to the masters, the slaves could plan the insurrection. They had leadership in their papa-lois. The Black Republic of Haiti owes its existence to the Voodoo cult. One writer reports, "The secret Voodoo cult bound the slaves together in an organization of their own. It was the Voodoo priests, they assert, who led their followers against the whites with the assurance that Voodoo charms would ward off bullets. If these priests spoke of 'human sacrifices', in addressing their

followers, it was only a figure of speech, meaning that they must kill the whites if they were to win their independence....It was this Voodoo tie which helped the slaves in keeping up their courage and retaining enough manhood to beat their white masters eventually." Like the Mohammedans, they would find war in keeping with their beliefs, especially war against the whites. The sacrifice of the 'white goat without horns' could be effected easily in battle against the whites. Prisoners of war could be so sacrificed. Thus preparations for war would consist of holding a Voodoo ceremony, getting the group spirit. Implicit faith in the leader is necessary in war, and this Voodooism inculcated. Voodooism served then as a wonderful "Sons of Freedom" organization in Haiti.

T. Lethrop Stoddard in his work, French Revolution in San Domingo, tells of the attack by the negroes in the Haiti insurrection, "The magicians.... begin to dance and sing with contortions of demobiacs. These men are working their incantations (Wanga) to assure the success of the coming attack, and they often advance within musket-shot, confident that the bullets cannot touch them and desirous of proving to the other negroes the power of their magic charms. The attack now takes place with cries and howlings which, notwithstanding, should not shake the courageous man." This action of the part of the Voodooist would naturally increase the number of the adherents of Voodooism, and spread its influence in Haiti. Then with Haiti's becoming a Black Republic, success could be attributed to no other organization than the Voodoo cult. I think this one reason, perhaps, why intelligent Haitians are not antagonistic to the cult, and also the one explanation, if there be only one, for the widespread influence of Voodooism over the Haitians, instead of that given by the unknown writer in the American of February 13, 1921, who says, "One explanation for the wide-spread influence of Voodooism over the Haitians is the progressive degeneration of the population which began with the uprising of the slaves early in the nineteenth century that drove the French out of it." The "progressive degeneration of the population" may be a result of the unchecked influence which Voodooism had over the blacks after

the whites were driven out, but it appears that the cause for the influence must be found in the service that Voodooism played in the Revolution. Of that service one writer makes mention, and he does so in a meager way. Yet Mr. Stoddard in his account of the Revolution in San Domingo, which is his subject and not Voodooism, finds that the Voodoo cult did serve as a great factor in the insurrection. He writes, "Early in July, 1791, that sullen wave of unrest passed over the negro population which heralded the great uprising; it is plain that at this moment the negroes throughout the colony knew that something was in the wind. The disaffection seems to have been spread by the great Vaudoux cult, which accounts for the secrecy and obscurity of the whole affair, whose details will probably never be known.....The insurgent leader in the vicinity of Le Cap was one Boukman, said to have been high in the Vaudoux cult.....The dull roar of insurrection swept across the Plain, the negroes 'being quickened by their erotic dances, (Vaudoux dance) especially by one around a bull's skull lighted inside'".

We may turn now to consider Voodooism in Louisiana in its group behavior. Mention Voodooism in New Orleans to anyone, and each can remember something about the group behavior of Voodooism, or refer one to someone else who "knew all about it." There are some good authorities in New Orleans, but they have not put their information into accessible writings. There is a Voodoo queen, or mamma-loi, or priestess, living in New Orleans today, but the group behavior of Voodooism has disappeared in Louisiana as far as I have been able to ascertain. The practice of it is a violation of law now, that is, it is illegal to hold public ceremonies, as was once done on Congo Square in New Orleans. If there persist secret meetings I have not thus far been "let in" on them. Voodooism has become in New Orleans today an individual belief in some kind of charm, spell or incantation, and individual work of some old ex-slave, who knows how to work the charm. With the disappearance of the gathering on Sunday evening, or on some other evening, of the Voodooists on Congo Square or near it, or on Bayou St. John, has gone hand in hand a decreasing interest in Voodooism, even in the individual form. A form of

religion ceases to exist after we do away with the Sunday service, or any kind of gathering of the believers. There is need of organization to promote any cause, or keep alive any form of worship, so when the law in New Orleans forbade gatherings in the name of Voodooism, it sealed the fate of Voodooism in that city.

To learn about the group behavior of Voodooism in New Orleans in its palmy days, we must turn not to a native, but to a Northern man. Mr. C.D. Warner made a tour of the South for the purpose of observing and studying that section. He has written his observations in a work called, "Studies in the South and West," in volume eight of which he tells something about Voodooism as he saw it in New Orleans. He was present at a Voodoo ceremony in an upper chamber of a small frame house in a street just beyond Congo Square, and the Old Parish Prison, in New Orleans. He tells how he gained entrance to the worship of the Voodoo cult, describing also the worship house of the Voodooists, as well as the Voodooists themselves who were pure blacks, pure whites, and every kind of mixture between the two. Then he relates the ceremony just as he saw it, in the following words, "The doctor squatted on one side of the altar, and his wife, a stout woman of darker hue, on the other. 'Commencons', said the woman in a low voice. All the colored people spoke French, and French only, to each other and in the ceremony. The doctor nodded, bent over, and gave three sharp raps on the floor with a bit of wood. (This is the usual opening of Voodoo rites.) All the others rapped three times on the floor with their knuckles. Any one coming in to join the circle afterwards, stooped and rapped three times. After a moment's silence, all kneeled and repeated together in French the Apostles' Creed and still on their knees, they said two prayers to the Virgin Mary. The colored woman at the side of the altar began a chant in a low, melodious voice. It was the weird and strange "Danse Calinda." A tall negress, with a bright, good-natured face, entered the circle with the air of a chief performer, knelt, rapped the floor, laid an offering of candles before the altar, with a small bottle of brandy, seated herself beside the singer, and took up in a strong, sweet voice the

bizarre rhythm of the song. Nearly all those who came in had laid some little offering before the altar. The chant grew, the single line was enunciated in stronger pulsations, and other voices joined in the wild refrain, "Danse Calinda, boudoun, boudoun! Danse Calinda, boudoun, boudoun!" bodies swayed, the hands kept time in soft patpatting, and the feet in muffled accentuation. The Voodoo arose, removed his slippers, seized a bottle of brandy, dashed some of the liquid on the floor on each side of the brown bowl as a libation, threw back his head and took a long pull at the bottle and then began in the open space a slow measured dance, a rhythmical shuffle, with more movement of the hips than of the feet, backward and forward, round and round, but accelerating his movement as the time of the song quickened and the excitement rose in the room. The singing became wilder and more impassioned, a strange minor strain, full of savage pathos and longing, that made it almost impossible for the spectator not to join in the swing of its influence, while the dancer wrought himself up into the wild passion of a Cairene dervish. Without a moment ceasing his rhythmical steps and his extravagant gesticulation, he poured liquid into the basin, and dashing in brandy, ignited the fluid with a match. The liquid flamed up before the altar. He seized then a bunch of candles, plunged them into the bowl, held them up all flaming with the burning brandy, and, keeping his step to the maddening "Calinda!" distributed them lighted to the devotees. In the same way he snatched up dishes of apples, grapes, bananas, oranges, deluged them with burning brandy and tossed them about the room to the eager and excited crowd. His hands were aflame, his clothes seemed to be on fire; he held the burning dishes close to his breast, apparently inhaling the flame, closing his eyes and swaying his head backwards and forward in an ecstasy, the hips advancing and receding, the feet still shuffling to the barbaric measure. Every moment his own excitement and that of the audience increased. The floor was covered with debris of the sacrifice - broken candy, crushed sugar-plums, scattered grapes - and all more or less in flame. The wild dancer was dancing in fire! In the height of his frenzy, he grasped a large plate filled with lump-sugar. That was set on fire. He held

the burning mass to his breast, he swung it round, and finally, with his hand extended under the bottom of the plate (the plate only adhering to his hand by the rapidity of his circular motion), he spun around like a dancing dervish, his eyes shut, the perspiration pouring in streams from his face, in a frenzy. The flaming sugar scattered about the floor, and the devotees scrambled for it. In intervals of the dance, though the singing went on, the various offerings which had been conjured were passed around- bits of sugar and fruit and orris powder. Before this point had been reached the chant had been changed for the wild canga, more rapid in movement than the chanson africaine: 'Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! gen! "Cang a baffio te" Canga mounne de le, "Changa do ki la" Canga li.' Nothing indecent occurred in word or gesture. The singing ceased. The doctor's wife passed round the hat for contributions, and the ceremony, which had lasted nearly an hour and a half, was over. The doctor retired exhausted with violent exertions."

In details we see that the ceremony differs from those described in the West Indies, but they are all of the same general nature, it is the same psychology in both. During intervals in the performances that Mr. Warner witnessed he tells of healing processes. These healings are different from the individual healings in the individual's own home, in that in the group there is the added strength of the crowd mood, which phenomenon diverts the attention of the sufferer from his ailment. Mr. Warner writes, "At intervals during the performance, when the charm had begun to work, the believers came forward into the open space, and knelt for 'treatment'. The singing, the dance, the wild incantation went on interruptedly; but amid all his antics the dancer had an eye to business. The first group that knelt were four stalwart men, three of them white laborers. All of them, I presume, had some disease which they had faith the incantation would drive away. Each held a lighted candle in each hand. The doctor successively extinguished each candle by putting it in his mouth, and performed a number of antics of a saltatory sort. During his dancing and whirling he frequently filled his mouth with liquid, and discharged it in spray, exactly as a Chinese laundry-

men sprinkles his clothes, into the faces and on the heads of any man or woman within reach. Those so treated considered themselves specially favored. Having extinguished the candles of the suppliants, he scooped the liquid from the bowl, flaming or not as it might be, and with his hands vigorously scrubbed their faces and heads, as if he were shampooing them. While the victim was still sputting and choking he seized him by the right hand, lifted him up, spun him round half dozen times, and then sent him whirling. This was substantially the treatment that all received who knelt in the circle, though sometimes it was more violent. Some of them were slapped smartly upon the back and the breast, and much knocked about. Occasionally a woman was whirled till she was dizzy, and perhaps swung about in his arms as if she had been a bundle of clothes. They all took it meekly and gratefully. One little girl of twelve, who had rickets, was banged about till it seemed as if every bone in her body would be broken. But the doctor had discrimination even in his wildest moods. Some of the women were gently whirled, and the conjurer forbore either to spray them from his mouth or to shampoo them. Nearly all those present knelt, and were whirled and shaken, and those who did not take this 'cure' I suppose got the benefit of the incantation by carrying away some of the consecrated offerings. Occasionally a woman in the whirl would whisper something in the doctor's ear, and receive from him doubtless the counsel she needed. But generally the doctor made no inquiries of his patients, and they said nothing to him."

The initiation of a new member into the cult in New Orleans was not so severe as it was in the West Indies, according to a description given by George W. Cable, a native Southerner. He writes, "Now a new applicant for membership steps into their circle, there are a few trivial formalities", (as the proper placing of things, and getting the proper alcoholic drink in its proper position, perhaps, as exactness is always required in superstitious forms of religion), "and the Voodoo dance begins. The postulant dances frantically in the middle of the ring, only pausing from time to time to receive heavy alcoholic draughts in great haste and return more

wildly to his leapings and writhings until he falls in convulsions. He is lifted, restored, and presently conducted to the altar, takes his oath, and by a ceremonial stroke from one of the sovereigns is admitted a full participant in (the rites)."

Human sacrifice has never occurred as a part of the ceremony of Voodooism in Louisiana. There has been a report of one case in which human sacrifice took place in the Louisiana cult. This affair which happened in June 1884 among the Voodooists of Louisiana created quite a sensation in the newspapers and elsewhere. When we examine later human sacrifice in Voodooism we shall see that this reported case was not a part of the Voodoo ritual in Louisiana, and therefore it cannot be urged as an exception to the statement that human sacrifice has never occurred as a part of the ceremony of Voodooism in Louisiana. There was no cannibalism at all in Louisiana, for even if human sacrifices were made on the occasion in June 1884, there is no report that the worshippers ate the corpses.

The snake played no part in the ceremony in Louisiana, at least to no great extent. The Voodoo worshippers of Louisiana held the snake in the same reverence and awe as did the Haitians and other West Indians, but we have not in Louisiana the same harmless snake as found in Africa and the West Indies. Because the ^{big}snakes around New Orleans are poisonous, the snake was conspicuous by its absence in the Voodoo ceremony in the Southern part of the United States.

Another difference to be noted between the Voodooism of Louisiana and that of Haiti is the distinction made between the *mamma-lois* of each place. According to Judge Austin the Haitian queen is always black, while in Louisiana, according to Mr. Cable, the queen is described as a bright colored woman. Mr. Warner describes the queen he saw as of a "darker hue" than her husband, but that does not necessarily mean that she was black. An old woman now living in New Orleans, who says that she was once a Voodoo queen, is of mixed blood. In the West Indies the male assumes the most prominent part in Voodooism, while in Louisiana, according to George Cable, "The queen is the

more important of the two, and even in the present dilapidated state of the worship in Louisiana, where the king's office has almost or quite disappeared, the queen is still a person of great note."

Another very clear distinction between Louisiana Voodooism and that of the West Indies is that white people were members of the Voodoo cult in Louisiana, but no white person took part in the Voodoo ceremony in the West Indies, unless he disguised himself as a colored person.

Did the Voodoo cult of Louisiana function in the emancipation of slaves as it did in the West Indies? In Larousse' s "Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siecle", there is a story in French of a Voodoo meeting in New Orleans, which was broken up by the officers of the law. In this ceremony were fifty women "nués comme notre mère Eve", two of whom were white women. Whence came the story no one knows. Mr. Newell, who read the story, said, "The inventor of it may have been a correspondent of a French journal, who amused himself by imposing on the credulity of his readers." There is an interesting statement in the article, which is of interest to us, and one of which Mr. Newell takes no note. In defining the sect, before giving the story, the Dictionnaire says, "Cette société avait joué, disait-on, un rôle important dans les événements qui s'étaient accomplis à la Nouvelle-Orléans depuis un an; elle avait été amenée à prendre une part indirecte, mais très-active, à une guerre qui devait avoir pour résultat l'emancipation de la race noire. S'il n'y avait pas eu d'insurrection servile dans la basse Louisiane, c'était, prétendait-on, à l'influence des vaudous que l'on en était redevable. En revanche, les vaudous avaient pris l'engagement d'obtenir du ciel l'affranchissement des esclaves et le châtiment des maitres méchants." This is the only suggestion of which I know, that the Voodoo cult played the part of "Sons of Freedom" in the United States. This article is written after the Civil War in this country, because the Dictionnaire refers to the war as a past event. The writer of the story may have known that the Voodoo cult played the part of "Sons of Freedom" in the West Indies, and then drawn on his imagination for the above statement, amusing himself, as Mr. Newell said about the story,"by

imposing on the credulity of his readers." According to a study of cases made by Dr. Parks of the University of Chicago, the evidence shows that the negro slaves in the United States had accommodated themselves to slavery. There was no organized effort to free themselves from their masters in the South. The Voodoo cult was not secret in the South as it was in the West Indies, and it allowed white people to take part in its ceremony. The bloodless open ceremony of Voodooism in the South would help the negroes to remain docile, instead of making them become restless, and combative. In those parts of the South where Voodooism as a group gathering was not in vogue, some form of Evangelical Christianity acted as a soothing syrup to any restless feeling the negroes might have had about their enslavement. From the above considerations another distinction can be made between the Voodooism of Louisiana and that of the West Indies, namely, in the latter place the Voodoo cult played a prominent part in the emancipation of the slaves, but in the former place it did not function in any work of emancipation, but rather helped to make the slaves accommodated to their servile condition, which will become more evident in further discussion.

Another contrast that can be made between the Voodooism of the West Indies and that of the Southern part of the United States is in the attitudes of the Voodoo worshippers in each place toward Christianity. In the West Indies the priests of the Roman Catholic Church have been very bitter and antagonistic to the Voodoo sect, and the Voodooists have had the same attitude toward the Christian Church in the islands. In Haiti the Roman Catholic religion is the established religion, but according to Robert T. Hill, an American geological investigator in Haiti and the other islands in the West Indies, the Roman Catholic Church has gained neither "the confidence nor the affection of the '(Haitian)' nation." In Haiti the slaves rose in rebellion against their Roman Catholic masters, and won their freedom. Before the revolution Voodooistic meetings were very secret, and the masters were not allowed to be present. The priests were ever ready to put Voodooism down, and thus an antagonistic feeling existed between Voodooism and Christianity, conse-

quently, no assimilation between the two went on in the West Indies. Now in Louisiana there was no such antagonistic feeling between Voodooism and Christianity as elsewhere, especially in San Domingo and Haiti. The result was that Voodooism in Louisiana assimilated Christianity, and the negro's religion in the South was a mixture of Voodooism and Christianity. Then in the Southern part of the United States the slaves met with Evangelical Christianity, which was more in keeping with their emotional form of religion. In the Southern part of Louisiana the Roman Catholics were and still are in the majority, but Roman Catholicism has never been recognized in this country as the established religion as it was in Haiti and other places. Perhaps, also, the masters in Louisiana were kinder to the slaves than in the West Indies. All these factors helped, no doubt, to make Christianity appear less antagonistic to the Voodoo worshippers in Louisiana than in the West Indies.

We know that Christianity was mixed with Voodooism in Louisiana. Mr. Warner in his description of the Voodoo ceremony which he saw in Louisiana tells that it began by all repeating the Apostle's Creed. Following that, prayers were said to the Virgin Mary. In Warner's description of the room where he saw the Voodoo rites he says, "On one side of the middle room where we sat was constructed a sort of buffet or bureau, used as an altar. On it stood an image of the Virgin Mary in painted plaster, about two feet high flanked by lighted candles, and a couple of cruets, with some other small objects. On a shelf below were two other candles...." All this mixture goes to show that certain forms and ideas in religion were not so important to the early worshippers as getting their feelings and wishes expressed. A liberal Christian missionary in Africa tells how in one of the native ceremonies he would give Christian names to certain phenomena and objects of worship, so that soon he had the ceremony carried on in the name of Jesus, yet with no change in feelings and wishes expressed. In one of the Voodoo dances it was reported to me that the negroes as they shuffled along to the rhythmic beat of the drum, said, "We are inching along, we are inching along, until Jesus comes." The premillennialist idea, "until Jesus comes" was not what was giving

the satisfaction to those worshippers, but the outlet for certain emotions. The words, "inching along" are very suggestive of the manner of the dance, and the grip it would have on the dancers.

The finding of expression for restless feelings in the bloodless Voodoo ceremony in Louisiana enabled the negroes to accommodate themselves to their condition of servitude. All the worship of the negro in the South was of the emotional Evangelical type. In New Orleans, where Roman Catholicism predominated, the negroes brought into that section were mostly Voodooists, and they mixed the Christianity they learned there, with their Voodoo ceremony. Therefore, under the Roman Catholic Church, the Voodooists were able to hold revival services, in the sense of having an emotional form of service. In Louisiana, Voodooism in some of its forms was Roman Catholic, but Evangelical in its spirit. Therefore Voodooism gave to the negro under the dominance of Roman Catholic masters in Louisiana, what Evangelical Christianity gave to the negroes elsewhere in the South. In those parts of the South where Voodooism did not prevail in name, the negroes conducted Evangelical revival services in their "Praise Houses", which in essence were the same as the Voodoo ceremony held in New Orleans. These emotional religious services must have prevented any restlessness on the part of the negro under his condition of servitude. These emotional ceremonies allowed free expression to the negro's feelings, and thus helped him to accommodate himself to the status quo. Then again the picture of the Christian heaven fed the negro with hopes of freedom in the other world, and thus made him more satisfied to bear his servile lot here below. In the negro slave songs, heaven played an important rôle. It is in heaven that there will be no more shocking of the corn, no more master's call to work. It will be a place of eternal rest and freedom to do as one pleases. According to one slave song we have the words, "Ease, ease, when I get to heaven, me and my Lord are gwine to do as we please." The negro slave was prevented from ending his life here and going to the more free and easy life above by the instinct of self-preservation, and circled around this instinct was the Christian teaching that it was a sin for one to take his own

life here below. The negro did not mind bearing his condition here, because of his religious ceremonies which relieved any unrest on his part, and then he had his reward, when he died, of the city with golden streets, where he should wear golden slippers and play on golden harps. Under these conditions there was no unrest because of slavery on the part of groups of slaves in the United States, and the Voodoo sect could not have been called upon to act as an organization for the "Sons of Freedom" in this country. It was a bloodless ceremony, which argues for the fact that the combative instinct was not agitated in the Southern slave against his condition. The ceremonies in the West Indies are reported to have contained human sacrifices, and such practices would tend to appeal to the combative instinct in the negroes in those islands. We find the Voodoo sect in Haiti acted as an organization for the "Sons of Freedom". We shall have occasion to refer to this again in considering human sacrifices in Voodooism.

In the Voodoo ceremonies there were songs, which came from an emotional outburst of the dancers at the moment. They came from the heart and not the head. The meaning of the words is insignificant, they represent not ideas, but expressions of feelings and movements of the body. George Cable gives us a genuine Voodoo song, which was given to him by Lafcadio Hearn. Mr. Cable is ignorant of any meaning which might be attached to the words, and renders the sounds phonetically in French, thus:

"Hé-ron man-dé, Hé-ron man-dé

Ti gui li pa-pa, Hé-ron man-dé,

Ti gui li pa-pa, Hé-ron man-dé,

Hé-ron man-dé, Hé-ron man-dé,

Do sé dan go-do."

And another phrase: "Ah tingouai ye, ah tingouai ye, ag ouai ya, ah ouai ya, ah tingouai ye, Do sé dan go-do, ah tingouai ye, etc." Mr. H. E. Krehbiel writes in regard to the Voodoo songs, which have no meaning for the ones who

sing them. Lack of meaning is because the origin is to be traced to some emotional outburst. He writes, "In 1878, while Lafcadio Hearn and I were collaborating in an effort to gather material for a study of creole music, I sent him (he was then living in New Orleans) the words of a song which I had got -I do not remember where- for interpretation. In reply he wrote: 'Your friend is right, no doubt, about the "Tig, tig, malaboin. La cheleme che tango. Rejoum!" I asked my black nurse what it meant. She only laughed and shook her head: 'Mais c'est Voodoo ça; je n'en sais rien!' 'Well', said I, 'dont you know anything about Voodoo songs?' 'Yes,' she answered; 'I know Voodoo songs; but I can't tell you what they mean.' And she broke out into the wildest, weirdest ditty I ever heard. I tried to write down the words; but as I did not know what they meant, I had to write by sound alone, spelling the words according to French pronunciation." This ditty must be the same one Mr. Hearn gave to Mr. Cable, which has been quoted. The negro today can burst out in peculiar expressions, when he is possessed in some song, or in some dance he is doing. The other day I was crossing on the ferry boat, which goes across the Mississippi river from New Orleans to Westwego, and on the ferry was an old plantation negro man playing an old guitar. This old negro had an accompanist in a young negro boy, who played a guitar also. The old man would "get happy" as they say in secular matters, but call the same phenomenon in a revival, "filled with the Holy Ghost." In his ecstatic moments he would yell out something in harmony with the movement of his body, as he swayed back and forth, and it would fit in with the music he was making all the while as he picked on his old guitar. At one time he threw out one sentence which was audible and expressed an idea, but it was lost in only sounds. He sang, "When your baby is dead ed," (meaning sweetheart, perhaps, and not an infant), "then you dont see her no more o o." He would get "so happy" that he would jump to his feet, put his guitar down, and go to dancing to the music the boy was making. He did not get so lost in ecstasy that he forgot to pass around a hat for help. This phenomenon is very general among the old plantation negroes of the South. Near the closing of the Voodoo ceremony in Louisi-

ana, according to C. G. Warner, a collection was taken by passing the hat. This taking a collection has become a part of the religious ceremony in the West. In a Unitarian service where no money was needed some Unitarians wanted to take a collection anyway, they argued the people expected it, and would not think it a religious service without a collection. Then like most religious services, the Voodoo ceremony ended with a song, which song Mr. Cable gives to us in these words, "The Queen shakes the box and tinkles its bells, the rum-bottle gurgles, the chant alternates between king and chorus-

'Eh! eh! Bomba, honc! honc!

Canga bafio tay,

Cang a moon day lay,

Canga do keelah,

Canga li-'"

In regard to the first line, Mr. Cable says in a foot-note, "Hen! Hen! is St. Méry's spelling of it for French pronunciation. As he further describes the sound in a foot-note, it must have been a horrid grunt."

We shall concern ourselves now with that aspect of Voodooism, which in the minds of most people is just what they understand by Voodooism, and that is the individual magical performances, with the superstitious beliefs in magic. Mr. Fletcher S. Bassett in an article in the Dial under the title of "Voodoo Tales of Southern Negroes", has this to say, "Miss Mary A. Owen, the only white woman ever initiated into the mysteries of Voodooism as practised by the negroes of the South, has embodied her experiences and studies in a volume entitled on this side of the Atlantic 'Voodoo Tales', it having previously appeared in London as 'Old Rabbit the Voodoo.' The new title is the better one, since the rabbit is not the principal hero of the tales." Now in Voodoo Tales, by Mary A. Owen, we have related only that manifestation of Voodooism which deals with individual practice of magical charms, and they are interwoven into tales. That is not the only aspect of Voodooism "practised by the negroes of the South." If that is what Voodooism is, then we have been considering something else than Voodooism so far, because this aspect of Voodooism has not been dealt with. In the United States today all that we have left of Voodooism, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is

the practice of the Voodoo charms and spells. This is about all the North has ever seen or known of Voodooism. Conjure and Hoodoo have come to be the best words which express this part of Voodooism. It is not everyone who can conjure and hoodoo. In the West Indies only the Voodoo priest or priestess can work charms, which bring desired results to individuals. In the South not every negro can conjure and hoodoo, yet many know a little something about it. The best practitioners in the South are the old time slaves, called "old timers", who were leaders in the Voodoo ceremonies in the old days, or who learned from those leaders about the charms. As Voodooism is hardly a thing of the past in the West Indies, only the papa-loi works the magical charms of Voodooism there. We may consider these magical doctors more in detail. Besides conducting the Voodoo ceremonies they are busy at other times filling engagements with individuals. They keep the secrets of the Voodoo magic, and select their successors and transmit to them the inner rites and knowledge of poisons and medicine, according to Judge Austin, who further writes, "The Papa-Loi and Mamma-Loi.... add to their income not only by selling poisons but also by selling medicines. Indeed, there have been many authenticated instances where persons who have been suffering from slow poison administered by enemies have secured, at a price, antidotes from the very Papa-Loi or Mamma-Loi who sold the original poison." These Papa-lois and Mamma-Lois always dress so they can be easily recognized by those who are acquainted with the distinguishing marks. According to Judge Austin, they were "easily known by their extra long wool, which was elaborately plaited and evidently the object of much care. At the present time, at least in the cities, any Papa-Loi who may be about is not thus to be recognized. Persons who had visited the interior and had stayed at some of the mountain villages told me the Papa-Loi is still a notable figure..... The Papa-Loi with his Mamma-Loi has always preferred to enshroud himself in mystery by living apart from common mortals, usually in some almost inaccessible place on a mountain side or in a jungle. Thus the tourist in Haiti, unless he happened to be something of an explorer, would not be likely to see one of these

leaders of the sect."

At a session of the Naval Board of Inquiry held at Port-au-Prince, San Domingo Island, a "medicine bag" taken from a papa-loi was introduced in the presentation of evidence to ascertain if some Voodooists had killed three marines. The contents of the bag will give us some idea of the things used by the medicine men of Voodooism in their individual medical practice. In the New York American in the article, "Why the Black Cannibals of Hayti Mutilated Our Soldiers", we have this description of the "medicine bag", and its contents, "It was a hide bag, and in it were these objects: luck stones, snake fangs, lizard jaws, squirrel teeth, bat bones, frog ashes, black hen feathers and bones, black lamb wool saturated with sweat of the back of an angry toad, dove hearts, mole skins, images of wax and clay, candy made of brown sugar mixed with putrid liver, mud from the edge of the swamp, sulphur, salt and alum and a number of vegetable poisons."

There was a story in McClure's by Mary S. Watts entitled the Voodoo-woman. This account has a woman as charm worker, and today charm workers are to be found among the colored females of the South. This story by Mary Watts is a tale told by an old sailor, who relates an instance in his boyhood, when he was taken to a Voodoo woman's house somewhere in the West Indies. The Voodoo woman was working some charm to gain some kind of a hidden treasure. She offered the boy money, and when he refused to accept it, the refusal seems to have kept her charms from working. She cut the boy on the wrist, which obliterated his consciousness, and when he regained it, he was back near his ship. He tells his experience to the captain, mates, and sailors of the ship. The story ends with the ship's crew ashore searching for the treasure.

In the English possessions in the Southern waters there are Obi priests, who are medicine men. As we have noted previously, Obiism is the name for Voodooism in the English colonies. Robert T. Hill has this to say about Obiism, "Obiism is characterized by four essential beliefs: (1) that certain human beings can propitiate or influence the evil powers; (2) that evil spirits are associated with serpents and reptiles; (3) that the shades of the dead return to work revenge upon the living; (4) that charms for good or evil can cast

spells upon the victim. The first chief factor of this savage belief is the witch doctor or obi-man--the voodoo-doctor of Louisiana and the conjure-doctor of the South." Here we note that Mr. Hill is inclined to think the chief thing in Voodooism is its magic. If the group behavior is secondary, then why has Voodooism in any form declined wherever the group ceremony has disappeared? Of course, the magical spells are an aspect of Voodooism, and Mr. Hill continues to speak of the doctor and his spells thus, "His power lies in the influence of his presence upon simple-minded folk, and the faith he creates in the potency of his charms and actions. He is usually a venerable man of hideous mien, who goes about pretending to practise spells and charms, and selling a few herb remedies. He is undoubtedly a survival of the medicine-man found in every tribe in Africa and exercises a great power for good or evil through his hypnotic powers. He may or may not possess a knowledge of a few simple vegetable poisons, as alleged. In exceptional cases he may cause ignorant servants to administer poisons or slow deranging drugs to their masters from motives of vengeance. All the whites of the West Indies believe that they do so, and weird stories are told of planters who have thus sickened and died."

In the South the Voodoo doctor, and the Queen were called upon to perform individual charms for individuals outside the group ceremonies. Mr. Warner relates what he learned of the functional power of the priest, while at the Voodoo ceremony he witnessed. He writes, "From conversation with those near me, I found that the doctor had a reputation for healing the diseased by virtue of his incantations, of removing 'spells', of finding lost articles, of ministering to the troubles of lovers, and, in short, of doing very much what clairvoyants and healing mediums claim to do in what are called civilized communities." This is the kind of Voodooism that has found its way into newspapers of the United States. The hoodooing and conjuring of the negroes was taken cognizance of many times by Southern newspapers. Robert T. Hill has found the following interesting items in some newspapers of the South, "The Atlanta 'Constitution' of November, 1885, stated that perhaps one hundred old

men and women practised voodooism in that city - telling fortunes, pointing out the whereabouts of lost and stolen goods, furnishing love-philters, and casting spells upon people and cattle. They belonged to all ranks and classes of negroes." This was all during the time when the group ceremony was going on in full force in Louisiana, it is to be remembered. Mr. Hill continues his account, "The American conjure-doctors, like those of the West Indies, carry bags to hold their charms, consisting of lizards' claws, dried rats, human bones, and other gruesome objects. The Selma (Alabama)'Times' of May, 1884, describes one of the bags picked up in Broad street of that city, which contained a rabbit's foot, a piece of dried 'coon-root', some other roots, and particles of parched tobacco. The rabbit's foot, perhaps, possesses more powers of sorcery than any other instrument in use among the black doctors of the South, being an especial charm against evil, particularly 'if it is a left hind foot from an animal caught in a country graveyard on a cloudy night in the new of the moon.'" The rabbit's foot still persists in the South, not only among negroes, but among some white people, as a charm, or what they call a "good luck piece." The expression, "I will put the rabbit's foot on you", is common parlance in the South, and it means, the person will wish one good luck in any undertaking or journey contemplated at the time. The statement is often heard in the South, by people, who know its connection with Voodooism, "Some one has sure put the rabbit's foot on me", which means that the person has come into some kind of "good luck". Many white people in the South carry a rabbit's foot in their pockets. Innumerable negroes do this. Sometimes the rabbit's foot will hang on a watch charm. There may be some connection here between the rabbit's foot being hung to a watch, and our naming anything that hangs on the watch, "a charm". Many people call a watch fob a "charm". A rabbit caught in a country cemetery is called a graveyard rabbit, and his left hind leg has always been considered very lucky, especially if the rabbit be caught on a cloudy night in the new of the moon. Any graveyard rabbit though is more lucky than any other rabbit, no matter when he is caught. Coming from the cemetery (graveyard, in Southern language), he

was thought to have fed on the dead, and therefore to have gained potency from eating their flesh. But, of course, people today who use the rabbit foot for a good luck piece and desire a graveyard rabbit, are following social heredity in making the request for a graveyard rabbit, and they know not now the original reason for it. In the New Orleans Times-Picayune of August 25, 1922, there is a large advertisement of a big firm in New Orleans, which is headed with this statement, "Friday is Rabbit's Foot Day". This means to signify that one can get bargains at that store on the day advertised, which will be fortunate or lucky for the purchaser.

The loadstone has always appealed to the superstitious people of the South, and this includes the negroes. The first time in the South that the loadstone was ever displayed before the writer, it was done so with the view of trying to get the writer ^{to} think that it had supernatural power. The magnetic power of the stone has always appealed to the child mind as containing some supernatural potency. We are not surprised to read then this account given by George Frederick Kuntz in an article in the American Journal of Folk-Lore, Vol. IV-1891, "Lodestone, a native oxide of iron having magnetic properties.... Large quantities of it are found at Magnet Cove, Arkansas. It is estimated that from one to three tons are annually sold to the negroes of the South, to be used by the Voudoos, who employ it as a conjuring stone." Mr. Kuntz tells of a case, which was tried in Macon, Georgia, July, 1887. He writes, "A negro woman sued a conjurer to recover five dollars which she paid him for a piece of it (loadstone), to serve as a charm to bring back her wandering husband, which it failed to do. As the market value of this stone was only seventy-five cents a pound, the judge ordered the money refunded."

In the Atlantic, Vol. 64, p:376, there is a story by one, who signs his article S.M.P. The title of the article is "Voodooism in Tennessee". There is no account given of the group behavior of Voodooism in Tennessee, but the story tells of an individual treatment and cure of Etta, a girl, by a Voodoo woman. The explanation of the cure appears to be, from what is given in the tale, suggestion.

George Cable gives us an interesting incident in connection with a Voodoo charm. "A planter once found a Voodoo charm, or ouanga (wongah)", which was made of "a bit of cotton folded about three cow-peas and some breast feathers of a barnyard fowl, and covered with a tight wrapping of thread. When he proposed to take it to New Orleans his slaves were full of consternation. 'Marse Ed, ef ye go on d'boat wit dat-ah, de boat'll sink mi'yer. Fore d'Lord it will!' For some reason it did not."

The last statement from Mr. Cable, "For some reason it did not", reminds me of my personal experience with a Voodoo doctor, who was a negro woman. When I was a boy living in McComb, Mississippi, I was afflicted with warts on my hand. My father had been told of the Voodoo doctor, who could conjure my warts off. He decided to take me to the Voodoo doctor. I was taken by my father to the house of this Voodoo woman. She took me into a private room that she had, as she said that she could not do her healing in the public. I was willing to go anywhere with her if she could relieve me of the embarrassment I felt on account of the condition of my hands. I was so embarrassed with them that I kept my hands under the desk, at school, and in my pockets when I was standing. I had faith in the Voodoo woman that she could remove the warts on my hands, because my father had faith in her. She took me into her private room. There an old fat black woman took my hands into hers, and said, "What I'se gwine to tell you, you messn't tell no one." It is with no degree of fear though that I relate now what she told me, but for many years I would tell no one. She rubbed her hands over my warts mumbling something all the while. Then she told me to go home; take a grain of corn out of my father's feed room; cut one of my warts so that it would bleed; rub the grain of corn on the wart so that it would get blood on it; throw the grain over my left shoulder to the chickens; I must not turn around to see which chicken ate it. She said that if I would do ~~xx~~^{what} she told me the warts would soon disappear. I had faith in her. I joined my father to return home to use the magic spell and get rid of my warts. My father, naturally, asked me what she said and did, but I informed him that a part of the cure was to tell no one.

I went home and carried out literally my instructions. The warts did not leave my hands. I reported the fact to my father. He took me to the Voodoo woman again, possibly she had left such instructions with him previously. This time the Voodoo woman told me in private that I must go into my mother's pantry and steal a piece of fat bacon, rub it on the warts, and bury it somewhere, letting no one see me steal or bury it. I did as instructed, but my warts remained with me, much to my embarrassment. After a time I tried rubbing vaseline on my warts every night and with a material substance, minus any superstitious connections, I removed them. I did learn that the Voodoo woman had removed some warts with her fat bacon remedy, which leads me to think that the natural remedy for removing warts is something greasy, the warts being caused by the lack of oil in the skin. Now these cured by the Voodoo woman would think more of the burying of the bacon in the ground, and her hoodooing the warts than of any natural cause which might have been in the fat bacon.

This magic manifestation of Voodooism flourished in the North, where people were hoodooed and conjured. To the question, were there any Voodooists in Philadelphia, there is an answer found in the Saturday Review, "Yes there are Voodoos in Philadelphia. There is old Dr.-----, who is rich. He is as black as coal; folks say he is a Guinea man. You can call on him; of course you two will understand one another at once. He can make up Voodoo charms to anything." In regard to this unnamed doctor the article continues, "The Voodoo Doctor said that hundreds of people, white as well as coloured, applied to him for love charms, but that to make one person love another was out of his power. 'You may,' he said, 'increase benevolence and courage in a person, but not make him come to anybody!'" The writer continues in the Saturday Review, "But quarreling and hatred in families or between husband and wife is easily caused, of course, by irritants or drugs which cause irritability. There are also drugs spells which restore unity and peace in families, and much practice comes from this branch of 'moral medicine'. And when a woman's husband has been voodooed away from her, the magician can affect a recon-

ciliation." The Voodoo doctor in Philadelphia with whom the writer in the Saturday Review had an interview was born in Natchez, Mississippi, and while he was a cabin-boy on a steamboat, which plied up and down the Mississippi river, he received his first initiation into Voodooism.

This magical art appears to have gone against the current in two ways. It literally went up the Mississippi river in its spread in the United States, and it has been decreasing with the rising of intelligence in the black race. At the mouth of the Mississippi river Voodooism manifested itself in its two modes of appearance, the group spirit, and the individual magic practice. The group behavior has been outlawed in New Orleans and the other aspect of Voodooism is losing its hold now on the people. The reason that from all outward appearances the law is being obeyed is that the negro is getting his wishes expressed in some emotional form of Evangelical Christianity. Miss Grace King in her work, "New Orleans, The Place and People", tells of an interesting incident, which illustrates the fact that Voodooism has lost its power over the intelligent Creole of Southern Louisiana. She writes, "The Voudoux, however, do not always succeed in their enchantments, as is evidenced by the following interesting incident. One of my friends, returning home from his work quite late one evening, saw on a doorstep two little candles lit and between them four nickels, placed as a cross. Feeling quite anxious as to the dreadful fate, which was to befall the inhabitants of the house, the gentleman blew out the candles, threw them in the gutter, put the nickels in his pocket, and walked off with the proud satisfaction of having saved a whole family from great calamities. This is how the Creoles fear the Voudoux."

In the West Indies, Voodooism in its two aspects, was still practised up to 1912 among the illiterates, according to Judge Austin, who wrote in that year after a visit to the West Indies. According to an article in the New York American of 1921 the Naval Board of Inquiry reports Voodooism is still in vogue in the West Indies among the illiterates, and in July, 1922 a story in the magazine section of the Times-Picayune of New Orleans quotes United States Marines, who state that Voodooism still flourishes in the West Indies. A native of Granada, an English possession, said to the writer, "The old folks

still fool with Obeah."

Before coming to a discussion of snake worship and human sacrifice in Voodooism, there remains something to be said in regard to the Voodooist's idea of immortality, and to Voodooistic apologetics. As to the former, materials on the subject are lacking, but a bit of information given by one who learned it from the natives themselves indicates that the Voodooist's idea of immortality is about the same as that of most primitive peoples. In speaking of Obiism, which is the name in the English possessions for Voodooism, Mr. Hill writes, "Another strong feature of Obiism is the belief in haunts. The negroes believe that not only the spirit but the person of the dead, in a modified form, returns to trouble the living. These more nearly correspond to the shades of the ancient Greeks, having body and substance, than to our conception of spirits which are without them. These shades are known in Jamaica as 'duppies', in Martinique as 'zombi', in Antigua and Barbados as 'jumbies', and in America as 'haunts'. They are somewhat related to the myths of the will-o'-the-wisps, for Jamaica duppies, at least, have fiery eyes, and the darkies are in dread of moving lights at night. Duppies and their kind are supposed to inhabit certain trees, especially the giant ceiba, which in Jamaica is particularly feared by the negroes on this account; and they will not cut or injure it, except after threats of violence, and even then they must first be MADE drunk; and while felling it they chant a song, 'Me no cut you, massa; he cut you.' Dead children are especially likely to return as duppies to haunt the mother, who, even though she may have been the tenderest of creatures always recalls some act of omission or commission on her part which will cause the child to return and punish her. To prevent this, they are very particular to put heavy weights upon the graves; otherwise they will awake some night to find the duppy sitting upon the foot of their bed."

In regard to Voodooistic apologetics a book written by a Dr. Arthur Holly, a French negro, which is entitled, *Les Daimons Du Culte Voudo*, is an attempt at apologetics. The interesting thing about the book is that this negro argues that Voodooism is the religion of the negro, and not Christianity. He would rationalize and modernize Voodooism, and have the negro take it as his own

religion, and give up religions forced upon him by other races. He attempts to prove through a complicated network of symbolic interpretations of the Christian Bible, that Christianity borrowed from Voodooism. The doctor, whom the writer of the article in the Saturday Review quotes, makes an attempt at apologetics, when he says, "Voodooism was a good thing, though, like all that was good, it was susceptible of abuse. It is a principle of every religion, that if you want anything, you must make a sacrifice for it. If to make a sacrifice for good, we take a dove; if for evil, a snake."

Voodooism has often been defined as serpent worship. I mention this fact, not because I agree with the definition, but because I think it should indicate that serpent worship must play a large part in Voodooism for some to define it so. These writers who paint Voodooism in hideous colors, all agree that the serpent figures in the ceremony, and yet they hardly ever consider this as a horrible factor in Voodooism. Mr. Newell and Dr. Hill, who are defenders of Voodooism, and who try to demonstrate that there is no human sacrifice or cannibalism in the sect, do not speak against the serpent's place in the ceremony. No writer denies the fact that the snake is an object of veneration in Voodooism.

The serpent worship was brought over by the slaves from West Africa to the West Indies, thence to Louisiana, but there was very little at the latter place. Serpent worship in Dahomey, Africa, is a matter of record. Processions were held in Whydah by the natives in honor of the serpent until about 1857, when Europeans suppressed it. The snake venerated in Africa was a large harmless snake, and Judge Austin tells us that the slaves found around the plantations in their new homes in the West Indies a large harmless snake very similar to the one which they had worshipped in their African home. One who seems to speak with authority about the Dahomey cult says, "According to the Dahomey Cult the serpent conferred vision on the first human pair, who came into the world blind. The natives venerated the serpent as the God of Wisdom and the God of Earthly Bliss, who ruled the productiveness of plants and animals as well as mankind".... "both priests and priestesses officiated in

his honor."

The descendants in the West Indies and in Louisiana seem to hold the serpent in the same reverence as did their ancestors. In the Voodoo ceremony, when all have been worked up to a high pitch of excitement by their shuffling dance, the priestess begins to answer questions put to her by the devotees of the rite. She goes to the snake, which is non-venomous, and allows it to lick with its tongue along her cheek, thereby imparting infinite wisdom to her. Thus the snake in the West Indies is thought of as a God of Wisdom. The snake is always kept in a box, which is generally closed during the dance. In this dance we have the same phenomenon that Le Bon has in what he calls a psychological crowd. In the excitement the priestess becomes possessed, and because of possession she is able to express the group's wishes in her answers which she is supposed to receive from an infinite source. The priestess feels sure that she is not consciously answering questions, but that the statements which issue from her mouth have objectivity. The natural explanation for the group is to think the objectivity of the knowledge comes through the medium of the sacred snake. If the snake is not God himself, it is at least the mediator between God and the priestess, so naturally the priestess should allow the forked tongue of the snake to tickle her cheek (which tickling would give physical pleasure to her), and thus the group feels that the snake imparts the wisdom of the answers which the priestess gives. Since the priestess speaks the language of the group and the snake does not, the snake must have a mediator. The whole thing is a very interesting example of the phenomenon of possession, where the leader in the crowd excitement seems to embody the wishes of the group, and is possessed by them.

The above information would certainly argue for an African origin of, at least, the serpent aspect of Voodooism if not all of Voodooism. It is all a matter of record that negroes along the slave coast in Africa, worshipped a harmless snake, that from these, slaves were taken to the West Indies, and there found a harmless snake and began to worship it. Voodooism must reach back to the African home of the Voodooists, even though it might ^{not} have been

called Voodooism, and practiced just as it was in the West Indies. Descendants of the slaves taken to the West Indies were brought into Louisiana. These slaves still retained a reverence for the snake, but the snake plays a small part ⁱⁿ the group ceremony of Southern Voodooism, because the negro did not find the same kind of snake in Louisiana that he found in the West Indies. The snake is recognized as powerful by Southern Voodooists in a magical way. The unnamed doctor born in Natchez, Mississippi, who practised Voodooism in Philadelphia said that the snake is the sacrifice for evil. *Genesis story. In the Dansey*

The tribes of Central Australia have in a mystical serpent of a very large size, their nearest approach to deity. Many magical qualities are attributed to this snake. The serpent was among the gods of the land of Egypt. Perhaps it was from the Egyptians that the Hebrews came to connect the serpent with religion. The Hebrews found the serpent worshipped among the people whom they subdued. Cadmus, the Phoenician, who invented letters, became a serpent. The trail of the serpent may be traced through the Greek religion. *In Christi-*

Miss Harrison in *Themis* says of the serpent, "This point....is well illustrated from the design...from a black-figured hydria in Berlin. In a small Doric shrine stands an ox; in front of him a blazing altar. To the left is Athena seated, her sacred snake by her side.....The snake among the Greeks was full of mana, was intensely sacred, not because as food he supported life, but because he is himself a life daimon, a spirit of generation, even of immortality. But -and this is all important- it is immortality of quite a peculiar kind. The individual members of the group of the Cecropidae die, man after man, generation after generation; Cecrops, who never lived at all, lives forever as a snake." Miss Harrison says again, "In the days of old month-year the goddess herself was the snake. When she took human form the snake became her 'attribute'; it was the 'symbol of wisdom'." The Greek granted infinite knowledge to the snake as a member of the Voodoo cult does, but the snake takes on a different development in Voodooism than in the Greek religion.

Dr. Ira M. Price in his book, "The Monuments and the Old Testament", gives this interesting piece of information, "There was a remarkable seal

cylinder of a very primitive date found in Babylonia. This cylinder carries on its surface a peculiar group of figures. In the center of this group stands a tree, from which there hangs fruit. On one side of this tree sits a man, and on the other, a woman. Behind the woman, with its head near hers, is the crooked, crawling form of a serpent. Not one word is recorded on the seal." This picture appears to represent a tradition among the Babylonians, which was general among the ancients that the snake was connected with original pair of human beings. We get the same tradition in the Genesis story. In the Dahomey Cult among the Apache Indians we noted that the serpent was connected with the original pair of humans. Among the Greeks the serpent represented the life daimon.

The serpent in Genesis is represented as being subtle and all-wise. The condemnation story may be connected with an attempt to kill serpent worship. Moses fastened a serpent of brass on a pole, which had the magical power of curing all who looked upon it. This magical power was transferred in Christianity to the death of Jesus. "As Moses lifted the serpent up in the wilderness, so shall the Son of Man be lifted up and all who believe on him". etc.

According to Dr. Meek in his thesis on the origin of the Levites, the Levites were medicine men, who worshipped snakes before they came to dominate as priests in the Yahweh cult. In the Genesis story, which is late, we have perhaps a propaganda story against the snake worship, which would indicate that serpent worship continued for some time among the masses of the Hebrew people.

In Christianity the serpent has been a symbol for the devil; Revelation 12:9, 13-17 has always been the proof text for such identification. In the Modern "Holy Roller" sect, as it is called, we have the same crowd phenomenon that occurs in the Voodoo group ceremony. I have witnessed their meetings. This Christian sect carries the evangelical revival to the nth power. It is interesting to read the following news item in the New Orleans Times-Picayune of August 20, 1922 in connection with this modern Christian sect whose behavior is like that found in Voodooism. The article reads, "Fort Payne, Ala.,

Aug., 20.--James Wylie Reece, a 'Holy Roller', and farmer, residing on Sand Mountain, near Chavies, was bitten by a large rattlesnake Friday afternoon, from which he died within thirty minutes.....It is said that Reece had been a noted 'Holy Roller' in that section of the country, and on various occasions had assisted in conducting religious seances in which poisonous reptiles such as rattlesnakes and copperheads were handled and exhibited by members of the church. It was remembered here that Reece was indicted by the grand jury in this county a year ago on a murder charge. It was alleged that he permitted a venomous snake to bite and kill one of his children. When the case came up for trial in the circuit court, the judge set the man free, taking the view that every man or person in this country should be permitted to serve God according to the dictates of his own conscience and that it was wholly through ignorance that the defendant attempted to practise such religious activities."

The Naga or hooded serpent is held sacred in India. There are carved representations of these serpents over India to which offerings are made of food which human beings like to eat and not snake food. This serpent was a totem of the people who claimed descent from the Sun, according to C. F. Oldham.

The above citations from other religions argue for the fact that snake worship is an old phenomenon in the human race. This would help to substantiate the contention that the serpent worship of Voodooism is of African origin, as the slaves taken to the West Indies could not have been without such worship, and have begun it after contact with a more civilized race.

It is interesting to note how the serpent is connected with woman. According to the accounts of the Voodoo cult in Hayti, the priestess has communication with the sacred snake and received knowledge from it, and not the priest or papa-loi as he is called in the French. In the Garden of Eden story Eve holds communication with the snake, and receives knowledge from it. On the Babylonian cylinder the snake lies near to the woman. In ancient Greece the goddess had the snake as a "symbol of wisdom". In the Apocalypse of John the serpent is connected with the earth and encounters first woman. This is

perhaps due to the fact, as Miss Harrison says, about the Greeks that they felt that the serpent was full of mana, he was the spirit of life and was therefore connected with the goddess or woman who was the giver of life. That they gave this place to the serpent instead to some other form of animal is due to man's fear of the serpent. I think that it is very general among all men even today that we tend to jump back, shiver, or run from the presence of the snake. Dr. Frost, a psychologist, suggested that our fear of the snake goes back to the days of our ancestors who had to struggle against them in the age of the Reptile. The fear engendered at that time against the snake or reptile may have passed on down and been inherited by man. Another plausible explanation for the fear of the snake is that man the world over has and does yet fear the unknown. The snake having no feet the direction of his motion cannot be easily determined. What the snake will do next in his movement, or when he is going to make his appearance, ^{is} ~~are~~ unknown. His whole appearance and movements give one an uncanny feeling in his presence, because of our fear of what we do not know might happen. That which the ancient feared, thought weird, or drew back from, he endowed with power and wisdom greater than himself. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" and also fear is one of the bases for believing in that God, and giving to Him the power and wisdom which was so attributed. Out of the fear for the snake, which man either inherited or acquired, he raised him to an omnipotent deity. The fear of the snake is not of his poison, because we have the same uncanny feeling in the presence of the king snake, which is non-poisonous, as we have in the presence of the poisonous rattle snake. It is natural then that the African should have taken up the non-poisonous snake found on the west coast of Africa and made him his God to worship, and still as natural that when he found a snake in the West Indies similar to ~~the~~ snake he worshipped at home, he should have still clung to his God, and, perhaps, his experience led him to think that this God of his was also omnipresent since he had found him everywhere he had been.

What idea the Voodoos have of God, the Supreme Being, who made and rules

the world, we have no evidence. Their worship does not center around any benevolent being, but around an evil one. The snake is their material representation of the evil one, and they worship an evil spirit, rather than a benevolent one. Sometimes the priest, especially if they have great fear of him, appears to them as the representation of the evil one. All the primitive religions are based upon belief in evil spirits which can be invoked or propitiated by gifted human beings, and the reason for this is stated by Robert T. Hill, when he writes, "The conception of a benevolent Supreme Being is not essential or necessarily considered; or if considered, he is all-good and needs no human propitiation, but the evil spirits are those which must be guarded against or cajoled." Whatever arouses the impulse of fear in the primitive man he makes the incarnation of the evil spirits or spirit. If he has the snake to fear, he identifies him with the evil one, even as the writer of the Christian Apocalypse does, or he may identify the devil with some being he fears, as the Voodoo priest, or with a ceremony he fears even though he may participate in it, as human sacrifice.

That which has caused more talk about Voodooism than anything else is the charge that it contains the rites of human sacrifice, and cannibalism. Human sacrifice, according to reports of it in Voodooism, consists of the killing of children as an offering to propitiate the evil one. According to the reports, the children are given some kind of drug, which makes them appear dead, and the family buries the child; then the priest goes to the grave and with another drug brings it back to life, or arouses the child from its unconsciousness. At the next group gathering of Voodooists, the child is sacrificed as a kind of benediction to the ceremony. Cannibalism consists in eating the flesh of the sacrificed child.

There is a brief description by M. de la Pare, a French observer, of a child sacrificed at one of the "moon feasts" of the Voodooists. He describes it thus, according to an account in the New York American, "I was hidden behind the thick brush just at the edge of the sacred clearing. The altar was a great stone and at its base I saw a wooden box. A pot was boiling not far

away. On one side of the clearing were the drummers and assistant priests. The papa-loi, or high priest, entered, carrying a black baby. He placed it on the stone altar. Then to the throbbing of the drums he began a wild, barbaric dance, flourishing his sharp machete around his head. The drumming grew louder. The light of the rising moon broke through the jungle tangle and fell upon the altar. Instantly the papa-loi darted upon the baby. The lid of the box at the altar's base flew open and out of it rose the head of a snake. From the worshippers burst a frenzy chorus. The papa-loi lifted the baby by the feet and sacrificed it. Soon after it was eaten." According to Judge Austin this sacrifice comes after the dance and after the sacrifice of animals. He writes, "In the cannibalistic sect of Voodoo which educated Haitians would have one believe is either a very small part of the most depraved element of the population, or is mere memory and tradition, the sacrifice of the rooster and the goat is followed by the slaying of the 'goat without horns'. This is a euphemism for the human victim, just as in the South Sea Islands we are told that the natives referred to 'long pig' in speaking of their cannibalistic diet." Judge Austin's time of the human sacrifice, with its name, corresponds with the following report given of a human sacrifice followed by cannibalism in Voodooism in the West Indies. "A French priest" (said the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince), "who had charge of the district of Arcachaye, had the curiosity to witness the Voodoo ceremonies, and he persuaded some of his parishioners to take him to the forest, where a meeting of the sect was to be held. They were very unwilling, saying, that if discovered, he and they would be killed; but he promised faithfully that, whatever happened, he would not speak a word. They blacked his hands and face, and, disguising him, as a peasant took him with them. In Salnav's time the Voodoo priests were so seldom interrupted that few precautions were taken against surprise, and the neighboring villagers flocked to the ceremony. With these the Catholic priest mixed, and saw all that went on. A white cock and a white goat were killed, and those present were marked with the blood. Presently an athletic young negro came and knelt before the priestess and said, 'O, Maman, I have a

favor to ask.' 'What is it, my son?' 'Give us to complete the sacrifice, the goat without horns.' She gave a sign of assent, the crowd in the shed separated, and there was a child sitting with its feet bound. In an instant a rope already passed through a block was tightened, the child's feet flew up toward the roof, and the priest approached it with a knife. The loud shriek by the victim aroused the Frenchman to the truth of what was really going on. He shouted, 'Oh, spare the child,' and would have darted forward, but he was seized by his friends around him and literally carried from the spot. There was a short pursuit, but the priest got safely back to town. He tried to reuse the police to the spot, but they would do nothing. In the morning they accompanied him to the scene of the sacrifice. They found the remains of the feast, and near^{by} the boiled skull of the child." Judge Austin further relates the interesting information on how the victim to be sacrificed was obtained, with the reason why such a method had to be employed. He writes, "We have accounts of the practice of poisoning victims to furnish human flesh for Voodoo orgies even in slave holding times. And this leads to the widely known skill of the priests in the concoction of strange draughts from the native herbs of Haiti. Aside from poisons that kill at once, they are reputed to distill potions that kill by a long, slow process, the time being regulated by the strength of the dose to meet the exigencies of the case. Most uncanny, however, is the poison which will cause the victim to pass into an unconscious condition, so profound that it may be easily mistaken for death. This last-mentioned-trance-producing potion might seem to be a creation of the imagination, if it were not for the fact that many observers of Haiti from early colonial times down to our own generation have vouched for the evidence of its use. Such a poison was necessary to the cannibalistic Voodoo devotees of slavery days, because slaves, as valuable chattels, were carefully enumerated and a search would be instituted by the masters if a negro disappeared. Therefore the chosen victim, usually a child, was dosed with the poison that brought on a condition simulating death. The master, satisfied that he had lost one of his human animals by natural causes,

ordered the burial. Afterwards, the victim was resuscitated for the sacrifice, since the Voodoo rites required a living, conscious offering. All this, gruesome as it is, sums up the accounts of widely separated cases, some of them based on confessions of the criminals themselves." In corroboration of the death-like sleep produced by the Voodoo priests, Don Mariano Alfarez, a charge d'affaires at Port-au-Prince, says as reported in the American, "A young woman died suddenly and was buried on the following day. At night several individuals of both sexes went to the cemetery, took up the coffin and opened it. What they actually did is not known; but what is positive is that the woman who was supposed to have been dead was heard to shriek and shout for help. The guard near the cemetery, composed of Jamaica and Louisiana blacks, approached and saw the woman sitting up in the coffin. Various persons were standing around her, chanting loudly words they did not understand. The guard, frightened, ran away, but as soon as the Louisianians had overcome their first terror they ran back to help the woman. Already it was too late. They found her dead from the stroke of a dagger, and her heart and lungs torn from her bosom. They escaped but subsequently some prisoners were made. In a few days they were at liberty. It is related that the lungs and heart had been cooked and eaten in one of the country houses at Bizoton." This is the first report of anybody other than a child being sacrificed at a group gathering of Voodooism.

Now all the above reports of human sacrifice and cannibalism Mr. W. W. Newell denies, and argues that the above reported rites are a product of the imagination. Mr. Newell wrote in 1888 and 1889, and he attempts to examine critically all reports up to that time of human sacrifice in Voodooism. He quotes some people, who have been residents in the West Indies, who testify they have never seen any human sacrifice or cannibalism in those islands. He generally states some charge about human sacrifice, then quotes some one's reply to the charge. In this manner of arguing he makes a strong point of the following, "According to a correspondent of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of

Munich, writing under date of Port-au-Prince, July 12, 1888, the recent fall of President Salomon was owing to the political influence of the Vaudoux priests. Two negroes had consulted a priest as to the manner in which they might become rich. The latter advised them to kill and eat their mother. This the pair proceeded to do, strangled the old woman, made a feast, and, with the addition of horrors not necessary to detail, devoured her. The criminals being denounced by one of the invited guests, the President caused the priests and the two criminals to be shot, the other cannibals going free. Hence the hostility to Salomon. The correspondent adds: 'This incident is unfortunately not isolated in our beautiful country. Such cases occur every month, and you can imagine what a state of things exists.' Dr. W. Joest of Berlin, being interested in researches of this sort, made inquiry of an acquaintance in Hayti, who for many years has occupied 'a high German official position, and has become thoroughly acquainted with the country and the people.' Dr. Joest communicates the answer to the 'Internationales Archiv für Ethnologie' (vol. 1. No. 6, p. 233), of which he is a collaborateur. His correspondent replies that the whole relation is verlogenes Machwerk; as we should say, made out of whole cloth. The fall of Salomon had nothing to do with the Vaudoux; the last Vaudoux process was the well known trial of 1863, .. As the gentleman in question is a German, perhaps, more regard will be paid to this denial than is usually vouchsafed to such contradictions, the common reply being that the Haytian officials are themselves in league with the alleged sect".

Mr. Newell takes statements made by those who report human sacrifice in Voodooism, and tries to show where they contradict. The few he has cited are insignificant, and such would discredit any divine origin only that might be attributed to the statements, but it is human for eye-witnesses to contradict one another in insignificant details, especially where it is a matter of opinion.

Mr. Newell makes his strongest argument in his comparison of reports on Voodooism with those on myths in regard to Jews of England and the Wal-

densians on the continent. In England the Jews were once accused of killing Christian babies, and in courts, confessions were drawn from people by torture that they had seen Jews sacrificing Christian babies. It is a matter of history now that these stories grew out of popular imagination, and Mr. Newell would draw the conclusion by parallelism that the reports about Voodooism come from a similar source and are not veracious. Mr. Newell further points out, "In a case of alleged cannibalism, the author (Sir Spenser St. John) remarks that one of the prisoners died under the pressure of the cord tightened round his forehead. Under these circumstances it is plain that the human remains produced in court prove nothing, any more than the mutilated corpse of Little Hugh of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century, proved all the Jews in England guilty of his murder."

We have already considered Mr. Newell's contention that the word 'Voodoo', as well as its connotation of sorcery has a European origin. We have seen that he traces the origin to the Waldensians, a Christian sect, which began in Europe in the twelfth century. Many charges of sorcery were made against this sect, which Mr. Newell finds parallel to those made about Voodooism. In regard to that account given by De La Pare of his seeing a child sacrificed in a Voodoo gathering, Mr. Newell finds this said of the Waldensians, who were termed Vaudoises, "Alas! there is not a great shame that the infant or suckling should be roasted on a spit, and then all (the Vaudoises) with one accord make haste to eat it." Mr. Newell finds this quotation in a poem by Martin Le Franc written A.D. 1440, which is cited by M. Felix Bourquelot in an article entitled, "Les Vaudois du Quinzieme Siècle." Martin Le Franc is provost of the church of Lausanne. In his poem it is said that two interlocutors are represented as discussing the merits and demerits of woman. One, who is called "the Adversary", cites the wicked practices of the Vaudoises, or Faicturieres; that is "makers", or witches. Mr. Newell makes five other comparisons between accounts given of Voodooism, and accounts given by M. Felix Bourquelot in the above quoted article on the Waldensians (Vaudoises). The second comparison quotes Sir Spencer St. John in regard to his citing a

case where a victim to be sacrificed was disinterred after burial, and then quotes from Bourquelet a report concerning the arrest of an unnamed foreigner accused of "vauderie", sworn before Jean Robusteau, procureur of the commune of Dijon, August 18, 1452, in which the person confesses that she disinters many babies, which had been buried, in order to carry them to the assembly of her sect to roast and eat. In another comparison we might put Mr. Newell's quotations side by side. One is from Sir Spencer St. John, who wrote on Voodooism in Haiti; "Though the Haytians believe in the mythical 'loup garou', they also have the fullest faith in his counterpart among his fellow-countrymen. It is the loup garou who is employed by the Papa-Loi to secure a child for sacrifice, in case the neighborhood does not furnish a suitable subject, and they are supposed to hang about lonely houses at night, to carry off the children. I have often heard my young Haytian servants rush into my country-house, laughingly saying that they had seen a loup garou,- their laugh, however, tinged with a sort of dread. They have often said that these human monsters prowl about the house at night, and that nothing but the presence of my dogs kept them in respect. I have occasionally seen the object of their fear in an ill-looking negro around the gate, but the sight of my dogs was enough to induce him to move on. The negroes have fortunately an almost superstitious terror of dogs. There is no doubt that these Loup garous do carry off many children, not only for the priests, but for cannibals." From Bourquelet Mr. Newell quotes in regard to the Christian Vaudoises, "Tell us whether they the (Vaudoises) are various (Wehr-wolves) or luitens (goblins); whether they go on foot or sticks; whether they fly in the air like birds; whether they eat little children." Mr. Newell also points out a similarity in accounts by Sir Spencer St. John and Bourquelet as to descriptions given of the leaders of each sect in the matter of ornaments on their bodies. Then he quotes Saint Méry concerning the Haytian Voodoos, and Peter de Vaux Cernay with regard to the Christian Vaudoises. Finally he quotes St. John on the skill of the Voodoo priests in using herbs, then Bourquelet on the like skill of leaders in the Vaudoise sect. After these comparisons, Mr. Newell draws

this conclusion, "Considering that the Waldenses (Vaudoises), against whom charges so shocking were brought and believed, were a singularly pure people, I think it may safely be concluded that the accusations against their namesakes, the Vaudois, are equally imaginary." The accusations against the Voodooists, to which Mr. Newell refers are those of human sacrifice and cannibalism.

Robert T. Hill, an American geologist who wrote "Cuba and Porto Rico", is a disciple of Mr. Newell. He writes in the last mentioned work, "One who reads St. John's book, 'Hayti; or the Black Republic', will be filled with horror at the tales of cannibalism and savagery it recounts, and shudder at the thought of such deeds within gun shot of our country. Yet it is my calm conclusion, borne out by the testimony of others, that the writer of this book has committed the common mistake of adding to the actual facts of the African obi rites the imaginary French witch-lore known as vaudois (voodoo)." In the last word Mr. Hill refers to the Christian sect, the Waldensians. To support his contention, Mr. Hill offers the following, "In opposition to St. John's charge Mr. Bassett, the Haitian consul-general, wrote, 'I have lived in Haiti as United States minister for nine years, and there is just about as much cannibalism there as there is in the city of New Haven'. A doctor of divinity, a native of West India, wrote, 'From my ^{own} knowledge I can testify that the Voodoo worship and the snake dance are practiced in Haiti, but cannibalism, I am sure, is not a custom of the Haitians'. Mr. Preston, who for many years was dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, said: 'I was born in Haiti and spent about half of my life in that country, and I never saw any person who had seen anything there in the shape of cannibalism. I have seen persons who were known serpent-worshippers, but no such thing exists as voodooism'." The word voodooism is here used synonymously with cannibalism. Mr. Hill presents his final witness, when he says, "Mr. Whidden, the first minister of the United States to Haiti, believed that these reports were based on popular rumor, sometimes originating in private malice, and was of the opinion that, if the truth were ascertained, there would be found

no more cannibalism in Haiti than in Jamaica." Mr. Hill closes his case by saying that he is indebted to Mr. Newell for most of his information.

Mr. Newell calls for evidence when he states his real attitude toward Voodooism in these words, "It will be understood that the skepticism of the writer is based entirely on consideration of evidence.....whether cannibalism exists in Hayti is a question, not of presumption, but of testimony. Up to the present time, the nature of that testimony is such as to discredit the accusation. That intelligent and trustworthy persons thoroughly familiar with the island have been unable to discover any trace of cannibal or Voodooistic rites is in itself a very strong ground for believing that these have their seat only in the imagination of a credulous people, who are affected by ideas respecting witchcraft, in which remains of African belief strangely mingle with the mediaeval European superstitions derived from French immigrants." All testimony and evidence available shall be presented. Out of the evidence collected from writers and observers, there is one which Mr. Newell attempts to answer. The testimony will be given, then his answer, then other evidence will be presented.

In the New York American is the account of a girl named Claircine, whose sacrifice is first told by Sir Spencer St. John, given again by Judge Austin, and related by nearly every writer on Voodooism who believes in human sacrifice and cannibalism in Voodooism. According to the New York American, "Besides the human sacrifices which are offered to the Serpent God on the 'moon feasts', greater ones are offered on Easter, Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. The Moniteur Haytien, the official journal of the government, in describing one of these, relates that an educated Haytian named Congo Pelle, asked his sister, Jeanne, priestess of Voodoo to help him. It was settled between them that in the New Year rites a special sacrifice should be offered to the Serpent God to gain him his wish. The two had a sister, a woman partly white, convent educated, and a Christian. She had a daughter, Claircine, about twelve years old. On the 27th of December the mother was

lured to Port-au-Prince and during her absence Claircine had been hidden under the altar of a neighboring temple of the religion. On New Year's Eve a large party assembled at the house of the priestess, Jeanne. The papa-loi or high priest, then brought Claircine from the temple, where for four days she had been lying, bound beneath the altar. She was sacrificed." A trial was held and Jeanne Pelle, with many others, was convicted of the murder of the child, Claircine. Judge Austin gives the details as to the testimonies in the case, which caused conviction. He states the case thus, "There is a case on the court records of Haiti which proves beyond question the human sacrifice and the devouring of the victim's flesh as part of the ceremony attendant upon winning the favor of the Voodoo snake god. The case was tried before Judge Lallemand in the Criminal Tribunal of Port-au-Prince and resulted, after a two days' session, in the conviction of four men and four women." In considering this case Mr. Newell says, "What shall be said....of the celebrated case of Jeanne Pellé, who was executed, together with eight accomplices at Port-au-Prince, February 13, 1864, for partaking of the flesh of her murdered niece, Claircine, butchered in order to perform a Vaudeux rite? It may be answered, that the parallel with mediaeval conceptions.....holds in this respect also. The prisoners were convicted of sorcery as well as murder, and their confessions extracted by torture. Sir Spencer St. John, who was present at the trial, writes, 'I can never forget the manner in which the youngest female prisoner turned to the public prosecutor and said: "Yes, I did confess what you assert, but remember how cruelly I was beaten before I said a word." And it was well known that all the prisoners had at first refused to speak, thinking that the Vaudeux would protect them, and it required the frequent application of the club to drive this belief out of their heads.' That prisoners are tortured to make them confess is known to be a common practice in Hayti." Mr. Newell has shown that people were tortured into confessing things detrimental to the Christian Vaudoises, which were not true, and hence he draws the conclusion that the witnesses in the Claircine case were made to confess lies, because of fear of torture. Sir Spencer St. John interprets the

torture as removing from the witnesses' minds any ideas about the charms of Voodooism protecting them as they endeavored to shield Voodooism, in that after torture they saw the charms did not protect them, so they came out and told the truth about Voodooism. Mr. Newell thinks they testified what the court wanted in order to escape the blows of the club, thus lying to save their "own skins". One interpretation of the testimony seems as reasonable as the other.

With regard to the Voodoo temple in which Claircine was sacrificed, Mr. Newell has another criticism to offer when he writes, "Temples of the Vaudoux are affirmed to exist everywhere in Hayti, but the accounts given of them do not inspire confidence, inasmuch as they appear to be only local chapels or oratories of the Catholic Church, which are popularly imagined to be used as meeting-places by the fabulous sect." The latter criticism may be valid, but most accounts of Voodooism tell that the sect holds its gatherings either in some secret place in the mountains of the West Indies, or in some shed, or secluded spot.

A Naval Board of Inquiry made an investigation, and a report of it was published in the New York American. The article in the American brings forth this testimony to substantiate its claim of human sacrifice and cannibalism in the West Indies, "The American authorities arrested a High Priest of Voodooism named Cadeus Bellegarde, a full-blooded negro. According to the records of the investigating commission there was not the least doubt that Bellegarde was a cannibal and that he had officiated at scores of human sacrifices. It was further testified that he was the author of a code of rules for the ceremonial eating of white people. Having failed to get adequate evidence against him on the broad charge of cannibalism, so great was the fear of him among the natives, the Americans confined themselves to a single accusation which they knew they were able to prove. This was that on a certain occasion he had sacrificed three negro children, and had taken a part in the eating of them. Twenty-odd witnesses - all of them natives, of course, contributed the details. The affair was a typical Voodoo ceremony, the sacrifices being made in a 'sacred shed'.

After lighting a fire and going through certain 'magical' performances, Bellegarde brought out the children - two boys and one girl, seven or eight years old - and, taking them by the feet, one after another, put their throats. The cannibal rites followed. The ceremony wound up in the usual manner, with dancing and a drunken orgy. An item of evidence against Bellegarde at his trial was a 'sea bag' full of children's bones which Lieutenant Cukela and a couple of marines had dug up from the 'devil's cemetery' beneath the sacred Voodoo tree near the shed aforementioned. In the course of his trial, when permitted to speak in his own defence, Bellegarde declared that, if condemned to death, he would come back in the form of a crocodile, or in the shape of a swarm of mosquitoes, and devour his judges!" One may argue that the Naval Inquiry Board is prejudiced against the natives, and would show them in a bad light in order to keep their military rule over them, and that a conservative paper like the New York American favors white military rule over the natives, because such a policy protects Wall Street, or any Hearst interests in the islands. Such an argument though could hardly invalidate testimony taken in a court, which is a matter of record.

It is well that we should consider the testimony of a man like James A. Freude, who was at the time of his writing a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. He says in the preface of his book entitled, "The English in the West Indies", "I visited the West India Islands in order to increase my acquaintance with the condition of the British Colonies. I have related what I saw and what I heard, with the general impressions which I was led to form." This man had no prejudice against the negro and he was emancipated from theological orthodoxy. He was familiar with Higher Criticism and all the historical sciences and accepted their conclusions. He does not show his axe if he has one to grind. He went to the islands with an open mind, but with a tendency to deny human sacrifice stories. Perhaps it would be better to let him speak for himself. Referring to the reports of Sir Spencer St. John, he said, "That a man in the position of a British resident should have ventured on a statement which, if untrue, would be ruinous to himself, appeared in a

high degree improbable. Yet one had to set one incredibility against another. Notwithstanding the character of the evidence, when I went out to the West Indies I was still unbelieving. I could not bring myself to credit that in an island nominally Catholic, where the French language was spoken, and there were cathedrals and churches and priests and missionaries, so horrid a revival of devil-worship could have been really possible. All the inquiries which I had been able to make, from American and other officers who had been in Hayti, confirmed Sir S. St. John's story. I had hardly found a person who was in doubt of it. I was perplexed and uncertain when the Chief Justice".....

(of Barbados, - a negro of pure blood who has risen to eminence by his own talent and character)... "opened the subject and asked me what I thought. Had I been convinced I should have turned the conversation, but I was not convinced and I was not afraid to say so. I reminded him of the universal conviction through Europe that the Jews were habitually guilty of sacrificing children also. There had been detailed instances. Alleged offenders had been brought before the courts of justice at any time for the last six hundred years. Witnesses had been found to swear to facts which had been accepted as conclusive. Wretched creatures in Henry III's time had been dragged by the dozens at horses' tails through the streets of London, broken on the wheel, or torn to pieces by infuriated mobs. Even within the last two years, the same accusation had been brought forward in Russia and Germany, and had been established apparently by adequate proof. So far as popular conviction of the guilt of the Jews was evidence against them, nothing could be stronger; and no charge could be without foundation on ordinary principles of evidence which revived so often and in so many places. And yet many persons, I said, and myself among them, believed that although the accusers were perfectly sincere, the guilt of the Jews was from end to end an hallucination of hatred. I had looked into the particulars of some of the trials. They were like the trials for witchcraft. The belief had created the fact, and accusation itself was evidence. I was prepared to find these stories of child murder in Hayti were bred similarly of anti-negro prejudice. Had the Chief Justice

caught at my suggestion with any eagerness I would have suspected it myself. His grave diffidence and continued hesitation in offering an opinion confirmed me in my own. I told him that I was going to Hayti to learn what I could on the spot. I could not expect that I, on a flying visit, could see deeper into the truth than Sir Spencer St. John had seen, but at least I should not take with me, a mind already made up, and I was not given to credulity. He took leave of me with expression of passionate anxiety that it might be found possible to remove so black a stain from his unfortunate race." I might cite one paragraph from Mr. Froude, which shows his reactions to what he found "on the spot". He writes, "Hayti has thus for nearly a century been a black independent republic. The negro race have been to themselves and have not been interfered with. They were equipped when they started on their career of freedom with the Catholic religion, a civilized tongue, European laws and manners, and the knowledge of various arts and occupations which they had learned while they were slaves. They still speak French; they are nominally Catholics still; and the tags and rags of the gold lace of French civilization continue to cling about their institutions. But in the heart of them has revived the old idolatry of the Gold Coast, and in the villages of the interior, where they are out of sight and can follow their instincts, they sacrifice children in the serpent's honour after the manner of their forefathers." He says that Haytians cry out with a degree of anger against the account of Sir Spencer St. John, which he interprets as the surest evidence of its truth. Again he writes, "Immorality is so universal that it almost ceases to be a fault, for a fault implies an exception, and in Hayti it is the rule... but behind the immorality, behind the religiosity, there lies active and alive the horrible revival of West African superstitions; the serpent worship, and the child sacrifice, and the cannibalism. There is no room to doubt it. A missionary assured me that an instance of it occurred only a year ago within his own personal knowledge. The facts are notorious; a full account was published in one of the local newspapers, and the only result was that the president imprisoned the editor for exposing

his country. A few years ago persons guilty of these infamies were tried and punished; now they are left alone, because to prosecute and convict them would be to acknowledge the truth of the indictment."

There are three interpretations, which may be given to human sacrifices in Voodooism in the West Indies. The first is that there are human sacrifices in Voodooism just as there have been in almost all early forms of religion. The opposite interpretation would be that there have not been, and are not now, any human sacrifices in Voodooism, and all reports of such are, like the stories about Jews' sacrificing Christian babies, myths. A third possibility was suggested by Dr. Park of the University of Chicago. According to this suggestion there may not have been any human sacrifices in Voodooism, but the charges against them to this effect may have suggested such acts to the Voodooists. McDougall in his book, "Social Psychology" says, "...the child's idea of his self early comes to be the idea, not merely of his body and of certain bodily and mental capacities, but also of a system of relations between his self and other selves.....he gets his idea of his self in large part by accepting the ideas of himself that he finds expressed by those about him. The process is well illustrated by the case of the unfortunate child who is constantly scolded and told that he is a naughty boy. Under these conditions the normal child very soon accepts these oft-repeated suggestions, learns to regard himself as a naughty boy, and plays the part thus assigned to him." The writer knows the case of a young man, who thought that he was abnormal, because the members of his family had told him from the beginning of his youth that he was "crazy". He came to think of himself as "crazy", but in spite of his being "crazy", he was determined to get a college education. After leaving home to go to college, he came in contact with outsiders, who began to appreciate his talent, then the person began to get rid of the notion that he was "crazy". But when he is in personal contact with his family today, he acts more abnormal than when away from his people. We know in the days of witchcraft in New England, many persons came to think that they were possessed with witches, because everyone said that they were. A sect may be

different from all the sects around it, and all the others may regard this one as being in league with the devil. The one sect may come to feel that it is possessed by the devil, but no matter, it will persist in worshipping the devil. Mr. Newell himself gives an account of a Christian sect, which was conscious of worshipping the devil. He writes, "According to the confession of sorcerers tried at Logroño, Spain, in 1610, the great festivals of their sect were presided over by the devil in person, under the form of a black man crowned with small horns, and having a large horn on the forehead, which gave light to the assembly. At his right hand stood the king and queen of the order. The ceremonies consisted of adoration, confession, and penance, inflicted by the hand of the fiend. Then followed a diabolical parody of the mass, with an exhortation, in which Satan inculcated fidelity, and promised a better paradise. The offertory was taken up in a basin...and the meeting which could not be prolonged beyond cock-crow, ended in a general debauch." A sect, which sees that it is anti-social comes to feel itself as diabolical, when its social environment so speaks of it. Even Unitarians, who are emancipated from any beliefs in devils or Satan, come to feel there is something unique about their sect in communities which are very conservative in theology, and yet the Unitarians in the orthodox community rather enjoy their ostracism and talk much about it. In the orthodox communities the Unitarian church appears diabolical to the others, and I find it makes the Unitarians more persistent in holding on to their "diabolical" teachings. Some Unitarians enjoy the appellation. Then if the Voodooists were charged with sacrificing babies, and called diabolical, as no one doubts they have been so designated, would it not be in keeping with human behavior for them to regard themselves as diabolical, to sacrifice babies, and enjoy their diabolicalism? This would argue for human sacrifices in Voodooism in the West Indies.

There may be some truth in all three interpretations about human sacrifice in Voodooism. It seems true, as we shall see in considering human sacrifice in Africa, that the forefathers of the negroes of the West Indies indulged in human sacrifices in Africa, according to the testimony of eye-wit-

nesses, and this testimony is given in a descriptive way along with other customs, with no effort to point out how hideous it may be. It may be this rite was transferred to the West Indies by the slaves, as writers testify it was. From one or more sacrifices, which may have occurred, there may have come from the imagination many more, so that many of them are, as Mr. Newell contends holds true for all, just like the myth about Jews' sacrificing Christian babies. The multiplication of cases of sacrifices in imagination may have intensified the suggestion in the devotees, so that in time the rite came to be made the most prominent part of the Voodoo ceremony, coming at the end of the dance, as the climax, or benediction of the ceremony.

If there were no human sacrifices in the Voodoo religion of the West Indies, the Voodoo religion might well have released the feelings of the worshippers, and thus have inhibited restlessness, and the uprising in Haiti of the Voodoo worshippers against their masters. With no human sacrifices, the negroes would have been accommodated to their servile condition by their religion just as in the case of the revival type of religion and the negroes in the United States. But the human sacrifice in the Voodoo religion in Haiti would have made its appeal to, and would have intensified, the brutal combative impulse in the human nature in the negroes. The very act of human sacrifice would have agitated the negroes to spill blood, kill, fight, and would have inhibited them from being docile and placid. The Voodoo type of religion without human sacrifice in it would have kept the negroes docile and placid, and prevented them from being restless. But the negroes in Haiti were restless, unaccommodated to their servile condition, and fought for freedom. These facts would argue for human sacrifice in Voodooism in Haiti. Then the antagonism that existed in the West Indies between Christianity and Voodooism would have aided bloody sacrifices, and this antagonism would no doubt cause priests to spread untrue things about Voodooism. In the West Indies no white men took part in the Voodoo ceremonies. Voodooism was carried on in secret, the negroes' masters being kept ignorant of the Voodoo gatherings. If the masters had attended the meetings they would have

seen their valuable property, chattel slaves, being sacrificed, and would have prevented such a rite. This the Voodooists knew in the West Indies and no white people attended Voodoo meetings there. Now in Louisiana Voodooists were accommodated to slavery, assimilated Christianity with their religion, and admitted white people to their ceremonies, and there was no rite of human sacrifice in the Voodoo gatherings in Louisiana. These facts argue also for human sacrifice in Voodooism in the West Indies. In the Voodooism in the Southern part of the United States the queen played a more prominent part than the king, while in the West Indies the king, or papa-loi, was the dominant character. Now in the primitive society man was the hunter and warrior, while the women had the care of children and did the work. The parental instinct with its tender emotion has always been stronger in woman than in man, and especially is this true in primitive society. The fact that the male played the leading role in Voodooism in the West Indies, and the female was the prominent person in Voodooism in Louisiana, where there was no rite of human sacrifice, argues again for human sacrifice in the West Indies. If the hunting and warring pattern did not manifest itself in Voodooism in the West Indies in the human sacrifice, then why did not woman play as prominent a part in Voodooism in the West Indies as she did in the United States? There is one report of human sacrifice in Voodooism in Louisiana, and that we shall consider now.

Judge Henry Austin summarizes that one report of human sacrifice in Louisiana in these words, "There came to light a singular series of murders in Louisiana....There in the rice belt, the negroes had joined what was described in newspaper despatches simply as the 'Sacrifice Sect'. To one who knows the history of Haitian Voodooism there is an unmistakable significance in this term. Yet the Southern newspaper correspondents seemed to think it remarkably strange that within a year seven negro families belonging to this sect had been murdered - a total of thirty persons. In each case the attempt was evidently made to kill five persons at once, all of them members of the same family. Another peculiar suggestive feature, in view of Haytian Voodooism,

was that the mysterious murderers made an effort to catch all the blood of their victims in a pail. To be sure, the throats were not cut as in the Haitian rites, but the victims were brained with an axe as they slept in their beds." This outburst of murder appears to be nothing but a vengeance wreaked on some one family, just as in a Kentucky feud, and not part of a Voodoo ceremony. The Italian Mafia order in New Orleans appears to be more of a "Sacrifice Sect" than any organization that the negroes had in Louisiana. The Mafia of New Orleans have no connection with religion. Human sacrifice is a fixed custom in a sect, and not something that takes its rise and fall within one year. If this one reported instance was a real human sacrifice in the Voodoo religion in Louisiana, then it must have been incited by negroes from the West Indies, for it has no precedent in Louisiana. It was not a fixed part of the Voodoo ceremony of Louisiana. Voodooism in Louisiana was not antagonistic to Christianity; it admitted white people to its meetings; it afforded an Evangelical revival type of religion to negroes, who were nominally Roman Catholics, and thus kept down restlessness among the Voodooists, therefore, there was nothing to appeal to the combative impulse in the Negro in Louisiana, so he did not rise against his master, either during slavery or afterwards. Now as we have seen, Voodooism in the West Indies, which contained worshippers fresh from Africa or descendants of those from Africa, has had to fight for its existence on its enemy's soil, Christendom, which enemy has looked upon Voodooism as diabolical from its inception. Human sacrifice in the Voodooism of the West Indies was, and is, a natural thing. Those, who speak of it as hideous, will never end it by sending American Marines with force to fight it. Such a procedure will intensify it, appealing more and more to the combative impulse in the natives and thus intensifying their thirst for blood. Something has to take root within the native to bring him above his form of religion, just what it took to bring the rest of the world above the same form, and that is progress in education. Those who would shatter any idea of human sacrifice in Voodooism are reacting against those who think it awful, and their defense is always that the Voo-

dooists are no worse than other people, and in that contention they stand on empirical ground. Human sacrifice has been in every form of religion that goes back to primitive times, and what it took to eradicate it in other religions will have to be employed in the West Indies. We need to send an educator in the place of every Marine in the West Indies.

Those who argue for human sacrifice in Voodooism need not use such harsh language in speaking of it, for it ^{is} nothing peculiar to Voodooism. Those who react and say there has never been and is not now any human sacrifice in Voodooism, must remember that such a rite has been in other religions and there is no reason why Voodooism should be different from others in this respect, especially when its worshippers trace their lineage back to Africa.

Sir R. F. Burton in his work, "A Mission to Gelele King of Dahome", writes in regard to human sacrifice on the west coast of Africa, "But although the Dahoman Customs have been greatly exaggerated and admit some little palliation, the annual destruction of human life is terribly great. However trivial an action is done by the King, such as inventing a new drum, being visited by a white man, or even removing from one place to another, it must be dutifully reported by some male or female messenger to the paternal ghost. I can hardly rate the slaughter at less than 500, in average years of the annual Customs, and at less than 1000 during the year of the Grand Customs. At exceptional occasions, especially of the King's illness, many are slain on the suspicion of witchcraft, which here, as everywhere in Africa, is a capital offense." Gun, or Gu is the god Ogun of Abeokuta, to whom human sacrifices are offered, but in Dahomey this god has not this honor. Human sacrifice is a religious thing on the west coast of Africa, whence came West Indian slaves, because it is upheld by the priests. According to Sir R. F. Burton, "It is evident, that to abolish human sacrifice here is to abolish Dahome. The practice originates from filial piety, it is sanctioned by long use and custom, and it is strenuously upheld by a powerful and interested priesthood." In the "Source Book for Social Origins" by Thomas is this statement, "In Dahomy, where a large population considerably organized

exists, the love for bloodshed leads to frequent horrible sacrifices." The negro race is not the only race that has indulged in human sacrifice, and in this respect it is no worse than other peoples. ~~Plutarch tells us on the authority of Manetho about the times in Egypt when men, called Typhonians were burned alive and their ashes were disposed of by winnowing and scattering them.~~

In ancient Greece there were human sacrifices. The human scape-goats of the Greeks were called Pharmakoi. Porphyry gives an account of the annual custom of human sacrifice to Kronos in Athens. The human beings known as Pharmakoi were sacrificed to purify the city, and as Miss Harrison, my authority for this information about Greece, says, "Moreover nearly every civilized state to this day offers 'human sacrifice' in the shape of the criminals it executes." These human sacrifices of the Pharmakoi were vicarious sacrifices, to purify the state just as the theory is where capital punishment is in vogue that the killing of the criminal purifies the state. In Evangelical Christianity it is the human sacrifice of Jesus that purifies the individual and society. Miss Harrison says that to be told that these things went on in the fifth century B.C. shocks our preconceived notions of what the Athenian of that time would be likely to do or suffer. The Pharmakos was sacrificed to deity to appease his wrath for some pestilence or famine he sent on the city.

There was human sacrifice among the early Semites in their Foundation Rites. Mr. R.A.S. Macalister in the second volume of his work, "The Excavation of Gezer" gives an account of this sacrifice. I quote him at length, "We need not waste space in enumerating cases, which might be collected the whole world over, of a sacrifice being offered at the foundation of a building. Even in such incongruous connexions as the wild orgies of the Aztec temples and the mission settlement on the peaceful island of Iona it has been thought that a human life was necessary to guard the building or its future inmates from the malignity of the unseen world of spirits. In the Palestine of the present day a sacrifice is still offered when any important building is to be erected though an animal of course takes the place of the human victim. The

story of Hiel the Bethelite and his rebuilding of Jerico (I Kings XVI:34) is the locus classicus in the Old Testament for the rite in ancient Palestine. That the rite was observed however, several striking examples found in the excavation testify. The most remarkable was the skeleton of a woman of advanced age, deposited in a hollow left for the purpose in the corner of the building.....Possibly she was accepted as a victim because she was useless to the community. The same was perhaps the case with the man buried under the floor in the room. Another remarkable deposit is....two adult skeletons lying on the right side so that the back of one turned towards the other. One was certainly a male skeleton, the other was too much perished to be certain of its sex. Over all was laid part of the skeleton of a youth about eighteen years of age. The youth had been cut in two at the waist, and only the upper part of the body had been deposited.....Adult or adolescent victims were, however, rare in comparison with the number of infants or very young children, whose remains were found under the corners of the houses. Such deposits were found in all the Semitic strata. They were not actually unknown, but were very rare, in the Hellenistic stratum." "I obtained a medical opinion on the question whether these bones were those of stillborn children, or whether they had actually lived an independent life. The verdict was that though evidently very young, the children had probably not been still-born. This was important, for it might otherwise be supposed that we had merely a custom analogous to that of the modern Egyptian fellahin, who bury still born infants and untimely births in the corners of the rooms of their houses. On the contrary, the Egyptian custom is more probably to be regarded as a reminiscence of the ancient rite which required a life to secure the luck of the house."

The sacrifice of babies to the god Moloch, has always seemed horrible to Christians, but because the Old Testament represents a reaction to this and other human sacrifices, the conservative Christian has been blinded to the fact that the Hebrews also sacrificed their babies. The fact that the Old Testament writers speak in aggressive language to the Hebrews against

human sacrifices is a sign that such was practised. II Kings XXIII:10, Jeremiah VII:31 and Micah VI:7 are reflections on the sacrifice of first born children. The story of Abraham's taking Isaac to offer him to God, but offering instead an animal nearby, marks the transition in the Hebrew religion from human to animal sacrifice.

The reasons that Christianity did not indulge in human sacrifices are: first, at the advent of Christianity human sacrifice was not in the mores, where Christianity had its birth; secondly, the death of Jesus came to take the place of all sacrifices, animal or human. The atonement dogma represents a human sacrifice. The wrath of God could not be appeased until a human being of the type of Christ was sacrificed to him. Human sacrifice is the fundamental principle in orthodox Christianity.

In consideration of the prevalence of human sacrifice in Africa, and in those streams of religion, which flowed together into Christianity and made the death of its founder the culmination of human sacrifice, or any physical sacrifice, it seems that people brought into Christendom whose ancestors go back to Africa, would not only carry on human sacrifices, but would not be considered as horrible people by others whose religion is a synthesis of Semitic and Hellenic religions.

An interpretation of human sacrifice will show why it has prevailed, and advance a final argument for its prevalence in the West Indies among Voodooists. The primitive man always wanted the favor of his gods, and he wanted power and influence from him. What he has valued the highest, he believes his god or gods value the same. In the sacrifice of food, it is the food the man likes best that he thinks the gods would appreciate most. To get the favor of the gods it was natural that one thought that he must give to the gods what he, the man himself, desired most, hence the word "sacrifice". Man valued himself better than any other living thing, so the highest sacrifice that he could make to his gods was a human one. The first born child has always been the child first, if not most, appreciated by the parents, hence the gods would desire it more than the others. Then the religious interpretation of the eating of

the sacrifice , cannibalism, as it is called, adds another argument to human sacrifice in Voodooism. In early days in the communal meal, the eaters thought that they ate their god at one time. This eating of the God was to become godlike, that is get those characteristics the devotees assigned to the god. Like produces like, and the eating of anything gives its characteristics to the person eating it. This theory has been developed in Christianity in the mass. Here the people eat the god, and by the eating of the god they take into them his moral and spiritual nature.

As it was brought out before the Naval Commission investigating Voodooism in the West Indies, "The worshippers of Voodoo believe that in devouring a human sacrifice they take in something of the power of the god which has accepted that sacrifice. With this portion of the divinity they also acquire, they believe, certain desirable qualities of the victims themselves. When children are eaten, with each mouthful they absorb the spirit of youth that was in the child, thus adding years to their lives. Particularly prized is a white sacrifice. The dominant qualities of the white man are recognized. Followers of Voodooism and kindred faiths believe that these qualities dwell in their bodies and that therefore when they are eaten the desirable qualities are eaten also..... They have even marked out where these desirable qualities dwell. In the heart lives courage, they believe; hence eating the heart gives the eater the courage that infused it. By eating the liver they acquire sagacity and cunning, as well as immunity to edged weapons. The Voodoo worshippers also believe that if a white man's brains be rubbed on the sights of a rifle it will impart to the gun a power to see with accuracy; make it indeed an unfailing weapon." In the same investigation, where some natives were questioned on the charge of banqueting on some aviators, it was brought out, "To the superstitious blacks it had seemed that it was some power in the men themselves rather than in the machine that had made them able to fly through the air. Even though, dimly, they realized what machines were and had heard of the aeroplane, still they could only think that it was the men who had the power of flying like the bird--or the bat. And there was something in the

planes of the flying machine that reminded them of the bat's wings. In the boat that flew, then, were the men who made it fly -- the men whose bodies lifted it and made it go. If these men, or even one of them, could be captured and eaten, would not all those who partook of the flesh be able to fly? Certainly they would!" It is reported that not all Voodooists in Haiti practice cannibalism, but they do not abstain from it for intellectual reasons for according to the above writer, "They are bitterly afraid of those who practice it, since although they themselves shrink from it they believe its brutality gives its practitioners vastly increased power for evil." The reported cannibalism of the West Indies is not prompted by either the motive of necessity, or desire for food, or revenge, or for disciplinary motive. According to the reports it is a religious rite. Its origin may be rooted in one or more ^{of the} above mentioned motives, but today, it is reported to be only a religious rite, such a rite as the mass is in the Catholic church. In the mass the flesh of Jesus is eaten, because it gives a supernatural potency. Then why should the Voodooists be condemned if they have the rite, when Christians have the same thing in another form? Why should those, who believe the Voodooists practice it, consider it awful, and want to use physical force to eradicate it from the West Indies? Education, and not physical force, is the only means for emancipating any people from a religious rite which may be anti-social.

The subject calls for more study than I have been able to make, and I hope to do further study for a thesis for a Ph.D. degree, such as will necessitate a trip to the West Indies.

This paper I have written is the first attempt I have seen where one has endeavored to bring together in a kind of synthesis the numerous articles written in magazines, newspapers, encyclopedias, and books on Voodooism together with a bibliography of ^{the} same. I am only pioneering in a field that needs more investigation. All scholars in the field of History of Religions have failed to take cognizance of Voodooism. Voodooism really belongs to The Introduction to the History of Religions, or to the field of Religious Origins, which according to Durkheim and his disciples is the field of Social Origins. Yet Voodooism is treated neither in works on the Introduction to the History of Religions, nor in books dealing with Sociology. We find shamanistic cults in Africa, Mexico and other places treated in the above mentioned fields, but nothing about Voodooism. This subject has been left to biased writers. The subject has in a way entered into American politics, and all articles in conservative newspapers have been pictured portraying the Voodooists as the horrible rulers of the West Indies, which can only be held in check by the presence of a military force. On the other hand, those in this country who favor the withdrawal of the United States Marines from the West Indies, like the Nation, agree with Mr. W.W. Newell that Voodooism is a product of popular imagination. This very disagreement calls for scientific study.

The subject calls for more study than these feeble efforts, and I hope to do further study for a thesis for a Ph.D. degree, such as will necessitate a trip to the West Indies.

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