

End Notes

1. I am deliberately using 'myth' in an extremely broad sense. I do not think it is necessary for me to offer a definition, and it must suffice if I indicate that I do *not* mean that the writers discussed merely held false ideas about the Aborigines (although this was quite often the case). For a discussion of some definitions and theories of myth with specific reference to the Aborigines, see Hiatt (1975).
2. We need not be detained by an appraisal of the currently popular theory which states that the mythology of primitive man serves to mediate the irreconcilable opposition of nature and culture. What is more relevant here is that the most glamorous exponent of this theory has said of one of his main works that 'it would not be wrong to consider this book itself as a myth: it is, as it were, the myth of mythology' (C. Lévi-Strauss, 1964, p. 12). Like many western scholars before him, Lévi-Strauss has sought to resolve the 'opposition' of nature and culture by referring the problem to the so-called primitives, although of course, Lévi-Strauss differs in that, whereas earlier authors saw 'natural man' as the solution to cultural problems, he sees the 'savage mind' itself concerned with finding a solution.
3. W.C. Smith (1962, p. 48f.) 'My own suggestion is that the word, and the concepts should be dropped — at least in all but the ... personalist, sense. This is on the grounds not merely that it would be helpful to do so; but, more strongly, that it is misleading to retain them. I suggest that the term "religion" is confusing, unnecessary, and distorting ... I have become strongly convinced that the vitality of personal faith, on the one hand, and, on the other hand (quite separately), progress in understanding — even at the academic level — of the traditions of other people throughout history and throughout the world, are both seriously blocked by our attempt to conceptualize what is involved in each case in terms of (a) religion.'
4. Mulvaney's unrepresentative choice of examples has already been criticized by H.H. Nelson (1965, pp. 57-60ff.). By 'misquotation' I refer to the following passage: 'It was a missionary who described the Tasmanians as living in the "lowest stage of degradation" and lacking "all moral views and impressions ... every idea bearing on our origin and destination as rational beings seems to have been erased from their breasts"'. (D.J. Mulvaney, 1958, p. 141). In this form, the words of the Rev. T. Dove hardly sound like an argument in support of the view that the Aborigines 'claim no inconsiderable share of mental powers and activity' (1842, p. 249). In context, what Dove is saying is that some people view the Tasmanians as representative of the lowest form of human degradation, and if we 'only' look at their morality, it 'seems' as though they lack the quality of 'rational beings', but if we look at their skill in subsistence, hunting, etc., then, in fact, the Aborigines display considerable mental ability. The difference between Mulvaney's quote from Dove and Dove's full passage is, as we shall see, very important. See also J.D. Bollen (1977).
5. cf. Stanner (1965, pp. 207-213ff.). Stanner hints he suspects that the idea there could be no 'religion' without a God, church and a moral code, was due to the churches' struggle with ritualism in the period from 1850-1920 (p. 209). I think it is evident my own interpretation sees the roots of the problem going further back to eighteenth-century Deistical thought.

6. G.W. Stocking (1973, pp. c-cv ff. and 1968, p.7f., p. 111f. and p. 302f.) also adapts Kuhn's ideas to the history of anthropology. However, we must heed Stocking's warning when he reminds us that 'taken in its "strict" sense [or senses], the paradigm concept is probably not generally applicable to the social sciences, and certainly not to pre-Darwinian anthropology' (1973, p. ci, n. 149). However Stock does use 'paradigm' for pre-Darwinian anthropological models. While I have no *a priori* objection to Stocking's modification of Kuhn's ideas, I have found it more useful to try to remain closer to his original meaning (though I suspect Kuhn would dislike referring to any anthropological model as a 'paradigm'). To my mind, the idea of 'social evolution' was the first anthropological paradigm. 'Monogenism' and 'polygenism' never rose to a position of unquestioned acceptance necessary to permit the growth of day-to-day 'normal science'. On the applicability of Kuhn's thesis to the social sciences see the preface to R.W. Friedrichs (1970).
7. Two interesting accounts of Aboriginal Supreme Beings which were not influential, and are thus not discussed, are by P.E. Strzelecki (1845, p. 339) and E. Parker quoted in J.H. Braim (1846, p. 243f.).
8. There has been considerable overstatement of this point. Tylor said 'the great difficulty is to disentangle the small part of art and custom which any people may have invented or adapted for themselves, from the large part which has been acquired by adopting from foreigners whatever was seen to suit their own circumstances' (1896, p. ix). We will see in chapter five that Tylor insists that the Aboriginal 'High-Gods' were borrowed, and not independently invented.
9. P. Munz (1973, p. 2), 'Frazer had remarked that if the story of Christ is so familiar to the practices and beliefs of primitive pagan religions, there cannot be much truth in it. Unbeknown to him, this observation can be stood on its head. If the story of Christ, one might rejoice, is so similar to the practices of ancient and primitive religions, it must of necessity enshrine a profound truth.'
10. *On The Origin of Civilization* has three chapters entitled 'Religion'. The first (chapter V) discusses 'atheism' and 'fetishism', and the second (chapter VI) covers 'totemism'. In these chapters he gives copious illustrations to show that the Aborigines have religious manifestations which are (while perhaps only partially developed) capable of filling each of these categories. It is only in the third chapter on religion (chapter VII), wherein he makes a more rigid survey of all the stages from 'atheism' to 'monotheism', that he only mentions the Aborigines in the section on 'atheism'. As we shall see he does have a rationale for this. Nonetheless, this unnatural division of his ethnological evidence leaves the reader with an uneasy feeling.
11. It is a curious fact that Lang (who said Ridley 'knows, perhaps, more of their language, and customs, and institutions, than any other person living' (1861, p. 381)) ignores the statement by Ridley (which appears in an appendix to Lang's own book) that the Aborigines have a creator 'they speak of ... by the name "Baiaime" and those who have learned that "God" is the name by which we speak of the creator, say that "Baiaime" is God' (in *ibid.*, p. 445).
12. Armand de Quatrefages put forward an argument not unlike Tylor's in a direct attack on Lubbock. In his *The Human Species* (1877) he defined religion as a belief in spiritual beings superior to and influencing man, and a belief in a future life. He accuses Lubbock of choosing to recognize only those writers who support his views. De Quatrefages then refers to Salvado, Dawson, Wilkes and Stanbridge, and concludes, 'in different parts of New Holland, we everywhere observe a similar foundation in the beliefs, which well deserve to be termed *religious*' (*ibid.*, p. 486f.).
13. One common criticism levelled at early anthropologists was that they failed to see societies as integrated systems. I find it hard to imagine how they could have done this, at least in regard to religion. The quality of the ethnological data would

not have allowed such analysis. Thus Morgan, who was concerned with structural relationships between kinship and society (cf. M. Fortes, 1965, pp. 10-14ff.) shunned the subject of religion. 'The growth of religious ideas' he said, 'is environed with such intrinsic difficulties that it may never receive a perfectly satisfactory exposition. Religion deals so largely with the imaginative and emotional nature, and consequently with such uncertain elements of knowledge, that all primitive religions are grotesque and to some extent unintelligible' (L.H. Morgan, 1877, p. 5).

14. Each of the three authors quoted is a likely candidate, and it is certainly not indisputable that Tylor invented the theory. In fact, Tylor and Spencer entered a heated debate over this very issue (E.B. Tylor and H. Spencer, 1877). Spencer claims elsewhere that Lubbock originated the theory (1876, p. 182). This seems the least likely solution, and I doubt if Spencer believed it himself. If he did, he surely would have mentioned it when Tylor accused him of plagiarism. I cannot review Spencer's and Tylor's respective arguments here, and I must merely state that it is my opinion that Tylor seemed to have the better case. If this is so, then the theory was first published in Tylor's article *The Religion of Savages* (1866).
15. For what it might be worth, A. Lang says that he gathered from a brief conversation with M'Lennan that his theory of the origin of totemism was not unlike Lang's own theory (1902, p. 356f.).
16. Fison is only included because of his association with Howitt. He had no real first-hand experience of Aborigines, nor did he greatly contribute to our understanding of Aboriginal religion.
17. I hope my arguments here are not confused with those of I.C. Jarvie (1964). Jarvie admires Frazerian theories, but ignores his facts. I favour the reverse opinion. Jarvie would like to return to the old comparative methodology of the evolutionists. I think this is futile and unrealistic. I find myself in agreement with E. Leach (1965, p. 24f.) who says that Jarvie understands neither Malinowski whom he criticizes, nor Frazer whom he admires, nor, in the final analysis, Popper, on whose philosophical theories the book is supposedly based.
18. This is a difficult question to answer. J.Z. Smith (1973) has fairly convincingly undermined Frazer's facts concerning 'the golden bough' itself. On the other hand we might expect that his Australian Aboriginal evidence might be firmer, since Spencer usually made pre-publication checks of these works. Leach (1961, pp. 375-377ff.) has argued that Frazer had totally twisted W.E. Roth's statements about conception to make them imply the Aborigines were ignorant of the relationship between sexual intercourse and childbirth. Spiro (1966, p. 110f.) has criticized Leach on this account, and has argued that Frazer was quite correct in his interpretation. Since then, Leach (1966) has re-affirmed his position. The question of the Aboriginal ignorance of physiological paternity will be examined briefly in the next two chapters, but it is still far too controversial a matter for me to be able to treat it briefly here. This alone might make Frazer's 'error' excusable. I think Frazer was faithfully summarizing Roth's findings, however, and even Leach has realized Roth 'concluded that his informants were ignorant of any causal connection between copulation and pregnancy' (ibid., p. 80). If Frazer was wrong it was because Roth was wrong.
19. In 1887 Frazer published a pamphlet entitled *Questions on the Manners, Customs, Religions, Superstitions, etc., of Uncivilized or Semi-Civilized Peoples* revised and enlarged in 1907 as *Questions on the Customs, Beliefs and Languages of Savages*.
20. Thus E. Crawley said 'there is only one set of aborigines in the world, namely, the Central Australians, to whom anthropology denies a religion' (1905, p. 179).
21. R.M. Berndt (1974, fasc. 1, p. 1) has been led astray here in his overemphasizing of the importance of Frazer's theory of the origin of religion, and thus concludes:

- 'It was really Durkheim ... who recognized that Australian Aboriginal belief and ritual were of a "profoundly religious character". — implying that no anthropologist had previously accepted Aboriginal religion as 'religion'. This is quite unfair to the majority of pre-Durkheimian but post-Tylorian anthropologists.
22. Tylor has made a bad choice in applying this criticism to Salvado, who was quite familiar with the native language, and who had himself criticized some explorers (— would this include Grey? —) on these very grounds. He said, 'Without any knowledge of the language, and having seen the natives for a few days or even a few hours only, they have confidently given themselves out as experts in the customs, the ideas, and even the religion of a race which, either through cunning or traditional secrecy, carefully hides its special habits and beliefs from strangers' (1851, p. 125).
 23. As Lang was to point out (1899a), Tylor's argument is also faulty here. Buckley, who was accustomed to seeing bunyips, was a dubious source. Backhouse actually took his evidence from Threlkeld. Furthermore, I have already cited Günther's evidence of *Baiame* which was published before Threlkeld's articles.
 24. Lang's book popularized this evidence, but he was not the first author to accept its authenticity. This has been discussed in chapter two. There had also been other authors who had defended this material since the rise of evolutionary anthropology. Two German works, which are relevant here, are; T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Natur-völker* (1872, cf. vol. 6, pp. 796ff.) and M. Roskoff *Das Religionswesen der Rohesten Naturvölker* (1880). I also suspect that F.M. Müller believed in the existence of Aboriginal Supreme Beings (1892, pp. 428-435ff.) but he was generally more concerned to prove 'The Untrustworthiness of the Accounts of the Religious Ideas of Savages'.
 25. But cf. G.W. Stocking's (1971a) fascinating article where he finds evidence that Tylor's private attitude towards psychic phenomena was far more open-minded than his published views.
 26. How then did primitive man get such notions? Lang offered no theory in *The Making of Religion* and he later reflected that he had purposely 'repeatedly declined to give a theory of how the belief arose' (1899, p. 5). Hartland misunderstood Lang to be promoting a version of the argument from design, and thus suggested that Lang caricatured the Aborigines as 'unconscious English Deists in paint and scars and feathers' (1898, p. 293). Lang had *not* meant to imply this, but nonetheless he thought it was quite a satisfactory solution, and readily adopted. 'As soon as man could make anything,' said Lang, 'he had, undeniably, the idea of "making". But he was surrounded by things which he certainly had not made, yet which were adapted to his use. It is conceivable that, possessing the idea of making, he guessed that these things were "made" ... I surmise that "the high faculties of early man" might lead him from the idea of making to that of a maker. Once conceived of, the idea of his goodness is not remote, for the things made are "good", or so the savage thinks. The idea of power is implicit in that of making "such a number of things", and power may take the shape of All-seeing, while the conception is caught at, and the All-seeing one sanctions tribal morality' (1899, p. 9f.). This was all very intellectualistic, but Lang asks 'is this process of "reasoning" beyond "high mental powers", beyond "conspicuous ability" such as the blacks are allowed to possess? Is it not a great deal easier and simpler than the intricate speculations by which Mr. Tylor makes early man evolve the idea of a disembodied spirit?' (ibid., p. 10). I think we must at least credit Lang with this point.
 27. Unfortunately Frazer is *not* consistent with his own theories on this point. The quote continues: 'Thus in the south-eastern parts of the continent, ... some rudiments of religion appear in a regard for the comfort of departed friends' (ibid., p. 142f.). Now this might have been a 'rudiment of religion' for Herbert

Spencer, but it was not for Frazer's theory where the notion of superior supernatural beings (which represented the first religious beliefs), arose when it was realized that magic did not invariably work. Frazer is obviously shying at the All-Father material. This is made particularly clear when we read a passage of Howitt's from which Frazer may well have got his notion about the 'rudiments of religion'. Howitt said 'their beliefs are such that, under favourable conditions, they might have developed into an actual religion; based on the worship of *Mungan-ngaua* or *Baiame*' (1904, p. 507). This is precisely what Frazer *should* have said was the rudiment of religion, but this would have meant admitting the All-Fathers. Rather than do that, he completely contradicted himself.

28. I hasten to add that I am not the inventor but merely the resurrector of this most unfortunate term. It was previously used by W.B. Spencer (in Marett & Penniman, eds., 1932, p. 78 & p. 80).
29. It might be objected that Frazer has said elsewhere that 'if religion implies, as it seems to do, an acknowledgement on the part of the worshipper that the object of his worship is superior to himself, then pure totemism cannot properly be called a religion at all' (1910, vol. 4, p. 5). The apparent contradiction is due to the development of Frazer's distinction between magic and religion. However, it seems legitimate to continue to refer to Frazer's theory as a 'religious' theory of totemism in order to distinguish it from social theories.
30. There seems to be a note of 'conjectural history' underlying this passage, and Lowie (1933, p. 294) has likewise criticized Radcliffe-Brown's conjectures in his analysis of Aboriginal social organization.
31. 'It is the power of the "church" or community which integrates the total group, directed by the ceremonial leader in the totemic ceremonies, and it is the power of the church (the clan groups) which destroys a man under the guidance and leadership of the magicians' (Warner, 1937, p. 232).

Bibliography

There would be no point in listing every book and article consulted in writing this book, many of which proved to be only of minimal value. This bibliography contains all the works referred to in the text, plus some of the more useful ones to which no explicit reference has been made. The bracketed date given is that of initial publication, and this is the date indicated by textual notes. Other dates are intended for the identification of the specific edition.

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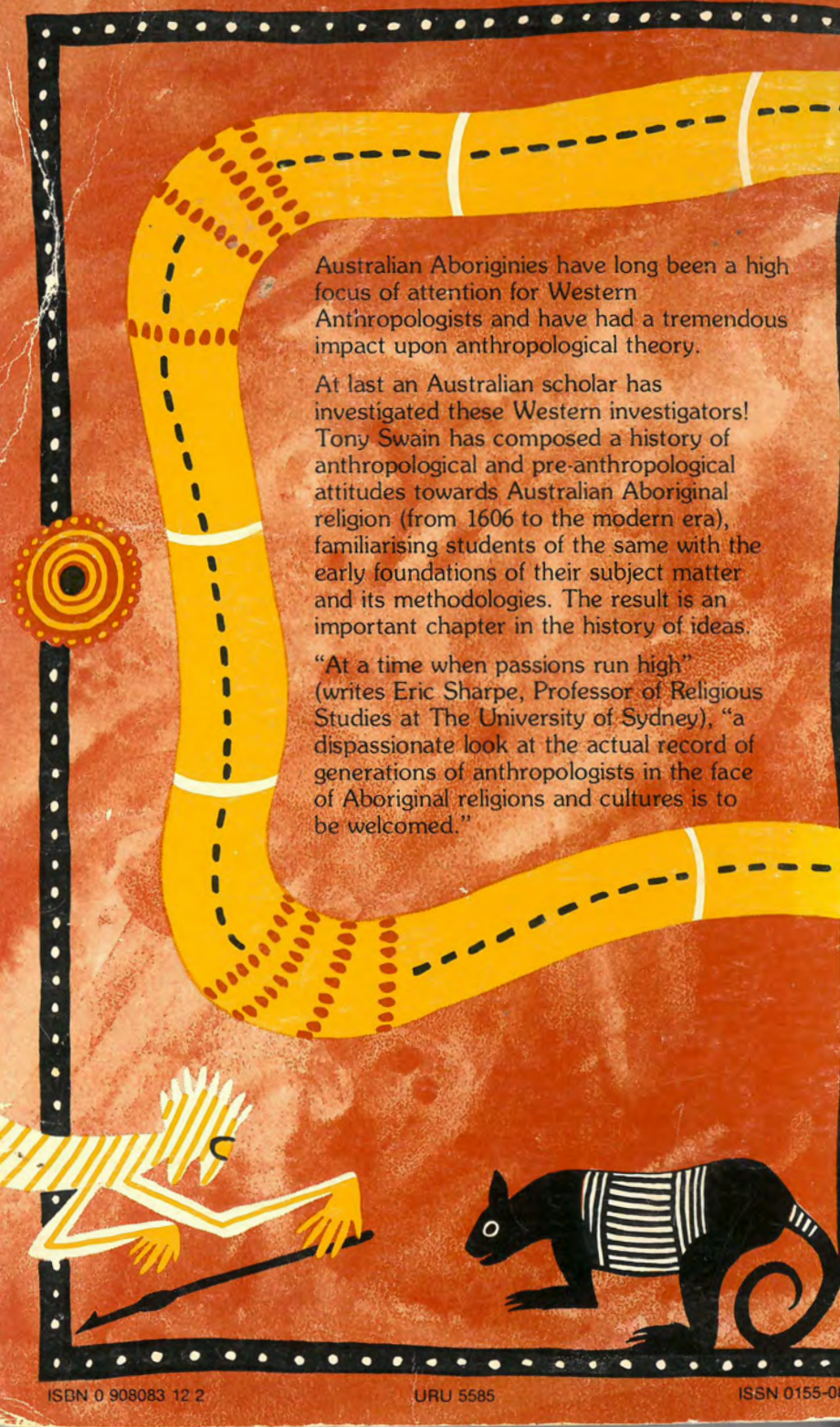
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Australian Aboriginies have long been a high focus of attention for Western Anthropologists and have had a tremendous impact upon anthropological theory.

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