

T378
F26a
1967

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES 1788-1967:
SOCIOCULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

By

VINCENT J. FASANO

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department
of Sociology and Anthropology in the
Graduate School of the University of Alabama

UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

1967

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to thank and acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals.

Dr. Paul H. Nesbitt, who initiated the writer's interest in culture-contact studies and directed this thesis.

Dr. Asael T. Hansen, who discussed various problems associated with contact situations with the writer, and who served on the thesis committee.

Dr. Charles D. McGlamery, who served as the third member of the thesis committee.

Mrs. Trevor Howarth of Cammeray, New South Wales, who supplied the writer with Australian newspapers and magazines.

V.J.F.
1967

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | ii |
| Chapter | Page |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Thesis Problem | |
| Method | |
| II. THE TRADITIONAL ABORIGINE WAY OF LIFE | 8 |
| The Natural Environment | |
| The Pre-Contact Population | |
| Conditions of Life | |
| Territoriality | |
| Kinship | |
| Totemism | |
| Entering Aborigine Society | |
| Summary | |
| III. DEVELOPMENTS OF CULTURE CONTACT: 1788-1958 | 35 |
| Initial Contact: 1788 -ca. 1820 | |
| The Outback | |
| Missions: Nineteenth Century | |
| Mixed Bloods | |
| The Camp | |
| 1880-1930: Protectionist Policies | |
| The Development of Assimilation Policies | |
| George Dutton and the Present Day Outback | |
| IV. THE PRESENT | 65 |
| Variety of Situations | |
| Population | |
| Physical Changes Due to Contact | |
| Aborigines and the Law | |

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| Urban Aborigines Conspicuousness, Identity and a New Cohesion | |
| V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION | 88 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 97 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thesis Problem

The primary subjects to be investigated are: (1) the causes and results of the major sociocultural transformations that have occurred within the Aborigine population of the Commonwealth of Australia through 179 years of contact with Europeans, and (2) the present conditions of the Aborigines.

On the basis of the identifiable results of culture-contact in Australia, I will attempt to present evidence directly related to three specific problem areas: (1) the types of cultural changes that have occurred as a result of contact, (2) the status of the present day Aborigines as a minority group, and (3) the possible processes occurring within the Aborigine population to produce new forms of cohesion and social identity.

Method

The presentation will follow the format of culture-contact studies which involve the identification and use of certain variables and concepts, and the three-fold division of the data into descriptions and discussions

of (1) traditional culture, (2) developments occurring through the period of contact, and (3) present conditions as they have resulted from the contact period. More explicit statements of the concepts, variables, and data to be described follow.

Concepts of Culture-Contact

Culture-contact refers to any contact the people of one population have with the culture of the people of another population. Examples would include a nation occupied by military forces, travelers observing the culture of different countries, or a remote tribe visited by missionaries. Within this broad conceptualization two conditions of culture-contact can be identified: acculturation and diffusion.

I take my definition of acculturation from Herskovits:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent change in the original culture pattern of either or both groups... (1938:10).

Diffusion is taken to be a process by which cultural elements, whether they be material objects such as the bow and arrow, or socio-cultural institutions such as Christianity, spread into different areas and therefore into different populations. The agents may be individuals from either the receiving, the giving, or an intermediary society, and the communication may or may not involve personal contact. There is not "continuous first hand contact" between groups from different cultures.

Circumstances, Developments and Results of Culture-Contact

Many anthropologists have identified circumstances, developments and results associated with culture-contact situations. Examples exist in the theoretical writings of Beals (1953), Herskovits (1938), Ianni (1958), and Redfield (1953), and in the case studies of Albrecht (1946), Hallowell (1959), Parker (1964), and Redfield (1950).

The circumstances of contact, as identified and conceptualized, can be grouped into certain types of variables. These variables are: (1) the differences between the contacting cultures, (2) the agents of contact, (3) the values the individuals of each group place on the "foreign" culture, (4) the rate of culture change, (5) the kinds of initial changes which influence later changes, and (6) such possible overall circumstances as cooperation, conflict, or imposition.

These circumstances, and the forms within which they have been manifested in the Australian situation, will be referred to in the descriptive sections of this paper.

Developments, in terms of possible changes due to contact, have also been identified and conceptualized. Possible developments are: (1) new culture traits may replace traditional traits or be added to the cultural inventory, (2) institutions from the two groups may blend into a new form with traditional functions, or a syncretic form with new functions, (3) parts of the traditional culture (for example the economy) may be destroyed, (4) new cultural phenomena not existing in either culture prior to contact may develop (for example a caste system or

land reserves), (5) pre-contact elements may be retained but acquire new functions, and (6) marked population changes due to contact may affect social organization.

While each possible development is listed individually, it must be recognized that the occurrence of any one can facilitate or prohibit the occurrence of others. Developments, I would submit, tend also to become causes. The developments of contact in Australia prior to the present decade will be dealt with mainly in the third chapter.

Given the possible circumstances and developments listed above, certain results, in terms of the overall situation, can occur. One possible result, when acculturation is the condition of contact, is assimilation. Assimilation can be said to have occurred when a cultural unity is reached among the peoples of previously divergent cultures, so that subsequent cultural changes are no longer caused by the same processes and variables which caused changes in the contact situation.

Another result, which was the fate of Tasmania's natives, is the extinction of one population. In this case the resulting cultural unity is reached by the elimination of a culture which provided diversity in the contact situation.

It is not being said that cultural change ceases among the extant population when assimilation or extinction occurs. It is being said that culture-contact, as defined above, ceases. Of course it is recognized that the extant population can be or become involved in other and new culture-contact situations.

In Australia cultural changes have been occurring for 179 years as a result of culture-contact between white Australians and the Aborigines, and changes are still occurring.

Descriptions

To facilitate an understanding of changes resulting from culture-contact, Chapter II will deal with certain features of Aborigine traditional culture. Although much material on all aspects of this subject is available in the anthropological literature my description of the traditional culture is limited to those features most relevant to the subject.

The natural environment and the Aborigine's economic adjustment will be briefly dealt with, and since racial differences have been of importance in this situation, a brief description of Aborigine physical features will be presented. But primarily I have tried to describe the culture in such a way as to identify the values and systems of relationships which maintain cohesion and continuity. More explicitly, the emphasis is on the phenomena which regulates human behavior in terms of people interacting with each other, and which provides for a social cohesion among people and a means of continuing through ensuing generations the same cultural forms of regulating behavior. The focus is therefore on totemism, kinship, initiation into adulthood, the traditional concept of territoriality, and the relationship of man to nature and the supernatural. In consistency with this emphasis, a major concern of the chapter on contact situations will be with the breakdown of

these aspects of the culture.

I have chosen to use the present tense in describing the traditional culture because it is still present among some Aborigines, and most Aborigines are influenced by it. I have also chosen to disregard local variations in form and speak of Aborigine culture as a single entity. This view is accepted by Australian anthropologists dealing with the same subject (Berndt R & C 1952) (Bell 1963) (Elkin 1951, 1964).

Chapter III is concerned with culture-contact developments occurring since the settlement of the British penal colony at the present site of Sydney in 1788. This includes certain historical events, certain specific contact situations, changes in administrative policies, changes in Aborigine social structures, the emergence of a mixed-blood population, and a short biography.

Australian anthropologists have reconstructed early culture-contact situations from historical material, and have reported on current situations from first hand investigations. The anthropological journal Oceania, edited by Professor Adolphus Elkin of the University of Sydney, contains many, though not all, of the more important articles on this subject. Besides Professor Elkin, Ronald and Catherine Berndt have produced the most extensive studies.

I have not attempted to reconstruct any early situations not already described, and the selection involved in choosing what is described was based on the amounts of evidence locally available.

Chapter IV deals with present day conditions. In describing the present conditions of the Aborigines, brief and general attention is paid to physiological changes due to contact, the wide variety of present situations, and adaptation in terms of survival and population growth. A section on the Aborigine's legal status is included to demonstrate the explicitness of their subordinate position. Finally, the conditions of those Aborigines closest to cultural assimilation are described and discussed as their condition contrasts to the greatest degree with those still living a generally traditional life.

Group Names

The terms "Aborigines" and "whites" are used in referring to the two populations. This may seem unnecessarily racial, but to use the term European would ignore the fact that the descendants of European immigrants are truly Australians, and to use the term Australian would ignore the fact that this term also applies to the natives. Besides, the importance of racial differences in the Australian situation will be considered in this paper.

Sources

Most of the sources used are in the library of the University of Alabama. Others are from the Air University library, Maxwell AFB, and from current newspaper and magazine articles sent to me from Australia.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL ABORIGINE WAY OF LIFE

The Natural Environment

Geography

Australia is the smallest continent, but it is the largest island. At 2, 948, 366 square miles it is only slightly smaller than the continental United States. The mainland, which is the area we are concerned with, lies between latitude 10 and 40 degrees south, and is thus divided, slightly north of its center, by the Tropic of Capricorn. While having 11, 310 miles of coastline, an important characteristic of much of this land is its dryness. "Barely a quarter of it is wet enough for agriculture, and of that much is mountainous. Of the rest, about half is good pastoral land, The remainder is dry and sparse pastoral land, or absolute desert" (Crawford 1952:14).

The Australian continent is structurally somewhat similar to Africa in being primarily plateau. However, while in Africa the plateaus are very high and crowned with volcanoes rising to 19, 000 feet, only 6 percent of Australia is above 2, 000 feet, and the highest point on the continent, Mt. Kosciusko, is but 7, 328 feet above sea level. Even this point is a knob rising from a tilted plateau, so that there is really no

sharp range of mountains on the continent. Of course, disregarding geological definitions, the differences in elevation between most of the continent and the southeastern highlands gives the latter a formidable nature.

Two general implications can be noted about the structure of the continent: (1) there are few areas where elevation counteracts the heat of the extensive tropical area, (2) the position of the highest lands near the eastern coast prevents rain from being carried inland. Settlers moving westward from the east coast found land similar to the American southwest at about the same distance from the coast where American settlers were reaching the fertile Ohio River Valley. This does not mean there are not some fertile areas excellent for sedentary settlement. The two great southeastern cities of Sydney and Melbourne have a combined population of over 4,000,000. But when this is compared to the national population, including Tasmania, of less than 12,000,000 people, it can be seen that large areas of the country have remained uninhabited.

Climate

Because Australia is proportionately the most level continent, temperatures almost uniformly decrease as the distance from the Equator increases. However winds and ocean currents have some influence. Thus the northern part of Western Australia, not Arnhem Land, has the highest annual temperature: 85 degrees! But generally temperatures decrease going south, and the lowest annual temperature

of 55 degrees is at the southeastern tip of Victoria. Rainfall, or its absence, is inseparable from temperature in discussing climate. About one-third of the continent receives less than ten inches of rain a year, and most of it receives less than twenty. Also, the eastern third of Queensland, the eastern two-thirds of New South Wales, and Victoria are the only areas where the rainfall is uniform, rather than concentrated during wet seasons. In a comparison with the eastern states of America, Taylor says:

The similar area of temperate land receiving about forty inches of rainfall is only a fringe about fifty miles wide in the southeast and southwest portions of Australia (1931:50).

The general statement can thus be made that Australia is essentially a tropical, and subtropical to warm temperate island, structurally dominated by extensive low plateaus and lowlands, and markedly arid. The main area which is the exception, the southeast, is by far the most thickly settled.

Fauna

Zoologically, the marsupials of Australia are of great interest. For example the platypus, which lays eggs like a turtle and has a bill like a duck and a tail like a beaver, lives almost entirely in water like a fish. Perhaps the most famous of the marsupials is the largest, the kangaroo. However, though the kangaroo is edible and an important source of food for the Aborigines, neither it nor any other marsupial

was domesticated. Apart from the marsupials the major native animal is the dingo. Dingoes are usually wild, resembling the Syrian wild dog, and are hunted for bounty by the whites. They were and are semi-trained for hunting by the Aborigines and are the only animal with which they have continual association in the traditional context.

The most well-known bird is the ostrich-like emu, which stands about five feet high and is flightless. A type of wild turkey is hunted, but not domesticated. A variety of birds, reptiles and fish of course exist, and are of varying degrees of importance to the Aborigines. But an inventory of the fauna and the eucalyptus and acacia dominated flora is not necessary for our purposes. The fact is that no matter how much regions differ in variety and abundance, all Aborigines in the pre-contact environment were semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers. They domesticated no native animals for food or transportation, and no plants. Neither has the white settler. The latter, coming from societies of far greater cultural content and culture-contact, have brought animals and plants onto the continent for agriculture and pastoralism. Some, such as the merino sheep from Spain, have been invaluable sectors of the economy. Others, such as rabbits from England, have often been detrimental enemies of the sedentary settlers.

The Pre-Contact Population

Origin

The arrival of the first humans on the continent is a subject of

debate, with late Pleistocene movements from Asia being the very general framework within which more precise information is sought. Southeast Asia is usually accepted as the area of origin, especially since at the estimated time of the first migrations the lower sea level provided more islands in the Arafura, Java and South China Seas. Several early waves of migrations are sometimes postulated. The generally distinct physical and cultural differences between Australian Aborigines and the natives of New Guinea and Indonesia support the opinion that the Aborigines were for the most part isolated on the island continent for several thousand years. Some contact, though apparently no recent migrations, occurred between some northern coast Aborigines and natives of the Sundra Islands.

Population

It is estimated that the Aborigine population at the time of the first European settlements in 1788 was 300,000 (Elkin 1964:24). This figure would produce an average population density over the continent of about one person to every ten square miles. However, though generally harsh, the geographical and climatic conditions vary, and so also did the concentrations of natives. The tribes of the Lower River Murray, Lake Alexandrina, Lake Albert and coastal areas such as northern Arnhem Land had more abundant supplies of animals and plants available. Also, besides kangaroos, emus, lizards, various fruits, and green and root vegetables, they had fish. Away from permanent water

in areas of low rainfall both the supply and variety of food was less. Thus in the Great Victoria Desert the population density was about one person per 38 square miles, and in well-watered coastal fringes and in the area of river systems in the southeast the density was about one person per 7 square miles (Bell 1963:444).

Physical Features

Racially, the Aborigines are categorized as "Australoid." Skin color varies, but they are never as dark as Negroes and are often described as being chocolate brown. Their hair is usually wavy, and adult males have an abundance of body hair. The hair color ranges from light brown to black, but many inland full-blood children have blondish hair until early adulthood. Aborigines have retreating foreheads, and are dolicocephalic. They have wide, flat noses, sometimes prognathous jaws, and full, but not everted, lips. Physiques are usually slender and muscular; the average male height being five feet six inches. However, as with other features there is variety, and men six feet tall are not exceptional in the northwest. Though this description is brief and general, it is enough to characterize the physical features of the Aborigines, and indicate how distinct their appearance is from the predominantly British immigrant population.

Conditions of Life

By any criteria these semi-nomads of Australia are technologically primitive. Their tools, methods of obtaining food, and sources of energy

are rudimentary. But they are successful. Their physiological needs as human beings were and are satisfied by their necessarily expert knowledge of the physical environment.

Their possessions are confined to objects essential to their economic and sacred life, and limited to what can be carried. Recognizing that inventories would vary regionally, we can say all tribes have "wooden spears, spear throwers, stone axes, shields, wooden bowls, bark bags and baskets, grinding stones, digging sticks, throwing sticks, fire sticks, and sacred objects of wood, stone and quartz" (Bell 1963:454). The famous boomerang was never universal, and coastal tribes have light barbed fishing spears, fishing nets, bone hooks, and lines of vegetable fiber. Housing and clothing were both absent among the pre-contact Aborigines. Being nomadic, having no pack animals, and living in a warm climate their temporary shelters were, and often still are, like inverted bowls made crudely of branches, with a hole on one side. Neither these "wurleys" nor the occasional lean-tos of bark are large, and the people usually sleep outside by a camp fire. In southern areas where winter nights get very cold skins of kangaroo or opossum are wrapped around the body, but not made into clothing. Pubic tassels and/or waist belts are sometimes worn, usually in a ceremonial context, but no taboos exist against nudity and it is the usual condition.

Obviously the absence of clothing and anything but the simplest temporary shelter was and is often important in the contact situation.

Aborigines in outback areas living near missions, stations or towns have both, to some degree, imposed on them. Those living within these settlements must accept both. But those in nearby camps often only use clothing when in situations where white people will be present. They have no tradition for "good housekeeping" and are generally criticized for not showing "proper" regard for, or taking proper care of, this newly imposed paraphernalia.

The traditional division of labor is sexual, without any further recognized specialization except that between children and adults. Men are the hunters, and in some cases the fishermen. Sometimes small groups will hunt together and stay away from the camp for more than a day. The women will remain relatively close to the camp gathering plants, ants, caterpillars, fruit and so on. Young boys accompany their mother until they are old enough to begin learning male tasks from their father. This learning period will begin before they begin the initiations of early adolescence. Since the division of labor is by sex, each compliments the other's work, and is to some degree dependent on the other. Polygamy was common, but as will be mentioned again in our later discussion of contact situations, monogamy became almost universal when women lost their economic value.

The stringent realities of the Aborigine's economic life causes a lack of two related features of more complex societies: surplus and specialization. There is no economic basis of inequality and no distinct type of specialization that is related to a ranking system. All male

adults are superordinate to females, and male elders, unless old age significantly hinders their economic value, are superordinate to younger males. The authority of male elders is related to their knowledge of traditional mythology, but there is no such thing as a priestly class. Of course within the nomadic band certain men exercise a degree of non-institutional leadership because of hunting ability and personality. What is relevant here is that the economic nature of Aborigine society acts to prevent an ownership oriented, economic-class set of values and also prevents the support of specialists. Cooperation, reciprocity and mutual dependency are paramount. As will be seen, these are the prevailing sentiments in all aspects of the culture.

Since their utensils are simple, and since a greater amount of them would not be of economic advantage, possessions are not amassed. Even if they were, they could not be carried. When hunger is present the men hunt, needing essentially only a spear and a sharp stone, and the women forage. These objects are a means to an end, not ends in themselves.

However, each Aborigine does not make only what is absolutely necessary for his economic life and objects associated with rituals and ceremonies. He also makes and obtains objects for the purpose of giving them away. Strong obligations exist to present specific people, at specific times, with gifts. The person may be a mother's brother, a boy being initiated, a returned friend, or, importantly, persons at

group meetings where such events as marriages are arranged and the exchange of goods occur. Here it is a mechanism of trade. But exchange, giving something to get something in return, is not the highest value. Obligation to one's kin demands more than any other reason this giving of articles and kinship, as we shall see, is a very extensive system of relationships among the Aborigines. Social obligation then, not prestige or power, is the motivating sentiment in giving and exchanging articles.

These values and obligations of the nomadic camping life are carried into the life of those Aborigines who live in the towns, cities, missions, or on stations. Such obligations are not shed as clothing is donned, and the implications for the partly assimilated Aborigine are many. They demonstrate to many whites an unfortunate lack of appreciation for material possessions, privately owned property, and for establishing "higher" living standards. For periods of time the Aborigines with homes in cities and towns allow their unemployed relatives from the outback to live with them, and "off" them.

Territoriality

The Aborigine population is divided into tribes. A tribe is characterized by having a certain "country," or territory, by the use of a language or dialect different from other tribes, by usually having a distinct name for themselves, and by specific rituals, beliefs and customs that vary to some degree from other tribes. People are also

grouped into moieties, clans, hordes, sections, cults and totemic groups. However in discussing territoriality we can use Elkin's term "local group" (1964:58). These are exagamous groups that are most important economically and socially because they function, as part of a tribe, as the nomadic unit, usually separated from the other local groups that make up the tribe.

The tribes, and therefore also the local groups, have a specific territory defined by natural features and varying in size (Falkenberg 1962:23). The Aborigine is intimately familiar with the natural aspects and geography of his territory, or "country," but his tie to it is thought of in spiritual, rather than economic, terms. His country contains sacred places, and a mythology which links the individual to the land. His home, in this sense, is the territory in which the myth-heroes traveled, performed exploits, and instituted rituals. An Aborigine does not make the distinction between himself and his country, in the sense that the white man does when he talks of owning property. In fact, from the Aborigine point of view, it might be truer to say that his country owns him. The secrets of the complex mythology, rituals and local knowledge bind man and nature in a personal, living relationship. "The whole environment. . . was a ground of confidence since it had been continuously occupied by their own people" (Stanner 1963:254).

Therefore, even though the Aborigines are nomadic, their travels are restricted by known bounds. Thus for an Aborigine to leave his country means going into an unknown and fearful place.

Fearful because the totemic heroes and spirit-centers possess secrets and powers with which they are unfamiliar, and which are thus potent and dangerous. This must be understood when considering the attitude of Aborigines when sent or carried or moved by white authorities or settlers across unknown lands, amidst strange taboos, institutions and magic.

From early childhood an individual begins accumulating knowledge of both the resources and history of his country. As he grows he learns that certain sites and features were the scenes and products of his ancestral past. His knowledge of tribal lore increases by hearing the legends and watching the ceremonies that are not secret. At a certain time he begins his initiation into the secret life: an ordeal involving discipline and pain, but bestowing on the individual a new enlightenment, a knowledge of the mysteries of life. Once this knowledge is acquired, and only the male elders possess all of the knowledge, it is the duty of each man to preserve it and pass it on. So all the time the individual is accumulating knowledge his country is being peopled more fully and more significantly with the ancestors of the remote "dream-time." The generations are fused, from the past to present to future, by the continuity of this spiritual knowledge and by a concept of pre-existing spirits. Man himself is fused with nature, or the nature of his own territory, by the concepts manifested in totemism.

Kinship

The institutions of Aborigine society are inextricably inter-related. Both totemism and kinship especially function to categorize the roles and relationships of specific individuals with and within specific groups. Both are involved with the implications of social and biological events. In one sense totemism is a relationship between an individual or a group with a specific species or group of species. But its function, as we can see it, is involved in the relationships of human beings within the totemic social structure. Kinship is also a social structure. Here the relationships are thought of primarily in terms of individuals with each other, rather than with a natural species.

As with other economically simple societies, kinship among the Aborigines is of extraordinary importance. The society cannot be described, and the actions of the individuals cannot be fully understood without an understanding of it. Therefore, noting that there are regional differences, I will describe the characteristic nature of the Aborigine kinship system, and after this pass on to totemism.

The important aspect of Aborigine kinship is the use of the classificatory system. This means that their equivalent terms for, for example, "father," "mother," "son," "daughter," "brother," "sister," and terms which describe relationships and distinctions not reckoned in the terminology of our system, apply not only to individuals but to groups. In other words, brothers are regarded as equivalent, as are sisters. Thus, ego's father's brother is "father," and mother's

sister is "mother." Also, ego's father's brother's son is "brother," and mother's sister's daughter is "sister." Or, in the case of a man, his brother's children are his "children," and in the case of a woman, a sister's children are her "children."

In consistency with the above notation that brothers are equivalent and sisters are equivalent, the following is the case. The children of ego's brother and the children of ego's sister are referred to with different terminology. Meaning ego to be male in all the following: ego's children and his brother's children are his "sons" and "daughters," but his sister's children are "nieces" and "nephews." Or, from the point of view of the children: ego's brother's children regard ego as "father," while ego's sister's children regard ego as "uncle." Following from this, ego's father's brother's children are his "brothers" and "sisters," but his mother's brother's children (or his father's sister's children) are his "cross-cousins." Further, ego's father's father's brother's son is "father," but his father's father's sister's son is "uncle," because he is not ego's father's "brother," but instead ego's father's "cross-cousin." Thus this "uncle" is classified with ego's mother's brother, while his sister is grouped with ego's mother.

There are specific implications involved with roles of different expected behavior associated with this principle that the children of brothers and the children of sisters are termed differently. Ego's father and brothers and sisters and also his father's brother's children all "belong," through kinship, to one country, one local subdivision of

the tribe. Ego's mother and her brother and her father's brother's children all belong, again through kinship, to another country. Thus the concept of territoriality is expanded and influenced, as everything else in Aborigine society, by kinship. In many tribes two men frequently exchange sisters in marriage. Thus, for ego, his mother's brother's wife is his father's sister, and his mother's brother's children are his father's sister's children. Hence, one term is used for all cross-cousins whether they are children of mother's brother or father's sister. In the former case they are matrilateral, and in the latter patrilateral cross-cousins.

Affinal relations are classified with consanguineal relatives though distinct terms are applied to qualify the difference in relationship. However the implication of the above points, in fact the implication of the entire classificatory system, is that in an Aborigine marriage the persons concerned were before the marriage classified with ego's own relatives as cross-cousins, uncles and aunts. If, for example, as happens in some groups, a man marries the daughter of his mother's mother's brother's daughter, then his wife and her brothers were already his "cousins," his new father-in-law was his "uncle," and his new mother-in-law was his "aunt." In some tribes this type of cousin is not within the permitted marriageable group, and a person related in the same way, but more distantly, is married: i. e., the forbidden sister's tribal or horde sister (Elkin 1964:88).

Actually, though in all cases the kinship system ideally regulates

marriage, and the "choice" of a mate is restricted to a special type of cousin, the complexity of these restrictions vary. Since the local groups are exogamous, and marriage takes place between cousins of different groups, ties are reinforced between the groups by marriage. Thus, in the areas where food is more abundant a simple system called a "two-class" or "two-group" system is prevalent. In the more barren areas some tribes have sixteen-class systems. The more complicated systems necessitate interaction among a greater number of groups. For small bands traveling long distances in arid regions, the economic function and the advantage of having relations with many groups insures aid if times are especially difficult. "Maximum effort is made to build up interaction between bands, since a failure of one band to obtain food may necessitate their dependence on another" (Chapple & Coon 1942:309).

It is significant that, as in many economically simple, highly integrated societies, and highly integrated sections of society (e.g. nobility) where marriage does not only affect the two individuals involved, but has implications for many of the group members, marriages are arranged by elders. This arrangement of marriage is often based on the sentiment of obligation underlying kinship relations.

The various aspects of the Aborigine kinship system can be seen to establish and reinforce relationships and interaction between an individual and his extended family, and between the separate nomadic groups. As already mentioned, to the Aborigine the sentiment which is paramount in these interactions is obligation. "The obligations of kinship govern a

person's behavior from his earliest years to his death, and affect life in all its aspects: in conversation, visiting and camping; at the crises of life, namely, child-birth, initiation, marriage, sickness and death..." (Elkin 1964:144). Such complex human organizations as the classificatory kinship system do not survive unless a certain frequency of necessary interaction occurs among its members, and unless the members have reason to continually interact. The realities of obligation, economic necessity, and sanctioned habitual behavior reinforce the kinship system and all the implications it has on the Aborigine way of life.

Totemism

Totemism, a system of relationships between man and nature, as mentioned above, can further be described as a view of nature and life which affects the Aborigine's social groupings, inspires ritual, and provides temporal and social links. It is, complimenting kinship, another system of relationships essential to Aborigine society. A totem, whether it be a kangaroo, emu, woodpecker, or warbler, is referred to by the Aborigine as his "flesh" (Elkin 1964:172). This denotes a relationship between all the members of a totemic organization and their totem, and in the sense that each member partakes of this flesh, between each member of the organization. Thus, certain types of totemism being matrilineal in descent, the members are related through a common flesh and blood relationship, and all members, no matter how "distantly" related in genealogical terms, are "mother" and "children" or "brother"

and "sister." Marriage is always prohibited between members of this type of totemic group. Also, the members are prohibited from injuring, killing or eating members of their own "flesh": the animals, birds or plants to whom they are related. To us it takes the form of a matrilineally derived solidarity among certain members of a clan, moiety or section. To the Aborigine it is an insoluble relationship involving specific living beings who are all ultimately derived from the womb of a common ancestress.

Not all totemic organizations are matrilineal; nor do they function in the same way. For example sex totemism provides for sex solidarity. The distinction between (and in some ways opposition between) masculinity and femininity is symbolically expressed in such important social events as ritual quarrels and marriage preliminaries by sex totemism. Obviously, a person usually belongs to more than one totemic group.

Cult totemism, as it is distinguished from the above types, is of particular interest. It is concerned with the mythological and ritual aspects of tribal life. We shall see it to have great social and economic importance.

Cult groups are made up of a number of fully initiated men, serving the purpose of preserving a certain portion of the totemic mythology and rituals of the tribe. These men are invaluable to the well being of their specific local group. Nature, through totemism, is inextricably related to man to such a degree that it is included within man's social organizations. In this relationship, as in all relationships,

each must do his part. If man does not perform the rituals and ceremonies, if man discards or loses the mythology, how can man rely, as he must, on nature? In all his organizations man learns that he has obligations to co-members. The Aborigine view of nature, especially in this totemic sense, also demands obligation.

In the section on territoriality I stressed how the Aborigine is spiritually connected with a certain country, which is distinguished by its association with mythological heroes. These myth-heroes traveled certain paths and initiated certain rituals. Interestingly enough, these paths are especially emphasized in regions of Australia where geographical conditions, such as the dry nature of the region, demand extensive knowledge of water holes and soaks. Areas of no subsistence value have no mythological significance.

The social aspect of these paths is that they are inter-group and inter-tribal. They pass through the countries of different groups and tribes, all of which, because of sharing the rituals connected with the paths, have a certain claim of hospitality and protection with the others. Each group is responsible for a certain part of the mythology connected with the myth-heroes associated with the path. The men of the cult visiting the sites of their paths pass through countries related by ritual and mythology, partake of both, and concomitantly establish and reinforce ties. The aspect of life connected with cult-totemism is thus "a vast system of ritual co-operation binding together local groups and also tribes" (Elkin 1964:178).

Many present day Aborigines, even if in a sedentary situation most of the time, still feel compelled at times to leave their more permanent home and travel the paths to visit the sites important in their totemic affiliations. Whites usually refer to this "roaming" as being necessary because it is "in their blood" (an interesting biological interpretation of spiritual phenomena). An Aborigine who is thus wandering is said to be on a "walkabout." There is an Australian magazine which uses that term for its title, and explains that its title "signifies a racial characteristic of the Aborigine, who is always on the move." Stuart Gore, in describing how the officials at the Leprosarium near Derby do whatever they can to facilitate comfort for the Aborigine inmates, explains that every Thursday is "walkabout day." The usual daily routines are suspended and the inmates are allowed to wander about the rather extensive grounds of the Leprosarium. This sort of limited walkabout is apparently believed to be an accurate substitute for what the non-confined Aborigines supposedly do because of an uncontrollable need to roam.

In the unaltered traditional setting, periodically traveling these paths and teaching the significance of the paths to "beginners" are not the only functions of the cult group. They perform necessary ceremonies. One function of these ceremonies is to re-enact the doings of the myth-heroes. At the end of each section of a ceremony the meaning of the actions and symbols used are explained: partly for the benefit of the newly initiated, but also to reinforce the knowledge of all present.

These explanations are of the tribal history and the correct patterns of life, as reflected in the doings of the myth-heroes.

Each ritual occasion vivified in the minds of celebrants the first instituting of the culture, deepened the sense of continuity with men's beginnings, and reaffirmed the structure of existence (Stanner 1963:255).

What these great heroes did in the past is to serve as the guide for the behavior of all men in the present. As such, the drama-ceremonies maintain cultural tradition, preserve and present the sanctions and ideals of the society, and through common participation in the experience promote social cohesion.

Living persons were thought to be connected intimately-- as individuals, sexes, genetic stocks, groups and categories--with personages, places and events of the dramas (Stanner 1963:254).

Totemism, the relationships it involves, the ceremonies, rituals and knowledge associated with it, and the functions of sanction, continuity and cohesion it serves, is another of the nonmaterial aspects of Aborigine life inseparable from the other aspects, and necessary to social equilibrium. For the white man to withdraw the means by which it is preserved, or for the Aborigine elders to refuse to pass on the knowledge necessary to it, is to deny an invaluable means for solidarity and continuity, and to weaken relationships among individuals and groups.

Entering Aborigine Society

Such events as conception, birth, and puberty are looked upon in our society as biological facts. Describable physiological factors cause

each event. This view reflects the value we place on scientific method: the rational investigation of empirical data. But even we, to varying degrees, have ceremonies and rituals associated with these events. These cultural aspects of biological events reveal the degree and type of influence they have in our society, or a segment of our society. We will look at conception and initiation in Aborigine society and see how the spiritual is emphasized over the biological and how the culturally determined activities and implications of each reveals something about the Aborigine view of life.

The "making" of a child, to the Aborigine, is not inherent within the physiological makeup of those people already existing in the society. There is no biological causality. The unborn are spirits which reside and sojourn in well known places. Sometimes in the long "dreaming" (a sort of continuing past) these spirits of the unborn were created by the activity of myth-heroes; and even in the present dreaming new spirits are made by these continually acting myth-heroes. This concept of pre-existing spirit-children both supports and is supported by the Aborigine denial, or ignorance, of sexual causality in pregnancy and birth.

Totemism again enters the picture. A special type of totemism is related to the concepts involved in birth. Its importance is in allowing the father to participate in conception: the participation being spiritual, not sexual. In many areas "the process of fertilization is reported to begin with the father's finding a spirit-child in a dream and giving it to his spouse" (Pentony 1961:146). This is related to "dream totemism."

Or what may happen is that a man sees a vision of the pre-existing child, possibly in the form of some totemically related natural species and informs the spirit who the mother should be. The spirit then enters the woman's womb. In some parts of Australia that natural species of the vision will become the child's "conception totem," thus again intimately relating the spiritual and natural world.

The idea that conception and birth are not caused by sexual intercourse is made feasible by having all girls marry at puberty. Here we see one purpose for having marriages arranged and one reason why a woman's first husband, and perhaps only husband, is usually much older than she. Her male peers are going through extensive initiation procedures. Also, since a woman's husband participates in the birth of their child in a spiritual rather than physical way, it is common among all Aborigine tribes for men to lend their wives at certain times to certain men for sexual purposes. It is usually an obligation situation with a special visitor, though it may occur in an exchange situation. This social "amenity" of the Aborigines is looked upon with different degrees of favor and disfavor, and much misunderstanding on both sides in the contact situation.

In a sense, birth takes the individual, previously a spirit, from the environment of the spiritual world and puts him into the profane world of men. The enculturation process of each individual, especially males, not only brings him more fully into the society of his fellows, but also re-establishes his spiritual ties. This continues until death,

when a return is made to the other world and the cycle is complete. Whether or not the same spirit will again be born into the society of men is a moot question depending on such variables as its age at death and the variations of belief among different tribes.

All societies have some recognized events after which the individual, depending on age and sex, is looked upon as changed in some way because of passing through a certain stage. It may be a twenty-first birthday, which is an important social event accompanied by ceremonies and rituals among many Australian whites, or it may be a complicated and extensive series of ceremonies and rituals. The latter is true with the Aborigines.

Throughout Australia some form of initiation is practiced to prepare youths for full adult life. Since girls are married at puberty, and are involved with child bearing and child rearing, the men's initiation are more extensive. Also, though women have specific and important functions, they are subordinate to men, and never, in this life, are allowed as intimate involvement with the spiritual world. "The ruling stratum, the older men...used the rites to sustain the paramountcy of male interest" (Stanner 1963:255).

The forms and complexity of the initiation rites vary, and involve such acts as circumcision, tooth-evulsion, depilation and various ordeals such as speech restriction and isolation (Berndt R & C 1952:38). The men's initiation is related to the sacred and social life of the tribe, since, on one hand the elder's authority is based on their spiritual knowledge, and

also because men are responsible for the actual tasks of maintaining spiritual tradition, as was seen when speaking of cult-totemism.

An example from Ooldea would illustrate a common process of initiation (Berndt R & C 1952:39). At the beginning of the first stage the men take the boys from the women, who display a show of resistance, and then mourn the taken boys as being ritually "dead." The act of circumcision occurs in a ceremonial context, associated with tooth-evulsion and blood drinking: the initiated men drinking the blood of the beginners as a symbol of cohesion and continuity between generations. The boys then witness religious cult ceremonies that enact the less important mythological happenings. These first ceremonies are always carried out in the presence of men from neighboring groups and tribes. The function of this aspect of the ceremonies is to promote a social connection that extends beyond the limits of one local group.

The gathering of representative men from different groups and tribes allows a variety of social events. Betrothals are arranged at these meetings, disputes are settled, goods are traded, and, within the camp (as opposed to the separate ceremonial area used for the initiation rites), non-sacred ceremonies involving both men and women flourish. These events bind the people of different groups, the older men with the boys - becoming-men, and all with their totems and ancestors in a spiritual continuity. However it should be mentioned here that these binds between tribes are limited. Generally, linguistic and spatial factors separate tribes, or groups of tribes, and there is

no political organization which binds large numbers of tribes into populous "nations." When the whites arrived the Aborigines of the continent did not have political mechanisms for uniting their forces under specific leaders.

After the above ceremonies take place the youth spends a certain time in seclusion, after which he goes on a walkabout to the various sites of his totemic country. The myths and songs which describe the activities of ancestral beings associated with each site are revealed to him. After his return, and one or two years have passed, he reaches another stage. A subincision is done on him, which occurs at another time of ceremonial grouping. In any society it is an important part of a rite of passage that not only the person being initiated but also the people of his society view dramatically the changes taking place.

There are various other incisions that are made, and one of the last events is the cutting of the young man's hair. The last event, which is the cutting of a pattern of scars on his back, takes place in the main camp, among the people with whom he will be in the most intimate contact. But even now, fully initiated and allowed to attend all the sacred ceremonies, certain secrets are kept from him. These secrets are the possession of the elders, and they are passed on throughout life until a man reaches the point of full knowledge and concomitantly full spiritual authority.

Elkin states three major values and functions of initiation:

(1) they express the importance of the individual to the tribe, as an inheritor of the sacred knowledge which is necessary for everyone's

welfare, (2) they provide a transition period through adolescence, giving a youth discipline, and enhancing his social personality so that his interests and hopes include the whole tribe, and (3) they

have a position of social value for the tribe or group as a whole, for since the rites center the thoughts and feelings of all on the common symbols, myths and hopes, and since they do this in a specially prepared setting and atmosphere, they create and renew feelings and experiences of social unity (1964:213).

Summary

The Aborigine is a semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer, limited to simple technology and material culture and limited by a harsh environment that has yielded no animal or plant life fit for domestication or cultivation. The major social entity is the tribe and the significant nomadic unit within the tribe is the "local group" or band. Among the groups, and establishing relations between them, the systems of most significant relationships are seen to be kinship and totemism. These, together with the concept of territoriality, reflect insoluble relationships between people, nature and spiritual beings. These relationships, and the important sentiment of obligation attached to them, produce an attitude of "mateship": communal rather than individual welfare. Such universal events as birth and puberty, as they are treated in Aborigine culture, reveal to us the spiritual, communal aspect of Aborigine life.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENTS OF CULTURE-CONTACT: 1788-1958

Initial Contact: 1788 -ca. 1820

The American Revolution had an immediate impact on the English penal system. Until reforms changed the system in the nineteenth century England was dependent on her colonies as a place to send convicts, political enemies and other undesirables. While it may be denied that the American Declaration of Independence was the sole reason for the settlement of Australia, it was undeniably a factor in the time of settlement. In 1787 the First Fleet, under Captain Phillip, sailed for Australia with exiled prisoners and 250 soldiers to guard them. This transportation of prisoners continued to some parts of the continent until 1860 and it was not until the late 1820's that free settlers outnumbered prisoners.

From reports of first contacts with Aborigines the natives were harmless and generally shy. They apparently felt no great curiosity or hostility towards exotic peoples. The newcomers were probably looked upon as temporary sojourners who would eventually be moving on to their own country. No evidence exists of Aborigine wars among themselves, especially for purposes of territorial gain and political domination.

All people moved, within known bounds, and all tribes had countries which were distinguished from other countries by related magic and traditional spiritual ties. There was no reason to believe these new people looked upon the land in a different way, or that they expected to stay on land that obviously was not their country. But they did.

The original policies of the British Colonial Office directed neither military nor cultural subjugation of the natives. Governor Phillip and his successors were directed to establish friendly relations and discover ways in which the two peoples could maintain an intercourse from which both would profit. As difficulties occurred from the usurpation of native territories this policy-attitude was made more explicit. Until about 1840 the Aborigines were to be considered British subjects, no wars were to be carried on against them, and any incidents of conflict were to be treated as disputes between co-citizens and handled by the normal mechanisms of British justice. Concomitant with this policy of co-citizenship developed the sentiment that civilization and Christianity, inseparable, should be made available to "improve" the Aborigines.

Such policies of conciliation, semi-partnership and mutual aid would have required a good knowledge of native society and culture, a means for communication on an equal basis, and a great amount of cooperation and understanding on the part of the Aborigines. None of these were present. The management of a penal colony was eventually further complicated by the management of a colony consisting of both convicts and free settlers, 12,000 miles from the homeland, in a land

of unfamiliar climate, flora, fauna and agricultural problems. The prevailing attitude of the settlers was one of racial and cultural superiority over the natives, and many treated the Aborigines as a part of the local fauna that interfered with their agricultural pursuits. Official policies do not necessarily reflect or determine popular attitudes.

In fact, the Aborigines were an obstacle. As the sedentary settlement slowly expanded the Aborigines had no place to go: even a "part-country" would be both spiritually and economically destructive. Without postulating what psychological processes occurred, we can see the economic conflict as being disastrous for the Aborigines. They were stopped from hunting, and their native foods were destroyed.

In the areas of settlement during this early period the whites were concentrated and well armed. They were able to support their take-over of the land and their use of it for agriculture and pastoralism. The Aborigines tried to continue their only known way of life and hunted the white's cattle and sheep. This did not lead to wars, as the Aborigine had no political mechanism or precedents for such action, but white retaliation caused death and an increasing depopulation of the native tribes. Disease, famine, and perhaps the stress at losing their countries added to this depopulation, and it remained as one result of contact into the present century.

At a public meeting in Sydney in 1826, it was declared by men of high positions that the Aboriginal was not a human being and that there was therefore no more guilt in shooting him than in shooting a dingo (Bell 1963:461).

The Outback

For 25 years the boundaries of the settlement were limited by the rugged plateau west of Sydney. Explorers sought passages through by following river beds, but it was not until Blaxland marched up the ridges in 1813 that a relatively easy route to the western plains of New South Wales was discovered. Soon after, Evans reached the site of Bathurst, about 100 miles northwest of Sydney, and settlement occurred there in 1815.

New South Wales was still sparsely settled and predominantly a penal colony. Colonists did not immediately flock westward in large numbers. However an impetus to expanded settlement was developing. Macarthur had imported merino sheep from the warm, dry plains of Spain, and found that they prospered on this new land.

As the number of freed convicts and free settlers increased, hardy pastoralists moved west to squat on and claim virgin lands. From 1835 to 1851 the population quadrupled to 437,000 (Taylor 1931:89). There were now more whites in a still small area of Australia than there were Aboriginies on the entire continent.

As pastoralist-settlers moved into more remote areas the concentration of the white population was lower in the outback than it had been in the first settlement. As the agents of contact these squatters had the strength of the white authorities, and their own superior weapons, to back up their imposition on native lands, but a knowledge of some of their activities and cultural elements was diffused among various tribes

before situations of abrupt clash occurred. Though individual incidents of conflict continued, and one white reaction was the organization of punitive expeditions against the natives, factors developed which provided a type of mutual adaptation.

The Aborigine was faced with a loss of the traditional mechanisms for subsistence, and the pastoralists had neither the necessary labor force nor the money to pay white workers. The Aborigines learned that by doing a certain amount of work on these stations, and by providing females (which will be discussed in a later section), they could remain in their home country and acquire the elements of the white's culture that appealed to them such as sugar, tobacco, tea, flour and iron. Elkin calls this phase or type of adaptation "intelligent parasitism" (1951:172).

Due to the fact that the whites in these marginal areas were few, and that there was unsettled land that the Aborigines could "retreat" to, if forced to, their adaptation was through a selection of desired elements at a cost they considered at first worthwhile and eventually necessary. Neither their basic values nor their systems of relationships were immediately altered.

In the course of a couple of generations, station Aborigines had woven station activity and certain European goods into their social and economic organization and into their psychology without upsetting the fundamentals of their social behavior or beliefs. The country was still their geographical and spiritual home. . . " (Elkin 1964:365).

It would appear then, at least in this case, that in a culture-contact

situation that does not produce complete imposition, but allows some selection, one or both cultures can be flexible enough to adopt elements without a necessary disequilibrium resulting in the society.

However adaptation of cultural elements, especially when it involves some activities, produces a change in the integrated whole that is "a culture." Whereas the Aborigines were previously economically dependent on their hunting and gathering on the land, many now became dependent on their employment. It is true that they maintained, to an ever lessening degree, the spiritual aspects of their life and their kinship and totemic systems. In fact, to the occasional frustration but sometimes encouragement of the station owners, they would at certain times leave the stations to travel the sacred paths and perform necessary ceremonies. But in order to acquire a substantial portion of their food, and in order to acquire items necessary in their systems of obligatory exchange, work on the stations was necessary. This work, done outside the monetary exchange system of the whites, eventually produced a condition of dependent pauperism. Naturally, the Aborigines in territories, or countries, still not reached by the settlers continued the traditional ways of life completely.

The adaptation in marginal regions, which involved a system of exchanges between Aborigine and white, was eventually to cause cultural disorganization. The situation on the missions was interrelated with what occurred on stations and in outback settlements, but it will be discussed later. What is significant now is the difference in the mutual

dependence of native and newcomer. The white was an individual representative, while the entire highly integrated Aborigine society was inextricably related with the activities of the men who worked on the stations, so that their culture was changed and changing because of these activities.

An important reason for the eventual disorganization, or "break-down," of native culture even in these marginal areas, so that it no longer was a functioning entity successful in maintaining continuity, was the growing desire of the young to acquire more elements of the white culture. Many of those born and raised on or near settlements, stations or missions decided the activities and possessions of the whites should be sought even at the expense of neglecting tribal duties. Despite the fact that the sentiment of obligatory gift giving and exchange was still largely present even in these new desires, the young were willing to forego some of their own cultural needs in order to please the whites and gain what they considered to be rewards. The whites, naturally finding this commendable, undermined the authority of the tribal elders. The elders, as their reaction, often refused to entrust to these young men the tribal knowledge and rituals that would be necessary to make them full members of their own society. These younger Aborigines were later to find themselves, through tribal ignorance and white reluctance to allow full assimilation, to belong to neither society. The tribes were broken into numerous individuals, who were disenfranchised and disillusioned. Their cultural environment was, and often still is,

a composite of conflicting and fragmentary aspects from both societies.

Missions: Nineteenth Century

Naturally the various contact situations did not occur in a neat chronological sequence. There are still Aborigines just adjusting to sedentary life, and there are those who never lived the traditional life. The divisions we have made are for the purpose of identifying the primary features of isolatable situations. Thus in this section on missions I am not describing any specific mission. It is the general situation on missions in the nineteenth century and their impact on traditional culture that I am concerned with.

The contact situation on missions was somewhat distinct from that in areas of concentration, and though related, different from that on outback stations. Missions were settlements in outback areas set up with the distinct purpose of directing cultural change. Christian missionary societies worked with the expressed goal of converting "heathens" to the Christian Faith. In the earlier days, and to some extent now, Christianization was looked upon by all segments of the white population as being equated with civilization. With the idea that becoming Europeanized was "a prerequisite to their salvation" (Berndt R & C 1952:74), the missionaries made it an inflexible rule that Aborigines wishing conversion must repudiate and reject all tribal customs. Thus, besides teaching the precepts of the Christian Faith, missionaries sought to establish the Aborigines in sedentary homes, instruct them in

trades useful to the white community, and mainly to teach the children the values of the new culture and the "errors" of the old.

Such "errors" as nudity, promiscuous sexual behavior (from the missionary point of view) and initiation rituals were especially combated. The reward of shedding these "vices" was not only the privilege of furthering their knowledge of Christianity, but also, significantly, certain material comforts and provisions that were both attractive and necessary for the Aborigines whose land was being continually taken. Certain missionaries of special zeal, and having sincere concern for the physical and spiritual welfare of the natives, raised the ire of the Aborigine elders and also of the white authorities. The latter sometimes felt white prestige being threatened when Aborigines were taught that universal brotherhood gave them certain rights in their relations with the whites. Racism has always been to some degree present in the contact situation. However it was the Aborigine elders who suffered the greatest loss of prestige.

The main weapon of the missionaries, in finding resistance much stronger than anticipated, was in establishing "boarding" schools for children who could be taught at an early age "to ridicule the beliefs, interests and customs of their parents and grandparents" (Berndt R & C 1952:79). Since many of the adults desired to continue the established way of life as much as possible they found it expedient to leave the children with the missionaries who would care for their physical needs. It is true that they did not stay permanently at the missions, but the

high degree of contact with the missionaries lessened their ability to learn by experience the knowledge required to participate in their traditional society, and the ideas they learned lessened their respect for tribal ways.

The conflicts caused by initiation and marriage were interesting and relevant. Young men were taught that the former was not only unnecessary, it was evil and degrading. The elders, on one hand, sometimes physically forced young men to go through the rituals of initiation, and on the other hand often were reluctant to pass on the sacred tribal knowledge to men they considered unfit and unable to provide for the continuity of the old way of life.

As for marriage, the missionaries were anxious for young men and women who apparently were converted to marry and establish Christian families. Considering the complexity of factors that dictated who should marry in the Aborigine sociocultural setting, these mission marriages were usually in complete variance with Aborigine custom, and were looked upon by the orthodox as being incestuous relations and invalid as marriages.

These marriages, and the lack of initiation, further separated the generations. The older people, seeing their numbers dwindle, and sensing the destruction of their culture, resisted as much as possible. The young people, not necessarily the same as those on the stations, oversimplified the sacrifices and obstacles in their way to the desirable aspects of white culture. The result was the same as with the station

workers.

Preoccupied with the adoption of European ways, these men and women often failed to grasp the significance of their role as agents in the destruction of the Aborigine culture. When, as sometimes happened, they met with frustration and disillusionment in the new way of life, it was too late for them to revoke their choice. They were no longer members of the indigenous society, as a society, or participants in its culture (Berndt R & C 1952:88-89).

Mixed Bloods

By 1880 the Aborigine population had decreased from an estimated 300,000 to approximately 75,000 (Bell 1963:444). But while the population had decreased the number of mixed-bloods had increased. This is related to the historical fact that from the first settlement until well into the nineteenth century the proportion of male whites to female whites was great. This was especially true in the outback situations. However it cannot be assumed that the whites bought, raped or wooed the native females. The cultural aspects of Aborigine sex behavior must be considered.

In the mid-nineteenth century many aspects of Aborigine culture/society had radically changed, and some of the changes involved the adoption of white cultural elements. However these elements were such things as material objects and food. Clothing was imposed on most Aborigines who had continual association with whites; the white's foods were both desired and necessary to supplement the lessening amounts of food gotten by hunting; and metal utensils and rifles were acquired

when possible. However the acquisition of sociocultural institutions was limited. The Christian religion was adopted by some on missions, but not all, and this usually involved individual conversions rather than the acceptance of Christianity by social units of natives. Thus the values associated with marriage patterns and the relationship between marriage and sex from the Aborigine point of view must be considered when discussing the emergence of mixed-bloods.

As was mentioned earlier the Aborigine recognized no biological causality in conception, and the relationship between sex and marriage was different than in the white's culture. This does not mean cultural rules did not exist concerning proper and improper sexual activity, but the rules allowed the woman to have sexual relations with certain men if she herself chose, and enjoined her to have sexual relations with certain other men. Aborigine husbands

used the sexual services of their wives to satisfy obligations of friendship and hospitality and...also condoned affairs between their wives and the appropriate relatives. Thus we encounter a very different concept of marriage from that which is prevalent in white Australian society, in which the exclusive physical bond between husband and wife is specifically mentioned in the religious marriage ceremony (Reay 1963:26).

The nineteenth century adaptation situations, where Aborigines were dependent upon the whites for subsistence, included the element of concubinage. Whites sometimes gained sexual access to native females by intimidation, but whether the white man realized it or not, most of his relationships adhered to Aborigine morality. Certain cases

involved obligation on the part of the native husband, and certain others involved a culturally approved desire on the part of the woman to have sexual relations with white men who also desired it. Some of these unions, here always involving white men who were geographically and/or socially distant from the main white community, consummated in common-law or even legal marriages.

The progeny of all such unions were, and still are, considered legally to be Aborigines. Where the union was a temporary liason between a station owner, a miner or perhaps a transient drover and a married native woman the child was born within the native community and brought up the same way as a full-blood. Where the woman was the mistress shared by native and white, but living for an extended period of time with the white man, the child might be born with the aid of a doctor and live in the white man's home as long as the woman remained also. There were cases where white men compelled these children to acquire the rudiments of education and perhaps Christianity, but most often the child was considered to belong to the mother and her people. This was probably because the union was more explicitly for sexual purposes rather than propagation. However since a woman rarely remained with a white man on such a permanent basis that their children grew to early adulthood in such a situation, eventually both mother and children would return on a permanent basis to the native community with a native father and family. Here again both would be accepted as full members of the group, with the "real" father of the

mixed-blood child being the woman's Aborigine husband. Since the woman was not "immoral," her sexual activities with whites did not cause her condemnation. A white woman who had had such a relationship with an Aborigine would probably have found it impossible to return to the white community with complete acceptance.

An interesting question concerning the progeny of mixed race unions is how did the Aborigine continue to deny biological causation? Eventually of course some did not deny it. This was probably due to several reasons, such as the breakdown of some aspects of their spiritual life, and the teaching of new knowledge related to a new system of morality: the Church of England. But it cannot be deduced that when some of the physical features of the white men appeared among their own children the native saw the physiological light. The whites, after all, must also have come from spirits; and more obviously brought new magic and new totemic affiliations into the country with them. I find it reasonable to believe that for those Aborigines whose culture was only superficially changed by the adoption of certain material objects, and who "wove" the new situation into their traditional view of life, a traditional explanation (if one was ever needed) would suffice to explain the arrival of intermediary types.

Later in the nineteenth century some of the mixed-bloods became recognized as a distinct group. By "recognized" I mean that they, and the two full-blood groups, saw their status and some of their expected

behavior as being different from the pure Aborigine and the pure white. The mixed-bloods who gained this distinction were usually those who married whites and adopted a more white way of life, such as living in a permanent home, being a Christian, knowing how to read and write, sending their children to school, and explicitly severing most, if not all, social ties with the camp-dwelling natives. They considered themselves superior to the camp Aborigines, the whites considered them superior, and the camp-dweller recognized that in any situation involving whites the mixed-blood would be considered superordinate to the full-blood. This still appears to be the case today, especially in towns.

In two following sections the subject of mixed-bloods will again be considered, and hopefully produce a clearer picture of this very complicated aspect of contact between racially distinctive groups.

The Camp

As a result of the breakdown of traditional means of cohesion, and forced movements of Aborigines from their own countries, a new social form evolved. This was the permanent camp. The term "camp Aborigine" refers to those living in these permanent camp areas near, but physically separate from, white settlements. The settlement may be a town, a mission, a government station, or any other situation where government rations and possibly temporary employment is available. Among some natives the camp replaced the semi-nomadic band as the primary social structure. These camps still exist in outback areas.

Where they are near towns, the usually mixed-blood town-dwelling Aborigines have higher status, as has been mentioned, because the town-dwellers have a higher frequency of personal contact with the white town-dweller, and a higher degree of emulation of white culture.

Though developing as a response to the destructive aspects of culture-contact, in the nineteenth century the dependency of camp Aborigines on whites was only partial. Natives continued to hunt and gather and fish, when possible, and their dependency was related to the degree these food acquiring techniques were available. It was also related to the degree they were desirable. Many Aborigines, motivated by a desire for elements of the white man's culture, moved from camp to camp as they discovered, or believed, a new place would make the acquisition more possible. It must therefore be recognized that while the camp-site was permanent, a percentage of the inhabitants were always transients. Some were trying to maintain the traditional life, and others were trying to move from it to the white man's way. Both motivation and mobility were becoming individualized.

What I believe must be emphasized is that all changes due to culture-contact are both results and causes. For example, depopulation was one result of the breakdown of the traditional economic system, the introduction of new diseases, and armed conflicts. In its turn depopulation had an influence on some aspects of the traditional marriage patterns, the kinship system, the territoriality structure, and the authority of the elders, to name just a few. In the same sense, the

camps resulted from, and caused, changes in Aborigine society/culture.

J. H. Bell notes that women living in camps no longer served a vital economic role, and this resulted in the virtual disappearance of polygamous marriages (1963:463). Also, camps were not exogamous and marriages took place between camp members. Thus kinship united segments of the camp, rather than all members, or members from different bands. Continual propinquity also caused the development of solidarities among some camp members who had no traditional kinship or totemic ties. Because the camps became distribution points for government rations late in the nineteenth century, the camps became larger in population than the local bands had been. Rather than being units in which each member shared a known system of totemic and kinship relationships, they were comprised of a collection of tribal remnants. Membership, unlike in the local bands, was neither automatic nor permanent.

These factors of course contributed to the breakdown of traditional social systems. Social affiliations become often arbitrary, depending on the location of individuals, and new affiliations were manifested in altered traditional ways. For example, walkabouts usually continued, but the paths and sites were not always the same as they would have been if the individuals involved belonged to a tribe unaltered by contact. Perhaps the really important result of the camp was in moving the individual from a *gemeinschaft* unit in which known

and traditionally sanctioned patterns would determine his relationships, to a somewhat gesellschaft situation where personal relationships and place of residence were to some degree freely determined.

1880 - 1930: Protectionist Policies

By the early 1840's enough settlers were moving west so that the natives either adapted (as described earlier), retreated or died out, or tried to combat the intruders by sporadic incidents of clash. When the latter occurred the settlers did not depend on time consuming legal mechanisms. They usually retaliated with force, or sometimes initiated the conflict themselves to get rid of local natives. The influence of England was far less in the outback than it had been in the first settlement.

As local legislatures gained more power, with their representatives from the marginal regions, little more than formal recognition was given to the position of the Aborigines as British subjects; it was just hoped that the settlers in "protecting" their ventures, would be as restrained as possible (Elkin 1951:180).

In no situation where the whites established numerical superiority and/or complete control of the land were the Aborigine tribes able to survive. To the individuals who survived the white's concern with personal private property and their intrusion on lands to which the native had spiritual connection were barriers to understanding. An unavoidable attitude of superiority was the prevailing sentiment of the whites, strengthened by the native's "inability" to see what the whites took to the obvious advantages of civilization and Christianity. The

often articulated view was that a primitive food gathering people were doomed to extinction when in contact with a civilized people.

Being of an inferior status, and not being allowed to participate in the economic system of the whites, many natives took to begging as a new form of "hunting." The view began to become ingrained in the Aborigine attitude that the whites owed them subsistence as the price for taking their lands and means of supporting themselves. This view is still present among many.

By the end of the nineteenth century, seeing that the extinction of the race was becoming imminent, humanitarian sentiments arose among many influential whites and eventually inspired the authorities to establish protectionist policies. These were not improvement-oriented policies incorporating systematic education, markedly improved health facilities, or the training and inclusion of Aborigines into the monetary economic system. They were, at least until 1920, largely based on the assumption that the Aborigines, as an inferior race, could not function within the white community, and that the reported atrocities that were still occurring against Aborigines in far outback places and the obvious destitute and deteriorating condition of most natives presented the whites with a moral obligation to "smooth the dying pillow" of a soon to be lost "stone-age" race. Government rations were provided in areas about the country, where the camps were situated on the fringes of white communities, and the natives were

provided with such things as blankets, some medicine, and food.

Their position of dependency was emphasized, and the rate of depopulation slightly eased.

However there was eventually included in these protectionist policies a mechanism that revealed some hope, or belief, that extinction could be averted. This was the establishment of inviolable reservations, "missionaries and anthropologists possibly being admitted" (Elkin 1964:365). These were, and still are, large tracts of land in outback areas where the natives could continue their traditional life to some degree, and also receive aid when needed.

The Development of Assimilation Policies

I will temporarily continue the concern with policy changes because in the twentieth century the effects of official policy on contact situations have been increasing. State governments, and Federal government agencies directly influence the relationships of whites and Aborigines in many areas. Also, the most relevant contact situation of the twentieth century is the emergence of an urban Aborigine population, and this will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The implementation of plans to segregate the Aborigine for purposes of protection from exploitation and abuses occurred immediately after World War I. Not long after, the view became articulated that they must not only be protected, but also saved. This would necessitate the means for providing the broad education necessary for

such a change. In some respects this view reflected the British policies of a century earlier, but the sociocultural situation of the white community was very altered from its beginnings as a penal colony. The situation of the majority of natives was also different, so with these variables changed, the results of the policy could be expected to be different.

Two aspects of the white value structure of special importance at this time were the desire for social welfare legislation, and the White-Australia policy. The latter has had marked political and social implications, and its history from the beginning of this century to today is of great interest.

The White-Australian policy was first supported by the Labor Party as a means for keeping out Asians and Polynesians who were being imported as cheap labor, and thus endangering the welfare of the Australian working man. It was also supported and justified for other reasons more related to our concern. The Reverend Dr. Andrew Harper sought to answer critics by explaining the meaning of, and reasons for, the policy:

In general terms, then, the "White-Australia" policy is the policy which seeks to prevent the free influx into Australia of labourers and artisans belonging to races whose traditions, and whose political, social and religious ideals differ so much from ours, that it would be very difficult in any reasonable time to assimilate them, and if they came in masses, impossible (1920: 444).

This valid concern with the possible problems of acculturation and eventual assimilation naturally leads to the question concerning Australia's own native population. Of this Harper says:

We have taught and helped them in their own land, and we have sought to preserve them by prohibiting white men from entering the reserves set apart for them. . . . We seek to prevent their premature and compulsory association with the white man. We refuse to remove them from their own land, or to break up the healthy measure of isolation in which they live there, lest they should become mere hewers to wood and drawers of water for a different and more advanced race (1920:446).

This statement reveals the widespread paternalistic sentiments, a remarkable disregard of previous associations between white and native, and an interesting interpretation of what is the Aborigine's "own land."

Harper and others deny any racial prejudice in these policies, but some recent writers believe racial bias exists in regard to the Aborigine (Elkin 1951) (Tatz 1966), and that an atmosphere of intolerance is related to the White-Australia policy (Ward 1963). There is no doubt that the racial distinction has influenced the views of both groups, and is of importance in considering the assimilation aims of the government to the present day.

These assimilation policies, begun in the mid 1930's, were interestingly enough related to anthropological work on the continent. One reason for the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney in 1925 was to provide administrators and

missionaries in New Guinea with the knowledge gained by anthropological research. Their concerns were logically also turned to their own continent.

Anthropologists not only demonstrated the "humanity" of the Aborigines, and disputed the view that they were a "lower" or aberrant race, they provided systematic knowledge of their sociocultural life that welfare societies, missionaries and government agencies could use to better understand contact situations. This is not to say an "enlightened" public demanded immediate changes, but many administrators felt policies aimed at eventual full citizenship for the Aborigines as a necessary goal in legislation regarding the native population. Professor Elkin, who has been an instrumental supporter of such policies for over thirty years, said in 1951:

Positive policies have been slowly, hesitantly, but surely developed and implemented. . . . Appreciation of the Aborigine is increasing; prejudice is being tackled; and the opposition to the education of the Aborigine as citizens of Australia is being firmly faced and overcome (1951:185).

A contemporary statement by an Aborigine of Adelaide somewhat reveals the distinction between optimistic views and the problem involved:

White people don't like us. They call us dirty niggers. They're only nice to us when they want something out of us. So why should we care what we do to them? They're only a b----- lot of b----- anyway, and they aren't any better than us, whatever they might think (Berndt R & C 1952:250).

George Dutton and the Present Day Outback

In previous sections I have dealt with generalized situations, and the descriptions have been of what occurred in the past. Some of the situations, in form anyway, are also occurring now, modified by twentieth century policies. To temporarily alter the method, it would be relevant to present a biographical account of one mixed-blood Aborigine's life, as recorded by Jeremy Beckett (1958:91-103). First, such an account will present a less generalized view of some of the occurrences mentioned; second, it will provide a limited look at the results of some twentieth century policies and sentiments; and third, it will provide a personalized link between the past and the present, especially useful since the present is the subject of the next chapter.

George Dutton is not an Aborigine-Everyman. Beckett states that he must not be taken as being completely typical. That, perhaps, can be said of the life of any person when compared to the generalizations produced by analysis. However I will try to point out not only some occurrences in his life, but also certain features of his cultural environment applicable to a wider view.

The northwest corner of New South Wales was not the scene of contact until 1860. It is arid country, and though sparsely settled for a century, has never been an area of abrupt contact between concentrated groups. However the contact between pastoralists, miners and natives did cause many fatal incidents of clash, native depopulation, and the early emergence of a mixed-blood population. It has been a

familiar outback situation in that the breakdown of traditional social units caused increased mobility, individual motivation, nontraditional affiliations, and a degree of adaptation to the new sociocultural phenomena.

Dutton was born in the early 1880's, one generation after contact. Though he had an Aborigine father his biological father was a white transient stockman, with whom his father had an amicable relationship. "Aborigine men do not seem to have harboured any resentment against their half-cast children" (Beckett 1958:97). Dutton's mother was a Wonjgumara, his father a Malianjaba, and he was born in the country of the Bandjigali. This "mixture" is related to what we have spoken of as a result of forced and/or voluntary movements, the existence of permanent camps, and the emergence of individually motivated affiliations. Dutton's early life further shows these features: when his mother died, he and his father traveled over an extensive area including parts of Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia.

The conditions of his initiation can be compared to the previously described traditional way. His first sentence is revealing: "They were chasing me for a year before they got me" (Ibid.:97). Duplicity and force, not communally recognized authority, were used by his father, his malandji (a potential brother-in-law who guides one through the ceremony), and the other men involved. Once he tried to sneak away from the group, but returned when tricked into believing his father was sick. Presumably he could have left those interested in initiating him,

but the price would have been permanent separation from his kin and associates. Finally, after open requests by his father and malandji, he agreed to submit. The ceremony is not described, except to say he exchanged gifts with his malandji and he was circumcised. An immediate consequence of initiation was his being able to observe the initiation of another young man.

This was like showing you how to circumcize so you can get your own back. They compel you to go. When we got up there, they had him caught and everything. That night they had the singsong. They speeded things up. We sang the milia all night and put the fellow through (Ibid.:98).

Dutton later was initiated into a higher level of the spiritual hierarchy, and thus could fully participate in ceremonies whenever he encountered Aborigine groups. The Aborigines of these various "groups" had by now developed a race consciousness, so that an individual transient was able to participate in ceremonial activities solely on the basis of being an Aborigine, rather than on the basis of traditional totemic and kinship affiliations. He became a known expert and leader of the ceremonial life in several areas.

However Dutton's interests and beliefs again reveal the element of choice, and the results of a changing way of life. His only interest was in the elaborate, dramatic initiation ceremonies still being carried out in some outback regions. He learned the rituals and songs connected with them, and as Beckett's informant could remember details of ceremonies no longer performed. He would not tell Beckett certain of the intimate secrets of his group, claiming he had seen men

magically killed for doing this. On the other hand "the tales of ghosts and rainbow serpents... the metaphysical aspect of Aboriginal culture and the increase ceremonies dating from the hunting days count for much less" (Ibid.:99). They did not interest him. As a further example of changing values due to contact, Dutton always dug up and sold whatever opals and gold he found, and hoped his knowledge of one myth would help him find a treasure. In the traditional life opals and gold were always supposed to be covered up, being the blood and feathers of a spirit snake.

As a traveling pastoral worker Dutton was known by whites and Aborigines as a good horseman and bushman. He said that during his days as a drover, horse breaker, bullock driver and fencer, early in the century, he had friendly relations with most of his white co-workers. But he did relate remembered incidents of discrimination in hotels (bars), and sometimes in the eating and sleeping arrangements for station workers. When he did meet discrimination he demanded, or tried to force, equal treatment and claims he was usually successful. However the majority of Aborigines, both mixed- and full-blood, had learned their subordinate position and would have been "too shy" to participate socially with whites if they had the chance.

By the 1920's the native population had sharply decreased, authorities moved many to further outback sites, the younger generation did not participate in traditional ceremonies, and George Dutton, after 1927, never again travelled outside New South Wales or partici-

pated in the rituals at which he was so skilled. He married, perhaps unwillingly, and raised a family.

As a younger man Dutton had always been interested in learning as much as possible of the ceremonies and songs of other native groups. When he settled in Tibooburra he sought to satisfy this type of interest by associating with the Chinese and Afghans, until they disappeared, and then with the Greeks at Broken Hill. Eventually he was baptized by a Roman Catholic priest. He explained a liking for the church hymns, and related and integrated what Christianity he knew with Aborigine religion. As for definite belief he said, "Of course, a man can't be sure; it's only what you hear" (Ibid.:101).

In 1935 the white authorities persuaded the Aborigines to move from Tibooburra to another settlement (probably prompted by local whites), and Dutton settled in Wilcannia, south of Tibooburra on the Darling River. At the time of the study it was still necessary for an Aborigine in New South Wales to get an exemption certificate to receive a pension, and be allowed otherwise illicit activities such as buying liquor or entering a hotel. When Dutton was too old to work he had received the exemption, more easily acquired by generally assimilated mixed-bloods, and in 1958 was spending much of his time at the hotel drinking with acquaintances and endlessly playing cards. His friends were both Aborigines and whites, but with neither group was he able to productively function, or have his past accomplishments appreciated.

The restrictive laws against his people, and the fact that those

remaining had no interest in the old ways somewhat embittered Dutton. "These darkies have got no right to go fighting for the whites that stole their country. Now they won't let 'em into the hotel. They've got to gulp down plonk in the lavatory" (Ibid.:101-102). Many of his people, he felt, died because of being taken from their country, thought this could never happen to such a travelled man as himself. Also, many died during his lifetime because of too much poisoning and fatal magic. The "destruction" of his people, especially evident in New South Wales during his lifetime, was due ultimately to their maladaptation to the contact situation.

It's not so bad that the whitefeller came, but it spoiled the people. It made 'em ashamed to talk their own lingo. Some of them can't even ask for a bit of bread or meat. They were better off in the old days, camped on their own, working on stations. They always had a bit of money. They knew who their aunties and cousins were. Now they got educated they think they're better than other people; they're always telling lies" (Ibid.:103).

Not knowing the pre-contact life, Dutton was looking back at the outback adaptation situation as being best; when some aspects of the traditional life continued, and a man could gain recognition for his knowledge of traditional ways and also by those skills appreciated by the whites. Protection oriented policies were largely responsible for discriminatory laws, while not always successful in preventing the breakdown of the traditional way of life. Assimilation policies have been responsible for the education Dutton complained of, for the continuing elimination of discriminatory laws, but also for other

problems apparently not easily solved by laws or policies.

Beckett feels race relations in this outback area have deteriorated, and that now the Aborigines are distinguished only by their color and depressed standard of living. They have no roles of value to the whites, and have long since abandoned even the crafts and arts of the traditional life.

One reason for the sentiment of separateness on the part of the whites has been the increase in the white female population, and the concomitant increase in certain moral values that conflict with the view of Aborigine life.

Those most ready to associate with Aborigines are the itinerant, unattached white pastoral workers who drift in and out of town and are most likely to work alongside them. Those least ready to associate with them are the settled, more solid sections of the town community who may be taken to have a more or less fixed position in relation to their neighbours and whose way of life indicates a regard for propriety and elegance (Ibid.:94).

Of course, as has been said, situations differ. In some parts of New South Wales, and in other states, training centers have been established as directed attempts at assimilation. Recently this has produced a certain amount of economic absorption of Aborigine wage earners. This will be more fully discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT

Variety of Situations

In every contact situation the native realized that even when he made efforts to adopt European ways the success he expected escaped him. He had been taught, either explicitly or implicitly, to despise his old ways and model his conduct after the way of the "superior" race. But to completely sever all ties with his background and accept what the white society considered normal routines and ideas was difficult. This was to a large extent due to the fact that the white community was not really willing to accept him on terms of equal economic and social status.

The present contact situations are very varied. There are still some Aborigines who have yet to have contact with sedentary whites, who do not speak English, and who continue the traditional tribal way of life. This is not to say there are "lost tribes," since even these natives have occasional contact with government officials, travelers and perhaps anthropologists. But their way of life is far less influenced by whites than the great majority of Aborigines. There are other Aborigines who are making their first contacts, or who, like their parents continue in a contact situation with missions, outback stations

and settlements. Those working on stations share, not equally, the monetary economy of white workers, and the present situation on missions is usually one where the missionaries, directed by the government, try to integrate Christianity with other aspects of the native's life, rather than demand concomitant acceptance of all white culture.

Native reserves still exist. The largest are in sections of the Gibson Desert and the Great Victoria Desert: areas still unsuitable for white settlement. There is also a large reserve in eastern Arnhem Land, and smaller reservations in other states. Welfare societies and government officials meet with varying degrees of success in attempting to provide education, health services and protection. There also is variation in the degree agencies and officials comply with present day assimilation policies. The question of the continuing existence of reserves, within a limited circle of concerned people, is a controversial subject.

There are Aborigines who live camp lives on the fringe of areas where seasonal work and/or government aid is available, and there are Aborigines, both full- and mixed-blood who live in small communities where certain types of labor, for which they have had training, is available. Finally, there are those who were born or who grew to adulthood in the largest cities, who speak no native language, and who never lived the traditional way. These will be considered in more detail later.

Population

It was mentioned earlier that after the first century of contact the native population had decreased by approximately 75 percent. This depopulation continued well into the present century, but has recently been reversed. At present the Aborigine birth rate is higher than that of the whites, and except for the growth of the white population due to immigration, the Aborigine growth rate is greater (Dean 1966a). Recognizing that an exact count of natives in remote areas is impossible, and that many light mixed-bloods (some octoroons and lesser castes) have been missed, the following tabulation presents the population statistics of 1961.

Table 1. Aboriginal Population and Distribution in Australia, 1961
(Based on, Bell:445).

| <u>State or Territory</u> | <u>Full-bloods</u> | <u>Mixed-bloods</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| New South Wales | 250 | 13,000 | 13,250 |
| Victoria | 208 | 1,069 | 1,277 |
| Queensland | 9,100 | 7,211 | 16,311 |
| South Australia | 2,139 | 2,983 | 5,122 |
| Western Australia | 20,338 | 5,896 | 26,234 |
| Northern Territory | 13,900 | 1,247 | 15,147 |
| Australian Capital Territory | - | 100 | 100 |
| TOTAL | 45,935 | 31,506 | 77,441 |

R. L. Dean stated late in 1966 that the Aborigine population of the Northern Territory was 20,000. Rather than explain this difference

totally in terms of population increase, the 4,853 increase over the 1961 count must be somewhat due to a different estimate. At any rate the total in 1967 must be clearly over 80,000.

Physical Changes Due to Contact

In the traditional setting the natives adjusted to their environment successfully, though not in a way to produce a large population. Pre-contact diseases, the usually harsh semi-nomadic life, and infanticide were some reasons for a low population density. Changes in the physical environment due to culture-contact have caused some physiological changes in the Aborigine population. These changes, some certain and some assumed on present information, have been summarized by A. A. Abbie, of the University of Adelaide (1960:140-144).

It has been mentioned that new diseases were an instrumental factor in native depopulation. Such diseases were influenza, measles, chicken pox and scarlet fever. Tuberculosis and gonorrhoea were also introduced, but Abbie feels early recordings of syphilis were really yaws or granuloma. Yaws apparently was present before contact, and it seems now that this disease produces some cross-immunity to syphilis. Besides yaws malaria, hookworm, granuloma and filaria were present in the northeast, introduced via Indonesia or New Guinea, but these were limited to the coast and the bulk of the population had a marked absence of common infections prior to contact with the British. The

quantity of deaths attributed to introduced diseases leads to the hypothesis that the survivors exhibited, and genetically reproduced, a higher grade of immunity. Because of this, and the improvement of medical care, such infectious diseases as mentioned could not now have the effect they had during the times of first contacts.

The native diet had consisted of hunted animals and seasonally available plants. While diet varied by area, it can be stated that it was generally sufficient, that hunting provided a high meat protein content, but that there was little fat and sugar. European flour was quickly preferred to the traditionally produced grit-laden type made from grass seeds, and sugar is especially prized. Meat protein consumption is much less now, due to it being relatively expensive, but beef and mutton, post-contact meats, contain more fat than available from indigenous animals. Deficiencies caused by a dietary maladaptation, or the inaccessibility of nutritive variety, has sometimes caused scurvy and kwashiorkor.

Dietary changes have also caused dental deterioration. The traditional coarse diet ensures vigorous mastication. Teeth wear evenly and secondary dentine forms to prevent pulp exposure. Malformations and periapical abscesses occur but are rare. With the new diet, especially as a result of sugar and flour, caries has become very common, and Aborigines seem less resistant to it than whites.

Cultural changes related to clothing and housing also have had effects. It was noted that in the traditional life the Aborigines have

neither, and therefore have no traditional methods of caring for them. When acquiring clothing either through choice or imposition the native, especially the camp or outback settlement dweller, often wears the same clothes continuously even when it becomes verminous and ragged. This apparently has been a cause of infectious diseases. Another result has been the loss of melanin in the skin of people who continually wear clothing. Not being a deeply pigmented race, this makes them susceptible to serious sunburn, a potentially dangerous malady on most of the continent.

Housing is often unhygienic. "There is no longer the continual exposure to the sterilizing rays of the sun, and the natives have lost their old superstitious urge to effective disposal of excreta"(Abbie 1960: 141). Abbie is here referring to the common practice of covering excreta to prevent its being used in harmful magic. Given this condition, magnified by a sedentary setting, gastrointestinal infections, especially in the young, have been frequent. In general, whether diet, housing or clothing is involved, maladaptation is common; but when the medically corrective or beneficial facilities and knowledge is accepted improvement is usual.

One result of modern health facilities and changing cultural values has produced increased health problems. In the traditional setting malformed babies were destroyed. At present greater medical attention, and the extinction of infanticide "opens the way to survival of all kinds of inheritable abnormalities, including those due to recessives,

that would otherwise be eliminated" (Abbie 1960:143).

Of course a conspicuous result of physical change has been the emergence of a mixed-blood population. As can be seen in Table 1 this group is almost as large as the full-blood Aborigine population, and possibly is larger if a substantial number of light mixed-bloods "pass" for white. The latter case is not uncommon. The increase of the mixed-blood population can be emphasized by the findings of Le Gay Brereton in New South Wales: "The average birth-rate and death-rate... was 41.8748 and 13.2056 per 1,000 persons per year, giving a crude net increase of 28.6692. No countries have a higher rate than this except Mexico" (1962:187).

Aborigines and the Law

It must immediately be stated that laws regarding the Aborigines, as with laws applying to all Australians, emanate both from Federal and State legislatures. Also, the difference between prescribed law and described policy is sometimes subtle, but often great and obvious. Though assimilation policies began to be expressed by administrative officials in the 1930's, it was not until 1951 that all Australian governments formally adopted the policy of full assimilation. The directives of the 1951 statement of policy can be summarized in their all-inclusive aims:

full citizenship rights and the further removal of protective and restrictive legislation; the right to the same conditions as other Australians for work of a

similar class, and to full trade union membership; the necessity for adequate inspections of employment conditions and the insistence that employers be subject to supervision and be obligated to conform to prescribed employment regulations; a positive health programme, eradication and control of diseases, satisfactory standards of nutrition, water supply and excreta disposal; housing after the normal Australian manner; where possible, the same conditions as whites in the same schools, at all levels from pre-schooling to adults, by especially qualified teachers; liberalisation of the application of social service benefits to remove anomalies; encouragement of Aboriginal participation in general community activity and the extension of social welfare work (Tatz 1966:74).

The goal of full citizenship, in terms of legal status anyway, was reached in 1964, and discriminatory laws regarding such areas as Aborigine drinking, voting in Federal elections, and even marriage (all previously "controlled" by laws) have been abolished or made less restrictive.

Though the abolition of controls is resented by some Australians, and others feel protectionist laws must be retained because the Aborigine is not yet ready to share the normal Australian way of life, others feel increased freedom has increased responsibility and lessened anti-social behavior.

In New South Wales, all discriminatory clauses in Aboriginal Welfare legislation were removed in 1963, including the prohibition on possessing and drinking alcoholic liquor. The results have been gratifying. Secret and "defiant" drinking has ceased (Elkin 1964: 378).

At present such policies are explicitly emphasized even in newspaper and magazine articles meant to attract settlement. The following is from a recent article by R. L. Dean, Administrator of the Northern

Territory:

The advances which are being made are not for the benefit only of the European members of the community. The Aborigines of the Territory are sharing in our progress. Our policy is one of assimilation. We aim to give Aborigines the education, training and opportunity needed to become full members of the normal Australian community, with all the same rights and responsibilities as their fellow citizens.

The official program is greatly assisted by the Territorians themselves. Renowned for their tolerance, they judge a man by his personal qualities, and not by the colour of his skin.

Those Aborigines with the skills and desire to live in our towns are not restricted to any particular area, or in the use of any facilities. They live, work and play in full partnership with other members of the community (1966b: 66).

It is clear that the "personal qualities," "desire" and "skills" that facilitate "tolerance" are those judged favorable within the basic values, assumptions, and way of life of the white, or "normal," Australian community.

Given these official statements, we can take a closer look at what is now happening in terms of the Aborigine and the law. Here we have a situation of culture-contact in which cultural differences have been underlined by racial differences. From the first contact one culture-race has been superordinate. At first it was due to superior weapons, and eventually it became political and numerical superiority. Unless we consider place names and tourist souvenirs, native legislation has been the most obvious and pervasive result of contact on the white's culture, and it in turn influences what may be

termed a developing Aborigine subculture.

While the Social Welfare Ordinance of 1964 gave full citizenship to all Aborigines, the Ward's Employment Ordinance which controls employment and wages of natives is still enforced by the Commonwealth Government. Thus the minimum wage for Aborigine males in domestic, municipal or pastoral work is approximately \$A6.65 per week, and the minimum wage for females is approximately \$A3.50 (Tatz 1966:77). The minimum wage per week allowable by law for a male white in 1965 was approximately \$A27. The Aborigines are the only Australian citizens who as a group, rather than on the basis of an individual's limitations, can be paid less than one fourth the lawful minimum wage. Coexisting with these wage laws are policies "encouraging" Aborigines to accept the responsibilities of paying tax, rent, school fees, insurance and family feeding and clothing bills.

In 1964 the Licensing Ordinance, regulating the sale and possession of alcoholic beverages, was amended to exclude discriminatory provisions that had applied to the Aborigines. However persons in charge of reserves, the Director of Social Welfare, and individual pastoralists may declare restrictions on the use of liquor on specific land under their control and/or ownership. All missions are dry. All reserves have restricted areas, and any Aborigine caught drinking or possessing liquor in a dry area is subject to a \$A200 fine or six months imprisonment. An increasing number of station owners are declaring their properties dry, with the rule applying to Aborigines only, since

the pastoralists can declare persons exempt from the liquor restrictions. The white staff houses on reserves and missions are outside the restrictions of the new "anti-discriminatory" ordinance.

An interesting and legal situation related to earlier statements about Aborigine wages regards social service benefit payments. Any payments due to Aborigines on missions, settlements or cattle stations are paid to the management for maintenance costs, not to the natives themselves. Also, Aborigines on settlements and missions, which are administered by the government, are ineligible for unemployment benefits because the government provides them with employment. The wages they receive from this employment are less than the amount paid to an unemployed person who is eligible for benefits.

The above cases apply only to situations involving Commonwealth Government jurisdiction. I will not deal with State laws because each is different. An example of this is that the Aborigines in Queensland have the Federal vote, but cannot vote in State elections.

Such anomalies as exist between policy and law, examples of which can be easily multiplied, are not without official justification. For example the wages reported here are minimum levels, with provisions in the law allowing for graduations to levels paid to white Australians. As an Aborigine's competence and "responsibility in the work situation" improves, his wages will theoretically increase. I say "theoretically" because supervised settlements and missions have not increased wages, even when competence is recognized, on

the grounds that it is economically impossible (Tatz 1966:78).

The ultimate justifications for continuing legal distinctions between Aborigine citizens and white citizens can be put into several categories. One category may be termed protectionist oriented: only gradual change can protect the Aborigines from the "ill-effects" that sudden changes in law would cause. Most Aborigines, according to this view, never before having had the responsibility of full legal freedom, must be directed and controlled so as to be gradually prepared for participation in the "normal" community.

Associated with this is what we may call the pragmatic justification. Assimilation, not cultural diversity, is the stated goal. A legal disregard for the cultural distinctiveness that still exists would not serve the aims of the policy. In regard to this,

There has been emphasis on the promotion of such conduct by individuals and conjugal families accepted in white communities. This involves attempts to split off those who appear most promising material for "assimilation" from their own social groups; and the use of schooling to substitute the values of the whites for those of the group (Rowley 1962:254).

A third type of justification is associated with prevailing moral views, and beliefs about Aborigine behavior. While not a statement of policy, it is apparently a widely held view that Aborigines are particularly addicted to alcohol, gambling and sexual promiscuity. To provide them with greater economic means would be to provide them with greater opportunity to indulge in "vice." Some feel that the Aborigine crime rate and "immorality" is directly a result of laws that

have become too liberal. However others feel that laws which discriminate towards a group, rather than individuals, produce the atmosphere and resentment conducive to anti-authoritarian behavior.

Protectionist sentiments towards an indigenous group, policies of assimilation, and moral judgments regarding a specific group of people are as much culture as traditional Aborigine initiation ceremonies. Changing laws and policies are just one indication that culture-contact in Australia is still a dynamic, rather than completed, phenomena.

Urban Aborigines

In the 1930's, probably due to the first emergence of assimilation policies, small numbers of Aborigines who had been exposed to white settlement, culture, and education, began settling in some major cities. During World War II the Australian war effort necessitated large military populations in the north, thus producing immediate contact with previously semi-isolated natives, and the eventual mixing of natives and whites in labor situations. This not only increased the number of Aborigines familiar with aspects of the white Australian's culture, it also provided useful job training and favorable native reaction to a situation markedly free of interference with their customs or attempts at conversion. After the war some moved south to the large cities. For the last twenty years the number of Aborigines in cities has been increasing, though even now it represents only about 8 percent of the total native population (Tatz 1966:81). Since the urban white population

is more than half the total population of the country, we can estimate that for about every one thousand urban whites there is one urban Aborigine.

In cities people of Aborigine descent live in semi-segregated conditions. This means they are restricted, because of low economic and social status to the "slum" districts, but share these districts with whites of similar status. However their racial situation hinders their movement to more respected sectors of the community available to their white neighbors who are able to achieve a more favorable economic condition:

Movement from one socio-economic level to another has been at least as difficult for most people of Aborigine descent as the more spectacular transition from the traditional Aborigine environment into the Australian-European (Berndt 1962:84).

Besides barriers due to race, there are cultural barriers to their mobility. Living in contact with whites of lowest status, Aborigines becoming urbanized acquire many culture traits looked upon as unfavorable in the general community.

The usually squalid, delapidated conditions of the households, often even being without bathrooms, is worsened by chronic overcrowding. This is caused by the continual presence of transient relatives from rural areas, and also because Aborigines who go to the cities for employment have difficulty getting houses because of high rents and discrimination (Barwick 1962:20). Kinship ties still exert a strong sentiment of obligation. Despite subsistence conditions relatives are

rarely turned away. To do so might alleviate or even improve the living conditions of the family in the household, but it would bring wide condemnation from the Aborigine community.

Since most live in rented houses, a minimal amount of money is spent on repairs and improvements. Most Aborigines work as unskilled and/or seasonal laborers, and have limited financial means. Spending is often motivated by desires for "luxuries" such as movies, magazines, ice-cream, candy, liquor, and ornaments. These items, commonplace among the majority of the urban white population, provide the satisfaction of temporary emulation. However not only housing and clothing costs, but often their diet is to a degree neglected because of this type of spending. While also due to a widespread disregard for the relative nutritive value of available foods, most Aborigines even in cities still reflect a reaction to protectionist policies. They remember when some of the needs they are now required to supply for themselves were supplied by Aborigine welfare societies. Highly unsatisfied with their situation, and generally putting the blame on the whites, many prefer to claim dependency and privileges rather than accept the responsibility the authorities now feel should be theirs.

The crime rate of Aborigines was until recently partly due to the fact that some of their "criminal" behavior was not criminal for whites. This is still somewhat true, but more in settlements, missions and reserves than in cities. Reasons for present day criminality applicable to Aborigines are apparently involved with resentment at

discrimination and separate types of behavior based on values not consistent with the law.

Aborigine sexual behavior reflects a continuing tradition of extra- and pre-marital sex. While this can be traced to pre-contact values, the cultural changes that occurred have caused the loss of pre-contact sanctions and controls. So far the sanctions and controls which prescribe the sexual behavior thought to be ideal in the white community have yet to exert a compelling influence. The determinants of sexual behavior among urban Aborigines are generally personal attraction and inclination, without secrecy or apparent regard for white Australian morality or laws (Barwick 1962). Girls usually have their first sexual experience before the age of sixteen, the legal age of consent. Some Aborigine women who moved to cities after World War II (and presumably some now) did so because of what they learned to be the financial rewards of prostitution. Existing in an environment of partial social isolation, the urban Aborigine is able to exercise and perpetrate some separate patterns of behavior, being interfered with only when the law exerts its power; and also because a segment of the white population sees certain behavior as advantageous.

As education is a vital factor in enculturation and social advancement, the Aborigine children in cities have greater opportunity than the camp or rural dwelling members of the group: "It is in the city that an intelligent child is more likely to receive the best education that the State can provide" (Berndt R & C 1952:262). In general they attend

school with their white neighbors who come from similar economic and social status and are not prone to be critical about aspects of Aborigine life that they share, though sentiments regarding race sometimes cause friction. It is in the cities that the government can most effectively enforce its policies of integrated educational facilities. The financial means and the values necessary to go on to higher education are generally not present, but trade schools are becoming increasingly available, and in the cities Aborigine children at least have the opportunity, if they also have the motivation and ability, to gain greater economic and social potential through formal education.*

Thus the Aborigines in urban centers are far removed from the pre-contact way and conditions of life. However some of the forces of their traditional background, and the transitional phases leading to the present, exist now. For example, a strong feeling of obligation towards kin, even when it has a detrimental effect on their physical living conditions, and a high frequency of pre- and extra-marital sexual relations, even though it causes condemnation from the general white community. At present their cultural context takes the form of a subculture, in that regularities in behavior can be identified which are different from the regularities of behavior observable among the majority of the white Australian city population (referring to groups consisting of both sexes and all ages), and this subculture represents a subordinate class in Australian society.

*The first Aborigine to complete work at a university received her degree in December, 1966.

The difference in their situation and that of low status whites is that whites are judged as individuals who may be mobile in the ranking system by acquiring favored traits or possessions, while all Aborigines rank a priori below whites, regardless of an individual's degree of cultural assimilation. We are, then, using the term class to refer to a rank, and not necessarily to a cluster of culture traits. The urban Aborigine often functions within a cultural environment close to that of the majority of Australians, and alien to whites who have lived continuously in remote areas. Yet the Aborigine in Brisbane, regardless of education or economic position, cannot vote in the Queensland elections, while all adult whites must vote. Also no Aborigine, whether on a reserve or in a city, even if well educated and urbanized, is counted in the Australian national census (Swain 1966:2). Chapple and Coon define class as:

the segmentation of a society into several groups, cross-cutting all other institutions. The members of each class have a fixed position...and all upper-class members originate action to all below them (1942:703-704).

In this sense custom, sentiments, and continuing legal and policy restrictions originating from white Australians determine the position of the Aborigine in a two-part class system.

Conspicuousness, Identity and a New Cohesion

To the degree that social acceptance is correlated with conformity, conspicuousness acts as a deterrent to acceptance. Unless an

identifiable minority group is a priori superordinate as a caste or class within the larger social whole, individuals within the minority group must disassociate themselves from the aspects that set the group apart if social acceptance be their aim. The Aborigine is both physically and culturally conspicuous in a manner that compares unfavorably, in the eyes of most whites, with the majority of the population. The result of this conspicuousness is "generally subordinate political, legal and social status" (Berndt 1961:31). Even supposing an eventual tolerance in regard to the physical difference, the Aborigine is faced with a decision between distinctiveness and absorption. But even this "decision" is not a matter of a choice necessarily producing an objective. The decision is one of the psychological forces, coexistent with social forces, that acts within each individual in his attempt to find a position of least stress.

The systems of relationships existing within traditional culture, and providing mechanisms for solidarity, are no longer present: "Identify can no longer be assessed in terms of small dispersed units meeting at intervals to share collectively in some sacred site-ritual complex" (Berndt 1961:21). To the extent that the individual feels identity with a social unit, it is with Aborigines as a distinct race, and as the descendents of people of a distinct culture from that of the whites.

It is possible that most of those who have not succeeded in "passing" will be attracted, not necessarily back to their groups of origin (where these still exist) but into a state or nation-wide Aboriginal grouping (Rowley 1962: 266).

The unsatisfactory aspect of this identity is that this group has no effective way of influencing major decisions affecting their existence. Since officials in authoritative positions are whites, official policies, whether favorable or not, are dictated by the whites. Tatz, for example, says the new aims of the Ward's Employment Ordinance cannot be assumed to be in the Aborigine's best interest "since these citizens have not participated in its framing and they have not been consulted in any way" (1966:78).

To the degree that the Aborigine remains conspicuous in the Australian community his identity must be with his race, however disparate the elements of the former tribes may be. To the degree that he is sensitive to the inequality and impotence which characterizes his race within the larger Australian community, he feels dissatisfaction. If articulate he opposes such official policies as the retention of Aborigine reserves "on the grounds that they encourage segregation--in fact, apartheid" (Berndt 1961:30). Or, reflecting the other horn of the dilemma, he reinforces his Aborigine identity to disassociate his group from the whites.

Of course the present day contact situation is not only one of acculturation with the white sector of the Australian community. Modern communication media makes it possible for ideas and information to be diffused throughout the world. The identity of Aborigines is expanding to some degree to include non-whites outside of Australia. American Negro servicemen had contact with urbanized Aborigines

during World War II, and the Aborigines were interested in comparing their relative status and treatment (Berndt R & C 1952:266). Though I do not have information on it, I believe it would be interesting and relevant to learn if the American civil rights movement, and the rise of nationalistic African nations has affected the urban Aborigine's identification with non-white non-Australians. At any rate, means for group solidarity are developing, not only to provide for stable social units with which an Aborigine can identify, but also to wield influence within the larger community.

Wallace states that one form revitalization movements take is that of revivalism (1956:262). This is the revival of all or part of a "lost" culture with the purpose of alleviating stress caused by the existing cultural situation. If it is successful the result is a cultural context that is accepted as being better, by the individuals involved, than the one which existed before the revival. Also, to be potent such a movement needs a prophet and a creed. We have no information regarding the last two requirements, and it is highly unlikely that a movement calling for the complete rejection of white cultural elements can occur. However a more unified and active syncretic subculture may develop if continual dissatisfaction occurs, and revivalistic sentiments may inspire it.

In Melbourne an organization of Aborigines called the Australian Aborigine League presented a list of demands to a commission formed to investigate Aborigine complaints. The League recommended the

importation of full-bloods to intermarry with mixed-bloods; protested against dispersal policies; demanded ownership and management of land reserves, the fostering of Aborigine customs, and separate representation in Parliament (Barwick 1962:19). All items were rejected by the committee as being contrary to policies of compulsory absorption and assimilation. And of course they are. But beyond the relationships caused by kinship and social propinquity, Aborigines increasingly

organize concert parties, protest meetings, fund-raising dances, work bees and church suppers in order to demonstrate Aboriginal skills and solidarity... New forms of interaction are shaping a "blackfellow orientation!". (Barwick 1962:23).

Aborigine art, handicrafts, histories, and even ceremonies are being "revived" by people who never knew them in the traditional setting. Many mixed-blood Aborigines who could "pass" as whites if they severed their ties with the Aborigine population refuse to do so because they feel a policy of assimilation implies they are inferior and in need of change. Instead they partake of organized social events which ban not only whites, but other Aborigines who deviate from the developing norms of the subculture.

Many whites in administrative and academic fields, plus many laymen whose work is not involved with the "Aborigine problem" sincerely want to aid the Aborigines in gaining adjustment and equality. However most Aborigines feel that the majority of whites look upon them as an inferior people, who can "improve" only to the degree that they

can duplicate white cultural patterns. This causes resentment and revivalistic tendencies to achieve a separate solidarity. The dilemma is thus a conflict between aims for absorption and aims for distinctiveness. With the latter being closer to present realities, new forces for cohesion are shaping a new Aborigine subculture.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of identifiable developments and results of culture-contact in Australia three specific problem areas have been considered: (1) the types of cultural changes that have occurred as a result of contact, (2) the status of the present day Aborigines as a minority group, and (3) processes occurring within the Aborigine population to produce new forms of social cohesion and identity. The first area was dealt with primarily in Chapter III, with emphasis on the processes which resulted in the breakdown of traditional culture between 1788 and 1958. Changes in the white Australian's laws and policies regarding the natives were described and discussed in Chapters III and IV. Since Chapter IV dealt exclusively with developments occurring in the 1960's, it was here that the Aborigine's present status and new mechanisms for solidarity were considered. In this final chapter I will briefly summarize the material applicable to each area of concern, and make concluding statements.

1. Types of Cultural Changes Due to Contact.

Various types of cultural changes have been identified to have occurred within the Aborigine population. Some of the changes due to

contact involved the acquisition of material objects, such as clothing, metal tools, and new foods. In terms of communication, changes involve the use of the English language, and for some, literacy. Changes also include a varying amount of familiarity with a monetary economic system, a new religion, agriculture, pastoralism, industrialism, and other aspects of the white Australian's culture.

Other changes involve the development of new social organizations. An important example of this type of change is the emergence of the permanent camp. Also in terms of social organization, changes have been of the type explicitly imposed by the whites, such as reservations administered by white authorities; and of the type in which members of the Aborigine population have been incorporated into organizations of the white's culture. This would include their position as citizens in the Commonwealth, and their legal status as officially assimilated Aborigines.

Changes have also occurred among the white population as a result of contact with Aborigines. Four types can be identified: (1) the use of Aborigine place names, such as Ooldea, Tibooburra, and Nulla Nulla, (2) the manufacture and sale of reproductions of traditional Aborigine artifacts, such as boomerangs, (3) the incorporation into the legal system of laws and policies applicable to the control of Aborigine activities, and the mechanisms for administering these laws and policies, such as the Aborigine Welfare Board, and (4) the organization of rural enterprises, such as in adaptation situations where Aborigines provide labor and sometimes sexual availability, and the white Australians

provide food and sometimes clothing and shelter.

What must be recognized is that place names, gifts and souvenirs, laws and policies, and agricultural and pastoral enterprises already existed in the white's culture prior to contact with Aborigines. Also, the ways in which Aborigine culture has affected these types of phenomena has been influenced by the contact of white Australians with non-Aborigines. Directly related cultural changes, for example in the economy, technology, and legal and political systems, have resulted from contact with countries of similar culture, such as Great Britain and the United States. On the other hand, such phenomena as clothing, literacy, agriculture, wage labor, sedentary settlements, and other elements of the Aborigine's new cultural environment have no precedent in the traditional setting. Therefore, rather than merely acquire new forms for traditional phenomena, the Aborigines have acquired new ways of life.

2. The Status of Present Day Aborigines.

Prescribed laws regulating behavior are formed and enforced by mechanisms of the Commonwealth government. Laws exist which explicitly discriminate between whites and Aborigines. No Aborigines are included in that part of the government which forms laws. Therefore, while whites regulate Aborigine behavior, Aborigines regulate (by law) neither their own behavior or that of whites. From this I would submit that Aborigines are politically subordinate.

Economically the whites are also superordinate in that (1) the

distribution of wealth is controlled by private businesses and government agencies comprised of whites, (2) fixed minimum wages are higher for whites than for most Aborigines, and (3) the occupations of most Aborigines are those which provide the lowest wages.

While it is possible that every superordinate population sees its position as "correct," this attitude, or value judgment, can be identified in Australia on the basis of generalizations made by Australian observers, and inferences from the types of policies and conditions maintained. For example, it is inferred that the continued exclusion of Aborigines from positions of equality in the political and economic systems reflects a value judgment that white superordination is correct.

It can be claimed that assimilation policies reflect a value judgment that conditions should change and the Aborigines should gain equality. However the features of the assimilation policies, as summarized in Chapter IV, are based on the proposition that Aborigines ought to become culturally the same as whites. Thus, whatever criteria has been used by those who support these policies, ranked values have been placed on the cultures of the two populations. The whites, as bearers of the superordinate culture, are therefore seen as necessarily superordinate to Aborigines at least until the latter share in the same culture.

Besides conclusions drawn from explicit policies, the attitudes of the general public should be considered. Barwick (1962), Beckett (1958), Bell (1963), Berndt (1961), Elkin (1964), and Ward (1963) make generalizations to the effect that most whites, either in a specific

location or in the country as a whole, consider themselves culturally superior to Aborigines, and also that prejudice exists in regard to race.

3. Processes are occurring within the Aborigine population to produce new forms of cohesion and social identity.

Cohesion is here not meant to be merely the interaction of people with specific other people. As a beginning definition, cohesion is taken to exist when people are related by explicit forms of affiliations based on shared values and knowledge, and a common understanding of the forms and functions of the systems of relationship which comprise the affiliations. If people are compelled to interact, but upon the release of the compulsion would disperse, or discontinue interaction, because individual knowledge and values conflict with the imposed system of relationships, then cohesion does not exist. Also, fortuitous and/or temporary groupings are being excluded.

When speaking of cohesion in traditional Aborigine culture, reference was made to certain systems of relationships, such as kinship and totemism, which automatically prescribed affiliations to individuals, and the behavior expected of each role in the systems was enforced by values and knowledge shared by all members. If some members possessed more knowledge, such as male elders, it was known who these members should be and what type of knowledge they should possess. When the knowledge and values necessary to the maintenance of these systems were altered or lost, the traditional systems were altered or

ceased to function.

Cohesion is meant, in the present situation, to be related to social identity. Identity, in the social sense, exists when individuals recognize the existence of specific groups, of which they are members. For example, identity can be familial, national, tribal, or religious. Of course for any one individual, identity can be perceived and felt with more than one group.

In the pre-contact situation Aborigines did not identify themselves as being Aborigines. Each individual was identified, and identified himself, in terms of his tribe, kinship, local group, totem, and territory. When the tribal structure no longer existed, when the kinship system was altered, when nomadism ceased, when forced dispersal from home countries occurred--traditional means for social identity ceased.

The present assimilation policies of the Australian government are aimed at absorbing the Aborigine population into the social systems and groups of the white Australian's culture. The white Australian bilateral kinship system, the white Australian's concept of national citizenship, and usually Christianity are presented as the forms of cohesion which should determine affiliations, and the kinds of groups with which identification should be made. Assimilation into these systems would in itself produce a "new" type of cohesion and identity when compared to traditional forms. Though some Aborigines have accepted these forms, it appears that a new type is also being produced by revitalization movements.

Revitalization movements were defined in Chapter IV as movements to establish a cultural environment believed to be potentially more satisfactory than the existing situation. Evidence has been presented that Aborigines are subordinate to white Australians, and reference has been made to the views of Australian social scientists that racial prejudice exists, and sentiments of cultural and racial superiority on the part of the whites hinder the social mobility of Aborigines. It has also been noted that at least among the urban Aborigine population these conditions are seen as unsatisfactory. Organized demonstrations protesting present conditions are taking place in Australian cities (Barwick 1962), (Clift 1967).

While Australian observers have recorded the attempted revival of traditional elements of Aborigine culture, revitalization movements can most clearly be seen in terms of the attempt to establish cohesion and identity among all of Australia's Aborigines by the recognition of a common cultural heritage and a race consciousness. In other words it is not being proposed that a completely new cultural environment functioning to affect and regulate all aspects of life is being produced by Aborigine revitalization movements. Rather, it is being proposed that the new cultural environment, which appears to be developing as a sub-culture, will include a pan-Aborigine cohesion and identification.

The leaders of these movements are those Aborigines most familiar with white Australian culture, and who see the Aborigine population, as the white man sees it, as an entity. It is unlikely,

however, that all Aborigines, or even the majority, share this view at this time.

The contention that these revitalization movements will continue, and will cause the type of cohesion and identity aimed at, is based on the theoretical proposition that like causes produce like results. Conditions considered unsatisfactory continue, as does opposition to these conditions. Aims for a pan-Aborigine solidarity are articulated by those Aborigines most familiar with the white Australian culture, and the assimilation policies of the government are facilitating a more widespread familiarity with white culture among the Aborigine population. It is proposed that the results already produced by these conditions will continue.

It can be contended that assimilation policies will be successful before the majority of Aborigines share the values and knowledge that produce a pan-Aborigine cohesion and identity. However, the reason Aborigines familiar with white Australian culture lead the revitalization movements is because part of the white's culture is the identification of people on the basis of race, and in the Australian situation the identification has already been made of the Aborigines as an entity, both on racial and cultural grounds. Therefore, the processes of assimilation will include the recognition of this identification.

The key to my position is therefore that the knowledge necessary to produce a pan-Aborigine identification, and the values articulated by Aborigines who perceive their situation and the situation of other

Aborigines to be unsatisfactory, will be disseminated throughout the majority of the Aborigine population before the "unsatisfactory" conditions are changed. I submit that the processes of change produced by assimilation policies facilitate this dissemination. Despite the explicit aim of the assimilation policies to produce a cultural unity comprised of white and Aborigine individuals, the fact is that part of the identification of the Aborigine population is in terms of race. The whites use this racial identification to reinforce the opinion that the present condition of their superordination is "correct." Therefore, processes can be identified which maintain and continue the conditions producing revitalization movements. However processes have not been identified which would change the "unsatisfactory" conditions (for example, race prejudice) to the extent that Aborigines familiar with white Australian culture would consider their situation as "satisfactory."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Berndt, Ronald and Cathrine
1961 From Black to White in South Australia. Chicago,
University of Chicago Press.
- Chapple, E. D. and C. S. Coon
1942 Principles of Anthropology. New York, Henry Holt & Co.
- Clark, Charles M. Hope
1962 A History of Australia. London, New York, Cambridge
University Press.
- Crawford, R. M.
1952 Australia. London, Hutchinson's University Library.
- Elkin, A. P.
1964 The Australian Aborigines. 4th Edition. Sydney, Angus
and Robertson.
- Falkenberg, Johannes
1962 Kin and Totem. New York, Humanities Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Brian
1956 The Australian Commonwealth. Melbourne, F. W.
Cheshire.
- Foster, George
1962 Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological
Change. New York, Harper & Brothers.
- Gore, Stuart
1956 Overlanding with Annabel. Sydney, Angus and Robertson.
- Grattan, Clinton Hartley
1949 Australia. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Herskovits, Melville J.

1938 Acculturation. New York, J. J. Augustin.

1955 Cultural Anthropology. New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

Redfield, Robert

1950 A Village that Chose Progress. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

1953 The Primitive World and Its Transformations. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Taylor, Griffith

1931 Australia: A Geography Reader. New York, Rand McNally & Company.

1940 Australia: A Study of Warm Environments and Their Effect on British Settlement. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc.

Warner, W. Loyd

1958 A Black Civilization. Revised Edition. New York, Harper & Brothers.

Articles and Periodicals

Abbie, A. A.

1960 Physical changes in Australian Aborigines consequent upon European contact. Oceania. Vol. 31, No. 2, Pages 140-144.

Albrecht, A.

1946 Indian-French relations at Natchez. American Anthropologist. Vol. 48, No. 3, Pages 321-353.

Atkinson, Meredith

1920 The Australian outlook. In, Australia: Economic and Political Studies. Melbourne, Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

Barwick, Diane E.

1962 Absorption without assimilation? Oceania. Vol. 33, No. 1, Pages 18-23.

Beals, Ralph L.

1953 Acculturation. In, Anthropology Today by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 621-641. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- Beckett, Jeremy
1958 Marginal men: a study of two half caste Aborigines. Oceania. Vol. 29, No. 2, Pages 91-108.
- Bell, J. H.
1963 The culture of the Aborigines. In, The Pattern of Australian Culture. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Berndt, Cathrine
1961 The quest for identity: the case of the Australian Aborigines. Oceania. Vol. 32, No. 1, Pages 16-33.
1962 Mateship or success: an assimilation dilemma. Oceania. Vol. 33, No. 2, Pages 71-89.
- Elkin, A. P.
1951 Reaction and interaction: a food gathering people and European settlement in Australia. American Anthropologist. Vol. 53, No. 2, Pages 164-186.
- Hallowell, A.
1957 The impact of the American Indian on American culture. American Anthropologist. Vol. 59, No. 2, Pages 201-217.
- Harper, Andrew
1920 The white Australia policy. In, Australia: Economic and Political Studies. Melbourne, Macmillan & Co. Ltd.
- Ianni, F.
1958 Time and place as variables in acculturation. American Anthropologist. Vol. 60, No. 1, Pages 39-46.
- Le Gay Brereton, J.
1962 An estimate of assimilation rates of mixed-blood Aborigines in New South Wales. Oceania. Vol. 32, No. 3, Pages 187-190.
- Pentony, B.
1961 Dreams and dream belief in North Western Australia. Oceania. Vol. 32, No. 2, Pages 144-149.
- Reay, Marie
1963 Aboriginal and white Australian family structure: an enquiry into assimilation trends. Sociological Review. Vol. 11, No. 1, Pages 19-47.

- Rowley, C. D.
1962 Aborigines and other Australians. Oceania. Vol. 32,
No. 4, Pages 247-266.
- Stanner, W. E. H.
1963 On Aboriginal religion, VI: cosmos and society made
correlative. Oceania. Vol. 33, No. 4, Pages 239-273.
- Tatz, C. M.
1966 Aborigines: equality or inequality? The Australian
Quarterly. Vol. 38, No. 1, Pages 73-90.
- Wallace, A.
1956 Revitalization movements. American Anthropologist.
Vol. 58, No. 2, Pages 264-281.
- Ward, Russel
1963 The social fabric. In, The Pattern of Australian Culture.
Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Miscellaneous

- Clift, Charmian
1967 Now you see them, now you don't. In, The Sydney
Morning Herald, June 25th.
- Dean, R. L.
1966a 38,000 Europeans live in "The Territory" now. In,
Presenting Australia 1966, a Daily Telegraph Publication,
October 24th.
- 1966b The Northern Territory. In, The Sydney Morning
Herald Australia Unlimited, July 18th.
- Elkin, A. P.
1967 A yes vote for Aborigines. In, The Sydney Morning
Herald, May (day unknown).
- Swain, Evan
1966 This land and its people. In, Presenting Australia
1966, a Daily Telegraph Publication, October 24th.