



History of Anthropology Newsletter

Volume 19
Issue 1 *June 1992*

Article 3

1-1-1992

Charting the Progress of Animism: E. B. Tylor on "The Common Religion of Mankind"

George W. Stocking Jr.

Edward Burnett Tylor

FOOTNOTES FOR THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Charting the Progress of Animism: E. B. Tylor on "The Common Religion of Mankind"

At the beginning of my archival research on the history of British anthropology, back in 1969, I discovered in the papers of E. B. Tylor, in the Pitt Rivers Museum of Oxford, some page and galley proofs for a book entitled The Natural History of Religion, some of them dated 1899, others 1904. Here, it seemed, was a portion of the actual text of what Andrew Lang in the Tylor Festschrift described as "the great work with which he has long been occupied" (Thomas 1907). Lang expected that Tylor's magnum opus would be a revision of twenty lectures that constituted the two series of Gifford Lectures in Aberdeen in 1890 and 1891. Unfortunately, the proofs covered only portions of four chapters, and the manuscript materials elsewhere in the Tylor papers included only fragments of two further ones. Inquiries at the Oxford University Press proved fruitless, and I was left with the mystery of an unfinished book.

One explanation of its unfinished state was, of course, the mental incapacity that marred the last decade or more of Tylor's long life. But as I have suggested elsewhere (Stocking 1991), there are other contexts in which to place this incompleteness, one of which might be called "theoretical ennui." Referring back to the detailed analytic contents of the Gifford lectures published in Tylor's bibliography (Thomas 1907), one can see that they were largely a rehash of the major arguments which Tylor had elaborated two decades previously in Primitive Culture; the major difference was the addition of material on the evolution of marriage institutions, and an attempt to place his own thesis in relation to the seventeenth and eighteenth century debate on "natural religion."

A decade further on, the argument was much the same. In "The History of the Doctrine of Natural Religion," the opening chapter of the surviving proofs, Tylor attacked eighteenth-century deists for assuming that men in a natural state held beliefs analogous to "the transcendental doctrines of cultured theology." In the second, he offered his own view of "The Common Religion of Mankind." Here, thirty five years after its first formulation, Tylor reduced the idea of "animism" to a series of synoptic charts. Seeking to "arrange the evidence" so as "to gain clear views of the nature and development of the religions of the world," and "finding detailed descriptions to fail in keeping before the mind even the best-marked theologies," Tylor had "recourse to schedules in which the beliefs and ordinances of particular religions, and even of religion as whole, were briefly catalogued." Reproduced on the next page, the first of these was to serve "the anthropological student as a list of the religious elements whose course he has to trace along lines of belief and custom."

"However tentatively drawn up," the opening synthetic chart brought "into view at the outset of the inquiry an argument influencing its whole course." Once it could be shown "that the multitude of religions spread over the world are built up of like elements," then the "theoretical walls of separation" would "fall away between the animistic ideas current in savage belief and those recorded in the sacred books of cultured nations." Although their "development

CHART OF ANIMISM.

NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS

MORAL, POLITICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND CEREMONIAL DEVELOPMENTS DERIVED FROM OR ALLIED WITH BELIEF IN SPIRITUAL BEINGS

<p>SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS</p>	<p>VAPOROUS OR ETHEREAL FORM, FILM, OR SHADE. VISIBILITY IN DREAMS OR VISIONS, INVISIBILITY. MATERIALITY OR IMMATERIALITY. EMBODIMENT IN MAN, ANIMAL, PLANT, AERIAL OR GLORIFIED BODY. EMBODIMENT IN INERT IMAGE OR OTHER OBJECT.</p>		
<p>SOULS</p>	<p>DURING LIFE</p> <p>IMAGE-SOUL (DREAM, VISION, SHADE, REFLEXION, ETC.). LIFE-SOUL (BREATH, BLOOD, PUPIL, MOTH, ETC.). MULTIPLE SOUL. METAPHYSICAL SOUL, MIND <u>SOULS OF MEN, ANIMALS, OBJECTS.</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">CAUSES OF LIFE, DEATH-HEALTH, SICKNESS. ACTION, SENSIBILITY. SLEEP, WAKING-DREAMS, APPARITIONS.</p> <p><u>SOULS OF MEN, ANIMALS, OBJECTS.</u></p> <p>AFTER DEATH</p> <p>GHOSTLY EXISTENCE. CONTINUANCE OF LIFE. RESURRECTION, RE-BIRTH, TRANSMIGRATION, ANIMAL DESCENT. MORAL RETRIBUTION IN PARADISE, PURGATORY, HELL. DEIFICATION AS MANES, PATRON-SPIRITS, ETC. <u>GUARDIANSHIP OR HOSTILITY TO MAN.</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">HABITATION IN HOME OR TOMB. EARTHLY REGION, HADES, HEAVEN.</p> <p>HUMAN OR NON-HUMAN ORIGIN. <u>HUMAN, ANIMAL, OR MONSTER TYPES.</u></p>	<p>WORSHIP</p>	<p>INTERCOURSE WITH SOULS AND GHOSTS. BURIAL RITES FOR SOULS. PRAYER TO AND PRAISE OF SOULS AND OTHER SPIRITS. SACRIFICE AS ACTUAL TRANSMISSION, GIFT, TRIBUTE. SACRIFICE AS ACT OF HOMAGE, REVERENCE, FAITH. INSPIRATION AND POSSESSION BY SPIRITS, EXORCISM. ASCETICISM, PENANCE, MUTILATION, CEREMONIAL, AVOIDANCE AND ABSTINENCE, TABU. PURIFICATION, CONFESSION, DEVOTIONAL BELIEF, FORM OF CREED.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OBJECTS OF WORSHIP.</p> <p>RELICS OF BODY OF DEAD. SACRED MAN OR ANIMAL. IMAGE, FETISH. NATURAL OBJECTS, HEAVENLY BODIES, MOUNTAINS, ROCKS, WATERS, ETC.</p>
<p>DEMONS</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ACTIVE IN</p> <p>SERVICE OR INJURY TO MAN. CAUSATION OF DISEASE, OBSESSION AND POSSESSION. ORACLE INSPIRATION. AGENCY OF MAGIC. AGENCY OF GOOD AND EVIL. SERVICE OF HIGHER DEITIES.</p>	<p>MYTH</p>	<p>SCHEMES OF ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF WORLD AND MAN IN FORM OF TRADITION. TALES OF GODS, DEMONS, HEROES, RELIGION, MORALITY, CUSTOM, LAW, ETC., EMBODIED IN MYTH.</p>
<p>NATURE SPIRITS</p>	<p><u>ANIMATING AND CONTROLLING, EMBODIED IN, INHABITING.</u></p> <p>ROCKS, FORESTS, STREAMS, TREES, WILD ANIMALS, FISH, FRUITS, ETC.</p> <p>ANIMAL AND PLANT TOTEM-ANCESTRY. ELVES, GNOMES, FAIRIES, ETC.</p>	<p>MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM.</p>	<p>MORAL INFLUENCE OF ANCESTRAL SPIRITS ON FAMILY AND TRIBE. RULES OF MARRIAGE AND DESCENT, TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, TOTEMISM. ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY, ANIMAL KINSHIP. DIVINE INTERVENTION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS, FATE. RETRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL ACTIONS IN PRESENT LIFE. RETRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL ACTIONS IN FUTURE LIFE. DIVINE SANCTION OF KINGS, LEADERS, JUDGES, PROPHETS, PRIESTS. DIVINE JUSTICE, MORAL, CIVIL, AND CRIMINAL LAWS, ORDEAL AND OATH. ORACLE, PROPHECY, REVELATION. ECCLESIASTICAL INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY. SACERDOTAL GOVERNMENT, THEOCRACY. NATIONALITY OF DEITIES. RELIGIOUS ORDINANCE AND BELIEF LEGALLY ENFORCED.</p>
<p>GREAT POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NATURE-DEITIES, <u>ANIMATING, CONTROLLING, INHABITING.</u></p> <p>EARTH, SKY, SEA, SUN, MOON, STARS. WINDS, RAIN, THUNDER, LIGHTNING. FORESTS, RIVERS, LAKES, MOUNTAINS, VOLCANOS, EARTHQUAKES. SEASONS, PLENTY AND FAMINE, HEALTH AND DISEASE.</p> <p>ANCESTRAL AND TRIBAL DEITIES.</p> <p><u>CREATORS AND DIVINE PATRONS OF</u></p> <p>NATURAL PHENOMENA, MEN, ANIMALS, PLANTS. EVENTS OF HUMAN LIFE, WAR AND PEACE. AGRICULTURE, NAVIGATION, HANDICRAFTS, ARTS, INSTITUTIONS, KNOWLEDGE.</p>	<p>PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM.</p>	<p>DERIVATION OF ANIMISM. CAUSATION, FREE WILL, DETERMINISM, PREDESTINATION. DUALISM OF GOOD AND EVIL. PHILOSOPHICAL MONISM.</p>
<p>SUPREME UNIVERSAL DUAL OR SOLE DEITIES</p>	<p>UNIVERSAL CREATION, ANIMATION, CAUSATION.</p> <p>GOVERNMENT OF SUBORDINATE SPIRITUAL BEINGS.</p>		

and combination" might have varied widely, "the fact of one classification underlying the religion of the savage and the citizen, the slave and the conquerer, the convert and the missionary, points to a common groundwork of them all."

This Tylor proceeded to demonstrate in a series of four charts of particular religions, "taken as representatives of the animistic belief of peoples at widely differing stages of culture," from the Stone Age to his own day. To instantiate the former, Tylor looked to the recently extinct Tasmanians (cf. Stocking 1987), who "may reasonable be placed first as types of the animism of the Lower Stone Age." Basing himself largely on H. Ling Roth's monographic summary (1890), Tylor found, not surprisingly, that Tasmanian religion was very spare. Because it was still "comparatively near its source," the "theology of the lowest culture" was "meagre and loosely defined," especially on the side of moral and political and philosophical developments, which, according to Tylor's theory of animism, were not originally part of animistic belief, but a later accretion upon it. The "religions of the lower races" had not "history enough to lose touch of their direct origin from human nature and experiences, like the religions of the great nations whose doctrines and rites have been ramified and re-shaped through ages of ecclesiastical establishment."

TASMANIAN ANIMISM.	
NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.	DEVELOPMENTS AND ALLIANCES.
SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.	WORSHIP.
Shadowy.	Prayer, Chants.
Visible in Dream and Vision; Invisible	Burial Rites, Funeral Sacrifice for use of Dead.
SOULS (AFTER DEATH).	Relics of dead preserved for Influence.
Shadow, Dream.	Demoniacal Possession, Oracles, Exorcism.
Ghostly Existence.	
Re-birth.	
Continued Life in Earthly Regions;	
Star-life in Sky.	
Pass into Demons, Kindly or Hostile.	
DEMONS.	MYTH.
Human or non-Human Origin.	Creation Legends, &c., by Deities.
Guardianship, Favour, Hostility to Mankind.	Ancestral Legends.
Disease-Possession and Expulsion.	Transformation, Origin of Fire, &c.
Oracular Inspiration.	
NATURE SPIRITS.	
Inhabit Rocks, Forests, &c.	
POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.	
Nature-Gods, Thunder-God.	
Creative Deities and others.	

Next in sequence above the Tasmanians stood the Algonquin tribes of North America, who could be "conveniently selected as examples of modern Neolithic or Higher Stone Age Man." Here the problem was to get back to "times close to their first contact with white men," before "the Jesuit missionaries, by introducing the doctrine of the Great Spirit, had led the Indians to surmount their native theology by a picturesque but incongruous Deism." But if the Algonquins had not progressed to monotheism, they did fill quite a few more categories than the Tasmanians, including one for the social institution of "totem-exogamy":

ALGONQUIN ANIMISM.	
NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.	RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT BELIEF.
SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.	WORSHIP.
Vaporous or Shade. Visible in Dream and Visions or Invisible. Embodied in Man, Animal, Image, Fetish.	Prayer. Sacrifice by Transmission, Feast. Burial Rites. Avoid Sacred Animals and Plants. Asceticism, Fasting, Torture. Oracular Possession, Exorcism. Objects of Worship: Sacred Animal, Fetish, Idol, Sacrifice, Incense, Sacred Dances, &c.
SOULS (DURING LIFE).	
Human, Animal, Object. Shadow-soul, Phantom, Dream. Multiple Soul. Cause of Life and Death, Health and Sickness, Sleep and Dream.	
(AFTER DEATH).	
Souls or Ghosts of Men, Animals, Objects. Ghosts among Men, Kindly and Hostile. Continued Existence in Earthly Regions, Heaven, Hades. Transformation, Stars. Re-birth, Animal Descent. Deification as Ancestral and Patron-Spirits	MYTH.
	Creation, Transformation, Culture, by Deities.
DEMONS.	
Guardian and Familiar, Friendly and Hostile. Animal Demons. Possession, Oracular Inspiration. Magic by Spirits.	
NATURE-SPIRITS.	SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.
Spirits inhabiting and controlling Rocks, Waters, Forests. Animal Incarnation and Worship.	Totem-Exogamy.
POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.	
Nature-gods, Sun, Earth, Heaven, &c. Divine Ancestors, Creators, and Patrons	

Above the Algonquins, "Mexican Animism" stood for the chief beliefs and rites of the Bronze Age. Here again, Tylor was at some pains to insist that "the effects of Christian importation have to be guarded against," especially in the case of "the alleged Mexican belief in a Supreme Deity, which continues to be uncritically repeated."

MEXICAN ANIMISM

NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.

SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.

Vapour, Film, Visible in Dreams and Visions.
Embodiment in Man, Animal, Image, Object.

SOULS (DURING LIFE).

Human, Animal, Object Souls.
Breath, Heart, Phantom, Dream.
Soul Cause of Life and Death, Health
and Sickness, Sleep and Waking.

(AFTER DEATH).

Ghosts of Men, Animals, Objects.
Guardian or Hostile Spirits, Manes.
Inhabit Home, Hades, Heaven.
Transformation, Stars, &c.
Transmigration, Birds, Insects, &c.
Spirit-Life according to Rank, Honorable Death,
Condition in Life.

DEMONS.

Human, Animal.
Guardian and Familiar, Friendly and Hostile.
Obsession and Possession, Inspiration.
Agency of Good and Evil.
Magic.

NATURE SPIRITS.

Animate and Inhabit Rocks, Waters, Forests.
Animal Incarnation and Worship.

POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.

Nature-Gods, Creators and Animators of
Heaven, Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars,
Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Winds.

ANCESTRAL AND TRIBAL GODS.

Patrons of Events of Human Life, War and Peace,
Arts, Occupations, Knowledge.
Moral Conduct.

RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT-BELIEF.

WORSHIP.

Prayer.
Sacrifice as Transmission, Homage,
Divine Incorporation.
Burial Rites and Offerings.
Asceticism, Purification, Fasting,
Torture, Confession.
Obsession, Oracular Possession, Inspiration,
Exorcism.
Objects of Worship: Natural Object, Sacred Man
or Animal, Image or Idol.
Sacred Dances, Music, Games, Incense.

MYTH.

Creation, Transformation, Miraculous Events,
Origin of Customs, Acts of Gods
and Heroes, Divine Descent.

MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

Tribal Organization.
National Deities.
Divine Influence on Human Life.
Oracle, Prophecy.
Divine Authority of Kings and Chiefs, Priests.
Theocracy.
Ecclesiastical Influence on Society.
Divine Justice in Moral, Civil, and
Criminal Law.
Religious Ceremonies in Social Life.
Baptism, Marriage, Funeral Rites.

Foregoing as "premature" any attempt to schematize "the immense and complex material" of the Iron Age, Tylor offered instead "a narrower preliminary trial" to help "in arranging ideas of theological development." Rather than "introduce studies of unfamiliar faiths," Tylor sought to "appeal to those already well known." Even if they had not "paid any special attention to the anthropological view," Tylor's "educated English readers" already had "standards of comparison ready in their minds" in two groups of religions "with which they have been familiar from earlier life, the Classical and the Biblical." Noting that they were "complex in form and subtle in meaning, [and] varying in different periods and among different classes of society," and granting that an adequate study would require "closer definition of the relation of established

to popular religion," and to "the tenets of special sects and philosophical schools," Tylor offered his own "imperfect and tentative" classification:

GRAECO-ROMAN ANIMISM.	
NATURE AND FUNCTION OF SPIRITS	RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT-BELIEF.
<p style="text-align: center;">SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.</p> <p>Vaporous, Ethereal, Film, Shade. Visible, Invisible-Material, Immaterial. Embodied in Men, Animal, Plant, Image, Object.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SOULS (DURING LIFE).</p> <p>Human, Animal, Object Souls. Breath, Shadow, Phantom, Moth. Multiple Soul. Metaphysical Soul. Cause of Life, Sensibility, Mind, Sleep and Waking, Dream and Vision.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(AFTER DEATH).</p> <p>Ghostly Existence among Men. Guardian or Hostile Spirits, Manes, Deification. Inhabit Home, Tomb, Earthly Region, Hades, Heaven. Continued Existence in Spirit-World. Transformation, Stars, Re-birth. Moral Retribution.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DEMONS.</p> <p>Human, Animal, non-Human Origin and Type. Guardian and Familiar, Friendly or Hostile. Causation of Disease, Obsession, Possession, Inspiration Agency of Good and Evil. Magic.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NATURE SPIRITS.</p> <p>Animate and Inhabit Rocks, Waters, Trees. Animal Deities.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.</p> <p>Nature-gods animating and controlling, Earth, Sea, Sky, Sun, Moon, Stars, Rivers, Lakes, Winds, &c. Ancestral and Tribal Gods. Creators and Patrons of Natural Phenomenon and Events of Human Life, War and Peace. Arts, Knowledge.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DIVINE SUPREMACY.</p> <p>Creation, Moral Government of World and Man. Government of Deities.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">WORSHIP.</p> <p>Prayer. Burial Rites. Sacrifice as Transmission, Homage. Asceticism, Purification, Possession. Obsession, Possession, Inspiration, Exorcism. Objects of Worship: Relics, Sacred Man or Animal, Natural Phenomenon, Image, Object.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MYTH.</p> <p>Creation, Transformation, Civilization. Acts of Gods and Heroes, Divine Descent of Man.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.</p> <p>Family Influence of Manes. Tribal and Family Organization. Divine Intervention, Fate. Divine Law, Moral, Civil, Criminal Ordeal and Oath. Judgement and Retribution in Present and Future Life. Ecclesiastical Power of Priesthood. Prophecy, Oracle. Theocracy. National Religion.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE.</p> <p>Idealism. Causation. Dualism of Good and Evil.</p>

Paradoxically, the higher the religion, the fuller were the categories of animism. Comparing the Greek and Roman schedule "point by point" with the earlier ones, "the remarkable result [came] into view that almost every principle of the savage animism is included in the classic." Similarly, "the fundamental doctrines of the souls animating man and the demons influencing him" held their place even in Christian animism, although "nature-spirits and

polytheistic gods" were relegated to the category of folklore, "on account of their non-recognition in the standards of doctrine." Paralleling the absorption of their powers "in the supreme functions," there was an "expansion in moral conduct, when laws of right and wrong during life, and the retribution after death, assumed in Christianity a sway hardly more than foreshadowed even in the classic mysteries." By this time, however, there was no longer any category for the "substance of spirits," and at the very end, Tylor hinted at the final supersession of animism in bracketed phrases penned in on the printed proofs.

CHRISTIAN ANIMISM.

NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.

SOULS (DURING LIFE).

Breath, Phantom, Blood, Psyche, Mind.
 Multiple Soul, Vegetal, Animal, Soul, and Spirit.
 Human and Animal Soul.
 Metaphysical Soul.
 Causation of Life and Death, Action and Sense,
 Health and Sickness, Sleep and Waking,
 Dream and Apparition.

(AFTER DEATH.)

Human and Animal Souls.
 Ghostly Existence.
 Continued Existence in Earthly Region.
 Resurrection, Re-birth.
 Moral Purgation and Retribution.
 Habitation in Home, Tomb, Earthly
 Region, Hades or Hell, Heaven.
 [Souls] Friendly or Hostile to Man.
 Divine Patronage.

DEMONS.

Human and non-Human Origin and Type.
 Good and Evil Angels.
 Guardianship and Service or Hostility to Man.
 Obsession, Possession, Causation of Disease.
 Inspiration, Prophecy.
 Service of Deity.
 Agency of Good and Evil.
 Magic.

NATURE-SPIRITS AND POLYTHEISTIC

DEITIES (retained in folklore).

Minor Spirits of Rocks, Streams, Forests, &c.
 Fairies, Elves, Goblins.
 Major Spirits, Heaven, Thunder, &c.

MONOTHEISM.

Universal Creation and Causation.
 Government of Subordinate Spirits.
 Moral Rule of Universe.
 [Hypostases of Deity.]

RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT BELIEF.

WORSHIP.

Prayer, Praise, Thanksgiving.
 Sacrifice as Homage or Reverence.
 Burial Rites.
 Possession, Inspiration, Exorcism, Asceticism,
 Penance, Purification, Confession.
 Devotional Belief.
 Objects of Worship: Relic, Image.

MYTH.

Mythic Element in Tradition of Origin and Changes of the World,
 [Divine Intervention in the Course of Events,] and
 Ancestral History of Man.

MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

Divine Influence and Predestination.
 Divine Laws, Moral, Civil, Criminal, Sanction of Rulers,
 Regulation of Marriage and Society.
 Divine Justice, Ordeal and Oath, Oracle,
 Prophecy, Revelation.
 Retribution in Present and Future Life.
 Dualism of Good and Evil Spirits.
 Ecclesiastical Power, Theocracy.
 Religious Belief legally enforced.
 Influence of Free-Will and Predestination on Conduct.

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE.

Development of Causation.
 Liberty and Determinism.
 Duality of Good and Evil.
 [Philosophic Monism.]

Assimilating Hinduism to Graeco-Roman animism "in its framework of orders of spritual beings," and dismissing Buddhism as "essentially a scheme of moral conduct, philosophically sceptical in its origin," Tylor felt that his scheme, despite "its imperfections," followed to its extreme limits a single "great spiritual scheme, extending round the globe and reaching far back beyond the bounds of history":

The comparison of the foregoing schedules, few as they are, of religions of low and high civilization, yields a compact group of animistic beliefs common to them all. Judging from the evidence available as to other religions, I venture that a longer series would but strengthen and complete the impression that the fundamental unity of religion among mankind is firmly settled.

By the time these chapters were set in type, a different basis was being suggested for the fundamental unity of human religion. During the later 1890s the idea of animism had come under attack by the apostate Tylorian Andrew Lang, who used the comparative method to argue that the idea of God had been present in mankind from the beginning (1898). It was in this context that Tylor was so insistent on denying any trace of monotheism to the Algonquins and Mexicans, and that the last two chapters for which proofs survive were devoted to arguing "The Limits of Savage and Barbaric Religion" and to a study of "Deluge Legends." In both cases, Tylor fell back on diffusionist arguments to insist that monotheistic and biblical beliefs found out of their proper ethnographic (and paradigmatic) place were in fact the result of missionary influence. By this time, however, animism was coming under attack from other sources as well, and it may be that Tylor no longer had the intellectual stamina to carry further what he may have sensed was a losing battle. Be that as it may, The Natural History of Religion was never finished, and the proofs continued to gather dust until 1969--one of a series of unfinished books which silently mark turning points in the history of anthropology (cf. Stocking 1991). [G.W.S.]

References Cited:

- Lang, Andrew. 1898. The Making of Religion. London.
Ling Roth, H. 1890. The Aborigines of Tasmania. Halifax, Eng.
Stocking, G. W. 1987. Victorian Anthropology. New York
_____. 1991. Books unwritten, turning points unmarked: Notes toward an anti-history of anthropology. [David Skomp Distinguished Lecture in Anthropology] Bloomington: Indiana University, Department of Anthropology.
Thomas, N.W., ed. Anthropological Essays Presented to Edward Burnett Tylor in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Oxford.

[The originals of these charts are contained in the Tylor Papers in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of the Museum's Head Curator, Dr. Schuyler Jones]