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III, 1

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

With additions and alterations by D.M.B.
and Comments by Andrew Lang and A.R. Brown,
taken from (1) original typed MSS.

(2) duplicate copy of above

(3) revised version

*Section III.
Social Organization*

III, 1

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Tribes of W.A.

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The following pages occur in Mrs. Bates' MSS. Lang's comment is "Omit all to 'North of the Warren River'" (P. 11 MSS, P. 1 of this typed copy.)

The social organisation, system of consanguinity, and the various laws pertaining to marriage which prevail amongst the West Australian aborigines are, when first scanned, an apparently incomprehensible maze of terms impossible to follow intelligently, yet, when studied patiently and closely, they become comparatively easy of comprehension.

Whether these laws are survivals from a higher state of civilisation, or from whence their origin is derived, are questions that cannot be discussed with any approach to certainty. In the study, however, of the West Australian Class Divisions and Marriage Laws, a striking proof is observable of the close connection of these people with the other dark races of the earth. There are many material points of difference, particularly in the various terms of relationship, as compared, according to many writers, with other systems, the Turanian and Ganowanian, for instance, but with these differences. There is also such a striking family likeness between all the earlier dark races of mankind, as to destroy all idea of their resemblance being purely coincidental. The Ainu of Japan, the African Bushman, the older Dravidian, the Celeban Aborigine and many other survivors of early or primitive man, all have points of resemblance influencing or pervading them that mark distinctly their connection with the Australian aborigine.

In this work, theorizing has been avoided as much as possible. The marriages, descents, pedigrees, etc. were all obtained personally from the aborigines of both the northern and southern parts of the State. Further study by competent ethnologists will but confirm the statements contained herein, obtained as they have been not from one native, nor one district, but from several representatives of districts ranging from Beagle Bay to Balladonia. (Marginal note for following paragraph - omit)

Some writers have accounted for the marriage system on the

hibiting the once prevalent intercourse of brothers and sisters. Howitt, Fison and other recent writers maintain that group marriages prevailed amongst the Australian peoples, whereby a woman was not only the wife of the man who possessed her, but was the wife also of the men of her "class" to which she belonged. Confirmation of this theory according to those writers lay in the fact that in those tribes having female descent, the son-in-law had to provide food for his fathers-in-law. N.W. Thomas, M.A., the most recent writer on the aborigines of Australia ("Kinship and Marriage in Australia,") repudiates the theory.

Sir John Lubbock is of opinion that the four intermarrying classes arose out of marriage by capture among four neighbouring tribes who had the custom of exogamy with descent through the mother. "After a certain time," Lubbock writes, "the result would be that each tribe would consist of four septs or clans representing the original tribes, and hence we should find communities into which each is divided into clans, and a man must always marry a woman of another clan. (Lubbock's "Origin" etc. p. 87) Fison, however, is of opinion that the four classes arose out of two primary divisions by an orderly process of evolution. The prohibition of sister marriages would give two exogamous intermarrying classes; these would be subdivided into four and probably other subdivisions.

The Rev. J. Mathew arrives at the view that the matrimonial classes are memorials and results of the coalescence of different stocks of people, which were once distinct and exogamous tribes or races (Eaglehawk and Crow, P. 97). My own observations of the various tribes of West Australia, begun in 1904, led me to the conclusion that the peoples of the West were of two, if not more, distinct types, and that these types, a dark and a fair type, gave rise to the bird names, prevalent throughout Australia, of the intermarrying classes (phratries - Lang) and where these bird names apparently did not obtain, the colour and physique were still the determining forces in deciding the marriage rules or laws of the aborigines, of any district. This contention will, I think, be fully proved in the following pages.

Dr. Scott Nind, Medical Officer at King George's Sound between 1826 and 1829, was perhaps the first to draw attention to the class divisions existing amongst the W.A. aborigines, and although later and more authentic information upsets several of his accounts of these divisions, still, to him must be given the credit of having been the first discoverer of the "class" system obtaining amongst the natives of the Southern part of this State. Dr. Nind's statements are consequently well worth quoting :-

"The classes Ernium and Tem", he states (Journal Geographical Society, vol. I, 1831, pp. 38,42-3) "are universal near the Sound (K.G.S. Albany), but the distinctions are general, not tribal. Another division almost as general is into Moncalan and Torndirrup, yet there are a few who are neither. These can scarcely be distinguished as tribes and are very much intermingled. The Moncalan is, however, more prevalent to the eastward of our establishment and the Torndirrup to the westward. They intermarry and have each again their subdivisional distinctions, some of which are peculiar and some general; of these are the Opperehiep, Cambien, Mahnur, etc. What I, however, consider more correctly as tribes are those which have a general name and a general district, although they may consist of Torndirrup or Moncalan, separate or commingled. These are, I believe..... named by the kind of food found most abundant in the district. The inhabitants of the Sound and its immediate vicinity are called Meananger, probably derived from mearn, the red root.... and anger, to eat... The native residing on the right and extending to the coast about North West Cape are called Murran... These tribes are also not universally divided into Ernium and Tem.... Adjoining them inland is the Yaberore. Next to them is the Will or Weil district which is a very favorite country, and may probably be named from weil or weit (ants' eggs)..... Next to the Weil district is that of Warrangle, or Warranger, from warre (kangaroo).

Although every individual would immediately announce to us his tribal name and country, yet we have not been able to trace

Erniung or Tem, and his father as Torndirrup or Moncalan. Beyond this we have not been able to penetrate, for half brothers are not infrequently different. (This would probably be caused by cross marriages.) From this same cause also their divisions of relationships are very numerous. Eieher = mother, cuinker = father, mourert = brother or sister, konk or conk = uncle, etc.

In their marriage they have no restriction as to tribe, but it is considered best to procure a wife from the greatest distance possible. The son will have a right to hunt in the country from whence the mother is brought. The whole body of the natives are divided into two classes Erniung and Tem or Taaman, and the chief regulation is that these classes must intermarry, that is an Erniung with a Taaman. Those who infringe this rule are called yuredangers and are subject to very severe punishment. The children always follow the denomination of the mother. Thus a man who is Erniung will have all his children Taaman, but his sister's children will be Erniungs. This practice is common to all the tribes in the neighbourhood with the exception of the Murrans."

Dr. Nind, in a short vocabulary attached to his paper, furnished the following names of the tribes and classes :-

Names of Tribes

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| Meernanger | Warrangle |
| Murram | Weil |
| Yabbarore | Corine |

Names of Classes

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| Erniung | Taaman or Tem |
| Moncalan | Torndirrup |
| Obberup | Cambien |
| | Mahnur |

Of the names furnished by Dr. Nind, Mee'nung'ur, Yabbaroo and Weel, are applied to natives of certain districts at the present day, and have apparently always designated the localities and people which now bear them. With regard to the other tribal "class" names, Murrans is the almost universal term in the southern district for grandparents. Tem is the Albany district word for brothers and sisters children ("first cousins"). Torndirrup

(Tondarup) represents one of the principal subdivisions of the two primary divisions. Beyond these, none of the other words submitted by Dr. Nind can be found, on the closest inquiry, to be connected with either tribe or class division in the South. Warrangle may be rendered warrain'gur = people who eat warrain, a very favourite root with the Southern people. The warrain grows plentifully in the Southwestern districts, and hence the people of those districts would be warraingur = warrain people. Corine (Koreen) was sometimes used by the Vasse natives when speaking of the district northeastward of them, but the people of that district being Meenungur, Koreen is probably one of the several points of the compass which the Southern natives have enumerated. *Kurin - eastward*

Cambien (Kambeen) is the word used in Beverley, York and places further east, to express what we call the "niece" relationship. Wahnur (Mannur) is the Albany dialectic word for the long-tailed iguana, and was the totem of some members of one of the primary divisions of the South; maanur is the Perth equivalent for "broad leeches". Moncalan (mon'galang) means "giddy, light-headed, having a fit" etc. in the Perth dialect. Obberup might be the imperfect rendering of ngabberup, a relationship term only. Notwithstanding these minor errors, which are naturally the outcome of an inadequate knowledge of the intricacies of "class and relationship terms", Dr. Nind's statement that "the whole body of the southern natives is divided into two classes" is correct. At the present day, the natives of the southern districts (Where exactly? Lang. From about Williams River to Esperance, descent agnatic) have two classes only, Manitchmat (or Manaitchmat) and Wordungmat, "white cockatoo and Crow", and the marriage laws of these two classes are, except in the matter of descent, almost exactly as Dr. Nind stated, a Wordung man marries a Manitch woman, the children being Wordungmat (Crow "stock").

Sir George Grey partly confirms Dr. Nind's statement of the class system in his "Journals". Grey, whose personal

natives of the Southwest coastal districts, notices the existence of these two remarkable laws amongst the Southern people :-

1st. That children of either sex always take their mother's family name. Maternal descent from about Williams, northward towards Jurien Bay.

2nd. That a man may not marry a woman of his own family name.

The first statement only holds amongst those Southern tribes having maternal descent, but the second law prevails throughout the State. Within recent times, owing partly to the paucity of females of the proper marrying class, but mainly to the settlement of the country by the whites, and the consequent immunity from native punishment thereby provided for offences against recognised native law, mootchoo or wrong class marriages became frequent amongst the Southern people. The rapid extinction of most of the Southern coastal tribes is imputed by the few old men still living, to the defiance of the old native laws which always made death the penalty for such an offence.

Grey, whose observations cover the years '37-38-39, furnishes the following names of the great Southern families, the number of classes being given as seven :-

Ballaroke
Tdondarup
Ngotak
Nagarnook
Nogonyuk
Mongalung
Narrangur

Grey states also that he found that in different districts the members of these families were given local names which he understood to indicate some particular branch of the principal families. The most common local names were :-

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| Didaroke | Kotejumeno |
| Gwerrinjoke | Nanyungo |
| Maleoke | Yungaree |
| Waddaroke | Djekoke |

These family names were, according to Grey, common over a

they apply to that part of W.A. which lies between 30 and 35 S. latitude. Besides the above, the following local names have been taken from Grey's Dictionary.

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Djinbemongera | Karbunga |
| Kijjinbroon | Koolama |
| Kuljak (swan) | Maleomene |
| Nagkarn (small fish) | Woordookoomene |
| Woortwauk | Ballard or Ballagore (Ballaruk) |
| Eroto | |

Some of these names were supposed by Grey to have been derived from some vegetable or animal, at one time common in the district, and which formed the principal food of the families bearing those names. To other names a mythological origin was attributed in which the bird or animals were transformed into men and founded the family, such as kuljak, a species of swan, the family of the Ballarokes were said to owe their origin to the transformation of these birds into men.

The most detailed inquiries amongst the living representatives of the Southern coastal natives, fail to substantiate Grey's Class Divisions and their segmentations. The various names were submitted to old natives representing districts from Gingin, Moore River, York, Swan district, Perth, Pinjarra, Bunbury, Busselton, to Albany and Esperance, with the following result :-

Ballaroke (Ballaruk) is one of the subdivisions of the Southern Primary Classes. (Marginal note - Lang - What sort of subdivisions, by kin or place?) By kin subdivision of Wordungmat.

Idendarup (Tondarup) is also one of the subdivisions of the Southern people. (Subdivision of Manitchmat)

Ngotak The only meaning that has been found for this word lies in its apparent relation to the term ngwoota, meaning very dark or black. Ngwoota murnong was a term applied to very dark skinned natives of the south by their fairer brethren. The expression was current amongst the Bunbury, Vasse, Augusta and Albany district natives. Nagarnook forms one of the subdivisions of the people ranging between Gingin and Augusta.

this name, its particular locality being the Swan and Murray districts.

Mongalung No meaning can be ascertained for this name (unless the Perth native's statement that it meant "lightheaded" be accepted).

Narrangur may either be a misprint of warrangur, or it may be derived from narranga, hungry, a word used north and east of Albany.

Didaroke (Didarruk) is one of the four subdivisional names and is found in native pedigrees from Gingin to Augusta.

Gwerrinjoke No meaning can be found for this word. The affix uk means "belonging to" and this name as well as others, may have been given to the children of some particular native (see Waddaruk)

Maleoke (Meluk), fair skinned. Mela murnong are fairskinned Tondarups and Didarruks, as contrasted with ngwoota murnong, dark skinned Ballarruks and Nagarnooks. Me'lok is also the Vasse and Murray River term for "salmon" (salmon name given to large fish; salmon trout name given by whites.) and may be either another term for light colored people, or the totem of some of the sea coast natives of the Vasse. It was the totem of an estuary group near Busselton. (The definition of fair and dark colored people, given by the natives themselves, distinctly points to a fusion of at least two races, the Tondarup-Didarruk subdivision being acknowledged by all natives to be the fairer race.)

Waddaruk, descendants of Waddar, a Ballarruk, a brother of Abbadaia, both Swan River natives.

Diekoke Balbuk, the last Perth native, who died March 20th, 1907, stated that these were some people who lived on the Kakkar or east side of York, "people who lived by themselves, and were called Jakkuk." (Later information confirmed Balbuk's statement, a wild cherry totem people - Jeeukwuk or Jeeukuk - living eastward of the Meenun'gur, and the women of these being now and again stolen by the Meenungur brought the name amongst the western people).

Namyungo, probably a request for food, yungo, yoongo = give.

In some parts of the south, namyungo is the equivalent for emu.

In the Swan district the word meant "give me that".

Yungaree, natives, a collective noun. (yoongar = native, yoongarree = natives.)

Dinbemongera (Jinbeenyoongar) Balbuk stated that some Jinbee yoongar lived about the hills of the Darling Range, near the Canning River. They were swamp people, and had Ballarruk, etc. amongst them.

Karbunga, (Kalburnong, a species of edible bird)

Kijinbroon (geejee = spear ?) No meaning can be found for this word.

Koolama, Kweelan, the swamp hen or red billed coot, no class signification, although the kweelan figures in local legendary lore.

Kuljak, the Swan, no class signification. The Gingin native group had the kuljak (swan) as their borungur (totem) and "sang" for an increase of swans and swans' eggs at certain times of the year, in the nesting season probably.

Maleomeno (mela murnong), fair skinned people, Tondarups, etc. dornda dornt etc are also equivalents for "fair" or "light coloured".

Nagkarn. Grey stated that this was a kind of fish which the natives subsisted on. Nagarn nganning, according to Balbuk, meant "eating little fish".

Woordookumeno (woordoo-ka-murnong), a relationship term only, meaning "brother stock", people who are "like brothers to us", and with whose sisters they could not marry.

Woort-wauk, an Albany term with a similar meaning to woordookamurnong. The final syllable of most Perth and Southwestern words is dropped in the Albany dialect, hence woordoo becomes woort, maata (leg) maat, kaata (head) kaat, and so on, woortwuk - brother stock.

Ballard or Ballagore, a species of opossum according to Grey. No special connection with the Ballarruk division can be traced to this word, although ballawara, a species of opossum, was the totem of some of the Southern people.

Erote, a species of duck, no class signification.

G.F. Moore, a contemporary of Grey, whose West Australian dictionary was founded on that of Grey, states that there were five principal "families" amongst the Southern people : Ballarok, Didarok, Dtondarap, Naganok, Ngotak. These are further segmented by Moore as under. "Ballarok, Dtondarap and Waddarak, are said to be matta gaih (literally "one leg" or derived from one common ancestor). The Ngotak and Naganok are of "one leg". The Nogonyok, Didarok and Djikok are of "one leg". (Moore's Dictionary, pp. 4-5.) Nogonyuk not ^{"one leg", "same stock"} matagen with Didaruk and Djeukwuk. (D.M.B.)

Moore's local names differ somewhat from Grey's both in spelling and signification :-

Dinbenongerra is supposed by Moore to be a species of duck, and he states that according to fabulous tradition, the Ngotaks formerly belonged to this class of birds before they were changed into men. (Ngwoota, or ngoota - dark skinned - is the only meaning that can be found for this word.)

Kotajumeno, the name given in the Murray River district to the Naganok family (the signification of this term has been previously given.)

Kuljak - the black swan. The family ancestors of the Ballaroks are reputed to be these birds changed into men. (Kuljak was, however, only the totem of the Gingin group.)

Melok, local name of one of the great "family" denominations. (The meaning of this name has already been furnished.)

Namvango - a name for the Dtondarap family in the Vasse district. (Meaning already given.)

Utamat - the local name given at King George's Sound to one of the principal "family" divisions. (No meaning discoverable.)

Waddarak. Proper name of the Canning mountain people. (Waddarr was a native, a Ballarruk, who once lived at Biljarra or Jeejarra, some hills near the Upper Swan), and his descendants, amongst whom were Tondarup, Nagarnook, etc. were frequently called Waddarruk. Balbuk's and Jobaitch's information.)

Wurdukumeno - name of the Ballarok family at the Vasse River. (This word is applied by all the Southern Class Divisions when

The above extracts represent the principal early literature obtainable on the Class Divisions and Marriage laws of the West Australian aborigines, and since no two of them correspond, no one writer can be assumed to be correct. Hence the need for personal investigation amongst the Southern natives dealt with in the excerpts cited. This was undertaken (when and by whom? - Lang. By me - D.M.B.) amongst the natives of the Southern districts, and as a result of these researches, it was found that the whole of the Southern people occupying the line of coast from (about) Jurien Bay to Esperance, have two primary divisions or phratries, which intermarry, but which are strictly forbidden to marry within themselves. These divisions, as we have said, are called respectively Wordungmat and Manitchmat (or Manaitêhmat) and mean Crow stock (wordung = c row, mat or maat = leg, family, stock), and White Cockatoo Stock (manitch or manaitch = white cockatoo). There is no doubt that these names are an indication of a difference in color between two races, their subdivisional designations, all bearing more or less on the subject of color, confirm this belief of a probable mixture of two different peoples, a dark skinned and a brown or fair skinned people. In the Southwest corner of the State, and along the coast to, and perhaps a little beyond, Esperance, these two divisions still obtain.

Note (Pp. iii - xi of this portion form the section known as III 4c, ii.)

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS OF ANDREW LANG.

The numbers of the pages refer to the typed MSS. on foolscap pages, of which there are two copies. (not the revised version). The retyped copy is also referred to.

Page 8 MSS., Page viii Retyped pages

If a fair and dark people always intermarry, fair and dark people must be intermixed in both local and kindred divisions.

Some definition of "family division" must be given. The old writers use it so indiscriminately that I never know what they mean. Thus they are useless, and I would say so, and omit them.

10.11 MSS., Pp. xi, xii

Does Salgado, by "family", mean "matrimonial class"? We must be precise about such terms.

P. 11 This theory is improbable and it is more likely that when phratries were legally established the names of the animal of each were chosen as contrasts in colour, habitat, etc. Had two separate stocks of opposed complexions intermarried for only a century the complexions would now be as mixed as brandy and soda. This is quite certain.

P. 11, 12, P. 1 Retyped copy.

I suspect the sub-divisions (matrimonial classes) are all over the place, though some tribes may speak more of the phratry (main division) others more of the matrimonial class (sub-division).

P. 12, omitted in retyped copy

Brinton is out of date and not worth quoting.

P. 13, P. 2 retyped.

As before, with eternal intermarriage of opposed complexions how can one phratry have more of one complexion than of the other? Ask the physiologists, for the fact, if a fact, upsets their cart.

You go on to show that the differences are caused by local environment, which is all very capital, but tells nothing of two original distinct stocks.

Page 15, Retyped page 4

("it is probable that in some long past period the change from maternal to paternal descent was made by some ancestor.....")

Do you think a given "ancestor" could change the line of descent? The change must have been very slowly evolved. The philological guesses at origin of names of unknown meaning are all in the air, and, if given, should be given in a separate appendix.

If the Manitch and Wordang are locally distinct (if you mean this make it very clear) environment explains the differences, and the origin of the differences, without invoking a primaevial difference of stocks, light and dark.

Page 17, Page 6 Retyped

It appears that the matrimonial classes (sub-divisions) are locally congregated in different districts, as a result of reckoning descent in the male line. If so, make it clear.

A "district totem" is not a totem, totems are hereditary in one or the other line. The term "personal totem" is not correct, but is customary. There are only hereditary totems, the "personal totem" is an animal or other familiar.

Personal totem if used should be in marks of quotation.

Page 18, Retyped page 7 - last par.

This reads as if "singing" for totems were becoming obsolete. Passage marked X needs amplification. I do not see what you mean. The Eaglehawk appears here not to be a phratry animal, but a venerated fowl, or a detested fowl, who ordained the Cockatoo-Crow phratry division. See Thomas in Man on Eaglehawk myths. Usually the bird is of one phratry, the Crow of the other.

I need not keep going on about the two primal races, the idea seems to be a native explanatory myth to account for distinctions of colour caused really by environment.

Page 48, Retyped page 30

Apparently "dog" has become a mere district name, and is no longer a real exogamous totem, much as among the Arunta. If so this is important and should be emphasised.

Page 52, Retyped page 33

"The Totemic People" - is it meant that the others are non-totemic? All those things are very novel, and demand very clear explanation. "Ngamminwak appears to be an extensive totemic division" (wild grape). This appears to mean that in a wide region all people are Wild Grapes. *This was so. D.M.B.* Now I don't see that the region can be called "The Totemic country". You must define what you mean by "totem". A mere animal or vegetable name, whether borne by a region, or by both region and inhabitants, does not even necessarily mean that a local totemic group was there dominant. *But it did! D.M.B.* The loose use of "totem" for any animal or vegetable or mineral or other, merely introduces endless confusion. That the name arose in a dominant totemic stock is possible, but in each case needs *Proof is supplied* proof. When a "people" is a "Wild Cherry people", we do not in the least know that the appellation rose from a totem kin, which absorbed and gave its own name to a lot of other totem kins. The book cannot be written on this assumption, which may apply to some Fijian communities.

In short, much more precision, much more accurate definition of terms is necessary, before the book can be of any use. *Lang desired genealogies, especially in support of these statements. These were obtained from all living members in this Totemic area (S.E. corner of W.A.) D.M.B.*

Page 56, retyped page 37

Male Kingfisher marries female Kingfisher, and their children are Bee Eaters. All this is previously unheard of. It is as if Crow married Crow and the children were Eaglehawks, who married Eaglehawks, while their children were Crows.

If this be correct, it is an upset of previous form : no man ever heard the like. There have been the usual phratries, those have become endogamous, and for some reason the children take the name of the phratry to which neither of their parents belong. This is vastly important. Meanwhile they retain ordinary exogamous totems, and are exogamous, with common totemic exogamy. The genealogies give this amazing result. Andrew Lang received the genealogies in time to examine them & so refuted his

This about "Totemic" classes (matrimonial classes with animal names?) and about "local importance" is very new and to me not intelligible. *Sorry, but explanation went later & Lang was made wiser.*

What are totemic classes, the four "matrimonial classes"? They may have animal names, but that does not make them "totemic" necessarily. *but it does + they were!*

P. 110, P. 85 retyped

Place marked x

We have here clearly the Fijian arrangement. A district or the people in it, have a common animal name, but the people have, each, his or her animal totem. Exogamous? This needs to be stated. *All stated in genealogical descent.*

P. 113, Retyped page 88, second par.

It was not that the totem "had become important", but that it had not ceased to be so.

(Altered in retyped copy)

Page 126, Retyped page 102 (but omitted here)

"Marriage amongst the Northern Coastal group is both endogamous and exogamous."

How can marriage be "both endogamous and exogamous"?

This needs a definition of exogamy. *Definition given elsewhere.*

Page 128, retyped page 104, but paragraph omitted here.

Where does "phallic worship" come in?

Page 130, retyped page 105, but section omitted here.

"Totem" should be restricted to the hereditary totem. These "given" totems are something else, and we need to know if the recipients may eat them or not, and if they affect marriage prohibition. I see they don't. Of what use are they to the recipient? If the father does not know about procreation, how does he think himself "responsible" for only one of the twins? Why does he spear the other man? You must say whether he has the idea of procreation or not, and if not, how he has a sense of responsibility, and of jealousy.

Page 135, 136, retyped page 113 (4th line from end)

What good is got from, what duties are due to, the "given"

stated, and you should say whether or not the same word serves for "given" or "personal" totem. This is important.

Page 145, omitted in retyped copy

There should be separate chapters on Magic, and on Popular tales, except where a tale illustrates the custom

which you are describing. *There are separate chapters, but in taking down native information, all had to be taken*
Page 148, P. 127 Retyped copy *on same pages of MS.*

Here you need a separate chapter on ideas of where babies come from. The exact region of belief in spirit children still not incarnated should be marked, and it should be noticed whether knowledge of procreation exists where such spirits are not part of belief.

Also what ideas about procreation in lower animals prevail.

In parts of Queensland (see Roth), the natural facts are accepted for animals, but not for human beings, for they have souls, and the myth has to account for that.

These curious facts are perhaps better placed under "Beliefs" than here, or under "Childhood".

Page 151, Retyped page 131

Here you come back to beliefs about birth, which the previous matter has interrupted. This belief was stated by Mr. Strehlow for the Arunta, but he has modified his first remarks, and the passages should be compared.

Page 152, Retyped page 132 *my statements are all based on the accuracy of my information from the native interested.*

x. This is what they call "sex totemism" and should be stated in a chapter on Totems.

Page 153, Retyped page 134

Do you mean that all the tribes you have studied believe in the incarnation of spirit children? Do the tribes with

female descent believe in them? Is Gingin a district, and where? *In W.A. N. of Perth, & the tribes believed in them. See all my MSS.*

All statements should be given quite verbatim.

Page 154, Retyped page 135

The baby, in what sense is it "his"? Why should the

Page 155, Retyped page 136

Yamming is the Arunta (Strehlow's) Altjiranama, primal beings, from whom emanate yatapa, which become babies. *No, it isn't*

The exact region of the Yamming belief should be indicated, *It is indicated*

You exactly describe the Alcheringa (Yaminga) of

Strehlow among the Arunta, where Spencer found a different form of it. *No, I don't. I never read Strehlow & Spencer & Constable Gillen were but temporary & spasmodic inquirers.*

Page 156, Retyped page 137, last par.

May these totems be eaten by their owners? Does any one of them affect marriage law?

Page 157, Retyped page 138

What is meant by a child having so many totems?

What are his relations to them?

Page 158, Retyped page 139

If a man has a score of totems, from which of these do his kin abstain after his death?

All this is very mixed, and should be clearly explained. At present nothing can be made out. *It is clearly explained in its own place.*

All the native words which you translate "totem" should be given. *They are given.*

P. 160-1, P. 143

Here is old "personal totem" again. Has the person any one definite totem besides "personal totem", and, if so, is it hereditary, or how obtained?

P. 161 Have you a separate chapter on the bullroarer? Are these "churinga" of wood or stone, or both? They seem to be wooden. Are any of stone?

162, Retyped page 144

I have not got up your geography. Were you in no region where ngargalul were unknown?

Here it looks as if the hereditary paternal totem were the only genuine totem, the others being merely "personal".

Do they protect their owners or not? Does the owners in any way show respect to them? Does the Hereditary totem affect marriage law?

The Arunta do not inherit their father's totems.

Your people do, but which of your people? All in the North?

Page 163, Retyped page 145 (last sentence)

Here we have the father as sole "originator" of the child, yet they do not believe in procreation. How do they account for children of unmarried women? Or are there no such children? May the father in any orgy have access to his daughter, and if not, why not? *No, he doesn't, because his women + daughters + mothers + sisters are given to the visitors at such orgies.*

Page 146

You skip without a break to quite a new subject.

The procreation business is too mixed. Strehlow says the old Arunta understand it. Your people, or some of them, seem to me once to have understood, else, why spear "the other man", who is the real father of one of the twins?

As the MS. goes on, all sorts of things are mixed.

They ought to be in distinct chapters or sections according to their nature in each case. *Paucity of paper & native non-understanding of 'pages' devoted to one separate & special 'subject' - cause of mixture in first MS.*

In 166, 167 (P. 150 retyped) we are back at local exogamy, or reciprocal districts, which we had left far behind.

You should have :-

1. Exogamy, by phratry or totem, by districts
2. Betrothal
3. Marriage rites
4. Feasts of License
5. Domestic life (p. 168) Surgery P. 169, and Medicine (we have had some of that before.)

These subincisions were probably at first an outward mark of status in initiation.

P. 171, retyped p. 155, but omitted here

Twins pop in and out, they should have a section to themselves. *Twins were rare; many groups seemed to have no instance.*

Also infanticide.

173, retyped p. 157

Here back we come to broken betrothals which we had before. Elopements should have a special section.

Page 179, retyped page 167

Here back we come to spirit babies, which must have a distinct section to themselves.

It is plain that we should have, first, an account (brief) of Known Marriage Rules elsewhere in Australia. *I don't think so.*

X Then it should be shown, beginning in the North, to which set the rules and "classes" known to you attach themselves, and the points of difference should be made clear. The whole should be arranged in distinct sections, as far as possible. Repetitions should be avoided.

There should be a set of definitions of the technical terms, such as "Totem" and "Exogamy".

x No, I preferred the "maiden" statements of my natives on their own people and I put those down verbatim, without any thought or desire of comparisons with any other States except W.A. and S.A. whose natives gave me their own undiluted information. I did not try to fit in their statements with any others of other States, except perhaps as a compliment to writers (such as Rev. John Mathew) who were, I knew, honourable men, and anxious to attain accuracy. I lived daily among my informants and noted their daily lives, etc. etc., and compared the facts with their statements to me, and so verified all information from them. All my MSS. must be read in order to see its uniformity and (especially to myself) its absolute accuracy.

Original Mss Retyped

11

1

"north of the Warren River"

No subdivision in the south of the Warren R.? (Andrew Lang)

No (D.M.B.)

12

1

"North of the Donnelly River, about Williams River"

Is that the Warren River? (Lang)

No, but the same area. (D.M.B.)

Comments of A.R. Brown

(Taken from Duplicate copy)

MSS. P. 12

Retyped copy, P. 1 (end of page)

".....where the four subdivisions have penetrated"

What evidence that they have penetrated and are not

indigines?

Any native would answer
this footling question.

Comments, additions, from Revised version

MSS. P. 1

Retyped Page 1

Brown's notes

Divide chapter into sections

1. Manitch Wordung tribes

Southern division

Give tribes with male, those with female descent.

Are the 4 subdivisions Ballarruk etc. found wherever Manitch-

Wordung are found or only in some tribes? If so, which?

Read my MSS. intelligently & these remarks will seem to you (A.R.B.) redundant.

Lang

Subdivisions :

These occur in Howitt.

Additions - D.M.B.

Line 7. After Jurien Bay, add "though the subdivisional names are always given."

MSS. P. 2

Retyped Page 1

Brown

Lines 8 - 9

This is obscure

Lang

Add "Male descent" to table showing marriage laws and forms of descent.

There are no four classes with male descent.

Last par. line 2 for "divisions" read "phratries" (D.M.B.)

" 3 " "subdivisions" " "matrimonial classes"
(Lang)

In Chapter V, Totemism, both lines of descent coexist.

D.M.B. - additions

Last par., line 5. After "from paternal to maternal descent takes place", add "but the exact point inland where maternal descent is changed to agnatic, cannot be defined; west of Bridgetown, Williams and other places both lines of descent appear to coexist."

Add, after last words on page, "but westward of these districts

descent is maternal. *I walked throughout those areas*

North of the Warren River, the subdivision of the two primary divisions begins. These subdivisions are four, namely :- Ballarruk, Tondarup, Nagarnook, Didarruk.

Of these four, Ballarruk and Nagarnook represent the Wordungmat division, and Tondarup and Didarruk the Manitchmat division. The two primary divisions are, however, recognised as far as Jurien Bay, and the four subdivisions are certainly now known in Esperance, but the primary names are principally used in the south and the subdivisional names along the southwest coast towards Jurien Bay.

The marriage laws and forms of descent of the two primary divisions are as under :- (from Williams R. (approx.) to Esperance)

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Manitchmat | Wordungmat | Manitchmat |
| Wordungmat | Manitchmat | Wordungmat |

It is thus seen that the children enter their fathers' class, and wherever these two primary names alone obtain, the descent is agnatic. It may be noted here that the dropping of the final syllable in words otherwise identical marks the difference in descent amongst the people living between Jurien Bay and Esperance. Those whose descent is agnatic (from Williams to Esperance) shorten their syllables, the people with maternal descent (from Williams to Jurien Bay) adding a final syllable. Maata (leg), kaata (head), jenna (foot) are words used in the dialects of Perth, Murray, Gingin, Bunbury, etc. and maat, kaat, jen, are their equivalents at Warren, Albany, Esperance, etc.

North of the Donnelly River, about Williams River, the subdivision of the two primary divisions apparently begins, and these subdivisions extend northward as far as about Jurien Bay. It is in the neighbourhood of the Donnelly River that the change from paternal to maternal descent takes place, and from that point along the coast northward the descent is maternal, but the people having maternal descent only occupy a very narrow coast line between the Donnelly River and Jurien Bay. In the Katanning, Collie, Bridgetown and other districts where the four subdivisional names have penetrated, the descent is

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 13

Retyped page 2, first paragraph

Give the definite statements of individuals

aborigines. *Have done so when necessary.*

Last lines

What does lowest type mean?

Just what it states.

To persons familiar with aboriginal types, the marked difference between certain members of the Wordungmat and Manitchmat divisions becomes at once apparent, without even ascertaining from the individual under observation, to which division he or she belongs. As a general rule the Wordungmat is of a duller "chocolate brown" than the Manitchmat, his body is shorter, sturdier and more thickly set, his feet and hands, like those of all natives, are small, but "stumpier" than those of the Manitchmat, and his character is less open, and more quarrelsome, treacherous and sullen than that of the Manitchmat. All the "hairy" natives I have met with in the camps of the South and Southwest, belonged to the Wordungmat division, the bodies being sometimes almost entirely covered with hair. Mogorit, a Beverley district Wordungmat, was thickly covered with hair over breast, neck, legs and arms, and his son, Moogoogul, had also a thick covering of hair on breast and back.

In the Wordungmat division, too, there are various "strains" which cannot justly be called "castes", since there is a certain rank in caste, and there is no rank of this kind amongst the natives of West Australia, beyond a certain deference given to their grandparents and old fathers. These strains can scarcely be called separate racial infusions either, for they are neither so generally spread amongst the Southern people, nor so pronounced in their distinctive features as to warrant their being called a separate infusion. No better simile can be offered with regard to the presence of these "high" and "low" types (so to speak) amongst the Wordungmat than that of the Irish people. Amongst the crags and wilder parts of the western coast of Ireland a type of people may be met with, who, through long centuries of continuous battling with a barren soil for bare living, have developed some of the lowest types of European features, whereas in the Southern and eastern provinces the better soil of these more fertile regions affording greater sustenance, the physique of the peasantry of Leinster and Munster is in striking contrast to that of their centuries-famished western kinsmen. Thus may be explained

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 14

Retyped Page 3

Third line "presumably amongst the wooded hills..."

What basis for the presumption? *Explained in later pages which A.R.B. overlooked.*

Comment on first paragraph :

The struggle for existence always must produce a higher type, not a lower. *No, witness parts of Ireland.*

"Ballarruk comes next to Ngoogonyuk in type."

Ballaruk is a subdivision.

So is Ngoogonyuk from its special ngoonuk food in the group area.

All Ngoogonyuk were Ballaruk, but all Ballaruk were not Ngoogonyuk, as the ngoogan food was in a limited area of soil or ground.

From Revised Version

MSS. P. 4 Retyped page 3

Lang Gooanuk What are these?

P. 5

Ch. V Rain a "class totem"

Additions, alterations - D.M.B.

Line 1 should read "The lowest type of people belonging to the Wordungmat division....."

After line 4 add :

A local group S.East of Bridgetown having clouds as their borungur were called guenak by themselves and their neighbours.

Last par. Ballarruk comes next to Ngoogonyak in type. Add :

All Ngugunuak were however Balarak, but all Balarak were not Ngugunyak.

Line 3 of last par.

The name Kootijcum as a class name was frequently mentioned.

Alteration : Kutijkam or Kutijbang was mentioned, apparently as a subdivisional name.

Brown

Nagarnooks are generally called wejuk...

Are all Nagarnooks wejuk? *No, only in an area where special many emus or abundant emu food brings to that area, same with Kangaroo food special grounds.*

What is the sign of rank. How does the rank count and how is it determined.

Ballarruk is one of the 4 subdivisions. How is it comparable with Ngoogunyuk?

In the S.W. of W.A. there are specially heavy rains - during the rainy (cold) season. These heavy rains, in such wonderfully fertile soil in those areas, produced an abundance of food, bulbs, roots, etc. etc. and the group or groups of such areas had good and plentiful food to offer to the fish and other totemic groups which visited them in the season. Having such a plenitude they fed well, and fed their visitors well, and the word Guanuk was given by an old man visitor, gabbi guan guan (rain falling, falling always). You are Guanuk, people of the falling and falling rains.

The lowest type of the Wordungmat division is called Ngoogunyuk, and the highest type is the Gooanuk. The latter people lived presumably amongst the wooded hills in the more southern parts of the State, where there was a heavy annual rainfall. In such a district those who survive their infancy and childhood would grow up into well-developed men and women, having both the sea and the hills from which they could procure food. The manner in which the Gooanuks received their special designation was stated by Balbuk as follows :- A long time ago (koorraa, koorraa), an old native named Ngabinyung said to his sons, "Gabbal gabbal gooan boming," (the rain, the rain is always coming and wetting and teasing you, I will call you Gooanuk. The Ngoogunyuk people probably lived in a more barren part of the South, where the struggle for food was keen and prolonged, and thus they developed the low type of features which such a continuous striving for bare existence would help to mould. Their colour too is of a slightly darker shade than the ordinary Wordungmat. Ngogorn = eggs, egg eaters, was a meaning also given to Ngogonyuk.

Nagarnooks are generally called wajuk in the Bunbury district, the weja or emu being a district totem of the Nagarnook of these parts, (Bunbury, Vasse, Wagin, etc.) They were among the ^{more virile} ~~better~~ types of the Wordungmat division. They were called Jirdajuk (jirda = small birds) at Nyeerrgah, but no reason could be ascertained for the change. Later : Jirda (birds) were common articles of diet, replacing nogarn.

Ballarruk comes next to Ngoogunyuk in type. Short, thickly built Ballarruk were sometimes called eedalyuk (eedal = feather). Between the Blackwood and Donnelly Rivers, the name Kootijkum as a class name was frequently mentioned, and a Wonnerup native stated that the Kootijkum were Wordungmat and lived at one time near Kweerijinnup (Cape Leeuwin). A possible meaning for this term may arise through the change of descent taking place somewhere in the vicinity, as there is a certain word used in the southern dialects for the children of one mother, which bears a distinct resemblance to Kootijkum.

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 15 Retyped page 4

Paragraph commencing "Didarruk may also be derived."

There appear to be Didarruk at Beverley inland.

Do they not live inland?

(Yes, but they have travelled inland from the seacoast -

D.M.B.)

*q also 'deedar' is a species of spearwood (spearmaking)
which would be applied to local group.*

Notes, from revised version

Additions, D.M.E.

MSS. P. 6 Retyped Page 4

After Line 2, add : Colour is lent to this suggestion by the term applied to the children of two mothers - kuta kujal.

Par. 3 - Didarruk. After "spearwood", add :

Gabi kail Wordungmat were gij borungur and called themselves didarruk. (*gij - spear made from spearwood.*)

Also :

Didarup is also a species of spearwood (gimlet wood) growing in the Southern districts. Many wordang are gij or Didar borungur within this area.

Brown

1st Par., last 4 lines. It is probable, etc.

Theory - What is the basis of the probability?

(Sentence crossed out.)

This should come earlier.

Is the Didarruk a localised class?

Might be a little group in a spearwood area.

All these derivations might be omitted.

They can't; they are part of the whole Books.

call it. Koota means "bag" or "womb" and kootajung are the children of one mother, "coming from the one womb". Baabur, Doongan and Warrurtwurt, three Vasse natives, vaguely remembered a legend concerning kootijkum who was supposed to be a native who first appeared at Kweerijinnup and on his arrival there arranged the classes and descent of the natives along the coast. Warrurtwurt called himself a Ballarruk-Kootijkum because he came from the district north of Kweerijinnup. It is probable that in some long past period the change from maternal to paternal descent was made by some ancestor of the present day inhabitants of the district, and the legends, now so vague, were once records of this important movement.

Nagarnook is said by Grey to have been derived from nagarn - a little fish, but it may just as easily be derived from the dialectic word nago = to see, spoken by the Doonan people. The use of the dialectic word would, however, confine the Nagarnook to the district covered by the Doonan dialect, whereas Nagarnook are found at Gingin and Dandaaraga, and also in places inland from the coast, where neither the Doonan dialect is spoken, nor any little fish called nagarn, abound.

Didarruk may also be derived from deeda - little fish resembling whitebait, and very plentiful in southwestern waters, or it may come from a dialectic word daedarr, meaning "sea", or didar - spearwood. Didarruk are coast people or "sea people" wherever they are met with. There were places where deedar trees abounded and spears from these were valued and sold.

Ngoongunyuk may either be a corruption of ngwoota - black or darkskinned, or it may be derived from ngoogoo, the term for "sweet" in the Murray district, where most of the Ngoogonyuk were to be found; (or ngogorn = eggs).

Ballarruk, according to Grey, is derived from ballawara = a species of opossum, one time plentiful in the Southwest, but now apparently extinct. The Ballarruk may, however, be so called from the word ballee - over there; kala ballee (strangers' fire). Ballee means in effect "another" or "not belonging to us", and kala ballee means "not our home". Herather fire" is central

tion to kelleepuk or kalleepgur, "our own home or fire", or "people", "one fire".

The Manitchmat differs most decidedly from the Wordungmat notwithstanding their warm chocolate colouring, and a roundness of limb and feature rarely found amongst the Wordungmat. There is also a certain fineness of shape, and a more pleasing and open expression will generally be found in the Manitchmat features. Their feet and hands were finely modelled and small. Their temperament, too, though impulsive and passionate, is as a rule neither treacherous nor sullen. Their hair is long, black, wavy and sometimes curly, but the hair of both peoples, the Wordungmat and Manitchmat, is of the fineness of texture, and oval shape of the Caucasian. The brow arches project considerably, as in the Wordungmat types, but amongst many of the Manitchmat the fulness of the eye lessens somewhat the prominence of the brows. Woonar, an old Bunbury Manitchmat (Tondarup subdivision) has fine full eyes, and although his brows are fully as prominent as those of another Tondarup, Yoornil, belonging to the same district, the superciliary arches of the latter appear to be much more prominent than those of Woonar. The Esperance Manitchmat differ somewhat in physique from those living on the southwestern coast, and these again differ from others further north, the slight difference being doubtless due to climatic conditions, food, etc. Some are short and of slight build, some are sturdier than others, but in all the differential characteristics are observable. The Manitchmat of Southwestern districts, as represented by Ngandil, Timbal, Dool and others, are good examples of the southwestern Tondarup and Didarruk. Occasionally the Manitchmat features and type will be observable in Wordungmat children, and vice versa, but the natives themselves when noticing the difference will say, "Ballarruk mukkin," "Tondarup mukkin", like the Ballarruk or Tondarup side of the family whichever that may be. Tondarup and Didarruk are the two principal subdivisions of the Manitchmat. Tondarup is no doubt derived from dornda - light coloured or Dondur, or Tondur - fishhawk, light coloured hawk, for all

From revised version

MSS. P. 8 Retyped Page 6

Lang

Some of the local names, etc.

Place elsewhere.

These local nicknames are out of place here. (P..9)

Better leave them where they are. Natives put them there.

Alterations, additions - D.M.B.

MSS. P. 8 Retyped Page 5 , 8 lines from end of page.

This should read :

Balarāk mākin, Tondarup mākin or Manitch ban ban, like the

Balarāk or Tondarāp side of the family. *Didn't I make that clear?*

P. 9 Retyped Page 6

Keganook : This should read :

This name was given to some Tondarup people living in the Murray district, from the cry of the kegan or shag, kega, kega.

Last par. Substitute "phratries" for "groups" *Phratries don't fit in as well as groups - ----- group is the right Austr. word.*

Brown

MSS. P. 9 Retyped Page 6

Are these the names of local groups (sub-tribes) or of totemic clans, or of some other sort of division?

Explained & probably overlooked by A.R.B.

Some of the local names of the Manitchmat people are as follows :-

Keganook This name was given to some Tondarup people living in the Southwest, from the cry of the white cockatoo kega, kega. It is also stated by some natives that Yooknoorn, an old Tondarup who was visiting some of his relations who lived near a swamp in which there were a great number of woorgail - frogs, called his friends "Keganook" from the incessant noise the frogs made throughout the night.

Kega was also the Murray district equivalent for "shag"; the Murray people were called Kega from their method of catching fish like the Kega.

Jeedalyuk Jeedal is a little grey insect about an inch in length. The Bunbury and Vasse Tondarup and Didarruk were called jeedalyuk from their "length of limb". The jeedal was not a totem, but from some vague information given by Balbuk and others, the little grey insects were supposed to have been yoongar (natives) in demna goomber times (ancestral or "big grandparents" times) and were Tondarup. Bardil, a Williams district native, stated that Jeedalyuk was applied to long thin Tondarup and Didarruk living at Pinjarra, Bunbury, etc.

Mala murnong - fairskinned people. Tondarup and Didarruk are mala murnong everywhere.

Other subdivisions are :-

Jeerung, or jeerungul - fat people. Applied to some Gingin people Tondarup, Ballarruk, etc.

Waddarndee - sea people, from "waddarn" - sea. Applied to Wordingmat and Manitchmat living on the seacoast.

The various subdivisional names are ~~almost entirely local~~ *confined within certain defined areas*, but the four subdivisions obtain from about Jurien Bay to somewhere near Esperance.

That the two primary groups White Cockatoo and Crow received their names through the distinction of colour and physique between them, there can be scarcely any doubt, since so many of the subdivisional names have been applied for the same reason, and hence these distinctions go far to prove that there were at least two races in Australia, one fair, the other dark, and that sometime or other the coalescence of these two races took place.

Original MSS Retyped

17

7

"Special varieties of food"

-? had totems , You do not eat your totem, the reverse -

(Lang)

They ate their group edible ^{totem} borungur (D.M.B.)

Meaning of borungur ? (Lang)

Elder brothers - totems (D.M.B.)

All totems were the groups' - borungur (elder brother).
No other word for totem
among the S.W. groups.

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 18 Retyped P. 7

Last line

Here you say emu is a district totem.

So it was.

From revised version

MSS. P. 10 Retyped page 7, first par.

Lang

What sort of totem?

cf. Ch. V where district totems are not inherited.

Brown

Last part of p. 7

This is all very obscure.

So sorry.

Prof. Haddon suggested (Proc. Brit. Ass. 1902) that the names might have been applied from such groups having special varieties of food in their district, but the definition of most of the West Australian names is against this. Prof. Haddon is, however, correct in thinking that certain groups had special varieties of food in their district, by which names they were often called, as Wejuk, or wej borungur - emu totem people, Bunbury; yongar borungur - kangaroo totem people, York, Northam, etc., were yongar districts; goomalwuk or goomal borungur - Goomalung and Dandaaraga people, but in all these districts the subdivisional names and the primary names were to be found. White cockatoo is an article of food, but crows are seldom eaten. The white cockatoo is also the totem of many of the Manitchmat, but I have not found that the crow is a "district" or "inherited" totem, though it has now and then been the "personal" totem of a boy or girl. Some natives stated that all Manitchmat were manitch borungur and all Wordungmat were wordung borungur. Both birds are universal throughout the State and are not the products of the Southern districts only. Therefore the names must necessarily have arisen from some other cause.

All natives believe that birds and beasts were at one time human beings, but no native has ever assumed his descent or that of his people to have been from those birds or beasts. Moreover, the totemic observances of the Southwest do not point to any elaborate system of totemism. The kuljak borungur (swan totem people) of Gingin "sang" for the increase of the swans and swans' eggs, and the melok borungur (salmon) men of the Capel district "sang" for the increase of that fish, both peoples while singing imitating the mating and nest making of the bird and the leap of the salmon as they came into the estuaries, but now only one or two old men sing for the increase of their totem, the other members of the swan or salmon totems catching and eating their totems without any totemic ceremony, but the didar men sang the borungur songs. The emu totem people of Bunbury - the Nagarnook or wejuk as they were more frequently called - did not apparently sing for their totems. They were however assumed to have the powers to

From revised version

MSS. P. 12 Retyped page 8

Brown

First par. This to be either omitted or expanded.

With regard to the primary class names, etc. -

 Again what are these divisions? See MSS.

Lang

First par.

For explanation, cf. Ch. V

For "district totems", cf. Ch. V.

With regard to the primary class names, however, every relationship and every wrong term as well, that is, every "mootch" (wrong class marriage term) is not applied to either of these two names but to the eaglehawk (walja). It is demna (grandparent) mamman (father), nrangan (mother), woordoo (brother), lookan (sister) and noba (child). It is also yoombula (giving the wrong class name), wallakwallak (taking anyone and everyone), goonga boola (lit. "many backs") and mootch (marrying wrongly). Yet it is the mammangurra - the father of all, the first of all. The wordung (crow) is both relation and relation-in-law to the walja (eaglehawk). The manitch (white cockatoo) is also relation and nephew to the walja. The walja, wordung and manitch are said by the Southern coastal people to be ngalata moorurt - all our relations. The walja is supposed to have come "from the east" and to have named, or rather divided, the natives into the two classes cockatoo and crow in the following manner. He called them all together and said to the crow, "Yinnok moorn yen" (you are black, go away), and to the manitch he said, "Nyee dornda, gwab, yinnok ngunnong, gwab" (you are fair, that is good, you are ours (or mine), good). Several Southern legends tell of the spearing of the walja by the wordung, and in nearly all of them the walja is held up to opprobrium, and is generally speared or killed in some manner for his misdeeds. The eaglehawk figures also in northern legends.

Are these legends the dim traditional memories of a once powerful race - a fair "eaglehawk" type, eventually subdued by a darker "crow" type? The Manitch appear to belong to the coast everywhere, they are sea, estuary and river people, often found far inland but always travelling "from the sea coast", wherever the direction of such coast may point. That the Manitch are a "fair" people there is no question, also it is indisputable that they are not synonymous with the walja who were likewise presumably a "fair" or "brown" race. The legendary evidence which has been collected from all parts of the State may assist ethnologists in settling the question of the Australian race, and from whence

it is derived. These legends have been taken down verbatim from the natives, with nothing added and nothing taken away. It has been considered more advisable to leave the legends as the natives told them, than to elaborate them so as to fit in with some special theory or other.

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 19 Retyped P. 10, first par.

Alter this.

P. 20

P. 10

"It was a mootch marriage, etc."

Have you the genealogy of this?

(I can get it, I think - D.M.B.)

I have the genealogies of all the living members. I sat down with them, proved their statements, where there was a family, big or little, in the group area.

From revised version

MSS. P. 13 Retyped page 10

Lang

Comment on first table of marriage laws :

Do these classes alternate with each generation?

Cf. Ch. V which seems to say No.

D.M.B.'S Note on this

These classes alternate with each generation in all places where maternal descent obtains. The father of Balaruk is Tondarup or Didaruk and the father of Tondarup is Balaruk or Nagarnuk.

Middle of page - None of these could marry within themselves, all must adhere to their primary subdivisions. Substitute "phratries" for subdivisions. *I like subdivision best.*

Below Augusta and the Donnelly River.....the primary divisions (alone) obtained. Alone? - Lang. *Yes, only Wordungmat & Manitehmat.*

The marriages of the four subdivisions, possessing maternal descent, beginning somewhere north of the Donnelly River, or Warren River or Williams River, and going upwards along the coast towards Jurien Bay, are as follows :-

| | Male | Female | Offspring |
|------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Wordungmat | Ballarruk | Tondarup or Didarruk | Tondarup, Didarruk |
| | Nagarnook | " " | " " |
| Manitchmat | Tondarup | Ballarruk, Nagarnook | Ballarruk, Nagarnook |
| | Didarruk | " " | " " |

No other marriages were permitted within the area mentioned, than those tabulated above. A Ballarruk could not marry a Nagarnook for they were "one breed" - koota gen - one bag or womb, nor could a Tondarup marry a Didarruk for they also were koota gen. Nor could Gooanuk, Ngoogunyuk, Bedalyuk, etc. intermarry, for they were all koota gen to Ballarruk and Nagarnook. And so with Keganook, Jeedalyuk, etc., who were koota gen to Tondarup and Didarruk. None of these could marry within themselves, all must adhere to their primary subdivisions. A breach of this law meant death in the old days, but as every native law and rule has its exception, there were rare occasions when this law was not set aside, as for instance, in one Southern pedigree where the marriage of a Tondarup and Didarruk took place. It was a "mootch" marriage, but the "mother's brother" (kongon) of the girl took away the burrong gool (stigma ?) for some special service rendered and made the marriage "gwab" (all right, good).

Below Augusta and the Donnelly River, and eastward at varying distances towards Esperance, the primary divisions obtained, intermarried as previously stated, and possessed agnatic descent.

Where the subdivisions were found amongst the people with paternal descent the marriages were arranged accordingly :-

| | Male | Female | Offspring |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Manitchmat | Tondarup | Ballarruk | Tondarup |
| | Didarruk | Nagarnook | Didarruk |
| Wordungmat | Ballarruk | Tondarup | Ballarruk |
| | Nagarnook | Didarruk | Nagarnook |

From revised version

MSS. P. 14 Retyped page 10a

Lang

I cannot find this map.

I sent it along registered - D.M.B.

Comments on Pedigrees

Brown

What are the borungur of all these people?

All given in their proper place.

The accompanying map defines the several districts whose marriage laws vary in some essential particular.

These laws will perhaps be best explained by furnishing pedigrees of families of the various districts, whose ancestors have lived on the same ground for countless generations.

1. A Vasse Pedigree (The following pedigrees are as given in the section on Genealogies.)
Weereetch = Moorark III 2c, P. 25
2. Baaburgurt's mother's pedigree
Goomungul = Dollung III 2c, P. 26
3. Swan River Pedigree
Wilya-wilya = Moojurngul III 2c, P. 29
4. Gingin Pedigree
Jooranung = Meetchanung III 2c, P. 30
5. Murray River District Pedigree
Weenil = ? III 2c, P. 21 and 22

In all these pedigrees it will be seen that the descent is strictly maternal. (P. 27 of MS.)

Pedigrees of natives who belong to the two primary classes with paternal descent are given :-

1. Denmark Pedigree
Indeewar = Gweebilyerra III 2a, P. 53
2. Albany Pedigree
Molgun = Marrinitch III 2a, P. 17
3. Kendenup Pedigree
Bwainburt = ? III 2a, P. 54

The Esperance pedigrees were similar to the above except in the totems.

Original MSS. Retyped

29

11

At Ravensthorpe, etc.

History or legend? (Lang)

History (D.M.B.)

From revised version

MSS. P. 29 Retyped page 11

Brown

It is very difficult to follow this.

Better to give a brief account of each tribe known.

This is what has been done.

At Bremer Bay I found one native whose descent was maternal, but on inquiry it was discovered that a Gooanuk woman was captured by a "maternal grandfather" and her people being a powerful family claimed the children. In the third generation the descent of this family returned to the paternal. Several pedigrees of four generations of Bremer Bay, Doubtful Island, Jerramungup and other southern district natives were taken, in all of which Manitchmat and Wordungmat alternated.

At Ravensthorpe a Thomas River Ngoorrawuk or Ngoorrabarl (black opossum) man having no other class designation, married a Southwestern Didarruk, the children were all Didarruk. According to a Bremer Bay man, all Didarruk were geej-wuk - spear totem people, and were a powerful tribe. The Ngoorrabarl man came from the districts having totemic class names only. In the second generation all the Didarruk males gave their class names to their children, as in cases like this the predominant class or totem gives its descent to the children.

The Bremer Bay Manitchmat were frequently called Tondarup and Didarruk, but except in the one case under notice the descent was paternal. At Mungup some Kunneeung or western Bibbulmun penetrated. A Dardanup (near Bunbury) family travelled down to the Bootenup district, changed their descent from the maternal, which prevails at Bunbury, to paternal descent. The three generations of these people showed that they had become entirely naturalised, as it were, in their adopted district. The approximate line of demarcation between maternal and paternal descent in those tribes bearing the same subdivisional names is (about) Augusta, Nannup, East of Collie, Williams, Eannister, East of Beverley, East of York, West of Mt. Stirling, and about Kellerberrin. The tribes having maternal descent have intruded inland as far as the Ninghan district (about long. 118°) and northward along the coast to about lat. 30°.

1. A Pedigree east of Beverley
Paternal descent

Yanjeewar = To'eejan

III 2b, P. 8

2. A Werr'ge-gan (Beverley) Pedigree
Maternal descent

Winditch = Moolyel

III 2c, P. 31

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 32

Retyped page 12, first par.

Examples are wanted to substantiate this
statement.

*They will be found in
their proper place.*

From revised version

MSS. P. 33 Retyped page 12, first sentence

Lang

cf. Ch. V Both lines of descent of totem coexist.

Members of families whose descent was paternal were adopted into neighbouring tribes having maternal descent and vice versa. ~~There is at present no strict line of demarcation between classes following either descent, but that such line existed at one time all the older natives attest.~~ It cannot be said either that the people having paternal descent were encroaching upon those whose descent was maternal, neither the one body nor the other had the advantage in this respect, for if maternal descent wedged itself in amongst the tribes south and east of it, paternal descent encroached equally upon the matriarchal districts, and from time immemorial boys were "adopted" from one district to another, without apparently interfering with their differing descents, for the marriage laws were the same among both peoples. The mixture of descent was shown in the marriage relations only, as, whether a woman was Manitchmat and her offspring were Manitchmat or Wordungmat according to the descent prevailing in the district, she was still the mother, and her children and her own sisters' and own brothers' children still bore the same blood relationship terms regardless as to whether their descent was maternal or paternal.

It will be seen from the examples submitted, how regularly and universally the laws of marriage and descent were maintained amongst the Southern people. Occasionally breaches of these laws occurred, but punishment swiftly followed the offence, and amongst all the older pedigrees obtained, there is no instance of the perpetrators of a mootchoo or wrong marriage being allowed to live together for any time. Woolbarr's and other mootchoo marriages were contracted after the arrival of the whites in the Gingin and other districts. Even after years of missionary training and Christian endeavour to eradicate the old laws, the natives resident at the various missions carried on at the present day, strongly resent the union of two persons of the wrong class. Bishop Salvado recognised the existence of these laws amongst the aborigines, and most faithfully adhered to them, and although his genealogical tree shows he was not correct in his class names or subdivisions

successfully paired the proper classes.

Several photographs of married couples, taken by Dr. Salvado at New Norcia, were shown to two of the old Moore River natives who are still living, and who knew the originals of the photographs, and the name and class of each were given, Tondarup marrying Ballarruk and so on.

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 33

Retyped page 14

Kinship Terms, Beverley

To be copied, giving native term first,
whether male or female speaking must be
given. If not known, say so. *Have said so, when
known or not
known.*

Separate all referring to tribes with male descent
from anything referring to tribes with female
descent. *can't with those groups now in
existence. They must be given
as groups of the areas visited.*

These lists must all be gone over again systematically
and thoroughly. *Ridiculous. They are native +
have their special native value.*

Father's father = demman. Should not this be murrán? (No. - D.M.B.)

Son's son = moora or murrán. Male speaking?

What is son's son, female speaking?
(demman - D.M.B.)

Daughter's husband's mother = ngooljar (woman speaking - D.M.B.)

Husband's mother's father = demman.

Should not this be murrán? (No. - D.M.B.)

All explained by natives in the various MSS.
of the S.W. You must have missed much
in the MS.

With regard to the relationship existing amongst the southern people it may be well to furnish here some Tables of Relationship Terms supplied by various natives, in order to show the universality of the system of consanguinity throughout the southern and southwestern coast.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS, BEVERLEY DISTRICT

Kajjaman, female, speaking

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| Father | Mamman |
| Father's brother | Mamman |
| Father's sister | Mamman yog |
| Father's mother | Demman |
| Mother's father | " |
| Mother's father's brother | " |
| Father's mother's sister | " |
| Wife's father's father | " |
| Daughter's children | Moora or murren |
| Daughter's husband's father | Ngooljar |
| Son's wife's father | Murren |
| Husband's father's father | Demman |
| Wife | Korda |
| Wife's sister | Deena or Ngooljar |
| Father's father | Demman |
| Son's son | Moora or murren |
| Mother | Gai'ang, 'n'kan |
| Mother's sister | " " |
| Mother's brother | Kongan |
| Daughter's husband | Moyer, koolong |
| Mother's mother | Mooran, murren |
| Wife's mother's father | " " |
| Daughter's husband's mother | Ngooljar |
| Son's wife's mother | " |
| Husband's mother's father | Demman |
| Wife's brother (male speaking) | Ngooljar |
| Sister's husband | " |
| Wife's father | Kongan |

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 35

Retyped P. 15

There are many inconsistencies in this list which need enquiry. *No, they must be left, as they are. They are genuinely native.*

Retyped P. 16, last sentence of first par.

"Own mother's brother's sons, etc."

Does this mean that I, a woman, cannot marry my mother's brother's son? It is not at all clear.

Or does it mean that my mother's brother's son cannot marry my father's sister's daughter?

All explained in MSS.

P. 36

Capel and Wonnerup list

father = mamman.

Is this a male or female speaking? Presumably it is mixed. (Both male and female speaking - D.M.B.)
The list is not sufficiently complete.

P. 17 Albany list

Same remarks as above.

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Sister's son (brother speaking) | Moyer |
| Sister's husband's father | Kongan |
| Son's wife | Kumbart, kambeen |
| Husband's father | Kongan |
| Husband's mother | Mamman yog |
| Wife's mother | " " winnitch guttuk |
| Sister's husband's mother (woman speaking) | Mamman yog |
| Son | Koolong |
| Daughter | Koolong, kwerrurt, kowat |
| Brother's sons and daughters (woman speaking) | Moyer, kumbart, kambeen |
| Sister's children (woman speaking) | Koolong |
| Mother's brother's son " " | Dennam or Kordamat |
| Mother's brother's daughter (man speaking) | Dennam or kordamat |
| Father's sister's son (woman sp.) | " " " |
| Father's sister's daughter (man speaking) | " " " |
| Elder brother | Ngoondun borong |
| Younger brother | Kardung |
| Father's elder brother's son | Ngoondun |
| Elder sister | Jookan borong |
| Younger sister | Jookan kowat or koopdung |
| Father's younger brother's children | Ngoondungur and jookangur |
| Father's elder brother's daughter | Jookan |
| Husband | Korda |
| Husband's brothers | Kordamun or ngooljarmun |
| Husband's sisters | Ngooljar yogga |
| Brother's wife | " " |
| Sister's daughter | Koolong yog |
| Daughter's children | Demman |

From revised version

MSS. P. 38 Retyped page 16

Brown

Mamman = father, father's brother

Ngamanung yago = father's sister

Dimma = father's mother, father's mother's sister, mother's father,
mother's father's brother, wife's father's father,
daughter's children.

*See typed account - all thoroughly
explained by natives.*

In the Victoria Plains district the above relationship terms obtain. Mother's sister or "second mother" is called 'n'gan koolan'yung, and Murran, the term for "mother's mother" is used colloquially when speaking of, or to, the woman who has given her daughter to the son of the man speaking. Own mother's brother's sons and own father's sister's daughters cannot marry each other.

In the Piniarra and Murray district similar terms also are used, a slight dialectic change occurring in the terms. Daughter's husband's mother and son's wife's mother, are called Deenee, instead of Ngooljar. Mother's own brother's sons, and father's own sister's daughters, are Deenamun and cannot intermarry. Son is mammal and elder sister jockan jindam. The Perth district relationship terms also resemble the Murray and Victoria Plains equivalents.

In the Gingin dialect o is usually changed into a - korda becomes kardoo; kongan, kangun; mamman yogga, mamman yago. Wife's brother, sister's husband, husband's brother, husband's sister, mother's brother's son, and mother's brother's daughter, are all included in the term jooneen (ngooljarmun or deenamun.)

The Guildford district dialect drops the final syllable in one or two instances. Maan, father, maan yogga, father's sister, are examples, but the longer term mamman (father) was also used. Demmangur and murrangur - father's father's fathers and mother's mother's brothers and sisters, had another syllable added to them and became demmangurra and murrangurra.

The Williams River district dialect drops many of the final syllables of the relationship terms. Maam - father, ngank - mother, nob - children, maam yog - father's sister, are some examples.

The Capel and Wonnerup district dialect differs somewhat from those of its northern neighbours. The terms are as follows :-

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Father | Mamman |
| Father's brother | " |
| Father's sister | Ngamanung yago |
| Father's mother | Dimma |

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Mother's father | Dinma |
| Mother's father's brother | " |
| Wife's father's father | " |
| Daughter's children | " |
| Daughter's husband's father | Ngooljar |
| Son's wife's father | " |
| Wife | Wee'er'uk |
| Wife's sister | Yago ngooljar |
| Mother | Hgai'e'nung |
| Mother's sister | " |
| Mother's brother | Kongan |
| Daughter's husband | Moyero |
| Daughter's husband's mother | Ngooljar |
| Husband's mother | Ngamanung |
| Wife's mother | " |
| Sister's husband's mother | Ngamanung |
| Daughter | Koorurda, Nooba mallardee |
| Brother's sons and daughters (man speaking) | Nooba |
| Sister | Jeeko |
| Mother's own brother's sons | Demmap |
| Father's own sister's daughters | " |
| Mother's brother's sons (not own) | Kordamun |
| Father's younger brother's children | Woordumun |
| Elder sister | Jeeko jindam |

In the Albany and Denmark districts the dropping of the final syllable is almost general :-

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Father | Maan |
| Father's brothers | Maan'gur |
| Father's sisters | Maan yog |
| Father's mother | Dem |
| Father's mother's sisters | Dem |
| Mother's father | Moorr', Dem |
| Mother's father's brothers | " " |
| Wife's father's father | Dem |
| Daughter (baby) | Koolong neeul |

From revised version

Alterations - D.M.B.

MSS. P. 39, 40 Retyped pages 17, 18

List of Albany and Denmark relationship terms crossed out,
as well as the following paragraph (to "according to which
division is speaking".)

Last par. of P. 18

"Manitchmat division and Tondarup subdivision"

Lang's alterations :

Manitchmat phratry and Tondarup class.

"Travelling from Esperance to Jurien Bay"

For Esperance, substitute Augusta. (D.M.B.)

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| Son | Koolong |
| Wife | Kord |
| Husband | " |
| Wife's brother | Ngoolyar |
| Wife's sister | Ngoolyar yog |
| Wife's father | Konk |
| Son's wife | Kumburt |
| Husband's mother | Maan yog |
| Mother | Ngank, kaan, ngai'ung |
| Mother's brother | Konk |
| Sister | Jook, ngai'uk |
| Brother | Ngammuk, ngoont |

All the other relationship terms are similar to the Vasse, Murray etc. equivalents.

The Esperance Bay dialect is practically the same as that of Albany and Denmark, with the exception of the term for daughter - beerdin. All along the coast between Esperance and Albany the same dialectic terms generally are used, with similar meanings. Hence it will be seen that notwithstanding the changes in descent, occurring between Esperance and the districts south of Jurien Bay, the relationship terms with the slight change in dialect, are similar throughout.

Besides these comprehensive terms existing amongst the Southern group bearing the same class names (with their subdivisions) there are other terms in constant use which are interchangeable between the two primary divisions and also between the four subdivisions of these, according to which division is speaking.

For instance, I am a Tondarup woman, having been adopted into the Manitchmat division and the Tondarup subdivision. I speak of all Tondarup and Didarruk people as ngunning - my own family. They are each and all ngunning to me, and wherever I go I sit by a ngunning fire. Travelling from Esperance to Jurien Bay I find representatives - ngunning'gur, at all the intermediate camps. The oldest people in these camps are my dammamat or murrangur (grandparent stock), the next oldest women are my ngan'gamat (mother stock), their brothers being my kongamat (mother's

ngoondurmat, and jookamat (ngoontgur and jookmat Albany district equivalents) (brother and sister stock), and the young children are my nobab (children). I cannot marry any of these (except the "uncle" stock, if not "own") for they are ngunning - my own and although the relationship may be a distant one, that is, should I be a Gingin Tondarup woman and wish to marry a Denmark Tondarup, I cannot marry him because he is ngunning to me - my own relation. (The English equivalents must necessarily be given for the sake of clearness though, as will be seen, they are not nearly comprehensive enough.)

Noy'yungis the word I, being a Tondarup, use in speaking of the Wordungmat division and its subdivisions. All noy'yungur are my relations-in-law, so to speak. In the camps I visit and where I find the ngunning relationships just mentioned, I also find noy'yungur. The oldest people are my demamat, murramat or murrangur (grandparent stock), these words being applied to maternal and paternal grandparents. The next oldest will rank as my mammamat (father stock, my fathers being noy'yung); my father's sisters are my mungartmat ("aunt" stock) or mamma yog (mamma = father, yog = woman - "mother-in-law" stock). My mothers' brothers are my Kongamat ("uncles") who have married noy'yung women. The young men and women who are the sons and daughters of my mother's brothers and my father's sisters are my kordamat, ngooliamat (or deenamat) (husband stock, brother-in-law stock and sister-in-law stock). The children of these are my noyeraun (nephews) and kumbart (nieces). Generally speaking, all the Manitchmat women of my mother's class and generation are my mothers (nganga) and all their sons and daughters are my brothers and sisters (ngoondurmat and jookamat), and the children of all these brothers and sisters are my children (nobab). Collectively all these are ngunningur. Also, the women of my father's class and of his generation are my aunts or mothers-in-law (mungart and mamma yog) and their sons and daughters are my kordamat, ngooliamat or deenamat (husbandstock, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law). The children of these are my nephews and nieces (noy-

From revised version

MSS. P. 43 Retyped Page 20, line 14

Additions, alterations - D.M.B.

After "mothers", insert "ngankmat, galang, ngank, 'kan"

After "fathers", (next line), insert "mān". (m a a n)

Line 16, after (uncles) should read "My father's sisters are Manitchmat and are my man yog. ("mothers-in-law" crossed out).

After "brothers and sisters", insert ngunt and juk .

Next line - "And the Wordung children of my fathers' own sisters are my dem if "own", my kordmat if not "own".

The children of my mother's brothers are my kordmat if not own, my dem if own.

All the oldest Manitchmat and Wordungmat are my grandparents (demgur, jukmat, nguntgur), etc.

konkgur or konkmat (uncle stock)

The Manitchmat men of my own generation are my brothers (ngunt), my brothers' children are my moyer and birding (moyermun and birding), and are also Manitchmat. The oldest Wordungmat are my demgur (grandparents), the next oldest are my mother stock (ngankgur), the Wordungmat of my own generation are my kordamat, ngooljarmat or dem (husband stock, brother-in-law stock and own father's sister's stock), and the children of a younger generation are my no'bab (sons and daughters, Wordungmat).

The children of my dem (own father's sisters' sons or own mother's brothers' sons) are my muran.

Page 21

First paragraph crossed out.

I cannot marry the children of my father's brothers and my mother's sisters, for they are my brothers and sisters, but I can marry the children of my father's sisters and my mother's brothers (not own) for they are my husband stock.

These relationships constitute the system of consanguinity of the classes having maternal descent amongst the Southern people, the consanguineous terms are used in all the tribes having maternal and paternal descent, but the difference in the two forms of descent brings a new relationship-in-law in the Manitchmat and Wordungmat classes with paternal descent only.

In the south (Albany, Esperance, etc.) I am a Manitchmat woman, with a Wordungmat mother and a Manitchmat father, for my descent is paternal. All the Wordungmat women of my own mother's generation are my mothers and all the Manitchmat men of my father's generation are my fathers. My mothers' brothers are Wordungmat and are my konk (uncles) and my fathers' sisters are Manitchmat and are my maan yog (mothers-in-law). The children of my fathers' brothers (Manitch) are my brothers and sisters, and the Wordung children of my fathers' sisters are my kordmat (my father's sister having married a Wordungmat man). The children of my mother's sisters are my brothers and sisters and the children of my mother's brothers are my kordmat (husband stock). In the southern districts therefore, all the oldest Manitchmat and Wordungmat are my grandparents (demgur, murrangur). The next oldest Manitchmat men are my father stock (the Wordungmat men of the same generation as my fathers being my konkgur ("uncle" stock). The Manitchmat men of my own generation are my brothers, and my brothers' children are my nephews and nieces (moyerraun and kumburraun) and are also Manitchmat. The oldest Wordungmat are my demgur or murrangur (grandparents), the next oldest are my mother stock (ngankgur), the Wordungmat of my own generation are my kordmat or ngooliamat (husband stock and brother-in-law stock), and the children of a younger generation than myself are my nobah (sons and daughters).

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 40

Retyped p. 21, below middle of page.

"The fact remains that the children of own
mother's brothers and own father's sisters
rarely married."

How many cases are known?

*None alive dead were
quoted but not by name.*

"Moorurtmat"

Correct this? Enquire again.

"Beeda kala"

Insertion by D.M.B. - All the coastal natives
from Augusta to Gingin.....

"Beela kala"

Murray, Vasse, Capel, etc. districts - D.M.B.

"Booyungur"

Gingin, Perth, Murray, Bunbury, Vasse, etc. - D.M.B.

From revised version

Additions, alterations, - D.M.B.

MSS. P. 45 Retyped page 21, last sentence before kinship terms :

"There were certain terms, etc."

This should read :

"Dem was the term used by these children, when speaking to, or of, each other. "

Dem, tem, dengur, demmat, demmap

Murart, murartmat

Beeda kala - substitute for this Gebangarak. All the southern coastal natives are called by the river people gebangarak or gebangarap, collectively to themselves they are kalleepgur.

Booyungur (boyangara) - the name given to natives living in the hills beyond the boundaries of river or coast.

With this difference in the class relationships, the various terms apply throughout the Southern group, and except in the variation of the dialectic equivalents, the same system of consanguinity obtains throughout the State, as will be shown in other groups.

There are several minor terms of consanguineous and other relationships which will be here explained, but which do not touch upon those given above. They are merely auxiliary or colloquial terms expressive of the status of the person spoken of, or to. So far I have found equivalents of these in almost every dialect, which shows that they are general and not local. Most of the terms will explain themselves. First I must state that it was not the rule for men to marry the daughters of their own mother's brothers or own father's sisters. There was apparently no law as to this restriction but whether the near blood tie was instinctively recognised or whether the restriction arose from the families of brother and sister living close to each other, and the children of these brothers and sisters growing up together from infancy, cannot be definitely stated. The fact remains that the children of own mother's brothers and own father's sisters rarely married. There were certain terms applied to these children, which however, do not interfere with the relationship terms previously given :-

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Tem, demmap | Own brothers' and sisters' children called each other by these terms in the southern district. |
| Moorurtmat | A general relationship term, applied to our <u>own</u> fathers and mothers and their own brothers and sisters and the children of these - all ngunning relations. |
| Kalleepgur | "Home people", that is, people living along the same road whether it be coast, hill or river road. Kalleep is derived from kal or kala = fire, hearth, or home. |
| Beeda kala | All the coastal natives call themselves beeda kala (beeda = vein, track, road; kala = fire) |
| Booyungur | Strangers - the name given to natives living beyond the boundaries of river or coast. To a coast man a native from the inland districts "over the hills" is a booyung - stranger. "Kalleep-a-booyung?" (home man or stranger) is the question asked concerning a native seen in the vicinity of a camp. |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Gooloordoo | All our family - term used by a Capel district native when speaking of all his family, father, mother, etc. |
| Gen-ben | All the family - term used by the Albany and Denmark people. |
| Kwe'jur | Children of two mothers and one father, Albany. |
| Kobong, koobong, babbin | friend. These words are identical in meaning, and signify a pledged friendship between two young men who stand in the relation of brothers-in-law to each other. The friendship is cemented at some ceremony which both attend. The men exchange names with each other, scar each other's shoulders or chest and fight for each other in any quarrels that may take place in which either may be engaged, and probably marry each other's sisters. A woman may take a boy as her babbin in the south, |
| Koota gen | One bag or womb. All Tondarup are koota gen, and all Ballarruk are koota gen, etc. |
| Ngabberup | Brothers or brother stock |
| Woordoomun | Younger brothers, mother's sister's younger boys |
| Kaimera | A "purchasable" woman at a certain ceremony where promiscuous intercourse forms the chief feature. Kaimera is one of the Northern class names, and its presence in the south in such a connection suggests the line of route of the ceremony. |
| Don'ma'la | Our stepbrothers and sisters by a wrong marriage. If my father, a Nagarnook, married a Tondarup woman, and his brother, also a Nagarnook, married a Nagarnook or Ballarruk woman, the children of such marriage would be don'mala to me, the product of my father's lawful marriage, Augusta and Vasse. In some other districts donnala has a somewhat different signification. If a Ballarruk man marries a Tondarup woman and afterwards marries a Didarruk woman, the children of these women are donnala to each other. (Perth and Murray dist.) |
| Kala ballee | Strangers' fire or camp. |
| Noonong kwenja | Your child |
| Noonong kunjeer or kanjeera | Your father or maker |
| Marragur | Father's sisters' sons and mother's brothers' sons |
| Kongal-moyal-gun-jee | Uncle and nephew relationship |
| Maam | Term applied by a Ballarruk to a Tondarup whose sister he (the Ballarruk) has married. (interchangeable) |
| Ngoonda-woorda | Older and younger brothers |
| Kowat-jindam | Older and younger sisters |

Original Retyped

42

23

Yoonbula - pretending to be a Tondarup, etc.

Why does he do so? (Lang)

When he wants to get a Ballarruk or Ngagarnook woman. (D.M.B.)

Comments by A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 42

Retyped P. 23

Yoonbula - Perth, Bunbury, Vasse - D.M.B.

| | |
|---|--|
| Borong-kardung | Oldest and younger brothers |
| Deeta-gunjee or marragur | My father's sisters' children or my mother's brothers' children |
| Weeabindee or wai'a'bindee | Young boys or "bachelors" belonging to the noy'yungur, whose older brothers are my kordamat or husband-stock. |
| Ngai or ngai'a | A "polite" term to use when speaking to a Tondarup or Didarruk mother, not necessarily "own" by a Tondarup or Didarruk young man or woman (Perth). |
| Kardijet | Name applied to brothers coming between eldest and youngest. |
| Mardiyet | Name applied to sisters coming between eldest and youngest. |
| Koolingurt | Last born boy |
| Koopedung | Last born girl |
| Kardung | Younger brother |
| Mamman batteetch | Father's oldest brother |
| Kowat-gurring | Mother's sisters' older boys |
| Koolingurt-a-gur | The youngest boys of mother's sisters |
| Yennar | All my relations - a term used by the Capel and Wonnerup natives. |
| Babbingur | Friends. The sentiment of friendship is peculiarly alive in the West Australians, although supposed by many ethnologists to be an acquisition of people of higher culture. The babbin ceremony of the S.W., cemented friendship in the most binding fashion, and throughout the whole known part of the West, the same pledged friendship is contracted. |
| Yeon-bulalong | Giving the wrong class name - a Ballarruk pretending to be a Tondarup, etc. |
| Dinna-mullong | Husband and wife (Doonan dialect) |
| Jirralijja or Girra-lijja | Ancestors - Balladonia and Thomas River |
| Demma goomber, Demma nyitting, nyitting'gur | Ancestors - Perth, Bunbury, Vasse |
| Jenga worreda | Ancestors - Doonan dialect |
| Dandannil | Brothers and sisters - Murray |
| Jooka-woorda | Brothers and sisters (also the Pleiades) |
| Ngoonda-jooka | Brothers and sisters |
| Konga-moyer | Uncle and nephew |
| Narraburt | Childless |
| Boorumbul, kat koojal vennee | Twins |

Duplicate copy

MSS. P. 43

Retyped page 24

Additions by D.M.B.

Babbinguttuk

Perth, Bunbury, Vasse, etc.

These districts apply to the following terms
down to Mando borrong'in

MSS. P. 44

Mokkarn, moggarn - Didarruk are sometimes so called by Ballarruk
or Nagarnook, though why they are so called has
not been made clear.

Demma maata

Perth, Bunbury, Vasse, etc.

Also applied to rest of terms on page.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Koota koojal | Two bags. If a Tondarup woman dies and her children are reared by a Didarruk woman they are koota koojal, and so with other classes. |
| Kaanya, winnejung, winneej-guttuk | Terms used by men in the S.W. when alluding to mothers-in-law, actual or potential. |
| Kweeja-murnoo | True bone, "Same bone" or physique - an expression used towards two members of the same Class Division who are similar in physique and colour. |
| Kon-ga | Name applied to son-in-law by father-in-law when speaking to, or of, him. |
| Kon-ga | Name applied by sisters to each other's sons when speaking to, or of, them. |
| Babbinguttuk | Possessing or having friendship; two or more babbin. |
| Goonga wamma | Different back - similarly used to Yoonbula, a Ballarruk pretending to be a Tondarup. |
| Goolambidding | un- Young/married men (or gulambirding) |
| Mallarda | Young unmarried women. |
| Goolammardung | Young unmarried boys and girls |
| Yen'yung | Ashamed or timid (Nind's "erniung" might have arisen from this word). A term applied to a newly married couple who have been practically strangers to each other until their marriage, the girl having been betrothed in infancy. Also "new", "fresh". |
| Murram | A man who steals a woman for a night and cohabits with her. |
| Ngaganup or ngan'-ganuk | Mother and son |
| Dannil | Two brothers |
| Mando berrong'in | "Catching young girls" - an expression used towards old men who have a kankering after young women or girls. |
| Dowel'ung-kootajung | From the one thigh and bag - our own mother's brothers' children and our own father's sisters' children. |
| Daana, bwal'a | Terms applied to two boys of the same class, not closely related, one of whose mothers is the oldest, the other the youngest, sister. |
| Mokkarn, moggarn | Didarruk are sometimes so called by Ballarruk or Nagarnook. |
| Yoong'ar'yung maata | Aboriginal "stock", "leg", "family", "road", "pedigree" |
| Demma maata | Grandfather stock - term applied by a Tondarup or other class native to the children of his own Tondarup sisters. |
| Boma malar'nagee or bomalar'nagee | An adopted child whose parents may be living or dead. |

Comments by A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 44

Retyped Page 25

Yellar, etc.

The definition of a caste is an endogamous body.

Yellaburt - Vasse

Jummeneruk - Vasse

Koondak - Vasse

Yoongar burrong yojjedalang

Addition by D.M.B. - Perth, Gingin, etc.

P. 45 Moola warra - Perth, Bunbury, Vasse, Capel
Moonya, manja - Gingin, Perth, Vasse, etc.
Yarbellee - Perth, Bunbury, Vasse, etc.
Yoolongur - " " "
Mammal kwerrurt burt " " "
Meedarung (P. 26) Swan

- Bider'ga Tondarup, Didarruk, Gooanuk, Nagarnook are so styled by themselves and some Ballarruk. This is the nearest approach to the "high caste" and "low caste" of the Indian and other peoples, the bider'ga being accounted superior in physique, colour and other attributes to the bora gurnga.
- Ngora, daana Terms used when two "brothers" are being spoken to, personal names being very seldom used.
- Nyinnong Term used by a woman when calling her husband.
- Yellar, weelart,
dajjet, mobbamullong,
ngillard Half caste (Capel, Vasse, Bunbury, Murray, Albany, Bremer Bay)
- Bindardee, dalbung "Orphaned" land, dogs, etc., whose owners are dead, as distinguished from burnap - an orphaned child.
- ngwullong, darlba
- Koorab'yup kal Koorabilyup fire or home - a man or woman belonging to Koorabilyup. Instead of mentioning a friendly visitor's name, his home or fire is usually mentioned. (In the northern (Broome) part of the State, a person from Jajjala will be called Jajjala booroo - Jajjala countryman).
- Yellaburt Name applied to children whose grandparents are dead.
- Beebang A mother who loses her child.
- Jummeneruk, jammeruk,
goonaburt A brother or sister who loses a sister or brother.
- Koondak An uncle who loses his nephew.
- Jammaraman Sisters (Swan dialect)
- Yoongar burrong
yoj'je'dalang "A mistake in the sex" - this is said when an infant betrothed before birth and turns out to be a boy. The boy becomes the babbin of the young man who calls him wajennawa (wajennawa is also the name given to the tuft of emu's feathers placed behind the belt to form a tail during certain ceremonies.)
- Moola warra, ngool-
gurt Terms applied to the avoidance of son-in-law and mother-in-law, also abstinence from certain foods.
- Moonya, manja A specially pledged friendship between old men and women, at certain ceremonies, also special privileges conferred upon old women at "manja boming" time, a certain ceremony which will be explained later. Munya is also the name for the fire which is placed near the grave of a dead relative.
- Yarbellee, mootchoo Incestuous or wrong class marriages.
- Yoolongur, yogga
bider An old woman who has had many children, or who has become moonya.
- Mammal kwerrurt burt A woman who has had no sons or daughters.

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Doonum-doonum, kongamoyer | Uncles, nephews and all relations joint owners of the ground (Swan district). |
| Meedarung | A father who loses his child. |
| Koolamandee | Young unmarried men (Perth). |
| Mandeegur | Young unmarried women " |
| Woorlockoo murnong | Like a brother. "Give him some food, he is like a brother to us," are the expressions a native will use with regard to some person he is "introducing". |
| | |
| Manap | Man marrying his mother's brother's wife. Two persons of the same phratry, one of whom is a generation older than the other. Father's brothers and brother's sons (or daughters) are manap to each other. |
| Muran | Father's sisters' sons (or daughters), or mother's brothers' sons' sons (or daughters). |
| Komberuk | Equivalent to dem - father's sister's sons (or daughters), mother's brothers' sons (or daughters), also to birding - an indirect address. |
| Mir barongain | Names applied by "step father" to a boy, the step father having married the girl's or boy's own mother. |
| Wan barongain | Name applied by step father to a girl or boy whose mother he marries. |
| Kauat nyini | Konk mat (mother's brother stock) who can give dayeluk (betrothed children). |
| Manitch ban ban | Manitch who bear strong physical and facial resemblance to each other. |
| Ngank bara muil mal | A Manitch or Wordung who resembles his mother's people. A Manitch with Wordung features and vice versa. |
| Dayeluk | Betrothed in infancy, given or pledged by father or mother, or both. |
| Ngunt mugarn | Brother's sons (not necessarily of own or one father and mother, but descended from the same grandparent.) |
| Ngairl warl | Brothers and sisters |
| Man ngar-dauel-a-bali | Two "own" brothers with two "own" sons. |
| Nganiang | One's own blood relations or local group. |
| Noyang | Tribes outside one's local group |
| Mangur, man ngarmat | All noyangur are mangar mat or fathers stock. Nganiang marry noyang. |
| Kwejar | Two sisters, children of one father and two mothers |
| Mama kainjuk | One father - children of one father. |
| Maragar | Kaniang or Western people are called Maragar. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Yunbala | giving the wrong phratry (or class) name. |
| Yogalong | A Wordung-Wordung marriage or Manitch-Manitch. |
| Wam yurongar | An adopted child who is no blood relation |
| Murart bart | Not related |
| Borong | Term of address to oldest son |
| Kala dunadap | Joint owners of ground |
| Birdingar | Noyunggur |
| Mauat | The youngest born |
| Birding | A father may call his sons or daughters birding, also his brother's sons or daughters. A woman may call her sister's sons and daughters birding, also her brother's sons or daughters. |
| Konk nila | Konk who has given, or who gives, dayeluk |
| Kauadang kumbarang | Distant relatives (Ngerdongbarong, m., was dem for Wirij's mother and is mam for Wirij being connected with her mother's people, but he is kauadang kumbarang and noyang. |
| Kongal barong den | "Uncles's" side (Jamborit) |
| Moyal borong den | Nephew's or niece's side (Laura) |
| Ngangunap | Man marrying his ngank mat |
| Konga mer | Uncle marrying his sister's daughter |
| Munyini | Ngunt |

Original Retyped

46

27

With regard to the avoidance etc.

Chapter headings are needed. (Lang)

From revised version

MSS. P. 53 Retyped page 27 , second par.

Additions, alterations - D.M.B.

"The law against wrong marriages" should read :-

The law against wrong irregular marriages appears to have been
always in force

last sentence on page

In the Southern districts the mother-in-law was wundāng gatak or
winaiāng to her son-in-law, and the father-in-law was also
wundāng or winaiāng to a certain extent.

To a person familiar with the Southern relationship terms and what they signify, there is no difficulty whatever in defining the marriage laws and class divisions in every camp in the south. There are no "intracacies" in either descent or division, marrying or giving in marriage, other than those mentioned, and no amount of detail can make these more clear than has been shown in the comprehensive terms of relationship and the many pedigrees submitted.

The law against wrong class marriages was always most strongly in force, but naturally since certain species of mankind - primitive or ultra-civilised - will sometimes only recognise a law by breaking it, mootchoo or wrong class marriages occasionally took place, notwithstanding the death penalty for such an offence. It was mainly the elders of the tribes who were the greatest offenders in this respect. A Manitchmat man would, say, take a Tondarup woman, or a Didarruk woman, but immediately on committing the offence he had not only the Tondarup and Didarruk men of his own and his mother's generation arrayed against him, but also the Ballarruk and Nagarnook men whose Kordamat or wife-stock the woman might possibly be; and even were he to travel to "far away" relations, neither he, nor the woman who fled with him could feel safe from pursuit and punishment, and as in the camps to which he fled there would also be some of the woman's husband stock, it will be seen how effectual this law was in its working.

With regard to the avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law, the native of West Australia, in common with some other dark races, holds that the daughter is specially a product of her mother and always holds that physical relation to her mother, and hence any intercourse between a woman and her son-in-law is strictly forbidden, for she, being of the same class as her daughter is his kordamata, but intercourse with her was held to be equivalent to incest and was even considered worse than intercourse with a sister. In the southern districts the mother-in-law was win-

Comments by A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 46

Retyped page 28

"In one or two instances in the South."

Where do the instances occur?

(Vasse and Bunbury districts - D.M.B.)

winneej to a certain extent, unless he had lived near his son-in-law's people and was a friend, so to speak, of the boy's family. In this case the avoidance was not so strict, but if he lived at a distance the law came into force. Should father-in-law and son-in-law meet at any place, they turned their backs upon each other, but whatever food or gift the young man possessed, and which he desired his father-in-law to have, he left it on the ground, and after he had gone away, his father-in-law picked it up.

In one or two instances in the South, a mother's brother (kongam) of a young man, gave his nephew (moyer) one of his own wives, thus constituting a case where the young man marries a potential mother-in-law. This marriage was, however, not considered mootchoo, since the woman was given to the young man by his uncle. In the case of a young man marrying his "sister stock" (jookamat) the girl's mother could kill her daughter.

Noona yongur was the expression used in the Wonnerup district when, as rarely happened, a mother's brother (kongam) gave one of his wives to his moyer before his death. If he said to his moyer, "You can have my woman after I am gone away (dead)," then the moyer must wait, but sometimes the uncle gave one of his young wives to his nephew while still alive, and in giving he resigned all his rights to the woman, who thus became his niece by marriage. In one instance in the S.W., the kongam was a Tondarup, his sister's son was his moyer and was also a Tondarup (maternal descent prevailing in the district) and the young wife of the kongam having for some time showed a preference for the young man, who was nearer her own age, the kongam gave her over to him.

The rule for strict avoidance of mother-in-law and prospective son-in-law is broken during a certain stage of initiation in the Broome district. The mother-in-law not only stands in full view of her son-in-law, at this particular time, but she pretends to feed him with some food from her binjin and warn-dal (wooden vessels) and sometimes while feeding him she takes

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 48

Retyped page 29, last par. "district totems"

Why district totems?

Retyped page 30, second line. "There are
apparently totem areas in these districts..."

What grounds for this statement?

Cf. way back.

From revised version

MSS. P. 57 Retyped Page 29, last par. "North of Esperance"

Brown

What are these "district totems"? On what ground are they called totems?

There are then totem areas in the southwest. What are these? They are apparently exogamous. *Cf. in MS.*

Lang

"Amongst the few representatives examined....."

Define. Cf. Ch. V *Have done so elsewhere.*

Additions, alterations - D.M.B.

In the revised version, this paragraph reads :-

North of Esperance and running eastward through Fraser Range, Balladonia, and towards and perhaps beyond Hampton Plains, are people whose class divisions differ greatly from their western neighbours. The districts appear to be named after animals or vegetables, the people in those districts calling themselves by such animal or vegetable names, and as far as inquiry extended amongst the few representatives examined there appears to be no other divisions than that of the vegetable or animal after which the district is named. Whether these are definite class names and divisions cannot be certified, but the few natives from those districts who were interrogated stated that there were no other divisions than those mentioned above, this statement being made with a full knowledge of the Western phratries.

if at any other time she did either of these things, one or the other would be killed. The young prospective son-in-law has not equal privileges, as he must not raise his eyes towards her nor make any movement whatever during her overtures, no matter what she says or does to him. Her giving of food is mere pretence, there being no food in the vessels. The suspension of the law of avoidance lasts during what is called the walla-wal-long ceremony, after which the strict avoidance recommences, and continues throughout the lives of both.

In many of their laws bearing upon relationships, and relationship terms, the West Australian aborigines may be said to be homogenous. Consanguinity is recognised by all, and notwithstanding the complete changes in dialect which occur in various parts of the State, equivalents will be found for almost all the terms of relationship which are found in the dialects of the Southern people. As regards the coastal people from Jurien Bay to Esperance or Point Malcolm, the same customs of initiation, etc. prevail, and practically the same dialect is used throughout, the only decided difference being in the line of descent. A Manitchmat of Esperance is a Manitchmat of Jurien Bay, and vice versa, whatever the descent may be.

North of Esperance and running eastward through Fraser Range, Balladonia and towards and perhaps beyond Hampton Plains, are people whose class divisions differ greatly from their western neighbours; these, for want of more intimate knowledge, have been called Totemic divisions, and as far as inquiry extended amongst the few representatives examined, there appears to be no other class recognised than that of the district totems of the people. Whether these are definite class names and divisions cannot be certified, but the few natives from those districts who were interrogated stated that there were no other divisions than those of their totems and this was stated with a full knowledge of the distant class divisions and nomenclature of their western neighbours.

From revised version

MSS. P. 57 Retyped page 30, first paragraph

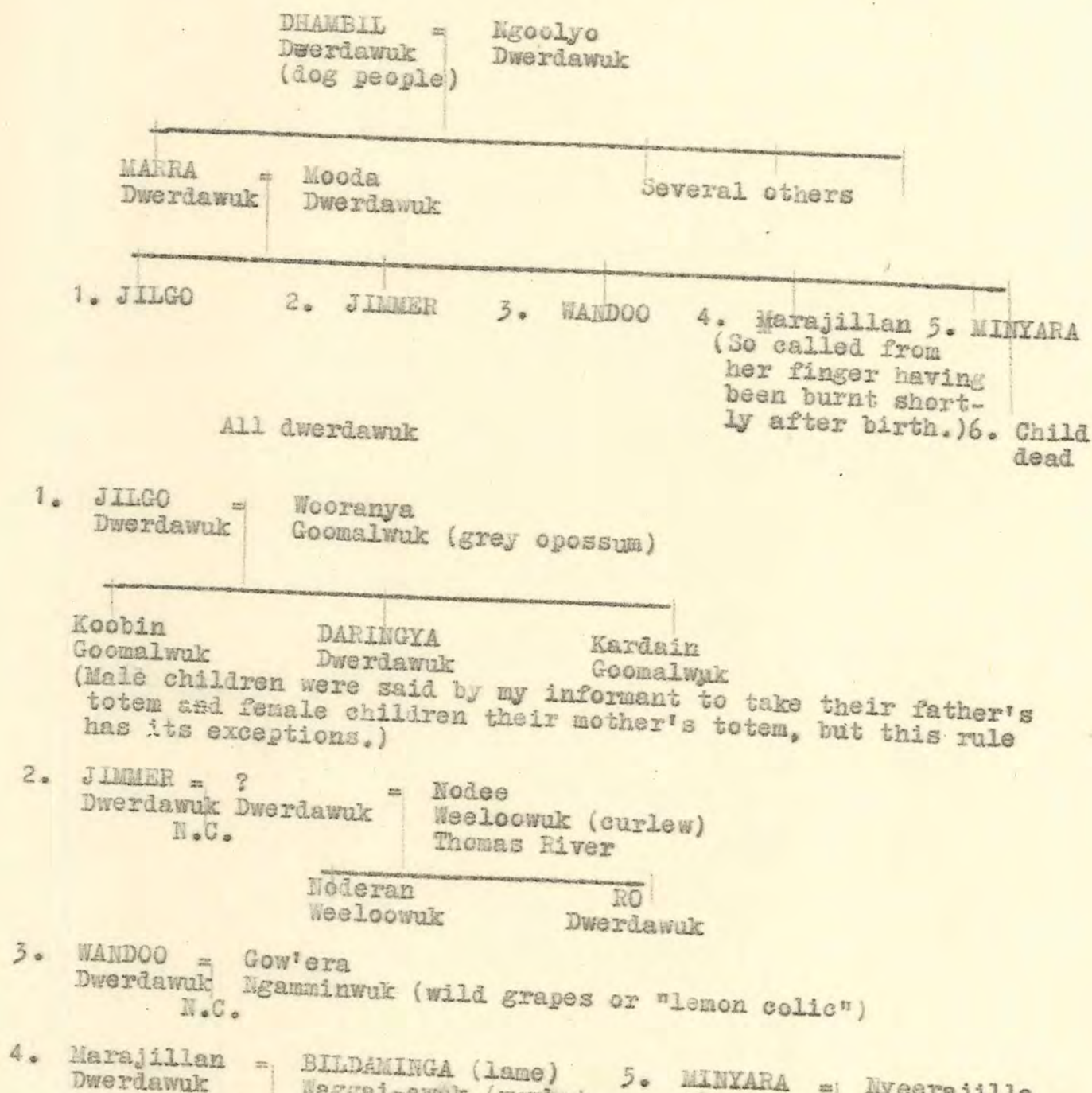
In the revised version, this reads :-

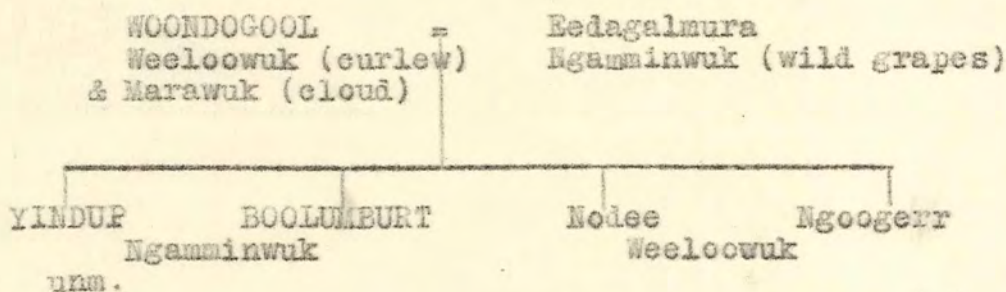
A few pedigrees will perhaps best illustrate the laws of marriage etc. amongst these people. There are dog, opossum and other animal named areas in these districts and apparently a "dog" man can marry a "dog" woman, the children being "dog" children also. The marriages of these peoples, therefore, appear to be endogamous to a certain extent as the following pedigrees show.

A few pedigrees will perhaps best illustrate the laws of marriage etc., amongst these people. There are apparently totem areas in these districts as in the emu, dog and other totems of the Manitchmat and Wordungmat, but there the resemblance ceases, as at Drollinya (Balladonia) a dog totem man can marry a dog totem woman of the dog totem area, and the children of these will be dog totem people also, whereas in the S.W. a dog totem man could not marry a dog totem woman, for they are both "related" through their totem. The Totemic peoples are apparently endogamous to a certain extent as the following pedigrees show.

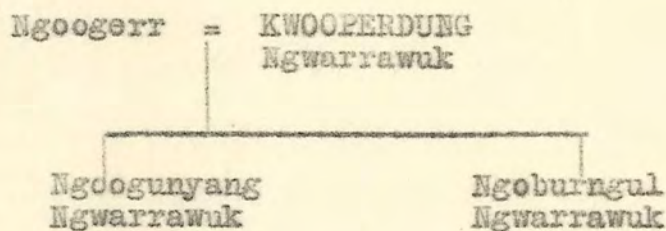
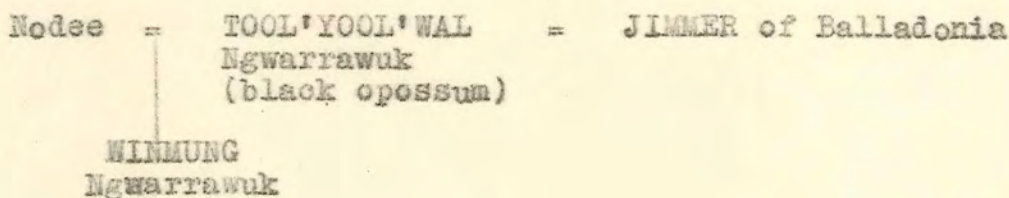
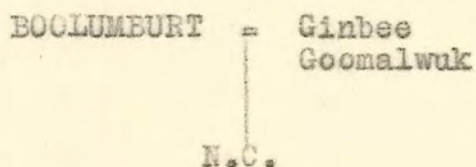
A DROLLINYA (BALLADONIA) PEDIGREE

NOTE : Names of males appear in capital letters.



A THOMAS RIVER PEDIGREE

(The totem descent is changed here because of the importance of the ngamminwuk and its abundance in the area it covers.)



(3rd generation all unmarried)

From revised version

MSS. P. 62 Retyped page 32

A Boondee Gerrbin'ya Pedigree

Gowera first married a white man named George Trott.

Note on Balgundera, Marralea's own brother, k̄aluin (black iguana)
borungur . He never ate k̄aluin.

Gowera also married Mombi, ngallea wongga.

Gowera had 14 native husbands, one after another. Her 14th was Balgundera, a brother of Marralea, from whom he bought her for 2/- and an old pipe.

The following pedigree shows the adoption of a Manitchmat into the Thomas River Totemic Division. *kin or district (Karg)*

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| KE'AN Manitchmat (Tondaruk) Circumcised by the Weelocwuk, amongst whose people he was adopted.) | = | Bantee Ngow'wuk (native pheasant and its eggs) (ngau-un) (These areas where the class divisions had died out called themselves by their group totem.) | = | Byoo'el Wooba borongur (porcupine totem) |
|--|---|--|---|--|

N.C.

| | | |
|--------|------------|--------------|
| GOWUNG | BOO'IN'ERT | DEAK (Dick?) |
|--------|------------|--------------|

All ngow borongur (native pheasant)

(Bantee coming from a "different country" the children were given the borongur of their kenk - mother's brother)

A BOONDEE GERRBIN'YA PEDIGREE

(Near Balladonia, where there are plenty "bardee" or grubs.)

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| JINNAGULLEE Ngamminwuk | = | Kardolin Ngamminwuk (wild grapes) |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Gowera Ngammin- wuk | | Several others (Kardolin ate all her new born babies except Gowera.) |
|---------------------------|--|--|

| | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|---|---|---|------------------|-----------------------|
| Gowera = | JABBINGCOOL = | WARDOO = | WOOBEE = | MOONYERREE = | NGALLILLEA = | BALG- OR UNDERA |
| Geejwuk (spearwood people) & merderung borongur (sea mullet totem) | Dwerda- wuk | Manitchmat Esperance (wild cherry) Hanged for murder | Jiukwuk (species of "manna") & geejwuk | MARRALEA Birgala (species of "manna") & geejwuk | (his brother) | |

(Marralea, whose name was given him from a crooked little finger with which he was born, came from the district near Eucla. Gowera had been abducted by each of these men, her last captor being Marralea in whose company I met her near Esperance. The couple were then being pursued by some Fraser Range men and had travelled day and night in order to reach the "white people's settlement", where no native vengeance could touch them. Gowera was a splendidly built young woman weighing nearly 12 stone; she had the Manitchmat type of feature and a bright warm chocolate colouring.)

From revised version

MSS. P. 64 Retyped page 33, par. beginning "Ngamminwuk"

Brown

"Ngamminwuk appears to be an extensive totemic division"

Why totemic?

D.M.B. No, it isn't.

Ngammin are waliji, these are synonymous.

The Jiukwuk (wild cherry), Witwuk (honey ant), Ngow'wuk (native pheasant), Weeloowuk (curlew) were amongst the Totemic Divisions obtained, and amongst these Jiukwuk, Geejwuk (spear) and Witwuk appear to be "kin" in colour and physique to the Manitchmat.

Into any one of these divisions a coastal Manitchmat or Wordungmat was not infrequently adopted. (According to these southern natives, the darker people were coast, the lighter, inland.) When a Manitchmat entered the Totemic territory, he went into one of the above named totem divisions according to the "clearness" of his colouring. As circumcision and subincision obtained amongst these totemic peoples, any coastal Manitchmat or Wordungmat entering the division and being formally adopted and circumcised, resigned all rights to his own country, as there is no instance on record where either a Manitchmat returned to his own country after he had been operated upon, or of any of the circumcised people being adopted at any time into the coastal classes. It is curious to note that amongst the people of the circumcised section and those of their western neighbours, a mutual contempt exists, with one section because of circumcision and with the other because of the absence of the rite. The Totemic people call their western neighbour "boys"; "They're not mulba - men -," they say, "they are only wandee - boys."

Ngamminwuk appears to be an extensive totemic division. With regard to the word "ngammin", however, it not only means the wild grape (or "lemon colic" as it is known amongst white people) which is very plentiful in its season in the districts where it grows, but it is also the Balladonia district term for husband. Hence Ngamminwuk may mean "husband stock" just as well as "fruit totem people". This raises a most interesting point of discussion, but it is not advisable to pursue the subject until better and more detailed information can be obtained, or a personal visit can be made to the Totemic Country. (I visited the totemic areas 1912-14).

From duplicate copy

Additional note of DM.B. (MSS. P. 53, Retyped P. 34)

I understand from both natives and white people that certain areas in the Balladonia and other districts are covered with various wild fruits which appear to have given their names to the native inhabitants of such areas. Just as in the Southwest where certain timbers, etc. have special habitats so in the more arid regions of Frazer, Balladonia, etc. the ngamin or wild grape will grow extensively in one area, the jeeuk or wild cherry in another, and so on.

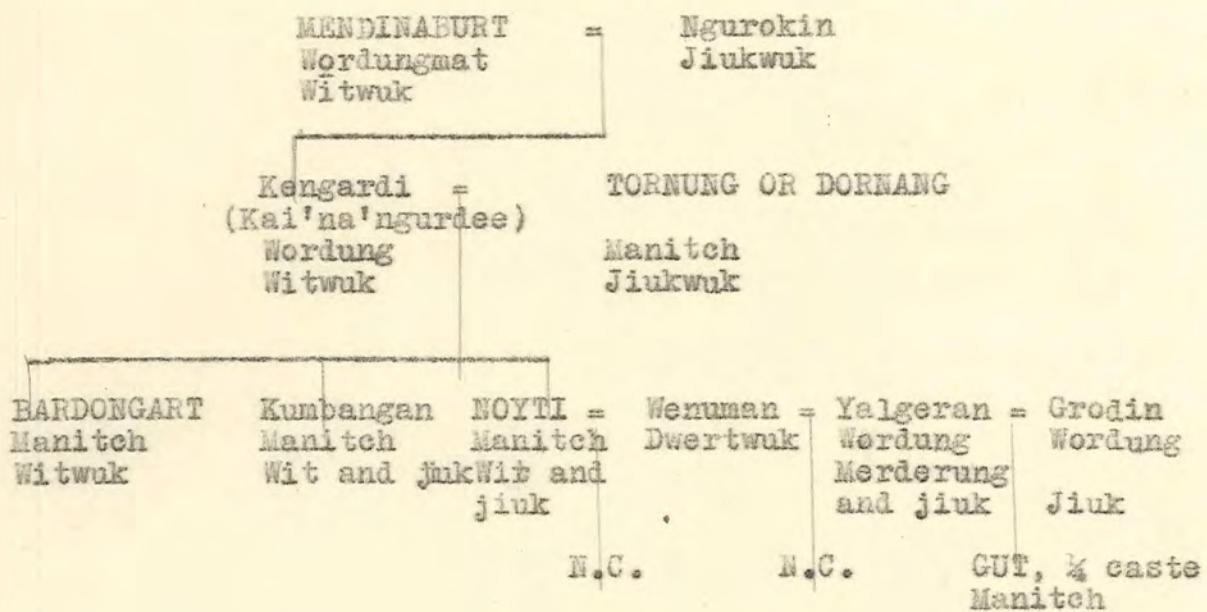
Further detailed investigation conducted in this interesting field will no doubt be well rewarded by the results obtained.

Further information obtained from every living member, 1912-18.

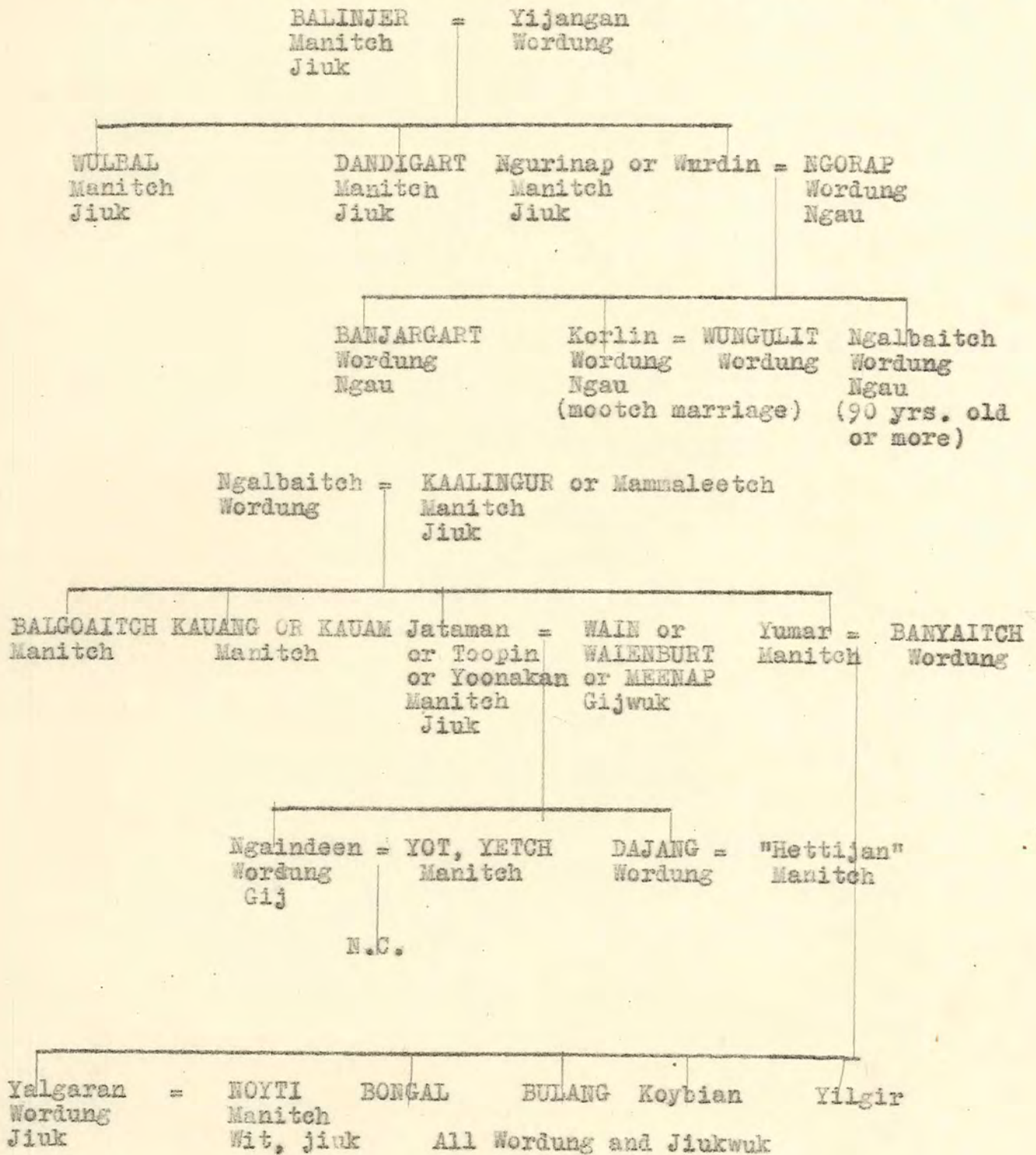
down from the north it is impossible to say. At the present time (1909) the whole of the interior of the State eastward of long. 124° remains ethnologically unexplored. It may be assumed that the Jiukwuk or wild cherry people covered a very large district, for I have found traces of their entry into the various divisions from North of Esperance to beyond Coolgardie, and they were also found westward and southwestward as far as the 119th degree of longitude. They appeared to be continually encroaching upon their western neighbours, and adopting as many as cared to join them and undergo their rites.

A pedigree obtained at Jerramungup, Gardiner River, shows the adoption of some southern people into the Totemic divisions :-

A JERRAMUNGUP PEDIGREE



A KORRLUP OR YINGANUP PEDIGREE (50 m. N.W. of JERRAMUNGUP)



This is the only pedigree of five living generations obtained in West Australia.

Original Retyped

55

36

How far the boundaries of the Totemic Division etc.

Apparently districts named after animal or vegetable (Lang)
No, totem. They carry the ngwan (shadow) of the totem
inside them. (D.M.B.)

These pedigrees show the great change in the class divisions of the districts north and east of the Mamitch and Wordungmat localities. The pedigrees also show how present day adoption into one or the other tribe is accomplished, but in the old native days no Jiukwuk or other circumcised man would be found amongst the southern coastal people. The settlement of the country by the whites and the safety that such settlement affords to the native lawbreakers, has been taken such advantage of by those who are not desirous of keeping up the traditional laws and customs of their forefathers, that every native law which made for a certain tribal morality is now set aside, and men marry when and whom they can, ignoring all rules, and daringly venturing into districts where without the protection of the white man their lives would not be worth a moment's purchase.

How far the boundaries of the Totemic Division extend cannot be stated. They probably run eastward towards Eucla and northward towards the centre of the State. They are now certainly scattered throughout a great portion of the S.W. central area and appear to have even reached as far as the York and Beverley districts in very early times. Jeekuk is mentioned by some of the early writers on the W.A. aborigines as one of many subdivisinal names. The general name given to those inland totemic people by their northwestern, western and southern neighbours, is basduk - blood drinkers.

It will be noted in the pedigrees that no distinct rule as to descent is followed. Children may follow their father's or mother's totem. Mothers' brothers will sometimes decide the totem class of the children, and a totem may be given as a mark of favour, that is, if a wild fruit totem man is visiting an opossum totem district, and a child is born to him in that district, or has already been born but has not been entered into the totemic division, it will be formally entered into the opossum totem division, and will, if a girl, probably be promised to one of the opossum totem men, or if a boy, he will belong to the opossum men for initiation when his time arrives.

Original Retyped

56

37

Marriage is apparently endogamous amongst them.

Must a kingfisher marry a kingfisher? (Lang)

Yes. (D.M.B.)

From revised version

MSS. P. 69 Retyped page 37, first par.

Brown

A fresh system. Should be included with the 4 class system.

No, they should not.

Additions, alterations - D.M.B.

Revised version of this paragraph :-

Between these people and the Manitchmat and Wordungmat of the South and South West, a change again comes in the class divisional names and marriage laws. West and south of Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie, northward towards Mount Jackson, westward of Southern Cross, and south towards and beyond Norseman, the people occupying the territory within this area call themselves after two species of birds. These two divisions are Beerungoomat (a species bee-eater which has its nest in a tunnel underground), and Jooamat (a somewhat similar bird which nests in trees). Certain dialectic variations occur such as Deerungoomat and Tooomat.

Wherever these people touch the borders of the neighbouring tribes adoption (in the case of their western neighbours) and amalgamation (with their eastern and north eastern neighbours) take place.

Between these Totemic people and the Manitchmat and Wordungmat of the South and Southwest, a change again comes in the class divisional names and marriage laws. West and south of Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie, northward towards Mt. Jackson, westward of Southern Cross, and south towards and beyond Norseman, the people occupying the territory within this area call themselves after two species of birds - the kingfisher and the golden swallow or bee-eater, a small bird somewhat resembling the kingfisher in colour, called by ornithologists *merops ornatus*. These two divisions are Beerungoomat (kingfisher) and Jooamat (bee-eater) (with certain dialectic variations such as Deerungoomat and Tooomat), and marriage is apparently endogamous amongst them. Wherever these people touch the borders of the neighbouring tribes adoption (in the case of their western neighbours) and amalgamation (with their eastern and northeastern neighbours) takes place.

The marriage laws of these people are as under :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|
| Beerungoomat | Beerungoomat | Jooamat |
| Jooamat | Jooamat | Beerungoomat |

and so on throughout all generations. It was impossible, owing to the limited time for research, to do more than collect the pedigrees of some of the representatives of these two divisions at Southern Cross, Mt. Jackson, Norseman, Coolgardie, etc., and some of their customs, dialects, and laws of descent. Their consanguineous terms, only differed from their western neighbours in the dialectic variations of the different districts, the relationship expressed by them was similar to that of the peoples west and south of them.

A few of their pedigrees are herewith appended, and show that the male and female of the one class produce the male and female of the other class, and vice versa, for ever.

From revised version

MSS. P. 70 Retyped page 38

Karratjibbin Pedigree

Brown

Comment :- bittangal not inherited

P. 71

Yogguragain Pedigree

Comment :- male descent of borunguf

*Native version must be taken,
& native version only.*

A KARRATJIEBIN (SOUTHERN CROSS) PEDIGREE

BINJIL = Kandoweloo
 Beerungoomat Beerungoomat
 Wanberr bittangal Wandarn bittangal
 (whirlwind totem) (Grub totem)

KOOLONG = Nganjungan Several others
 Joowuk or Jooamat Jooamat
 Ngalboo bittangal Totem forgotten

2 children, Beerungoomat, dead.

A WILGOWIN (MT. JACKSON) PEDIGREE

JIRRIDMAN = Bailburn, Bilburn
 Jooamat Jooamat
 Kaajee bittangal
 (spear totem)

Ingarda KOBBAL or NOORDAIN NABBUNGIE BOODEWOOLA
 Beerungoomat- Jammee bittangal Ilber-ilber Kaddart
 Kaddart bittangal (opossum) (tree with edible
 (white ant) root)
 Died young All unmarried

A YOGGURAGAIN (N. OF KELLERBERBIN) PEDIGREE

GWAJWOORDEE = Moojaa'ee
 Joowuk Joowuk
 Wej borungur Booyool borungur
 (emu totem) (edible root totem)

1. KAIANITCH 2. MOORERMIN 3. MINMILIN 4. DOOLUP
 All Beerungoomat and wej borungur

1. KAIANITCH = Naiarem 2. MOORERMIN = Nginyerin
 Beerungoomat Beerungoomat
 Goondam borungur Goondam
 (wild fruit totem)
 Wejukut DILBURURT
 Joowuk Joowuk
 Wej Wej
 Dead

3. MINMILIN = Wongalong 4. DOOLUP = Doolyannee
 Beerungoomat Beerungoomat
 Wajjool borungur Wordung borungur
 (gum tree) (crow totem)

YILBERIT WILLAMURRA
 Both Joowuk and Wej borungur

Yallainung
 Joowuk
 Wej borungur

SOUTH OF MT. JACKSON PEDIGREE

MOOLYOO-MOOLYOO = Joolyain
 Beerungoomat Beerungoomat
 Ngaagarr bittangal Warrang bittangal
 (kurrajong tree totem)(kangaroo rat totem)

| | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| NGAMMARDA = Walbitch Joowuk Ngagarr | Yellainnin = Joowuk | WADDUNGUP = Joowuk | -MOOLEE- MUNGOO (NANGINEE) Joowuk Kaajee (spear) | = WEERING Joowuk 3 children dead |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|

NYOWERR KEBBID MOOLEEWOODA
 Beerungoomat; ngaagarr

allunmarried

Nyanmeen Doordungan
 Beerungoomat; kaajee

All these people except Yellainnin and WEERING (both very old) are now dead. Yellainnin is a very old woman/and has a chin beard nearly 3 inches in length.

A COOLGARDIE PEDIGREE (Kuurrgurdi = Coolgardie)

| | |
|---|---|
| WCOMBEEN = Joowuk Wal borungur (wallaby) | Koordin Joowuk Worditch borungur (tree with edible root) |
|---|---|

WEEJARRA
 Beerungoomat
 Wal borungur
 Unmarried

BEERIN = Dowart
 Beerung- Beerungoomat
 oomat Worditch borungur
 Wal borungur

N.C.

A KAMMINING PEDIGREE (40 m. from Kellerberrin)

| | |
|---|---|
| BEERART = Beerungoomat Boojuruk and yalyaruk borungur (ground, and sandy ground, totem) | ? (name not remembered) Beerungoomat |
|---|---|

BOONBURA = Doongup
Joowuk Joowuk
Gij ("runaway
match")

BEERUM Yarrber
Joowuk Joowuk

BEJER
Joowuk

MOOEKUN = Walleejan
Beerungoomat Joowuk (wrong marriage)
Biljart Wal borungur
(sp. of small bird)
N.C.

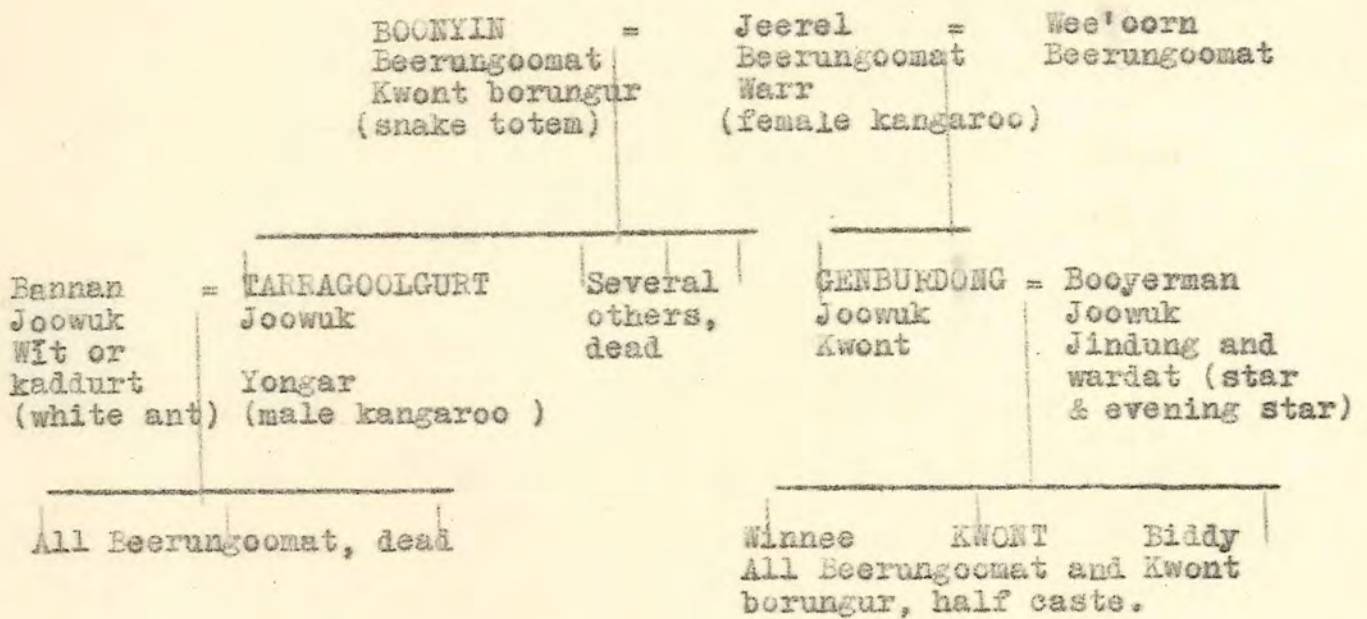
The second and third generations from whom these pedigrees were obtained were all old people, so that the first generation will have been living before settlement of these districts had begun.

From revised version

MSS. P. 77 Retyped page 40, last par.

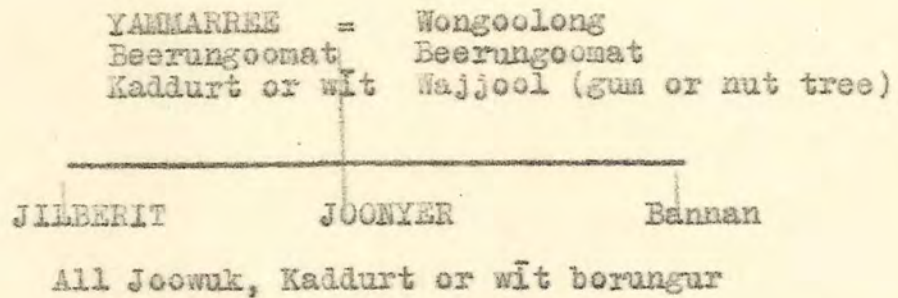
Revised version reads :-

At this point where these two divisions "junction", so to speak, with the classes north east and east of them, an adoption into into one or the other can take place as both people have the same fundamental customs etc, and only differ in their class divisions and marriage laws, the Southern Cross, etc. people having but the two phratries while the tribes north and east of them possess four classes. The Beerungomat are said to enter the Boorong and Kaimera divisions of the eastern Goldfields districts, the Joowuk going into the Tharrooroo and Eebarrga divisions.

A MALYOORNING PEDIGREE (KALLERBERRIN DISTRICT)

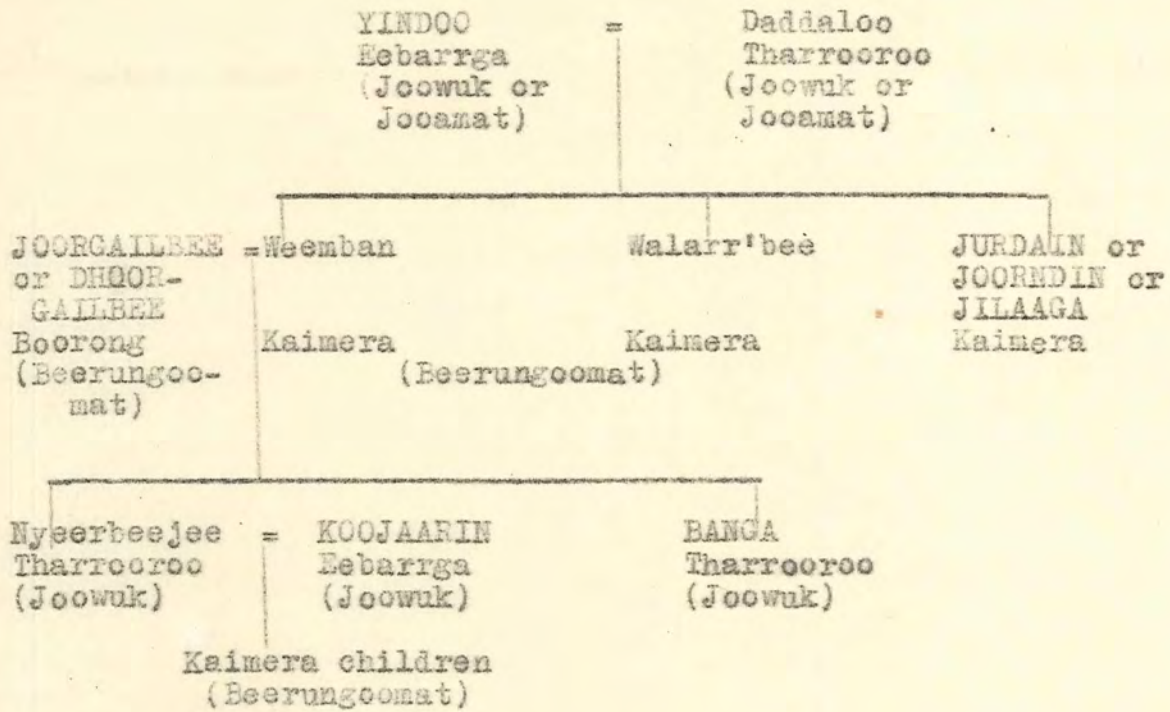
Bannan's pedigree (see above)

(Joowardain, near Mt. Jackson)



At the point where these two divisions "junction" with the classes northeast and east of them, at the divisional boundaries of both peoples, an adoption into one or the other can take place as both people have the same fundamental customs, etc., and only differ in their class divisions and marriage laws, the Southern Cross, etc., people having but the two divisions while the tribes north and east of them possess four classes. The Beerungoomat can enter the Boorong and Kaimera divisions of the Eastern Gold-fields districts and the Joowuk go into the Tharrooreo and Esbarrga divisions.

A Canegrass pedigree will illustrate this :-

A CANEGRASS PEDIGREE

The line of demarcation between the divisions obtaining at Southern Cross etc. and the Southwestern Class divisions, is at a point somewhere east of Meckering and Kellerberrin, and it is here that the approximate line between the circumcised and the uncircumcised people may be drawn.

A few examples of Meckering and Northam pedigrees may here be given as showing the Southwestern class divisions. All these are pedigrees of very old people.

1. Mekkering Pedigree

Yalloogurt = Ningatung

III 2c, P. 32

(Ngwoonbib is the only member of this family now living. He stated that Manitchmat men or boys when adopted and circumcised by their Southern Cross neighbours entered the Beerungoomat moiety, the Wordungmat entering the Joowuk moiety. Before the white people came to the district Ngwoonbib states that the Beerungoomat and Jooamat never entered the territory of their western neighbours, but now they are all "walluk-walluk", mixed up or "anyhow". (This word is probably a corruption of waljuk-waljuk, "eaglehawk fashion".)

2. A Naargajin Pedigree (Northam Hill)

Genwoonjal = Korrinyin

III 2c, P. 20

(Budderan a very old Tondarup woman, also stated that the Manitchmat men went into the Beerungoomat division when they were adopted and circumcised by their eastern neighbours, and later, a Kellerberrin man and a Grass Valley man confirmed Budderdan's and Ngwoonbib's statements. (P. 64 MS.)

From revised version

MSS. P. 81

Retyped page 42, 1st par.

Revised paragraph reads :-

Burracoppin, Southern Cross, Mt. Jackson, Coolgardie, Wijjemooltha, Norseman and (partly) Dundas district, are all "one line" or road, the home apparently of the Beerungoomat, an all green bird, and Jooamat, blue bird with white breast and white round the neck, divisions. Here again I found a distinction of colour prevailing as several natives stated that at Kammeenee a place some 40 miles N.E. of Kellerberrin, the Joowuk or darker people predominated over the fairer Beerungoomat, while east and south of Kammeenee the Beerungoomat were more plentiful. This persistence of the natives in the variation of colour and type amongst them does not seem to be confined to one particular area, but appears to be found here and there throughout the known part of the State.

Remainder the same as earlier version.

Third paragraph :

Last clause crossed out - their father being ignored or set aside.

Fourth paragraph :

(Line 6) Baaduk people with Totemic divisions - changed to animal and vegetable named areas.

Brown 1st par. The Joowuk.....predominate

How can one predominate when they are alternate generations?

Burracoppin, Southern Cross, Mt. Jackson, Coolgardie, Wijenooltha, Norseman and (partly) Dundas district, are all "one line" or road, the home of the Beerungoomat and Jooamat divisions. Several natives stated that at Kammeenee, a place some 40 miles N.E. of Kellerberrin, the Joowuk or darker people predominated over the fairer Beerungoomat, while east and south of Kammeenee, the Beerungoomat were more plentiful. This predominance of fair or dark types, as the case may be, is to be seen in many camps throughout the State, and the natives themselves distinguish the colours.

If a Beerungoomat married (wrongly) a Jooamat woman, the children became Beerungoomat, that is, they entered the class they were entitled to enter had their mother married properly, thus "throwing away" their father, as the natives express it. The Joowuk marrying pair produce Beerungoomat offspring, the Beerungoomat marrying pair (or male and female) producing the Jooamat offspring.

A Southern Wordungmat was adopted into the Joowuk division at Dundas, was circumcised, and married a Joowuk woman. His children were both Beerungoomat and Tondarup, as some of them returned when children to the country from whence their father came. They were entered into the Tondarup class through their mother being a Joowuk or Wordungmat, their father being ignored or set aside.

Although these adoptions took place and the Wordungmat or Manitchmat who entered either moiety became "naturalised", so to speak, in the new tribe, the two peoples were still entirely separated from one another by the radical difference in their customs etc. The Beerungoomat and Joowuk people, also the Baaduk people with Totemic Divisions, belonged to the Northern Group, which practised circumcision and subincision, and the customs of the Northern Group were also almost entirely followed by them. Therefore except in their relationships and in some customs general throughout the state, they could not be held to belong to the Southern and Southwestern Divisions, and hence

From revised version

MSS. P. 83

Retyped page 43

Additions, Alterations - D.M.B.

The marriage laws of these four classes vary in different districts, as will be seen from the Goldfields and Murchison genealogies. At Roebourne, Broome, Beagle Bay and probably further north and East, the marriage laws are as under :-

MSS. P. 84

Retyped page 43, last par.

Corrected by personal investigation later.

Revised form reads :-

At Broome and also at Roebourne and Port Hedland, these laws obtain. I will show later where the classes are crossed, but there is no change in these classes and marriage laws in the districts mentioned.

Brown

Divide chapters as follows

1. class system (a) Southern section
 (b) Northern
 (c) Champion Bay tribe
 (d) Eucla division
2. marriage rules
3. relationship terms

*This had already been done;
probably overlooked by A.R.B.*

The Great Northern Group

In the Roeburne district and again at Broome and towards the Glenelg River and Macdonald Ranges, where the Marriage laws and laws of descent are similar, the four class divisions (with many modifications and variations in spelling) are :-

Boorong, Banaka, Kaimera, Paljeri.

The marriage laws of these four classes are as follows :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Boorong | Banaka | Kaimera |
| Banaka | Boorong | Paljeri |
| Kaimera | Paljeri | Boorong |
| Paljeri | Kaimera | Banaka |

It will be seen that the two classes Boorong and Banaka are the fathers and mothers of Kaimera and Paljeri, while these in their turn produce Boorong and Banaka. Hence the children of this group enter their grandparents' class, the grandchild in the male line is of the same class as his grandfather (Boorong, father; Kaimera son; Boorong grandson, and so on,) the grandchild in the female line is of the same class as her grandmother (Boorong mother; Paljeri daughter; Boorong granddaughter, and so on.)

There fore :-

Boorong and Kaimera are fathers and sons for ever.

Banaka and Paljeri are fathers and sons for ever.

Banaka and Kaimera are mothers and daughters for ever.

Boorong and Paljeri are mothers and daughters for ever.

At Roeburne, Broome and Macdonald Ranges these laws obtain unalterably. I will show later where during their progress southward the classes are crossed, but in the districts mentioned above, there is no change in these class and marriage laws. An approximate line has been drawn on the Class Division Distribution map, showing the distance inland where these four classes, with their strict laws of marriage and descent extend, and it may not be out of place here to draw attention to the similarity existing between the above names and the sectional names of some of the Arunta people, given by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their latest

From revised version

MSS. P. 85 Retyped p. 44, second par.

Omit this (Brown)

The mother need not count.

*I leave these things entirely to the
Broome natives. I only write
their statements.*

work (Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 96 et seq.). These authors trace the changes in the class names occurring amongst the different tribes with whom they came in personal contact, so that the changes should "fit in" with the system of marrying into the right division. Messrs. Spencer's and Gillen's names for the classes of the Arunta division are :- Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, Kūmara, names too similar to those of the Northern (W.A.) divisions to leave any doubt as to their connection. The authors however, state that the division of these "sub classes" is evident when a number of these are camped together, as one moiety will be separated from the other by some natural feature, or perhaps Kaimera and Purula will camp on high ground while Panunga and Bulthara will camp on the flats.

This arrangement could not possibly occur amongst the northern coastal classes, as will be evident from the relationship of each class to the other, for how can Kaimera and Purula camp on high ground and Panunga and Bulthara on low ground or apart, when the children of a Kūmara are Purula, and vice versa, and the children of Panunga are Bulthara? Will the Purula father and his Kaimera children camp apart from their Panunga (or Banaka) mother? and the Panunga father and his Bulthara (Paljeri) children camp apart from their Purula (Boorong) mother?

In every camp all these classes are represented in the families composing the camp, and a Boorong father and Banaka mother will have their Kaimera children in their own camp, while the Boorong man's sister and her Banaka husband and their children will be camped at the same waterhole.

Variations in nomenclature occur amongst the class divisions of the Northern Coastal group, of which two examples will be given, but as it was necessary to use a uniform system of class nomenclature, the dialectic equivalents which were most extensively used were adopted. In all the coastal variations of these names, the same laws of marriage and descent are found.

Two dialectic variations are as follows :-

Derby, Beagle Bay, Macdonald Ranges

Fitzroy River district

Poorungoo

Parungo

Banaka

Panaka

Kaiamba

Kaiamba

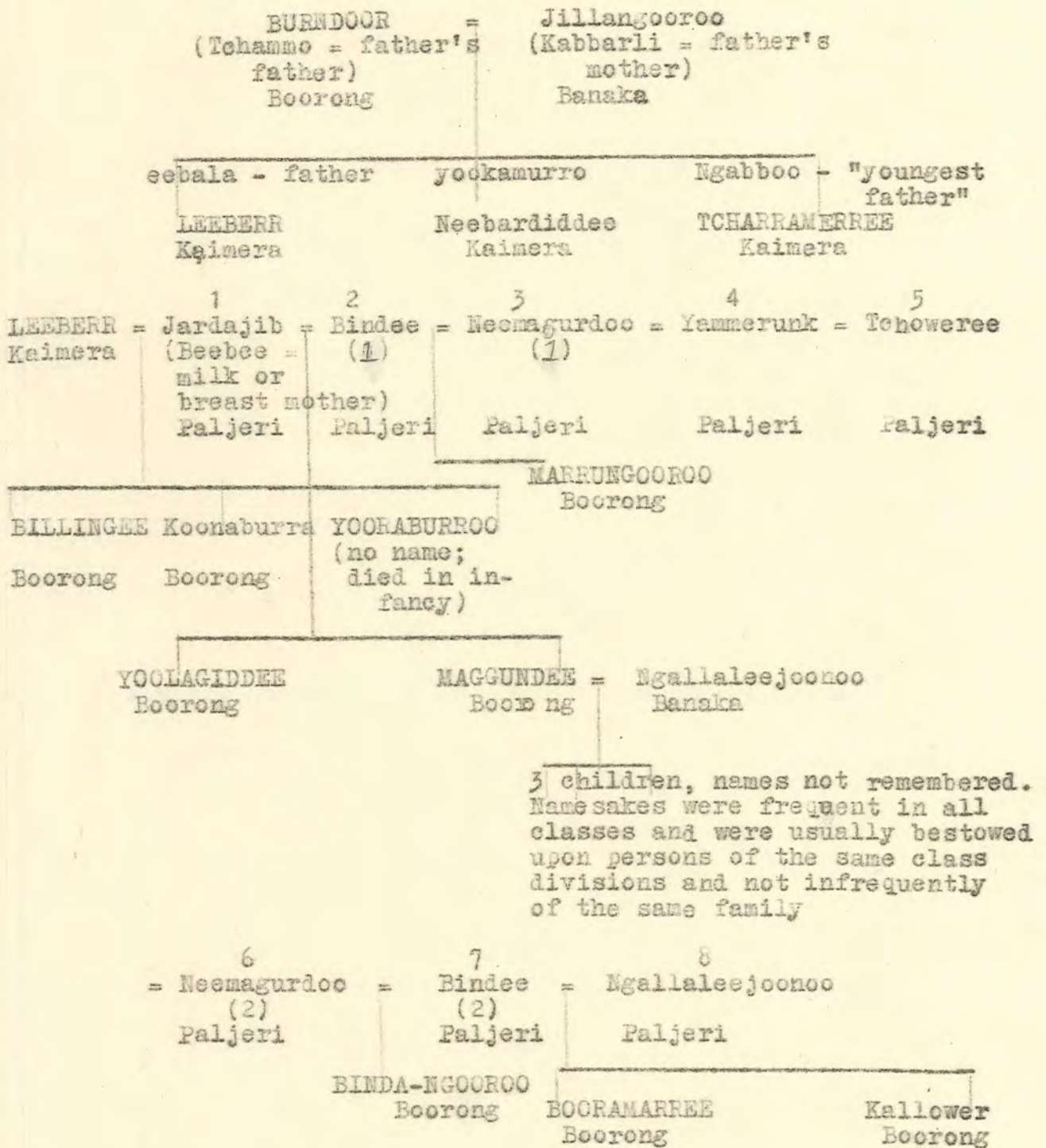
Parrajer

Parrjerree

A few northern pedigrees will be given in exemplification of the Marriage Laws of the Northern Coastal Group :-

A BROOME DISTRICT PEDIGREE (Jajjala, near Broome)

Billinge's pedigree



These are the marriage laws exemplified, and from them there was no deviation. In Yowinbungoo's case, although he became exiled from his country and sought protection amongst the white people of the southern parts of the State, he still had to fight every native from his own district who visited the South, for the possession of Peeree, as, the woman having married a man who stood in the relation of "son" to her, became "common property" and any one who came had equal rights to her. There were local names for these "wantons."

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 72

Retyped Page 49

Father's brother = eebala (youngest = ngabboo)

Is this term specific or classificatory?

(Ngabu, as far as I know it is specific - D.M.B.)

Daughter's children = tchammo

Male or female speaking? (Both - D.M.B.)

Retyped Page 50

Brother's sons and daughters, wallagurra, babbagurra
male sp. female sp.

From revised version

MSS. P. 94 Retyped page 49

Brown These need arranging on some system.

DM.B. They follow Howitt's system, the best one known at
time of writing.

The Relationship Terms of the Broome district natives are as follows :

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Father | Eebala |
| Father's brother | " (youngest = ngabboo) |
| Mother's father | Tehammo |
| Father's sister (own) | Yooramurroo |
| Father's mother | Kabbarli |
| Mother's father's brothers | Tehammo |
| Father's mother's sisters | Kabbarli |
| Wife's father's father | Tehammo |
| Daughter's children | " |
| Daughter's husband's father (man speaking) | Tehallal |
| Son's wife's father (man speaking) | " |
| Husband's father's father | Tehammo |
| Wife | Jeemarree, kooloo |
| Wife's sisters | Yalma |
| Father's father | Tehammo |
| Mother | Beebee |
| Mother's sister | Jeejee, woonjooboo, beebee |
| Mother's brother | Kogga |
| Daughter's husband | Tehallango |
| Mother's mother | Kummarda |
| Wife's brother | Yaggoo (youngest = ingalboo) |
| Wife's father | Tehaminyerree |
| Husband's father | " kogga |
| Son's wife | Goomaljin or Tehallango |
| Sister's husband (brother sp.) | Yaggoo |
| Sister's husband (sister sp.) | Walgura, yaggoo |
| Sister's son | Tehallango |
| Sister's husband's father | Tehaminyerree |
| Husband's mother | Taaloor, Tharloo, Yalloor ("tabu") |
| Wife's mother | " " " " |
| Sister's husband's mother | " " " |
| Son (father speaking) | Walla |
| Son (mother speaking) | Babba |
| Daughter | Nganjoo |

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 73

Retyped page 50

Father's elder brother's son = babbula

Father's younger brother's children = babbula

This is contradictory

(The younger brother's children may be as old as the elder brother's children D.M.B.)

Husband's sister = yalma (female speaking)

Brother's wife = yalma (male or female speaking)

Wife's father's brother = rambar (specific)

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| Brother's sons and daughters | Wallagurra, Babbagurra |
| Sister's sons and daughters (brother speaking) | Tehallango |
| Mother's brother's son (own) | Tehallal |
| Mother's brother's daughter (own) | " |
| Father's sister's son (own) | " |
| Father's sister's daughter (own) | " |
| Elder brother | Babbula, kaaloo |
| Father's elder brother's son | " |
| Younger brother | Koorongool |
| Elder sister | Wanjallin |
| Younger sister | Marrura |
| Father's younger brother's children | Babbula |
| Father's elder brother's daughter | Ngoonoo, Marrura |
| Husband | Yaggo |
| Husband's sister | Yalma |
| Brother's wife | " |
| Sister | Ngoonoo |
| Mother's mother's sister | Kummarda |
| Mother's mother's brother | Tehammo |
| Wife's father's brother | Rambar |
| Husband's mother's brother | " |

Billinge's information

From IV 3a, back of P. 16

beebeenya, uncle and nephew

wallagyn eeramalla bybera, father and son coming behind

wallagyn, father and son

walla ballee ngooroo, mother and children

wallaballin, mother and child

yeela bubba, all women

womba gurra, all the men

warrara, old men

The Reeburne district Relationship Terms are as under :-

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Father | Mammardee, mamma |
| Father's brother | " |
| Mother's father | Thaamee |
| Father's sister (own) | Moogul, yoorajee; not own = thoca |
| Father's mother | Ngabberee, ngabbareejinna |
| Father's mother's sister | " " |
| Mother's father's brothers | Thaamee |
| Wife's father's father | " |
| Daughter's children | " |
| Daughter's husband's father | Maialee, marrgai |
| Son's wife's father | " " |
| Husband's father's father | Thaamee |
| Wife | Nyooba, yakkan |
| Wife's sister | Nyobajee, yakkanjee |
| Father's father | Maialee, thaamee |
| Son's son | Thaamee |
| Mother | Nganga, ngangadee, ngangardee |
| Mother's sister | Ngangardee |
| Mother's brother | Kogga |
| Daughter's husband (mother-in-law speaking) | Thoca, toca |
| Mother's mother | Koonderree, koondharree, kundharri |
| Wife's mother's father | Maialee |
| Husband's mother's father | " |
| Wife's brother | Marrgai |
| Wife's father | Kogga, kagga |
| Husband's father | Koggardee, kagga |
| Son's wife (woman speaking) | Thoca, toca, yoomunee, baalee (tabu) |
| Sister's husband (brother speaking) | Marrgai, marrganoo |
| Sister's husband (sister speaking) | Joogarree, marrganoo |
| Sister's son | Ngajjala, kumbarra, karrajee |
| Sister's husband's father | Koggardee |
| Husband's mother | Thoca, haalee, moogul |
| Wife's mother | Thoca |
| Sister's husband's mother | Thoca, moogul |

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Son | Thoogo, mainga |
| Daughter | Nyoordan, koondal |
| Brother's sons and daughters | Mainga, koondal, kumbarra |
| Sister's sons and daughters (brother speaking) | Yarrajee, kumbarra |
| Mother's brother's son (own) | Boongallee, marrganoo |
| Mother's brother's daughter (own) | " " |
| Father's sister's son (own) | " " |
| Father's sister's daughter (own) | " " |
| Elder brother | Kajjardee, kojja, kajja |
| Father's elder brother's son | Kajja |
| Younger brother | Jalgarra, kajja nyeerdingoo |
| Younger sister | Marree, thoordoo nyeerdingoo |
| Father's younger brother's children | Malloongoojee, kajja, thoaroo |
| Elder sister | Thoordoo marrarda |
| Father's elder brother's daughter | Thoordoo |
| Husband | Yaggan, yakkan, nyooba |
| Husband's brother | Yarrungoo, yakkanjee |
| Husband's sister | Boongallee, yakkanjinna, yakkanjee |
| Brother's wife (woman speaking) | Boongallee |
| Brother's wife (man speaking) | Yarrungoo |
| Sister | Thoordoo |
| Mother's brother's wife (son speaking) | Moogul |

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 75

Retyped P. 53

Sister = thoordoo (older sister only)

Brother = kajja (older brother only)

Wife's brother = ye'no (nyeno)

Relationship Terms - Cane River

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| Father | Babbojee |
| Father's brother | " |
| Father's sister | Moogul |
| Father's mother | Ngabberee |
| Mother's father | Maialee |
| Daughter | Koondal |
| Son | Murrannee |
| Wife | Yaggan |
| Wife's sister | " |
| Sister | Thoordoo |
| Brother | Kajja |
| Mother's brother | Mimnee |
| Mother | Binnarda |
| Mother's sister | Yarronee |
| Wife's brother | Yeno |
| Wife's father | Mimnee |
| Husband | Yaggan |
| Husband's mother | Thoca |
| Wife's mother | " |
| Daughter's husband | " |
| Wife's father | Nyeerdee |
| Father's father | Thaamee |
| Mother's mother | Kundharree |

From revised version

MSS. P. 100

Retyped page 54

Brown

"In the Broome district, Yarradoorgurjarra....."

This is very important in connection with the 2 class system
Beerungoomat and Jooamat.

P. 101

Yalbooroo - this should be referred to elsewhere.

Some of these should not come here.

*Better leave them where the natives
placed them. They knew best.*

It will be seen from these examples that the same system of relationships obtains throughout the whole State, the difference being only in the dialectic equivalents.

The Northern Group have also, besides these relationships, others which are interchangeable according to the Division that is speaking. In the Broome district, Yarradoogurjarra is the term all Boorong and Banaka (the marrying pair) use when speaking of each other, and Yinnara or Yinnera, is their term for all Kaimera and Paljeri; also Kaimera and Paljeri call themselves Yarradoogurjarra, and allude to the Boorong and Banaka as Yinnera. (In the Roeburne district the dialectic equivalent for yarradoogurjarra is ballangwarra, and the equivalent for yinnera is ngoogoonwarra.) The Broome terms differ from the noy-yung and ngunning of the Southern Group, in that they include the marrying pairs - yarradoogurjarra marrying each other and yinnera also marrying each other, whereas in the South the words express relationship only, Manitchmat being ngunning and Wordungmat noyyung, or vice versa, according to the division that is speaking, but ngunningur cannot marry each other, neither can noyyungur.

Other Broome terms are :-

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Yalbooroo | Pledged friendship, similar to the babbin and koobong of the South. Yalbooroo must always stand in the relationship of brothers-in-law to each other. Banaka and Boorong men of the same generation may be yalbooroo to each other. |
| Walgarree | A newly born girl child |
| Nganjoo | A young girl child (mother speaking) |
| Majjangool | A bigger girl |
| Beerr'bub | A young woman |
| Weedoo jandoo | A grown woman, marriageable |
| OOba jeera | A little boy |
| Wabberange | A bigger boy |
| Bibbinya | Uncles and nephews |
| Wallagon'ngoora | A lot of sons |
| Maaloo ngamminjoon | Not belonging to us - strangers, "outsiders". We cannot marry the men but our brothers can steal or capture the women. |

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 76

Retyped page 55, second line :

Jaanee yaggoo

What does jaanee mean? (Same as jurdi amongst
the Talainji "my" - D.M.B.)

Eebala and ngabboo = my own father's brothers

What are my tribal father's brothers called?
(Ibainbala - D.M.B.)

P. 77

Jabbulyoo yooramurroo

So yooramurroo is not own father's sister.
(Would it be a courtesy term? - D.M.B.)

Marrera = brothers-in-law

What does this mean? husband's brother or
sister's husband? (See Broome relation-
ship terms.)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Jabbulyoo yaggoo | Old men of husband stock |
| Jaanee yaggoo | My brother calls my husband thus (woman speak.) |
| Walla or walgura | I would call my husband by these names |
| Walla jaanoo | My own son (father speaking) |
| Yooramurroo | My own father's sister |
| Eebala and ngabboo | My own father's brothers, old and youngest |
| Beebee, jeejee | My own mother's sisters |
| Koorongool | All my little Boorong brothers (I being a Boorong woman) |
| Ingalboo | All little Banaka boys (I being a Boorong woman) |
| Tchallal | My own father's sister's sons and my own mother's brother's sons whom I cannot marry (jammain, tchammain, jalwal - Roeburne terms) |
| Tchallangurnel babbagurra | All little Paljeri boys, I being a Boorong woman |
| Yalmagurra | All little Banaka girls " " " " " or man |
| Nganjoogurra | All little Paljeri girls " " " " " |
| Nganjoogurra | All little Kaimera and Boorong girls I being a Boorong woman |
| Jabbulyoo beebee | All old Paljeri women (I being a Boorong woman, all these are my "mothers' sisters") |
| Jabbulyoo kogga | All old Paljeri men (I being a Boorong woman) |
| Jabbulyoo eebala | All old Kaimera men " " " " " |
| Jabbulyoo yooramurroo" | " " women " " " " " |
| Marrera | Brothers-in-law |
| Woongamin | Grandfathers and sons and daughters of brothers and sisters whom we may not marry, also tchallal and tchammo |
| Jarramulla | My sister and brother-in-law (man speaking) |
| Winjader | "father and mother" - married man or woman with children, so called by their father or their brother. |
| Eebainballa | All my father's brothers |
| Yooramcornel | All my father's sisters |
| Tharloo, yalloor | My son-in-law and my daughter-in-law (tabu) (thoca - Roeburne) |
| Koorrgarda, yinnera | "You fellows" - a Boorong or Banaka man will call thus to Kaimera and Paljeri men. |
| Coora | You two - brother and sister |
| Yeeramalla laanee, Rambar, tharloo | Names applied to my mother-in-law's brother, to whom I must not speak. |
| Thammunjoonoo, jammunjoonoo | An avenging party, coming secretly and swiftly. |

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 77

Retyped P. 56

Jeebarraga = two brothers coming

What does this mean? How "coming"?

(APPROACHING - D.M.B.)

MSS. P. 78

Koolanel = some young Pajeri women - word used by young
Boorong man.

You give kula for wife.

Retyped page 57, third line.

This copy reads - my own father's sisters

Comment - Why own?

(Father's ownsisters are always called yuramurro -
D.M.B.)

Last 5 lines of first par.

Can you prove this from genealogies?

(I do not know whether it is proved in any of the
Broome genealogies - D.M.B.)

"I give a daughter back to the family in exchange for
the husband they have given me."

Does the girl marry the rambar?

(Yes, at least he can take her. - D.M.B.)

From revised version

MSS. P. 103

Retyped P. 56.

Brown's comments

Nalja, and four following terms :

These should go elsewhere. *I think not.*

MSS. P. 104

Wallabille - Important

The Broome area MSS. is the most complete & accurate account existent in Australian Anthropology, etc., & being so, & being all native information, I like to leave it as it is — I was familiar with these Northern people & used their correct expressions & was corrected if I had not used the exact term. This is what makes the Broome entire MSS. so important for future anthropologists.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Talcoorgurra | Men who have been fully initiated and who can marry. |
| Yamminga | Ancestors |
| Nalja-an | An ancestral spirit, the voice of the bull-roarer or kalleegoo-roo us supposed by the women to be the voice of Nalja. |
| Jocarree eejaling | The spirit of the dead |
| Kooraboaroo | Name applied to the namesake of any person who has died. |
| Marowera | A body of natives collected openly for fighting purposes (so called by their opponents) |
| Rambar'ngarreen'- joonoo | Taking the wrong woman |
| Yallera meejala | My own people whom I collect together to meet and fight the marowera. |
| Wanjallinjenna | My elder sisters |
| Jeebarraga Marranginya | Two brothers coming |
| Wallaballee | Mother and children, daughters and sons coming |
| Wallabillee, ingalboo | When it is a boy instead of a girl - name applied by young man to the boy who has been born instead of the girl who had been promised to him. |
| Koomaljenna, Goomaljen | Old Paljeri women - name used by young Boorong man. |
| Koolanel | Some young Paljeri women - word used by young Boorong man. |
| Nganjoowarra, jeeragurra | Lots of boys and girls |
| Ngabboo | Youngest father - a Boorong man will call a young Kaimera man ngabboo. |
| Koorra | You two - husband and wife |
| Yeeral | Stealing a young woman from her camp while all the young men are out hunting. |
| Bunga bunga | Brothers fighting |

These are general terms in use throughout the Broome district, To show the relationship of an individual member of one of the four Northern Coastal Classes towards the members of the other Classes, I will take my own class division - that of Boorong - and give the Broome district equivalents for the various terms which I apply to my relations and relations-in-law :-

I am a Boorong woman, my father (eebala) is Kaimera, my father's brothers (eebainballa) are also my fathers and are Kaimera, my father's sisters are my yocramurroo, and are also Kaimera, my mother (beebee) is Paljeri. My mother's brothers (kogga) are also Paljeri. My father's father is Boorong and is my tchammo, and my father's mother is Banaka and my kabbarli. My mother's father (tchammo) is Banaka and my mother's mother (kummarda) is Boorong. My husband's mother (tharloo) is Kaimera (the daughter of a Boorong, but a "far away" brother of my father's father.) My husband's brothers are my Rambar, whom I, being a woman, must always absolutely avoid (this rule is not so strict with my tharloo as we are both women.) My tharloo, being a Kaimera woman has married a Paljeri man who is my tchamminyerree (father-in-law). Their son is a Banaka and my husband (yaggoo). My husband being Banaka, and I Boorong, my daughter (nganjoo) is Paljeri, and I give her to my Rambar (my mother-in-law's brother), which explains my strict avoidance of him. I give a daughter back to the family in exchange for the husband they have given me.

I, being a Boorong man, my relations-in-law are as follows :- My mother-in-law (tharloo) is Kaimera; she will be allotted to me by a Boorong grandfather (tchammo). I must never look at her or speak to her, but this rule of avoidance is not so strict with my father-in-law (tchamminyerree), as we are both men. My father-in-law is Paljeri, his daughter is a Banaka and is my wife (jee-marree), my daughter (nganjoo) is Kaimera, and I give her to one of my father-in-law's brothers who is my Rambar, and is a Paljeri, in exchange for the wife my father-in-law has given me.

These two examples furnish the whole code of marriage amongst the Broome district people, and in the old days the law in this respect was strictly adhered to, death being a penalty for breach of such law. The relationship terms are interchangeable for all the other classes. It will be seen, therefore, that a Boorong cannot marry a Paljeri, for that would be the union of mother and son; similarly, a Banaka cannot marry a Kaimera, for that would be the union of father and daughter, and a Paljeri cannot marry a Banaka for that would mean the union of father and daughter also.

From revised version

MSS. P. 107 Retyped page 58, middle of page

"The eaglehawk is said to belong as "general" totem to the Boorong division only, while the wangana (crow) belongs to the Banaka division only." Add-These were local groups at Derby.

Brown

What relation does the animal bear to the individuals of the class?

I use the word "general" & leave it at that.

Those tribes bearing the four Northern Coastal Class names are, as at present ascertained, the Tchowie (Sunday Island); Maialnga (McDonald Ranges, Glenelg River); Barða (Swan Point); Nyool-nyool (Beagle Bay and Disaster Bay); Warrwai, Walungarree (Derby district); Koolarrabuloo (Broome district); Yalmban (South of Broome); Banneeabbul (East of Broome); Warree-ngarree (Fitzroy River); Koolajarree, Bajjeeboogoo (Ninety Mile Beach); Karreearra (De Grey); Injeebandee (Tableland); Ngaloona (Roeburne). How far inland these names extend has not been accurately obtained, but amongst all these people the same laws obtain as to marriage and descent.

As regards the terms Boorong, Banaka, etc., I cannot find that they are the equivalents of "bird names" of any kind. It might be suggested that at one time the classes consisted as in the South of but two primary divisions, these divisions being Boorong and Banaka, the reason for such a suggestion being that amongst the Derby district natives, the eaglehawk (wallorwa) is said to belong as "general" totem to the Boorong division only, while the crow (wangana) belongs to the Banaka division only, and also having regard to the terms yarradoogajarra and yinnera. These therefore represent the Eaglehawk and Crow marrying pairs, which, according to the Rev. J. Matthew extend throughout Victoria, and parts of New South Wales and South Australia. I have not, however, heard of these two birds in connection with the Boorong and Banaka divisions exclusively in any district outside Derby, and so the suggestion is merely tentative. At Derby also, the wallaby (jangala) belongs to the Paljeri division, and the barramunda fish (mardinjow, mardinjanoo) to the Kaimera division. (Jangala is one of the Hall's Creek subdivisional names). It will be seen that none of the Derby equivalents for these birds resemble the class names, although the wallowra and wangana figure prominently in the Initiation songs of the Derby people, the black cockatoo with red tail (darreeal) being also sung at these important ceremonies. The white cockatoo does not appear to take any part in the initiation songs. In the inland districts some other bird or animal will

From revised version

MSS. P. 108 Retyped page 59

"It may be surmised therefore, that in some remote period....."

Brown

Is this your own opinion or that of the natives?

D.M.B. - The natives.

The last few lines, from "in much the same manner" down to
"Tondarup, etc." crossed out.

doubtless take the place of the barramunda fish as the general totem of the Kaimera division. It is however curious to note that in the classes of the Northern Coastal group, the Boorong and Paljeri (who are "mother and child" in the north) correspond in colour and physique to the Tondarup and Didarruk (manitchmat) divisions of the South and Southwest, while the Banaka and Kaimera resemble the darker Ballarruk and Nagarnook (Wordungmat) of the same districts, Banaka and Kaimera being also mother and child for ever in the Northern Coastal Classes. It may be surmised therefore, that in some remote period the two classes only, Boorong and Banaka, obtained on the northern coast, and that later on, the two other class names Kaimera and Paljeri were bestowed upon the offspring of each, in much the same manner as in the South, where the two primary divisions, Manitchmat and Wordungmat, have been subdivided into Tondarup, etc.

At the present day, a Boorong or Banaka travelling through the districts of the Northern Coastal Group, is judged by his colour and physique, and he enters temporarily the class in which the fairer or darker colour - according to his own - predominates. A Broome Boorong entered the Manitchmat division at Katanning, a Victoria Plains district Ballarruk went into the Banaka division at Eoeburne, and so on.

From revised version

MSS. P..109

Retyped page 60

Brown

There are no intertribal marriages?

D.M.B. - Apparently not.

Class Names - This must be omitted or rewritten. *No, I must leave them, every item will have value.*

Note - D.M.B.

"I cannot find any "dove-tailing" between the Upper Murchison, Eastern Goldfields, etc."

Yes, I have later.

Brown

By comparison with S. and G. it would seem that the classes ought to be arranged :-

| | | | | |
|--------|--------------|---|----------------|--------|
| Banaka | A' Jowan | = | Jooroo B' | |
| | A'' Joongara | = | Jangala B'' | Burong |
| | C' Jaggara | = | Jowalyee D' | |
| | C'' Jambeen | = | Jaangarree D'' | |

Jowalyee = Jaggara

Jaangarree = Jambeen

Jooroo = Joowan

Jangala = Joongarra

Better leave them as the natives placed them. Your authority from whom you may be quoting will not be as reliable as the natives themselves.

The manner in which those of the inland Northern Group, whose tribes or families were personally investigated, intermarry, the changes in class nomenclature and the crossing of the intermarrying pairs, will now be shown. With the exception of the Hall's Creek and Turkey Creek and probably Wyndham divisions, which fit in with the Northern Coastal Class divisions and marriage laws, I cannot find any "dovetailing" between the Upper Murchison, Murchison, Eastern Goldfields and other Divisions and those of the Northern Coastal divisions. The Hall's Creek and Turkey Creek divisions may obtain south, southeast and north and northwest of those places, but it is only from natives of the places mentioned that the laws and divisions of those districts were obtained. It is therefore advisable to deal only with the divisions obtained directly from the natives.

The Hall's Creek Class Divisions are apparently sixteen, but the marriages of these sixteen are strictly in accordance with the four Northern Coastal Class Divisions. The number sixteen is reached by counting the males and females and the children of these. The Coastal Class names will be placed in conjunction with those of Hall's Creek for greater clearness.

| | | |
|---------|---------------------------|--------|
| Boorong | { Jowalyee | male |
| | { Ngowajil or ngowajarree | female |
| Banaka | { Jaggara | male |
| | { Ngaggara | female |
| Kaimera | { Joongara | male |
| | { Nganjelee | female |
| Paljeri | { Jangala | male |
| | { Ngangala | female |

The marriage laws of these are as under :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Jowalyee (Boorong) | Ngaggara (Banaka) | Joongara, boys |
| Jaggara (Banaka) | Ngowajil (Boorong) | Nganjelee girls Kaimera |
| Joongara (Kaimera) | Ngangala (Paljeri) | Jooroo, boys |
| Jangala (Paljeri) | Nganjelee (Kaimera) | Nyoweroo, girls Paljeri |
| | | Jowalyee, boys |
| | | Ngowajil or Ngowajarree, |
| | | girls, Boorong |
| | | Jambeen or Tchambeen, boys |
| | | Ngambeen, girls Banaka |

From revised version

MSS. P. 111 Retyped page 61

Alterations - D.M.B.

Substitute Būrangani for Burrongoo.

He entered the Jowalyi class at Hall's Creek

MSS. P. 112

Brown

Put both 8 class systems at end of chapter.

Na

These marriage laws were strictly adhered to, and the relationship terms connected with them were similar to those of the Northern Coastal classes, except in the variation of the dialects of both places. The descendants of the Offspring (Jambeean, Ngambeean, etc.) went into their proper divisions taking the names of the males and females, as for instance, a Jambeean man married a Ngowa-jarree woman and their children were Jangala boys and Ngangala girls and so on with all the other subdivisions.

(It may be interesting here to give a Burketown (Queensland) district native's class divisions. In the Jandeebill-eebungoo (Burketown) district there are four class divisions.)

Bunburee, Woongoo, Georgila, Gooberoo.

The marriages of these were as follows :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Bunburee | Woongoo | Gooberoo |
| Woongoo | Bunburee | Georgila |
| Gooberoo | Georgila | Bunburee |
| Georgila | Gooberoo | Woongoo |

A Georgila man gives a Bunburee man his daughter (a Woongoo girl) and the Bunburee man gives his daughter (a Gooberoo girl) to the Georgila man, and so on. (See Howitt's Native Tribes of S.W. Australia, P.112-113, where it appears the Wakelburra and Buntamurra tribes have similar class names to the above.)

The Burketown native who had furnished me with the above information had come overland from Queensland many years ago. He was a Bunburee man named Burrongoo, who had travelled extensively throughout West Australia. Burrongoo entered the Boorong class division in West Kimberley, Ashburton, Gascoyne, and Murchison districts, the Jowalyee at Hall's Creek, the Tondarup at Victoria Plains and the Manitchmat in the South.

The distinct names for the males and females of each of the Hall's Creek Class divisions show a certain affinity with some of the Northern tribes of Central Australia described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen (Northern Tribes etc. P.104). Some of the names furnished by these authors very closely resemble those of the Hall's Creek natives. Tjunguri (Sp. & G.), Joongara (Hall's Creek); Nungalla (Sp. & G.), Ngangala (Hall's Creek); Tjambin (Sp. & G.), Jambeean (Hall's Creek); Nambin (Sp. & G.), Ngambean (Hall's Creek) are too similar in sound to be merely coincidences and hence the Hall's Creek class names may run eastward and southward along a certain "road" or "line". A journey from Wyndham southward through Turkey Creek, Hall's Creek, and further south and east would probably reveal "a similarity of laws, customs, totems, etc., such as are described by Spencer and Gillen.

Somewhere south of the Broome district a change in the descent of the classes takes place, and a new word - Boorgooloo - takes the place of Banaka. My furthest personal investigations (apart from that conducted amongst the LaGrange Bay and Broome and Beagle Bay natives) extended to the districts north and east of Peak Hill, westward towards the Weld Range, north and east of Laverton (the terminus of the Eastern Goldfields Railway), and along the western coast towards Northampton. On the Murchison and in the Laverton district, I found representatives from Lawlers, Lake Way, Duketon and other places, and obtained pedigrees from all the natives met with. At Rottnest Island Prison, I was enabled to confirm the pedigrees obtained on the Eastern Goldfields and the Murchison from some native prisoners belonging to those districts. I travelled in the train from Geraldton with two cannibals from the district east of Lawlers, in order to obtain their pedigrees and so confirm those received from other Lawlers natives, and thus through one source and another, the marriage laws and laws of descent of the districts now under review were made clear.

The lines of demarcation between the various divisions whose nomenclature and laws of descent differ, has been fairly accurately ascertained considering the limited time allowed for a

From revised version

MSS. P. 113 Retyped page 63

Brown

There is no doubt

 This should not come here.

 Why not? - D.M.B.

visit to each section. Why the changes in descent and in class names were made it was impossible to discover. Some of the pedigrees obtained go back for over a hundred years - an eternity to the native - who therefore informs you that his district "always married so."

There is no doubt that modifications and changes in nomenclature such as the Hall's Creek segmentations of the Northern Coastal Classes, occur elsewhere in the interior, but it is desirable to treat only of those districts whose inhabitants were personally examined. A native can speak definitely of the marriage laws and laws of descent of his own district, but unless he has travelled and resided for some years amongst tribes bearing other class names than his own, he cannot be said to be a reliable informant, and even although he has been adopted and has lived for years amongst people having different class laws and marriage rules, his statements will still require to be confirmed by a native born and reared in the district. The mistakes that have hitherto occurred with regard to inquiries into the Social Organisation of the tribes arise through taking it for granted that all the members of a camp belonged to the district where they were encamped at the date of inquiry. In all the hundreds of camps which I have visited between Disaster Bay and Esperance, I rarely found one whose members all belonged to the district. The wives, the mothers and the grandmothers will probably have come from some other district, north, south, east or west, according to their "road" or they may have been captured from some other district far away from their own country in one of these "raids" which natives from time immemorial have indulged in.

Natives of all districts have certain roads along which they may travel and in the camps of which they may obtain wives or husbands as the case may be. For instance, the road by which some Eastern Goldfields district natives travelled for their wives was through Edjudine, Kurnalpi, Kurrawang, Kanowna, Kalgoorlie, Coolgardie (part of), etc. and they also intermarried with the Beerungomat and Jocamat, west and south of Coolgardie. Visitors from the farthest point along any of these roads may be in any

Comments of A.R. Brown

Taken from duplicate copy

MSS. P. 85

Retyped P. 64

"The Marriage Laws of these four classes are as follows: "

This requires confirmation.

*You have overlooked the
confirmation.*

Revised version

MSS. P. 115 Retyped page 64

The marriage laws of these are as under :-

Brown Type III

| | |
|---|---|
| A | D |
| B | C |

Boorgooloo = Paljeri
Boorong = Kaimera

camp where they possess relations-in-law, or may probably have lived amongst these relations-in-law for years. Moreover, say that a visitor has been adopted into a tribe having different laws and class divisions to his own (as has been the case), he is either given a new class name, or else he is allowed to keep his own, and apparent confusion will be the result of superficial inquiries into the class divisions of the occupants of such camp. Another thing to be remembered is that there is no straight road in W.A. native territory, all roads have water-holes as their objective, and the deviations that some of these native "roads" take, made it a matter of extreme difficulty to locate the various class divisions within certain geographical limits.

In the Upper Murchison district, North, Northeast and Northwest of Peak Hill and traversing Nabberu, Thaduna (partly), Eribilla and Teano (partly) the following Class divisions obtained :-

Boorong

Kaimera

Paljeri

Boorgooloo (Here apparently Boorgooloo begins to take the place of Banaka.)

The Marriage laws of these four classes are as follows :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Boorong | Kaimera | Paljeri |
| Kaimera | Boorong | Boorgooloo |
| Boorgooloo | Paljeri | Kaimera |
| Paljeri | Boorgooloo | Boorong |

In these it will be noticed that the Coastal marriage laws and laws of descent are entirely crossed in this district :-

Kaimera and Boorgooloo are father and son for ever.

Boorong and Paljeri are father and son for ever.

Boorong and Boorgooloo are mother and daughter for ever.

Paljeri and Kaimera are mother and daughter for ever.

(In the Northern coastal districts :

Boorong and Kaimera are father and son for ever.

Banaka and Paljeri are father and son for ever.

Boorong and Paljeri are mother and daughter for ever.

Banaka and Kaimera are mother and daughter for ever.)

From revised version

MSS. F. 116 Retyped page 65, first part.

Brown

This must be dealt with more fully.

D.M.B.

See later MSS.

Whole page - All this must be revised owing to recent visit to Peak Hill, etc. districts, April, May, June, '11, but the essentials stand. - D.M.B.

The relationship terms are similar, except in the dialectic equivalents, to those of the Northern coastal Group. Potential mothers-in-law are differentiated from "father's sisters" or "mother's brothers" by certain dialectic terms, and so on throughout the other relationships. For instance, the men I cannot marry, although they are of my marrying class division, and also of my generation, I allude to as wajjeera (Peak Hill district term). These men are the sons of my own father's sisters and my own mother's brothers.

In the district where these class divisions obtain, the relationships are as follows. I being a Boorong woman my father (mammadhoo) is Paljeri, my father's sister is also a Paljeri, her son is a Kaimera (the class from which I take my husbands), but being the son of my own father's sisters or my own mother's brothers he becomes my wajjeera and marriage is forbidden between us. My own mother's brother being Boorgooloo marries a Paljeri woman, and the children are Kaimera, but my wajjeera.

My own mother (I being a Boorong woman) is Boorgooloo and my yaagoo (mother), my mother's father is Kaimera and is my kamnee (grandfather), my mother's mother is Boorong and is my kundharree or kunjjarree, my father's sister (not own) is my marrajee, her son is my mardungoojoo and is Kaimera (husband stock), her daughter is also Kaimera and is my sister-in-law (mungajoo). My father-in-law is Boorgooloo and is my kumbarnoo or kambarnoo, and my sons and daughters are Boorgooloo, and are my kajja.

The tribes following these marriage laws are the Wannala of Yallamurra (Peak Hill district); Mure'ree, Yooldhurra (Peak Hill); Meenga (near Belele Station, Murchison); Yarndar (Lake Way; Goonmarra and Jalleemai (Peak Hill); Twin Peak and Mullewa; Weelarra (north of Gabbeon) Murchison; Thowl (or Milly Milly); Dhoodhoo-goodarra (South from Barrambie; Boolyoolyo (Tuckanarra); Been-yeree, Nyingarree, Warngun (Peak Hill district); Koondeekaldhoo, near Wandarree (Murchison); Kajjeemarree (Mt. Fraser); Jooril (Lake Way district); Woordeemurda and Warramba (Mt. Magnet district); Field's Find district; and Ngarragoodhoo (north of Minderoo).

From revised version

MSS. P. 118 Retyped page 66

Milly Milly Pedigree

Brown

Totems (?) ngalloongoo are not inherited.

D.M.B.

Kordarn is the correct totem word. A Kaimera boy will inherit the kurdarn of his Burgulu father.

MSS. P. 119 Retyped page 67

Peak Hill pedigree

Brown

Totem perhaps inherited.

Second paragraph : "showing the intrusions of the Peak Hill divisions".

"Intrusion" begs the question.

D.M.B.

No, the local families represented by the blue discs did intrude.

(June '11)

The marriages of these divisions are as under :-

Comment by Brown

Type II

A C
B D

Boorgooloo = Kaimera
Boorong = Paljeri

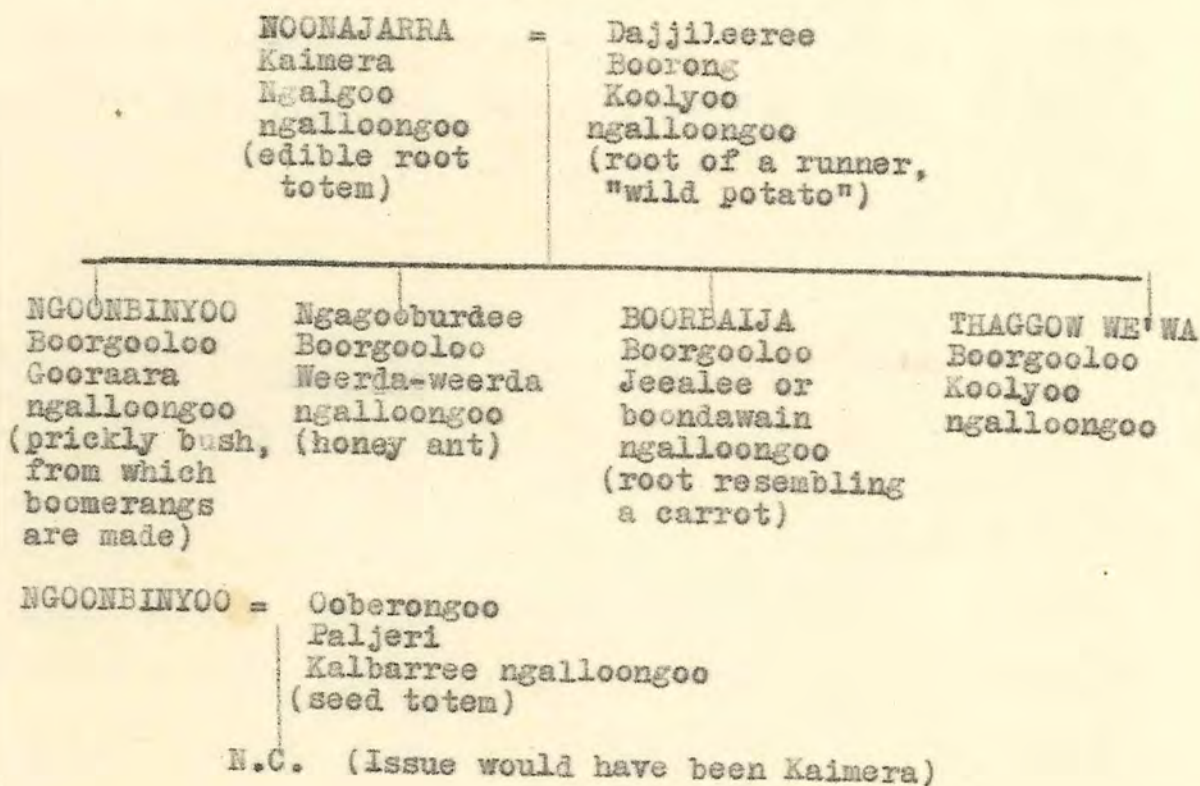
Transposition of Kaimera and Paljeri.

All these transpositions occurred in the progress of the Classes thro' the S. + S.E. areas, until finally the class fizzled out + promiscuity obtained & obtains today in all the Central + desert areas.

It will thus be seen how irregularly the families bearing these class divisions are located. The dark blue discs represent wandering families or small tribelets of people with the above laws of marriage and descent, and are examples of the deviations of the various tribes in these localities. I have found other crossings obtaining in some of the places just mentioned, but the majority of the pedigrees obtained from the people of these districts, followed the above divisions and laws of descent. Those people who had different class divisions, stated that they "lived in the adjoining country", but which tribe belonged to the districts it was impossible to discover. Probably these tribelets themselves represented only some wanderers who had found their way into the different districts since white settlement; they informed me, however, that they were on their own "road".

Some of the pedigrees are as follows :-

A MILLY-MILLY PEDIGREE



A PEAK HILL PEDIGREE

| | | |
|-------------|---|---------------|
| YOWERN | = | Moondajingoo |
| Kaimera | | Boorong |
| Nyeen-nyeen | | Baggoo-baggoo |
| ngalloongoo | | ngalloongoo |
| (a little | | (little bird) |
| bird - non- | | |
| edible) | | |

see fuller pedigree elsewhere

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|---------------|
| KARREE- = | Goorarra | WINGANA | KOONDEEBOOMAN |
| DUREE | Boergooloo | Boergooloo | Boergooloo |
| Paljeri | | | |

All Nyeen-nyeen ngalloongoo

Boorong
children,
all dead.

Adjoining the tribes with the above class divisions, south and southeast of the Peak Hill district an extensive area is occupied by tribes whose marriage laws are again changed. In the very centre of this tribe and also bordering it on the west and southwest are the blue discs, showing the intrusions of the Peak Hill divisions. This tribe runs through the Nookawarra district and Weld Range on the west, eastward beyond the Barr Smith Range, and south to about Mt. Kenneth.

The marriages of these divisions are as under :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Boorong | Paljeri | Kaimera |
| Paljeri | Boorong | Boergooloo |
| Kaimera | Boergooloo | Boorong |
| Boergooloo | Kaimera | Paljeri |

In this tribe therefore :-

Boergooloo and Paljeri are father and son for ever.

Kaimera and Boorong are father and son for ever.

Paljeri and Kaimera are mother and daughter for ever.

Boergooloo and Boorong are mother and daughter for ever.

If we accept Boergooloo as the substitute for Banaka, we have in this tribe, the "fathers and sons" of the Northern Coastal Classes (Boorong father, Kaimera son, Banaka father, Paljeri son), but the descent of the mothers and daughters is similar to that of Peak Hill.

From revised version

MSS. P. 122 Retyped P. 67a

Koodardee pedigree

Brown

Totem localised?

B.M.B.

Yes, all or nearly all the Peak Hill totems are localised.

(June, '11)

MSS. P. 123

Kallungwa pedigree

Totems perhaps inherited male descent.

MSS. P. 124

Burnakoora pedigree

Totem not exogamous (?)

D.M.B.

No, localised totems.

The following pedigrees exemplify these changes.

1. A Wabbar (Mt. Magnet) Pedigree

Yooladharra = Injidee III 2L, P. 12

2. A Mt. Townsend Pedigree

Doorba, = Goordinyoo III 2L, P. 13

3. A Koodardee (West of Cue) Pedigree

Walgoorinyooa = Balgalagarree III 2L, P. 16

(The ngowajarree or ground grub totem people were centred about Jung'a Pool, in the Tuckanarra district, native names of places - Yalgoowocroo and Moolgoolgoo. The name Ngowajarree so exactly resembles the Hall's Creek subdivisional term for the females of the Boorong class division, that it is just possible these subdivisional terms are totemic in the Hall's Creek district. As no vocabulary of that district was obtainable, the Hall's Creek equivalent for "ground grub" cannot be given.)

4. A Kallunwa Pedigree (Weld Range)

Wingoorongoo = Ebeedeeree III 2L, P. 17

5. A Binyiling Pedigree (N. of Field's Find)

Weeamindee = Windoona III 2L, P. 23

6. A Burnakoora (S.E. of Nannine) Pedigree

Winneeangoo = Jeegoomarra III 2L, P. 22

7. A Galdhalain Pedigree (towards Lake Way)

Nai 'a'rangoo = Wainyunda III 2L, P. 21

The districts where these marriage laws are in force are : Barlooweeree (Weld Range); Mindoola district; Boolardee; Kurdaaroo (Mt. Magnet); Dhooarreedha (Weld Range district); Mardungan (near Mt. Nicholson); Kaggala (Sanford River); Burnakoora; Binyiling; Cue; Bootarnoo (Mt. Kenneth); Thoogeroo (Near Yalgoo); Gabbeon, Meeka and other stations; Lake Way; Meekatharra; Nungarra; Sandstone, etc.

In the Weld Range district my relationships are as follows :- I am a Boorong woman. My grandfather (kamme) was Boorong, my grandmother (kundharree) was Paljeri, my father (mamma) was Kaimera, my mother (yaagoo) was Boorgooloo, my husband (mardungoo) was Paljeri, and my children (kadha) were Boorgooloo.

The tribes bordering on the southeast of the Murchison and Peak Hill, and covering the Malcolm, Kaluwiri (partly), Yelina, Mt. Margaret districts, have introduced another class name for Paljeri, that of Tharrooroo, otherwise the marriage laws are similar to those of Peak Hill district. I found several families belonging to this section, located between Lennonville and Sandstone, their exact position being marked on the Class Division Distribution Map. The "road" by which they reached that locality probably went westwards from Lawlers, or northwestward from Leonora.

The Class divisions of this section are :-

Kaimera, Boorong, Boorgooloo, Tharrooroo.

The Marriage laws are as under :-

| <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Offspring</u> |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Kaimera | Boorong | Boorgooloo |
| Boorong | Kaimera | Tharrooroo |
| Tharrooroo | Boorgooloo | Boorong |
| Boorgooloo | Tharrooroo | Kaimera |

One pedigree in illustration of these will suffice. In the Leonora and one or two other districts, Boorgooloo and Banaka are interchangeable, showing that Banaka has penetrated southeastward from the coast through some native "road".

A LEONORA PEDIGREE

NYOORDEE = Nganninga
Boorgooloo Tharroeroo

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| MUGGIN = Kaimera | Wallinga Boorong | WINNAREE = Kaimera | Burrallarrra = Boorong | Kangeea Boorong | Kannee Kaimera | Jekee Kaimera |
| Ningala Boorgooloo or Banaka | BOY dead | N.C. | | | | |

KOONGAINYEE Tai'ee Yanmoo Toonbeeda Tanjoon WOODA JEEJURDA

All Boorgooloo or Banaka

YABBANOO

KOONGAINYEE = Wadhabidee
Tharroeroo

NOOLBEDHARRA

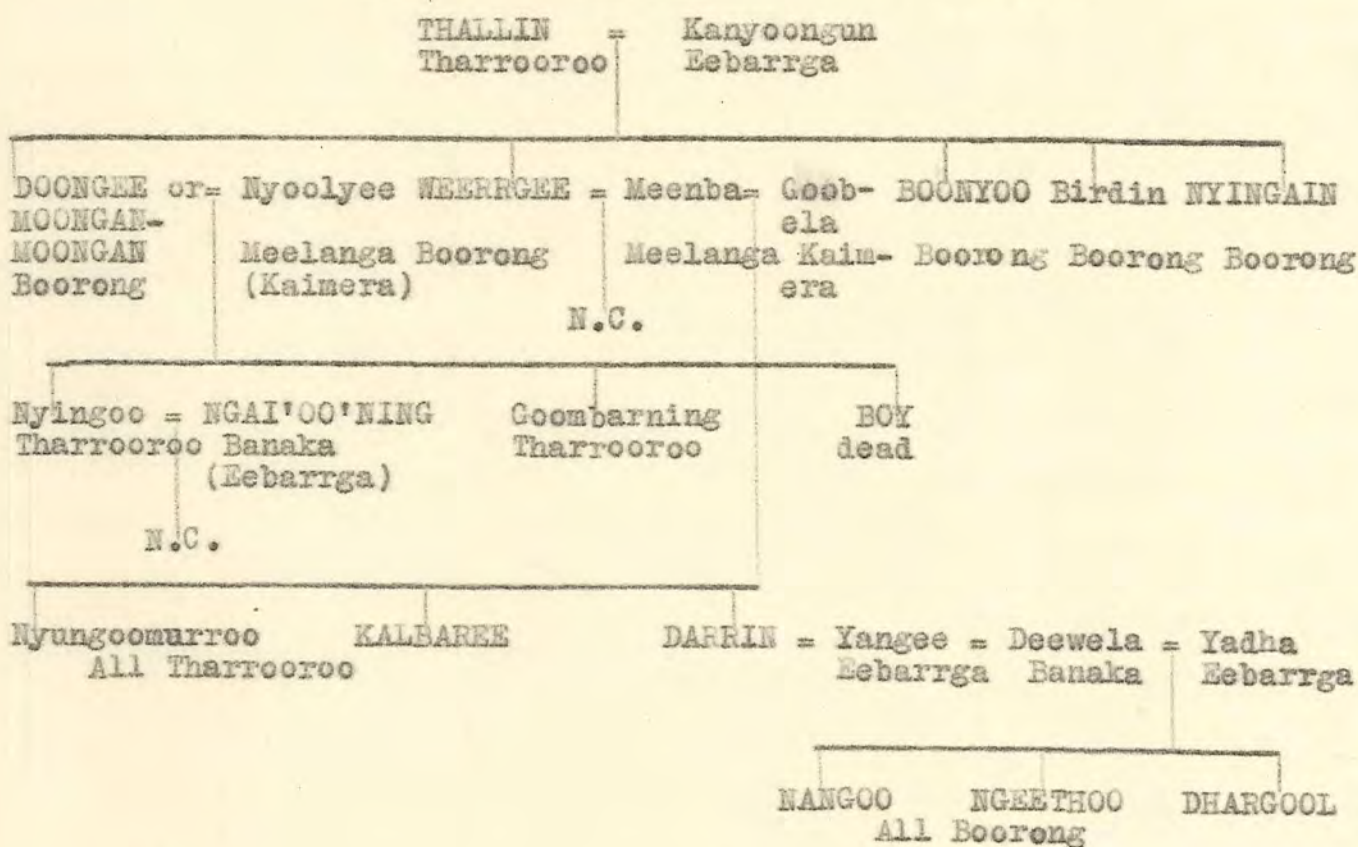
Kaimera children,
dead

DOOLOOR

With the exception of the substitution of Tharroeroo for Paljeri, this section resembles the Peak Hill tribes, in the marriage laws and laws of descent.

South and southeastward of this section, on the eastern goldfields, and bordering the Beerungoomat and Joowuk peoples on their northeastern side, one more change in class nomenclature comes in, Eebarrga being substituted for Boorgooloo. The marriage laws and laws of these people are similar to those of Peak Hill and Mt. Margaret etc. sections, so that except for the change in class nomenclature, these three sections are otherwise identical. A class name given in some of the pedigrees obtained at Laverton, from people living in districts far eastward, was Meelanga, the equivalent for Kaimera. The locality where this name obtained was on the Laverton "road", and a Meelanga coming and residing at Laverton entered the Kaimera division. Similarly with Boorgooloo and Tharrooroo, wherever these names intruded amongst people who used the Banaka and Paljeri divisional names, they were at once entered into their respective classes, the Boorgooloo into the Banaka, the Tharrooroo into the Paljeri, and the Eebarrga either into the Boorgooloo or Banaka, according to which of these obtained in the district.

A YALLINJEERA PEDIGREE (E. of Laverton)



In these Eastern Goldfields districts :

Boorong and Tharrooroo are father and son for ever.

Kaimera and Eebarrga are father and son for ever.

Boorong and Eebarrga are mother and daughter for ever.

Tharrooroo and Kaimera are mother and daughter for ever.

In these districts I am a Boorong woman; my father (mammalee) is Tharrooroo, my mother (yaagoola) is Eebarrga, my grandfather (tham-malee) is Boorong, my husband (mardungoo) is Kaimera, and my children (kadha and yoorndal - sons and daughters) are Eebarrga.

At Ida H. a small mining district seven miles from Laverton, I came upon a large camp of natives, every one of whom had married wrong, were "walyee", as the natives of Leonora termed them. Men and boys had married sisters, mothers, mothers-in-law, etc., and at the time of my visit the male members of the camp were busily furnishing spears (kajjee), clubs (dhoorneea) and boomerangs (walanna and bee'reedee), in anticipation of a raid upon them by the surrounding tribes. The raid took place some time afterwards and resulted in the death of eight of the offenders. In a case of this kind where a camp defies its own laws, the "law-keepers" of the adjoining districts (all able bodied men are law keepers in these cases) must take vengeance, and if their numbers are not sufficient, they can call in the services of natives from outlying districts, to restore the native laws which offenders such as the Ida H. men had entirely set aside. This was the first and only camp of "loose living" natives met with in all my journeys through West Australia. The defiant bearing of both the male and female members of the tribes collected at Ida H. was in marked contrast to the shamefaced attitude of individual members of other tribes throughout the State, who for some reason or other had married into the wrong class. Wrong class marriages are regarded amongst the natives of W.A. in much the same light as illegitimate connections are amongst white people, and when I, as a Boorong woman, sought for my relations in each camp, the wrong-doers, male or female, carefully avoided me, until they learned that I condoned their actions under the pitiable plea that "the natives are dying out so quickly

From revised version

MSS. P. 133 Retyped page 72

middle of page :

Eebarrga, and Tharrooroo were adopted into the Jooamat division and Boorong and Kaimera into the Beerungoomat moiety, and vice versa.

Correct - D.M.B.

MSS. P..134 P. 72, last paragraph, line 5, "mothers and daughters"

Brown

This is true only when we compare B_2 with B_3 , but not if we add B_1 .

D.M.B. See further on.

now that a man or woman must take any of their own colour that they can obtain, regardless of class distinction."

The districts where the class names Boorong, Kaimera, Boorgooloo, Tharrooroo obtained, were :- Leonora, Malcolm, Menzies, Goongarree, Broad Arrow, Wanjarree (Gwalla), Yoolamunna (Kennedy's Soak), Bandala (Box Creek), Pinjin, Edjudina (the Eebarrga equivalent is also found at the last named places), Ngangeree (Cane-grass), and probably Kalgoorlie. The Kalgoorlie "road" went through Kanowna, Kurnalpi, Pinjin, Edjudina, on the east and northeast, and it went westward towards Southern Cross, Eebarrga, Boorgooloo, Tharrooroo and Banaka natives could meet on the Kalgoorlie "road", and as the customs of all these people were similar (including those of the Beerungoomat and Jooamat divisions and the Totemic divisions of the Baaduk people), the tribes on the borders of each other were continually changing into each other's classes. Eebarrga and Tharrooroo were adopted into the Jooamat division and Boorong and Kaimera into the Beerungoomat moiety, and vice versa. Into what totemic division the Kaimera etc. classes entered, I had no opportunity of discovering, as to find out the law in this respect a journey would require to be made to the border or boundary between the Goldfields districts classes, and the Totemic divisions, and this was impossible owing to the absence of facilities in the comparatively unknown country between the two places.

With the changes in the marriage laws of the Inland Northern Group, an interesting fact is noticed, which is, that amongst the varying nomenclatures of these people from Peak Hill to the Coolgardie Goldfields districts, wherever the Northern Group names extend, the "fathers" are changed but the "mothers and daughters" continue in the same class throughout. For instance, in the Peak Hill district, Boorong and Boorgooloo are mother and daughter for ever, and Kaimera and Paljeri are mother and daughter for ever. West of Peak Hill and towards the Weld Range where the marrying pairs are again exchanged, Kaimera and Paljeri are mother and daughter for ever, and Boorong and Boorgooloo are mother and daughter for ever. On the Eastern Goldfields too, Kaimera and

Line 4 "At Broome and along the northwest coast towards
the Ngaluma and other tribes, etc.

(Last part added)

"Westward of the Murchison district, between Jurien Bay....."

(Brown) This is repetition. *Repetition had to occur
in every camp & group, in order to be
absolutely accurate.*

Tharrocroo (Paljeri) are mother and daughter for ever, and Boorong and Eebarrga (Boorgooloo or Banaka) are mother and daughter for ever. I, as a Boorong woman, change my husbands thus: At Broome and all along the northwest coast, my husband is Banaka, at Hall's Creek he is still Banaka, but is of the Tchaggara subdivision; at Peak Hill he is Kaimera (Kaimera men are my "fathers" and "nephews" in the northern coastal areas, and at Hall's Creek); at Weld Range he is Paljeri (Paljeri are my mother's brothers (uncles) and my sons and daughters in the coastal divisions, and at Hall's Creek); on the Eastern Goldfields he is still Kaimera, and at Southern Cross he is Beerungoomat. Westward of the Murchison district, between Jurien Bay, and a point somewhere about Hamelin Pool, and inland for some distance, there are several little isolated tribes, which appear to bear separate designations, and which I understood were strictly endogamous. Their dialect differs greatly from that of their eastern and southern neighbours, and apparently from those of each other, and they appeared to keep isolated from each other at all times of the year, except during the periods when they assembled for "Exchange and Barter", "Initiation", or any other occasion which necessitated a general assemblage. At all other times they appear to have kept within their own hunting districts, each little tribelet having an instinctive fear of the magic of its neighbour. These tribelets, however, which adjoined the northern, southern or eastern groups, were often adopted into one of these, and were circumcised or otherwise according to the tribes which adopted them.

Westward of Ularring, where the names Eebarrga and Tharrocroo have replaced the more northern class names, south of Warramboe, where the terms Boorgooloo and Paljeri are used, and north of Ninghan, the various families were so mixed up with the classes prevailing in all these places, that it was impossible to determine which division held precedence, and therefore the locality was marked as found, and no special name for its occupants other than that they were so mixed, was given. The names of these tribelets with whom I came in personal contact during my visit to the district were as follows :-

From revised version

MSS. P. 136

Retyped page 74

Brown

These are the names of tribes.

D.M.B.

No, they are the divisional names of the local families, but I had only two days to examine the Northampton district and hence the insufficient data. *All these isolated groups were becoming more & more irregular as close settlement advanced.*

Note : Only a week spent amongst these people.

Wajjarree - crossed out in revised version

Baadeemaia (baadoo - blood crossed out)

Mulgarna - crossed out. Then "stet" added.

Thaawera - crossed out

Weelanyoo " "

Aggardee " "

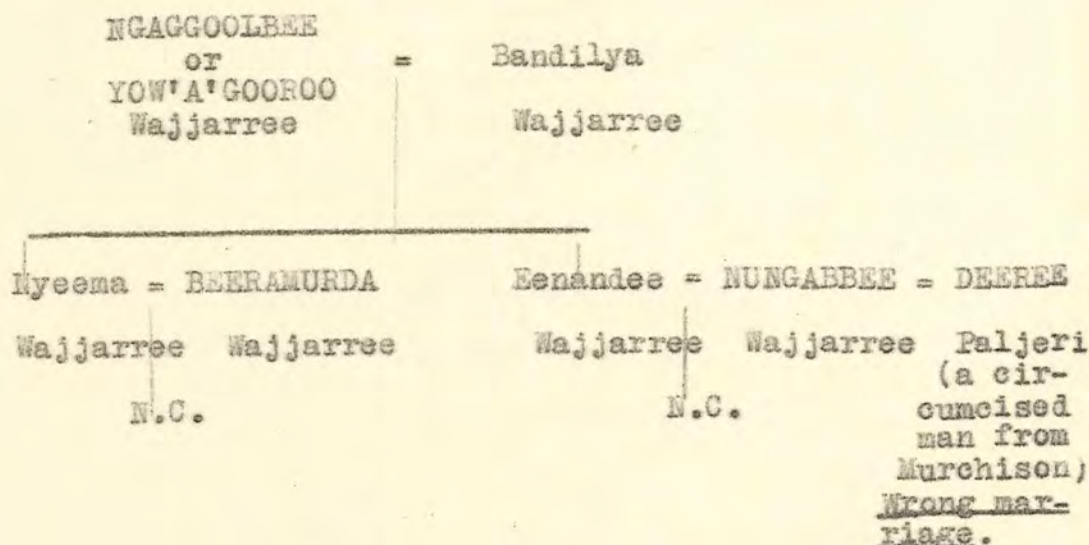
Batteega. Part of Wajjari tribe

P. 75 Mullewa Pedigree (wajjari tribe)

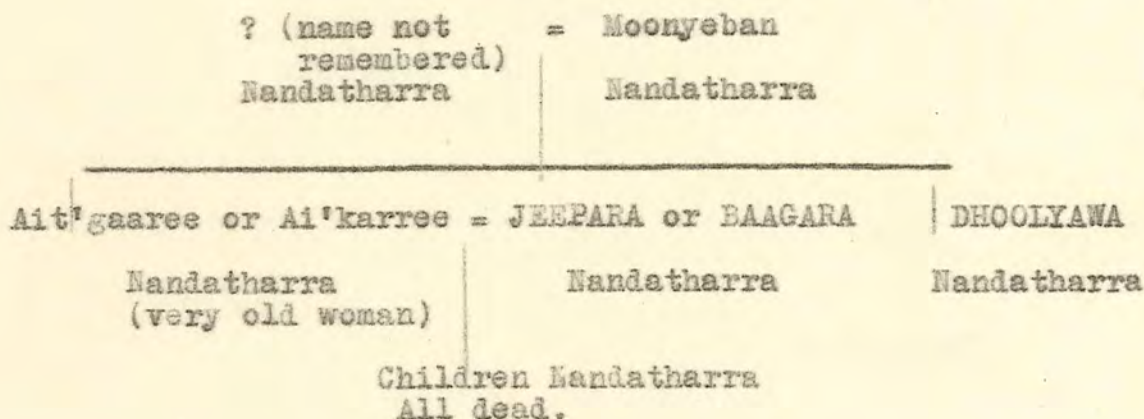
- Nanda or Nandatharra Northampton district (probably named from their dialectic equivalent for "what" - nanda koolee = what name?)
- Nunnagurdee or Nunna-wurdee Champion Bay district, Geraldton etc., also named from nunna = what or which.
- Ngurdeemaia, Ngardeemerra North of Jurien Bay (from ngurdee = down, south, below; maia = voice, speech)
- Wajjarree Mullewa district (from their equivalent for "no" - wajjee)
- Baadeemaia, Bing Mingenew, Yandanooka and Arrino districts (from baadee or battee = no; or baadoo = blood)
- Mulgarna South of Hamelin Pool. Nanda are also found in this district.
- Thaawera About 40 miles eastward of Gantheaume Bay. (thaa = mouth; wera or werra = no good)
- Weelanyoo Illimbirree, Sanford River (weelanyoo = western, A great change in the dialect occurs here.)
- Wajjarree, Ngoo'gooja, Nunnagurdee Bowes district, south of the Nanda people, and west of the Mullewa Wajjarree.
- Nandatharra, Nunnagurdee Coast people between Geraldton and Dongara.
- O'pee or Wattandee Dongara (o'pee = Dongara equivalent for "skin")
- Aggardee Mt. Warriedar people, circumcised and possessing the four Murchison class names. (aggardee = eastern, corrupted from "kakkar" - east.)
- Ngurdeemaia From Dongara to Jurien Bay. Mixed with S.W. divisions.
- Batteega West of Watheroo, and between the Ninghan and Yilgarn districts (from "battee" = no)
- Thowarngoo Carnamah district (Dowera and jowera are the Gingin terms for "north", the change from d, and j to dh, has given the name to these people.)
- Nyangung Local name of some Dhowarngoo at Arrino and Three Springs.
- Boolemaia Local name for some Ngurdeemaia, on the coast, from their dialectic term for snake "boolee."

The pedigrees of some of these isolated tribelets are as follows:-

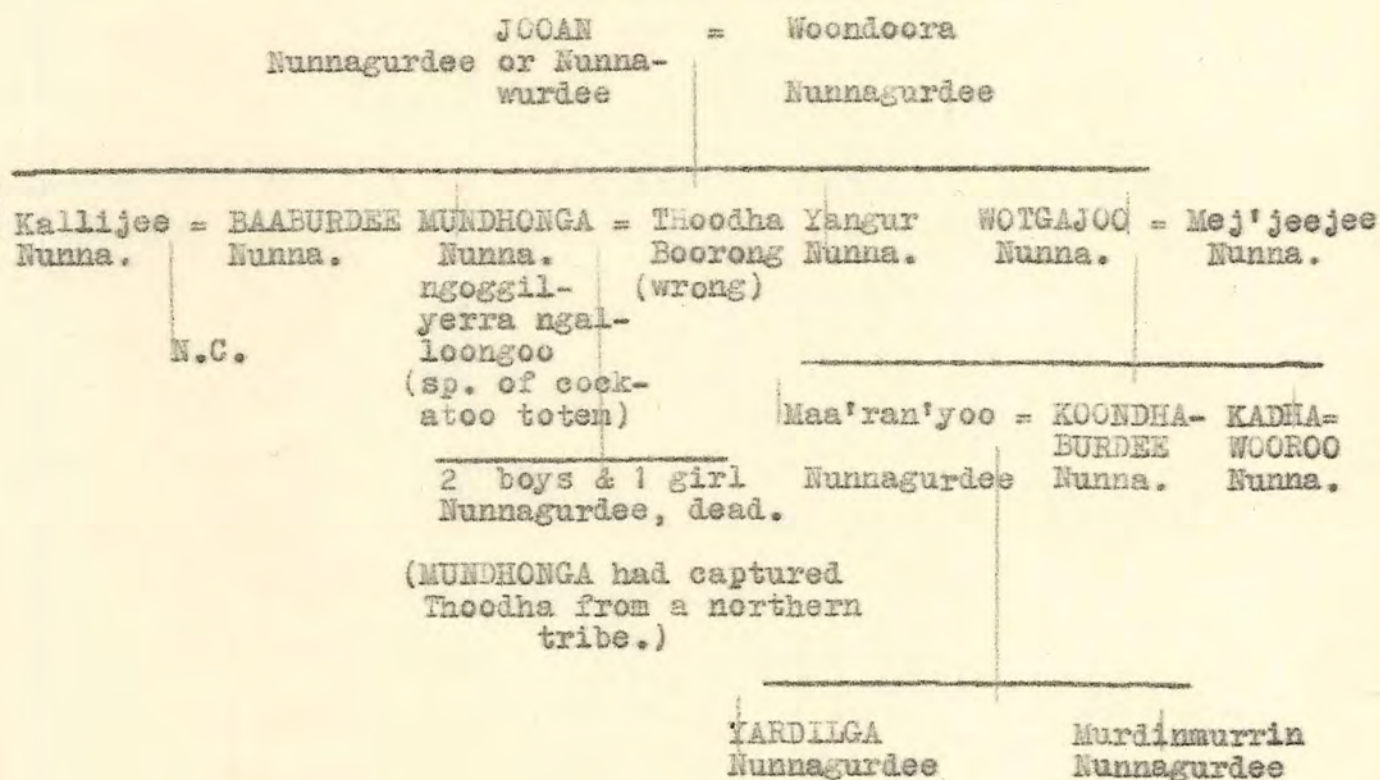
A MULLEWA PEDIGREE



A LYNTON PEDIGREE (Northampton district)



A CHAMPION BAY DISTRICT PEDIGREE



4th generation all half caste.

A TAAMALEE PEDIGREE (S. of Hamelin Pool)

WARRUNGOOLOO = Beeneej
 Nanda. Nanda and mulgarna
 (Her mother was mulgarna and
 her father nanda.)

MOOLUMBAIN = ? (name not remembered)
 Nanda Nanda

N.C.

A YARRAGOODHERRA PEDIGREE (Irwin district)

? (name not remembered) = Wandathurra
 Baadeemaia Baadeemaia

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| Kokkai = JANGARA | Woogooil = BAANDEE | MUNDHONGA = Koondee | NGOOGAIEE |
| Baadeemaia | Ngurdeemaia | Baadeemaia | A Yal-Baadeemaia |
| (Kokkai of Dongara) | (from S. of Dongara) | N.C. | (namesake of the North-ampton man) |
| ran away with JAN-GARA) | | | Baadeemaia |
| | | | INDEEMURRA Baadeemaia |
| | | | |
| | | | "NIPPA" Baadeemaia |
| EEREE | | | |
| Ngurdeemaia | | | |
| dead | | | |

(The term Yallindhurra means "north", and shows the line or road that the Yarragoodharra Baadeemaia went for their wives.)

AN ILLIMBIRREE PEDIGREE

AKKALOO = Wippinya
 Weelanyoo Weelanyoo

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| MARDOOWALYEE or NYOONEEMURRA | Koojeeree | OOGOOTHARRA | Woorilba | Billeea |
| Weelanyoo | Weelanyoo | Munnagurdee | Ngurdeemaia | Nunna-gurdee |

(The difference in the descent of the children is owing to their having been adopted into the various classes or born in the separate districts. The Champion Bay district had been settled by the whites in the early forties, and with white settlement, the breaking up of the tribelets began.)

The 2nd and 3rd generations of these people are either half-caste or are mixed with the circumcised tribes eastward and northeastward of them.

From revised version

MSS. P. 143 Retyped page 77

Brown

"The Aggardee and Wattardee....."

This is very obscure

MSS. P. 144 Retyped page 78

Dongara Pedigree (and also names in preceding paragraph) :

Brown

These are names of tribes or sub-tribes.

D.M.B.

That cannot be definitely asserted unless these people are personally investigated.

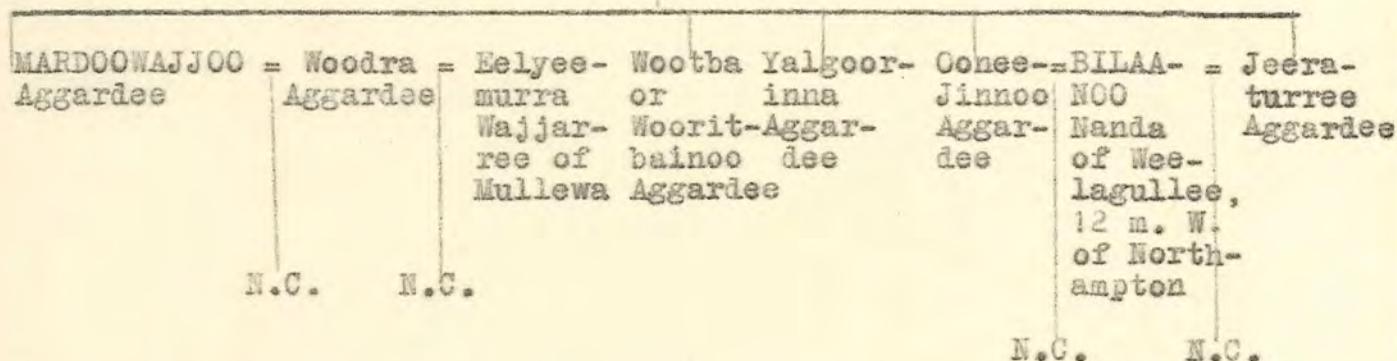
*White civilization + white intrusion
all along the coastal areas
interfered with all the native
laws.*

Additions, etc.

Wattandee or O'pee
coast local name

A MOONONOOKA PEDIGREE

EEBING'AKKOO = Booro'ngooroo
 Boorong Aggardee
 (A Wattardee "coast man"
 from north, adopted and
 circumcised into Aggardee
 tribe.)



The Aggardee and Wattardee have certainly the four divisions of the coastal and inland northern group, but whether they follow the marriage laws of the Murchison division or the northern coastal division, could not be ascertained. It may be assumed, however, that both Aggardee and Wattardee represent the coastal and inland people, otherwise the circumcised and uncircumcised divisions, and these people who intermarried with the isolated tribelets adopted the general name; as for instance, a Wattardee man (uncircumcised) who has entered the Nanda territory, obtained a Nanda woman, and is asked to remain with her people, becomes a Nanda, his children also are Nanda. If, however, he takes the woman amongst his own people, he returns to his own class, and the woman enters his marrying class. This adoption of the Wattardee man into the Nanda tribelet was rendered possible by his being an uncircumcised man. When, however, an adoption of some of the Nanda, Nunnagurdee or other tribelets took place into the eastern or circumcised districts, no permanent return into their own districts was possible, as all these tribelets were uncircumcised. Circumcision had, however, reached within twenty miles of Geraldton when the white people settled in that district.

From revised version

MSS. P. 146 Retyped page 78

Winjaroo - last line - "His dark colour brings him into
the Ballarruk division of the South.

Brown

Is he a Ballarruk? *He would be if he went South
among the Southern natives.*

D.M.B.

Yes.

P. 79

A Wardooraing Pedigree

Brown

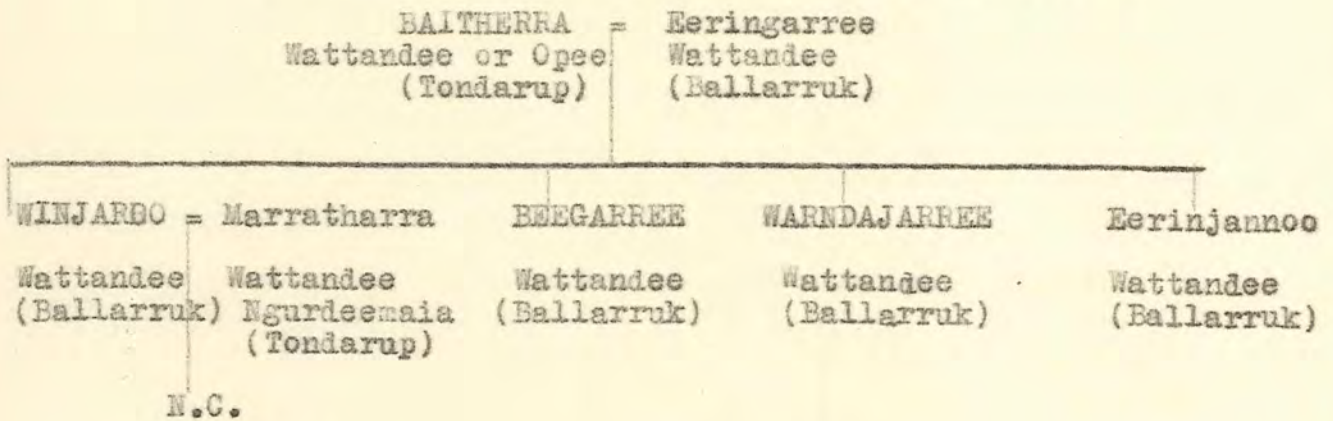
Male descent of totem?

D.M.B.

Yes.

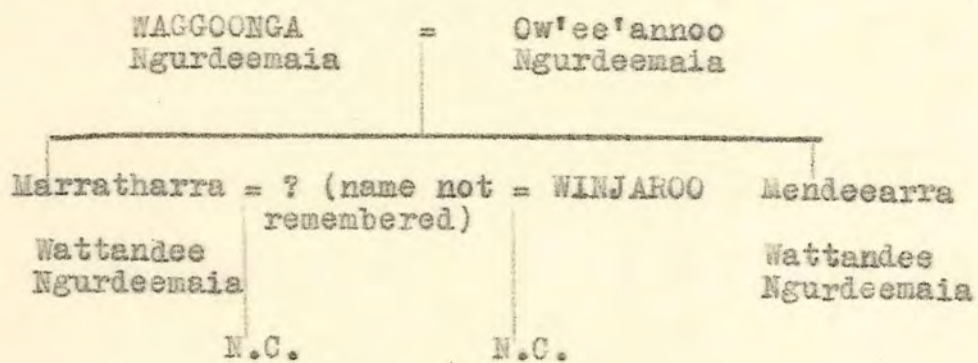
In the following pedigrees the "mixture" of the various classes is shown :-

A DONGARA PEDIGREE (Mixed with S.W. Division)

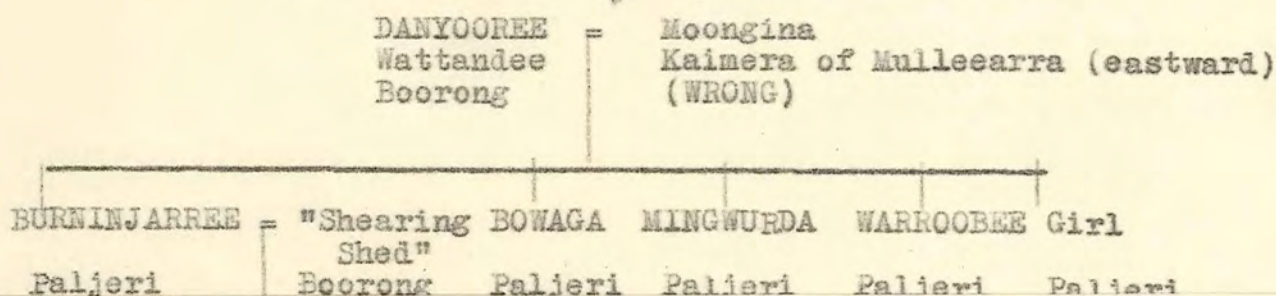


(both very old)

Marratharra was a Ngurdeemaia from the district south of Dongara; she had been married to a Ngurdeemaia man, previous to her marriage with WINJAROO. Her pedigree is as follows :-



WINJAROO is deaf and dumb, but he may not have been born so, as he can imitate the bleat of a sheep, the "moo" of a cow and so on. He is an exceedingly intelligent old man, not only knowing every one of the old cattle brands in the district, but also being able to draw these in the sand, and to imitate any little peculiarity the owners of these brands may possess, in order to make known their identity. WINJAROO can trace the word "Dummy" in the sand with his finger or in a book with the aid of a pencil. His dark colour brings him into the Ballarruk division of the South.

A YANDANOOKA AND ARRINO PEDIGREE (mixed)

Marginal note from III 2 e, P. 19

Winjarroo is ngabbaree to Barningarree.

Maratharra is Barningarree's woman

Winjarroo has married wrong.

Aijerree = Mother-in-law

P. 21

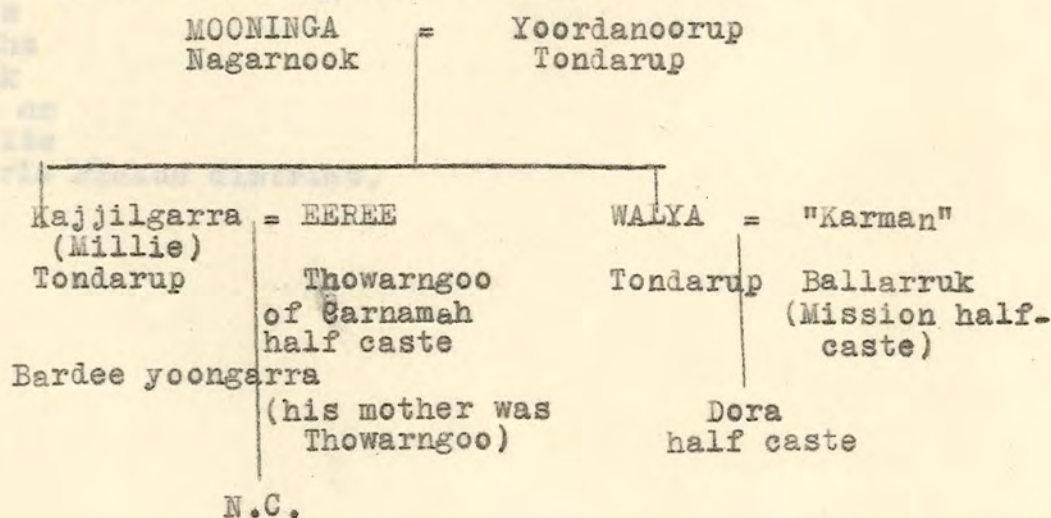
Nyangoong or Nyangung is the name given to the natives between Yandanooka, Three Springs and Arrino and south of Arrino. They are Thowarngoo.

Yinnandee, Balgomain's mother is Moolleearra, but they are called Mungamunoo.

Miller says they go mungamunoo when they die.

Jindal, f., Thowarngoo, near Carnamah. All her people were Thowarngoo.

At Yandanooka and Mingenew they are all Ngardeemaia.

WILGANMAIA (Berkshire Valley)

From revised version

MSS. P. 148 Retyped page 80

A Jeeberding or Mulleearra Pedigree

Brown

Female descent of class and totem.

These genealogies should go elsewhere.

Additions, etc.

Batteega - local name for Wajari tribe

P. 149

Brown

Tribes (?)

D.M.B.

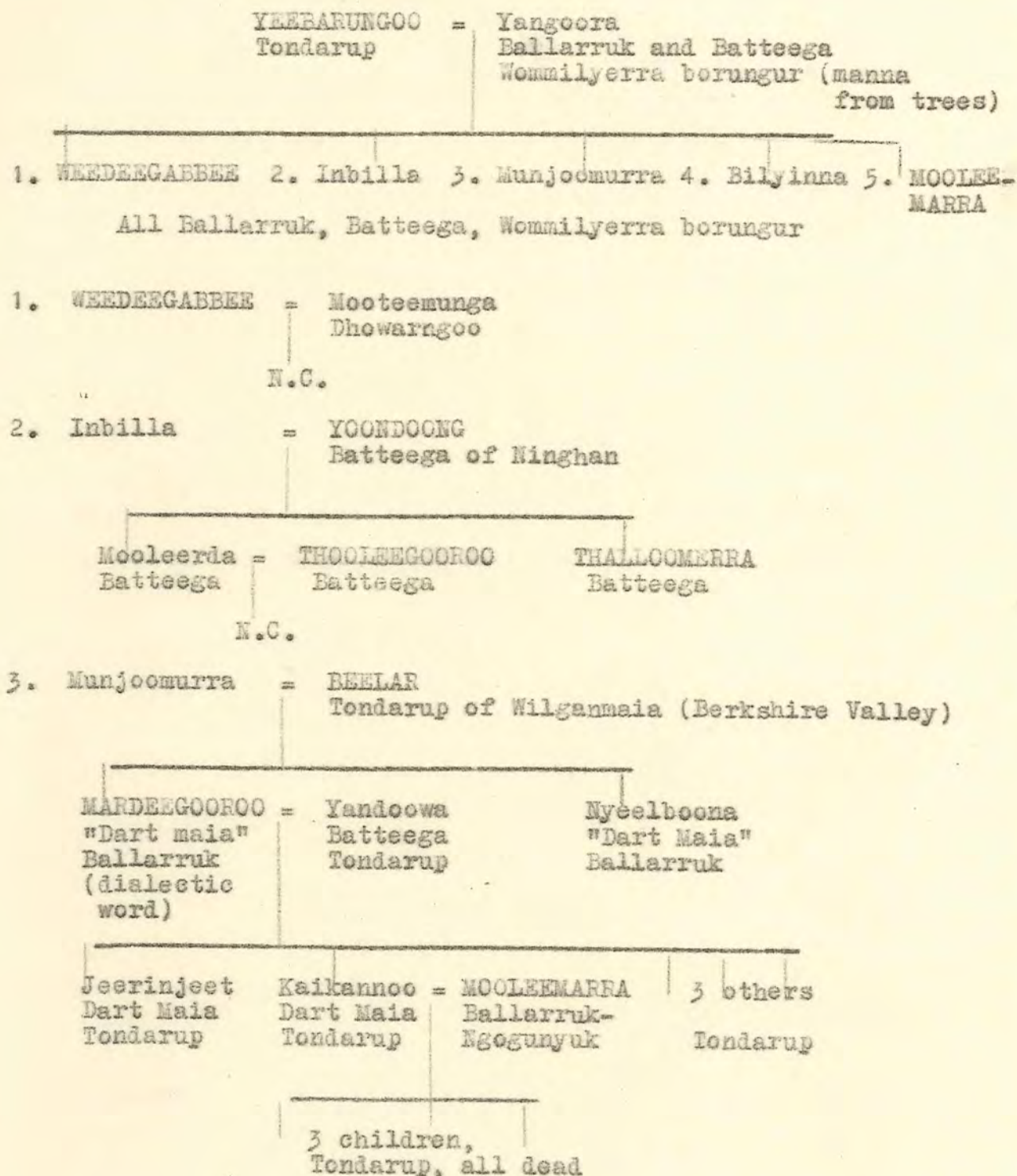
Yes.

Last par.

The Yangura in the Victoria Plains district are between.....

(addition)

A JEEBERDING OR MULLEEARA PEDIGREE
(E. of Berkshire Valley)



MOOLEEMARRA was a namesake of Kaikannoo's "granduncle". Kaikannoo having been born in the Victoria Plains district was a Yangura woman, the people of that district being so called from their dialectic word "yanga" or "yonga" = to go. The Yangura are between the Batteega and Wajjarree people, and have the four Southern Class Divisions with however one change in nomenclature only - that of Jirdajuk in place of Nagarnook. Their district is confined to Mogumbur, Nyeerrgoe, Waioning and New Norcia; outside of these places the class term Nagarnook is used.

to look for her, and following her tracks, they reached the spot where her dead body lay. They saw the boongana's tracks also, and knew that he had killed her. When the boongana found that they had discovered the woman, he put her ngarree (skeleton, spirit, ghost) on his shield, with karraul (white pipeclay) and waited for the girl's avengers. He had no other weapon. When they arrived at his camp, the boongana went into a clear place, taking his shield with him. Several of the girl's relatives had appointed themselves avengers, and one by one they threw spears, clubs, lanjee (boomerangs) at the boongana, but none of their weapons struck him, all being turned aside by the ngarree on the shield, and by that token they knew the young man was innocent, and that the girl only was to blame, and the parties became friendly again.

After his final initiation the young man is then eligible for marriage. Sometimes sisters will be exchanged between two young men who are brothers-in-law to each other, but this condition of affairs presupposes three things: 1. That the mothers of each brother and sister will have been made tharloo to the young people at an early age. 2. That the fathers of both the young men have a sufficient number of wives, and are not desirous of increasing their marital responsibilities, for the "fathers" and "uncles" have the first right of disposal of their daughters and "nieces" and unless they forego this right, the young people are powerless. 3. That in the event of the marriage arrangements being entered into at some large gathering, neither of the young women will have been previously betrothed to some one else, and also that the older relations to be consulted are present at the exchange of sisters. All these conditions obtaining, the young man secures his wife quietly, and there is no further trouble. In the case of infant betrothals, the husband must wait until the girl has reached the age of puberty, before mentioned. It sometimes happens that this period arrives at a very early age, and this accounts for the apparently extreme juvenility of some young native wives, but native law compels the man, old or young as he may be, to

wait until such time has passed. I remember a case occurring during my visit with Bishop Gibney to Beagle Bay. A very young girl who appeared to be little more than a child of nine years of age was married by the Bishop to a grey old man, apparently old enough to be her grandfather. I questioned the humanity of such an act, and was referred to the girl's mother, who told me that not only had her daughter reached the age of puberty reckoned by native custom, but although several younger men wanted her, she herself had set her affections on the old man, and would have no other. The couple shortly afterwards left the Mission, and went to Derby (on the coast of King Sound) where the young wife died in the first year of her marriage.

The wife is not the relation, but the property of her husband. A man may do what he pleases with his wife; he may exchange her for another, or for a few weapons or implements; he may give her away to a brother; he may ill-treat her to the point of death and no member of his tribe will interfere, unless he attempted to kill her, when, if the fact is ascertained before-hand, his own relations will interfere on the ground that they, as well as he, will be held responsible by the woman's own relations for her death, but if he kills her in a sudden fit of passion, unless her people take up the quarrel, the husband is not punished. It must be said that native husbands as a rule are not unkind to their wives. There have even been cases known of a native being as much henpecked by his wives as any Mr. Caudle of civilised life. Mrs. Millet, wife of one of the first rectors of York, mentions in her book (*An Australian Parsonage*, P. 186) the case of a black friend of hers who was played upon by his womenkind, and made to fetch and carry for them, and who at length was deserted by them and left to fend for himself. It is however a very poor specimen of native who allows himself to be "henpecked", as if he does he is only an object of contempt to everyone in camp.

In most of the Southern districts, native law ordained that when a baby was born, the father of the child was not to resume marital relations with the woman "until the baby laughed". The father also is never allowed near the woman when her baby is about to be born. Should a native break the law and try to resume relations with his wife before the stipulated period had passed, he was mocked and jeered at so much by the women, that his brothers speared him in anger for the ridicule and contempt that he excited amongst their women. He was furthermore unable from that time to hunt with success, nor could he ever again dodge any spears that might be thrown at him. The jeers and mockery are "sung" at the man by the women. It was thought "unclean" for any man to have marital relations with his wife either during her menstrual periods or immediately after the birth of her child.

When a young girl reached her first menstrual period she was taken some distance away from the camp, and/^{her mother}remained with her daughter until the period had passed. If any grandmother of the girl was living near the home camp, the young girl went to the camp of her grandmother and remained there.

This period is always known, for the women are obliged to keep apart from their husbands and menkind, and camp by themselves. The men must never venture near the women's fire at this time. In the Southern districts, a soft species of blood-coloured gum oozes from the trunk and branches of the red-gum tree during certain seasons. At these times these trees are carefully avoided by the men, who think there is some similarity between the gum tree at this period and a woman during menstruation.

Should Southern babies take a long time in learning to walk, their grandmother obtained four little sticks, trimmed them smoothly, and then placing one under each knee and one inside the crook of each elbow, she broke the one after the other. If the child screamed loudly during the process, then it would soon be able to walk, as the magic that kept it from walking went away in the cry. If the baby made no noise the charm took longer to work. Karr-burt was the name given in the South to this ceremony which could

be performed only by the grandmother. It was also believed in the South that unless the jerragurt or jeeragurt (little black lizard) bit the edge of the infants' tongues, they would never be able to speak. The grandmother performed this ceremony also.

In the Southern districts and also in some parts of the Northern coast, if a young man showed a quiet disposition, and took no notice of young girl or women, he did not have his nose pierced at initiation, but if the young women "laughed and made eyes" at him and he returned their pleasantries, his nose was pierced, and after the piercing came isolation from womenkind, as he would then be going through the serious part of his initiation.

Some old Southern women, who, by virtue of having lived to a good old age, and borne many sons and daughters, became of influence in their tribe, and were designated "yogga biderr" (strong or great women; beadee = vein, strength). Occasionally a ceremony was performed whereby their importance and influence were formally confirmed. This ceremony, called "moonyoo" in some of the Southern dialects, consisted of an interchange of presents between the yogga biderr and one or more of her contemporaries among the older men. The ceremony was usually performed at some big gathering - initiation, wanna wa, manja boming, or, perhaps at one huge ceremony combining all these. The privileges conferred upon the women were a continuous and plentiful supply of food, clothing, shelter, and fire, by the younger members amongst her relatives, and immunity from capture by "raiders". She was also henceforth sacred from revenge in a tribal fight, but she was powerful in stirring her people up to fight against offending outside tribes and she was equally privileged to allay family feuds within the tribe, and other quarrels. If family feuds arose and a fight was anticipated, the yogga biderr could go into the midst of the combatants and disarm them of their spears and other fighting weapons, and her harangues, either directed towards war or peace,

were always listened to with respect. As she was generally supposed to possess magic power, she was sometimes consulted as to the favourableness or otherwise of a hunting expedition and was also frequently requested to "smoke" the "bulya" or magic out of a dog or spear after an unsuccessful day's hunt. A falling leaf, a twig unaccountably snapping, a bird's voice, a tiny whirlwind - the slightest movement of nature at these moments had significance for the yogga biderr and she was able to prophecy a success or failure at will in any matter placed before her. Balbuk, the last Perth native, was held, even in these civilised days, to possess magic, and to be able to work evil upon those who offended her. She was certainly yogga biderr, and even when she lay dying, outside her hut on the Native Reserve, the remnant of her distant relations who were compelled by fear of magic to call and offer their little gifts to her, were careful to blow away with constant little whiffs, any magic which she might be projecting in their direction. A Gigin district bulyaguttuk (sorcerer) who was also on the Reserve offered his services, but Balbuk felt that her own powers being superior to the other's, if she could not obtain her own recovery with them, no one else could, and so the offer was rejected.

Although half-caste children were not killed in the South West, they were not received as affectionately as the native babies, and in quarrels between the women, a half-caste woman has been contemptuously spoken to as follows :- "Nyinning koorga ngan'gal boojur-al-akwerdij murramuk noonda maruk bur-rong nabburdong eej," (sitting down your mother dropped you on the ground, and left you, and granny had to pick you up in her hand, and she carried you and covered you up in her bag.

Names were exchanged during the big gatherings that frequently took place. Two men, standing in the relation of brother-in-law to each other exchanged names and totems with each other. These men were henceforth called babbin or koo-bong. A woman and man, also relations-in-law, exchanged names

BABBINGUR

A most pathetic instance of the pledged "Babbin" friendship between young men, brothers-in-law, came before me in the 1900's.

Two young Babbingur were often to be met with between the Palinup, Salt and other rivers flowing into the Southern sea. Their young betrothed wives had fallen to the lure of civilisation, and the law of the white man was powerless in the matter; or perhaps the young babbingur did not wish to hold their lawful wives by force, the wife being the sister of his babbin.

So they wandered round and about their familiar areas, working for the white man when work was to be had. Sometimes the white man had work for one only, and then the other babbin rested near by, as they could not contemplate separation from each other. When the white man abused the idle man, telling him to go and work elsewhere, the young worker quietly dropped his tools and the babbingur moved on again, their circle ever narrowing through the white man's unconscious encroachments.

Then a day came when the younger of the two lay down. By the Palinup River he died, and his friend dug his grave beside the river and buried his babbin there and mourned for him without ceasing.

He did not light the usual corpse fire (beemb) between the grave and his little shelter. How could he fear the kaanya (spirit of the newly dead) of his friend whom he so loved? The two young men had become alike in face and temperament during their long close friendship into which it might be said their very souls were merged, so that it seemed to be a part of himself that was buried with his beloved babbin.

For a very long while he wandered and crept round and about the area where mayhap the spirit of his friend was also lingering and wailing for him. Then one day beside the grave by the Palinup River the forlorn babbin laid himself down.

Most surely the spirit of his loved friend came to him in his last moments, and the two young souls joyfully went their way through the great sea on whose farthest western shore lay Kurannup, the Heaven of all Bibbulmun.

Although half-caste children were not killed in the South West, they were not received as affectionately as the native babies, and in quarrels between the women, a half-caste woman has been contemptuously spoken to as follows :- "Nyinning koorga ngan'gal boojur-al-akwerdij murramuk noonda maruk burrong nabburdong eej," (sitting down your mother dropped you on the ground, and left you, and granny had to pick you up in her hand, and she carried you and covered you up in her bag.

Names were exchanged during the big gatherings that frequently took place. Two men, standing in the relation of brother-in-law to each other exchanged names and totems with each other. These men were henceforth called babbin or koobong. A woman and man, also relations-in-law, exchanged names and became koobong to each other, but these could never marry each other, as male and female koobong guttuk or babbin guttuk must not marry. Ngoorweel, a Guildford Ballarruk, changed his name with Joobaitch, a Northam Tondarup woman, and neither of them ever afterwards was called by any other name than their babbin names. Ngoorweel and Joobaitch could not marry each other after having become babbinguttuk.

In the Busselton district, the mother and father could make their girl babies dajjeluk (infant betrothal). At some gatherings the father may call the young man who has been chosen for a son-in-law and say to him, pointing to the baby, "This is yours." From that time, the young begins to pay attention to his future parents-in-law.

In the Southern Cross districts, if a woman is very hungry or thirsty, a man will sometimes open a vein in his arm and give her his blood to drink, but should he be very thirsty, and his woman happens to be nursing a baby at the time, he will drink the milk from the mother's breasts and continue drinking until a waterhole has been reached, or water has been obtained in some manner, the baby meanwhile either dies from starvation or is killed by the father. When a newly born baby is killed for some reason, the husband will frequently drink the milk from the other's breasts.

Amazing
(Lang)

Amongst the women of the Wagin district, when their hour of labour approached, they made a hollow in the sand, and placed a fire in the hollow. When the fire had burnt down and while the sand was still warm, the expectant mother sat, knelt or lay within the hollow and the child when born was rolled in the warm sand and ashes.

The placenta is buried or burnt by one of the older women present, and shortly after the birth of her child, the mother will be seen moving about the camp. A coastal or river woman will sometimes keep the navel's string of a boy baby, until the child has grown into a youth. It will then be either thrown into the water, buried or burnt; its retention is supposed to ensure the boy becoming a strong man and a good swimmer. A big navel denotes a strong man generally.

Births are usually attended by one or two old women, but a birth has not infrequently occurred when changing camp, and when this happens the woman turns aside into the bush, and gives birth to the baby, resting for an hour or two and then proceeding with her journey. Parturition has been assisted in some of the northern districts by a string being tied tightly round the abdomen, or a branch of a tree, or projecting root of some kind will be held by the woman in labour. A kneeling position, or half kneeling, half sitting, or a position on all-fours, all these will be assumed by women in labour. The baby, if it is to live, is rubbed over with ashes, dust or charcoal and placed in the wooden scoop of the Northern women and in the kangaroo skin bag of the Southern women. The colour of a newly born baby is a beautiful bronze, or shining chocolate which becomes rather cloudy after a time, but if the child belongs to sea-coast people and is of cleanly habits, the skin retains its chocolate tinge and glistens in the sunlight like burnished bronze. I have seen newly born babies on the North West coast whose skin was a sort of mottled tinge, having a lighter and darker shade, the darker tint eventually covering the whole body.

Northern girls ripen earlier than their Southern sisters, and sometimes they begin to bear children when very young. One very young girl gave birth to a baby after days of prolonged labour, and whether it was fear of the young life to which she had given birth, or revenge for the pain it had caused her, whatever the reason, the infant was no sooner born than the mother caught hold of her wampan and beat its little life out.

A woman is not avoided by her husband during pregnancy. Her husband may have intercourse with her any time up to the birth of the infant, but north and south a certain time must elapse after the infant's birth before marital relations are resumed, the period not being so long in the north as in the South. There is very little, if any, change in the food of the mother either before or after parturition, except that after the birth of the child she does not eat much flesh food for a little time, confining herself to roots, seed and fish, if she is a coast woman. A young opossum may however be brought to her which will be readily eaten. A barren woman was often exchanged for a few weapons.

In the Northern districts where the belief in spirit children obtains, if a spirit child came to the man and a very long time passed without his wife carrying the baby, he either sent her back to her people, repudiated her altogether, exchanged her, or killed her. Birthmarks were not infrequent - berrgen, "it came of itself" - is the Gingin term applied to them. In cases of malformation it depends upon circumstances whether the child is allowed to live or is killed. In a creek north of the Broome district, two Kaimera women went out fishing one afternoon, and one of them caught a very curious looking fish. They returned with it to the camp and showed it to their husbands. The men looked at the fish, which was of a babbagoona (a kind of burnt sienna) colour, and of a species they had never seen before, and when the woman who had caught the fish cut it open, it looked "so like a baby" that they would not eat it. Shortly afterwards the husband of one of the women (not the one who had caught the fish) dreamed he was beside the creek where the fish

had been caught and a spirit baby came to him and followed him to his camp and went into his wife's mouth, and sometimes afterwards his wife began to carry it. When the baby was born, it was not only the same colour as the fish which the woman had caught, but it had also a cut down its breast bone and along its stomach similar to the cut the woman had made in the fish. The baby only lived a very short time, being neglected by its mother who was frightened of the unknown and consequently magic marking.

In the York district, when a certain little bird was heard crying near a camp, the women called it the gang'il'yung jeda or "baby bird", and if they wanted a baby they shouted to the bird, and the baby went inside their mouths. Beebeen wonga, or kokkeep wonga - baby bird talking - were the remarks that greeted the bird's voice.

In the Fraser Range district, there were one or two families some of whose members had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot; not all the members of the family were born with this peculiarity. R. Helms photographed one of these women whom he had met during his journey across W.A. with the Elder Exploring Expedition, and inquiries amongst the Fraser Range natives elicited the fact that the woman's brother was similarly deformed, and also some of the members of her mother's sisters' and father's brothers' families.

In the Wallal district I saw a hermaphrodite amongst the full blooded natives assembled there, the upper part of the body being a perfectly developed woman's shape, while the lower half (genitalia, etc.) was that of an imperfectly developed man. In the same district a man had grown to about six feet in height, but the upper part of his body, his chest and stomach, were those of a small boy. The man was very far gone in consumption when I came upon him. Wallal is on the Ninety Mile Beach, and the desert natives frequently assemble on that part of the coast for a change of food.

The mother nurses her child for two or three years, sometimes longer, the nature of the bush food and its unsuitability as infant diet rendering this custom absolutely necessary.

Should another infant be born while the suckling of the previous one is still in progress, the newly arrived baby is generally strangled unless the elder one has become emaciated through drinking its mother's milk during her pregnancy, in which case the elder is neglected for the younger, and rapidly pines away and dies, unless by some fortuitous circumstance a seed food suitable to its tender years is in season, when it will share in the harvest and will probably survive.

Southern babies, if born in the cold weather, are wrapped in a kangaroo skin or opossum skin cloak, usually the former, as the opossum fur is more generally used for making string; at other times of the year the baby is put in the goota or skin bag. In the north no clothing is worn, either by the mother or baby.

The average number of children to each family may be four or five, very seldom more, that is, the progeny of one man and woman, but it is very rarely that all a woman's children will arrive at maturity. Polygamy being universal, a man may have from two to twenty wives. Accidents, infantile ailments, unsuitability of native foods for infants, all these take their part in keeping down the numbers in a family, and excepting half-castes, who are in some instances exceedingly prolific, there were rarely more than two or three children belonging to one man and woman in any of the numerous camps visited. Yoolyeenan, a Southern half-caste woman, had thirteen children. Many of these have died, and many of the progeny of those that have survived died before their childhood is passed. Another Bunbury half-caste woman, who was reared at the New Norcia R.C. Mission had some fifteen children, most of whom died. Both these women were Tondarups and had Tondarup mothers, grandmothers, etc.

It was a Waning custom (S.W.) that when a little baby died, the father sometimes cut out its heart, cooked it and gave it to the baby's mother to eat. The mother, after having eaten her baby's heart, did not cry so much for her child, her sorrow being lessened by eating its heart.

The mother's affection for her child is sometimes as intense as in the most devoted of European mothers. Children are never punished. A man will beat his wife for chastising her child, and I have seen a little boy pick up a handful of sand and throw it into his mother's open eyes, his father and uncles laughing at the trick.

Many mothers in the Kimberley district will carry even the corpses of their dead children about with them, the stench of the decaying body from which the mother never parts by night or day, eventually causing her own death. Sometimes a little corpse will be placed in an old anthill, and when the woman returns to that district, she will go to the anthill and collect the bones of her little child, and will not infrequently construct the little skeleton as she sits by her camp fire, crying and mourning the while. Bones of dead infants have been carried about for years by their mothers, and often when a dead woman's camp has been overhauled, a little bark bundle containing the bones of her little baby will be found carefully stowed away. Yet these Northern and West Kimberley women have often eaten their own babies! One woman whom I saw at Disaster Bay Creek had killed and eaten three of her own children!

Bishop Salvado related that once in the New Norcia district a young mother who had lost her child heard one of the single note birds calling in the twilight. Believing it to be her baby's voice, she rushed from the camp in the direction of the voice, answering her baby by her cries as she fled. She was found next morning many miles away from her camping ground, having followed the voice until she became exhausted.

East of Roeburne it is stated that the women made a rough ring of spinifex gum, which they gave to their babies when teething. They softened the gum with the aid of fire, and shaped it roughly, closing the two ends.

In the southern districts there were certain "standing stones" and rocks which were called bwaia koolongur (bwaia = stone or rock, koolongur = children) "where the little children sat down". Children's voices could be plainly heard in the vicinity of these stones, and the Perth natives stated that when women wanted a baby they passed near the stone, and one of the little babies sometimes went into them. If the baby did not come, it was because the women had been mootchoo (committed adultery). One of these bwaia koolongur was to be seen some distance off the old Perth-York Road. The place of the stone was winnaitch (forbidden) at all other times, and men always made a considerable detour when passing the vicinity of the bwaia koolongur. Certain trees were also supposed to contain the spirits of babies, in the same manner as the babies' stone. The babies from both trees and stone went into the woman either through her navel or through her mouth.

W.H. Cusack of the Tableland district, Nor'West, mentioned a belief among the native women of the district, that their babies were the incarnation of the spirit kangaroo, emu or whatever other meat food they had taken just before their first sickness in pregnancy. The spirit of the animal or bird had entered into them and had become a baby. Both the district and the animal belonged to the baby when born, no matter where the place of its birth might eventually be.

There is a Wonnerup legend (S.W.) according to which the kallal or killal (sergeant ant) is a demma goomber greatgrandparent (ancestor) and always tries to kill the little babies. The jerragurt - little black lizard, also a demma goomber - is however always at hand to save the children. According to my native informants, the baby first comes to the mother's brother's thigh, and it calls out to him, "I want my father and mother." The kallal hears the baby crying and calling and says to it, "Come closer, come closer, I can't hear you," (yoolin yoolin burt warran, nganya jeeda yowern bowern abbain) and the baby, thinking that father and mother are speaking, replies, "Ngammana ngaiana koorija yennain," (father, mother,

directly I'm coming), but the baby cannot see where it is going and again cries out, "I don't know where I'm going. I must get ready for father and mother." The kallal says, "Come closer, come closer, I cannot hear you," and when the baby is within reach of him, the kallal picks up his dowuk and hits the baby on his head, and the hole that is in all the babies' heads is the hole the kallal made. It is called walamat, and must not be touched. Sometimes the kallal will not only kill the baby but will cut it up in little pieces, and then the jerragurt comes and picking up all the little pieces, he cries out while he puts them together, "Demma goomber goo, demma goomber goo, meelee doona ginjee," (great grandfathers, great grandparents, all you old Doonan people do the same by and by.) Boolga (hair), mara (hands), mara beera (nails), mara ngaia (hand mother = thumb), karo eejeega (all put together again).

The jerragurt or birarr as it is sometimes called, is supposed by the Gingin natives to have formed the generative organ is man, the yemerr, another species of small black lizard making the women's organ. Hence the birarr is the moorurt (relation) of the men, while the yemerr is the women's moorurt. If a child died in the Gingin district, the mother sometimes collected a few small boughs in the vicinity of the grave, and tying these in a little bundle, she placed them in her goota (skin bag). The boughs were supposed to contain the kajjeen (spirit) of the dead child, and wherever the mother camped she took the bundle out of the goota and placed it beside her. This was done until the body had become skeletonised, a period generally "guessed". Then one day the woman lights a fire when a westerly wind was blowing and the kajjeen contained in the boughs was supposed to go away in the smoke westward over the sea, where all the dead natives go. The boughs were left on the ground or burnt, for they no longer held the spirit of the child.

In the Broome district, if a coast native married an inland woman, the children went into the mother's tribe, and if an inland man married a coast woman, the children belonged to the coastal tribes.

Jilling-jilling is the Broome name for the spirit of a dead baby which goes inside its mother and bites and tears her until either the jalngangooocoo (native doctor - sorcerer) takes it out or the mother dies. Weerra ngeeringa nilerr - no good, showing sharp teeth, is what is said when the spirit of this baby is seen. It is thin to attenuation, having clawlike fingers and exceedingly sharp teeth. Its desire is to make its mother jooarree (dead) like itself.

The belief that procreation has nothing to do with conception is general throughout the State, all babies "coming from outside". In the South the baby is supposed to come first to the thigh of the woman's brother and from there it enters her through her mouth. The mother's brother sometimes dreams that the baby comes and sits on his thigh and then goes to its future mother. If the dream occurred in Bunbury, or some distant district belonging to the man's own relations or relations-in-law, the child has an interest in such district from this circumstance, but it belongs to the place of its birth in the South, that is, if it is born in Gingin, and is a boy, a Gingin brother-in-law will have charge of the boy when "beedawa" (initiation) time comes.

In the Northern coastal districts, particularly along the Ninety Mile Beach, Broome, Beagle Bay, Sunday Island, etc., all babies are supposed to come from jimbin (under the ground). Every baby is at first a ngargalul or spirit child, whose home is jimbin, and jimbin is underneath both land and sea. Jimbin is in all respects similar to the surface of the ground, with springs, seed, roots, game and everything else that grows on the surface, and it has seas as well, in which are fish of all kinds, but it is ngargalula country only, and no one but a ngargalul can come from jimbin. This belief is so curious, and so general amongst the natives of the districts above mentioned that their statements are given verbatim, as it is believed the interest in the subject will thereby be heightened. Jimbin is the home of the ngargalul, or spirit babies, but no ngargalul has ever returned to jimbin after it has once left it, for when the ngargalul is born and grows, it ceases to be a ngargalul and is a boy or girl as the case may be, and when that boy or girl dies its spirit goes to Loomurn, which is westward over the sea, where all the coastal natives go when they die. These ngargalul can be seen by jalngangooroo at any time, playing about in their own country or at the bottom of the sea, or on the beach. The ngargalul that come in dreams to the sea coast men are lamma nalma (white haired), but they change their colour while the women are carrying them. If a man

dreams of a ngargalul and his wife does not carry it, he repudiates her, for the ngargalul having come to him should have gone to his woman who must carry it, and if therefore he thinks the baby ought to be born and is not, then it must be because it did not like the woman and would not go to her. There is no definite time between the dream and the appearance of the real baby, and any of a man's wives may carry it, but if a man has but one woman and a, to him, lengthy time elapses and no baby comes, then it is the woman's fault.

Again, if the man has not dreamed that a ngargalul came to him, and his woman gives birth to a baby, he believes that baby is not his, that it does not belong to him, that it did not come to him and therefore must have come to some other man, and then his task is to find out to whom the ngargalul came, and when he has made the discovery, either by himself or with the aid of a jalngangooroo, the man who sent the ngargalul to his woman is either speared or, if of the proper marrying class, the woman is handed over to him. No woman can dream of a ngargalul, her province being to nurse and carry the ngargalul. The ngargalul retains the "spirit state" or, as the natives say, remains a ngargalul until it begins to talk, when the natives all know that the ngargalul has merged into the boy, when it is "no more ngargalul". When the ngargalul comes to the man in his dreams, it speaks to him in his own dialect, and it usually cries and follows him to his home from the place where he has dreamed it came to him. Again, ngargalul can only come to the man who has a ranjee. What is a ranjee? A dream? boogarree is the equivalent for dream in the districts mentioned; a spirit? soul? spirit double? astral body? dream spirit? dream ancestor? yamminga is the term for all ancestors. Ranjee may be any of these, for it is an intangible something possessed by a man without which he will always be as unknown to the ngargalul as they will be to him. There are apparently three kinds of ranjee.

1. that which a man possesses "inside of him" which renders it possible for him to dream of ngargalul and so have children.

2. ranjee or spirit of the lightning, which is both male and female.
3. ranjee which haunt certain trees and which keep guard over certain totems. These ranjee are the spirits of dead natives who instead of going to Loomurn have returned to their country and keep watch and punish and do the bidding of the jalngangooroo of their own people. Only jalngangooroo can see the two last ranjee, but the first ranjee, which is inside a man, cannot be seen. There are men who are closely related to each other, some of whom have these ranjee and consequently children, while others have no ranjee and therefore no children. Only those who have fulfilled native laws appear to have ranjee.

The ranjee booroo or ground is kalboo - above the ground, the ngargalul-booroo is jimbin - below the ground. The ngargalula ground is dream ground only, while the ranjee ground is real country. The ranjee ground is avoided, because it is forbidden ground, but the ngargalul ground is walked over always.

If two ngargalul, a boy and a girl, come to a man in his dreams, one of these only will go into the woman, the boy usually, and some time afterwards the girl may come to see her brother, and may probably go into another wife of the same man.

Ngargalul can only be said to be ancestral spirits in the sense of having been placed in their country, jimbin, by yamminga ancestors. Yamminga put the ngargalul underneath the ground, along the coast, into the caves and rocks, and also into the country beneath the sea, where there is bush, and game and ground to walk on, but so far as investigation has gone, the ngargalul are not the re-incarnation of any yamminga. Where the ngargalul first came to the yamminga the natives cannot say, the ngargalul have always been jimbin, and there were ngargalul in yamminga times. As soon as the ngargalul grow into the boy or girl they can never go to jimbin again. The spirits of dead children or adults linger for a period round the spot where they died, but eventually they all go to Loomurn, with the exception of the ranjee who come back to certain spots on their own ground, and also the spirits of some yamminga people who went into the ground or were

Every ngargalul knows its own class etc.

This is like Strehlow's Arunta (Lang)

No, it is not. It is the belief of the Broome district natives & others within the area, & has always been the belief of these people. The Arunta (Arrunda, correct name) class divisions & marriage laws are similar to those of Broome, but the ngargalula belief belongs to Broome only. I have found the full ngargalula belief in no other group.

turned into stone. These will be dealt with later; they are mentioned here in order to show that the native belief does not rest in the re-incarnation of spirit ancestors, but that the ngargalul or spirit babies have been placed in their present ground in period long antecedent to what the northern natives call "yamminga times". In this respect they differ materially from the Arunta spirit individuals in Spencer and Gillen's work.

Every ngargalul knows its own class and that of the man to whom it comes in dreams. It has frequently happened that a ngargalul has come to a man who is not its proper class father, it will belong perhaps to that of his wife's brother or some other class. For instance, a Paljeri man one day lay down in the shade to sleep and a ngargalul came to him. He said to the ngargalul, "Who is your father?" "Kaimera," replied the ngargalul, "I am Boorong." The ngargalul however followed the Paljeri man home and went into his wife, but when it was born it went into its proper class by birth, which was Banaka, its father being Paljeri and its mother Kaimera. When the baby, a boy, had reached the balgal stage (3rd stage of initiation) the Paljeri man met a "brother-in-law", a Kaimera, at the gathering, and said to him, "That is your boy; I stole him when he was ngargalul, he followed me home." The Kaimera man from that time onward took a special interest in the boy, and the boy having been told the circumstance of his change of class, was particularly attentive in the matter of presents to his Kaimera kogga (uncle).

The ngargalul knows its own booroo - ground, when it is ngargalul only; when it becomes a baby it knows nothing. As the boys or girls grow up, their fathers tell them where their own "booroo" is and also what their totems are, for wherever the father has seen the ngargalul in his dreams, that booroo is the boy's or girl's booroo, and whatever totems may be seen in the vicinity of the ngargalul, those are its own ngargalul totems only. The ngargalul will either show its totem to its father in the dream ground, or the father will see the totem near the ngargalul.

Beejee, a Banaka from Weerraginmarree (a creek north of Broome) married a Southern Didarruk woman, and lived with her on the Native Reserve near Cannington, some twelve miles from Perth. One night, Beejee dreamed that he was beside a water-hole in some part of his own district, and a ngargalul came to him. Soon after the baby was born on the Reserve, but its own ground was the rockhole where it came to him, and both the water and the rock were the baby's totems. There was no difficulty about the ngargalul coming south for they have power, while ngargalul only, to go anywhere, and a man may be two hundred miles away from his wife and dream of a ngargalul and if he does not return to his wife for years, and he finds her with a child on his return, he believes that child is his, for its ngargalul had come to him.

Along the northern coast past Broome, there are many rock shelters and caves into which the high tides of those northern seas penetrate. Into one of these caves, called koorrbaigoo, a Kaimera who was fishing saw a barrumbarra (a large green fish) enter. The Kaimera went into the cave after the fish, and speared it. When he had caught the fish he went to a camping place called Beedaboogun, where he sat down and cooked the fish and ate it. After he had eaten the barrumbarra, he lay down under a shady tree and slept, and as he slept he dreamed that a ngargalul came to him crying. The Kaimera said, "Yanga jeea eebala?" (what is your father?) The ngargalul replied, "Kaimera, jooa eebala," (Kaimera, you are my father). Then the ngargalul followed the Kaimera man home and went into his wife. A waljooroo (long bean) was growing at the jimbin spot where the Kaimera man dreamed the ngargalul came to him, and he saw the waljooroo and gave it to the baby as its own jalnga (totem). As the ngargalul followed the man home in his dreams, he saw rocks, springs etc. on the dream road, and all these became the child's ngargalul totems. The baby was born far away from Beedaboogun, but that spot was its booroo. Kalwarra yoon-joo, "only born there", is the term used when speaking of the place where the baby was actually born. His own ground is where the father dreamed him. When the boy had grown up and

"..abstinence for a certain period from principal edible totem.."

What is he has a dozen? (Lang)

The ngargalula totem takes precedence. (D.M.B.)

wanted to increase his waljooroo totem, he dreamed he was at Beedaboogun, and picked up a waljooroo there, and bit it and threw the bitten fragments all around the place, and he saw in his dream that a great quantity of waljooroo came up, and then he knew that it was his ngargalul ground and totem.

Beedaboogun was part of his father's real hunting ground.

(With one or two exceptions the northern natives dream the increase of flesh food or fish totems.) Beedaboogun, the place where the father dreamed of the ngargalul, cannot be identified with the Nanja of the Arunta (Northern Tribes of Central Aust. B. 448) upon which so much of the Arunta system of re-incarnation rests. Beedaboogun was not "sacred" to the individual whose ngargalul came from there, nor did he or his people refrain from eating the waljooroo found there, or any other vegetable or animal food which might be obtained in the vicinity. And so with all other ngargalula booroo. There is no word meaning "forbidden" applied to these places, as there is to the ranjee booroo. Beegardain ngooroo (shady and forbidden places) is that term applied to forbidden spots such as :

1. Trees under which circumcision, subincision etc. are performed.

2. Certain places haunted by spirits of returned relatives, "ranjees".

3. Places where blood drinking is indulged in.

4. Stones bearing some human or animal shape round which legendary tales of "transformation" cling. These are the forbidden places, but no ngargalul are ever seen in their vicinity.

Neamoo or Neam is the Broome district word for forbidden food, and applies to all food forbidden to boys and girls until certain stages in manhood and womanhood have been reached. It is also applied to abstinence for a certain period from principal edible totem of a dead relative. Nganje is the Gascoyne district equivalent, tajjee and jajjee, the Ashburton terms, and ngoolgurt and woolga some of the Southern equivalents.

The Northern natives (coastal) believed that there were three hunting grounds. Jimbin, which is underneath the ground, where the ngargalul and totems reside; Kalboo, the surface of the ground where the natives live; Koorrwal, beyond the sky, where there are also natives. The kalboo and koorrwal natives once had communication with each other, a road having been made by a jalngangooroo with an immense kalleegooroo (bull roarer) which reached from kalboo to koorrwal. The women did not know that the road was a kalleegooroo. Along this road the natives passed to and fro. One day two women who were coming "kalboo way" had started on their journey too late, and camping for the night, half way to kalboo, they lighted a fire which burned the kalleegooroo in two, and all the natives who were then koorrwal had to remain there, and never afterwards could the kalboo natives see them or go up to them. The dark spot in the Milky Way is supposed by the Northern natives to be the kalleegooroo but whether it is the one that was burnt in half by the women, or another, the natives cannot state. A Eucla correspondent stated that at a certain period of initiation, the boy had to keep his eyes fixed upon the dark spot in the Milky Way, but in the Northern coastal area, the boys were not allowed to look at the dark spot during their "balgai" and "balelee" stages of initiation.

With regard to the three countries in which the Northern natives held belief, the prospective father saw the jimbin country in his dreams only. Jalngangooroo are the only people who can now see the koorrwal natives, and they can only see them in their dreams, or by visiting them while their material body lies asleep. The jalngangooroo believe that they can leave their material bodies and assuming a sort of astral body, visit not only the koorrwal natives, but also kalboo places hundreds of miles away from their own camping grounds, but they do not visit the ngargalul ground, although they see it, and send their totems there when the season of such totem is over. The dead totems, that is, those that die with their owner, do not return jimbin, but go Loomurnwards with their owner.

In the jimbin booroo, the ngargalul sees all the totems, but when it becomes a child it cannot see them, and its father has to tell it what its totems are. If a ngargalul has been seen playing with a kangaroo or opossum, then such animal will be its own ngargalul totem. The little spirit is rather mischievously disposed at times, particularly when it is a seacoast ngargalul, as often a man will find a turtle on the beach asleep, and turning it over on its back he goes to his camp to inform his friends of his find. On his return the turtle will have vanished, and then he knows that the ngargalul has taken its friend back to the sea again. The mysterious connection between the turtle and the ngargalul who are often seen playing together on the beach, cannot be explained by the natives; they only know that the ngargalul is a special friend of the turtle, and all turtle totem men are jalngangooroo. There is, too, a special turtle dance, which will be described later, in which the male and female turtle are the chief symbols. Only one species of turtle, the koolibal (big green turtle) is the special friend of the ngargalul.

The ngargalul of the pindana (inland districts) are black-haired and have darker skins than the kooja-ngooroo (seacoast) ngargalul (black-haired = nyimberr nalma), and are in this respect similar to the fairer and darker marrying pairs of the South. Both ngargalul are rubbed with reerrga (charcoal) from their birth, the rubbing being applied sometimes as often as twice daily, but it is usually rubbed in at irregular periods during the child's infancy.

A Boorong man from the Broome district lived at Beverley (Southwest) for some years, his jandoo (woman) being away from him during his stay in Beverley. This man had a ranjee, for one night he dreamed he saw a ngargalul beside him. Next morning when he woke, a little bird alighted near him, and talked to him. He knew the bird was the bilyoor or spirit or soul of the ngargalul and he said to it, "Tho'a, meejala beebee ngan jeea," (Shoo, go and stay with your mother) and the bird flew away to his jandoo, and the woman carried it and

when the father returned to his jandoo he knew the baby was his because the ngargalul had come to him. These little birds who are supposed to have the bilyoor of the ngargalul inside them are called jeera-jeera (jeera = little boy), to distinguish them from the ordinary little birds which are called collectively beerajoona.

When pelicans and other birds were men, they had ngargalul the same as the natives now have, but the ngargalul are not the re-incarnations of pelicans, nor have they necessarily the pelican for their totem. The ngargalul is also not the re-incarnation of any of its fathers' people who may have been buried in various portions of the ground underneath which is its own jimbin country, for the spirits of all these people went to Loomurn, except those who returned as ranjee, or who went into the ground. Even if a ngargalul were seen in the vicinity of one of the places where some ancestor had been turned into stone, it is not a re-incarnation of such ancestor, nor is it given his name. He is simply yamma - ancestor - to the ngargalul when it becomes a child as he is to all its relations.

Once the ngargalul has come kalboo it can never go jimbin again, for nothing dead can go jimbin.

The ngargalul of the Sunday Island district are (according to W.H. Bird) supposed to have their home in two small islands called "the Twins" which lie between Swan Point and the Island. There is a cavernous blowhole on one of these islands in which the ngargalul are supposed to live during the day, and at night they come out and play and sing amongst themselves. These ngargalul, Mr. Bird states, constitute the pre-natal form of existence, and all babies owe their being to the ngargalul.

Nothing in the nature of a sacred churinga, such as is mentioned by Spencer and Gillen, has been found in the vicinity of the spot where the ngargalul came to the man in his dreams, nor is such a thing looked for. It may be that churinga and ranjee have a certain connection with each other, in that a spirit baby cannot come to the man unless he has a ranjee, but

no man ever looks for a visible sign at the spot in which the ngargalul came to him. Beyond the ngargalul, and its totem and its ground, all of which are only seen in dreams, there is nothing visibly connected with the ngargalul, and no symbol of any kind has been picked up on the ground below which is the jimbin ground of the ngargalul. The ranjee that a man has, and the possession of which enables him to have children, is nothing visible or tangible, and he only knows he has a ranjee when he dreams of the ngargalul. Every native is so thoroughly familiar with every feature of hill, brook, rock and valley in the country of his fathers, that when he dreams of the ngargalul and its booroo, he easily located the booroo on some part of his own real ground, that is, his ancestral ground, the "fire" or "home" of his fathers. The totems which he has seen on the dream ground will, if they are vegetables, seeds, roots, etc. be found on the real ground. If they are animals or birds they may or may not be on the real ground, but they have been there, and have been seen with the ngargalul, and so are its ngargalul totems. Springs, trees, rocks or caves on the dream booroo become the individual totems of the ngargalul, but no sacred character attaches to these from this circumstance. There is not one instance in evidence of a single visible sacred object being found in the vicinity of the ngargalul booroo. When the father dreams of the ngargalul, he sees on its booroo all the weapons, implements, utensils, etc., of native life which are to be seen on the kalboo ground, but he never even looks for one of these on the ngargalul booroo when he has located it.

What might be called the most sacred weapon of the Northern Coastal Group is the kalleegooroo or bull-roarer, similar in all respects to the sacred churinga of Spencer and Gillen. But one of these has never been found in the vicinity of the ngargalul booroo, even although that booroo is part of a district, in some hiding place if which these kalleegooroo are stored. These sacred implements may be very old ones, made by some long dead tchammo "grandfather", but in the white ant regions of the Kimberley, kalleegooroo do not last very long and the kalleegooroo used at the initiation ceremonies may be old or new, but they

have never had any connection with the ngargalula. A young man sees a kalleegooroo for the first time when he is about to become larrabarree jammunungur (the sixth stage of initiation). The older men, usually a day or two before the ceremony, go to the hiding place and inspect the kalleegooroo, wooden vessels, etc. that have been put away since the last ceremony of the kind. If they find these partially destroyed, they mend them; if entirely destroyed, two or three of the old men will proceed to make new ones, marking them and testing their noise, and perhaps they will show how these are made, to some boongana and naamboongana, who, when they become talloorgurra - elderly married men - will be able to make kalleegooroo also. At a certain part of the larrabarree jammunungur's initiation he is given one of these kalleegooroo for a night, and sleeps with it under his head, this being the first time he handles the implement. When it is given to him by an elder brother-in-law or mother's brother, the man says to him, "Jeea kalleegooroo," (your kalleegooroo), but no mention of the young man's ngargalul period is made, at this or any stage of initiation, and if the kalleegooroo or any other sacred implement had been found, or should have been found in the ngargalul booroo, it would either be shown to the boy or some allusion to it would be made by the elders.

These, then, are the beliefs of the northern coastal natives with regard to their babies, and this belief holds amongst all the natives eastward of the Ninety Mile Beach, and as far as Sunday Island. How much further eastward and southward this remarkable instance of spirit babies occupying a special ground of their own, upon which no grown up person can intrude, nor dead man nor dead totem enter, is held in belief, has not been ascertained. The native statements have been given without theory or surmise, because of their intensely interesting character. Furthermore, the natives state that the ngargalul booroo is always a part of their own father's and grandfathers' country. For instance, if a man has been for years on some territory which, however, is not his own, and he dreams of a ngargalula,

the ground or ngargalul beeroo belongs to the country of the dreamer's fathers, not the country he is living in or that he may have been residing in for years, and which may have become in the process of time as familiar to him as his own country. Beejee had been for years in the South, nevertheless, when he dreamed of the ngargalul, its country was the country of his fathers. Wabbingan, a nephew of Beejee, also lived in the South and married a Southern woman, but he never had a baby, "because", as he and Beejee said, "he had no ranjee".

*Part in
to the
chapter*

If the father dreams of a girl ngargalul he sees on the ground near her the mai (vegetable) totems that belong to her, and which he will give her when she becomes a baby. The girl ngargalul has always mai for her ngargalul totem, the boy ngargalul having either wallee (flesh or fish) or mai. When they grow up, they are given other totems, which may be wallee, mai, some natural feature, a spring, etc., and of course they inherit their fathers' totems, but their ngargalul totems are always their own personal totems from birth.

I have often asked them what would happen if a girl came instead of the boy ngargalul the father had seen in his dreams, and their answer was that such a mistake could not possibly occur. "If the father sees the boy, the boy must come." In the case of a betrothal before birth, if a boy happens to come instead of the girl promised, it is "because the ngargalul had not come to the father when the promise was made, and when the ngargalul came it was a boy ngargalul, and the father couldn't change it." A man may dream of ngargalul before he has passed the stage entitling him to take a wife.

This view that the father alone is the originator of the baby, and that the mother merely carries and nurses it is not peculiar to the Australian natives.

Jimmer, a Balladonia district native, stated that at Eucla, when a girl had been promised from birth (yoomeree = promised or betrothed, Balladonia dialect) to a man living perhaps a great distance west of her tribe, the young people may not see each other, until the girl has arrived at maturity, and then one day her father and mother begin a journey to their son-in-law's country, taking the girl with them. When they arrive there, the son-in-law's people come to meet them, the young man also accompanying them. The father-in-law goes over to the young man and gives him a tap on the chest with his closed fist, the mother-in-law advancing and doing likewise. After this little ceremony the girl, who was walking behind her father and mother, goes over to her husband's camp. While her people remain in the vicinity, the son-in-law feeds them well, and gives them many presents, leaving both food and gifts at their camp during their temporary absence. They shortly afterwards leave for their own country, and may probably never see their girl again.

In some parts of the Murchison, and other Northern districts, a young man will sometimes be given a wife at an earlier period than usual. It generally depends on the character of the young man. If he is "good and quiet", his brother will give or lend him one of his wives, or a wife will be found for him by a mother's brother.

Kongal-moyer-al-genjee - own uncle and nephew relationship. (Southern term) If the uncle has occasion to go a journey without his wife or wives, the nephew must look after his aunts. The uncle's brothers, if present in the camp will find meat food for their sisters-in-law, but the nephew must see that no one interferes with them. The nephew has to be guarded against, too, as some of his aunts will probably be young women, and he must not interfere with them.

In the Vasse district, if a man dies leaving a family of widows and children, and there are no brothers of the dead man who are alive, or, if alive, are willing to take them, the nephew can take them. When he decides to do so, he picks up the spears etc., and going some distance away from his own camp,

he lights a fire and sits down by it, and shortly afterwards the aunt and her progeny join him. Should the nephew already have a wife or wives, the widow moves away from her old camp and lights a new fire, and after a time the nephew and his wife or wives will come over to the new fire. The nephew's own wives will make the new shelter, and will at first try to "master" the new member of the family, things finally adjusting themselves either by her submission or her mastery.

In the same district, if a man died leaving, say, three widows, his next brother had first choice in the widows, to take one or all as he chose. If he took only one of them, probably the youngest, the next brother had the next choice, and so on.

Sometimes a man will have four or five wives, while his brother has none at all. In these cases, the wives were most jealously watched, and if they became unfaithful, they were either punished or killed according to the temperament of the husband. If the brother who had misbehaved with them pleased the temptation "that he was out hunting and the woman coaxed him to go with her" the husband might forgive him, but the woman was always punished. A great deal depends upon the temper of the husband in all these disputes.

In the Vasse district, when a mootchoo or wrong class marriage took place, and the wrong-doers for some reason were not killed, they were then compelled to keep to the mootchoo line, and were not allowed, should one or the other die, to re-marry into their proper division. Once the wrong step was taken it was irrevocable; they had broken the direct or right line of marriage, and were obliged to abide by its consequences, and not only that, but they were generally considered "fair game" for any native either of their own proper marrying class, or of their "brother stock" who met them in the bush.

Murranjerree was the Vasse term applied to a young girl who had been betrothed from infancy to someone and who could not be claimed by any other person than the one to whom she had been betrothed. She had been dajjeluk - betrothed in infancy - to the man, and anyone else who took her was killed, either by

magic, or by the spear, the tribe of which the betrothed husband was a member being the "instruments of justice". Kal'ai-yongin - giving fire (magic), bulya yongin - giving "bulya" magic.

In the Perth district, if a father or mother dies, and a child or children of whom he or she may have been very fond, are left behind, the kaanya or spirit of their dead parent invariably comes back for them, and wishes and wishes for them and the favourite child or children very soon die. Mamma kool allin - the father wished for it and it went to him.

Mutual separation from incompatibility of some kind has now and then taken place amongst the Southern coastal natives, the woman however going to her father and mother-in-law's camp and not to that of her own people.

Boys and girls all over the State were forbidden to eat certain articles of food, until the girls were married, and the boys had passed their final initiation. If young girls ate bandicoot, they would become too prolific and if boys ate young bandicoot, turtle, young emu or other delicacies, they became lustful - boyer.

In the Pinjarra district, if a wife refused to do her husband's bidding, and he was too indolent or fond to punish her, should her brother or sister witness her disobedience, either of these could compel her to obey her husband by spearing her or beating her with a wanna (woman's digging stick).

In the Vasse district, if a man, either through laziness or some other cause, was unable to keep his wife or wives supplied with meat food, they could leave him and return to their own relations. As soon as he is seen returning unsuccessful from a day's hunt, when a good "hunting wind" has been blowing, and his meero and spears are in good condition, some women in camp commence to sing a derisive song, and this being taken up by other women, affects the man so much that he either fights and kills someone or gets killed, or, being perhaps poor spirited, he leaves the camp and lives by himself "hermit fashion" on roots and woman's game. If, while he is thus living alone, some young hunters kill a kangaroo in his vicinity, he goes over

to the place where they have temporarily camped, and catching hold of the tail of the kangaroo, or whatever part they may have cut, he picks it up and carries it away with him, saying, "I'm very dirty now, and I've touched this, so you can't eat it." The young men laugh at him and allow him to carry the portion he has touched away with him. Sometimes he is found dead by hunters passing in the vicinity of his camp, for no one willingly visits a man who thus relinquishes his manhood. When his dead body is found it is usually buried by the finders. His kaanya haunts the place where he died for a little time and then goes away to Koorannup - the home of the dead natives - westward, from whence it never returns.

If, as now and then happened, a man and woman continually offended against the moral laws of the tribe, they were eventually killed by some of the members, but if the man had not gone to extremes in his evil-doing, he sometimes propitiated the members by presents of kailee (boomerangs) and other weapons and ornaments, thus bribing them to condone his offence, but in the end, and more especially if he continued in evil courses, he was killed by some of the men in camp.

The Pinjarra men went northward and southward along the coast for their wives. Wooderr, a Mandura Ngogonyuk, obtained a wife from as far north as Moore River, a Didarruk woman named Taggoona. He also had an Australind Didarruk named Mittap.

Ngal-ngal - "cutting across" - is the term used in Pinjarra when a betrothed girl is taken by some other man, instead of her betrothed husband. In such a case, when a woman takes another husband instead of the one to whom she has been promised, the rejected lover has the privilege of spearing the woman, no one interfering with him. In one instance, a man found that a young woman who had been his dajjeluk (infant betrothed) had, on arriving at maturity, taken a husband of her own choosing. The jilted man met her at some great gathering, and as soon as he saw her he threw his kailee at her, then he threw his club, both of which she dodged. As he had no other weapons near him other than his meero (spearthrower) he flung this also, and with its

despatch, he ended the dispute, as he saw that some magic protected her from him. He became friendly with her afterwards and gave her to the man she had chosen, who gave him presents of weapons etc. in return.

In all districts, both north and south, if a man looks deliberately at his mother-in-law, or has any intercourse with her, his hair will fall out, and he will become bald, and when the natives see his bald head they know that he has been behaving badly with his mother-in-law. At Gwalla, on the Eastern Goldfields, at Southern Cross, Norseman, Yalgoo, Mannine, Katanning and other districts, I met several bald natives, and as I was obtaining a specimen of hair from the natives, I had to let them perceive that I saw their baldness. Their shame at my knowledge was clearer evidence of the law of avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law than anything else could have been, and showed how keenly alive they were to their misdemeanour. They did not attempt to "explain it away".

Gingin men gave their daughters to Perth, Guildford and Pinjarra husbands, and obtained wives from Perth and Swan districts. Sometimes the Gingin girls ran away with men from outside their marrying "road", but the tribe to which the men belonged had either to return the young women or give others in exchange. This was done in the case of two Gingin girls who ran away with two men from the Bindoon district. The Bindoon men gave two other young women in exchange.

In the Gingin district, a little ceremony was enacted on the handing over of a young woman who had been betrothed in infancy to a Gingin man. The parents and many relatives of the young woman accompanied her to the place where her betrothed husband resided, bringing with them numerous presents (which were really articles of barter). When the party arrived near the camp of the new husband's people, they made fires at a little distance and sat down beside them, and after a short interval, the girl's kongan (mother's brother) brought her over towards her husband, who however took no notice of her, although his brothers made some remark regarding her growth into a woman, etc.

The mother of the young man then called the young girl over to her camp, and presently both were busy making the new main or hut, the mother also made the first fire in the new camp.

This method differs somewhat from that of districts further south, as in those places it is the young man's own father's sister who helps the girl make the hut, but in most of the places along the Southern and southwest coast, the families were constantly meeting, and the two young people were not strangers to each other. The girl's mother is, however, strictly "winneetch" (forbidden) to the young man. The girl then prepares the food which she has either brought with her, or which has been given her by her mother-in-law and when it is ready, she either calls out to the young man, or if she is too shy, his attention will be laughingly directed to her by his brother. Presents are then exchanged, and the girl's relations soon after return to their own ground. Sometimes the girl will run after them, but she is quickly reconciled in the districts where she has been familiar with her husband's people since childhood. Bootoyn and Beemulla "uncles" (kongan) would not give wives to the Gingin men although their districts were not very far from Gingin. Paucity of presents, badly made weapons, or neglect of the relations-in-law was doubtless the reason for this rule, but it was occasionally broken by some old Gingin mooran (grandfather) who bestowed a grandchild on some Gingin man from whom or from whose people some special generosity in the matter of food giving or other presents had been shown.

Whatever the origin of the Wanna wa or Dhoelgoo ceremony, which sanctioned promiscuous intercourse for a certain period, it certainly was a guard to a certain extent against deterioration of race, for children were doubtless born to people taking part in these savage orgies, and it can be well understood how, under this system, universality of certain types would become possible, for tribes sent contingents from long distances to take part in the Wanna wa, which was universal, apparently, throughout the State; it certainly obtained amongst all the tribes personally investigated.

No young girl whose first menstrual flux had not passed, was allowed to take any part whatever in this ceremony. The old women and little girl children, old men and young boys, had their own camp during the progress of the wanna wa, and only at night when dancing was held were they allowed to see the visiting men and women.

In the arrangement of a family camp at night, the man and his wife usually sleep side by side, the female children sleep beside their mother, the male children beside their father. Where a man has more than one wife, the women sleep in a row beside him, the children lying as near their own mothers as this arrangement will permit. In a breakwind camp which I saw at night in the Murchison district, there were two "bachelors" and two "grass widows" besides some married natives. The semi-circular breakwind sheltered all. The older married people had their own fire at one end of the half circle of boughs, and beside the older women the "grass widows" slept. On the other side of the older people some younger married folk slept, with their fire to the right of them, and at the other end of the half circle was the bachelors' fire. The half circle sheltering all these people was about ten or twelve yards in diameter.

If two own sisters married the same man and continually disagreed, the husband often gave one of them away to a brother.

Occasionally, as a previous example illustrates, a woman is born with a malformed womb, which however may not be observed until her allotment to her husband. If such malformation is found in a girl belonging to those tribes practising vulvotomy, an incision is made, the chipped handleless knife being used for the operation, and an opening about one or more inches is the result. Death did not always follow such rude surgery. In the Eastern Goldfields district the ceremony of throwing the girl up in the air followed the operation of vulvotomy. A number of fully initiated men took part in this ceremony, most of them being mothers' brothers or elder brothers-in-law. The girl was placed under a tree, or beside a rock, or she was brought over to the men by a mother's brother, the operation being performed either by a mother's brother or by a man of the girl's husband stock, if not her betrothed husband. She was then thrown up into the air, caught in her descent by the outstretched hands of the men, and tossed up again and again. The tossing sometimes preceded the operation. After the operation, access to the girl was optional by those taking part in the ceremony, but as these operations were generally performed during large gatherings such as the Wanna wa occasioned, the girl probably became purchasable at the time and only went to her allotted husband after the orgy.

In the districts beyond Duketon, the operator inserted the two fingers of his left hand in the vaginal orifice, and holding the cutting flint in his right hand, he made a short, sharp downward stroke on the lower part of the vagina, one stroke usually sufficing for the operation. If the blood flowed too freely, the wounded part was touched with a magic piece of crystal or pearlshell. The cutting knife was called in this district jeemarree, the same word being used in the Broome district for "wife".

In some other districts, the operator will wind human hair round his fingers and insert the bound fingers into the orifice for the purpose of stretching it. If this method is effective,

the knife is not used. The operation is however continued until bleeding takes place. In those districts where subincision is carried out to its fullest extent in the men, the incision in the females is extended more or less into the perineum, the result being somewhat similar to the rupture that usually takes place in the first parturition. Excessive bleeding is arrested by putting fur, down or warm ashes into the enlarged passage. This introcision of the female is undoubtedly a consequence of the subincision of the male, as will be evidenced by the above statements; the varying lengths of the incisions on the women are suited to the degrees of incision amongst the men.

It has been asserted that these rites were inaugurated with a view of preventing impregnation, but where it is an "article of faith" amongst the natives that the union of the sexes has nothing whatever to do with conception, this assertion has nothing to support it. The natives themselves say that it is a great ornamentation, and gives them increased virility of appearance, and the consequent incision in the females is a necessary corollary.

The act of coition being performed in a different manner from that of the whites, and very little semen being required to cause impregnation in the extreme cases where the incision stretched the whole length of the organ, the sides of the penis notwithstanding the widening of the female orifice, must be pressed together to a certain extent during copulation and the capillary attraction in the groove of the urethra would convey the semen to the enlarged orifice.

The duration of the menstrual period varies. Menstruation may begin in the girl's ninth year, particularly in the northern districts where girls mature early. Some young girls suffer greatly during this period which may last from three to even ten days, and during this time they are either in the camps of their grandparents, or with their mothers in camp apart from their fathers. Young married women will often go to their grandparents' camp at this time.

It is against aboriginal law to tamper with a girl child until her first menstrual period has passed, and her young breasts had begun to swell. This law held throughout the State, and only in the rarest instances, and since the coming of the white people, was it violated. When this happened, the perpetrator of this outrage was usually punished in some efficient manner.

Northern girls marry earlier than their Southern sisters, and sometimes they begin to bear children when very young. In these cases the labour is both prolonged and severe, and many a young mother, who in our civilised countries would scarcely be thought out of childhood, has endured days of agonising labour only to succumb in the end. Baby and mother are then buried together whether the baby be dead or alive.

Infanticide has been practised in all tribes, the causes being babies coming too quickly, insufficiency of food, some special physical deformity, and in both the Murchison and Disaster Bay and other districts, a special fondness for babies as an article of food.

The woman, being the burden bearer, had to carry not only all the "household goods" when shifting camp, but also the spare weapons of her husband, and when to these was added a heavy baby, and a little toddler who soon got tired of walking and clamoured to be carried, one or the other of the children must be killed, and the lot usually fell on the baby. I only met one instance in all my journeys throughout the west where a man carried his little boy during a journey.

The father usually killed the infant, and placed its body in a hollow tree, or at the foot of a tree, or in an ants' nest, or it was not only killed but eaten by its parents. Women often abandoned their babies for no other reason than to be rid of the trouble of rearing them. At Anhean Station, on the Murchison River, a woman who was tired of her baby wrapped it in a rug and placed it on top of a fence some six miles from the station, returning to the station in the evening and calmly announcing the baby's fate.

There were many methods of infanticide : strangulation, burying alive, knocking on the head, abandonment, filling the little mouth with sand, and killing and eating it, were some of the methods. Sometimes a woman will adopt a baby whose mother is about to kill it, and the baby being thus given over to the woman becomes her own child, the mother having no further right to it.

A half-caste Chinese girl was born in the Jerramungup district (S.W.) having a thin film between her eyelids, which prevented the opening of the eyes. As soon as this was noticed by one of the child's grand^{father's}mothers, the old ^{man}woman obtained a piece of sharpened flint, and made a tiny slit in each eye, which enabled the child to see. After a time a few eyelashes grew upon the lids but the opening never became enlarged and the child grew up and is now a woman, the eyes, in proportion to her face, being tiny narrow slits not more than the eighth of an inch in width. All malformations are attributed to magic.

Oftentimes a woman suffering from a severe headache will ask another woman to hit her on the head with a wattle until blood is drawn, thereby curing the kaata mindaitch (head sick).

In certain camps there were what we call wanton women, but whom the natives of the South call goonga boola - "many backs" - and the natives of the Broome district called bilba-goordain. These women were always eventually killed, when it was found that they cohabited indiscriminately and when punishment by their husbands, brothers, sisters or mothers was found to have no deterrent effect. If these names were applied to women of this kind, it is apparent from the existence of such names that tribal morality prevailed amongst the aborigines.

Woolberr, a Nagarnook, one of the last Gingin natives, killed his woman in a fit of temper, and thus became a self-made widower (yeenung). One day he received a bamboeroo (message stick) from a woman named Bai'at, a Tondarup, of Nyoono-yoorda, Gingin district. Joobar, a one-armed native and "brother" of the woman brought the bamboeroo to Woolberr. It had two notches upon it, one notch being a little shorter and wider than the other. These two notches meant "man and woman" and were metaphorically a proposal of marriage. Woolberr accepted the message and accompanied Joobar to Nyoono-yoorda, where he found Bai'at in company with a Nagarnook woman named Banyap, and an old Tondarup woman, aunt to Woolberr. No sooner had Banyap caught sight of Woolberr than she fell in love with him, and while he was seated near the fire of his aunt, Banyap came and

pulled his pipe out of his mouth and proceeded to smoke it. (This action, since the arrival of the whites, is a distinct declaration of love.) Banyap was a Nagarnook and sisterstock to Woolberr, and therefore should have kept entirely apart from him. Woolberr had caught a couple of opossums on his way to the camp, one of which he gave to the old woman, cooking the other for himself. Banyap went over to Woolberr's fire and taking the opossum out of the coals, she ate what she required, and left the rest of the opossum on the ground.

Woolberr made no objection whatever to Banyap's lively overtures. Meanwhile Bai'at sat in her camp and made no movement either to attract Woolberr's attention, or to assert her rights, although she was his proper class wife. Woolberr intended to sleep near his aunt's camp, but Banyap made a fire and a shelter, and prepared a bed for Woolberr and asked him to stay, and as there were no keepers of the old law alive except Woolberr, he accepted Banyap's overtures, and they became man and wife. Banyap had previously had two husbands, but no children. She bore Woolberr six children before she died. During her life time Woolberr had been offered Wabbaran, a Victoria Plains woman as a second wife, but refused her, and his refusal can be well understood in the face of Banyap's determined character. All Banyap's children predeceased her, and after her death Woolberr never remarried. Banyap's name was given her from banya - perspiration.

Woolberr stated that sometimes in his district a young girl and a man would form an attachment for each other, regardless of the fact of the girl's betrothal to some other man. This attachment, when perceived by the brothers or uncles of both, was either stopped by the intended husband, if he happened to be in the camp, or, if he proved willing to let the young people have their way, he mentioned his willingness to the elder brothers, uncles and grandfathers of the couple.

An old mooran (grandfather) from amongst these will then call the couple in front of all the camp, and he asks the young man if he wants the girl, the man replying in the affirmative. The girl is asked the same question, but sometimes in her terror, or excessive shyness, she will not answer directly, but she makes it

understood in some manner that she wishes to have her own choice in the matter. She is then formally given to the young man, who gives presents of food, etc. in return. Her mother's brother may possibly promise a female child to the girl's betrothed. If the allotted husband refuses to give up the girl, or if the girl, being frightened, repudiates her lover, then should an elopement of the pair occur they are both punished, sometimes killed. Night is the time usually chosen for eloping.

When old Gingin men caught some young males "winking the eye" (mel binjongin) at their young wives, they beat or speared their wives, not the young men, as they said the young women must have given the men some encouragement. At any rate, it was safer to beat the women. A young woman will show her preference for a young man by giving him some of her ornaments, or some other present, and if she sees him wear it she knows her affection is returned. The young lover usually reciprocates by presenting the girl with some of his personal adornments and when each sees the other wearing these tokens of their mutual affection, matters are soon brought to a climax by the elopement of the pair.

When a Gingin native ran away with another man's wife, they were followed and brought back, and were not only speared, but the woman usually fell upon their erring sister, and beat her with their wannas, the young woman making no resistance. Those of the men who were of the woman's marrying class were also privileged to spear the man who had run away with her. If these two people ran away again, they were both killed.

If an "uncle" sees one of his "nephews" playing with and teasing one of the uncle's wives, he can spear the young man. An elderly man once saw a young nephew "teasing" one of his young wives, and at daylight next morning the uncle sent a stone headed spear through the thigh of the nephew. The young man, having advanced no further than "teasing" the woman, did not think the circumstance justified the punishment, and at once caught up another stone headed spear (geejee borail) and sent

it through his uncle's thigh, no one interfering in the "uncle and nephew" quarrel.

When a man who is eloping with a woman arrives at the camp in which he intends to take refuge for a time, he leaves the woman in the bush close to the camp, and approaching it alone, he exchanges some light words with his friends there, whom he has often before visited. They guess at once why he has come, and he therefore only remarks anent the woman that "he has left his dog in the bush". If the woman or her husband (from whom she has run away) have any relatives in the camp, a fight immediately follows, and the "sister stock" of the woman rush to her hiding place and beat her most unmercifully. Should the husband who has been in pursuit arrive while the fighting is on, he and the goort-guttuk (lover) fight alone, no one interrupting them until it is seen that one or the other is getting worsted, when an old uncle will stop the fight. The wife returns to her husband who supplements the beating she has received by spearing her in the leg. If the two run away again, they are killed.

A child is named either from some circumstance attendant on its birth or a personal defect, or from a dream :-

- Marra-le'a - crooked finger (Eucla district)
- Jinnabeega - bad or stinking foot (Murchison district)
- Woolberr - shivering with cold (woolba-woolba = shivering) (Gingin)
- Binnaran - a dog digging or scraping the earth (beena = digging) (Victoria Plains)
- Yoorin - from yoorra - dirty water (Perth)
- Jeeoomarra - Wind blowing through kangaroo's fur (jeeoo = fur, marra = wind) (Gingin)

Jealousy often arises amongst women over the scars of their husbands. If a woman passes any admiring remarks upon the scars of a man of her marrying class, there is an immediate fight between her and the man's wife or wives. During the fight the women abuse each other in the most extraordinarily fluent native "Billingsgate". They possess a low word applicable to every portion of the female frame, and beginning from the feet upwards, they continue without a break until they have reached the hair of the head. None of these expressions are translateable, and it is only during the progress of such fights that the wealth of terms which can be uttered over the various portions of the human frame can be realised.

If a Gascoyne woman is seduced by a native while out root gathering, and does not mention the fact to her husband on her return, should he discover it, he will either spear her in the leg or kill her. If however she informs him of the occurrence on her return, she escapes punishment, but the offender is speared. In many cases, not only in the Gascoyne district, a woman has been known to have enticed a man to seduce her, afterwards informing her husband, telling him that the man had forcibly ravished her. She escapes punishment for the time and the man is speared.

In the Gascoyne district, the new born baby was usually cleaned with soft ashes, and immediately afterwards a mixture of grease and charcoal was rubbed in, this being applied about twice a week during babyhood. Very fine ash from a certain species of tree was used to rub between the joints of the infant. Sometimes through laziness or ignorance the baby becomes greatly chafed between its joints, and sores arise which the flies soon aggravate, the baby's whole body becoming eventually covered with festering sores, as, being naked, the flies were able to eat their way all over the little body, and the baby soon dies. A baby found in a camp suffering in this manner has often been suspected of suffering from hereditary venereal disease, by the white people, but amongst the natives of the uncivilised parts of the West, venereal diseases were unknown, and where native men and women in the interior of this State have appeared to suffer

from venereal disease, the real cause is probably due to blood poisoning, arising from unskilful operations of subincision and vulvotomy.

The coloured crews of the pearling boats have been mainly responsible for the spread of venereal disease in the Northern and Western Kimberley districts, and white settlement in the other parts of the State brought, as the natives say, both this dread disease and fleas amongst them. During his first missionary travels amongst the natives of Victoria Plains, and during his travels with them through their country, Bishop Salvado did not meet with one case of venereal disease amongst what were then (1846) totally uncivilised tribes, but it was not long before the disease began to spread amongst them, and now, with the advance of civilisation and the consequent facility for travelling from tribe to tribe afforded by the white man's presence, the disease is making its way into the far interior of the State, and is helping, with other causes, in the rapid disappearance of the aborigines.

A young girl who has reached the age of puberty, and has not yet been claimed, will often paint her cheek bones and the bridge of her nose with red ochre, to show that she is ready for marriage. The application of red ochre on men and women is always a sign that they have reached full manhood and womanhood, and its intimate connection with marriage rites, initiation into manhood, with, in fact, anything in native life having relation, remote or direct, to the procreative organs of man and woman, indissolubly associate it with Phallicism. There is no ceremony in this connection in which the application of red ochre does not play a chief part. I have even seen amongst the mongrel dogs of the camps visited, one or two young female dogs in their first rutting season, painted with red ochre across forehead and nose, the natives telling me that "the dogs are having their wanna wa".

Native women are as adept at finding out the good points of a man as their white sisters. Their remarks usually apply to his limbs, height, eyes and virile appearance generally. Strength of limb, a powerful body, with well-marked scars, prowess in hunting, excellence in spear throwing and spear and weapon making, are his chief qualifications in their eyes, and given all these a young man is as irresistible to the young native women, as his white prototype is amongst their white sisters.

With the men also, the good points of a young woman are quickly noticed. Large breasts, well shaped and rounded hips, small feet and good eyes are the principal female attractions, and if to these is added a good amount of adipose tissue, the young woman becomes the desire of every young man who sees her, and elopement after elopement will take place, until the woman is eventually killed. Gowera of Eucla is a case in point. She is a fine woman weighing nearly 12 stone, and the last time I heard of her she was journeying with an eighth husband towards the Eastern Goldfields, from Esperance and Norseman, where her seventh husband had been left. (I found her in Eucla with a ninth venture, the brother of one of her previous husbands.)
d later she was met with a fourteenth husband.

It must always be remembered that neither women nor men can praise any member of their "brother" or "sister" stock; praise of these must be uttered by men and women of their marrying class only, and if discussions as to a man's or woman's good points are being carried out in their hearing, the "brothers" and "sisters" must listen in absolute silence to such praise and never make any remark either in praise or disparagement. This rule is absolute throughout the State, and was frequently exemplified in my own case, as in the North where I am a Boorong woman, the Banaka men and women freely criticised me amongst themselves, the Boorong people in the vicinity refraining from any remarks, and in the South where I am a Manitchmat, the Werdungmat men or women passed remarks anent my personal appearance, etc., the Manitchmat people taking no part in the discussion.

(This is the original account of the description on P. 164.)

The native women were as adept at finding the good points of a young man as their white sisters. They remarked upon his

jeera koorinyaroo - nice face

mardee-wadjoo - big limbs

weerdaroo-koorniyaroo - nicely shaped legs and thighs

kooroo koorinyaroo - nice eyes

banya koorinyaroo - he is (a) nice (man)

wee-berree - he is tall

The men made the same remarks anent the young unmarried women, but they supplemented them by remarking upon their large breasts and small feet which were the chief beauty in women.

joolyoo mardee wadjoo koorinyaroo - nice big breasts

jeena yadjoo-gadjee koorinyaroo - nice small feet

The women must also have good limbs and well shaped bodies, but their faces need not be what is called pretty. They must however have good eyes and good features and lips not too thick.

A kooroo karra-gallee or squint eyed native, a very rare occurrence amongst them, had no chance whatever with the women, but as he is usually a cross-tempered or sulky person, he didn't bother about womenkind much.

(Cornally's information)

A kooroo-karra-gallee, squint-eyed native (Gascoyne equivalent) was sometimes met with and was both disliked and feared by the women in the camps.

Excessive drinking of water after a long dry stage was frequently the cause of premature births amongst the women of

Cornally, informant

Notebook 3b, P. 82

Cornally has occasionally seen ^{boomerang-}kyley legged natives (karra-gallee = crooked), but not very often. They impute this deformity to the jingi who "boylya made" the mother. But the deformity may have been the result of early birth, for it is noticed that if cattle or sheep are allowed to breed young, a similar deformity will be found amongst their progeny.

Cornally states however that the women did not bear children sometimes for many years after their marriage. The general age when they began to bear children was about 20. Occasionally there were young mothers but the Gascoyne natives did not breed easily. The average number of children in each family was about 6 or 7.

after a time, and may either be speared in the thigh by the husband, or he may "compound" for the retention of the young woman by presents.

A kooroo-karra-gallee, squint-eyed native (Gascoyne equivalent) was sometimes met with and was both disliked and feared by the women in the camps.

Excessive drinking of water after a long dry stage was frequently the cause of premature births amongst the women of the inland districts of the North and Northwest. Another cause was the overloading of their thaggas (wooden vessels, Gascoyne) and the consequent strain in trying to lift them on their heads. These vessels are the "vade mecum" of the women of the interior, and contain a varied assortment of goods. Sometimes the baby is carried in the thagga, and at other times it may be utilised to carry water along the dry stages when travelling towards some distant appointed place for ceremonial purposes. Leaves or rushes are put in the water to minimise its absorption by the heat. When the baby is carried in the thagga, the mother usually puts the vessel underneath her arm, not on her head.

The Gascoyne women sometimes tie their new born baby's navel string in a knot of itself, which accounts for many protruding navels met with in those districts. The umbilical cord is nearly always severed by the nails of the mother or attendant woman, and then either tied in a knot of itself, or with a piece of fibre. A young mother tied her baby's navelstring in a knot of itself, but the knot in some manner becoming loosened, rupture set in and the baby died.

If a Gascoyne district man forces a woman to accompany him, he is generally killed by the husband or brothers-in-law of the woman, but if he induces the woman to go willingly with him, unless other circumstances intervene, such as a jealous and unforgiving husband, etc., the offender will return to his tribe after a time, and may either be speared in the thigh by the husband, or he may "compound" for the retention of the young woman by presents.

In one case of confinement on the Gascoyne, the young woman, lying on the ground, had her ankles held by one woman, her head rested on another woman's lap, while a third kneaded her stomach until parturition took place. The child was born dead. Kneading and pounding the stomach is a very common resort of the Northern women in cases of protracted labour, and many children are still-born from this cause.

Orphaned children in the Gascoyne district generally at-

Notebook 11F, P. 29

According to James Cornally, who lived amongst the natives of the Gascoyne district for over 20 years, the Gascoyne women believed that their babies either came from the moon or from some of the islands near Carnarvon. The spirit baby entered the mother's mouth while she was asleep. Many dead natives are supposed to have gone to the moon and the islands near Carnarvon are the abodes of dead spirits. In many places throughout the Nor'West coast, the natives hold the belief that the caves and rock shelters and islands are filled with the spirits of the dead. Frequently when near one of these places a man will dream that he hears a spirit child crying close beside him and presently he sees it going into the mouth of his wife. When the baby is born its jalnga (or totem) is the cave, rock shelter or island where the father first dreamed of it. In Broome these dreams are called reenja, the ordinary dream being called boogarree. When asked why he called himself the father of the baby, when it came from the cave, etc., the native replied that the baby coming crying to him and not to another man, made him its father.

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Orphaned children in the Gascoyne district generally attached themselves to their mother's people and were always well cared for. If a child, having lost its father or mother, drooped and became thin and sickly, its guardians said that "its father (or mother) wanted it and were calling it". A Southern native had died, leaving a little boy who was being looked after by his mother. The mother married again, and the father was said to come nightly and call to the child to come to him, and at last the boy, who had been pining away, went to his father, whose voice was no more heard.

In the Gascoyne district, if a young woman, having no husband, gave birth to a baby, the baby was supposed to have gone into her mouth while she slept. The girl's mother's father, or mother's brother assumed the parentship of the baby. There is a faint belief, which I had not, however, the opportunity of verifying satisfactorily, that the Gascoyne babies, like the ngargalul of the North, inhabit a country of their own, but unlike the ngargalul, the bountry of the Gascoyne babies is above ground, on an island near Carnarvon, and from there they are brought, by the moon's assistance, into the mouths of their future mothers.

A young Southern native whose wife was about to give birth to a baby dreamed that the little baby came to him out of its mother's mouth and said to him, "Nyindoo mamma," (You are my father) and having shown itself to him and spoken, the baby went back into its mother again.

Kaak - don't eat it, it's nasty - is an expression used by native women when they see their children picking up something they must not eat. The same expression, with an exactly similar meaning, is used by the Southern Irish peasantry. (+ Scotch - Kang)

In the South the babies come first to the kongan (mother's brother) and not to the father as in the North.

Women in various camps, whose husbands have either gone upon long journeys without them, or who for some reason have no husbands, are often beaten soundly by jealous wives who suspect them of undue attention to their husbands. I once listened for over two hours to an harangue between two women, one accusing the other of having misbehaved with her husband, the other denying the accusation. During those two hours, not a single European expression was used, and when the affray was over and the two participators came over at different times to explain the cause of the quarrel, I asked for a translation of the words which I had managed to take down, and found them absolutely unique in pointed-ness and variety.

The kakkaitch koolongur, or "place where the little children are" and which is situated in some cave on the Perth-York road, has no more children in it, something, according to the natives, having frightened the babies away, and so they fled from the cave "where they could often be heard singing amongst themselves" to a place called Eeling, a district southeast of Beverley. Balbuk stated that the kookaburt (white owl) and the yooenja (another species of owl) were always seen near this cave. It was the stone in the cave that the children frequented, and not the cave itself. A swan was said to be carved on the stone, but Balbuk could not say who had made the carving. Near the cave, a boy killed his mother, and her janga (spirit) remained in the cave, until the boy was passing the place again, when the janga of his mother rushed out and caught him, and was going to turn him into a janga, but four or five bulyaguttuk (sorcerers) went into the cave and rescued the boy.

Balbuk also stated that in the early days of white settlement, a little white girl was lost, and having been sought after for some days was at length found in a cave, sitting with the janga (spirits). The little girl "had been turned into a janga, and tried to bite Yoodeen and Boogan, the two natives who found her."

to look for her, and following her tracks, they reached the spot where her dead body lay. They saw the boongana's tracks also, and knew that he had killed her. When the boongana found that they had discovered the woman, he put her ngarree (skeleton, spirit, ghost) on his shield, with karraul (white pipeclay) and waited for the girl's avengers. He had no other weapon. When they arrived at his camp, the boongana went into a clear place, taking his shield with him. Several of the girl's relatives had appointed themselves avengers, and one by one they threw spears, clubs, lanjee (boomerangs) at the boongana, but none of their weapons struck him, all being turned aside by the ngarree on the shield, and by that token they knew the young man was innocent, and that the girl only was to blame, and the parties became friendly again.

After his final initiation the young man is then eligible for marriage. Sometimes sisters will be exchanged between two young men who are brothers-in-law to each other, but this condition of affairs presupposes three things: 1. That the mothers of each brother and sister will have been made tharloo to the young people at an early age. 2. That the fathers of both the young men have a sufficient number of wives, and are not desirous of increasing their marital responsibilities, for the "fathers" and "uncles" have the first right of disposal of their daughters and "nieces" and unless they forego this right, the young people are powerless. 3. That in the event of the marriage arrangements being entered into at some large gathering, neither of the young women will have been previously betrothed to some one else, and also that the older relations to be consulted are present at the exchange of sisters. All these conditions obtaining, the young man secures his wife quietly, and there is no further trouble. In the case of infant betrothals, the husband must wait until the girl has reached the age of puberty, before mentioned. It sometimes happens that this period arrives at a very early age, and this accounts for the apparently extreme juvenility of some young native wives, but native law compels the man, old or young as he may be, to

wait until such time has passed. I remember a case occurring during my visit with Bishop Gibney to Beagle Bay. A very young girl who appeared to be little more than a child of nine years of age was married by the Bishop to a grey old man, apparently old enough to be her grandfather. I questioned the humanity of such an act, and was referred to the girl's mother, who told me that not only had her daughter reached the age of puberty reckoned by native custom, but although several younger men wanted her, she herself had set her affections on the old man, and would have no other. The couple shortly afterwards left the Mission, and went to Derby (on the coast of King Sound) where the young wife died in the first year of her marriage.

The wife is not the relation, but the property of her husband. A man may do what he pleases with his wife; he may exchange her for another, or for a few weapons or implements; he may give her away to a brother; he may ill-treat her to the point of death and no member of his tribe will interfere, unless he attempted to kill her, when, if the fact is ascertained before-hand, his own relations will interfere on the ground that they, as well as he, will be held responsible by the woman's own relations for her death, but if he kills her in a sudden fit of passion, unless her people take up the quarrel, the husband is not punished. It must be said that native husbands as a rule are not unkind to their wives. There have even been cases known of a native being as much henpecked by his wives as any Mr. Caudle of civilised life. Mrs. Millet, wife of one of the first rectors of York, mentions in her book (*An Australian Parsonage*, P. 186) the case of a black friend of hers who was played upon by his womenkind, and made to fetch and carry for them, and who at length was deserted by them and left to fend for himself. It is however a very poor specimen of native who allows himself to be "henpecked", as if he does he is only an object of contempt to everyone in camp.

In most of the Southern districts, native law ordained that when a baby was born, the father of the child was not to resume marital relations with the woman "until the baby laughed". The father also is never allowed near the woman when her baby is about to be born. Should a native break the law and try to resume relations with his wife before the stipulated period had passed, he was mocked and jeered at so much by the women, that his brothers speared him in anger for the ridicule and contempt that he excited amongst their women. He was furthermore unable from that time to hunt with success, nor could he ever again dodge any spears that might be thrown at him. The jeers and mockery are "sung" at the man by the women. It was thought "unclean" for any man to have marital relations with his wife either during her menstrual periods or immediately after the birth of her child.

When a young girl reached her first menstrual period she was taken some distance away from the camp, and/^{her mother}remained with her daughter until the period had passed. If any grandmother of the girl was living near the home camp, the young girl went to the camp of her grandmother and remained there.

This period is always known, for the women are obliged to keep apart from their husbands and menkind, and camp by themselves. The men must never venture near the women's fire at this time. In the Southern districts, a soft species of blood-coloured gum oozes from the trunk and branches of the red-gum tree during certain seasons. At these times these trees are carefully avoided by the men, who think there is some similarity between the gum tree at this period and a woman during menstruation.

Should Southern babies take a long time in learning to walk, their grandmother obtained four little sticks, trimmed them smoothly, and then placing one under each knee and one inside the crook of each elbow, she broke the one after the other. If the child screamed loudly during the process, then it would soon be able to walk, as the magic that kept it from walking went away in the cry. If the baby made no noise the charm took longer to work. Karr-burt was the name given in the South to this ceremony which could

be performed only by the grandmother. It was also believed in the South that unless the jerragurt or jeeragurt (little black lizard) bit the edge of the infants' tongues, they would never be able to speak. The grandmother performed this ceremony also.

In the Southern districts and also in some parts of the Northern coast, if a young man showed a quiet disposition, and took no notice of young girl or women, he did not have his nose pierced at initiation, but if the young women "laughed and made eyes" at him and he returned their pleasantries, his nose was pierced, and after the piercing came isolation from womenkind, as he would then be going through the serious part of his initiation.

Some old Southern women, who, by virtue of having lived to a good old age, and borne many sons and daughters, became of influence in their tribe, and were designated "yogga biderr" (strong or great women; beadee = vein, strength). Occasionally a ceremony was performed whereby their importance and influence were formally confirmed. This ceremony, called "moonyoo" in some of the Southern dialects, consisted of an interchange of presents between the yogga biderr and one or more of her contemporaries among the older men. The ceremony was usually performed at some big gathering - initiation, wanna wa, manja boming, or, perhaps at one huge ceremony combining all these. The privileges conferred upon the women were a continuous and plentiful supply of food, clothing, shelter, and fire, by the younger members amongst her relatives, and immunity from capture by "raiders". She was also henceforth sacred from revenge in a tribal fight, but she was powerful in stirring her people up to fight against offending outside tribes and she was equally privileged to allay family feuds within the tribe, and other quarrels. If family feuds arose and a fight was anticipated, the yogga biderr could go into the midst of the combatants and disarm them of their spears and other fighting weapons, and her harangues, either directed towards war or peace,

were always listened to with respect. As she was generally supposed to possess magic power, she was sometimes consulted as to the favourableness or otherwise of a hunting expedition and was also frequently requested to "smoke" the "bulya" or magic out of a dog or spear after an unsuccessful day's hunt. A falling leaf, a twig unaccountably snapping, a bird's voice, a tiny whirlwind - the slightest movement of nature at these moments had significance for the yogga biderr and she was able to prophecy a success or failure at will in any matter placed before her. Balbuk, the last Perth native, was held, even in these civilised days, to possess magic, and to be able to work evil upon those who offended her. She was certainly yogga biderr, and even when she lay dying, outside her hut on the Native Reserve, the remnant of her distant relations who were compelled by fear of magic to call and offer their little gifts to her, were careful to blow away with constant little whiffs, any magic which she might be projecting in their direction. A Gigin district bulyaguttuk (sorcerer) who was also on the Reserve offered his services, but Balbuk felt that her own powers being superior to the other's, if she could not obtain her own recovery with them, no one else could, and so the offer was rejected.

Although half-caste children were not killed in the South West, they were not received as affectionately as the native babies, and in quarrels between the women, a half-caste woman has been contemptuously spoken to as follows :- "Nyinning koorga ngan'gal boojur-al-akwerdij murramuk noonda maruk bur-rong nabburdong eej," (sitting down your mother dropped you on the ground, and left you, and granny had to pick you up in her hand, and she carried you and covered you up in her bag.

Names were exchanged during the big gatherings that frequently took place. Two men, standing in the relation of brother-in-law to each other exchanged names and totems with each other. These men were henceforth called babbin or koo-bong. A woman and man, also relations-in-law, exchanged names

BABBINGUR

A most pathetic instance of the pledged "Babbin" friendship between young men, brothers-in-law, came before me in the 1900's.

Two young Babbingur were often to be met with between the Palinup, Salt and other rivers flowing into the Southern sea. Their young betrothed wives had fallen to the lure of civilisation, and the law of the white man was powerless in the matter; or perhaps the young babbingur did not wish to hold their lawful wives by force, the wife being the sister of his babbin.

So they wandered round and about their familiar areas, working for the white man when work was to be had. Sometimes the white man had work for one only, and then the other babbin rested near by, as they could not contemplate separation from each other. When the white man abused the idle man, telling him to go and work elsewhere, the young worker quietly dropped his tools and the babbingur moved on again, their circle ever narrowing through the white man's unconscious encroachments.

Then a day came when the younger of the two lay down. By the Palinup River he died, and his friend dug his grave beside the river and buried his babbin there and mourned for him without ceasing.

He did not light the usual corpse fire (beemb) between the grave and his little shelter. How could he fear the kaanya (spirit of the newly dead) of his friend whom he so loved? The two young men had become alike in face and temperament during their long close friendship into which it might be said their very souls were merged, so that it seemed to be a part of himself that was buried with his beloved babbin.

For a very long while he wandered and crept round and about the area where mayhap the spirit of his friend was also lingering and wailing for him. Then one day beside the grave by the Palinup River the forlorn babbin laid himself down.

Most surely the spirit of his loved friend came to him in his last moments, and the two young souls joyfully went their way through the great sea on whose farthest western shore lay Kurannup, the Heaven of all Bibbulmun.

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Names were exchanged during the big gatherings that frequently took place. Two men, standing in the relation of brother-in-law to each other exchanged names and totems with each other. These men were henceforth called babbin or koo-bong. A woman and man, also relations-in-law, exchanged names and became koobong to each other, but these could never marry each other, as male and female koobong guttuk or babbin guttuk must not marry. Ngoorweel, a Guildford Ballarruk, changed his name with Joobaitch, a Northam Tondarup woman, and neither of them ever afterwards was called by any other name than their babbin names. Ngoorweel and Joobaitch could not marry each other after having become babbinguttuk.

In the Busselton district, the mother and father could make their girl babies dajjeluk (infant betrothal). At some gatherings the father may call the young man who has been chosen for a son-in-law and say to him, pointing to the baby, "This is yours." From that time, the young begins to pay attention to his future parents-in-law.

In the Southern Cross districts, if a woman is very hungry or thirsty, a man will sometimes open a vein in his arm and give her his blood to drink, but should he be very thirsty, and his woman happens to be nursing a baby at the time, he will drink the milk from the mother's breasts and continue drinking until a waterhole has been reached, or water has been obtained in some manner, the baby meanwhile either dies from starvation or is killed by the father. When a newly born baby is killed for some reason, the husband will frequently drink the milk from the other's breasts.

Amazing
(Lang)

Amongst the women of the Wagin district, when their hour of labour approached, they made a hollow in the sand, and placed a fire in the hollow. When the fire had burnt down and while the sand was still warm, the expectant mother sat, knelt or lay within the hollow and the child when born was rolled in the warm sand and ashes.

The placenta is buried or burnt by one of the older women present, and shortly after the birth of her child, the mother will be seen moving about the camp. A coastal or river woman will sometimes keep the navel's string of a boy baby, until the child has grown into a youth. It will then be either thrown into the water, buried or burnt; its retention is supposed to ensure the boy becoming a strong man and a good swimmer. A big navel denotes a strong man generally.

Births are usually attended by one or two old women, but a birth has not infrequently occurred when changing camp, and when this happens the woman turns aside into the bush, and gives birth to the baby, resting for an hour or two and then proceeding with her journey. Parturition has been assisted in some of the northern districts by a string being tied tightly round the abdomen, or a branch of a tree, or projecting root of some kind will be held by the woman in labour. A kneeling position, or half kneeling, half sitting, or a position on all-fours, all these will be assumed by women in labour. The baby, if it is to live, is rubbed over with ashes, dust or charcoal and placed in the wooden scoop of the Northern women and in the kangaroo skin bag of the Southern women. The colour of a newly born baby is a beautiful bronze, or shining chocolate which becomes rather cloudy after a time, but if the child belongs to sea-coast people and is of cleanly habits, the skin retains its chocolate tinge and glistens in the sunlight like burnished bronze. I have seen newly born babies on the Nor' West coast whose skin was a sort of mottled tinge, having a lighter and darker shade, the darker tint eventually covering the whole body.

Northern girls ripen earlier than their Southern sisters, and sometimes they begin to bear children when very young. One very young girl gave birth to a baby after days of prolonged labour, and whether it was fear of the young life to which she had given birth, or revenge for the pain it had caused her, whatever the reason, the infant was no sooner born than the mother caught hold of her wampan and beat its little life out.

A woman is not avoided by her husband during pregnancy. Her husband may have intercourse with her any time up to the birth of the infant, but north and south a certain time must elapse after the infant's birth before marital relations are resumed, the period not being so long in the north as in the South. There is very little, if any, change in the food of the mother either before or after parturition, except that after the birth of the child she does not eat much flesh food for a little time, confining herself to roots, seed and fish, if she is a coast woman. A young opossum may however be brought to her which will be readily eaten. A barren woman was often exchanged for a few weapons.

In the Northern districts where the belief in spirit children obtains, if a spirit child came to the man and a very long time passed without his wife carrying the baby, he either sent her back to her people, repudiated her altogether, exchanged her, or killed her. Birthmarks were not infrequent - berrgen, "it came of itself" - is the Gingin term applied to them. In cases of malformation it depends upon circumstances whether the child is allowed to live or is killed. In a creek north of the Broome district, two Kaimera women went out fishing one afternoon, and one of them caught a very curious-looking fish. They returned with it to the camp and showed it to their husbands. The men looked at the fish, which was of a babbagoona (a kind of burnt sienna) colour, and of a species they had never seen before, and when the woman who had caught the fish cut it open, it looked "so like a baby" that they would not eat it. Shortly afterwards the husband of one of the women (not the one who had caught the fish) dreamed he was beside the creek where the fish

had been caught and a spirit baby came to him and followed him to his camp and went into his wife's mouth, and sometimes afterwards his wife began to carry it. When the baby was born, it was not only the same colour as the fish which the woman had caught, but it had also a cut down its breast bone and along its stomach similar to the cut the woman had made in the fish. The baby only lived a very short time, being neglected by its mother who was frightened of the unknown and consequently magic marking.

In the York district, when a certain little bird was heard crying near a camp, the women called it the *gang'il'yung jeda* or "baby bird", and if they wanted a baby they shouted to the bird, and the baby went inside their mouths. *Beebeen wonga*, or *kokkeep wonga* - baby bird talking - were the remarks that greeted the bird's voice.

In the Fraser Range district, there were one or two families some of whose members had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot; not all the members of the family were born with this peculiarity. R. Helms photographed one of these women whom he had met during his journey across W.A. with the Elder Exploring Expedition, and inquiries amongst the Fraser Range natives elicited the fact that the woman's brother was similarly deformed, and also some of the members of her mother's sisters' and father's brothers' families.

In the Wallal district I saw a hermaphrodite amongst the full blooded natives assembled there, the upper part of the body being a perfectly developed woman's shape, while the lower half (genitalia, etc.) was that of an imperfectly developed man. In the same district a man had grown to about six feet in height, but the upper part of his body, his chest and stomach, were those of a small boy. The man was very far gone in consumption when I came upon him. Wallal is on the Ninety Mile Beach, and the desert natives frequently assemble on that part of the coast for a change of food.

The mother nurses her child for two or three years, sometimes longer, the nature of the bush food and its unsuitability as infant diet rendering this custom absolutely necessary.

Should another infant be born while the suckling of the previous one is still in progress, the newly arrived baby is generally strangled unless the elder one has become emaciated through drinking its mother's milk during her pregnancy, in which case the elder is neglected for the younger, and rapidly pines away and dies, unless by some fortuitous circumstance a seed food suitable to its tender years is in season, when it will share in the harvest and will probably survive.

Southern babies, if born in the cold weather, are wrapped in a kangaroo skin or opossum skin cloak, usually the former, as the opossum fur is more generally used for making string; at other times of the year the baby is put in the goota or skin bag. In the north no clothing is worn, either by the mother or baby.

The average number of children to each family may be four or five, very seldom more, that is, the progeny of one man and woman, but it is very rarely that all a woman's children will arrive at maturity. Polygamy being universal, a man may have from two to twenty wives. Accidents, infantile ailments, unsuitability of native foods for infants, all these take their part in keeping down the numbers in a family, and excepting half-castes, who are in some instances exceedingly prolific, there were rarely more than two or three children belonging to one man and woman in any of the numerous camps visited. Yoolyeenan, a Southern half-caste woman, had thirteen children. Many of these have died, and many of the progeny of those that have survived died before their childhood is passed. Another Bunbury half-caste woman, who was reared at the New Norcia R.C. Mission had some fifteen children, most of whom died. Both these women were Tondarups and had Tondarup mothers, grandmothers, etc.

It was a Waning custom (S.W.) that when a little baby died, the father sometimes cut out its heart, cooked it and gave it to the baby's mother to eat. The mother, after having eaten her baby's heart, did not cry so much for her child, her sorrow being lessened by eating its heart.

The mother's affection for her child is sometimes as intense as in the most devoted of European mothers. Children are never punished. A man will beat his wife for chastising her child, and I have seen a little boy pick up a handful of sand and throw it into his mother's open eyes, his father and uncles laughing at the trick.

Many mothers in the Kimberley district will carry even the corpses of their dead children about with them, the stench of the decaying body from which the mother never parts by night or day, eventually causing her own death. Sometimes a little corpse will be placed in an old anthill, and when the woman returns to that district, she will go to the anthill and collect the bones of her little child, and will not infrequently construct the little skeleton as she sits by her camp fire, crying and mourning the while. Bones of dead infants have been carried about for years by their mothers, and often when a dead woman's camp has been overhauled, a little bark bundle containing the bones of her little baby will be found carefully stowed away. Yet these Northern and West Kimberley women have often eaten their own babies! One woman whom I saw at Disaster Bay Creek had killed and eaten three of her own children!

Bishop Salvado related that once in the New Norcia district a young mother who had lost her child heard one of the single note birds calling in the twilight. Believing it to be her baby's voice, she rushed from the camp in the direction of the voice, answering her baby by her cries as she fled. She was found next morning many miles away from her camping ground, having followed the voice until she became exhausted.

East of Roeburne it is stated that the women made a rough ring of spinifex gum, which they gave to their babies when teething. They softened the gum with the aid of fire, and shaped it roughly, closing the two ends.

In the southern districts there were certain "standing stones" and rocks which were called bwaia koolongur (bwaia = stone or rock, koolongur = children) "where the little children sat down". Children's voices could be plainly heard in the vicinity of these stones, and the Perth natives stated that when women wanted a baby they passed near the stone, and one of the little babies sometimes went into them. If the baby did not come, it was because the women had been mootchoo (committed adultery). One of these bwaia koolongur was to be seen some distance off the old Perth-York Road. The place of the stone was winnaitch (forbidden) at all other times, and men always made a considerable detour when passing the vicinity of the bwaia koolongur. Certain trees were also supposed to contain the spirits of babies, in the same manner as the babies' stone. The babies from both trees and stone went into the woman either through her navel or through her mouth.

W.H. Cusack of the Tableland district, Nor'West, mentioned a belief among the native women of the district, that their babies were the incarnation of the spirit kangaroo, emu or whatever other meat food they had taken just before their first sickness in pregnancy. The spirit of the animal or bird had entered into them and had become a baby. Both the district and the animal belonged to the baby when born, no matter where the place of its birth might eventually be.

There is a Wonnerup legend (S.W.) according to which the kallal or killal (sergeant ant) is a demma goomber greatgrandparent (ancestor) and always tries to kill the little babies. The jerragurt - little black lizard, also a demma goomber - is however always at hand to save the children. According to my native informants, the baby first comes to the mother's brother's thigh, and it calls out to him, "I want my father and mother." The kallal hears the baby crying and calling and says to it, "Come closer, come closer, I can't hear you," (yoolin yoolin burt warran, nganya jeeda yowern bowern abbain) and the baby, thinking that father and mother are speaking, replies, "Ngammana ngaiana koorija yennain," (father, mother,

directly I'm coming), but the baby cannot see where it is going and again cries out, "I don't know where I'm going. I must get ready for father and mother." The kallal says, "Come closer, come closer, I cannot hear you," and when the baby is within reach of him, the kallal picks up his dowuk and hits the baby on his head, and the hole that is in all the babies' heads is the hole the kallal made. It is called walamat, and must not be touched. Sometimes the kallal will not only kill the baby but will cut it up in little pieces, and then the jerragurt comes and picking up all the little pieces, he cries out while he puts them together, "Demma goomber goo, demma goomber goo, meelee doona ginjee," (great grandfathers, great grandparents, all you old Doonan people do the same by and by.) Boolga (hair), mara (hands), mara beera (nails), mara ngaia (hand mother = thumb), karo eejeega (all put together again).

The jerragurt or birarr as it is sometimes called, is supposed by the Gingin natives to have formed the generative organ is man, the yemerr, another species of small black lizard making the women's organ. Hence the birarr is the moorurt (relation) of the men, while the yemerr is the women's moorurt. If a child died in the Gingin district, the mother sometimes collected a few small boughs in the vicinity of the grave, and tying these in a little bundle, she placed them in her goota (skin bag). The boughs were supposed to contain the kajjeen (spirit) of the dead child, and wherever the mother camped she took the bundle out of the goota and placed it beside her. This was done until the body had become skeletonised, a period generally "guessed". Then one day the woman lights a fire when a westerly wind was blowing and the kajjeen contained in the boughs was supposed to go away in the smoke westward over the sea, where all the dead natives go. The boughs were left on the ground or burnt, for they no longer held the spirit of the child.

In the Broome district, if a coast native married an inland woman, the children went into the mother's tribe, and if an inland man married a coast woman, the children belonged to the coastal tribes.

Jilling-jilling is the Broome name for the spirit of a dead baby which goes inside its mother and bites and tears her until either the jalngangoooc (native doctor - sorcerer) takes it out or the mother dies. Weerra ngeeringa nilerr - no good, showing sharp teeth, is what is said when the spirit of this baby is seen. It is thin to attenuation, having clawlike fingers and exceedingly sharp teeth. Its desire is to make its mother jooarree (dead) like itself.

The belief that procreation has nothing to do with conception is general throughout the State, all babies "coming from outside". In the South the baby is supposed to come first to the thigh of the woman's brother and from there it enters her through her mouth. The mother's brother sometimes dreams that the baby comes and sits on his thigh and then goes to its future mother. If the dream occurred in Bunbury, or some distant district belonging to the man's own relations or relations-in-law, the child has an interest in such district from this circumstance, but it belongs to the place of its birth in the South, that is, if it is born in Gingin, and is a boy, a Gingin brother-in-law will have charge of the boy when "beedawa" (initiation) time comes.

In the Northern coastal districts, particularly along the Ninety Mile Beach, Broome, Beagle Bay, Sunday Island, etc., all babies are supposed to come from jimbin (under the ground). Every baby is at first a ngargalul or spirit child, whose home is jimbin, and jimbin is underneath both land and sea. Jimbin is in all respects similar to the surface of the ground, with springs, seed, roots, game and everything else that grows on the surface, and it has seas as well, in which are fish of all kinds, but it is ngargalula country only, and no one but a ngargalul can come from jimbin. This belief is so curious, and so general amongst the natives of the districts above mentioned that their statements are given verbatim, as it is believed the interest in the subject will thereby be heightened. Jimbin is the home of the ngargalul, or spirit babies, but no ngargalul has ever returned to jimbin after it has once left it, for when the ngargalul is born and grows, it ceases to be a ngargalul and is a boy or girl as the case may be, and when that boy or girl dies its spirit goes to Loomurn, which is westward over the sea, where all the coastal natives go when they die. These ngargalul can be seen by jalngangooroo at any time, playing about in their own country or at the bottom of the sea, or on the beach. The ngargalul that come in dreams to the sea coast men are lamma nalma (white haired), but they change their colour while the women are carrying them. If a man

dreams of a ngargalul and his wife does not carry it, he repudiates her, for the ngargalul having come to him should have gone to his woman who must carry it, and if therefore he thinks the baby ought to be born and is not, then it must be because it did not like the woman and would not go to her. There is no definite time between the dream and the appearance of the real baby, and any of a man's wives may carry it, but if a man has but one woman and a, to him, lengthy time elapses and no baby comes, then it is the woman's fault.

Again, if the man has not dreamed that a ngargalul came to him, and his woman gives birth to a baby, he believes that baby is not his, that it does not belong to him, that it did not come to him and therefore must have come to some other man, and then his task is to find out to whom the ngargalul came, and when he has made the discovery, either by himself or with the aid of a jalngangooroo, the man who sent the ngargalul to his woman is either speared or, if of the proper marrying class, the woman is handed over to him. No woman can dream of a ngargalul, her province being to nurse and carry the ngargalul. The ngargalul retains the "spirit state" or, as the natives say, remains a ngargalul until it begins to talk, when the natives all know that the ngargalul has merged into the boy, when it is "no more ngargalul". When the ngargalul comes to the man in his dreams, it speaks to him in his own dialect, and it usually cries and follows him to his home from the place where he has dreamed it came to him. Again, ngargalul can only come to the man who has a ranjee. What is a ranjee? A dream? boogarree is the equivalent for dream in the districts mentioned; a spirit? soul? spirit double? astral body? dream spirit? dream ancestor? yamminga is the term for all ancestors. Ranjee may be any of these, for it is an intangible something possessed by a man without which he will always be as unknown to the ngargalul as they will be to him. There are apparently three kinds of ranjee.

1. that which a man possesses "inside of him" which renders it possible for him to dream of ngargalul and so have children.

2. ranjee or spirit of the lightning, which is both male and female.
3. ranjee which haunt certain trees and which keep guard over certain totems. These ranjee are the spirits of dead natives who instead of going to Loomurn have returned to their country and keep watch and punish and do the bidding of the jalngangooroo of their own people. Only jalngangooroo can see the two last ranjee, but the first ranjee, which is inside a man, cannot be seen. There are men who are closely related to each other, some of whom have these ranjee and consequently children, while others have no ranjee and therefore no children. Only those who have fulfilled native laws appear to have ranjee.

The ranjee booroo or ground is kalboo - above the ground, the ngargalul-booroo is jimbin - below the ground. The ngargalula ground is dream ground only, while the ranjee ground is real country. The ranjee ground is avoided, because it is forbidden ground, but the ngargalul ground is walked over always.

If two ngargalul, a boy and a girl, come to a man in his dreams, one of these only will go into the woman, the boy usually, and some time afterwards the girl may come to see her brother, and may probably go into another wife of the same man.

Ngargalul can only be said to be ancestral spirits in the sense of having been placed in their country, jimbin, by yamminga ancestors. Yamminga put the ngargalul underneath the ground, along the coast, into the caves and rocks, and also into the country beneath the sea, where there is bush, and game and ground to walk on, but so far as investigation has gone, the ngargalul are not the re-incarnation of any yamminga. Where the ngargalul first came to the yamminga the natives cannot say, the ngargalul have always been jimbin, and there were ngargalul in yamminga times. As soon as the ngargalul grow into the boy or girl they can never go to jimbin again. The spirits of dead children or adults linger for a period round the spot where they died, but eventually they all go to Loomurn, with the exception of the ranjee who come back to certain spots on their own ground, and also the spirits of some yamminga people who went into the ground or were

Every ngargalul knows its own class etc.

This is like Strehlow's Arunta (Lang)

No, it is not. It is the belief of the Broome district natives & others within the area, & has always been the belief of these people. The Arunta (Arrunda, correct name) class divisions & marriage laws are similar to those of Broome, but the ngargalula belief belongs to Broome only. I have found the full ngargalula belief in no other group.

turned into stone. These will be dealt with later; they are mentioned here in order to show that the native belief does not rest in the re-incarnation of spirit ancestors, but that the ngargalul or spirit babies have been placed in their present ground in period long antecedent to what the northern natives call "yamminga times". In this respect they differ materially from the Arunta spirit individuals in Spencer and Gillen's work.

Every ngargalul knows its own class and that of the man to whom it comes in dreams. It has frequently happened that a ngargalul has come to a man who is not its proper class father, it will belong perhaps to that of his wife's brother or some other class. For instance, a Paljeri man one day lay down in the shade to sleep and a ngargalul came to him. He said to the ngargalul, "Who is your father?" "Kaimera," replied the ngargalul, "I am Boorong." The ngargalul however followed the Paljeri man home and went into his wife, but when it was born it went into its proper class by birth, which was Banaka, its father being Paljeri and its mother Kaimera. When the baby, a boy, had reached the balgal stage (3rd stage of initiation) the Paljeri man met a "brother-in-law", a Kaimera, at the gathering, and said to him, "That is your boy; I stole him when he was ngargalul, he followed me home." The Kaimera man from that time onward took a special interest in the boy, and the boy having been told the circumstance of his change of class, was particularly attentive in the matter of presents to his Kaimera kogga (uncle).

The ngargalul knows its own booroo - ground, when it is ngargalul only; when it becomes a baby it knows nothing. As the boys or girls grow up, their fathers tell them where their own "booroo" is and also what their totems are, for wherever the father has seen the ngargalul in his dreams, that booroo is the boy's or girl's booroo, and whatever totems may be seen in the vicinity of the ngargalul, those are its own ngargalul totems only. The ngargalul will either show its totem to its father in the dream ground, or the father will see the totem near the ngargalul.

Beejee, a Banaka from Weerraginmarree (a creek north of Broome) married a Southern Didarruk woman, and lived with her on the Native Reserve near Cannington, some twelve miles from Perth. One night, Beejee dreamed that he was beside a water-hole in some part of his own district, and a ngargalul came to him. Soon after the baby was born on the Reserve, but its own ground was the rockhole where it came to him, and both the water and the rock were the baby's totems. There was no difficulty about the ngargalul coming south for they have power, while ngargalul only, to go anywhere, and a man may be two hundred miles away from his wife and dream of a ngargalul and if he does not return to his wife for years, and he finds her with a child on his return, he believes that child is his, for its ngargalul had come to him.

Along the northern coast past Broome, there are many rock shelters and caves into which the high tides of those northern seas penetrate. Into one of these caves, called koorrbaigoo, a Kaimera who was fishing saw a barrumbarra (a large green fish) enter. The Kaimera went into the cave after the fish, and speared it. When he had caught the fish he went to a camping place called Beedaboogun, where he sat down and cooked the fish and ate it. After he had eaten the barrumbarra, he lay down under a shady tree and slept, and as he slept he dreamed that a ngargalul came to him crying. The Kaimera said, "Yanga jeea eebala?" (what is your father?) The ngargalul replied, "Kaimera, jooa eebala," (Kaimera, you are my father). Then the ngargalul followed the Kaimera man home and went into his wife. A waljooroo (long bean) was growing at the jimbin spot where the Kaimera man dreamed the ngargalul came to him, and he saw the waljooroo and gave it to the baby as its own jalnga (totem). As the ngargalul followed the man home in his dreams, he saw rocks, springs etc. on the dream road, and all these became the child's ngargalul totems. The baby was born far away from Beedaboogun, but that spot was its booroo. Kalwarra yoon-joo, "only born there", is the term used when speaking of the place where the baby was actually born. His own ground is where the father dreamed him. When the boy had grown up and

"..abstinence for a certain period from principal edible totem.."

What is he has a dozen? (Lang)

The ngargalula totem takes precedence. (D.M.B.)

wanted to increase his waljooroo totem, he dreamed he was at Beedaboogun, and picked up a waljooroo there, and bit it and threw the bitten fragments all around the place, and he saw in his dream that a great quantity of waljooroo came up, and then he knew that it was his ngargalul ground and totem.

Beedaboogun was part of his father's real hunting ground.

(With one or two exceptions the northern natives dream the increase of flesh food or fish totems.) Beedaboogun, the place where the father dreamed of the ngargalul, cannot be identified with the Nanja of the Arunta (Northern Tribes of Central Aust. B. 448) upon which so much of the Arunta system of re-incarnation rests. Beedaboogun was not "sacred" to the individual whose ngargalul came from there, nor did he or his people refrain from eating the waljooroo found there, or any other vegetable or animal food which might be obtained in the vicinity. And so with all other ngargalula booroo. There is no word meaning "forbidden" applied to these places, as there is to the ranjee booroo. Beegardain ngooroo (shady and forbidden places) is that term applied to forbidden spots such as :

1. Trees under which circumcision, subincision etc. are performed.

2. Certain places haunted by spirits of returned relatives, "ranjies".

3. Places where blood drinking is indulged in.

4. Stones bearing some human or animal shape round which legendary tales of "transformation" cling. These are the forbidden places, but no ngargalul are ever seen in their vicinity.

Neamoo or Neam is the Broome district word for forbidden food, and applies to all food forbidden to boys and girls until certain stages in manhood and womanhood have been reached. It is also applied to abstinence for a certain period from principal edible totem of a dead relative. Nganjee is the Gascoyne district equivalent, tajjee and jajjee, the Ashburton terms, and ngoolgurt and woolga some of the Southern equivalents.

The Northern natives (coastal) believed that there were three hunting grounds. Jimbin, which is underneath the ground, where the ngargalul and totems reside; Kalboo, the surface of the ground where the natives live; Koorrwal, beyond the sky, where there are also natives. The kalboo and koorrwal natives once had communication with each other, a road having been made by a jalngangooroo with an immense kalleegooroo (bull roarer) which reached from kalboo to koorrwal. The women did not know that the road was a kalleegooroo. Along this road the natives passed to and fro. One day two women who were coming "kalboo way" had started on their journey too late, and camping for the night, half way to kalboo, they lighted a fire which burned the kalleegooroo in two, and all the natives who were then koorrwal had to remain there, and never afterwards could the kalboo natives see them or go up to them. The dark spot in the Milky Way is supposed by the Northern natives to be the kalleegooroo but whether it is the one that was burnt in half by the women, or another, the natives cannot state. A Eucla correspondent stated that at a certain period of initiation, the boy had to keep his eyes fixed upon the dark spot in the Milky Way, but in the Northern coastal area, the boys were not allowed to look at the dark spot during their "balgai" and "balelee" stages of initiation.

With regard to the three countries in which the Northern natives held belief, the prospective father saw the jimbin country in his dreams only. Jalngangooroo are the only people who can now see the koorrwal natives, and they can only see them in their dreams, or by visiting them while their material body lies asleep. The jalngangooroo believe that they can leave their material bodies and assuming a sort of astral body, visit not only the koorrwal natives, but also kalboo places hundreds of miles away from their own camping grounds, but they do not visit the ngargalul ground, although they see it, and send their totems there when the season of such totem is over. The dead totems, that is, those that die with their owner, do not return jimbin, but go Loomurnwards with their owner.

In the jimbin booroo, the ngargalul sees all the totems, but when it becomes a child it cannot see them, and its father has to tell it what its totems are. If a ngargalul has been seen playing with a kangaroo or opossum, then such animal will be its own ngargalul totem. The little spirit is rather mischievously disposed at times, particularly when it is a seacoast ngargalul, as often a man will find a turtle on the beach asleep, and turning it over on its back he goes to his camp to inform his friends of his find. On his return the turtle will have vanished, and then he knows that the ngargalul has taken its friend back to the sea again. The mysterious connection between the turtle and the ngargalul who are often seen playing together on the beach, cannot be explained by the natives; they only know that the ngargalul is a special friend of the turtle, and all turtle totem men are jalngangooroo. There is, too, a special turtle dance, which will be described later, in which the male and female turtle are the chief symbols. Only one species of turtle, the koolibal (big green turtle) is the special friend of the ngargalul.

The ngargalul of the pindana (inland districts) are black-haired and have darker skins than the kooja-ngooroo (seacoast) ngargalul (black-haired = nyimberr nalma), and are in this respect similar to the fairer and darker marrying pairs of the South. Both ngargalul are rubbed with reerrga (charcoal) from their birth, the rubbing being applied sometimes as often as twice daily, but it is usually rubbed in at irregular periods during the child's infancy.

A Boorong man from the Broome district lived at Beverley (Southwest) for some years, his jandoo (woman) being away from him during his stay in Beverley. This man had a ranjee, for one night he dreamed he saw a ngargalul beside him. Next morning when he woke, a little bird alighted near him, and talked to him. He knew the bird was the bilyoor or spirit or soul of the ngargalul and he said to it, "Tho'a, meejala beebee ngan jeea," (Shoo, go and stay with your mother) and the bird flew away to his jandoo, and the woman carried it and

when the father returned to his jandoo he knew the baby was his because the ngargalul had come to him. These little birds who are supposed to have the bilyoor of the ngargalul inside them are called jeera-jeera (jeera = little boy), to distinguish them from the ordinary little birds which are called collectively beerajona.

When pelicans and other birds were men, they had ngargalul the same as the natives now have, but the ngargalul are not the re-incarnations of pelicans, nor have they necessarily the pelican for their totem. The ngargalul is also not the re-incarnation of any of its fathers' people who may have been buried in various portions of the ground underneath which is its own jimbin country, for the spirits of all these people went to Loomurn, except those who returned as ranjee, or who went into the ground. Even if a ngargalul were seen in the vicinity of one of the places where some ancestor had been turned into stone, it is not a re-incarnation of such ancestor, nor is it given his name. He is simply yamminga - ancestor - to the ngargalul when it becomes a child as he is to all its relations.

Once the ngargalul has come kalboo it can never go jimbin again, for nothing dead can go jimbin.

The ngargalul of the Sunday Island district are (according to W.H. Bird) supposed to have their home in two small islands called "the Twins" which lie between Swan Point and the Island. There is a cavernous blowhole on one of these islands in which the ngargalul are supposed to live during the day, and at night they come out and play and sing amongst themselves. These ngargalul, Mr. Bird states, constitute the pre-natal form of existence, and all babies owe their being to the ngargalul.

Nothing in the nature of a sacred churinga, such as is mentioned by Spencer and Gillen, has been found in the vicinity of the spot where the ngargalul came to the man in his dreams, nor is such a thing looked for. It may be that churinga and ranjee have a certain connection with each other, in that a spirit baby cannot come to the man unless he has a ranjee, but

no man ever looks for a visible sign at the spot in which the ngargalul came to him. Beyond the ngargalul, and its totem and its ground, all of which are only seen in dreams, there is nothing visibly connected with the ngargalul, and no symbol of any kind has been picked up on the ground below which is the jimbin ground of the ngargalul. The ranjee that a man has, and the possession of which enables him to have children, is nothing visible or tangible, and he only knows he has a ranjee when he dreams of the ngargalul. Every native is so thoroughly familiar with every feature of hill, brook, rock and valley in the country of his fathers, that when he dreams of the ngargalul and its booroo, he easily located the booroo on some part of his own real ground, that is, his ancestral ground, the "fire" or "home" of his fathers. The totems which he has seen on the dream ground will, if they are vegetables, seeds, roots, etc. be found on the real ground. If they are animals or birds they may or may not be on the real ground, but they have been there, and have been seen with the ngargalul, and so are its ngargalul totems. Springs, trees, rocks or caves on the dream booroo become the individual totems of the ngargalul, but no sacred character attaches to these from this circumstance. There is not one instance in evidence of a single visible sacred object being found in the vicinity of the ngargalul booroo. When the father dreams of the ngargalul, he sees on its booroo all the weapons, implements, utensils, etc., of native life which are to be seen on the kalboo ground, but he never even looks for one of these on the ngargalul booroo when he has located it.

What might be called the most sacred weapon of the Northern Coastal Group is the kalleegooroo or bull-roarer, similar in all respects to the sacred churinga of Spencer and Gillen. But one of these has never been found in the vicinity of the ngargalul booroo, even although that booroo is part of a district, in some hiding place if which these kalleegooroo are stored. These sacred implements may be very old ones, made by some long dead tchammo "grandfather", but in the white ant regions of the Kimberley, kalleegooroo do not last very long and the kalleegooroo used at the initiation ceremonies may be old or new, but they

have never had any connection with the ngargalula. A young man sees a kalleegooroo for the first time when he is about to become larrabarree jammunungur (the sixth stage of initiation). The older men, usually a day or two before the ceremony, go to the hiding place and inspect the kalleegooroo, wooden vessels, etc. that have been put away since the last ceremony of the kind. If they find these partially destroyed, they mend them; if entirely destroyed, two or three of the old men will proceed to make new ones, marking them and testing their noise, and perhaps they will show how these are made, to some boongana and naamboongana, who, when they become talloorgurra - elderly married men - will be able to make kalleegooroo also. At a certain part of the larrabarree jammunungur's initiation he is given one of these kalleegooroo for a night, and sleeps with it under his head, this being the first time he handles the implement. When it is given to him by an elder brother-in-law or mother's brother, the man says to him, "Jeea kalleegooroo," (your kalleegooroo), but no mention of the young man's ngargalul period is made, at this or any stage of initiation, and if the kalleegooroo or any other sacred implement had been found, or should have been found in the ngargalul booroo, it would either be shown to the boy or some allusion to it would be made by the elders.

These, then, are the beliefs of the northern coastal natives with regard to their babies, and this belief holds amongst all the natives eastward of the Ninety Mile Beach, and as far as Sunday Island. How much further eastward and southward this remarkable instance of spirit babies occupying a special ground of their own, upon which no grown up person can intrude, nor dead man nor dead totem enter, is held in belief, has not been ascertained. The native statements have been given without theory or surmise, because of their intensely interesting character. Furthermore, the natives state that the ngargalul booroo is always a part of their own father's and grandfathers' country. For instance, if a man has been for years on some territory which, however, is not his own, and he dreams of a ngargalula,

the ground or ngargalul beeroo belongs to the country of the dreamer's fathers, not the country he is living in or that he may have been residing in for years, and which may have become in the process of time as familiar to him as his own country. Beejee had been for years in the South, nevertheless, when he dreamed of the ngargalul, its country was the country of his fathers. Wabbingan, a nephew of Beejee, also lived in the South and married a Southern woman, but he never had a baby, "because", as he and Beejee said, "he had no ranjee".

*Part III
Totem
chapter*

If the father dreams of a girl ngargalul he sees on the ground near her the mai (vegetable) totems that belong to her, and which he will give her when she becomes a baby. The girl ngargalul has always mai for her ngargalul totem, the boy ngargalul having either wallee (flesh or fish) or mai. When they grow up, they are given other totems, which may be wallee, mai, some natural feature, a spring, etc., and of course they inherit their fathers' totems, but their ngargalul totems are always their own personal totems from birth.

I have often asked them what would happen if a girl came instead of the boy ngargalul the father had seen in his dreams, and their answer was that such a mistake could not possibly occur. "If the father sees the boy, the boy must come." In the case of a betrothal before birth, if a boy happens to come instead of the girl promised, it is "because the ngargalul had not come to the father when the promise was made, and when the ngargalul came it was a boy ngargalul, and the father couldn't change it." A man may dream of ngargalul before he has passed the stage entitling him to take a wife.

This view that the father alone is the originator of the baby, and that the mother merely carries and nurses it is not peculiar to the Australian natives.

Jimmer, a Balladonia district native, stated that at Eucla, when a girl had been promised from birth (yoomeree = promised or betrothed, Balladonia dialect) to a man living perhaps a great distance west of her tribe, the young people may not see each other, until the girl has arrived at maturity, and then one day her father and mother begin a journey to their son-in-law's country, taking the girl with them. When they arrive there, the son-in-law's people come to meet them, the young man also accompanying them. The father-in-law goes over to the young man and gives him a tap on the chest with his closed fist, the mother-in-law advancing and doing likewise. After this little ceremony the girl, who was walking behind her father and mother, goes over to her husband's camp. While her people remain in the vicinity, the son-in-law feeds them well, and gives them many presents, leaving both food and gifts at their camp during their temporary absence. They shortly afterwards leave for their own country, and may probably never see their girl again.

In some parts of the Murchison, and other Northern districts, a young man will sometimes be given a wife at an earlier period than usual. It generally depends on the character of the young man. If he is "good and quiet", his brother will give or lend him one of his wives, or a wife will be found for him by a mother's brother.

Kongal-moyer-al-genjee - own uncle and nephew relationship. (Southern term) If the uncle has occasion to go a journey without his wife or wives, the nephew must look after his aunts. The uncle's brothers, if present in the camp will find meat food for their sisters-in-law, but the nephew must see that no one interferes with them. The nephew has to be guarded against, too, as some of his aunts will probably be young women, and he must not interfere with them.

In the Vasse district, if a man dies leaving a family of widows and children, and there are no brothers of the dead man who are alive, or, if alive, are willing to take them, the nephew can take them. When he decides to do so, he picks up the spears etc., and going some distance away from his own camp,

he lights a fire and sits down by it, and shortly afterwards the aunt and her progeny join him. Should the nephew already have a wife or wives, the widow moves away from her old camp and lights a new fire, and after a time the nephew and his wife or wives will come over to the new fire. The nephew's own wives will make the new shelter, and will at first try to "master" the new member of the family, things finally adjusting themselves either by her submission or her mastery.

In the same district, if a man died leaving, say, three widows, his next brother had first choice in the widows, to take one or all as he chose. If he took only one of them, probably the youngest, the next brother had the next choice, and so on.

Sometimes a man will have four or five wives, while his brother has none at all. In these cases, the wives were most jealously watched, and if they became unfaithful, they were either punished or killed according to the temperament of the husband. If the brother who had misbehaved with them pleased the temptation "that he was out hunting and the woman coaxed him to go with her" the husband might forgive him, but the woman was always punished. A great deal depends upon the temper of the husband in all these disputes.

In the Vasse district, when a mootchoo or wrong class marriage took place, and the wrong-doers for some reason were not killed, they were then compelled to keep to the mootchoo line, and were not allowed, should one or the other die, to re-marry into their proper division. Once the wrong step was taken it was irrevocable; they had broken the direct or right line of marriage, and were obliged to abide by its consequences, and not only that, but they were generally considered "fair game" for any native either of their own proper marrying class, or of their "brother stock" who met them in the bush.

Murranjerree was the Vasse term applied to a young girl who had been betrothed from infancy to someone and who could not be claimed by any other person than the one to whom she had been betrothed. She had been dajjeluk - betrothed in infancy - to the man, and anyone else who took her was killed, either by

magic, or by the spear, the tribe of which the betrothed husband was a member being the "instruments of justice". Kal'ai-yongin - giving fire (magic), bulya yongin - giving "bulya" magic.

In the Perth district, if a father or mother dies, and a child or children of whom he or she may have been very fond, are left behind, the kaanya or spirit of their dead parent invariably comes back for them, and wishes and wishes for them and the favourite child or children very soon die. Mamma kool allin - the father wished for it and it went to him.

Mutual separation from incompatibility of some kind has now and then taken place amongst the Southern coastal natives, the woman however going to her father and mother-in-law's camp and not to that of her own people.

Boys and girls all over the State were forbidden to eat certain articles of food, until the girls were married, and the boys had passed their final initiation. If young girls ate bandicoot, they would become too prolific and if boys ate young bandicoot, turtle, young emu or other delicacies, they became lustful - boyer.

In the Pinjarra district, if a wife refused to do her husband's bidding, and he was too indolent or fond to punish her, should her brother or sister witness her disobedience, either of these could compel her to obey her husband by spearing her or beating her with a wanna (woman's digging stick).

In the Vasse district, if a man, either through laziness or some other cause, was unable to keep his wife or wives supplied with meat food, they could leave him and return to their own relations. As soon as he is seen returning unsuccessful from a day's hunt, when a good "hunting wind" has been blowing, and his meero and spears are in good condition, some women in camp commence to sing a derisive song, and this being taken up by other women, affects the man so much that he either fights and kills someone or gets killed, or, being perhaps poor spirited, he leaves the camp and lives by himself "hermit fashion" on roots and woman's game. If, while he is thus living alone, some young hunters kill a kangaroo in his vicinity, he goes over

to the place where they have temporarily camped, and catching hold of the tail of the kangaroo, or whatever part they may have cut, he picks it up and carries it away with him, saying, "I'm very dirty now, and I've touched this, so you can't eat it." The young men laugh at him and allow him to carry the portion he has touched away with him. Sometimes he is found dead by hunters passing in the vicinity of his camp, for no one willingly visits a man who thus relinquishes his manhood. When his dead body is found it is usually buried by the finders. His kaanya haunts the place where he died for a little time and then goes away to Koorannup - the home of the dead natives - westward, from whence it never returns.

If, as now and then happened, a man and woman continually offended against the moral laws of the tribe, they were eventually killed by some of the members, but if the man had not gone to extremes in his evil-doing, he sometimes propitiated the members by presents of kailee (boomerangs) and other weapons and ornaments, thus bribing them to condone his offence, but in the end, and more especially if he continued in evil courses, he was killed by some of the men in camp.

The Pinjarra men went northward and southward along the coast for their wives. Wooderr, a Mandura Ngogonyuk, obtained a wife from as far north as Moore River, a Didarruk woman named Taggoona. He also had an Australind Didarruk named Mittap.

Ngal-ngal - "cutting across" - is the term used in Pinjarra when a betrothed girl is taken by some other man, instead of her betrothed husband. In such a case, when a woman takes another husband instead of the one to whom she has been promised, the rejected lover has the privilege of spearing the woman, no one interfering with him. In one instance, a man found that a young woman who had been his dajjeluk (infant betrothed) had, on arriving at maturity, taken a husband of her own choosing. The jilted man met her at some great gathering, and as soon as he saw her he threw his kailee at her, then he threw his club, both of which she dodged. As he had no other weapons near him other than his meero (spearthrower) he flung this also, and with its

despatch, he ended the dispute, as he saw that some magic protected her from him. He became friendly with her afterwards and gave her to the man she had chosen, who gave him presents of weapons etc. in return.

In all districts, both north and south, if a man looks deliberately at his mother-in-law, or has any intercourse with her, his hair will fall out, and he will become bald, and when the natives see his bald head they know that he has been behaving badly with his mother-in-law. At Gwalla, on the Eastern Goldfields, at Southern Cross, Norseman, Yalgoo, Mannine, Katanning and other districts, I met several bald natives, and as I was obtaining a specimen of hair from the natives, I had to let them perceive that I saw their baldness. Their shame at my knowledge was clearer evidence of the law of avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law than anything else could have been, and showed how keenly alive they were to their misdemeanour. They did not attempt to "explain it away".

Gingin men gave their daughters to Perth, Guildford and Pinjarra husbands, and obtained wives from Perth and Swan districts. Sometimes the Gingin girls ran away with men from outside their marrying "road", but the tribe to which the men belonged had either to return the young women or give others in exchange. This was done in the case of two Gingin girls who ran away with two men from the Bindoon district. The Bindoon men gave two other young women in exchange.

In the Gingin district, a little ceremony was enacted on the handing over of a young woman who had been betrothed in infancy to a Gingin man. The parents and many relatives of the young woman accompanied her to the place where her betrothed husband resided, bringing with them numerous presents (which were really articles of barter). When the party arrived near the camp of the new husband's people, they made fires at a little distance and sat down beside them, and after a short interval, the girl's kongan (mother's brother) brought her over towards her husband, who however took no notice of her, although his brothers made some remark regarding her growth into a woman, etc.

The mother of the young man then called the young girl over to her camp, and presently both were busy making the new main or hut, the mother also made the first fire in the new camp.

This method differs somewhat from that of districts further south, as in those places it is the young man's own father's sister who helps the girl make the hut, but in most of the places along the Southern and southwest coast, the families were constantly meeting, and the two young people were not strangers to each other. The girl's mother is, however, strictly "winneetch" (forbidden) to the young man. The girl then prepares the food which she has either brought with her, or which has been given her by her mother-in-law and when it is ready, she either calls out to the young man, or if she is too shy, his attention will be laughingly directed to her by his brother. Presents are then exchanged, and the girl's relations soon after return to their own ground. Sometimes the girl will run after them, but she is quickly reconciled in the districts where she has been familiar with her husband's people since childhood. Bootoyn and Beemulla "uncles" (kongon) would not give wives to the Gingin men although their districts were not very far from Gingin. Paucity of presents, badly made weapons, or neglect of the relations-in-law was doubtless the reason for this rule, but it was occasionally broken by some old Gingin mooran (grandfather) who bestowed a grandchild on some Gingin man from whom or from whose people some special generosity in the matter of food giving or other presents had been shown.

Whatever the origin of the Wanna wa or Dhoelgoo ceremony, which sanctioned promiscuous intercourse for a certain period, it certainly was a guard to a certain extent against deterioration of race, for children were doubtless born to people taking part in these savage orgies, and it can be well understood how, under this system, universality of certain types would become possible, for tribes sent contingents from long distances to take part in the Wanna wa, which was universal, apparently, throughout the State; it certainly obtained amongst all the tribes personally investigated.

No young girl whose first menstrual flux had not passed, was allowed to take any part whatever in this ceremony. The old women and little girl children, old men and young boys, had their own camp during the progress of the wanna wa, and only at night when dancing was held were they allowed to see the visiting men and women.

In the arrangement of a family camp at night, the man and his wife usually sleep side by side, the female children sleep beside their mother, the male children beside their father. Where a man has more than one wife, the women sleep in a row beside him, the children lying as near their own mothers as this arrangement will permit. In a breakwind camp which I saw at night in the Murchison district, there were two "bachelors" and two "grass widows" besides some married natives. The semi-circular breakwind sheltered all. The older married people had their own fire at one end of the half circle of boughs, and beside the older women the "grass widows" slept. On the other side of the older people some younger married folk slept, with their fire to the right of them, and at the other end of the half circle was the bachelors' fire. The half circle sheltering all these people was about ten or twelve yards in diameter.

If two own sisters married the same man and continually disagreed, the husband often gave one of them away to a brother.

Occasionally, as a previous example illustrates, a woman is born with a malformed womb, which however may not be observed until her allotment to her husband. If such malformation is found in a girl belonging to those tribes practising vulvotomy, an incision is made, the chipped handleless knife being used for the operation, and an opening about one or more inches is the result. Death did not always follow such rude surgery. In the Eastern Goldfields district the ceremony of throwing the girl up in the air followed the operation of vulvotomy. A number of fully initiated men took part in this ceremony, most of them being mothers' brothers or elder brothers-in-law. The girl was placed under a tree, or beside a rock, or she was brought over to the men by a mother's brother, the operation being performed either by a mother's brother or by a man of the girl's husband stock, if not her betrothed husband. She was then thrown up into the air, caught in her descent by the outstretched hands of the men, and tossed up again and again. The tossing sometimes preceded the operation. After the operation, access to the girl was optional by those taking part in the ceremony, but as these operations were generally performed during large gatherings such as the Wanna wa occasioned, the girl probably became purchasable at the time and only went to her allotted husband after the orgy.

In the districts beyond Duketon, the operator inserted the two fingers of his left hand in the vaginal orifice, and holding the cutting flint in his right hand, he made a short, sharp downward stroke on the lower part of the vagina, one stroke usually sufficing for the operation. If the blood flowed too freely, the wounded part was touched with a magic piece of crystal or pearlshell. The cutting knife was called in this district jeemarree, the same word being used in the Broome district for "wife".

In some other districts, the operator will wind human hair round his fingers and insert the bound fingers into the orifice for the purpose of stretching it. If this method is effective,

the knife is not used. The operation is however continued until bleeding takes place. In those districts where subincision is carried out to its fullest extent in the men, the incision in the females is extended more or less into the perineum, the result being somewhat similar to the rupture that usually takes place in the first parturition. Excessive bleeding is arrested by putting fur, down or warm ashes into the enlarged passage. This introcision of the female is undoubtedly a consequence of the subincision of the male, as will be evidenced by the above statements; the varying lengths of the incisions on the women are suited to the degrees of incision amongst the men.

It has been asserted that these rites were inaugurated with a view of preventing impregnation, but where it is an "article of faith" amongst the natives that the union of the sexes has nothing whatever to do with conception, this assertion has nothing to support it. The natives themselves say that it is a great ornamentation, and gives them increased virility of appearance, and the consequent incision in the females is a necessary corollary.

The act of coition being performed in a different manner from that of the whites, and very little semen being required to cause impregnation in the extreme cases where the incision stretched the whole length of the organ, the sides of the penis notwithstanding the widening of the female orifice, must be pressed together to a certain extent during copulation and the capillary attraction in the groove of the urethra would convey the semen to the enlarged orifice.

The duration of the menstrual period varies. Menstruation may begin in the girl's ninth year, particularly in the northern districts where girls mature early. Some young girls suffer greatly during this period which may last from three to even ten days, and during this time they are either in the camps of their grandparents, or with their mothers in camp apart from their fathers. Young married women will often go to their grandparents' camp at this time.

It is against aboriginal law to tamper with a girl child until her first menstrual period has passed, and her young breasts had begun to swell. This law held throughout the State, and only in the rarest instances, and since the coming of the white people, was it violated. When this happened, the perpetrator of this outrage was usually punished in some efficient manner.

Northern girls marry earlier than their Southern sisters, and sometimes they begin to bear children when very young. In these cases the labour is both prolonged and severe, and many a young mother, who in our civilised countries would scarcely be thought out of childhood, has endured days of agonising labour only to succumb in the end. Baby and mother are then buried together whether the baby be dead or alive.

Infanticide has been practised in all tribes, the causes being babies coming too quickly, insufficiency of food, some special physical deformity, and in both the Murchison and Disaster Bay and other districts, a special fondness for babies as an article of food.

The woman, being the burden bearer, had to carry not only all the "household goods" when shifting camp, but also the spare weapons of her husband, and when to these was added a heavy baby, and a little toddler who soon got tired of walking and clamoured to be carried, one or the other of the children must be killed, and the lot usually fell on the baby. I only met one instance in all my journeys throughout the west where a man carried his little boy during a journey.

The father usually killed the infant, and placed its body in a hollow tree, or at the foot of a tree, or in an ants' nest, or it was not only killed but eaten by its parents. Women often abandoned their babies for no other reason than to be rid of the trouble of rearing them. At Anhean Station, on the Murchison River, a woman who was tired of her baby wrapped it in a rug and placed it on top of a fence some six miles from the station, returning to the station in the evening and calmly announcing the baby's fate.

There were many methods of infanticide : strangulation, burying alive, knocking on the head, abandonment, filling the little mouth with sand, and killing and eating it, were some of the methods. Sometimes a woman will adopt a baby whose mother is about to kill it, and the baby being thus given over to the woman becomes her own child, the mother having no further right to it.

A half-caste Chinese girl was born in the Jerramungup district (S.W.) having a thin film between her eyelids, which prevented the opening of the eyes. As soon as this was noticed by one of the child's grand^{father's}mothers, the old ^{man}woman obtained a piece of sharpened flint, and made a tiny slit in each eye, which enabled the child to see. After a time a few eyelashes grew upon the lids but the opening never became enlarged and the child grew up and is now a woman, the eyes, in proportion to her face, being tiny narrow slits not more than the eighth of an inch in width. All malformations are attributed to magic.

Oftentimes a woman suffering from a severe headache will ask another woman to hit her on the head with a wattle until blood is drawn, thereby curing the kaata mindaitch (head sick).

In certain camps there were what we call wanton women, but whom the natives of the South call goonga boola - "many backs" - and the natives of the Broome district called bilba-goordain. These women were always eventually killed, when it was found that they cohabited indiscriminately and when punishment by their husbands, brothers, sisters or mothers was found to have no deterrent effect. If these names were applied to women of this kind, it is apparent from the existence of such names that tribal morality prevailed amongst the aborigines.

Woolberr, a Nagarnook, one of the last Gingin natives, killed his woman in a fit of temper, and thus became a self-made widower (yeenung). One day he received a bamboeroo (message stick) from a woman named Bai'at, a Tondarup, of Nyoono-yoorda, Gingin district. Joobar, a one-armed native and "brother" of the woman brought the bamboeroo to Woolberr. It had two notches upon it, one notch being a little shorter and wider than the other. These two notches meant "man and woman" and were metaphorically a proposal of marriage. Woolberr accepted the message and accompanied Joobar to Nyoono-yoorda, where he found Bai'at in company with a Nagarnook woman named Banyap, and an old Tondarup woman, aunt to Woolberr. No sooner had Banyap caught sight of Woolberr than she fell in love with him, and while he was seated near the fire of his aunt, Banyap came and

pulled his pipe out of his mouth and proceeded to smoke it. (This action, since the arrival of the whites, is a distinct declaration of love.) Banyap was a Nagarnook and sisterstock to Woolberr, and therefore should have kept entirely apart from him. Woolberr had caught a couple of opossums on his way to the camp, one of which he gave to the old woman, cooking the other for himself. Banyap went over to Woolberr's fire and taking the opossum out of the coals, she ate what she required, and left the rest of the opossum on the ground.

Woolberr made no objection whatever to Banyap's lively overtures. Meanwhile Bai'at sat in her camp and made no movement either to attract Woolberr's attention, or to assert her rights, although she was his proper class wife. Woolberr intended to sleep near his aunt's camp, but Banyap made a fire and a shelter, and prepared a bed for Woolberr and asked him to stay, and as there were no keepers of the old law alive except Woolberr, he accepted Banyap's overtures, and they became man and wife. Banyap had previously had two husbands, but no children. She bore Woolberr six children before she died. During her life time Woolberr had been offered Wabbaran, a Victoria Plains woman as a second wife, but refused her, and his refusal can be well understood in the face of Banyap's determined character. All Banyap's children predeceased her, and after her death Woolberr never remarried. Banyap's name was given her from banya - perspiration.

Woolberr stated that sometimes in his district a young girl and a man would form an attachment for each other, regardless of the fact of the girl's betrothal to some other man. This attachment, when perceived by the brothers or uncles of both, was either stopped by the intended husband, if he happened to be in the camp, or, if he proved willing to let the young people have their way, he mentioned his willingness to the elder brothers, uncles and grandfathers of the couple.

An old mooran (grandfather) from amongst these will then call the couple in front of all the camp, and he asks the young man if he wants the girl, the man replying in the affirmative. The girl is asked the same question, but sometimes in her terror, or excessive shyness, she will not answer directly, but she makes it

understood in some manner that she wishes to have her own choice in the matter. She is then formally given to the young man, who gives presents of food, etc. in return. Her mother's brother may possibly promise a female child to the girl's betrothed. If the allotted husband refuses to give up the girl, or if the girl, being frightened, repudiates her lover, then should an elopement of the pair occur they are both punished, sometimes killed. Night is the time usually chosen for eloping.

When old Gingin men caught some young males "winking the eye" (mel binjongin) at their young wives, they beat or speared their wives, not the young men, as they said the young women must have given the men some encouragement. At any rate, it was safer to beat the women. A young woman will show her preference for a young man by giving him some of her ornaments, or some other present, and if she sees him wear it she knows her affection is returned. The young lover usually reciprocates by presenting the girl with some of his personal adornments and when each sees the other wearing these tokens of their mutual affection, matters are soon brought to a climax by the elopement of the pair.

When a Gingin native ran away with another man's wife, they were followed and brought back, and were not only speared, but the woman usually fell upon their erring sister, and beat her with their wannas, the young woman making no resistance. Those of the men who were of the woman's marrying class were also privileged to spear the man who had run away with her. If these two people ran away again, they were both killed.

If an "uncle" sees one of his "nephews" playing with and teasing one of the uncle's wives, he can spear the young man. An elderly man once saw a young nephew "teasing" one of his young wives, and at daylight next morning the uncle sent a stone headed spear through the thigh of the nephew. The young man, having advanced no further than "teasing" the woman, did not think the circumstance justified the punishment, and at once caught up another stone headed spear (geejee borail) and sent

it through his uncle's thigh, no one interfering in the "uncle and nephew" quarrel.

When a man who is eloping with a woman arrives at the camp in which he intends to take refuge for a time, he leaves the woman in the bush close to the camp, and approaching it alone, he exchanges some light words with his friends there, whom he has often before visited. They guess at once why he has come, and he therefore only remarks anent the woman that "he has left his dog in the bush". If the woman or her husband (from whom she has run away) have any relatives in the camp, a fight immediately follows, and the "sister stock" of the woman rush to her hiding place and beat her most unmercifully. Should the husband who has been in pursuit arrive while the fighting is on, he and the goort-guttuk (lover) fight alone, no one interrupting them until it is seen that one or the other is getting worsted, when an old uncle will stop the fight. The wife returns to her husband who supplements the beating she has received by spearing her in the leg. If the two run away again, they are killed.

A child is named either from some circumstance attendant on its birth or a personal defect, or from a dream :-

- Marra-le'a - crooked finger (Eucla district)
- Jinnabeega - bad or stinking foot (Murchison district)
- Woolberr - shivering with cold (woolba-woolba = shivering) (Gingin)
- Binnaran - a dog digging or scraping the earth (beena = digging) (Victoria Plains)
- Yoorin - from yoorra - dirty water (Perth)
- Jeeoomarra - Wind blowing through kangaroo's fur (jeeoo = fur, marra = wind) (Gingin)

Jealousy often arises amongst women over the scars of their husbands. If a woman passes any admiring remarks upon the scars of a man of her marrying class, there is an immediate fight between her and the man's wife or wives. During the fight the women abuse each other in the most extraordinarily fluent native "Billingsgate". They possess a low word applicable to every portion of the female frame, and beginning from the feet upwards, they continue without a break until they have reached the hair of the head. None of these expressions are translateable, and it is only during the progress of such fights that the wealth of terms which can be uttered over the various portions of the human frame can be realised.

If a Gascoyne woman is seduced by a native while out root gathering, and does not mention the fact to her husband on her return, should he discover it, he will either spear her in the leg or kill her. If however she informs him of the occurrence on her return, she escapes punishment, but the offender is speared. In many cases, not only in the Gascoyne district, a woman has been known to have enticed a man to seduce her, afterwards informing her husband, telling him that the man had forcibly ravished her. She escapes punishment for the time and the man is speared.

In the Gascoyne district, the new born baby was usually cleaned with soft ashes, and immediately afterwards a mixture of grease and charcoal was rubbed in, this being applied about twice a week during babyhood. Very fine ash from a certain species of tree was used to rub between the joints of the infant. Sometimes through laziness or ignorance the baby becomes greatly chafed between its joints, and sores arise which the flies soon aggravate, the baby's whole body becoming eventually covered with festering sores, as, being naked, the flies were able to eat their way all over the little body, and the baby soon dies. A baby found in a camp suffering in this manner has often been suspected of suffering from hereditary venereal disease, by the white people, but amongst the natives of the uncivilised parts of the West, venereal diseases were unknown, and where native men and women in the interior of this State have appeared to suffer

from venereal disease, the real cause is probably due to blood poisoning, arising from unskilful operations of subincision and vulvotomy.

The coloured crews of the pearling boats have been mainly responsible for the spread of venereal disease in the Northern and Western Kimberley districts, and white settlement in the other parts of the State brought, as the natives say, both this dread disease and fleas amongst them. During his first missionary travels amongst the natives of Victoria Plains, and during his travels with them through their country, Bishop Salvado did not meet with one case of venereal disease amongst what were then (1846) totally uncivilised tribes, but it was not long before the disease began to spread amongst them, and now, with the advance of civilisation and the consequent facility for travelling from tribe to tribe afforded by the white man's presence, the disease is making its way into the far interior of the State, and is helping, with other causes, in the rapid disappearance of the aborigines.

A young girl who has reached the age of puberty, and has not yet been claimed, will often paint her cheek bones and the bridge of her nose with red ochre, to show that she is ready for marriage. The application of red ochre on men and women is always a sign that they have reached full manhood and womanhood, and its intimate connection with marriage rites, initiation into manhood, with, in fact, anything in native life having relation, remote or direct, to the procreative organs of man and woman, indissolubly associate it with Phallicism. There is no ceremony in this connection in which the application of red ochre does not play a chief part. I have even seen amongst the mongrel dogs of the camps visited, one or two young female dogs in their first rutting season, painted with red ochre across forehead and nose, the natives telling me that "the dogs are having their wanna wa".

Native women are as adept at finding out the good points of a man as their white sisters. Their remarks usually apply to his limbs, height, eyes and virile appearance generally. Strength of limb, a powerful body, with well-marked scars, prowess in hunting, excellence in spear throwing and spear and weapon making, are his chief qualifications in their eyes, and given all these a young man is as irresistible to the young native women, as his white prototype is amongst their white sisters.

With the men also, the good points of a young woman are quickly noticed. Large breasts, well shaped and rounded hips, small feet and good eyes are the principal female attractions, and if to these is added a good amount of adipose tissue, the young woman becomes the desire of every young man who sees her, and elopement after elopement will take place, until the woman is eventually killed. Gowera of Eucla is a case in point. She is a fine woman weighing nearly 12 stone, and the last time I heard of her she was journeying with an eighth husband towards the Eastern Goldfields, from Esperance and Norseman, where her seventh husband had been left. (I found her in Eucla with a ninth venture, the brother of one of her previous husbands.)
d later she was met with a fourteenth husband.

It must always be remembered that neither women nor men can praise any member of their "brother" or "sister" stock; praise of these must be uttered by men and women of their marrying class only, and if discussions as to a man's or woman's good points are being carried out in their hearing, the "brothers" and "sisters" must listen in absolute silence to such praise and never make any remark either in praise or disparagement. This rule is absolute throughout the State, and was frequently exemplified in my own case, as in the North where I am a Boorong woman, the Banaka men and women freely criticised me amongst themselves, the Boorong people in the vicinity refraining from any remarks, and in the South where I am a Manitchmat, the Werdungmat men or women passed remarks anent my personal appearance, etc., the Manitchmat people taking no part in the discussion.

(This is the original account of the description on P. 164.)

The native women were as adept at finding the good points of a young man as their white sisters. They remarked upon his

jeera koorinyaroo - nice face

mardee-wadjoo - big limbs

weerdaroo-koorniyaroo - nicely shaped legs and thighs

kooroo koorinyaroo - nice eyes

banya koorinyaroo - he is (a) nice (man)

wee-berree - he is tall

The men made the same remarks anent the young unmarried women, but they supplemented them by remarking upon their large breasts and small feet which were the chief beauty in women.

joolyoo mardee wadjoo koorinyaroo - nice big breasts

jeena yadjoo-gadjee koorinyaroo - nice small feet

The women must also have good limbs and well shaped bodies, but their faces need not be what is called pretty. They must however have good eyes and good features and lips not too thick.

A kooroo karra-gallee or squint eyed native, a very rare occurrence amongst them, had no chance whatever with the women, but as he is usually a cross-tempered or sulky person, he didn't bother about womenkind much.

(Cornally's information)

A kooroo-karra-gallee, squint-eyed native (Gascoyne equivalent) was sometimes met with and was both disliked and feared by the women in the camps.

Excessive drinking of water after a long dry stage was frequently the cause of premature births amongst the women of

Cornally, informant

Notebook 3b, P. 82

Cornally has occasionally seen ^{boomerang-}kyley legged natives (karra-gallee = crooked), but not very often. They impute this deformity to the jingi who "boylya made" the mother. But the deformity may have been the result of early birth, for it is noticed that if cattle or sheep are allowed to breed young, a similar deformity will be found amongst their progeny.

Cornally states however that the women did not bear children sometimes for many years after their marriage. The general age when they began to bear children was about 20. Occasionally there were young mothers but the Gascoyne natives did not breed easily. The average number of children in each family was about 6 or 7.

after a time, and may either be speared in the thigh by the husband, or he may "compound" for the retention of the young woman by presents.

A kooroo-karra-gallee, squint-eyed native (Gascoyne equivalent) was sometimes met with and was both disliked and feared by the women in the camps.

Excessive drinking of water after a long dry stage was frequently the cause of premature births amongst the women of the inland districts of the North and Northwest. Another cause was the overloading of their thaggas (wooden vessels, Gascoyne) and the consequent strain in trying to lift them on their heads. These vessels are the "vade mecum" of the women of the interior, and contain a varied assortment of goods. Sometimes the baby is carried in the thagga, and at other times it may be utilised to carry water along the dry stages when travelling towards some distant appointed place for ceremonial purposes. Leaves or rushes are put in the water to minimise its absorption by the heat. When the baby is carried in the thagga, the mother usually puts the vessel underneath her arm, not on her head.

The Gascoyne women sometimes tie their new born baby's navel string in a knot of itself, which accounts for many protruding navels met with in those districts. The umbilical cord is nearly always severed by the nails of the mother or attendant woman, and then either tied in a knot of itself, or with a piece of fibre. A young mother tied her baby's navelstring in a knot of itself, but the knot in some manner becoming loosened, rupture set in and the baby died.

If a Gascoyne district man forces a woman to accompany him, he is generally killed by the husband or brothers-in-law of the woman, but if he induces the woman to go willingly with him, unless other circumstances intervene, such as a jealous and unforgiving husband, etc., the offender will return to his tribe after a time, and may either be speared in the thigh by the husband, or he may "compound" for the retention of the young woman by presents.

In one case of confinement on the Gascoyne, the young woman, lying on the ground, had her ankles held by one woman, her head rested on another woman's lap, while a third kneaded her stomach until parturition took place. The child was born dead. Kneading and pounding the stomach is a very common resort of the Northern women in cases of protracted labour, and many children are still-born from this cause.

Orphaned children in the Gascoyne district generally at-

Notebook 11F, P. 29

According to James Cornally, who lived amongst the natives of the Gascoyne district for over 20 years, the Gascoyne women believed that their babies either came from the moon or from some of the islands near Carnarvon. The spirit baby entered the mother's mouth while she was asleep. Many dead natives are supposed to have gone to the moon and the islands near Carnarvon are the abodes of dead spirits. In many places throughout the Nor'West coast, the natives hold the belief that the caves and rock shelters and islands are filled with the spirits of the dead. Frequently when near one of these places a man will dream that he hears a spirit child crying close beside him and presently he sees it going into the mouth of his wife. When the baby is born its jalnga (or totem) is the cave, rock shelter or island where the father first dreamed of it. In Broome these dreams are called reenja, the ordinary dream being called boogarree. When asked why he called himself the father of the baby, when it came from the cave, etc., the native replied that the baby coming crying to him and not to another man, made him its father.

In one case of confinement on the Gascoyne, the young woman, lying on the ground, had her ankles held by one woman, her head rested on another woman's lap, while a third kneaded her stomach until parturition took place. The child was born dead. Kneading and pounding the stomach is a very common resort of the Northern women in cases of protracted labour, and many children are still-born from this cause.

Orphaned children in the Gascoyne district generally attached themselves to their mother's people and were always well cared for. If a child, having lost its father or mother, drooped and became thin and sickly, its guardians said that "its father (or mother) wanted it and were calling it". A Southern native had died, leaving a little boy who was being looked after by his mother. The mother married again, and the father was said to come nightly and call to the child to come to him, and at last the boy, who had been pining away, went to his father, whose voice was no more heard.

In the Gascoyne district, if a young woman, having no husband, gave birth to a baby, the baby was supposed to have gone into her mouth while she slept. The girl's mother's father, or mother's brother assumed the parentship of the baby. There is a faint belief, which I had not, however, the opportunity of verifying satisfactorily, that the Gascoyne babies, like the ngargalul of the North, inhabit a country of their own, but unlike the ngargalul, the bountry of the Gascoyne babies is above ground, on an island near Carnarvon, and from there they are brought, by the moon's assistance, into the mouths of their future mothers.

A young Southern native whose wife was about to give birth to a baby dreamed that the little baby came to him out of its mother's mouth and said to him, "Nyindoo mamma," (You are my father) and having shown itself to him and spoken, the baby went back into its mother again.

Kaak - don't eat it, it's nasty - is an expression used by native women when they see their children picking up something they must not eat. The same expression, with an exactly similar meaning, is used by the Southern Irish peasantry. (+ Scotch - Kang)

In the South the babies come first to the kongan (mother's brother) and not to the father as in the North.

Women in various camps, whose husbands have either gone upon long journeys without them, or who for some reason have no husbands, are often beaten soundly by jealous wives who suspect them of undue attention to their husbands. I once listened for over two hours to an harangue between two women, one accusing the other of having misbehaved with her husband, the other denying the accusation. During those two hours, not a single European expression was used, and when the affray was over and the two participators came over at different times to explain the cause of the quarrel, I asked for a translation of the words which I had managed to take down, and found them absolutely unique in pointed-ness and variety.

The kakkaitch koolongur, or "place where the little children are" and which is situated in some cave on the Perth-York road, has no more children in it, something, according to the natives, having frightened the babies away, and so they fled from the cave "where they could often be heard singing amongst themselves" to a place called Eeling, a district southeast of Beverley. Balbuk stated that the kookaburt (white owl) and the yooenja (another species of owl) were always seen near this cave. It was the stone in the cave that the children frequented, and not the cave itself. A swan was said to be carved on the stone, but Balbuk could not say who had made the carving. Near the cave, a boy killed his mother, and her janga (spirit) remained in the cave, until the boy was passing the place again, when the janga of his mother rushed out and caught him, and was going to turn him into a janga, but four or five bulyaguttuk (sorcerers) went into the cave and rescued the boy.

Balbuk also stated that in the early days of white settlement, a little white girl was lost, and having been sought after for some days was at length found in a cave, sitting with the janga (spirits). The little girl "had been turned into a janga, and tried to bite Yoodeen and Boogan, the two natives who found her."