

Western
Australia Twilight Cove area. (Native name Willil-ambli)

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This belief was held by the groups living there for
thousands of generations & has been confirmed
to me by Wirgin, his brother's son Wirgin, his son
Karrduing; & the elder Wirgin's brother-in-law: Biglinda
"Twil Cove" marriage obtained among the "Bunggalum
Group" (from "bunggal" especially hard word for pronunciation)

A mother's own daughter marries the mother's brother's
own son - the Five Cousins:

This same custom obtained among the Maclaine
area group & among another group Texamin
in western Australia.

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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 ^{Turkey's Cove area} ~~Barbary~~, 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.

See attached notes here
The child
Turkey's Cove
Barbary
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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 lammar 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 jalngangoocoo, 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? yammainga 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

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 balgai 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 koorrbalgoo, 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

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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.

Beedaboogan 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. P. 448) upon which so much of the Arunta system of re-incarnation rests. Beedaboogun was not "sacted" 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 the 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, "ranjee".

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.

Neamoc 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.

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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 rearer) 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 "balellee" 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 Loemarnwards 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

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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

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no man ever looks for a visible sign at the spot in which the ngargalul came to him. ^{but I could find it with the Kanjara} 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 in 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

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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 maamboongana, who, when they become tallcorgurra - 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 kalleegocroo," (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,

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the ground or ngargalul booroo 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".

*Latin
Eastern
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.