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THE TOTEMIC DIVISIONS OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES.

By R. H. MATHEWS, Licensed Surveyor.

[Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, July 7, 1897.]

THE first reference to the divisions of Australian tribes of which I am aware is contained in the works of Sir George Grey. In the years 1837-39, when exploring in Western Australia he found that the aborigines there were "divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same names. . . Each family adopts some animal or vegetable as their *kobong*, as they call it." He also noticed that "a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name, and the children always take the family name of their mother."¹ He was acquainted with the totemic divisions of the North American Indians, because he quotes from the *Archæologia Americana*, published in 1836, describing the divisions of American tribes, which was no doubt of great assistance to him in his investigations respecting similar customs among the aborigines of Australia. Sir George Grey says, "The family names are common over a great portion of the western coast, extending between four and five hundred miles in latitude."

The Rev. Wm. Ridley is the next writer on this subject. At different times between the years 1853 and 1875 he published the results of his enquiries in regard to the divisions of the Kamilaroi tribes on the Namoi and other rivers in New South Wales. Like most investigators on a new subject, which was moreover a complicated one, he arrived at some erroneous conclusions at first, but on going into the district on subsequent occasions, and pursuing his enquiries, he was enabled to correct some of his former impressions. His last work, published in 1875,² although incomplete

¹ Two Expeds. N. W. and W. Australia, Vol. II., pp. 225 and 228.

² "Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages," pp. 161-165.

in certain particulars, gives a tolerably good outline of the divisions of the tribes of which he treats.

Sir John Forrest, when he visited the north-west coast of Western Australia in 1878, found that the aborigines of Nichol Bay were divided into four classes, two of which intermarried with the other two, and the children followed the mother's family.¹

In 1880, Mr. A. W. Howitt and the Rev. L. Fison published their joint work "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," in which the last named author commented upon the structure of the Kamilaroi tribes as laid down by Mr. Ridley, and also added details of similar tribal divisions in other parts of Australia. A few years later Mr. A. W. Howitt contributed two papers to the Anthropological Institute on the "Class Systems of Australian Tribes," in which he included the Kamilaroi system, and described others of the same character, particulars of which had been furnished to him by correspondents in different parts of the country.² Besides the publications referred to, both Mr. Howitt and Mr. Fison have done much useful work in regard to some of the customs of the Australian aborigines.

Mr. Edward Palmer, in 1884, communicated a valuable paper, containing the results of his own personal observations, to the Anthropological Institute, in which amongst other native customs, he gave particulars of the names of the divisions of several tribes on the Kamilaroi basis in New South Wales and Queensland.³ Other writers could be referred to, but my object is merely to draw the reader's attention to some of the earlier workers in this field.

In 1894 I contributed to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia at Brisbane, a paper on the Kamilaroi divisions, in which I briefly showed how tribes of that type are organised into

¹ Journ. Anthrop. Inst., IX., 356-357; Austn. Assoc. Adv. Sci., II., 653-654.

² Journ. Anthrop. Inst., XII., 496-512; *Ibid.*, XVIII., 31-70.

³ Journ. Anthrop. Inst., XIII., 276-347.

families, groups, and communities, with some remarks on the rules of marriage and descent established in relation to these divisions.¹ In 1896, this paper was followed by another to the Anthropological Society at Washington, U.S.A., in which I gave a short outline of the structure of the Wiradjuri system of tribal divisions and marriage laws, with the intermarriages and descent of the totems.² In both these papers I pointed out that our knowledge of this subject was incomplete and unsatisfactory, and drew attention to the necessity for further investigation.

Since writing the memoirs referred to, I have extended my researches, and have gathered additional information among the Kamilaroi, the Wiradjuri, and other tribes in different parts of New South Wales, which will, it is hoped, enable me to place the subject of the totemic divisions of these people, with their laws of marriage and descent, more fully before the reader than has been accomplished hitherto.

In the present article an attempt is made to dispense with the terms "class" and "sub-class," which I have always looked upon as misnomers, although in the two former papers I adopted the names given to these tribal divisions by Mr. Ridley and the other writers who followed his nomenclature. For the names thus discarded I have substituted the terms "totemic group" and "section," which it is hoped will be considered more appropriate. Another innovation which I have introduced is in making the name of the totem more important than that of the group or section. It is proposed in the following pages to deal first with the structure of the Kamilaroi totemic divisions, and then to describe the divisions which obtain among the Wiradjuri tribes in the Murrumbidgee district.

THE KAMILAROI SYSTEM.

At some time in the history of the ancestors of the Kamilaroi people, all the members of the community were segregated into

¹ Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust., (Q.), x., 18-34, plate i.

² American Anthropologist, (Washington), ix., 411-416.

two groups,¹ but whether this division of the people was adopted for the purpose of imposing marriage restrictions is a debatable question, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this short article. As every man, woman and child bore the name of an animal, or some other natural object, one moiety of the community comprising various totems, were grouped together under the collective name of Dilbi; and a corresponding variety of totems adopted the distinguishing name of Kupathin. None of the totems of the Dilbi group were included in that of the Kupathins, but entirely different totems were incorporated in each division. It is not necessary that each of the groups should have the same number of totems; and it has also been observed that some particular totem name will be borne by a considerable number of people, whilst the members of another totem will be numerically few.

A totem may consist of any animate or inanimate object—as animals, plants, the heavenly bodies, the elements, thunder, the seasons, etc. Among the Kamilaroi tribes the word signifying totem is *dheeh*. Names selected from the animal kingdom are far the most numerous; next come the names of plants; and after that all the other totems are more or less rare. A man's totem is supposed to watch over his welfare, and forewarn him of the designs of his enemies. If any of his friends are away in a different part of the tribal territory, and sickness or death overtakes them, or they meet with a serious accident, his totem appears in sight, by which he knows there is something wrong. A man of the kangaroo totem told me that when his mother's brother, who was absent, died, a large and remarkable kangaroo hopped past his camp at great speed.

Among the group of totems, or *dheeh*, to which the name Dilbi was applied may be mentioned the eaglehawk, black-duck, padamelon, ground iguana, pine-tree, carbeen, bumble, pelican, bower-

¹ I have described the Bora of these tribes in the following Journals: Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxiv., 411-427; *Ibid.*, xxv., 318-339; Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, xxviii., 98-129; *Ibid.*, xxx., 211-213; Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 137-173.

bird, jack-ass, moon, sun, sandal-wood, bandicoot, locust, crow, porcupine, opossum, salt-bush, white cockatoo, pleiades, fish-hawk, wood-duck, ants, jew-fish, brown kangaroo, scrub-turkey, water, sparrow-hawk, bony fish, white butterfly, peewee, yellow-bellied fish, tibi-bird. The totems belonging to the Kupathin group include the following:—emu, native-bee, carpet-snake, red kangaroo, codfish, kurria, wallaroo, plain-turkey, bream, common fly, wattle-tree, native-companion, gum-tree, box-tree, centipede, brigalow, belar, goonhur, death-adder, native-cat, galah-parrot, rainbow, swan, jew-lizard, quail, coolaba, reddish butterfly, night owl, curlew, black snake, ring-tail opossum, bubbar snake, water mole, magpie.

Each group would provide the other with wives, and would theoretically stand in the mutual relationship to each other of "brothers-in-law." For example, a Dilbi man who married the sister of a Kupathin, would be related to the latter as his "sister's husband," and the Kupathin man would be related to the Dilbi bridegroom as his "wife's brother." Therefore it is evident that the Dilbi's are the brothers-in-law of the Kupathins, and the Kupathins of the Dilbi group.

With this filial relationship among a primitive people, there might also be some form of regulated sexual promiscuity between the members of certain totems in one group with a number of totems in another, which would have the effect of rendering the paternity of the individuals born in these families more or less uncertain.¹ There would, however, be no uncertainty respecting a child's maternity, and therefore it would be safe to give it the group and totem name of the mother. On the other hand, it is

¹ During the Bora ceremonies of these tribes at the present day, considerable sexual license is allowed between the men and women, whether married or single, with the condition that this privilege can only be participated in by those persons who would be entitled to marry each other in accordance with the tribal laws. It is reasonable to expect that children would occasionally be born as the result of this intercourse, the paternity of whom would be uncertain or unknown.—Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, ix., N.S., 153; Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 328; *Ibid.*, xxvi., 272.

quite reasonable to suppose that the children might be called after their mother, because during their infancy and tender years they are always with her, and everybody knows they are her children. If the old men married young wives, as they do at present, the latter would survive them, and consequently have charge of the children. Again, the father might be killed in a tribal war, or otherwise lose his life, leaving the family to be brought up by the mother.

Among the Kamilaroi tribes descent is always reckoned on the female side, the group and totem names of the father not being taken into consideration in this matter. For example, if a Dilbi man of a certain totem marries a woman who is a Kupathin carpet-snake, the children are always Kupathin carpet-snake, the same as their mother. The children of the daughters of this marriage will also be Kupathin carpet-snake, and so on *ad infinitum*. The same rule applies to all the other Kupathin totems, and likewise to all the totems of the Dilbi group—that is, they have perpetual succession through the women of their own group.

It has been stated previously, that the Dilbi and Kupathin groups mutually supply each other with wives—the women of one group becoming the wives of the men of their own generation in the other group. As the children of both sexes take the name of their mother's group, as we have just seen, it naturally follows that the men of one group are the fathers of the men and women of the next generation in the other group, being that from which the mothers have been taken. This may be summed up in the brief statement, that the Dilbis are the fathers of the Kupathins, and *vice versa*. This paragraph will not, of course, apply to any relationship under the family regulations explained farther on.

The individuals forming the Dilbi and Kupathin groups do not collect into certain localities separate from each other, but are scattered indiscriminately throughout the whole territory—members of each group, and consequently of the totems also, being found in all the local divisions of the tribe.



In course of time a further segregation of the Kamilaroi ancestors took place. The Dilbi group was divided into two sections, called Murri and Kubbi, and the Kupathin group into two, called Ippai and Kumbo. There appears, however, to be no evidence as to whether this subdivision took place simultaneously with the separation of the community into two groups, or at a later period. The divisions into groups and sections are matters which have happened so far back in the past, that the natives of the present day have no traditions respecting them. The names assigned to the women belonging to these sections are different to those borne by the men: the sisters of Murri and Kubbi are Matha and Kubbitha respectively, and the sisters of Ippai and Kumbo are named Ippatha and Butha. These names will be understood more clearly by referring to Table A. This bisection of the original groups did not apply to the totems, who continued to be designated as Dilbi and Kupathin as before, which seems to favour the suggestion stated farther on, that the sectional divisions may have been inaugurated for the purpose of a distinctive nomenclature.

Under this second bisection of the community a Dilbi man still marries a Kupathin woman, but it becomes necessary that she shall belong to one of the sections, Ippai or Kumbo; and the name of this section is determined by the section of the Dilbi group to which he himself belongs. If he belong to the Kubbi section he must marry an Ippatha, but if he is a Murri his wife must be a Butha. Similarly, if a Kupathin man wishes to marry, and he is an Ippai, he selects a Dilbi woman of the Kubbi section, but if he is a Kumbo, he must marry a Matha.

The descent of the children under this new method of division is somewhat modified. If a Kupathin man of the section Kumbo marry a Matha eaglehawk, the children will be Dilbi eaglehawk the same as before, but they will not be Murris and Mathas like their mother. They will take the name of the other section in the Dilbi division, and be called Kubbis and Kubbithas. In examining the rules of marriage and descent as stated in this and

the preceding paragraph it becomes apparent that the old law already stated still holds good, namely, that the Kupathins are the fathers of the Dilbis, and *vice versa*; and also that the Dilbis and Kupathins reciprocally give their sisters to each other for wives.

It has been shown that Matha is the mother of Kubbitha, and *vice versa*, and it will appear farther on that Murri is the uncle of Kubbi. It is therefore possible, that the group Dilbi was divided into Matha and Kubbitha to distinguish the mothers from the daughters; and that the terms Murri and Kubbi were adopted to provide names for the uncles and nephews of their respective generations. These remarks will equally apply to the men and women of the Ippai and Kumbo sections. Whatever may have been the origin of these divisions into groups and sections, they have the effect of preventing consanguineous marriages, by furnishing an easy test of relationship when the tribe has become so numerous or widespread that kinship could not otherwise be well determined.

Although marriages generally follow the laws above stated, there are family regulations to which I referred in my former papers on this subject,¹ under which a Dilbi man of a certain totemic family may marry a Dilbi woman of a different totem belonging to his own section, and a Kupathin man may avail himself of the same privilege. These family regulations are so widespread that they are found more or less in all the tribes of the Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri, and most of the other tribes having the Kamilaroi organisation with which I am acquainted. They were, perhaps, introduced to meet some inconvenience, arising in certain circumstances from the observance of the marriage laws already explained; but whether their adoption preceded or followed the division of the groups into sections, or whether they were in force before the division into groups took place, is a controversial point which need not now be discussed.

¹ Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), x., 24; American Anthropologist (Washington), ix., 412.

Under the group laws it is impossible for a Dilbi or Kupathin man to marry a woman bearing the same totem name as himself, for the reason that such a totem does not exist in the division from which he is bound to select his wife. But when persons of the same group were permitted to marry each other, it became necessary to promulgate a law prohibiting marriage between individuals belonging to the same totem. All such persons are supposed to have sprung from a common ancestor, and to be connected by ties of blood. Under no circumstances, for example, can a padamelon marry a padamelon because they are considered as brother and sister, or else as "mother's brother" and "sister's daughter," according to their respective ages in the generation. If a Dilbi man wishes to marry a Dilbi woman, he must conform to the rules regulating the inter-marriage of certain totems within that group. For example, a man of a Murri padamelon family, can marry a ground iguana, but she must belong to his own section; that is, she must be a Matha. She cannot be a Kubbitha, because that is the section to which Murri's mother belongs. The same course would be followed *mutatis mutandis*, in regard to the marriage of a Kubbi, an Ippai, or a Kumbo, with a woman within their own respective sections.

These alliances may for convenience of reference be called "family marriages," a few examples of which will be given. Among the Dilbi totems who can marry each other may be enumerated the following examples:—The padamelon marries the ground iguana, or jewfish. The opossum marries the ground iguana, bandicoot, or jewfish. The ground iguana marries the opossum, padamelon, bony fish, yellow-bellied fish, or bandicoot. The jewfish marries the opossum, padamelon, or bandicoot. The bandicoot marries the jewfish, opossum, or ground iguana. The bony fish marries the ground iguana. The yellow-bellied fish marries the ground iguana.

The undermentioned Kupathin totems are amongst those who can intermarry. The emu marries the ring-tail opossum, black-snake, wallaroo, native bee, or galah. The bubbar snake marries

the red kangaroo. The bream marries the black snake, or native bee. The codfish marries the galah, red snake, red kangaroo or ring-tail opossum. The plain turkey marries the red snake, or ring-tail opossum. The black snake marries the bream, or emu. The galah marries the codfish or emu. The native bee marries the emu or bream. The red kangaroo marries the codfish, or bubbar snake. The ring-tail opossum marries the plain turkey, codfish, or emu. The red snake marries the plain turkey, or codfish. The wallaroo marries the emu.

Having given a cursory outline of the structure of the Kamilaroi totemic system, I will now pass on to illustrate the rules of marriage, descent, and relationship established in accordance with the tribal laws. The names of the divisions, showing how they intermarry, with the names of the respective divisions to which the children belong, will be readily understood by referring to Table A. The names which are affected by what I have called the "family regulations," and the descent of the children thereunder, are printed in *italic*, immediately under the others.

TABLE A.

| A' Man | Marries | Children are |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Kupathin { Ippai { | Kubbitha | Murri and Matha |
| | <i>Ippatha</i> | <i>Kumbo and Butha</i> |
| Kumbo { | Matha | Kubbi and Kubbitha |
| | <i>Butha</i> | <i>Ippai and Ippatha</i> |
| Dilbi { Murri { | Butha | Ippai and Ippatha |
| | <i>Matha</i> | <i>Kubbi and Kubbitha</i> |
| | Ippatha | Kumbo and Butha |
| | <i>Kubbitha</i> | <i>Murri and Matha</i> |

An inspection of this table shows the group and section into which a man of any given section may marry, together with the group and section to which the offspring belong. Taking the Dilbi group, it will be observed that Matha's children, no matter whether she marry a Kumbo or a Murri, are always Kubbi and Kubbitha. Her daughters, these little Kubbithas, on arriving at womanhood will marry, but it is immaterial whether their husbands are Ippais or Kubbis, their children will be Murriss and Mathas.

The little Mathas will grow up to puberty, and in turn produce Kubbis and Kubbithas. It is therefore apparent that the section Matha produces Kubbitha, and Kubbitha produces Matha in the next generation, and so on continually, hence the group Dilbi has perpetual succession through the Dilbi women. Again, if Matha be of the totem padamelon, her children will be Kubbi and Kubbitha padamelons; and the little Kubbithas, on arriving at womanhood will likewise have children who will be padamelons, showing that the totems are perpetuated in precisely the same manner as the group to which they belong. If an Ippatha or a Butha had been taken for the above example, it could have been similarly demonstrated that the Kupathin group, with the totems attached to it, has perpetual succession through the Kupathin women.

It is obvious that the Dilbi totems are common to the two sections Murri and Kubbi, and are independent of the dual naming of the group. In other words, a man of the padamelon totem may be a Murri or a Kubbi, according to who his mother was, but he is always a Dilbi, the name of the group to which his totem is attached. For example, the padamelon belongs to Matha in one generation, and to her daughter Kubbitha in the next, therefore this totem must be common to these two divisions. This applies to all the Dilbi totems. In a similar manner it can be shown that any Kupathin totem is common to the Ippai and Kumbo sections, particulars of which the reader can work out for himself.

Although as before stated the name and totem of the father is not directly considered in naming the children, it is nevertheless necessary to show his important position in the genealogy. By referring to Table A it will appear that if Murri marry Butha, his children are Ippai and Ippatha; but if he select a Matha as his wife, his children will be Kubbi and Kubbitha. We find by table A that Ippai and Kubbi are the only men who can marry a Kubbitha, and as Murri is the father of these men, as just shown, it is evident that he provides husbands for the women belonging to the other section in his group. The children of these women are the grandsons of Murri, and also belong to his own

section. The application of this rule to the four divisions can be readily understood from the following table:—

| Father. | Son. | Son's Wife. | Children of Son's Wife. |
|---------|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Murri | Ippai or Kubbi | Kubbitha | Murri and Matha |
| Kubbi | Kumbo or Murri | Matha | Kubbi and Kubbitha |
| Ippai | Murri or Kumbo | Butha | Ippai and Ippatha |
| Kumbo | Kubbi or Ippai | Ippatha | Kumbo and Butha |

It has been stated in an earlier page that under the original group division, the Dilbis are "brothers-in-law" to the Kupathins, and conversely. This applies to the men of their own level in the generation, but on tracing the relationship of these men to the children we find that the Dilbi men are the fathers of the Kupathin boys, and the Kupathin men are the fathers of the Dilbi boys. Both these relationships also hold good under the sectional divisions. Murri and Kumbo are related to each other as brothers-in-law, and Ippai and Kubbi have the same mutual affinity. The Kubbi men are the fathers of the Kumbo boys and the Ippai men are the fathers of the Murri boys—this relationship being of course reversed in the next generation. (See table A.) Although the boys only are mentioned, children of both sexes will, of course, be understood.

Again, Murri provides wives for the young men belonging to the other section in his division. We have seen by Table A. that if he marry a Butha, his daughter is Ippatha, and if he marry a Matha his daughter is Kubbitha. Ippatha and Kubbitha are the women who are eligible for marriage with Kubbi. It is evident therefore that Murri's daughter becomes the wife of Kubbi, and Murri takes the daughter of Kubbi as his wife. In a similar manner it can be shown that Ippai marries Kumbo's daughter, and Kumbo claims the daughter of Ippai.

In those cases where a man is allowed to marry a woman within his own section, Murri is the father of Kubbi, and so on for the men of the other sections, as exemplified in Table A. Accordingly, the children of a Dilbi father are Dilbi, and a Kupathin is the

father of Kupathin children. Moreover, a Dilbi man selects a Dilbi wife, and a Kupathin marries a Kupathin. It has already been stated that a Dilbi woman is the mother of Dilbi children, and a Kupathin woman produces Kupathin children. Therefore, the group Dilbi is self-supporting, because it contains within itself the fathers and mothers—the husbands and wives—of its members, and the Kupathin group is exactly in the same position.

A man's children are not necessarily of the same group and section, or of the same totem. If a Kubbi marry two wives, which is permissible, one being, for example, Ippatha brigalow and the other Kubbitha pine, his children by the former will be Kumbo and Butha brigalow, and by the latter they will be Murri and Matha pine. In this example, the sons of one of Kubbi's wives could marry the daughters of the other, because Kumbo can marry Matha, and Murri can marry Butha. In order to prevent such a close marriage, however, every tribe has strict social customs, founded upon public opinion, which will not tolerate the union of a man with a woman whose blood relationship is considered too near.

A few remarks on the degrees of kinship existing between the members of the different divisions will be interesting. A careful study of the foregoing pages will show that the pair of sections, Murri and Kubbi, are more nearly related to each other than to the members of the other pair, Ippai and Kumbo; and that the latter are more closely connected between themselves than with the Murri and Kubbi people. The Murri and Kubbi sections are related to each other as "mother's brother" and "sister's son," according to the generation to which they respectively belong. If Murri be the elder, he is "mother's brother" to Kubbi, and the latter is his "sister's son"; but if Kubbi be the elder of the two this relationship is reversed. The Ippai and Kumbo sections are connected with each other in a precisely analogous manner. The importance of this family tie is shown by the fact that if a man be killed by an enemy in any way, it is his "sister's son" who is charged with the avenging of his death.

A few examples will serve to illustrate more clearly the relationship I have been endeavouring to explain. Let us take a man of the section Ippai and totem emu. All the young men of his generation who belong to the section Ippai and totem emu are reckoned his brothers. All the brothers of Ippai emu's mother will be Kumbo emus, and will stand in the relationship to him of what we call uncle, but which is expressed in the blackfellows' genealogy as "mother's brother." Moreover, these "mother's brothers" will look upon Ippai emu as their "sister's son," which is known among us as nephew. And when his sister Ippatha gets married, he will in turn become the "mother's brother" of the Kumbo boys which may be the issue of the marriage, and they will be his "sister's sons." All the emus in that locality will be Ippais and Kumbos, and will be related to each other either as uncles, brothers, or nephews, always remembering to attach to these terms the meanings above explained. This may be called the totemic or blood relationship, all the members of which are considered of the same blood and descent.

Again, all the Ippais and Kumbos scattered throughout the entire community, although of many different totems, consider themselves bound together by the broader ties of group brotherhood. Ippai emu, for example, would take a wider view, and look upon all Ippais, regardless of their totems, who belong to his own generation, as his tribal brothers, and all the elder Kumbos as his uncles, whilst he would regard the younger Kumbos as his nephews. This may be called the group or tribal relationship.

In the following examples the totems are omitted in order that these remarks may be applicable to any Ippai, and so make the relationship tribal instead of the full blood. Ippai's mother's tribal brother is a Kumbo, and will marry one of these Kubbithas, who would be the daughter of his "mother's brother," or uncle. But if Kumbo, instead of marrying a Matha, had married a Butha, which he was entitled to do, by the family regulations already described, the children would have been Ippai and Ippatha.

The Ippai whom we have taken as an example could also marry one of these Ippathas, who would likewise be the daughter of his "mother's brother"—a tribal brother being understood in both cases. So that whether Ippai marry a Kubbitha or an Ippatha she is a woman who is the daughter of his "mother's brother." Either of these women would be the cousin of Ippai, bearing in mind the wide difference between our meaning of this relationship and that of the aboriginal.

In examining the marriage laws, as stated in earlier pages, it is seen that the mother of a man's wife, and also his daughters, belong to the same section, and therefore his marriage with that section is prohibited. Neither can he marry into the section to which his mother belongs, although a woman might be found, in either case, who is in no way connected with him. Therefore the Ippai of our example cannot marry a Matha, for she is his possible daughter, and also because she is the mother, collaterally, of his wife Kubbitha. Neither can he marry a Butha, because she is his tribal mother, and the mother of his wife Ippatha, and is, moreover, his potential daughter by the last mentioned wife. (See Table A.)

The Kamilaroi type of totemic divisions extends over a large proportion of New South Wales, but as we should expect among tribes at a distance who speak other languages, the names of the divisions are different in different tracts of territory. I will conclude this part of the paper with a few brief particulars of the sectional names of three tribes in the north-eastern portion of the colony which have not hitherto been recorded.

The Anaywan tribe, occupying the New England district¹ have a totemic system which is the same in principle as the Kamilaroi, but the names of the sections are different, as will be seen by the following table:—

¹ For an account of the initiation ceremonies of these people, see my paper on the "Burbung of the New England Tribes."—*Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, ix., N.S., 120–136.

| A Man | Marries | The Children are |
|----------|------------|------------------------|
| Irpoong | Irrakedena | Irroong and Patyang |
| Marroong | Patyang | Imboong and Irrakedena |
| Irroong | Arrakan | Irpoong and Matyang |
| Imboong | Matyang | Marroong and Arrakan |

Irpoong and Marroong are the equivalents of Murri and Kubbi; and Irroong and Imboong correspond to Ippai and Kumbo respectively.

On the north-east coast there are a number of tribes divided into four sections framed after the Kamilaroi type. They occupy the country from the Hunter River northerly to the Clarence, and extend from the coast inwards almost to the main dividing range, where they join the Anaywan people. These tribes comprise the people speaking the Wattung,¹ the Dhangatty, the Koombanggery, and the Bunjellung languages, with some other dialects of less importance. The names of the divisions are as follow:—

| A Man | Marries. | The Children are |
|----------|----------|-----------------------|
| Kurpoong | Wirrakan | Wirroong and Wanggan |
| Marroong | Wanggan | Womboong and Wirrakan |
| Wirroong | Karragan | Kurpoong and Kooran |
| Womboong | Kooran | Marroong and Karragan |

Both in the New England and in the coastal tribes, tabulated above, the rules of marriage and descent are precisely the same as among the four sections of the Kamilaroi already explained, and the intermarriage of certain totems within their own section also obtains among these people.

There is a group of totems common to Kurpoong and Marroong—or as they are called on New England, Irpoong and Marroong—among which may be enumerated the native bear, flying-fox,

¹ The initiatory rites of these tribes are described in my papers on "The Keeparra Ceremony of Initiation."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxvi., 320–338; "The Dhalgai Ceremony."—*Ibid.*, 338–340.

plover, ground iguana, black opossum, emu, bee, native companion, yam, pelican, porcupine, perch.¹

The Wirroong and Womboong sections—called on New England Irroong and Imboong,—have the following totems amongst others: kangaroo, dingó, jew lizard, turtle, carpet snake, crow, white cockatoo, platypus, eaglehawk, locust, death-adder.

Kurpoong corresponds to Murri, Marroong to Kubbi, Wirroong, to Ippai, and Womboong is synonymous with Kumbo. In comparing the above totems with those of the Kamilaroi, it is noticed that some which belong to the first pair of sections, are found inserted in the second pair of the Kamilaroi, and *vice versa*. I specially drew the attention of the blacks to this difference at the time I collected the details, but they could not give any explanation of it. I have before found that certain totems which belonged to one section in a certain district, were stated to belong to another section among a tribe occupying a different part of the country.

On the south of the Hunter River, extending thence to the Hawkesbury, we find scattered remnants of the Darkinung tribe,² whose territory embraces the country watered by the Colo, Macdonald and Wollombi Rivers, with their numerous tributaries. This tribe has uterine descent, and is divided into four sections, whose names correspond with those of the Kamilaroi, with the exception that Murri is called Bya³.—

| A Man | Marries. | The Children are |
|-------|----------|--------------------|
| Bya | Butha | Ippai and Ippatha |
| Kubbi | Ippatha | Kumbo and Butha |
| Ippai | Kubbitha | Murri and Matha |
| Kumbo | Matha | Kubbi and Kubbitha |

¹ Natives belonging to the Hastings and Manning Rivers have told me that in their tribes the children follow the totem of the father, but they take the companion, or fellow, section name to that of their mother. This will be further dealt with in another article.

² "The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes" is described by me in Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., N.S., 1-12.

³ Bya was also used instead of, or interchangeably with, Murri in all the tribes from Wollombi almost to Inverell, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles.

The undermentioned are some of the totems attached to Bya and Kubbi:—scrub opossum, native bee, emu, bandicoot, eaglehawk, stingaree, wallaroo. The pair of sections Ippai and Kumbo have the following totems amongst others:—grey kangaroo, diamond snake, wombat, black snake, wallaby. Among the inter-sectional or family marriages in this tribe, Kubbi bandicoot could marry Kubbitha stingaree.

THE WIRADJURI SYSTEM.

Some tribes of the Wiradjuri community who occupy a wide tract of country on each side of the Murrumbidgee River from about Jugiong to Hay, are divided into four sections, the names of the men and women composing which are identical with those of the Kamilaroi, with the exception that Oombi is substituted for Kumbo. The rules of marriage and descent are, however, somewhat different, thus:—Murri marries Ippatha, and the sons and daughters are Kumbos and Buthas; Kubbi is united to Butha and their issue are Ippais and Ippathas; Ippai takes Matha for his wife, and the children are Kubbis and Kubbithas; Oombi is married to Kubbitha, and their offspring are Murris and Mathas respectively.¹

Whilst travelling amongst these people for the purpose of studying their customs, I discovered a distinctive feature in the rules of descent of the totems,² which has not been recorded by any previous investigator. A mother possessing any given totem name produces children whose totem is different to her own. For example, Ippatha mallee-hen is the mother of Butha common fly. In the next generation Butha common fly is the mother of Ippatha mallee-hen, and so on continually. The children therefore take the section and totem name of their mother's mother. As the

¹ The Burbung or initiation ceremonies of the Wiradjuri tribes are described by me in the following publications:—Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xxv., 295-318, plates xxv.-xxvii.; *Ibid.*, xxvi., 272-285. Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), xi., 167-169. Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, xxxi., 111-153.

² Among these tribes, the word *jin* means totem.

offspring belong to the section Ippai and totem mallee-hen in one generation, and to the section Oombi and totem common fly in the next, it necessarily follows that each section must have its own independent group of totems. In other words, a certain group of totems must be known by the general name of Ippai; another group must be called Kumbo; another group Murri, and another Kubbi. This is different to the Kamilaroi type, in which a group of totems is common to the pair of sections, Ippai and Kumbo, and another group to the Murri and Kubbi pair.

In the Wiradjuri tribes Murri and Ippai of the same generation stand in the mutual affinity to each other of "brothers-in-law," and the same relationship subsists between Kubbi and Oombi. Murri and Kubbi are connected reciprocally as "mother's brother" and "sister's son,"—or using our own equivalent names—as uncle and nephew, according to their place in the generation to which they belong; and Ippai and Oombi stand in the same mutual relationship. The nominal relationship subsisting between a father and his family is the same as already described in regard to the Kamilaroi.

The totemic regulations to which I referred in dealing with the Kamilaroi tribes are also found among these Wiradjuri people, by means of which a man may marry into one or more of the sections, including his own, under certain totemic restrictions, the effect of which will be seen on inspection of the following table, which shows the intermarriage and descent of four totems belonging to each of the four sections.

The wives allowed by the sectional rules, "Murri marries Ippatha," &c., are first given, followed by the women a man is permitted to marry under the family regulations before described. It is apparent by this table that one totem is always the mother of a certain distinct totem bearing a different name.

Table B.

| A Man | Marries | The Children are |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| Murri emu | { Ippatha eaglehawk Ippatha opossum Matha brown snake Kubbitha native bee | Butha grey kangaroo Butha goonhur Kubbitha porcupine Matha ground iguana |
| Murri red kangaroo | { Ippatha opossum Ippatha eaglehawk | Butha goonhur Butha grey kangaroo |
| Murri brown snake | { Ippatha opossum Ippatha eaglehawk Matha emu Kubbitha native bee | Butha goonhur Butha grey kangaroo Kubbitha fly. squirrel Matha ground iguana |
| Murri ground iguana | { Ippatha mallee-hen Ippatha jew lizard Butha codfish | Butha common fly Butha codfish Ippatha jew lizard |
| Kubbi flying squirrel | { Butha goonhur Butha grey kangaroo Butha codfish Kubbitha porcupine | Ippatha opossum Ippatha eaglehawk Ippatha jew lizard Matha brown snake |
| Kubbi bandicoot | { Butha grey kangaroo Butha goonhur Butha codfish Kubbitha porcupine | Ippatha eaglehawk Ippatha opossum Ippatha jew lizard Matha brown snake |
| Kubbi porcupine | { Butha codfish Butha grey kangaroo Butha goonhur [rel Kubbitha flying squirrel Kubbitha bandicoot | Ippatha jew lizard Ippatha eaglehawk Ippatha opossum Matha emu Matha red kangaroo |
| Kubbi native bee | { Butha common fly Ippatha jew lizard Matha emu Matha brown snake | Ippatha mallee-hen Butha codfish Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha porcupine |
| Ippai mallee-hen | { Matha ground iguana Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha bandicoot Butha codfish | Kubbitha native bee Matha emu Matha red kangaroo Ippatha jew lizard |

| A Man | Marries | The Children are |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Ippai opossum | { Matha emu Matha brown snake Matha red kangaroo Ippatha eaglehawk | Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha porcupine Kubbitha bandicoot Butha grey kangaroo |
| Ippai eaglehawk | { Matha emu Matha brown snake Matha red kangaroo Ippatha opossum | Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha porcupine Kubbitha bandicoot Butha goonhur |
| Ippai jew lizard | { Matha ground iguana Kubbitha native bee | Kubbitha native bee Matha ground iguana |
| Oombi common fly—Kubbitha native bee | | Matha ground iguana |
| Oombi goonhur | { Kubbitha bandicoot Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha porcupine Butha grey kangaroo | Matha red kangaroo Matha emu Matha brown snake Ippatha eaglehawk |
| Oombi grey kangaroo | { Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha bandicoot Kubbitha porcupine Ippatha mallee-hen Butha goonhur | Matha emu Matha red kangaroo Matha brown snake Butha common fly Ippatha opossum |
| Oombi codfish | { Kubbitha porcupine Kubbitha fly. squirrel Kubbitha bandicoot | Matha brown snake Matha emu Matha red kangaroo |

The use of this table will be better understood by giving an example. Let us take a man of the section Ippai, and totem opossum. According to the sectional marriage laws already stated, the wife of an Ippai of any totem should always be a Matha; but owing to the family regulations previously explained, he is permitted to marry certain Ippathas provided there are no disabilities arising out of nearness of kin. Moreover, in either case, his choice of a wife is regulated by his totem as well as his section name. Persons of the same totem may not marry, or have sexual intercourse with one another; and further, any pro-

miscuous intercourse between the sexes is always restricted to those individuals who are eligible for marriage.

A careful study of the table will enable us to determine what woman any given man may marry, as well as the section and totem names of his children; but of course before we can do this it must be necessary to know the section and totem names of the woman he selects as his wife. Assuming that the Ippai of our example wishes to marry, it is found by Table B. that he has the choice between, (1) Matha emu; (2) Matha brownsnake; (3) Matha red kangaroo; and (4) Ippatha eaglehawk. If he marries No. 1, Matha emu, a reference to the table will show that the children will be Kubbi and Kubbitha flying-squirrel; if he chooses No. 2. the offspring will be Kubbi and Kubbitha porcupine; if he selects No. 3 the children will be Kubbi and Kubbitha bandicoot; and, if he marries No. 4 the issue will be Oombi and Butha grey kangaroo.

In these tribes a man may marry more than one wife, and if his wives belong to different sections and totems, this will further vary the names of his offspring. There would, in such a case, be sons and daughters of the same household who would belong to different totems, as well as to different sections. The children of a Matha are always Kubbi and Kubbitha; those of Kubbitha are Murri and Matha; those of Ippatha are Oombi and Butha; and the children of Butha are always Ippai and Ippatha. There is matriarchal descent, and in all cases the children take the totem name of their mother's mother.

The rules of marriage and descent set out in Table B. applies more particularly to the Wiradjuri tribes on the upper portion of the Murrumbidgee River, and as we go down that stream we find that the peculiarity of one totem being the mother of a different one is less marked; and on going north to the Lachlan, Bogan, Macquarie, and Castlereagh Rivers, it is observed that the totems have the same descent as in the Kamilaroi tribes—that is, each totem produces itself. It may be stated here that the Wiradjuri

dialect is the most widely spread of all aboriginal tongues in New South Wales.

CONCLUSION.

Owing to the gradual disappearance of the aborigines before the white population and the consequent extinction of many of the totems, it is now difficult to find a native who can remember all the totem names, and he will be rather doubtful in regard to those with which he has never had any connection. Although I have exercised all possible care in trying to get reliable details respecting the intermarriage of the totems given in the tables and also in regard to the lists of totems attached to the groups, it is possible that some mistakes may have been made; but even if such should be found to be the case, it cannot alter the general principles on which the rules of marriage and descent are based.

I wish to express my thanks to Miss Baker, daughter of Mr. W. T. Baker, Inspector of Police at Kempsey—whom I met when following up my investigations respecting the customs of the aborigines on the Macleay River some years ago—for her labours in gathering further particulars of their totemic laws, and also in defining the boundaries within which certain dialects were spoken.

Before preparing this article I requested Mr. Chas. A. Brewster a Police Trooper at Mungindi, on the Barwon River, to check a list of Kamilaroi totems tabulated by myself in that district a few years back. I also asked him to gather such additional examples of irregular or family marriages as he might consider trustworthy; and I desire to place on record the promptitude and care with which he collected information on a difficult subject.

In this article I have endeavored not to vitiate my descriptions of the tribal divisions by the incorporation of inferences derived from mere conjecture, but have left the formation of theories, and all controversial points, respecting this subject, until further particulars have been collected over a wider field. I shall feel myself sufficiently repaid for my exertions if I should be fortunate enough to induce a student here and there to continue the work of investigating and describing the totemic systems of different tribes in various parts of Australia.

ON THE SACCHARINE AND ASTRINGENT EXUDATIONS OF THE "GREY GUM" *EUCALYPTUS PUNCTATA*, DC., AND ON A PRODUCT ALLIED TO AROMADENDRIN.

By HENRY G. SMITH, F.C.S., Technological Museum, Sydney.

[Read before the Royal Society of N.S. Wales, August 4, 1897.]

DURING the latter part of January 1897, I found at Belmore, near Sydney, several substances exuding from the bark of trees of the Grey Gum, *Eucalyptus punctata*, DC. The appearance of the large white patches of exudation was occasionally so marked that the trees looked as if they had been whitewashed. Closer examination shewed that a considerable inroad into the bark had been made, apparently by the larvæ of insects; from the injuries thus caused, a quantity of the several substances about to be described was found. The white material was composed of a substance sweetish in taste; the thicker portions somewhat resembled the well known *Eucalyptus* manna. When exuding it must have been liquid as it had run down the tree; in some instances for a considerable distance, and from continued coatings good sized tears had been formed in places. From the same trees, and at the same time, was obtained a more abundant exudation, also sweetish, much darker in colour, and which when flowing must have been even more liquid than the white substance; in some instances this had run down the trunks of the trees for seven or eight feet to the ground, and tears of a considerable thickness had accumulated in places. I succeeded in obtaining about six ounces of the more abundant darker material, as free as possible from bark and debris, the fine particles of wood and bark with which the exudation was more or less contaminated, were produced by the larva of an insect.

Around the small holes from which the white substance was exuding, were seen a great number of large ants (*Camponotus* sp.)

I.—Aug. 4, 1897.