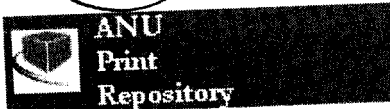


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the deposits which such leave behind, as a rule. There are times, such as 1893 and this present year, when a number of the farms were practically ruined by heavy deposits of sand brought down by the flood currents, but these of course are isolated cases. In the majority of instances the deposits are rich alluvial soil, and would be of special value were it not that the destruction caused in other ways is very much greater than the value of the deposits, even though they exceeded the sum you mention. The farmers of Bolwarra have been doing their best for the past 20 years to keep floods out by the erection of embankments, and others wish they could do the same. Floods are very uncertain in their coming, and besides destroying growing crops render the land unfit for the plough for some weeks, very often too late in the season for the sowing of another crop. The land around the Hunter, is all as you know, built up 30, 40 and 50 feet, and is invariably so rich, that despite constant cultivation for the past 60 years, is practically as good to day as ever it was, with careful cultivation, and consequently the question of manuring by flood deposits or otherwise gives the farmers no concern. From practical experience, very often of a bitter and ruinous character, they are down on floods as being the greatest evil they have to contend with. Doubtless some day the soil will become exhausted, as is only reasonable to expect, but with a judicious rotation in the crops, they hope that the day is far distant when they will either be looking forward to a flood to help them out of the trouble, or be compelled to manure their lands to ensure better crops. This shortly is a consensus of the opinions I have been able to gather from a number of them in different localities, and I trust it will meet the objects of your enquiries."

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIA.

PART I.

By R. H. MATHEWS, L.S.,

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Anthrop. Soc., Washington, U.S.A., etc.

[*Read before the Royal Society of N.S. Wales, October 5, 1904.*]

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages it is intended to supply a succinct account of the social organisation, languages and general customs of our aborigines. Throughout a comparatively long life I have had special opportunities of studying the habits of these people. I was born in the Australian bush and black children were among my earliest playmates. In my youth I was engaged in station pursuits in the back blocks of New South Wales and in the new country of Queensland, when the blacks were in their pristine condition. In later years I was employed as a surveyor on the Barwon, Namoi, Castlereagh, and other distant inland rivers, where I was continually in contact with the sable sons and daughters of the soil.

Fortunately, also, I always had a keen proclivity for collecting all the information available in regard to their numerous highly interesting customs. It so happened, too, that I possessed some little capability for investigating the grammatical structure of their language, being able to cope with the difficulty of correctly hearing and correctly writing down the native words. Owing to my familiarity with the ways of blackfellows, I always received the complete confidence of the chief men, and thus gained admission to their secret meetings. Moreover, my training as a draftsman

enabled me to copy every description of aboriginal drawings with great facility, for some of which I was awarded the medal of this Society in 1894, ten years ago. And the knowledge of astronomy which my profession demanded, made it easy for me to identify with precision all the different stars and stellar groups which figure so prominently in the aboriginal folklore.

I have made the foregoing brief mention of my opportunities of acquiring some knowledge of aboriginal customs, because the reader will readily understand that investigations of this character require many years of patient work among the different tribes. It is essential that these inquiries should be conducted by a person well acquainted with the daily life of the people, and that his observation should extend over a considerable period. I have adopted none of the opinions nor followed any of the methods of other Australian authors, but have struck out on my own lines, recording all the new and interesting facts within my reach. Possibly further researches may modify some of my conclusions, but this is the inevitable lot of all scientific pioneers.

I write not in the expectation of exhausting the subject of the languages, ceremonies and customs of the Australian aborigines, but in the fervent hope of exciting the interest and encouraging the investigation of younger students; and trust that some foundations have been laid by me for others to build upon, or to correct if necessary.

Attention is called to the fact that all the particulars contained in every branch of the subject dealt with in this treatise, have been collected by myself in the native camps, without the assistance or suggestions of any man, and therefore, I only am responsible for any defects which may be discovered in studying the following pages. The present work is only one of a series of similar treatises on various

ceremonies and customs of the Australian aborigines, which I have published in the journals of some of the leading learned societies of Europe and America, as well as in this country. See "Bibliography" at the end of this article.

The system of orthoëpy adopted is that recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, London, but a few additional rules of spelling have been introduced by me, to meet the requirements of the Australian pronunciation.

Eighteen letters of the English alphabet are sounded, comprising thirteen consonants, namely: *b, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, w, y*, and five vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*.

As far as possible, vowels are unmarked, but in some instances, to prevent ambiguity, the *long* sound of *ä, ê, î, ô* and *û* are given as here represented. Where the *short* sound of these vowels was otherwise doubtful, they are marked thus: *ă, ě, ĩ, ȳ, ü*.

It is frequently difficult to distinguish between the short sound of *a* and that of *u*. A thick sound of *i* is occasionally met with, which closely resembles the short sound of *u* or *a*.

B has an intermediate pronunciation between its proper sonant sound and the surd sound of *p*. The two letters are practically interchangeable.

G is hard in all cases, and often has the sound of *k*, with which it is generally interchangeable.

W always commences a syllable or word, and has its ordinary English sound. The sound of *wh* in our word "what" has no equivalent in the native tongue.

Ng at the beginning of a word or syllable has a peculiar nasal sound as in the English word "singer." If we alter the syllabification of this word and write it "si-nger," then the *ng* of "-nger" will represent the aboriginal sound. Or if we take the expression "hang up" and change it into "ha-ngup," and then pronounce it so that the two syllables

melt into each other, the *ng* of "-ngup" will also be the sound required. At the end of a syllable, *ng* has the sound of *ng* in king.

The sound of the Spanish ñ frequently occurs. At the beginning of a word or syllable it is given as *ny*, but when terminating a word the Spanish letter ñ is used.

Dh is pronounced nearly as *th* in "that," with a slight sound of *d* preceding it. *Nh* has likewise nearly the sound of *th* in "that," with a perceptible initial sound of the *n*.

Th is frequently used at the commencement of a word instead of *dh*, and in such cases an initial *t* sound is substituted for that of the *d*. *Dh* and *th* are generally interchangeable. At the beginning of a word our English sound of *d* and *t* seldom occurs; it is generally pronounced *dh* or *th*, in the way just explained.

A final *h* is guttural, resembling *ch* in the German word "joch."

Y at the commencement of a word or syllable preserves its habitual sound.

R in general has a whirring sound, at other times it is rolled, and occasionally the English value is assigned to it.

T is interchangeable with *d*, *p* with *b*, and *g* with *k*, in most of the words in which these letters are used.

Ty or *dy* at the commencement of a syllable or word has nearly the sound of the English *j* or Spanish *ch*, thus -*tja* in the word min-tya, closely resembles *cha* or *ja*.

Some native words terminate with *ty*, as 'kūr-gaty,' one of the frogs. The last syllable of this word can be pronounced exactly by assuming *e* to be added to *y*, making it -gat-ye. Then commence articulating the word, including the *y*, but stopping short without sounding the added *e*. An accurate pronunciation can also be readily obtained by

substituting *ch* for the *y*, making it gatch, but omitting the final hissing sound when pronouncing it.

Where double *l* occurs, it often closely resembles *dl*; thus 'kullu,' a lizard, could be spelt 'küdlu.' The same thing happens with double *n*; thus, the word 'kunnai,' a yam-stick, could almost be pronounced 'küdnai.' *M* and *b* are often interchangeable in the same way.

In several native words, an indistinct sound of *r* seems to come before some consonants. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish between thurl-tha and thul-tha; between kur-nu and ku-nu; between bur-al and bur-dal. In modifying the terminations of words for inflection or declension, *r* is often changed into *l*.

When there are double consonants, the second one must begin the following syllable.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE NGEUMBA TRIBE.

In treating of the Ngeumba language in subsequent pages the boundaries of this nation will be defined. I shall here supply an abridged account of their social organisation, which has never before been published.

The community is divided into two primary phratryes, called Ngurrawun and Mumbun, with their feminine equivalents Ngurrawunga and Mumbunga. The Ngurrawun phratry is again divided into two sections called Ippai and Kumbo, and the Mumbun phratry into two, called Kubbi and Murri. In each of these sections the names of the women are slightly different from those of the men, as will appear from the following tabular synopsis, which also shows what sections can intermarry, and to what section the resulting offspring belongs:

Table No. I.

Phratry	Father	Table No. I.		Daughter
		Mother	Son	
Ngurrawun	{ Ippai	Kubbi	Murri	Matha
		Matha	Kubbi	Kubbi

Phratry	Father	Mother	Son	Daughter
Mūmbun	{ Kubbi Murri	Ippatha Butha	Kumbo Ippai	Butha Ippatha

It will be observed that the children inherit the name of the other moiety of their mother's phratry. Thus, if a Ngurawun man, of the section Ippai, marry a Mūmbun woman of the section Kubbitha, the offspring will be Mūmbun the same as their mother, but they will not bear the name of her section, but will take the name of the other section in the Mūmbun phratry—the sons being called Murri, and the daughters Matha. Again, the children inherit their mother's totem; for example, if the mother be a pelican, her sons and daughters will be pelicans also.

Like the people themselves, everything in the universe, animate and inanimate, belongs to one or other of the two phratries, Ngurawun and Mūmbun. And every individual in the community, male and female alike, claims some animal or plant or other object, as his *dhingga* or totem. The totems of the Ngurawun phratry are common to the two sections, Ippai and Kumbo, of which it is composed; and the Mūmbun totems are common to the sections Kubbi and Murri.

Among the *dhingga* or totems of the Ngurawun phratry may be mentioned the following:—emu with dark head, kangaroo, bandicoot, bilbai, pelican, opossum, swan, plain turkey, mosquito, musk duck, porcupine, bat, dog, kurree, bulldog-ant, yellow-belly fish.

The undermentioned totemic names, or *dhingga*, may be enumerated as some of those belonging to the Mūmbun phratry:—emu with grey head, house-fly, tree iguana, ground iguana, eaglehawk, scrub-turkey, slingleback, large fish-hawk, wanggal or small night-jar, black duck, padamellin, crow, carpet snake, codfish, bream.

Beside the phratries, sections and totemic groups above illustrated, the whole community is further divided into what may, for convenience of reference, be called 'castes.' These castes regulate the camping or resting places of the people under the shades of large trees in the vicinity of water or elsewhere. The shadow thrown by the butt and lower portion of a tree is called 'nhurrai'; that cast by the middle portion of the tree is 'wau-guë'; whilst the shade of the top of the tree, or outer margin of the shadow, is 'winggu.'

Again, the men, women and children, whose prescribed sitting places are in the butt and the middle shades of the tree are called 'guai'mundhan,' or sluggish blood, whilst those who sit in the top or outside shade are designated 'guaigulir,' or active blood. This further bisection of the community into Guaimundhun and Guaigulir, which may be referred to as 'blood' divisions, has happened so long ago that the natives have no explanation regarding it. The Guaigulir people—those who occupy the 'winggu' or outer margin of the shade—are supposed to keep a strict watch for any game which may appear in sight, the approach of friends or enemies, or anything which may require vigilance in a native camp.

Each phratry, and consequently every section and every totemic group, contains men, women and children belonging to the Guaimundhun and Guaigulir bloods, with their respective shades. We have just seen that the Guaimundhun people are subdivided into nhurrai and wau-guë, the butt and the middle shades, whilst the Guaigulir folk are intact in the winggu or distal shade. The additional regulations which are brought into the laws of intermarriage by the 'blood' and the 'shade' divisions are as follow:—

A Guaimundhun man of the butt shade marries a Guaigulir woman. He can also marry certain of the Guaimund-

dhun women in the middle shade. And a Guaimundhun man of the middle shade marries a Guaigulir woman, and certain of the Guaimundhuns of the butt shade. A Guaigulir man (who is always a winggu), can marry a Guaimundhun woman of the middle shade, and certain of the women of the butt shade. No man or woman can marry into his or her own personal shade; for example, a nhurrai cannot marry a nhurrai, nor a winggu a winggu.

We shall now deal with the descent of the progeny. It will of course be borne in mind that the phratries, sections and totems are the principal elements in the laws of marriage and descent, and that the castes of 'blood' and 'shade' are ramifications or extensions of them. The following table will exhibit the intermarriage and descent of the castes:—

Table No. II

Blood.	Father	Mother	Offspring
Guaimundhun	Nhurrai	Winggu	Winggu
	Nhurrai	Wanguë	Wanguë
	Wanguë	Winggu	Winggu
	Wanguë	Nhurrai	Nhurrai
Guaigulir	Winggu	Wanguë	Wanguë
	Winggu	Nhurrai	Nhurrai

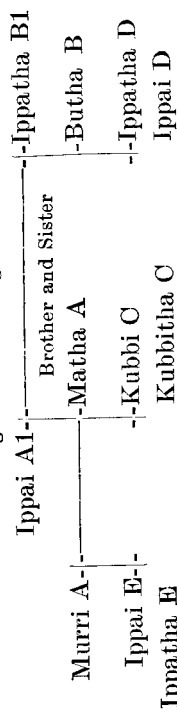
It will be observed that a Guaimundhun mother produces Guaimundhun children, who moreover take their mother's shade, whether nhurrai or wanguë. A Guaigulir mother produces Guaigulir children, belonging to the winggu shade.

Going back to Table No. I. at an earlier page, we see that Ippai marries Kubbitha, who is his tabular or 'regular' spouse; but he has the right, in certain cases, of taking a Matha maiden instead, which may be distinguished as an irregular or 'alternative' marriage. He can also, subject to prescribed restrictions, have an Ippatha allotted to him as his wife, and such a marriage may be designated 'rare.'

Before a union can take place under the 'regular' law, or under the 'alternative' regulations, or under those which I have called 'rare,' the genealogy of the contracting parties is subjected to the test which I shall now endeavour to illustrate.

In examining Table No. I. it is found that the children of a brother and those of a sister belong to different phratries sections and totems. Let us assume that Ippai A1 bandicoot, marries Kubbitha iguana; then his sons and daughters will be Mumbun and Mumbunga—Murriss and Mathas—iguana. His sister, Ippatha B1, will marry, say, Kubbi, padamellin, and her children will be Ngurrawun and Ngurrawunga—Kumbos and Buthas—bandicoots. As the children take their mother's totem, the padamellin of her husband is not inherited by Ippatha's children.

Diagram of Genealogies.



Let us call the Murriss and Mathas of the last example A, and the Kumbos and Buthas B. According to Table No. 1, Murri marries Butha, but a Murri A cannot marry a Butha B. She is *mia* to him, and he is *mia* to her. By continuing the genealogy for another generation, Murri's sister, Matha A, iguana, marries some other Kumbo and has a son, Kubbi C. Butha B, bandicoot, marries another Murri, and has a daughter, Ippatha D. Then Kubbi C can marry Ippatha D, and by an interchange of sisters, Ippai D can marry Kubbitha C. He is *munna* to her and she to him. They are what we call second cousins, being a brother's daughter's child and a sister's daughter's child. If we had taken a brother's son's child and a sister's son's

child, the result would have been the same. Such a marriage is 'regular' or 'direct,' as in Table No. I., and could not be disturbed by the totemic regulations, because the parties could not possibly belong to the same totem.

Instead of tracing the descent through Ippai's daughter, Matha A, as above, let us suppose that Ippai's son, Murri A, has married some strange Butha and produced a son, Ippai E, then such a son could marry Ippatha D of the last paragraph. This would be a brother's son's child marrying a sister's daughter's child; or a brother's daughter's child marrying a sister's son's child. This constitutes the 'rare' marriage spoken of in a previous page. In this case it would be possible, in certain circumstances, for the totems of the parties to be the same, and therefore the union would not be sanctioned.

Ippai's grandson, Ippai E, has still another source of getting a wife. Ippai's maternal uncle, Kumbo, has a daughter Kubbitha, who marries, and produces Matha F, (not shown on diagram). Then Ippai E can marry Matha F. The brother of Matha F could in like manner marry the sister of Ippai E. That is, a man's grandchild marries his uncle's grandchild. This is what I have called the 'alter-native' marriage; and like the first, it is free from totemic interference.

A wife for Kubbi C could also be found by following the descent of his mother's mother's relatives, or his mother's father's relatives, or his father's mother's relatives, in an analogous manner. Again, Kubbi C could marry a Matha of the proper lineage. In other words, a man of any given division can marry into one or other of the three remaining sections, and also into his own.

In the above examples I have traced the genealogy through the grandfather, Ippai A1, down to Kubbi C, and

have shown the marriages of his offspring with that of his sister Ippatha B1. But if we go over to the other side of the diagram, and run Ippai D back to his grandmother, Ippatha B1, it becomes evident that Ippai D marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, Kubbitha C, for the 'direct' alliance; and he mates with his mother's mother's brother's son's daughter, Ippatha E, for the 'rare' marriage. The proper husband for any given woman is ascertained in the same manner, and need not be further exemplified.

In studying the foregoing rules and the diagram, it will be manifest that any individual's pedigree, when followed back to the grand parents, is subject to several variations. We can either trace a man back, (1) to his father's father; (2) to his father's mother; (3) to his mother's father; or, (4) to his mother's mother. From that point the descent is followed out as in the examples given above. It is for the elders of the tribe to settle what particular genealogy will be adopted when choosing a husband or wife for any given person. Previous family marriages and a number of other matters are considered in arranging this point. Although polygamy is practised, a man is not allowed a wife from each of the four lines of descent. If more than one wife is allotted, they must belong to the same lineage as the first, if available.

The rules of intermarriage and descent illustrated in the preceding six paragraphs, were briefly outlined by me in 1900, when treating the Kamilaroi laws, in which I showed that a man marries the daughter of his father's father's sister's son.¹

It has not been thought necessary to encumber the foregoing examples with the 'blood' and the 'shade' distinctions.

¹ "Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines," Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxiv., page 126.

tions, which are persistent in them all, and must be taken into account in arranging a marriage. There are also regulations depending upon the totems of the affianced parties, and upon whether they are the elder or younger members of the family. The uncles of the parties are, in all cases, among the principal personages in conducting the betrothals.

Sometimes a man or woman belonging to a distant tribe, where the phratry and sections have different names, will come and settle among the Ngeumba people. In such a case a conjugal mate would be found by means of the totemic, blood, and shade records of the stranger.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE KAMILAROI TRIBE.

The Kamilaroi territory may be approximately described as extending from Jerry's Plains on the Hunter River as far as Walgett and Mungindi on the Barwon, taking in the greater part of the basins of the Namoi and Gwydir rivers. They are divided into four sections which have the same names as those of the Ngeumba, but the names of the phratry are Kuppauthin and Dhillbai, with their feminine equivalents Kuppauthingün and Dhillbaigün, as shown in the following table. Kuppauthin is equal to the Ngeumba Ngurrawun and Dhillbai equals Mumbun.

Phratry	Father	Mother	Son	Daughter
Kuppauthin	{ Ippai	Kubbitha	Murri	Matha
	{ Kumbo	Matha	Kubbi	Kubbitha
Dhillbai	{ Kubbi	Ippatha	Kumbo	Butha
	{ Murri	Butha	Ippai	Ippatha

All that has been said in preceding pages of this article respecting the Ngeumba subdivisions into 'shade' and 'blood' castes, totems, 'alternative' and 'rare' marriages, apply to the Kamilaroi, and will not be repeated.

Rev. Wm. Ridley, B.A., was the first to report the names of the four sections of the Kamilaroi, with their rules of

intermarriage and the descent of the progeny. Mr. Geo. Bridgman, Superintendent of Aboriginal Stations at Mackay in Queensland reported to Mr. R. B. Smyth, as follows:—"All blacks are divided into two classes, irrespective of tribe or locality. These are Youngaroo and Wootaroo. The Youngaroo are subdivided into Gurgila and Bumbia, and Wootaroo into Coobaroo and Woongoo. . . . Children belong to the mother's primary division, but to the other subdivision. . . . The blacks divide everything into these classes—alligators, kangaroos, sun, moon, the constellations, trees, and plants. . . . An intelligent native who has been living with the Kamilaroi people, says the Kamilaroi system is the same as that here in Mackay."¹

Since the time of Mr. Ridley and Mr. Bridgman down to the present day, nothing important has been added to our knowledge of the Kamilaroi organisation. Neither of the gentlemen mentioned, nor any writers who have copied them, have attempted to supply the minute details of its structure, which are now published by me for the *first time*. In short the 'blood' and 'shade' subdivisions have never been even mentioned by any writer until now. The feminine forms of the phratry names are also new.

The initiation ceremonies of the Kamilaroi had been, if possible, even still more neglected until my description of the Bora appeared.² Little or nothing was known of the speech of this tribe until the publication of my grammar and vocabulary last year.³ Until described in the present treatise, nothing at all has ever been written in regard to the ceremonies connected with scarring the bodies of the

¹ "Aborigines of Victoria," by R. B. Smyth, (Melbourne 1878), Vol. I., p. 91.

² "The Bora or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribes," Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, Vol. ix., (N.S.) pp. 137-173.

³ "Languages of the Kamilaroi, etc.," Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. xxxiii., pp. 259-283. See also my "Kawambarai Language," a dialect of the Kamilaroi, Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxvi., pp. 145-147.

men and women. A secret language in use among the initiated men of the Kamilaroi tribe was reported by me, with vocabulary in 1902.¹

SOCIOLOGY OF THE THURRAWAL AND KINDRED TRIBES.

In an article contributed to this Society in 1900,² and in other publications, I have described the social organisation, with the laws of intermarriage and descent, among all the native tribes inhabiting the south-east coast of New South Wales from the Hawkesbury River to Cape Howe. The same organisation extends onward among the tribes throughout the eastern half of Victoria.

In later pages of the present work I am supplying additional information on the social structure of other communities, under the separate heads of 'Sociology of the tribes of Western Victoria,' and 'Sociology of the tribes of Eastern Victoria,' to which the reader is referred.

Among many of the tribes in the Northern Territory of South Australia, in the north-west corner of Queensland, and in the northern portion of Western Australia, there are eight intermarrying divisions. Although the tribes in the respective regions mentioned do not fall within the scope of the present treatise, yet I desire to state, in passing, that there is no great difference between their organization and that of the Ngeumba, Kamilaroi, or Thurrawal, as well as that of the tribes of Western and Eastern Victoria. In all of them the selection of a wife or husband is determined through the grand parents of the parties to the matrimonial alliance. In some tribes the totem is perpetuated through the men, whilst in others it descends through the women.

¹ Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxvi., pp. 159 - 160.

² Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxiv., pp. 263, 264.

Early in the year 1898,¹ I reported the eight sections of the Wom-by'-a tribe, in the Northern Territory, with their laws of marriage and succession. Again, in 1900, in dealing with the same eight sections, I stated that "a man marries the daughter of his father's father's sister's son, or the daughter of his mother's mother's brother's daughter."² The direct, alternative and rare laws of marriage prevalent in the Wombya and kindred tribes, were shown to follow the same rules as in the Kamilaroi and Parukalla communities. On that occasion (1900), I also stated: "owing to the different methods of subdividing the tribes, the details of the rules regulating intermarriage and descent, are somewhat varied in each system, but the fundamental principles are the same in them all."³

CHILDBIRTH.

While obtaining the particulars given under this heading, I was assisted by the wife of a station manager in the north-western districts of New South Wales. This lady had been a trained nurse and had witnessed several cases of accouchement among the black women on the station where she resided.

When a woman approaches the period of labour, she is taken charge of by one or two old female relatives, but not by her own mother, and is conducted to the locality which has been assigned as the place where that particular woman must give birth to her offspring. Certain spots are fixed by the elders for women to repair to in such cases, and when the expected event draws near, the woman's tribe proceeds to the neighbourhood of that place and

¹ "Divisions of Australian Tribes," Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. Philadelphia, Vol. xxxvii., pp. 151 - 154.

² "Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines," Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxiv., p. 126. See also my "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Territory," Queensland Geographical Journal, (1901) Vol. xvi., pp. 69 - 90.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

camps there. When the time arrives, the woman who has charge of the patient presses her hands along the back from above downwards, and continues this treatment until the child is born. The umbilical cord is cut quite six inches away from the infant's belly, the severance being effected with a sharp flint or other suitable stone. It is then bound tightly round and round with string made from human hair or the fur of animals. The umbilicus, being about six inches in length as above stated, is doubled back into a circular loop, the cut end being then tied to the point of origin at the navel. This loop of the umbilicus is laid flat on the child's belly, extending upwards towards the chest. A string, made of animal fur, is then passed through the loop, and is carried up around the nape of the child's neck and back again, when it is knotted, thus forming a sort of sling or suspender for the umbilicus, to keep it in position. The excised portion of the umbilical cord which protrudes from the mother is now placed in the mouth of the infant, into which the nurse squeezes as much blood along the tube of the cord, as the child can swallow without being sick. An infant is never fed from the breast for about three days after its birth—the dose of blood which it drinks in the way described sufficing for that period. The natives say that if a baby swallow plenty of blood from the umbilical cord it will not require so much food in later times. To get away the afterbirth, the patient sits on her heels, with her knees bent and her hands behind her back, the fingers touching the ground. The old women present then stroke the belly and back, commencing above the abdomen and stroking downwards. The patient assists these manoeuvres by moving her body and straining. As soon as the afterbirth is discharged, it is burnt in a fire or buried in the ground. The attendant places the newly born infant in warm sand or ashes to get it dry and clean, this treatment serving the purpose of a bath. The child is subsequently

carefully greased all over with animal fat, but has no clothing of any kind. The mother is generally able to get about in a day or two, when the infant is placed in a kind of basket or girdle made of paper-bark, and is carried on its mother's hip. Certain foods are forbidden to women during portions of their pregnancy and lactation.

Infanticide is common, and if twins be born, one of them is almost invariably killed. The children of young unmarried girls are usually killed a few months after they are born, by the old women filling their mouths and nostrils with sand. They are opened along the belly and the intestines removed, and the leaves of a kind of *Acacia* are put inside the body, after which they are cooked like any other animal, and are eaten by the old men. A man cannot go near the spot where a child has been born. This prohibition is called *guruan*.

THE NGEUMBA LANGUAGE.

The Ngēumba speaking people formerly occupied the country from Brewarrina on the Darling River southerly up the Bogan almost to Nyngan. They stretched thence westerly beyond Cobar and Byrock, including the upper portions of Mulga Creek and surrounding country.

The Wailwan tribe occupies the country to the north-east of the Ngēumba, whilst the Wongaibon people adjoin them on the south. The languages of both the tribes referred to have already been published by me.¹

Nouns.

Nouns are subject to inflection for number, gender and case.

Number.—There are three numbers, the singular, dual and plural. Womboin, a kangaroo; womboinbula, a couple of kangaroos; womboingirba, several kangaroos.

¹ "Le Language Wailwan," Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris, tome iv., 5 Serie, pp. 69-81. "The Wongaibon Language," Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, Vol. xxxvi., pp. 147-154.

Gender.—For the human family this is expressed by different words, as, maie, a man; winnar, a woman. For animals the gender is indicated by using a word signifying 'male' and 'female,' as, mundaiwa, a male; guninger, a female. These words follow the name of the animal spoken of, and are declined like other adjectives.

Case.—The principal cases are the nominative, causative, genitive, instrumental, accusative, dative, and ablative.

There are two forms of the nominative. When the action is described by an intransitive verb, as, winnar yuvunna, the woman lies (on the ground), the noun is without flexion. But when a transitive verb is used, the noun takes a causative suffix, as, murrawandu wirmedhi, a kangaroo scratched me.

Genitive.—Murrawangu dhun, a kangaroo's tail. Maingu bulga, a man's boomerang.

Every object or article over which ownership can be exercised is subject to inflection for person and number, as: bulgadhi, my boomerang; bulganu, thy boomerang; bulgalugu, his boomerang, and so on through the dual and plural, which also contain 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' forms in the first person.

If a couple or several articles be claimed, an infix is inserted between the root of the noun and the possessive affix, as: bulgambuladhi, my two boomerangs; bulgagirbadhi, my several boomerangs.

Instrumental.—When an instrument is the remote object of a transitive verb, it takes the same affix as the second nominative which I have called the causative.

Ablative.—Ngurandidhi, from my camp.

The dative is the same as the first nominative.

Adjectives.

Adjectives follow the nouns which they qualify, and are subject to similar declensions for number and case, examples of which are not considered necessary.

Comparison is made by positive assertions, as: bamir nginna—bumba ngunnala, this is long—that is short.

When an adjective is used as a predicate, it can, by adding the necessary suffixes, be converted into a verb, and it then follows all the forms of conjugation of that part of speech. Yuttadhū, I am good; yuttagēdhū, or more euphoniously, yuttadhugē, I was good. Yuttalagadhū, I shall be good, and so on.

Pronouns.

Pronouns have number, person and case, and contain two forms in the first person of the dual and plural, one of which includes the person addressed, and the other excludes him. I was the first author to report, in any of the Australian States, these important grammatical forms. The following is a list of the nominative, possessive and objective pronouns in the singular:

1st Person I,	ngadhu	My,	ngaddhi	Me,	dhi
2nd " Thou,	ngindu	Mine,	nginyu	Thee,	nu
3rd " He,	ngillu	His,	ngigulu	Him,	lugu

There are also variations of the objective case of pronouns, meaning 'towards me,' 'away from me,' 'with me,' and so on.

Interrogatives.—Ngandi, who? Nganngundawa, whom for? Nganguanni, whom belonging to? Widdyuwandu ngulagai, what is the matter with thee? Minya, what? Minyanggo, what for? Minyunguri, what from? Minyunggalmi, how many?

Demonstratives.—Nginna, this. Nginnilla, there. Ngunna, that. Ngunnala, that, (farther). Ngunnaingulu, that,

(farther still). Ngunnigal, that (yonder). Ngunnigal manna, that far away. Nginnagē, that, (is the thing I meant). Nginnallana, this is the very one. Nginyalanga, that (is the one which was acted upon). Ngillu, this (did it). Ngullu, that (did it). Ngunnalabu, that (may be it). Most of these demonstratives can be declined for dual and plural.

Verbs.

Verbs have number, person, tense and mood. There are inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person of the dual and plural. A contraction of the pronoun is added to the root of the verb to show number and person. The following is a short conjugation of the principal parts of the aboriginal verb, Bumulli, to strike or beat :

Indicative Mood—Present Tense.

Singular	{	1st Person	I beat,	Bumurradhu
		2nd "	Thou beatest,	Bumurrandu
		3rd "	He beats,	Bumurralu
Dual	{	1st Per.	{ We incl., beat,	Bumurrali
		2nd "	{ We excl., beat,	Bumurralina
		3rd "	{ You beat,	Bumurrandubla
Plural	{		They beat,	Bumurrainbula
		1st Per.	{ We incl., beat,	Bumurrane
		2nd "	{ We excl., beat,	Bumurrannina
		3rd "	{ You beat,	Bumurrandugal
			They beat,	Bumurrawullgal

In the past and future tenses of verbs there are variable terminations to indicate that the act described was done in the immediate, recent, or remote past; or that the act will be performed in the proximate, or more or less distant future; that there was, or shall be, a repetition or continuance of the action, and other modifications of the verbal suffixes. These terminations remain the same for all the persons of the singular, dual and plural, so that it will be

sufficient to give an example in the first person of the singular number, in the past and future tenses :

Past Tense.

Singular 1st Per.	{	I beat, indefinite,	Bumaidyu
		I beat this morning,	Bumulgurriyadhu
		I beat last night,	Bumulgubbinnyedhu
		I beat all day,	Bumulbenadhu
		I beat again,	Bumulallidyadhu

Future Tense.

Singular 1st Per.	{	I shall beat, indefinite,	Bumulagadhu
		I shall beat in the morning,	Bumulgurriagadhu
		I shall beat all day,	Bumulbenagadhu
		I shall beat in the evening,	Bumulgaiagadhu
		I shall beat in the night,	Bumulgubbiagadhu

Imperative.

Beat, Buma. Beat not, Kurria buma.

Conditional.

Perhaps I shall beat, Yama bumulagadhu.

Reflexive Mood.

I am beating myself, Bumadyillingedhu
I beat myself all day, Bumadyillibenadhu
I shall beat myself, Bumadyilliagadhu

Reciprocal Mood.

This modification of the verb is applied to those cases where two or many persons reciprocally beat each other, and is consequently limited to the dual and plural :

Dual We, excl., are beating each other, Bumullinnalina
Plural We, excl., are beating each other, Bumullinnaninna

Adverbs.

Following are a few of the more commonly used adverbs which are generally placed after the verb : Yes, ngaua. No, wongai. Now, dhallun. Yesterday, kumbirrabutthe. To-morrow, kumbirrabutthalagu. To-day, dhallun. Presently (future), dhallumbutthalagu. Just now (past), dhullumbutthe. Some time ago, gumbirranabutthe. Long ago, murradhal.

Some adverbs admit of inflexion for number, person and tense, as: Where am I, wundhalawadhu. Where art thou, wundhalawandu. Where is he, wundhalaguana. Where are we, dual inclusive, wundhalawali. Where are you, dual, wundhalawandubla. Where are you, plural, wundhalawandugal.

When, wittiyubara. Where, wundhala. How, widdyuwā. Perhaps, ngakillaga. I do not think so, wongaia. Certainly or certain, kurrimunkan. How (was it done), widdyumin-dumi.

Prepositions.

In front, murrubil. Behind, kukkirbil. Inside, kurgunna. Round at the back (of something), ngunnungurra. Between, bauwungga. At the side (of anything), ngunna-langurra. Around (a tree, rock, etc.), ngunniguliai. Round there, ngunnibingura. Up there, ngunnianya. Down there, ngunnidyar. Outside, wāgiga. Around (a person, as a belt), guranggadha. This side, nginnangur. The other side, ngunnaingur. Through, guruga. Over or across, burabiddya. On the top, wampana. Underneath, ngunni-dyingura. Up the river or stream, wambagirri. Down the river, dhunggagulli.

Some prepositions can be inflected for number and person, as: kukkiridhi, behind me; kukkirinu, behind thee; kukkirilu, behind him; and so on through the remaining numbers and persons.

Numerals.

One, mukku. Two, bulagar.

NGEUMBA VOCABULARY.

The vocabulary herewith contains about 460 words of the Ngeumba language, collected by myself in the camps of the aborigines. The words of a similar kind are grouped under separate headings, as, Family Terms, the Human Body,

and so forth. It is hoped that this classification will be more convenient for reference than if arranged in alphabetic sequence. In all grammars and vocabularies minor inaccuracies are of course inevitable—they will creep in despite the greatest care.

Family Terms.

A man,	maii	Old woman,	kukaiainggai
Husband,	mamambon	Woman during menses, mürpi	
Old man,	bukaiainggai	Wife,	buttong
Very old man,	kukun	Small girl,	bulkaligu
Clever man,	wiringin	Young woman, marrianda	
Boy,	butthudhul	First menses, goañbōn	
Boy just walking, warru		Maid at puberty, wirringga	
Uninitiated youth, iramuru		Father,	papa
Youth after } minbaddyurai		Father's mother, dhurbaga	
tooth out, }		Mother,	gūnni
Initiate,	wallui	Mother's mother, muki	
Elder brother, murrumbai		A small child, warrudhul	
Second brother, bauuma		All the people, men, } maingirba	
Younger brother, kakingilli		women, and children }	
Elder sister, thathi		All the initiates, wallugirba	
Younger sister, gidyrarai		All uninitiated, iramurrungirba	
A woman,	winnar	All the little girls, bŭkalligŭlka	

The Human Body.

Head,	bullā	Knee-cap,	pundai-kiwai
Top of head,	kumbuda	Knee,	pūndai
Forehead,	ngulu	Shin,	biyu
Hair of head,	bullandhur	Foot,	dhinua
Beard,	yerrai	Ankle,	burrunggal
Eye,	mil	Heel,	wurta
Nose,	murudha	Sinews,	kaia
Back of neck,	wuru	Heart,	gi
Throat,	nuki	Liver,	guralu
Windpipe,	nugal-nugal	Blood,	go-ai
Ear,	wuttha	Fat,	gutthal

Cheeks,	thuggal	Bone,	ngimbi
Mouth,	ngurndal	Foreskin,	ngulumbilla
Lips,	willi	Penis,	mundai
Teeth,	wirra	Glans penis, muru-un or nyirin	
Tongue,	thullai	Testicles,	burru
Breast, female,	ngammu	Pubic hair,	o-i
Navel,	gindyer	Sexual desire,	giridyai
Afterbirth,	ngalgir	Copulation,	dhani [murra
Belly,	purpibirti	Masturbation,	kuppa-kuppa-
Back,	mukkulla	Sodomy,	ngindy-dhani
Fore arm,	pi	Noise made in copulating,	mintya
Elbow,	ngūnnugu	Semen,	butthe or bai
Arm-pit,	gilkin	Emission,	kalkinyi
Shoulder,	kunna	Vagina,	munai
Shoulder-blade,	pikilgirra	Labia major,	willir
Hand,	murra	Clitoris,	wukkur
Finger-nail,	yulu	Nymphæ,	ninti
Loins,	gumbul	Anus,	ngi
Hip,	milla	Excrement,	guna
Thigh,	dhurrakur	Urine,	kil
Buttocks,	mūrta	Venereal,	mundai-bukkin
<i>Inanimate Nature.</i>			
Sun,	thunni	Night,	ngau-ap-a
Moon,	giwir	Morning,	ngauo-guramba
Stars,	girala	Evening,	ngauo-ngauapa
Orion's belt,	tharkallungalka	A splinter,	dhurinyi
Pleiades,	mullumullurga	Hill,	dhirrana
Sky,	gunnunggulla	Sand-hill,	gumbogin
Light clouds,	thurai	Grass,	gurun
Storm clouds,	gūnda	Leaves of trees,	gira
Rain,	yuru	Bird's nest,	mutthe
Rainbow,	yulubirki	Egg,	kuppugo
Dew,	dhimbur	Honey,	warrungunna
Fog,	pupilla	A tell-tale,	wurrimurra
Frost,	dhukkur	Grubin box tree,	butthu-gurnidya

Hail,	wiranggurra	Grub in gum tree,	bityulla
Water,	kulli	Grub in ground,	birka
Earth, ground,	dhukkun	Bloom on trees,	gurawin
Ground sun-heated,	marawurra	Pathway,	dhinnakkal
Mud,	windya	Shadow,	gual
Stone,	kurul	Tail of animal,	thun
Sand,	gurawir	Summer,	tharrialpa
Light,	ngullun	Winter,	tukkar
Darkness,	ngauo	Echo,	yulpur
Heat,	wiwi	Emu feathers,	gurungunna
Cold,	gunundai	Feathers generally,	bubil
Camp,	ngura	Fur of opossum etc.,	mu-a
Bark hut,	kukur-ngunnu	Spines of porcupine,	thikkar
West wind,	gulyi-yeto	Scales of fish,	wallugar
East wind,	guru-annha	Skin of animal,	yulai or bauar
Whirlwind,	būrunuga'	Skin shed by snake,	{ ginggai
Dust storm,	miar	iguana, lizard etc.	
Mirage,	kulla-kulli	Shell of turtle or mussel,	bukkai
Hole,	munilla	Edge of water,	bukki
Pipe-clay,	munuha	Charcoal,	guri
Red ochre,	kūppur	Ashes,	nummur
Corroboree,	dhūnkurumunna	Live coal,	gurnuū
Fire,	wi	Firestick,	wirunggunni
Smoke,	putthu	Trumpeting of	{ muppaningga
Flesh food,	bunna	emus,	
Vegetable food,	kakullu	Top-knot feathers,	{ thikkūn
Thirst,	bungkunnu	of any bird	
Day,	dhirranba		
<i>Animals—Mammals.</i>			
Dog,	mirri	Water-rat,	pikku
Opossum,	guragi	Bat,	butthaiballa
Kangaroo-rat,	bulpu	Porcupine,	thikkarpilla
Native cat,	būbbilla	Kangaroo, grey,	wamboin
Bandicoot,	guru	Kangaroo, red,	murrawē
Small kangaroo-rat,	gūnnhur		

Birds.

Birds collectively, thibbi	Top-knot parrot, ko-ri-ē
Laughing jackass, kukuburra	Nankeen, thürkun
Curllew, guribun	Musk duck, wukkarbutta
Crow, wakan	White crane, būlun
Mallee-hen, yūnggai	White-necked crane, murku
Bustard, gūmbal	Grey crane, barra
Native companion, buralga	Small night jar, dhi-ell
Pelican, birraia	Swift, pil-luru
Swan, dhundhu	Bronze-wing pigeon, yammar
Wood-duck, gunāru	Rosella parrot, dhenkutthenku
Quail, buludhur	Brown hawk, burrawar
Eaglehawk, mūl'-le-an	Larger kingfisher, birrimbirru
Emu, nguri	Smaller kingfisher, dhutul
Young emu, ung-ga	Peewee, gultiti
Black and white } kāruawar'	Plover, bildadhirradhirra
magpie,	Weejuggler, būnyan
Black magpie, wi-u	Fish-hawk, pipiddya
Black duck, būrangun	Galah parrot, gillā
Mopoke, thürkū	Bowerbird, ngurambula
Dove, kōpatha	

Reptiles.

Death adder, burnu	Brown snake, bullabului
Shingle-back lizard, kullu	Black snake, ngundaba
Ground iguana, thuli	Tiger snake, wurrala
Tree iguana, gugar	Jew lizard, kanni
Sleepy lizard, goarri	Whip snake, dhuru
Carpet snake, yeppa	Turtle, wurumba

Invertebrates.

Locust, wirai	Centipede, gilga
Blow-fly, nukui	Jumper ant, bungai
Louse, kuppul	Maggot, thurabut
Nit of louse, dhinnil	Grasshopper, murru
House fly, burimul	Spider, muramurruga
Sugar ant, bippainbilla	Mosquito, gam'ugin

Common ant, wungai	Scorpion, ganigandhera
Butterfly, bullabullā	Greenhead ant, buddyar
Bulldog ant, burū-ingga	Mussel, bukkadyerra
<i>Trees and Plants.</i>	
Any tree, gudur	Gum of sandalwood, thukkabella
Bark of any tree, munggar	Whitewood, balkan
Squeaking tree, muppuran	Reefwood, mumbo
Wild willow, wilgar	Leopard wood, ngarkarri
Myall, buri	Kurrajong, yumma
Wattle, billibar	Hop bush, gidya
Pine tree, kurrabar	Gidyea, karriwan
Oak, billār	Wild orange, mukil
Red gum tree, gūngun	Quandong tree, kwanda
Grey box, girral	Currant bush, warriar
Sandalwood, kuttauw	Tar bush, thurramurra
<i>Weapons, Utensils, etc.</i>	
Stone tomahawk, wukkar	White brow-band, kambai
Handle of ditto, birra	Red brow-band, ngulunggira
Stone chisel, kainda	Waist-belt, gular
Wooden vessel, gūlkur	Nose-peg, murudhagi-ār
Jagged spear, mura	Girl's apron, kumil
Yamstick, kunnai	Whet-stone, kiwai
Reed spear, thirril	Stone knife, irrangin
Spear-lever, wamur	Lower millstone, yaui
Spear shield, mūrka	Upper millstone, murra
Waddy shield, muttha-muttha	Skin cloak, burta
Fighting club, bundi	Bone needle, ki-ur
Hunting club, kuttura	Sinews for sewing with, kaia
Boomerang, returning, bulka	Net for catching emus, mukir
Fighting boomerang, wukkara	Propstick for net, bidylli
Old man's bag, bur'-ko	String of nets, mau-irr
Woman's bag, kulai	Lower string of net, kuruguru
Large bag, bukitta	Vessel for drinking with, kutyūl
<i>Adjectives.</i>	
Alive, moan	Strong, wallan
Dead, ballune	Afraid, giandunna

Large,	buppir	Right,	yetta
Small,	butthu	Wrong,	wunna
Long or high,	bamir	Straight,	bintul
Short or low,	bumba	Crooked,	nirra-nirrai
Good,	yettama	Tired,	yellamunna
Bad,	wurrai	Deep,	ngurambul
Wide,	pikkaba	Shallow,	gunnai
Narrow,	ngambur	Blunt,	muku
Jealous,	guringatai	Sharp,	wirandul
Dry,	bun-kai	Fat,	murunda
Wet,	muttha	Lean,	ngimbi-ngimbi
Lane,	kutthiburra	Hot,	wi-wi
Thirsty,	bunkunna	Cold,	gunundai
Red,	girrabarai	Angry,	kulkai
White,	bunggaba	Sleepy,	muka
Black,	bullui	Glad,	kaia
Mad or crazy,	bullawarrai	Greedy,	kai-ili-dyai
Full,	wirrambu	Sick,	giranggira
Empty,	bintyi	Stinking,	buka
Half-full, some,	gulangai	Pregnant,	ngurkambon
Quick,	burra-burrai	Sweet,	nguttha-ngutthai
Slow,	yarur	Hard,	wallan
Blind,	muki	Soft,	thalpai
Deaf,	wuttha-muku		

Verbs.

Die,	ballune	Stare at,	mukamirra
Eat,	dhai	Cut off,	kukka
Drink,	ngurruni	Hang up,	wambainna
Snatch or grab,	thunmanyi	Put into,	gurga
Sleep,	muka	Pull out of,	thuranma
Stand,	warrana	Pull down,	wirima
Sit,	winya	Shut,	nunpani
Touch,	ngukkunna	Open,	kunkaina
Hold,	mina	Cough,	karra
Twist,	warwainna	Sneeze,	thikkartuna

Spill,	kalkinya	Cough up anything, as from the
Pinch,	ninna	throat or lungs, yandyarra-murra
Pull,	wuru-unna	Shiver as with cold, bulpurrinya
Carry,	wamba	Pierce, with a weapon, dhura
Grow,	yurunha	Hurt, girrimpathi'
Startle,	dhullagurra	Bend, nirraibunna
Lie (animate thing, as a man),	yuvunna	Make a hole, bungaga
		Sound or test, thurabia
Lie (inanimate thing, as a boomerang), gurinya	nunkanni	Drawn,
		Split, wirpadhia
Crawl, as a child, karanna	Chop,	bindhea
Put down, gurinanni	Send,	nginnakaka
Pick up, mananni	Shine,	dhallarbirra
Lift (if heavy), girramanni	Suck as a child, ngammuna	
Shake, as a tree, dhillama	Suck a wound, wuruandirra	
Talk, ngeara	Suck through a reed } thurtirra	
	or the like	
Shout, gulaga or gulagunni	Swim, yawinya	
To call anyone, ngealugu	Bathe, gurungunna	
Walk, yananna	Search for, gurrandirra	
Run, bippuna	Spit, dhumbia	
Bring, gaka	Spit or hiss towards	
Take, ngullupi	an enemy or game } wi-ung-kurra	
Make, mulla	as a spell	
Break, gumma	Smell, buttha	
Strike or beat, bumulli	Throw forcibly, gurarba	
Wound, mundhunmai	Pitch or heave, wannaga	
Arise, barraka	Roast, wirrungga	
Fall down, thuvatta	Whistle, wilpadha	
See, ngaga	Pretend, warrimirra	
Look, ngani	Kiss, putharbattha	
Hear, winnungga	Vomit, kapi	
Give, nguka	Dance, wakuttha	
Sing, wukkaina	Corroborate, dhunkurumurra	
Weep, yungunna	Dive, ngupungginginya	
Cook, wirrungurri		

Steal,	murnumulli	Sting,	dhuni
Request,	ngukatti	Hunt on ground,	munnabiddya
Blow with breath, bumbea	wulkagirri	Hunt in trees,	wulkagirri
Climb,	nunbimulli	Go,	ngullubi
Conceal,	barāgirri	Come,	dhaiana
Jump,	gindadha	Burn,	būnga
Laugh,	birma	Bite,	kuttha
Scratch,	birma	Fly, as a bird,	burrana
Tear with claw, kappia	nunbanna	To trim timber by	} bukkibiddha
Forget,		chipping	

LANGUAGE OF THE THANGATTI TRIBE.

The remnants of the aboriginal tribes who speak the Than'-gat-ti language are located chiefly in the valley of the Macleay River, on the north-east coast of New South Wales. This language is a highly interesting one, both on account of its euphonic and flowing intonation, and also because it possesses strong affinities to the speech of the great tribes of the Wirraidyuri and Kamilaroi, who occupy extensive regions in Central New South Wales. The social organisation of these people, and their ceremonies of initiation, have been described by me elsewhere.¹

Adjoining the Thangatti on the north is the Kūmbainggeri tribe, a grammar and vocabulary of whose language was contributed by me to the Anthropological Society at Vienna.²

Nouns.

Nouns have number, gender and case.

Number.—Nouns have the singular, dual and plural numbers, as in the following example:—Womboiñ, a kangaroo; wamboiñbutōbu, a couple of kangaroos; womboiñvillong, several kangaroos.

¹ Queensland Geographical Journal, Vol. xvi., pp. 35–41. Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. xxxvii., pp. 54–73, with map of N. S. Wales.

² "Das Kūmbainggeri, eine Eingeborenen-sprache von N. S. Wales," Mitteil. d. Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien, Bd. xxxiii., (1903), p. 321–328.

Gender.—In the human family sex is denoted by different words, as, guri, a man; gulban, a woman; guraman, a boy; thukalbang or muna, a girl; dhulle, a child of either sex. Among animals, gender is distinguished by words meaning "male" and "female," placed after the name of the creature, as, wille yimbukai, a male opossum; wille nyukabang, a female opossum.

The principal cases are the nominative, causative, instrumental, genitive, accusative, dative and ablative.

Nominative.—This case merely names the subject, and is without flexion, as, mirri, a dog; burragan, a boomerang; yarre, a native bear. It is also used with an intransitive verb, as, guri nyinne, a man sits.

Causative.—When a transitive verb is used the noun takes a suffix, as, guri-nga burragan guru, a man a boomerang threw. Mirri-nga wille-nga bain, a dog an opossum bit. Gulban-nga dhulle-nga bunyun, a woman a child beat (or hit).

Instrumental.—This case is the same as the causative, as, gulban-nga mirri bunyun gunni-nga, a woman beat a dog with a yamstick.

Genitive.—Guri-gudhun burragan, a man's boomerang. Gulban-gudhun gunni, a woman's yamstick.

Accusative.—Frequently there is an inflexion like the causative, as, Guri-nga yarre-nga bunyun, a man a bear hit. It is generally the same as the nominative when followed by the instrumental case, as illustrated above.

The dative and ablative cases also have distinguishing postfixes, as, nguragu yung, to the camp go.

Adjectives.

Adjectives are placed after the nouns they qualify, and are similarly declined for number and case. They are compared by making two positive statements, as, this is good—that is bad.

Pronouns.

There are two forms of first person of the dual and plural one in which the person or persons addressed are included with the speaker, and another in which they are exclusive of the speaker.

The following is a list of the pronouns in the nominative case:—

Singular	{ 1st Person I, Ngaia 2nd " Thou, Nginda 3rd " He, Nong
Dual 1st Person	{ We, incl., Ngutti We, excl., Nguttiwalgu
Plural 1st Person	{ We, incl., Ngenang We, excl., Ngenawalgu

The genitive and accusative forms of the pronouns, in the singular number only, are exhibited in the following table:—

1st Person Mine,	Dhalga	Me,	Ngünya
2nd " Thine,	Nginnumbo	Thee,	Nginna
3rd " His,	Nonningbo	Him,	Nonninyang

The dual and plural are omitted, for the purpose of saving space.

Interrogative pronouns.—Who, ngannung. Whose, nganumbo. What, miang. What for, miangrai. How many, minnhan.

Demonstrative pronouns.—This or here, dying. That or there, ngāndha. Those two, ngandambural. Those, plural, ngandadyillong. The demonstratives are numerous and of various forms, frequently taking the place of pronouns of the third person, a circumstance which explains the great diversity of the third personal pronouns in all the numbers.

Verbs.

There is a difference in the termination of the verb for each tense. Any required person and number in each tense

can be shown by using the necessary pronoun from the foregoing table.

An example of the conjugation of the singular number of a verb will be sufficient:—

Indicative Mood—Present Tense.

Singular	{ 1st Person I sit, Ngaia nyinne 2nd " Thou sittest, Nginda nyinne 3rd " He sits, Nong nyinne
----------	---

and so on through all the persons of the dual and plural.

Past Tense.

Singular 1st Person I sat, Ngaia nyinnimbin.

Future tense.

Singular 1st Person I will sit, Ngaia nyinniling

The imperative, conditional, reflexive, and reciprocal forms of the verb will be omitted for want of space. The adverbs, prepositions and interjections are also passed over for the same reason.

The numerals are, Wadhu, one; Buta-buta, two.

Including the Ngeumba and Thangatti grammars contained in this treatise, I have now illustrated, wholly or in part, the grammatical structure of fifty Australian dialects and languages. This vast amount of work has been rendered possible by the kindness of several learned Societies in Australia, Europe, and America, who promptly published the manuscript dealing with all these languages. It may be added that I still have in my note-books the grammars and vocabularies of several other native tongues, awaiting an opportunity for publication.

THANGATTI VOCABULARY.

About 200 of the words in most common use in the Thangatti language, are comprised in this vocabulary. I have thought that placing groups of words of the same character together under distinctive headings will prove

more acceptable for reference than the common method of arranging the vocabulary alphabetically. Every word, both in the grammar and the vocabulary, has been carefully written down by me from the mouths of the aboriginal speakers, whilst visiting them in their own camps.

The Family.

Man,	guri	Woman,	gulban
Youth,	murranggil	Girl,	muna or thukalbang
Novitiate	murrawin	Mother,	nango
Small boy,	guraman	Child of either sex,	dhulle
Father,	béango	Elder sister,	meanngun
Elder brother,	binghai	Younger sister,	weran
Younger brother,	kumbiri		

The Human Body.

Head,	bō	Hand,	yamma
Forehead,	ngutu	Shoulder,	mirka
Hair of head,	murra	Thigh,	dhurra
Beard,	yerran	Knee,	gutung
Eye-lash,	dhilmirra	Calf of leg,	gūnde
Eye,	mi	Foot,	dhinna
Eye-brow,	yindirri	Blood,	gunggurra
Nose,	ngummurra	Fat,	bibban
Throat,	gugurra	Bone,	dhirral
Ear,	binnaun	Penis,	bunmai
Mouth,	gunnung	Testicles,	burru
Lips,	witting	Semen,	butumbun
Teeth,	dhirra	Vulva,	binhun
Breast (female)	ngubbung	Copulation,	yingmuddinge
Navel,	wiri-wiri	Urine,	gittuddhai
Belly,	bindyil	Anus,	miri
Tongue,	dhuttuf	Excrement,	gunang
Back,	munu	Venereal,	wullan
Arm,	dbalburra		

Inanimate Nature.

Sun,	dhunnui	Camp,	ngura
Heat of sun,	guyung	Bough hut,	wurrui-gurulu
Moon,	gittañ	Bark hut,	ngurē
Stars,	wupu	Smoke,	dhung
Thunder,	murungai	Fire,	wakai
Lightning,	mikki	Water,	ngaru
Rain,	gurra	Food (flesh)	buggara
Rainbow,	dhulaweng	Food (vegetable)	wigai
Fog,	mungul	Day,	burrañ
Frost,	murragan	Night,	ngummurra
Snow,	yigan	Morning,	ngundagango
Ground,	burri	Evening,	binmai
Stone,	dhurru	Hill,	būkul
Sand,	bané	Flat rock,	wullara
Grass,	gural	Leaves of trees,	wurui
Light of day,	burrañ	Bird's nest,	gūndē
Darkness,	ngummurra	Egg,	gūlgang
Heat,	guyung	Honey,	gubbung
Cold,	gurring	Path,	yurōn
Moonlight,	dhallai	Shadow of tree,	muttong
Shadow,	muttong	Tail of animal,	dun

Mammals.

Kangaroo,	wamboñ	Flying fox,	bullawirri
Wallaroo,	yindibai	Porcupine,	ngugguñ
Wombat,	nguliñ	Bandicoot,	gumbung
Native bear.	yarri	Native cat,	duluñ
Opossum,	wille	Rock wallaby,	burrē
Ringtail opossum,	bukurri	Flying squirrel,	bunggo
Padamelon,	munni	Dog,	mirri
Emu,	ngnruin	Peewee,	gulirti
Laughing-jackass,	gurruga	Plover,	butthurrañ
Lyre-bird,	muran	Swan,	ngubbudhar

Birds.

Wild turkey, ngumbullung White cockatoo, garebun
 Scrub turkey, ngurwiñ Eaglehawk, millambai

Fishes.

Mullet, gauang Silver eel, gurrigung
 Catfish, willang Crab, burambai
 Large eel, burro Perch, gubirra

Reptiles.

Carpet snake, dhunggiñ Brown snake, bukkulla

Invertebrates.

Locust, goarra Nits of lice, dimmin
 Blow-fly, burungun Mosquito, large, yira
 Maggot, diwin Mosquito, small, wura
 Louse, munyo Bee, yilberi

Weapons.

Tomahawk, bubbung Spear-shield, gunner
 Koolamin, gitti Waddy-shield, bungunga
 Yamstick, gunni Club, murre
 Spear, gummai Boomerang, bŭrgan
 Spear-lever, wommera Fighting-hook, gupin

Adjectives.

Large, wutubang Hungry, gidhal
 Small, butyikunnung Afraid, murrar
 Tall or long, gurabang Tired, watta
 Low or short, gulminbang Angry, gutui
 Good, murrung Sleepy, burungging
 Bad, nunnai Greedy, yitiñ
 Quick, gunnung Stinking, buka
 Strong, ngulluñ Pregnant, bindyaldyurai
 Jealous, ningiri

Verbs.

Die, buttinne Look, naia
 Eat, dhumnone Hear, ngurrene
 Stand, wurrane Give, nguya

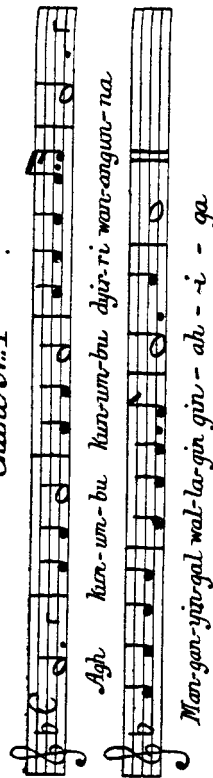
Sit, nginninne Sing, baiarelo
 Talk, goi-ite Weep, wuteling
 Walk, munnene Steal, wudunggumeling
 Pitch, gute Request, ngimbutte
 Throw, bimbea Climb, vandati
 Whistle, wenbutti Conceal, dhurundeling
 Pretend, gurambin Jump, bullaia
 Break, gŭlbumma Laugh, gindene
 Run, gromatti Suck, ngumbene
 Bring, ngeta Swim, wirrungati
 Take, manda Spit, gute
 Destroy, gungulla Smell, bu-ye
 Strike, bungga Vomit, mutine
 Arise, beni Dance, bete
 Fall down, dokkane Dive, dhurakutte
 Scratch, ginnimatti Sting, dhŭngin
 Cough, gunyumputti Put, yŭnda
 Sneeze, ginyilputti

PIRRIMBIR, OR AVENGING EXPEDITION.

Among the aborigines of the south-eastern districts of New South Wales, *Pirrimbir* is the name of a party organised for the purpose of revenge. As this custom has never been described, a short account of the manner of its execution is now given, prepared from details gathered by myself in the camps of the remnants of the native tribes.

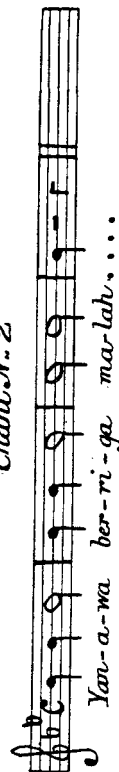
When a man is killed by open violence by any of the people of a hostile tribe, the relatives and fellow-tribesmen of the deceased hold a council at the *bambilli*, at which all the old headmen and warriors assemble, painted with pipe-clay on the forehead, breast and shoulders. Two of the eldest men then sing one of their tribal dirges, the words and music of which are as shown in "Chant No. 1" hereunder:—

Chant No. 1

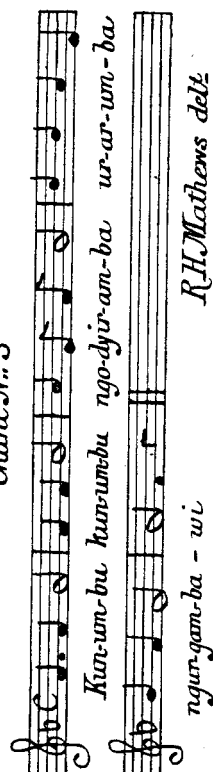


Man-gan-ya-gal wal-lar-gin gin - ah - i - ga

Chant No. 2



Chant No. 3



ngur-gam-ba - wi

R.H. Mathews del.

When this song has been droned for some time, the warriors get small portions of hair which have been cut from the head of the deceased. Each man takes one of the fragments of hair and plaits opossum fur around it, making a small parcel about the thickness of a pencil, and a few inches in length, called 'mürür,' and puts it away in a little bag, called 'gurāga,' which he uses for storing similar charms.

At the same time the women are also mustered in the camp, which is within sight of the *bambilli*, and sit down in a convenient place, singing a 'nyunggoan' or weeping song, of which "Chant No. 2" above is an example.

After the above ceremonial has been gone through, the people patiently wait for a suitable opportunity to organize a party to punish the individual who has caused the death

of their friend. Many months may pass over, or a year, or even a longer period, but the matter is not forgotten. When the time at length arrives, a party of warriors, accompanied by some old men, go away into the enemies' country. The chief features of the procedure in despatching such a hazardous expedition may be summarised as follows:—

The band of men who are to perform this important duty are selected from among the most active and fearless of the relatives and friends of the man whose death they are deputed to avenge. Some of them belong to the same totem as the deceased, and the totems of others are those with whom he could have intermarried. They are mustered on one side of the camp, accompanied by the men who are to lead them, and are decorated with red ochre and grease. The best spears and other weapons are chosen and well greased with human fat. They assume a crouching attitude by bending their bodies at the haunches and knees, and form into single file. Each man produces one of the 'mürürs' already described, and holding it up in his hand, mutters *yah! yah!* They now march away in their bent position, in single file, till they get out of sight of the camp where the women are. They then straighten their bodies and walk on, every man joining in the song shown on the music-block as "Chant No. 3," which is repeated for a short time. While singing, they gesticulate with their weapons as if assaulting an enemy.

Shortly after the departure of the warriors, the women pack up their belongings, singing a prescribed song as they do so, and remove the camp to another locality, whither they are conducted by the men who remain at home. At this place which may be distinguished as the "women's camp," all the occupants keep quiet, in order that the sorcerers or spies of the enemy may not suspect that a revenge party has been sent out.

In the meantime the chosen band already described has marched on till near sundown. They generally select a depression between ridges, or a dry watercourse, as their camping place for the night. Their fires are lit in small excavations made by digging the ground with the end of a nulla-nulla or other weapon to a depth of some inches, and the earth thus removed is used to raise a bank around the margin, as additional protection for the fire. Short pieces of firewood are used, to fit in the holes, and when finally leaving the place the fires are covered over. These precautions are taken in order that any straggling blacks belonging to the enemy may not observe the fires at a distance.

Next morning a tree is selected in or adjacent to the camp and is marked in the following manner: As many men as there is room for squat on the ground close around the butt of the tree, facing it, and mark the portion of the bole within their reach, with their tomahawks. An equal number of men mount, in a sitting posture, upon the shoulders of the first, and mark the tree in the same way. A third tier of men now sit upon the shoulders of the second lot, and make their marks. By this time the bole of the tree is marked up to about the height of a man. All the markers now withdraw and a fresh detachment of men stand around the tree and mark as high as they can reach. The same number of men get astride the shoulders of the first cordon and likewise mark the tree. Another tier of men sit on the shoulders of the second tier and do the same. The two tiers of seated men now jump down to the ground, but the men who are standing around the base of the tree remain in position. A fresh lot of men now mount with their feet on the shoulders of the last mentioned, and standing up, mark the bole as high as they can reach. The tree is now marked about ten or twelve feet from the ground, or even higher than that.

The whole ceremony is enacted for the purpose of making the people of the hostile tribe powerless to screen the predestined victim. This is why as many men as possible join in marking the tree, muttering incantations during the continuance of the proceedings. Some of the old sorcerers rub the marks with a quartz crystal or bullroarer to render the operation all the more efficacious and irresistible. Other men jump around, putting their beard into their mouth and biting it savagely.

At the conclusion of the tree-marking ceremony, preparations are made for the resumption of the journey. Four men are sent on ahead of the main contingent to reconnoitre, and if all is well, to select the site of the night's camp. Having decided upon the best spot, two of them start back to meet and inform their comrades, who in the meantime are coming on. The other two travel forward several miles from the selected camp, to examine the country and see that no strangers are located anywhere in the vicinity. Having satisfied themselves upon this point, they return to the camping place and rejoin the party. On the following morning, another tree is marked, and the scouts are again sent ahead. The proceedings are substantially the same for every day, unless delayed by rainy weather.

In this way the armed warriors journey on by easy stages into the enemies' territory, and endeavour to discover what part of their hunting grounds they are then occupying. When this information has been obtained by cautious tracking, listening and watching, a temporary bāmbilli is made in an unfrequented place, where there is sufficient timber to hide them from view, and here the avengers remain very quietly. This bāmbilli is as close to their enemies' camp as they consider prudent—the distance being less in hilly or scrubby country than in places which are open and level, or are badly watered. Two or more strong, active men,

who are also supposed to be clever sorcerers, are then sent forward as spies to report upon the precise place where the tribe they are in quest of is located. They hold up the 'mūrūr' in their hand as they travel stealthily along, because it is supposed to possess the magic power of guiding them to the quarter of the camp occupied by the slayer.

While the spies are away on their dangerous task, the other men who remain at the secret bāmbilli clear a small, circular patch of ground, by scraping away the leaves, small pieces of sticks, grass, loose stones, or the like, which may be lying on the surface. For this purpose they generally select a place where there is a tree growing in the centre, and clear the ground for several yards around it. A tree with soft bark is preferred, such as a gum, grey box or peppermint. With their stone tomahawks, or with the sharp ends of their clubs, the men in the way already described chop into the bark of the tree some rude marks, such as lines and zig-zag devices, resembling the marks on trees at 'Būnan' grounds or burying places, but not so elaborate. [See illustration and descriptive letter-press.] Somewhere within the clearing a hole or hollow place is made in the ground, into which the men discharge the products of the emunctories, throw remains of food, or other refuse. These precautions are taken lest a spirit or conjurer belonging to the enemy should become possessed of any of their refuse, excreta, or the like, and thereby frustrate their designs. The men who are in charge of this bāmbilli go out hunting to renovate their supply of food, but they make as little noise as possible—their operations being chiefly confined to fruits, reptiles, and game caught with nets.

When the spies have ascertained the position of the predestinated person in the hostile camp, and his surroundings, they start back to their fellows without delay. On their

way thither they gather green grass and leafy twigs which they fasten under their brow-bands and in their hair, to show that they have been successful. When approaching the secret camping place they mutter mū-ū-ū! and their comrades answer them in the same way. On arriving in sight they commence singing the following song:—

Wurrigangaia ngurábun bunnungga
Wurrigangaia gungóara muggu.

On reaching the camp, the men there spread out and form a semicircle into which the messengers walk. Each man composing the semicircle has a spear in his hand, which he holds in a nearly vertical position. An old man now asks the spies if the enemies' camp has been found, and on receiving an affirmative reply, all the men bring down the points of their spears upon the ground, with the exclamation wirrh! wirrh! This is illustrative of the manner in which they mean to punish the offender. The old man further enquires as regards the approximate number of people in that camp, and when the answer is given the spears are again brought down to the accompaniment of wirrh! wirrh! as before. Queries are next made as to the quarter of the camp their special enemy occupies—is it easily got at—who camps near him, whereabouts is the chief man camped, and so on, each reply being received with the same exclamation and gestures.

If the actual slayer is not in the camp visited by the spies, they endeavour to locate the sleeping place of one of his brothers, or his father, or other near relative who may be available, and such person is selected as the victim.

The spies then remove the twigs and grass out of their hair and put them into the hole in the ground already referred to. They also discharge into this hole as much excrementitious matter as they wish to be relieved of, covering it up with the earth which had been scooped out.

All the men around then turn their backs to the hole and commence scratching backwards with their hands and feet like fowls. They scrape all the loose rubbish off the surface of the ground and continue backing towards the centre till a small heap is raised over the excavation. Next, all the men lie down with their heads toward this heap—as many as possible having their heads resting upon it—and pretend to sleep. This feigned repose is believed to have the same exhilarating effect upon them as that produced by a coroboree in ordinary circumstances. After a while, an old man breaks the silence and enquires sorrowfully, "Where are all my grandchildren?" This is an exaggerated way of referring to the death they are about to avenge. It is also symbolical of the sorrow of the doomed man's friends, when his death shall have been reported to them. All the sleepers answer, "*i-i-i-wah!*" in a very mournful tone. All hands now get up, and jump around the tree and the heap of rubbish, holding their noses between the thumb and fingers, muttering '*mūnyūnga irrimbulbul!*' Each man then goes away a few paces and provides himself with a couple of sticks about three feet long, one in each hand, to make believe he is very sick and unable to walk without such support. These men turn their faces toward the enemies' camp and at every step they bring their walking sticks to the ground, exclaiming '*nyeh! yukka! yukka!*' These proceedings are supposed to work a spell upon the adversary and render him powerless to defend himself.

The members of the party then lie down and rest till near daylight next morning, when they all start quietly away to fulfil their mission, being conducted by the men who acted as spies. These two men have their heads ornamented with grass and boughs as before, with a *murur* placed on top, projecting over the forehead. A vine is bent through the brow band and hair to keep the appendages firmly in

their place. This decoration is believed to appal the enemy and make it impossible for him to escape. All the men have their faces painted with pipeclay, so that they can readily recognize each other during the encounter. They also have leafy twigs fastened in front of their bodies and faces, to prevent the enemy from observing them in the darkness. On reaching the confines of the camp they halt till daylight.

They have timed the approach of the dawn so well that they have not long to wait. The first bird which hails the morning is the signal for the assailants to surround the hostile camp, some men branching off in single file round one side and some going round in the opposite direction, until they meet on the other side of the camp. While marching round, they tramp heavily on the ground with their feet. Let us assume that a magpie begins to sing. All the men at once commence to imitate the call as they start away. This will startle other large birds, whose calls are also imitated. Little birds will chirp, dogs will bark, and they are likewise mocked. This and the heavy trampling of the men, gives the enemies the impression that a numerous host is surrounding them, as they cannot in their excitement distinguish between the calls of the animals and those of the men. The assailants also shout out the names of some of the principal stars which may appear in the orient at the time. The planet Venus, if then a morning star, is mentioned.

The ringleader or headman of the Pirimbir party now calls out to the headman of the people in the camp, and asks for the surrender of the man they wish to punish. He uses the secret name only, so that the women and children will not know who is doomed. The headman addressed then also invokes some of the eastern stars, to wait a little, while he shouts out the secret or Kuringal name of the

man who has been asked for,¹ and tells him to be ready to defend himself.

The doomed man then catches his best shield and stands out to parry the spears which are thrown at him by the kinsmen of the deceased. All the spears intended for this purpose have been charmed and anointed with human fat, to render their course unerring and increase their power. The spears must all be thrown from one direction, namely, the front of the victim. Perhaps the man wards off a considerable number of the missiles with little or no injury, until one spear, which is therefore believed to have been more specially greased than the rest, catches him in a vital part, and he falls to the ground. Two or three of the assailants then rush upon him and despatch him, and the members of the surrounding cordon thereupon shout, *wirrh! wirrh!*

The avengers quickly gather round the dead man and with their stone knives flake off portions of skin and flesh from the middle of the back down to the buttocks, from the chest, and from the backs of the legs. This skinning is not done all in one piece, but may be in flakes about the size of a man's hand. His kidney fat is also taken out. As soon as the pieces of flesh are secured and placed in their *guraga* bags, the invaders leave the camp hurriedly and make their way back to their secret bambilli of the previous night, where they roast and eat some of the flesh of the murdered man. They now sing and jump around the marked tree in a defiant manner, throwing their clubs at it to exorcise its power, while they mutter "*um! um!*" This is believed to have the effect of preventing their enemies from following them.

¹ In 1896 I reported that every man has a secret name which is known only to himself and the initiated men of the tribe. *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. xxv., p. 310.

A start is then made upon the return journey, and they all travel as speedily as possible, hunting as they go. They return along the same route as they travelled out by, and use the same camping places. They again dance and sing around the marked trees for the purpose of exorcising all the magic and potency which had been injected into them when they were first marked. This restores them to their position as mere ordinary trees of the forest, and makes them of no service to the enemy. It also destroys the spell of any adverse sorcerer.

On reaching within about a mile of the place where the women and others were directed to make a new camp, mentioned in an earlier page, the returning warriors continue muttering *mu-u-uh!* until they reach the vicinity of the camping ground. Every man has bunches of leafy twigs or green grass fastened in his brow-band, the same as the spies already described, and the actual slayers are in the lead. When the old men hear this sound they go and meet the avengers and conduct them to the bambilli. On the following morning the result of the expedition is related very fully, and the portions of the victim's body which they have brought with them are produced.

Some green bushes are laid on a smouldering fire to make a smoke, and the dead man's skin, with the flesh attached, is placed on top, and smoke-dried. Red ochre powder is sprinkled over, or rubbed upon the skin to assist in drying and preserving it. Each head-man takes a piece of the preserved flesh and puts it into his *gurāga* bag, which he carries slung over his shoulder. These bags are never brought into the camp where the women and children reside, but are hung up on some convenient tree or sapling at the bambilli on the confines of the camp, where none but the initiated are allowed to consort.

At certain times the old head-men and warriors warm the pieces of fleshy skin to make the fatty matter soft,

and rub it on their own bodies. Small portions of it are occasionally eaten, to make the participants fearless and vengeful. The men also rub the greasy skin on the noses, eyes, and feet of their dogs, to make them good hunters and unusually expert in discovering game. Spears, boomerangs and clubs are similarly rubbed to increase the force and accuracy of their flight when thrown at game, or when used for punitive purposes.

It should be mentioned that when an early morning attack, such as that particularised in the foregoing pages, is made upon an individual, none of his fellow tribesmen interfere, because they are probably all acquainted with the facts of his having shed the blood of some man in another neighbouring camp, and retributive justice must take its course. When they hear the shouting of the *pirrimbir* party, they sit up at their camp fires, or perhaps spring to their feet, and take particular notice of the man who strikes the fatal blow, because they know that, sooner or later his blood, or that of a tribal brother, will also be required by the relatives of his present victim.

EXPLANATION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

The tree shewn in the illustrations was marked by a *Pirrimbir* expedition in the *Thoorga* territory many years ago. It was first pointed out to me by two old aborigines in 1899, who at the same time gave me all the details and the songs of the *Pirrimbir*, recorded in the foregoing pages.

It is a tall, green tree of the grey box species, measuring some ten feet in girth at about a foot from the ground. It stands on hard, stony ground, and probably the annual growth has been slow, which accounts for the good preservation of the marks.

The tree is situated in the parish of Nooroona, county of Dampier, and is about 300 or 400 yards westerly from the south-west corner of Portion No. 381 of 40 acres in the said parish.

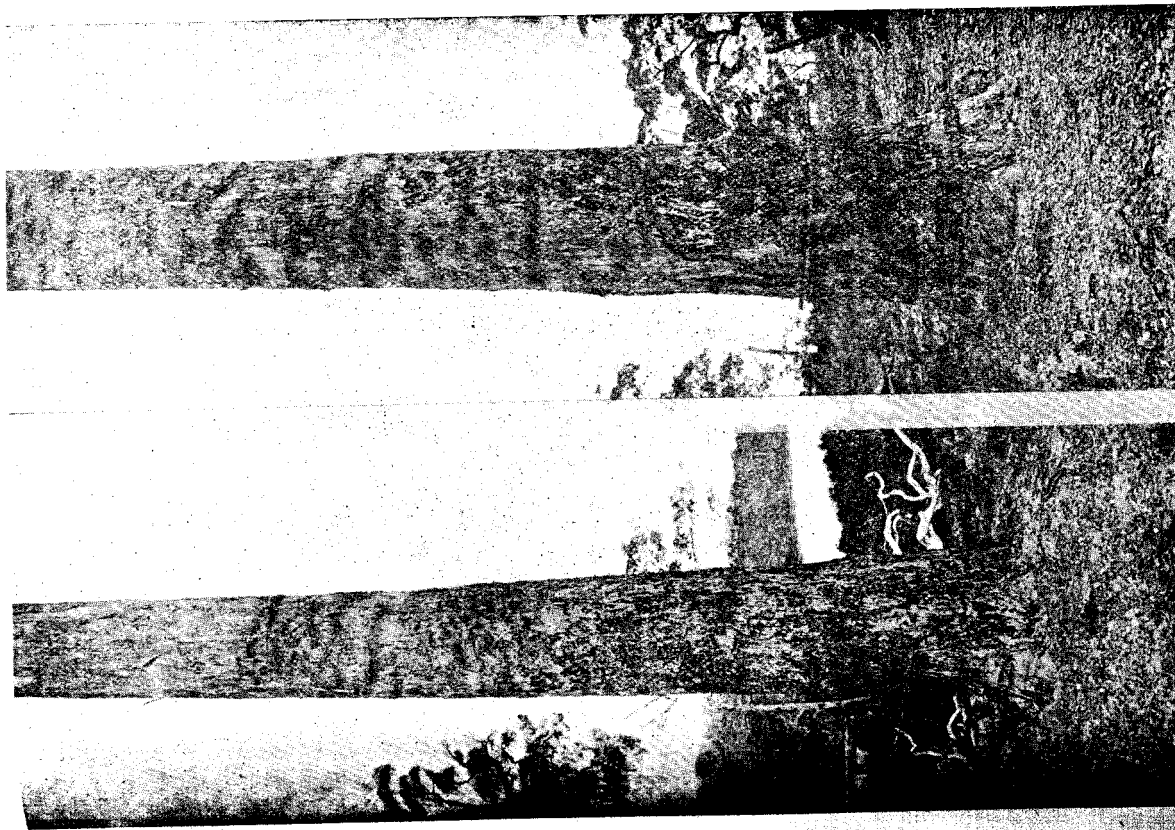


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Photographs of a tree marked by *Pirrimbir* Warriors.

Fig. 1 shows the northern side of the tree, whilst Fig. 2 shews the south-western side, because on these aspects of the tree the marking appears more clearly than on the remaining sides. The same kind of marking is continued all round the bole, and extends up the tree to a height of about 14 feet.

In Fig. 2 the camera was placed nearer the tree than in Fig. 1, to give a larger picture on account of being the shady side of the tree. This is the first illustration of a Pirimbir tree which has ever been published. Such a tree has never been even mentioned by any previous author.

THE SEARCH FOR FOOD.

The ordinary, everyday methods of searching for the different kinds of game, fish, plant food, etc., practised by Australian tribes have so often been described by several writers, that they will be passed over in this paper. But the following contrivances respecting the procuring of food have been gathered by me among the aborigines in various places in New South Wales and Victoria. In describing the contrivances employed in hunting, the State in which they were observed will be mentioned in each instance. It will be noticed that the exogamous divisions of the people, and their peculiar superstitions, are scattered through these customs. A few examples collected from the natives of the south-east coast and other parts of New South Wales will be given first, followed by some interesting items from the aborigines of Victoria.

When the natives observe a whale, 'mūirra,' near the coast, pursued by "killers," mánanna, one of the old men goes and lights fires at some little distance apart along the shore, to attract the attention of the "killers." He then walks along from one fire to another, pretending to be lame and helpless, leaning upon a stick in each hand. This is supposed to excite the compassion of the

"killers" and induce them to chase the whale towards that part of the shore in order to give the poor old man some food. He occasionally calls out in a loud voice, ga-ai! ga-ai! Dyundya waggarranga yerimaran-hurdyen, meaning "Heigh-ho! That fish upon the shore throw ye to me!"

If the whale becomes helpless from the attack of the "killers" and is washed up on the shore by the waves, some other men, who have been hidden behind scrub or rocks, make their appearance and run down and attack the animal with their weapons. A messenger is also despatched to all their friends and fellow-tribesmen in the neighbourhood, inviting them to come and participate in the feast.

The natives cut through the blubber and eat the animal's flesh. After the intestines have been removed, any persons suffering from rheumatism or similar pains, go and sit within the whale's body and anoint themselves with the fat, believing that they get relief by doing so. It may be added that the "killers" eat only the tongue and lips of the whale.

Catching pens or fish-traps, *ngullaungang*, are made across narrow, shallow inlets on the sea coast or along the course of rivers. These are made by tying together bundles of tea-tree, and laying them close together like a wall across a creek or narrow shallow arm of the sea. These walls or barricades are slightly above the surface of the water. A gap or gateway is left in mid stream so that the fish can pass through, and when a sufficient number are enclosed, the gateway is blocked up by other bundles of tea-tree, which have been prepared beforehand for this purpose. If the pool is large, one or more smaller portions of it are partitioned off in a similar manner, into which the fish are driven by splashing the water, and are thereby more easily caught by their pursuers.

Just within the gateway leading into the outer barricaade, one of the old men ties a little bag containing a portion of the skin of a dead man. This is supposed to cause the fish to flock into the enclosure in larger numbers than could be obtained otherwise without this magical help.

If fishing is done by hook and line, these instruments are often rubbed with a dead man's skin or fat to make them more effective. Mullet fat thrown in little pieces on the waves in a lake or estuary, is supposed to make the water smoother, while the people are engaged in fishing.

When the men are fishing in canoes, or standing upon rocks in the water, they break into small pieces crayfish, sea-eggs, congewoi, or shell fish, and cast the fragments on the water for the purpose of collecting schnapper. As soon as they appear and commence eating the bait, they are empaled with a spear made for the purpose. Groper fish are caught in the same way.

Early in the morning, while the dew is on the trees, the men and women take each a koolamin, 'bung'gulli,' and go among the small honey-suckle trees, 'bâbir,' when they are out in blossom. A native puts his koolamin under one of the bunches of bloom and shakes the twig, which deposits the honey from flowers into the koolamin. The dew dilutes the honey exuding from the blossoms, and causes it to come away when they are shaken. Each bunch of bloom is shaken in succession, and when a sufficient quantity of honey has been collected, water is added to form a pleasant beverage, which can be drunk at any time during the day.

When a man went out hunting he took with him a charmed wommera or spear-lever, the hook of which consisted of a bone from a dead man's arm, ground to a point.

The fat of the corpse was mixed with the gum used in lashing the hook to the shaft of the weapon. When the hunter espied an emu, kangaroo, turkey or similar game, he held up the wommera in sight of the animal, which would thereby be spell-bound and unable to run away until the man got near enough to throw his spear with fatal effect.

When a clever man is out hunting and comes across the tracks of, say, a kangaroo, he follows them along and talks to the footprints all the time for the purpose of injecting magic into the animal which made them. He mentions in succession all the parts of the foot, and then names the different parts of the leg right up to the animal's back. As soon as he reaches the backbone, the creature becomes quite stupid and is an easy prey when overtaken by the blackfellow. Before cooking such an animal, the man and his companions dance round the body for the purpose of exorcising the magic which it has absorbed from his incantations.

Dhuran is the Wirraidyuri name for what we call "wind-clouds." When such clouds are seen in the sky in the early morning, the men whistle for the purpose of causing the wind to arise and then start out into the bush. Kangaroos, emus and similar game generally keep their heads facing the wind, making it more easy for a hunter to approach them in the rear. Besides, the wind prevents them from hearing small noises, as the crackling of sticks under a man's feet, or catching the scent of the hunters. A man carries a mat of boughs fastened together, reaching from his nose down nearly to the ankles, and comes up a little closer every time the animal lowers its head to feed. When he gets within killing distance of a bird he launches his spear. Whenever possible, the natives always hunt any animal against the wind. Again, a

blackfellow generally goes up a creek or river when spearing fish, because the water which is made muddy by wading into it is washed down the stream into the rear, and does not disturb the fish higher up. Besides, it is easier to see the animals in the clear, undisturbed water.

During my rambles among the aborigines of western and northern Victoria, I gathered some hunting customs, a few of which are as under:—The wild turkey of the plains is timid and watchful. The following is one of the devices employed by the natives in catching them: The hunter provides himself with a little bird and ties its legs together. He lays it on the ground in an open space which he knows is frequented by turkeys. A plant or shelter of bushes is made a little way off, behind which the man hides. A string reaches from him to the bird, which continues to flutter its wings. A turkey feeding on the open ground adjacent sees the bird, and being tempted by curiosity, comes up to it. The hunter with one hand gradually hauls in the string with the bird attached, and the turkey follows till it comes within reach of a noose fastened to the extremity of a small tough wooden rod which the hunter holds in his other hand. The turkey is so intent upon watching the fluttering little bird that it does not perceive the proximity of the end of the rod. The blackfellow dexterously passes the noose over the turkey's head till it reaches the upper or small part of the neck. The hunter then twists the rod round and round in his hands with great rapidity. This twists and tightens the noose and chokes the bird without making much noise or disturbance, and it is dragged quietly into the bough screen. Perhaps another turkey, following its companion at a little distance may be snared in the same way.

If the turkey, which belongs generally to the Guro-gity phratry, be too shy or wary to approach the "call-bird,"

then that individual is supposed to be a Kappaty turkey. If a dog pursue a "forester," which is usually Kappaty, and fail to bring him to bay, that animal is said to be Gurogity.

A hunter takes some fat, or skin, or piece of bone, of a dead man, and puts it into a little bag. He then goes to some place in the bush frequented by kangaroos, emus, turkeys or other game, such as a favourite feeding ground or watering place or sand hill. Here he selects a tree belonging to the proper phratry, and hangs his little bag on one of the spreading branches. When an animal gets within "shooting distance," as it were, of this magical artillery, it becomes stupid and wanders about heedlessly until the hunter gets an opportunity of spearing it.

Another custom was, as soon as some emus or kangaroos appeared in sight, the men commenced chewing human hair and spitting towards the animals, accompanied by magical incantations. This was expected to work a charm upon the game and cause them to remain quiet and sluggish, so that a man could steal upon them, holding a bough in front of him, until he got within killing distance. *Wurritj* is the native name for fat, hair, or other portion of a human body, used to work spells, or conjure with.

In following along the tracks of an emu, kangaroo, wild dog, or such like game, if the hunter at intervals drop hot coals in the footmarks of the animal, this will have the effect of making it hot and tired, or induce it to come round again towards its pursuer.

In other instances the sweat and hair taken from under the arms, as well as the hair of the head, were used to rub on hunting weapons to increase their precision in killing game. These charms were also employed to enable a man to climb trees dexterously, or to carry out any project

successfully. A girdle made from the hair of a warrior, alive or deceased, confers great powers upon the wearer.

FOOD REGULATIONS, TOTEMS, ETC.

Dyim'ber is a term applied to the laws regulating the dividing of all food caught by the people. Food which is strictly forbidden to a man or woman is called *mugu*. These are the terms used in the Thurrawal and Thoorga tribes of New South Wales. A few examples only will be given.

The rules of *dyimber* will be first described:—A boy must not eat anything which he catches himself, neither can his sister eat it, but his father can, and in certain cases, his mother too. Two brothers must exchange anything they catch, with some boy who is not their brother. Young children of both sexes can eat anything which is given to them by their parents or relatives, because the rules of *mugu* do not apply to them. The forelegs of animals are given to little boys to make their arms strong.

A young woman may not eat anything which she catches herself, or which is caught by a boy, but she can eat what an initiated man catches. A young man cannot eat anything which a woman kills with a stick or club, but he may eat what she catches on a line, provided it be not *mugu* to him.

When a man kills a mammal, say an opossum, he splits it lengthwise with a stone knife into two equal parts, the cut extending down the middle of the back. He then keeps for himself the half containing the right fore and hind legs, and gives the left half to a friend. Birds and reptiles are divided in the same way as an opossum.

If a man catches a fish he lays it down on its left side, and about midway between the nose and the tail he makes a transverse incision from the back to the belly, penetrating halfway through the body. Then he splits off the upper

portion, between the transverse cut and the tail, which he keeps for himself, and gives the remainder to a friend. In other words, the person who catches the fish gives away about three-quarters of it to his fellows, and they divide with him in a similar manner.

Mugu or Forbidden Food.—When a youth is first admitted to the status of a tribesman, either by means of the *Bunan*¹ or by the *Kuttga* ceremonies, he is forbidden to eat the male of the native bear, kangaroo, opossum, or short-nosed bandicoot. Neither can he eat the emu, porcupine, pelican, or ducks. Schnapper, groper and eels are also forbidden, but he may eat any other kind of fish but those mentioned. The flesh of any animal which burrows in the ground, or which has long teeth, is likewise interdicted. He can, however, eat the long-nosed bandicoot, swans, honey, yams and other edible roots. There are other animals and plants beside those mentioned in the above lists.

Again, during the time a youth is out in the bush with the old men, going through the initiation ceremonies, he must only eat certain kinds of food, and his mother and father are restricted to the same diet as he. And when a novice is released from any taboo regarding food, in the manner described farther on, his mother is freed at the same time. Generally, however, the laws of taboo do not apply to a woman—she is not thought of sufficient importance, but eats everything which is given her.

Any food which falls to the ground under any circumstances, must not be picked up again by an adult person, but young children may lift it and eat it. Eating the gum of the grass-tree and certain others is interdicted, because these gums are used in fastening handles upon stone

¹ "Bunan Ceremony," American Anthropologist, Vol. ix., pp. 327-344, with plate; Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, Vol. xxxiv., pp. 276-281

hatchets and chisels, or for any other purpose where gum would be serviceable.

When a woman is enceinte she cannot eat fish which come in "schools." If she did so, it would cause them to turn away to another place. This ban applies to little girls and uninitiated boys, and lasts for some weeks after "schools" commence to arrive. The bones of fish during this period must not be given to dogs, but must be burned, otherwise "schools" of fish would go elsewhere. A pregnant woman is allowed to eat rock-cod, flathead and leather-jacket, but not schnapper, groper, or bream.

If a woman who is enceinte were to eat forbidden fish at such a time, the spirit of the unborn babe would go out of its mother's body and frighten the fish away. If a male infant, it would have a fishing spear—if a female a yamstick—and stand on the water at the entrance to a fishing pen, or in front of a net, and turn the fish back. The fish are more afraid of a male infant, on account of its carrying a spear, than of a female. Although these spirit children are invisible to human eyes, the old men know they are present by the movements of the fish, and at once suspect some woman of having broken the food rules.

When a man visits the people of another tribe, one of them takes him a mouthful of cooked flesh on the end of a small stick, like a skewer, and reaches it out to the stranger who bites it off the stick with his mouth. As soon as this ceremonial is over the stranger can enter into conversation with his hosts, but not before. After a while, the hosts take a vessel, in which there is water and mix a little earth into it, and give the visitor a drink. From that forth he can eat the food and drink the water in their territory. If he were to do these things without the ceremony described, he would become ill and sores would break out over his body. The first night of a stranger's arrival, his enter-

tainers make a bed for him by placing small sticks on the ground and covering them thickly with leaves. On all subsequent occasions he must make his own sleeping place.

A mother-in-law receives food from her son-in-law while sitting down. She does not reach out for it, but he sends some one to place it in her lap. He must not approach his mother-in-law himself, and if any conversation takes place, their backs must be turned towards each other. In such case she would clap her hands, indicating that she wished to speak to him. See also "Language of Mothers-in-law," *infra*.

When a man is out hunting, he will not kill his totemic animal, no matter what opportunity he may have of doing so; and if his totem be an edible plant, it is likewise left uninjured by him. It is believed that thus allowing the animal to escape, or leaving the plant unplucked, will augment the supply and increase the fruitfulness of such game or vegetable.

It is apparent, therefore, that a specific animal or plant is left unharmed by each individual in the tribe, whether male or female. Supposing, for example, that ten men go out into the bush in quest of food. Every man of the party will take care that he does not injure his own totem during the day's rambles. If we assume that each hunter has a different totem, then each man will allow a certain object to go free; or in other words, ten different animals or plants will not be molested. But in such an expedition there would generally be groups of men belonging to the same totem. For example, there might be three kangaroo men, two iguana men, one porcupine man, and four yam men. Then, three of the party would not harm a kangaroo under any circumstances, two would allow iguanas to escape, one would not interfere with a porcupine, and four would not gather yams. Let us suppose that a mob of

kangaroos is encountered, then our hunting party, instead of numbering ten men, really consists of only seven. If iguanas are met with, the hunters comprise but eight men. And if they come to a fertile patch of ground, only six yam-diggers are available.

It is manifest that this arrangement conduces to preserve the supply of food by diminishing the number of those in quest of it. It should perhaps be stated that in some instances a man can eat his totem if killed and given by another person, but as the chief difficulty consists in the capture and gathering of the food, the tendency is still towards its preservation.

I have also observed that animals and plants which are prolific or numerous are the totems of a greater number of men than those which are more or less scarce. For example wallaby, duck and yam men are more numerous than porcupine and pelican men. Again, game and other things which are scarce are tabooed to the young people, who must hunt among the animals which are plentiful, in order to give the old folk a chance.

MUMBIRIRRI OR SCARRING THE BODY.

Raising cicatrices by means of cutting into the flesh on the shoulders, arms, and chest is a custom of wide prevalence among the Australian aborigines. The position and extent of the scarring is regulated by the custom of the tribe to which the novice belongs. When visiting the natives on the Upper Lachlan, I obtained the following particulars of the practice in that part of the country. My informants were old men who had been operated on in their youth, who showed me their scars, and had a very vivid recollection of the formalities connected with the ordeal. These people speak the Wirraidyuri language, a grammar and vocabulary of which I contributed to the Anthropo-

logical Institute of Great Britain.¹ Their ceremonies of initiation were described by me in a communication to the Royal Geographical Society at Brisbane in 1896.² I also dealt with a portion of their social organisation in two articles to the Anthropological Society at Washington in 1897.³

As no account of the import of scarring the body and the ceremonial connected with it has ever been published, I shall give a brief description of some of its main features. At the Bûrbung, or ceremonies of initiation already referred to, certain restrictions regarding the eating of animals and other articles of diet are imposed upon the novice, such prohibited food being called *wanal*. As the youth grows older, he is liberated from these taboos one by one, his release from each object following a prescribed routine, and being accompanied by a ceremony. It is unnecessary to add that no man can be scarred who has not passed through the Bûrbung ceremonies.

In the tribe with which I am dealing, the first *wanal* from which a youth is liberated is the fat male opossum. Hitherto he has only been allowed to eat lean and tough animals of that species. He is taken into the bush by his mother's brothers, the brothers of his potential wives, and his father's people, and a number of leading tribesmen are also present. A fire is kindled and the subject is carefully painted and rubbed over with opossum fat. The animal itself is cooked and some of the flesh is given to the youth by his uncle, which he eats while the old chiefs sing the song prescribed for the fat opossum; and the other men

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., July - December, 1904.

² "The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the Upper Lachlan," Queensland Geographical Journal, Vol. xi., pp. 167 - 169.

³ American Anthropologist, Vol. ix., pp. 411 - 416, and Vol. x., pp. 345 - 347. See also my "Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes," Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, Vol. xxxi., pp. 154 - 176.

dance around, shouting out the names of waterholes, shady trees, etc., in the novice's country.

On the first cold night after these proceedings, the novice is kept in the camp without food and is not allowed to sleep. He is not permitted to speak above a whisper and remains in the same place. Early next morning, while it is still very cold, he is taken charge of by the men and is seated on bushes laid upon the ground. His future brother-in-law, or his maternal uncle, or a tribal representative of one of these men, comes behind him, and with a piece of sharp flint makes several vertical cuts about two and a half inches long on the back of his left shoulder—on the central portion between the point of the shoulder and the spine. The blood flowing from the incisions is rubbed into them by the operator, after which ground charcoal, mixed with grease, is applied. Being sleepy, cold and weary, his body appears to be numb and almost insensible to pain.

Before commencing the cutting, the boy's maternal uncle or his father licks or sucks the top of his skull. It is said that some years back, the lad's skull was bitten by the old man.¹ One of the sorcerers present rubs a bullroarer across the youth's shoulder or perhaps a large quartz crystal is used instead; these manœuvres being supposed to increase the graduate's fortitude and alleviate the pain or bleeding.

If there be more boys than one to be dealt with, the same ritual is gone through, but a fresh scarifier is appointed for each one. These men profess to undertake their duty with hesitancy, and therefore some mock persuasion has to be enacted before they start work. They are usually chosen from among men who have come from some of the neighbouring tribes. Probably the unwillingness of these operators is due to their fear of any fatal results following the

¹ "Burbung of the Darkiung Tribes," Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria, Vol. x, N.S. (1897) p. 8.

scarring, because their own lives would be demanded by the relatives of the deceased. See "Pirimbir," *supra*.

While the scarring is in progress the men standing around make a great noise by beating their shields with other weapons. The novice is then taken away by some initiated men who act as his guardians and provide him with food. These men are generally the brothers of his future wife and his own elder brothers. Firesticks are occasionally held close to the wounds to make them open and protrude as much as possible during the process of healing, in order to leave raised scars. Every afternoon, just before sundown, he is freshly painted, and a mixture of grease and ashes or ground charcoal applied to the cuts on his shoulder.

In the course of a few months, when the wounds are healed, the graduate is painted again and his body anointed with the fat of the doe opossum, which up till this time has been *wanal* to him. Some cooked flesh of the animal is then given him and while he eats it the old men chant a different song to that used on the first occasion, the dance being also varied. As soon as convenient after this ceremony, the subject is kept awake throughout a cold night, as before, and in the morning he is again placed sitting on boughs spread upon the ground, while a man cuts vertical lines on the right shoulder, similar to those appearing on the left, and the wounds are treated in the same manner.

There is now a band of vertical marks reaching across the back from shoulder, which shows that the bearer has creditably kept the law relating to opossums and that the headmen have thought fit to release him from that particular *wanal*. If a youth were sly and deceitful, and surreptitiously eat something which was *wanal* to him, and the elders became aware of it, they would punish him by refusing to release him from his forbidden food, for a much longer time than would otherwise be considered necessary.

Shortly after the last marking has healed, the headmen despatch a messenger to the mother and friends of the novice, and another messenger to his future wife's people, stating that the graduate will be taken to a certain place at such a state of the moon. If it is any time between the new and full moon, the messenger stands before his audience and holds up his boomerang horizontally or nearly so, with the convex edge towards the west. The time between the full and new moon is indicated by holding the convex edge of the weapon towards the east. As both these positions of the moon occupy a fortnight, lesser periods would be explained verbally by the messenger.

The youth's mother, as well as his betrothed, have been expecting this message, and repair as early as circumstances will permit to the appointed meeting place and erect their camp. A U-shaped enclosure is built of boughs, the open end being farthest from the women's quarters. On the last morning preceding the arrival of the bush contingent with the novice, another messenger is sent forward to report that the party will arrive in the afternoon. The graduate's *buddunggan* or future wife, and his mother, accompanied by some old women, repair to the bough enclosure and kindle a fire, and make everything ready.

About an hour before sundown, the bush mob make their appearance in single file. The novice and his custodians are near the front, and he is conducted into the bough yard where his mother and *buddunggan* are standing together. The latter approaches him and taps him on the breast with a *dhullabulga* or portion of a man's apron, after which green boughs are thrown upon the fire and he passes through the smoke. The women then retire, and the youth is taken to the quarters of the single men where one or two old fellows will chant for the occasion. The women also sing at their own camp.

During the early part of the following day, the men take the novice again to the bough yard, where the women meet them. There are present the graduate's mother and father, some of his sisters, brothers, maternal uncles and aunts. His *bundunggan* or promised wife, accompanied by similar relatives, is also there. Some leaves have been strewn thickly over the surface of the ground in front of the *buddunggan*, on which are laid the following articles of a man's dress, which she has brought there for presentation to the graduate:

1. A *wullunggaiir*, or wide brow-band, painted red.
2. A *gambun*, or narrow brow-band, painted white.
3. A *willa-willa*, consisting of a few of the top-knot feathers of the white cockatoo. The feathers are fastened with string or gum on a small piece of stick, and are intended for inserting under the brow-band as an ornament.
4. A *dhullabulga*, made of the skin of the kangaroo-rat, cut into narrow strands about a foot long. These strands are bound together at one end, and are worn attached to the front part of the waist-girdle, so as to hang down over the pubes.
5. A *kurbubundhan*, or girdle for the waist, made of woven opossum fur.
6. A pair of *buggurbundhan*, or strings to be tied around each of the upper arms, woven from opossum fur.
7. A *gudugung* or necklace, made of pieces of reed cut into short lengths of say, half an inch, and an opossum fur string passed through the hollow of each one.
8. A *baigur*, another neck ornament, made of pieces of skin cut from around the genital appendages of a male kangaroo, and fastened on a string of opossum fur.

The *buddunggan* walks up to the graduate and passes the *gudugung* necklace over his head. Next she decorates him with the *baigur* in the same way. These are the only articles with which she invests him—the remainder of the turnout being put on the youth by his guardian. In return

for these gifts the sister of the graduate presents the bud-dungan with a complete set of a woman's regalia. The youth now goes back with the single men to their camp, and the women stroll away to theirs. In the evening a corroboree is held in celebration of the youth's release from the opossum *wanal*.

Some months after the above ceremony, or it may be the best part of a year, or longer than that, if the graduate is young, he is again taken charge of by the elders of the tribe, and another animal is added to those which he can hunt and eat. As the procedure connected with each ceremony is somewhat similar, I shall very briefly describe the position of the scars, or *mumbir*, on the different parts of the body.

The next *wanal* on the list is the *girwa* or iguana. For the full-grown male animal, the graduate is cut, vertically, on the left shoulder, a little below his first marks for the opossum. After a while his right shoulder is similarly branded for the female or young iguana, and when he has recovered from its effects, he is marched to the women's camp, as on the first occasion, and is shown to his relatives. He has now a second tier of *mumbir*, or marks extending across the back, and is received with the usual congratulations. The songs and dances connected with the iguana, both in the bush and at the women's camp, are different to the opossum ceremony. No bough-yard is erected on this occasion, nor are any presents given by the bud-dungan.

After a considerable time the young man is allowed to eat the full-grown male emu, *ngurun*, being painted and greased as on other occasions, but the old men continue singing special chants throughout the night. There is a superstition that the emu never sleeps at night, because if it did all the aborigines would die. Therefore, in discharging a man from this *wanal*, everybody in the camp keeps

awake all night. In the morning the graduate is marked by vertical cuts on the left shoulder just under the previous scarring. There is a further interval of time, and the man is released from the tabu regarding the female and half-grown emus, when a similar ceremony is held, after which he is marked by vertical incisions on the right shoulder immediately below the iguana *mumbir*.

The graduate now has three rows of scars, extending from shoulder to shoulder, which completes all the *mumbir* which will be cut upon his back. At some convenient time after this he is marched to a place near the women's camp, where he is met and welcomed by his male and female relations as before.

Next in order comes the graduate's liberty to eat the *mangang*, a large grub found by chopping into the boles of trees, for which he is marked on the left arm with vertical cuts. For the *burrangang*, a large grub in the roots of trees, he is similarly incised on the right upper arm.

After another interval he is relieved from his *wanal* respecting the *dhugganan*, a small grub obtained in the boles of trees and is marked on the left arm below the first *mumbir*. The *gurthan*, a small grub found in the roots of trees comes next, for which he is cut on the right upper arm, below the *burrangang* scars. In each of the four last cases, one of the grubs is rubbed around the graduate's mouth by an old man before it is eaten, and each has its own peculiar chant.

The chest is the seat of the next *mumbir*. With ceremonies similar to those already described, the *yubba* or full-grown male carpet snake is added to the man's dietary scale, and he is marked by vertical cuts on the left breast, commencing at the collar bone, high enough to leave room for another row of marks between it and the nipple later on. When these wounds have healed the novitiate is

branded on the right breast in a corresponding position, which enables him to eat the female and half-grown carpet snakes.

After a while the man is released from the prohibition regarding the flesh of the male *wandaiela* or porcupine, which is made known to whom it may concern by vertical incisions on the left breast, between the carpet snake *mumbir* and the nipple. For the female or half-grown *wandaiela*, he is similarly marked on the right breast.

Another interval elapses and the graduate is permitted to eat the male of the *gudamang* or turtle, which is denoted by a transverse or horizontal scar across the breast between the nipples; and for the female turtle another horizontal scar is made below the former, in the intermammary region.

When the graduate is admitted into the rank of eating the carpet snake and the porcupine, the old men chant all night, and the people keep awake, the same as at the emu ceremony already detailed. At all these gatherings there is a good deal of sexual license allowed, such as men tending their wives to visitors, similar to what I have elsewhere referred to at the Burbung ceremonies. During these assemblages, too, the people often barter weapons and other articles—and sometimes the teeth which were extracted at the initiatory rites are returned—particulars of which have been reported by me in other publications. Want of space compels me to omit many matters connected with the Mumbirbirri ceremonies, which may be included in a future communication.

SOME BURIAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS.

The rites connected with death and burial vary somewhat among different tribes, and it would be highly interesting if all the ceremonial connected with this subject could be collected over the whole of Australia. The following is an example of the procedure in ordinary cases

among the Thoorga tribe on the south-east coast of New South Wales, whose language I have already reported.¹ The initiatory rites of these people were described by me in 1896,² and their sociology in 1900.³

If a man dies a natural death, as of old age, accident or the like, his body is placed full length between pieces of bark, and the whole is then bound round with string outside the bark. During the afternoon a few wizards, *muyulus*, gather up all the men and women and take them to a very tall tree, or at any rate the tallest tree within sight of the camp. Some of the old men are left sitting close to the corpse.

The women sit on the ground near the base of the tree, with their rugs folded in front of them, and keep quiet, as if listening for something. Two of the *muyulus* now climb the tree, one following the other, either by cutting steps or by means of vines. The front man ascends the tree as far as it is possible to go, and the other keeps about 6 or 8 feet lower. The topmost man, looking in the direction of the native country of the deceased, calls out in a loud, clear voice, *kagalgai numup!* The lower man repeats the call in quick succession. Simultaneously with the men's call, each woman brings her open hand down upon her folded rug, with a thudding sound. The same rug may be used by several women.

The lower man, who may be distinguished as B, then descends about 5 or 6 feet, and the top man, whom we will call A, comes down to the place just vacated by B, and both men repeat the call as before, and the old women again clap their hands on their rugs. B and A each

¹ 'The Thoorga Language,' Queensland Geographical Journal, Vol. xvi., pp. 49 - 73.

² American Anthropologist, Vol. ix., pp. 327 - 344, pl. vi.

³ Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxiv., pp. 262 - 264.

descend another stage of 5 or 6 feet, and shout again, and the women repeat the clapping. This is continued stage by stage until B reaches the ground and A is a few feet up the trunk of the tree, when the final call is given by both men, accompanied by the beating of the rugs by the women.

It is supposed that at a man's death, his inside or spirit, called *bulubulaty*, goes away back to its native place and visits all the haunts and camps occupied by the man during life. Perhaps the man has left some of his weapons at his old camping places, or has hidden away his bullroarer or other secret belongings somewhere in the bush. His *bulubulaty* is supposed to go and see if these belongings are alright. The ceremony of calling from the tree-top is for the purpose of bringing the *bulubulaty* back to the body before burial.

While the two men are calling out from the tree, the other old fellows who were left sitting near the corpse are attentively listening, and they generally report that they have heard a rustling sound within the bark covering of the corpse, as if the *bulubulaty* had returned to the body. Moreover, the men who climb the tree frequently aver that they have heard the *bulubulaty* in the distance answering their calls. If the deceased had been strangled in his sleep by the sorcery of an unseen enemy, the answering voice would be very hoarse and feeble; but if no injury had been done to him, the voice of the returning spirit would be clear and distinct. If the man has met his death by foul play on the part of any of the people present, it is supposed that the old men at the butt of the tree will see the *bulubulaty* touching the guilty party as it flies past him.

The spirit and body of the deceased being now reunited, a grave is dug in some soft ground, such as loamy soil or sand, and the body, with its covering of bark, is placed lying full length on its back, with the head pointing towards

the native country of the deceased's mother. Or if he died within the territory of his mother's tribe, then his head would be laid to the west, so that when his *bulubulaty* sits up in his place of sepulture his face will be towards the rising sun, to enable him to get warm. The native country of one's mother is called "i-dhūng'-ū-rū."

The men who ascend the tree, and the other mourners, are painted with *millin*, pipeclay, and *gubur*, red ochre, on the limbs, bodies and faces. Some of the maternal uncles of the deceased are present at his burial ceremonies, and take a prominent part.

When a woman's husband dies or is killed, her hair is overspread with the white down of birds and pipeclay. Kangaroos' teeth and porcupines' claws are bound in her tresses, and on top of the head is fastened a barrañ which hangs down between her shoulders. Her face is painted with small daubs of white and red, and she wears a brow-band painted with pipe-clay. Strings made of the skin of the ring-tail opossum, to which are attached small pieces of bone, are tied around her arms. She wears a waist-belt made of opossum fur. The chest and limbs are painted with streaks of white mixed with red. A man's mother, sisters, mother-in-law, and daughters also mourn for him.

The widow has a bag in which she puts any food which may be given to her by her husband's relatives or her own. She does not go out hunting, but remains in the camp with any other widows who may be there, who look after her wants. Food from her bag can be eaten only by herself and her family. The brothers and sisters of the deceased can also partake of the contents of the bag. All remnants of the widow's food must be burnt or covered in the ground, and no dogs, excepting those of the deceased, must be allowed to eat any of the bones or refuse.

No person except the brothers of deceased are allowed to use his weapons and other belongings, which are called *dhundhal*. If the brothers of the dead man take his spears or other weapons and kill any game therewith, no one excepting the widow and relatives of the deceased, can participate in the feast. If more game or other food has been obtained than the relatives can eat, they cannot give away the surplus to other people of the tribe who are not relatives, but must burn or bury it.

The widow does not converse with any one, but every morning and evening she raises a lamentation, and chants certain customary dirges. This is continued for many months, at the termination of which one of the younger brothers of the deceased may claim her.

When a man of the Ngeumba tribe is buried, a grave is dug in which the body is placed in a sitting posture, leaning backwards with its head towards sunrise. A doctor, or clever man, goes into the grave and places the body in position. The face of the corpse is bent forward till the chin touches the chest. This bowing down of the head is done to prevent the friends of the deceased from dreaming about him. *Yerrudhami* means a dream. When everything is ready, the men on the top throw down earth and short pieces of sticks, with which the doctor packs the corpse in position. Afterwards, the men return to their camp and are smoked at a fire with green boughs layed upon it.

SORCERY OR MAGIC.

Upon the decease of a tribesman, the old men, *muyulus*, generally, if not always, ascribe his death to the machinations of some enemy, either in their own tribe or among their neighbours. The following is one of the methods adopted by the Tharumba tribe to discover the person who has secretly caused a man's death:—His body is taken by

the women, who rub it all over with a mixture of burnt bark and grease. The bark used is that of the apple-tree,¹ which is burnt to a fine powder. The body is kept for several days, perhaps for some weeks, as this application possesses the property of preserving the body to some extent. The bark-powder and grease is applied every day or two, and after a number of applications a kind of incrustation is formed on the surface of the body.

Some of the old men who are related to the deceased now come and scrape off some of this ashy layer from his body. This mixture, which now comprises exudations from the corpse, as well as the original ingredients, is called *ngurrung'arut*, and is supposed to possess occult powers of retaliation by guiding the possessor of it into the camp of the guilty party. The *ngurrung'arut* scraped from the exterior of the dead man's body is placed in a little bag called *gūr'aga*, and is carried away by the old men to the *bahmbilli*, a sheltered place where the tribal councils are held, out of sight of the camp. There a fire is lighted and when it has burnt down to a mass of hot coals, one of the old fellows steps forth and throws a few pinches of *ngurrung'arut* powder on the embers. The substance immediately begins to burn and send up smoke. If the smoke ascends straight up, and goes a good height in the air before it disperses, that signifies that the murderer lives a considerable distance off. But if the smoke goes up a little way and bends to one side, this indicates that the murderer is located near them, and the direction in which the smoke bends in either of these cases, shows the direction of his camp.

A council is then held to consider who is the most likely man in the locality pointed out by the smoke to have

¹ Not the fruit tree, but the so-called apple tree of Australia, the *Angophora* of botanists.

caused the death of their comrade. Perhaps two or three, or even more men are equally suspected in a certain camp which the smoke indicated, and further measures are necessary to sheet it home to the guilty individual. A couple of clever men are selected to enquire into this matter, and the first opportunity which occurs of visiting the tribe containing the "suspects," these chosen men go on pretence of bartering, or other feasible business. When they get among the men of the other tribe, they let their fire burn down, and some time when no one is looking, one of them throws a little of his *ngurrungarat* powder on the fire, and watches which way the smoke goes. Which-ever one of the suspects happens to be in the direction taken by the smoke is then singled out as the sorcerer who killed their kinsman. These two men next go and sit down near the suspect and watch him closely, to see if he is very much perturbed and guilty-looking after the smoke has found him out. The man by this time probably concludes that he is suspected, and whether he is guilty or not he becomes rather disconcerted, because he realizes his dangerous position. This conduct confirms the spies in their conclusions, and they go back to their own people and report the result of their mission.

A consultation is then held at the *bahmbilli*, and the duty of retaliating is assigned to one or more of their special sorcerers—fellows who are equal in skill to those in the adversary's camp. Several other men go with them, including generally a couple of young men as recruits to learn the mode of procedure, so that in later years they may be able to take charge of similar expeditions. Some of the older men will each have a little bag, *guraga*, containing *ngurrungarat* powder fastened on the top of the head amongst the hair. This bag, of its own accord, falls over on the side of the head towards the camp of the man

they are seeking. When they get into the hunting grounds of the adverse conjurer, they hide in scrubs or thickly wooded or rocky places where he is likely to pass by. When they see him, they "sing a spell" upon him in a low tone. This is done to cause him to want to go about by himself, unaccompanied by any of his relatives or friends. If they see him climbing a tree they "sing" at him to cause him to get giddy and fall to the ground.

If this "singing" has not the desired effect and the enemy persists in keeping in company of another man, one of the invading *muyulus* takes off his belt, *ngulya*, and tears it down the middle, "singing" while he does so. This is supposed to cause the two men to part company, in the same way that the belt is parted. It is believed that if a man be alone he is more easily overcome by the "black art." If they are fortunate enough to surprise their enemy when he is separated from all his people, they approach him, muttering incantations and pointing at him, and tell him he has only so many moons to live. This generally so terrifies him that he really believes he must die.

In addition to being guided by the *ngurrungarat* powder above mentioned, a *muyulu* or sorcerer will mount upon a log, rock or leaning tree, and point one of his fighting boomerangs first in one direction and then in another, until he feels the weapon pulling toward a particular quarter. Then he knows that the camp of the enemy whom he is seeking is located in that direction.

If a sorcerer obtain some of the excreta, hair, nails or other part of an enemy's body, he takes it to a "squeaking tree," *mauaraty*, and places it between the touching surfaces of the two branches causing the "squeak." When the wind blows, this fragment is squeezed and ground to atoms, and the owner is believed to suffer in the same way. During the whole performance the old man "sings" toward

the person he wishes to injure. If the party whose destruction is sought be a greater conjurer than the man who "sings" him, no harm can result from it.

ABORIGINAL ASTRONOMY—THE ZODIAC.

All aboriginal tribes have names for many of the principal fixed stars, and also for remarkable stellar groups. There is generally a story about the star, which was in olden days a man, the wondrous doings of which are duly recorded. Not infrequently there are families of stars—the parents and offspring, husbands and wives, and other relationships—all being pointed out, and assigned their places in the narrative. Legends are more numerous concerning stars situated in the neighbourhood of the moon's path through the heavens, and in this way a zodiac may be said to exist. The stars near the ecliptic and the zenith change their positions in the sky more rapidly than those toward the poles, and therefore more readily arrest attention. Besides constellations at these high altitudes can be seen easily when the people are camped in thickly wooded country, whereas stars near the horizon would not then be visible.

Throughout the summer months, and during fine weather at other periods, the blacks usually camp out in the open air, where they have every opportunity of watching the starry vault above them. The fact of the moon, who was a human being in ancient times, wending its way through these stars month after month, helps to increase the peoples' interest. There are always some clever old men in the camp, who are the recognized repositories of the lore of the tribe, who take advantage of this out door life to teach the young people stories about some of the different stars which may be visible at such times.

As soon as an old man commences one of these stories, the young folk from the neighbouring camp fires congregate around him and listen with avidity to his marvellous nar-

rations. A love of the supernatural seems to be born in the human breast, and the Australian natives are no exception. The young people of the audience listen so attentively that they are themselves able, in years long after, to repeat the stories to another generation. In this way the star myths and other native legends have been handed down from time immemorial.

Conspicuous stars and star clusters all the way along the zodiacal belt, have well-known names and traditions. Moreover, each star figuring in the myths belongs to a phratry, section, clan or other subdivision, precisely the same as the people of the tribe among whom the tale is current. The names of the subdivisions, as well as the names of the stars, change amongst the people inhabiting different parts of the country. Sometimes the legends and nomenclature of the stars will be substantially the same among several adjoining tribes over an extensive region. In other instances, not only are the names of the stars different, but the traditions and the stars connected with them are altogether divergent.

The aborigines have no methods of accurately measuring the annual circuit of the sun, but they know when the cold weather commences; then the period when the flowers come, and plants shoot forth buds; and lastly, they realize the time of the hot weather. They have discovered that these periods follow each other in a certain fixed order year after year; and the stars which occupy the northern sky in the cold winter evenings travel on, and are succeeded by others in the following season; and that these are again displaced by different constellations during the warm evenings of summer.

The aborigines of the Clarence River have a story that the Pleiades, when they set with the sun, go away to bring the winter; and that when these stars reappear early in

the evening in the eastern sky, they are ushering in the warm weather. They are supposed to be a family of young women, whose name was War-rîng'-garaí, and who belonged to the section Wirrakan.¹ Among the same tribes, ^a Tauri was a young man named Karambal, of the Womboang division, who absconded with another man's wife. He was pursued by the injured husband, and took refuge in a tall tree. His pursuer piled wood around the bole of the tree, which he then set on fire, and Karambal was carried up by the fierce flames into the sky, where he still retains the colour of the fire.²

In the frosty nights of the winter months, about three or four hours before sunrise is a time when there is generally a stir in a native camp. The people have had their first sleep, and the cold begins to make itself felt. The men and women, especially those who are old, sit up and replenish their fires. While doing this, their attention is naturally directed to the sky, where they observe that the stars then shining in the eastern quadrant are different from those which were visible the previous evening. They observe that these stars are trudging along after the others, and will disappear at daylight.

Among the Ngeumba blacks, in the cold weather of mid-winter, when the Pleiades rise about three or four o'clock in the morning, the old men take some glowing coals on bark shovels, and cast them towards this constellation as soon as it is visible. This is done to prevent the spirit-women, whom these stars represent, from making the morning too cold. The women in the camp are not permitted to look at all at the Pleiades in winter nights, because such conduct would increase the severity of the

¹ See my paper on "Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes," Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxi., p. 169.

² Compare with my "Folklore of the Australian Aborigines," (Sydney, 1899) pp. 26 - 29.

frost. If a woman transgress this law, her eyes will become bleary, and she will suffer from uterine troubles.

The blackfellows have not mapped out the sky into constellations in the same way as Europeans have done, but there is a certain amount of method in their arrangement of the stars. For example, a man and his wives, his family, his weapons, his dogs, are not generally far apart. Brothers, uncles and other relationships are often separated by considerable distances.

Among the tribes inhabiting the south-eastern portion of New South Wales, ^a Canis Majoris is Gündyera; ^a Orionis is Gunung'ama; ^a Argus is Mirridyugga, the short-nosed bandicoot. The Pleiades is Wanggatti; Milky Way, Kurřewa; the stars in Orion's Belt and Club are Yuñdyä.

They have names for the Magellanic clouds. Nubecula Major is Kurrug'gur, the short-nosed bandicoot. Nubecula Minor is Wangalli, a kangaroo rat. At the time when these star-clusters—the bandicoot and the kangaroo-rat—are at their lower culmination, and therefore so near the horizon that they are not noticed by untutored natives living in thickly wooded country, they are supposed to have gone away through the skies on a Pirmibir expedition. After they have taken revenge upon the culprit, the nubeculæ come into view again.

In the county of Kara-Kara, Victoria, there was an immense pine tree growing out of the earth, the topmost branches of which reached up to the sky. In the far away past, people used to climb up the tree and walk about and reside on the starry vault; and blackfellows who belonged to the sky occasionally descended by the tree to the earth to see their friends, and remained for a while. Visits were frequently made for purposes of barter between the blacks who were located on the earth and those whose hunting grounds were away in the sky. In short, the tree was a

regular highway between the earth and the upper regions, for a very long period. Old blackfellows have told me stories of similar trees which reached up into the sky in other parts of Victoria.

At that time the common magpie and black jay went out hunting one day, and speared a dog which they thought was a wild one. They lighted a fire and cooked the animal in a hole with its head pointing towards its *miyur*, but they had not time to remain there and eat it. So the magpie picked up the carcass of the dog, still hot from the fire, and carried it across the back of his neck home to the camp. The hot body resting on the magpie's neck so long, burnt the skin and caused the white mark still seen across the neck of that bird.

It turned out that it was the largest and best hunting dog belonging to the lark which had been speared. By and bye the lark called in his dogs and they came to him one by one. As each dog appeared, the lark said impatiently, "That's only a puppy! Where is my big dog?" But the favourite dog did not return, and the lark was determined to have revenge upon the whole tribe, but he said nothing. He took his waddy and went and sat down by a fire near the base of the great tree, and pretended he was carving ornamental lines on the weapon. When no one was looking he put live coals into a hollow in one of the roots, and shoved them well underneath with the end of his waddy.

After a while the fire began to make headway and crackled under the ground. Some blackfellows asked the lark what noise that was. He replied that it must be two of the top branches rubbing against each other, and they appeared satisfied with this answer. But the fire increased in vigour and fierceness under the soil, burning all the roots until the principal one was reached, which shared the same fate. Then the tree came down with a tremendous crash,

killing all the people who were under it. The fire continued to burn the trunk and every branch, until the whole was consumed. The top of the tree formed Morton Plain, with the charred remains of the people, turned to stone, still to be seen there. A hollow was burnt in the ground where the tree stood, making a large lagoon.

On the Darling River, New South Wales, from Bourke down to Louth, I gathered the following star names from old natives. There are longer stories connected with each but I had not time to record them fully. The larger of the two stars in the extremity of the tail of the Scorpion is a crow and belongs to the phratry Kilpungurra. *a* Aquilæ was a great hunter, named Wukkarno, who was a Mükungurra. He kept several dogs, and his boomerang is now the Northern Crown. The planet Venus was a man named Mirnkabuli, who lived in a gurli, or hut, made of grass, and subsisted upon mussels and crayfish.

The Pleiades were a lot of young women who went out on a plain searching for yams and a whirlwind came along and carried them up into the sky, depositing them where they are now seen. *a* Scorpii is an eaglehawk and belongs to the Mükungurra phratry. The planet Jupiter was a great Kilpungurra man of the olden days, called Wurnda-wurnda-yarroa, who lived on roasted yams, and got his reddish colour by being so much about the fire cooking his food.

A great warrior of ancient times, named That-tyu-kül, was camped at Swan Hill on the Murray River. One day his two sons were out playing about the camp, getting wattle-gum on the bank of the river. They saw a monstrous cod fish, Ban'-dyal, in a big waterhole, and ran home and told their father. He got his canoe and hastened to the spot, armed with all his spears. Upon sighting the fish he heaved a spear which stuck into its back between the

shoulders, but it swam on to the end of the waterhole and commenced forming a channel by tearing up the ground, and in this manner allowing the water to flow after it and bear it away from its enemy.

Bandyal did this so rapidly that Thattyukul was not able to keep pace with him. He kept on travelling towards the south-west, leaving a sinuous line of water behind him. At dusk he camped and excavated a long, deep lagoon, where he rested for the night. Thattyukul paddled his canoe along the watercourse, and upon overtaking the cod fish he hurled another spear at him, which stuck deeply into the median line of his back, as before, but somewhat lower down. This caused the great fish to start forward again, digging out a channel wide enough to allow his immense body to swim along. When night came he camped as previously, and made a large lagoon to rest in.

Here Thattyukul again overtook him and threw another spear, which penetrated the spine in the rear of the two former weapons. Thattyukul continued the pursuit for several days with similar experiences until they reached the neighbourhood of where the Murray Bridge has since been erected. By this time Thattyukul had used up all his spears, and had, besides, broken a piece off the end of his paddle. At this spot, Bandyal the cod fish made a larger hole, and Thattyukul lost sight of him, being unable to propel his canoe fast enough with the broken paddle. He therefore abandoned the chase and landed on the bank, where he set his canoe up on its end and it became a bial-bial, or red-gum tree. He stuck his broken paddle into the ground and it was transformed into a pine-tree.

The watercourse dug out by the cod fish in this encounter became the present Murray River, and the spines now found projecting from the back of the cod fish represent the spears thrown by Thattyukul in his vain attempt to capture it.

Ever since that time canoes have generally been made of the bark of gum trees, and pine wood is mostly used for making paddles.

Thattyukul then started back overland through the mallee scrubs and continued his course onward by way of the Grampian Hills until he reached his own country. He looked about and found his wife and children, accompanied by his mother-in-law, Yerretgurk, on top of a mountain whose sides were so steep that he could not climb up to them, neither could they descend to him. He then called out to his wife and children to jump down, one by one, and he would catch them in his arms. First, his wife jumped, then his eldest son, and lastly the youngest boy, and all were landed safely. He next persuaded Yerretgurk, his mother-in-law, to jump too, but he pretended he could not catch her, and she fell heavily on the ground, and hurt her face very much, which made her feel revengeful.

In time Yerretgurk recovered from her injuries, but she kept the matter in her mind. One day she was prodding her yamstick into the ground in a swampy place, and the water spurted up. She shoved in her yamstick farther and could feel something biting it. Upon probing deeper she came to the conclusion that it was some large and vicious creature. Then she dug a large hole in the ground, which at once filled with water, in the bottom of which she could feel the mouth of some animal with her yamstick. She now spread rotten sticks across the top of the hole and covered them over with leaves, grass, and rubbish, to resemble a huge bandicoot's nest. Then she brooded over her past wrongs.

Yerretgurk next called Thattyukul's two boys, and asked them to go and tell their father she wanted him to come and kill a large bandicoot whose nest she had just discovered. She requested Thattyukul not to strike at the animal with

his weapons, because that would break the body to pieces, but to jump upon it with his feet. Being willing to make amends to his old mother-in-law for his bad behaviour in letting her fall from the rock, he came stealthily up to the heap of rubbish and gave one bound upon the centre of it. As expected, he went flop into the water, and the monster at the bottom caught hold of his feet and drowned him.

Thattiyukul's uncle, Kulnapittiyik, went in quest of him, and having tracked him to the pond, put in his long arms and pulled the body out on the bank. He was a great conjurer and succeeded in bringing his nephew to life again. After a while they both went away to the sky, where Thattiyukul became a *Aquilæ*; his uncle was apotheosised as a *Capricorni*, and his mother-in-law, Yeretguk, was transformed into a *Eridani*.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF WESTERN VICTORIA.

Within substantially the same region outlined in my account of the Dôlgarity ceremony, *infra*, the people are bisected, primarily, into two phratries, called Gurogity and Gamaty; the feminine forms of these being Gurogigurk and Gamatygurk respectively.¹ Each phratry is again divided into what may be distinguished, provisionally, by the name of "clans" or "castes," because they are not so well defined as the "sections" of the Ngeunha tribes treated in earlier pages. The names of the clans are taken in some instances from animals, and in others from inanimate nature. Attached to each of these clans are lists of totems, consisting of animals, plants, the heavenly bodies, the elements, and so on. In other words, all creation, animate and inanimate, is divided between Gurogity and Gamaty.

¹ Compare with my description of the "Group Divisions of the Barkunjee Tribes," who adjoin the people herein dealt with on the north.—*Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales*, Vol. xxxi., pp. 241–255, with map of their territory. The Sociology of the Wiradjuri Tribes is given by me in *Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales*, Vol. xxxi., pp. 171–176.

Then the totems of each phratry are apportioned among the clans of which it is composed, some clans possessing a certain aggregate of totems and some another, as illustrated in the lists farther on.

Again, every clan has its own spirit-land, called *mi'-gur*,² a native word signifying "home" or final resting place, to which the shades of all its members depart after death. The names of the *miyurs* are in all cases identical with the names of the clans. These *miyurs* are located in certain fixed directions from the territory of the tribe, some being situated toward one point of the compass and some another. Every man knows the direction of all the *miyurs* of his tribe in addition to his own.

The following are the names of the "clans" into which the phratry Gurogity is subdivided, together with the directions of the *miyurs* as pointed out to me by some old aborigines, and which I then observed with a compass:—Dyälup, the *miyur* of which bears W. 5° S. Bürt mürnya, which has the same amplitude as Dyälup. Nyau, E. 10° N. Kuttyaga, the same direction as Nyau. Bürt Wirrimul has a *miyur* bearing W. 25° S. Wartwurt bears N. 25° W. Würt-pattyangal, E. 15° S.

The totems of these clans will now be given, following the same order as the names in the last paragraph. First, then, are the totems allotted to Dyälup:—grey emu, porcupine, curlew, white cockatoo (*ngaiuk*), *wijuggla*, wood duck, mallee-lizard (*yurkun*), stinking turtle (*widdyruk*), flying squirrel, ring-tail opossum, bronze-wing pigeon.

Bürt Mürnya, a yam, has the plain-turkey, native cat, mopoke, dym-dym owl, mallee-hen, rosella parrot, peewee, all yams.

² I first drew attention to these *miyurs* in my "Native Tribes of Victoria, etc.," (read March 4, 1904), *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Philadelphia, Vol. XLII., p. 69.

Nyau, the sun, has the bandicoot, moon, kangaroo-rat, black and white magpie, opossum, ngürt-hawk, gum-tree grub, wattle-tree grub, planet Venus. Kutyaga, the white crestless cockatoo, has substantially the same totems as Nyau.

Bürt Wirrimal, the white owl, has a number of totems, but I was unable to classify them.

Wartwurt is the heat of the sun at noon, and has buirrak or grey-headed eagle-hawk, carpet-snake, smoker parrot, shell parrot, murrakan-hawk, dikkomur snake, ring-neck parrot, mirndai snake, shingle-back lizard.

Würt-pattyangal, or shadow of Pattyangal is related to Wartwurt and Durrimurak.

The following are some further totems of Gurogity, but I could not ascertain the castes among which they are apportioned:—quail, mosquito, wallaby, tree iguana, mussel.

The names of the clans into which the Gamaty phratry is subdivided, with my compass bearings of the miyurs, are as follow:—Durrimurak, and its miyur N. 15° E. Wuran, with the same azimuth as Durrimurak. Muiwillak bears N. 5° E. Dyallan, S. 5° E. Pattyangal has a miyur situated S. 40° W. Wanguguliak, S. 20° E. Burriwan's miyur bears N. 40° E. The totems attached to each of these clans are as under:—Durrimurak has the warrungurra or large turtle, musk duck, black duck, honey, native bee, gatgat bird, ground iguana, death-adder, quandong tree, biergalk tree.

The feminine equivalents of any of these clans are obtained by adding *gürk* to the masculine name.

Wuran, the black cockatoo, has dyirkok hawk, pine tree, grey-box tree. Muiwillak, a black snake, has the darker emu, red-gum tree, water-mallee tree, all reeds. Dyallan, a whipsnake, has the swan, dog, water, larger crow, white-

gum tree, grass parrot, platypus, water-rat or berper, werpal or dark-headed eaglehawk, native companion, wattle-bird or yanggak. Pattyangal, the pelican, has all kangaroos, fire, buiba or non-stinking turtle, brambam-bullak, plover, laughing jackass, a Crucis. Wanguguliak or crow's men; Wa is crow and guli, a man; the smaller crow belongs to this clan. Burriwan, a hole in the ground or in a rock. I could not find any totems of this subdivision, but it is friendly with Muiwillak and Wuran.

Other Gamaty totems, which I was unable to assign to their proper castes are:—stringybark tree, wild hop, bulldog ant, white ant, leech, blackfish, perch, jew lizard, mountain duck, honey bird.

It is unnecessary to state that the foregoing lists of totems, collected by me from the blacks for purposes of illustration, are only some out of a large number. And it is probable that there are other clans attached to each phratry beside those which I have enumerated. It should also be explained that the district in which the totems were obtained is a very large one, and I occasionally found that an animal or plant which belonged to one clan in a certain locality, was claimed by another clan at a different place. In a few instances it was likewise observed that a totem which was Gurogity in a certain portion of the tribal territory was Gamaty in another.

The laws of intermarriage of Gurogity and Gamaty, and the descent of the offspring are as exemplified in the subjoined table:—

Husband.	Wife.	Son.	Daughter.
Gurogity	Gamatygurk	Gamaty	Gamatygurk
Gamaty	Gurogigurk	Gurogity	Gurogigurk

According to the above table, Gurogity and Gamaty intermarry one with the other, but this is subject to the following regulations. Take for example a Gurogity man

and his sister; then, the man's son's child marries his sister's son's child. In this case, which is the general custom, a Gurogity marries a Gamatygurk, in accordance with the table. In some instances, however, the man's son's child marries his sister's daughter's child, which gives the exceptional custom of a Gurogity marrying a Gurogitygurk, subject to the totemic regulations. If a Gamaty man and his sister be taken as an example, the same laws will apply, *mutatis mutandis*.

When referring to the origin of the intermarrying divisions of Australian tribes in an article read at the International Congress on Anthropology and Archaeology held at Paris in 1900, I stated that I was quite clear that the system of divisions into sections was not devised for the purpose of preventing consanguineous marriages, but had developed in conformity with the general surroundings.¹

In 1897 I stated that "the sectional divisions may have been inaugurated for the purpose of a distinctive nomenclature among members of the same family, . . . to distinguish the mothers from the daughters, the uncles from the nephews, and the fathers from the sons, in their respective generations."²

In 1900 I ventured to raise a hypothesis that possibly in the distant past the present names of the sections represented small independent tribes, which became incorporated with each other, for the purpose of mutual defence, or for other reasons.³ This theory was promulgated to evoke discussion among the ethnologists of Europe and America, as to its feasibility or otherwise. On the other hand, the

¹ "Les Indigènes d' Australie," Congrès Internat. d' Anthropol. et d' Archéol. préhistoriques, Compte Rendu, 12 Session, pp. 488-495.

² "Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes," Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S.W., Vol. xxxi., (1897) pp. 160-161.

³ Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. xxxix., p. 564, seq. L'Anthropologie, Vol. xiii., pp. 233-240.

sectional names may have originated from repeated partitions of larger groups, but this is a controversial point which need not be investigated here.

It is shown by the table that the children of both sexes take the phratry name of their mother. This law also extends to the clans; for example, a Dyälupgurk produces Dyälup children. And if she belong to the porcupine totem, her offspring will be porcupines too. Again, the miyur of the progeny has the same name and compass bearing as that of their mother. To sum up the statements in this paragraph—the children take their phratry, clan, totem and miyur from their mother; or what amounts to the same thing, from their mother's brother.

Every individual in the community claims some animal, plant or inanimate object as his own special totem, which he inherits from his mother. But all the totems of his fellow-clansmen are friends of his. For example, if you ask a Wartwurt man what totem he is, he will tell you his own totem, and will then probably go on to enumerate those of his clan.

The general law is as just laid down, but there are some irregularities upon which I shall make a few observations. For example, among the Gurogity people, the clans Dyälup and Burt-Murnya are so much alike that they almost merge into each other, and have the same miyur or ancestral home. These remarks apply to Nyau and Kuttyaga; and among the Gamaty folk the same thing is observed in regard to Durrumurak and Wuran.

Moreover, a man who belongs to Dyälup also claims Burt-Murnya, whilst a Burt-Murnya man calls himself Dyälup as well. Between Nyau and Kuttyaga a similar affinity exists, and also between Durrumurak and Wuran. If ever Wurt-Pattyangal and Pattyangal were in harmony, they now belong to opposite phratries and can marry one with

the other. Würt-Pattyangal has some reciprocity with War-wurt and Durrimurak; Nyau with Burt-Murnya; Burt-Wirrimal with Kutyaga. Muiwillak has affinities with Wartwurt, Dyälup with Wuran. Dyallan and Pattyangal are related to each other.

The divisions have not reached the stage of development which would enable one clan to marry only into another specified clan, but there is a tendency in that direction. For example, marriages of common occurrence are Wuran with Kutyaga; Pattyangal with Wartwurt; Dyälup with Dyallan. Muiwillak is also a favourite clan when betrothals are being arranged by the old men.

In order to further emphasize or distinguish the different divisions, the phratries and clans have their own style of painting their bodies and dressing their hair. A very old Gurogity blackfellow on the Wimmera River assured me, some years ago, that he could discern a Gamaty man by his walk. He also gave me to understand that the speech of each clan was slightly divergent. The Wartwurt clan spoke Werekatyalli; Muiwillak and Würt-Pattyangal spoke Bëwa-tyalli; Durrimurak and Wanguguliak spoke Yerratyalli. He also mentioned Yagwa-tyalli; Yardwa-tyalli, Buiba-tyalli and some others, but could not connect them with any specific clan.

Each of the dialects just mentioned are named from their negative adverbs. Werreka, bëwa, yerra, yagwa, yardwa, buiba, all mean "No." They are all sister tongues of the Tyat-tyalli, a grammar and vocabulary of which I published in 1902,¹ and together constitute one great language over the whole territory referred to in my Dölgarrity Ceremony of Initiation in later pages.

¹ "The Aboriginal Languages of Victoria," Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S.W., xxxvi., pp. 71 - 106.

The divisions outlined in the foregoing pages not only pervade all the principal events of a man's life, but they accompany him into the grave and the land beyond. When a member of a clan dies and is buried, the body is laid horizontally, face upward, with the head placed toward the part of the horizon which leads to the *miyur* or spirit-land of the clan to which the deceased belonged. These miyurs are divided into the same phratries and clans as the people of the tribe, as explained in previous pages. The spirit of a Gurogity man or woman goes to a Gurogity miyur, and a Gamaty spirit travels away to a Gamaty resting place; this matter being regulated, in both cases, by the geographic position of the spirit-home of his clan.

Each miyur has its fabled watering place. For example, the shades of Dyälup, Burt-murnya and Burt-wirrimal drink at Mümbül. Bial-bial water supplies Muiwillak, Wuran, Durrimurak and Burriwan. Wartwurt drinks at Bummir. Dyallan and Wanguguliak quench their thirst at Dýrnera. In some of these places there is clear, spring water; in others ordinary water-courses; some have greyish water; whilst others have sea-spray. I forgot to enquire about the mythic watering places of some of the miyurs.

The spirits of the dead congregate in the miyurs of their respective clans during their disembodied state, and from there they emerge and are born again in human shape when a favourable opportunity presents itself. See my remarks on the transmigration or reincarnation of souls in later pages of this work, under the head of "Miscellaneous Superstitions."

When the men go out hunting and catch kangaroos, snakes, opossums, emus and any other game, every animal is cooked with the head pointing to the miyur of its clan. And if dead animals are temporarily laid upon the ground while the hunters are resting themselves on the way

home to the camp, their heads are turned towards their respective miyurs.

A hunter carries weapons made from the wood of each phratry. If he throws at a Gamaty animal, he uses a Gurogity missile, but Gurogity game are killed with Gamaty weapons. If a Gurogity animal be the subject of pursuit, and a Gamaty spear has been hurled at it with good aim, without effect, then the hunter concludes either that the game in question was partly or wholly a Gamaty, or that there has been some mistake about the wood of which the spear was manufactured. Forest kangaroos are usually Gamaty but should one of them be chased by dogs and escape from them, then that particular animal would be considered Gurogity.

In the south-western portion of Victoria, along the coast from the Glenelg River to Geelong, and reaching inland approximately to the main dividing range,¹ we discover that the phratry names, with their feminine equivalents, are slightly different from those already described, as shown in the following synopsis. The offspring take the phratry, clan and totem of their mother.

Gurogity	Kappatyar	Kappaty	Kappatyar
Kappaty	Gurogityyar	Gurogity	Gurogityyar

Everything in the universe is divided between these two phratries. Among the totems of the Gurogity are included the following; Flying squirrel, small squirrel, opossum, pelican, plain turkey, eaglehawk, kurogity (white crestless cockatoo), plover, white cockatoo (ngaink), crane, black duck, small night-jar, ironbark, oak, bloodwood, broom, red-gum tree, peppermint tree, white-gum tree, red bull-dog ant, tiger-snake.

¹ For the language of these people, see my "Native Tribes of Victoria," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII., pp. 54-70; also my "Language of the Bungandity Tribe, South Australia," *Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S.W.*, Vol. XXXVII., pp. 59-74.

The undermentioned are some of the totems of Kappaty; Dog, native cat, forest kangaroo, bat, crow, native companion, swan, pelican, black cockatoo, wattle-tree, blackwood, cherry tree, honeysuckle tree, stringybark tree, black bull-dog ant, whipsnake (kirtok), eel, fire, rain, stone tomahawk.

Spears, boomerangs, clubs, spear-levers, shields, etc., may belong to either phratry, according to the kind of tree from which they have been cut. This matter is also sometimes determined through the owner of the weapon in question.

The totemic families belonging to Gurogity and Kappaty are divided into clans or castes, somewhat similar to those in use among the tribes already described, but they are not so numerous or elaborate. It is not, therefore, thought necessary to furnish details of their structure.

In the country from Beaufort towards Hexham and Wickliffe, a part of the region we are dealing with, I discovered that the names of the phratries had changed—Kutyaga being substituted for Gurogity and Kirtök for Kappaty—as in the annexed table. The terminal syllables of the male names are modified to suit the feminine suffix and afford a euphonic pronunciation:

Kutyaga	Kirtogurk	Kirtök	Kirtögurk
Kirtök	Kutyaragurk	Kutyaga	Kutyaragurk

According to this table and the last preceding one, the two phratries intermarry, the one with the other, but the parties to the alliance must have the same relationship to each other as those stated in the Ngeumba and Wimmera tribes already dealt with. Moreover, a Kappaty sometimes marries a Kappatyar, and a Gurogity marries a Gurogityyar, of the proper lineage. These laws are likewise the same as those of the Parnkalla organisation, where the two inter-

marrying divisions are Maturri and Kurraro, extending from Port Lincoln to Lake Eyre basin, in South Australia. In describing the marriage laws of the Parnkalla nation in 1900, I showed that "a man marries the daughter of his father's father's sister's son."¹ In the same year (1900), I described the limits of the country occupied by the Parnkalla nation, and supplied a map, which no previous author had attempted, in which the boundaries were accurately delineated.² Likewise in the same year, I described the initiation ceremonies of the Parnkalla nation, including the whole of Lake Eyre basin.³ It must be stated that Rev. C. W. Schürmann was the first to report the names of the two phratries of the Parnkalla tribe.⁴ He also described the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision.

Kuttyaga, as the reader will remember, is one of the clan names among the tribes north of the dividing range on the Wimmera River and tributaries, and means the white crestless cockatoo. Gurogity is the name of the same bird among the coast tribes. Kirtök is the equivalent of Dyallan, also a Wimmera clan, both words meaning the whip-snake, in their respective languages. It appears therefore that Kuttyaga and Kirtök have developed into the status of phratries.

When Mr. James Dawson was writing his book on the "Australian Aborigines of the Western Districts of Victoria" in 1881, at pp. 26-28, he mentions certain divisions of the aborigines who can intermarry. He says, "Kuurokeetch (my Gurogity), and Karkpærapp (my Kirtpirrap), are

¹ "Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines," Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S.W., Vol. xxxiv, p. 126.

² "Divisions of the South Australian Aborigines," Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, Vol. xxxix, pp. 78-93, with map.

³ See my "Phallic Rites and Initiation Ceremonies of the South Australian Aborigines," *op. cit.*, Vol. xxxix, pp. 622-638.

⁴ "Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln, South Australia," (Adelaide, 1846), p. 9; and "Native Tribes of South Australia," (Adelaide 1879), p. 222.

looked upon as sister classes. It is the same with Kappatch (Kappaty) and Kirtuuk (Kirtök), and no marriage between them is permitted." In examining his text we find that Kirtpirap is evidently a division or equivalent of Gurogity, and that Kirtök is an equivalent of Kappaty. In pursuing my ethnological investigations in that district of Victoria I found Mr. Dawson's statements correct.

These tribes, like those in the Wimmera River district, have a spirit-home, which is called *maiöga* in some of the dialects, and *mung'-o* in others. All the clans have the same *maiöga*, which consists of an island a short distance off the coast of Victoria, about half way between Warrnamboul and Portland. The native name of this island is Dhinmār, but it is known on the map as Lady Julia Percy Island. On the shore of the mainland facing the island there are some large rocks, into the base of one of which the ceaseless rolling of the billows has worn a cavelike recess, respecting which the natives have a superstitious belief that it is in some way connected with Dhinmār.

Every deceased person, when buried, is laid with his head pointing towards this island. His spirit then provides itself with a firebrand, consisting of a piece of dry cherry tree, because this wood emits a peculiar odour whilst burning, which has the power of warding off danger from the bearer. The spectre then proceeds to the shore where the rock is situated, where he divests himself of any clothing or trinkets he may be wearing on his body, and disappears over the intervening sea to Dhinmār. The spirits of all the clans and phratries go to this island, which they occupy in common, the same as they did in their native hunting grounds. There they remain until reincarnated.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF EASTERN VICTORIA.

If we assume a line drawn from Geelong through Castlemaine and Pyramid Hill until it meet the Murray River;

thence up that river to its source in Forest Hill; thence from Forest Hill to Cape Howe; and thence along the sea-coast back to Geelong. Then all the tribes who inhabited the region included approximately within these limits had a marriage system of which I shall now give as full a summary as the space available in this journal will permit.

In 1898 I communicated to the Anthropological Society at Washington, U.S.A.,¹ a short account of the intermarrying laws and inaugural ceremonies of these people, but during subsequent journeyings among the remnants of the tribes referred to, evidence has accumulated which enables me now to speak more definitely than was formerly possible.

As in all other Australian tribes, marriages are regulated by a system of betrothals, which are made by the elders after a child is born, and not infrequently before that event. For example, they wish to determine what woman is the proper wife for a boy A. The old men know who is the father of A, whom we may designate B; from this they find C the father of B, or A's grandfather in the paternal line.² Next they discuss who was a sister of C, whom we shall denominate D. Then, a daughter of one of D's children will be the correct wife for A. That is, a brother's son's child mates with a sister's son's child. This is the regular or direct rule of marriage.

If C's son's child be allotted a spouse who is D's daughter's child, the result is the marriage which I have tentatively distinguished as "rare," when dealing with the Ngeumba tribes in earlier pages.

¹ "The Victorian Aborigines—their Initiation Ceremonies and Divisional Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XI, pp. 325–343, with map.

² At the Wonggoa ceremony of initiation described farther on, the sacred bullroarer is exhibited to the novices under the title of their "father's father."

Although a youth may be allotted a wife from either one of the branches mentioned, he must be limited to that particular lineage. For example, if he be assigned a spouse in the "direct" order, he cannot be permitted to obtain another wife from the "rare" line of descent. He may, however, be allowed more than one wife, but they must all come from the same lineage, if there should be any more women available in that direction. This law applies to all the tribes dealt with in this treatise.

In making the betrothals, the old men endeavour as far as practicable, to arrange that the brothers and sisters in certain families shall intermarry with the brothers and sisters in certain neighbouring families, whether in the same or in an adjoining tribe. This has the effect of binding the two families together by ties of kinship, and of strengthening their claims to consideration in the tribal councils. It also adds to their importance at the great gatherings which take place for initiatory ceremonies, barter and other purposes.

Let us take the birth-place of A of the above example as a starting point, and call it "No. 1." In order to get a foundation to work upon, we will assume that owing to marriages in prior generations, the man C of our example had a wife betrothed to him in a district, say fifty miles north of No. 1. It may be only a few miles away, or it may be a hundred or farther still—the distance being immaterial. In due time, he brought his wife home to No. 1, and his sister D was taken away to the northern family by the brother of C's wife.

After a while, C's son B of our example, went, say, fifty miles east to claim his allotted wife, and brought her to No. 1. B's sister, however, was taken away by the brother of B's wife, to her home in the eastern triblet. D, as we have seen, went away northward and bore a son who may

be called E, who is brought up in the northern tribe, and belongs to it. On reaching manhood, E goes into a tribe, fifty miles westward, and brings home to his own country his betrothed wife. E's sister, however, is taken away to the west in exchange. By and by E's wife presents him with a daughter, whom we shall designate F. Then the boy A of our example is betrothed to the girl F, and he will go up northward to claim her later on, and bring her home to No. 1. The brother of F will also claim A's sister, and take her away to his own district.

It will be seen by the foregoing examples that the sons remain in their father's tribe or family, but the daughters are taken away into other tribes in return for wives for their brothers. This may be further illustrated by supposing that one family, X, has three sons and three daughters, and another family, Y, has their progeny divided in the same way. The elder son of the X family marries the elder daughter of the Y family; the second son marries the second daughter, and the third son marries the third daughter. Again, the elder son of the Y family takes the elder daughter of the X family in exchange for his own sister, and his two brothers take the second and third sisters in the same way.

It could of course happen that one family might have all sons, and therefore have no daughters to give in exchange for wives for them,—or they might have all daughters, which would land them in the same predicament,—but this is got over by the following rule of aboriginal society. Supposing there are four brothers, all married and have families. Then each of the four brothers will call all the children his, and the children will in like manner call each of the four men father. The aggregate of these children would probably be equally divided as regards sex, so that the girls could be given in exchange for wives for the boys. The children of several sisters would in a similar manner

call each woman mother, and each mother would look upon all the children as her own. It must, however, be borne in mind that each man, his wife and their own actual progeny form one family and camp by themselves. The broader terms of kinship just referred to being used merely as a matter of courtesy and friendship.

In all the tribes of the eastern half of Victoria,¹ the boys and girls alike inherit the same totem as their male parent; thus, if the father be a kangaroo, the sons and daughters will be kangaroos too, irrespectively of the totem of the mother. Marriage between individuals of the same totem is strictly interdicted; for example, a man who is an opossum cannot marry a woman who is an opossum. It appears, then, that the individuality of the wife, as well as that of her totem, is lost. In the first place she is taken into the tribe of her husband, her children are born there, and belong to that tribe, and take the totem of their father. The woman of course retains her own totem as long as she lives. In a community such as this, one can readily understand how clans or small tribes could be formed or develop. Not only do the sons remain in their father's family or tribe, but their children are all brought up there and learn to speak their father's dialect, as stated in the description of the *Wongga* ceremony in later pages of this treatise.

By studying the genealogy given a few pages back, it appears that A obtained a spouse from the same family or clan which supplied his paternal grandfather with a wife, and that his sister went away there in exchange.² If the

¹ For the dialects of these people, see my "Aboriginal Languages of Victoria," Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S.W., Vol. xxxv., pp. 71-106; also "Notes on Native Dialects of Victoria," Vol. xxxvii., pp. 243-253.

² In 1900 I described the sociology of a Gippsland tribe known as *Kurnai*. On that occasion I followed the genealogy through the father's cousin, instead of tracing it, as now through the father's father, which although amounting to the same thing, is more explicit. See "The Origin, Organisation and Ceremonies of the Australian Aborigines," Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, Vol. xxxix., pp. 560-562 and 577, with map showing the boundaries of the several aboriginal nations of Australia.

C, B and A of our example had moderate families, a good few people would be added to No. 1 district in three generations. But this is not all. C, B and A probably had each several brothers who all had similar families to themselves, which would still further reinforce the population of that locality. In these families where the totem is handed down, as we have seen, from father to son in perpetual succession, all the men mentioned would belong to the same totem.

After a long time, the members of this family might consider themselves strong enough to defend their own hunting grounds, and would become an independent triblet. If they all belonged to the kangaroo totem, they could appropriately be distinguished as the kangaroo clan. If the clan from which C and A obtained their wives were all of the musk duck totem, they could be called the musk duck clan. Again, the eastern people where B of our example exchanged his sister for a wife for himself, might be all crows, and would be denominated the crow clan, and so on. The name "totemic clans" may be used to distinguish triblets constituted in this way.

For some reason, the kangaroo triblet might divide into two or more smaller totemic clans and the musk duck people the same. Some of the kangaroo men might go to one clan for a wife and some to another, as in the examples a few pages earlier, where the men went from No. 1 to the north, east, west, etc. In this way all the clans, although dispersed over a considerable territory, would be united by bonds of kinship which would fuse them into one great nation.

A girl who has been betrothed to a certain man may die before he gets her, and therefore, to neutralize the chances of a man not obtaining a wife, more than one girl is usually betrothed to the same youth. On the other hand, one girl

may be betrothed to several young men. If the man to whom she is betrothed dies before he is old enough to claim her, then she becomes the wife of one of the others. When the parties to the alliance attain puberty, it is necessary that the old men shall again meet and settle the point as to who shall marry whom, because nothing can be done without their ratification.

It must be remembered that until a youth has graduated in all the inaugural ceremonies of his tribe, and has been admitted to the rights and privileges of aboriginal manhood, he cannot claim his promised wife, or be present at any of the councils or deliberations of the men.

Moreover, when a man goes to claim his allotted wife, he is required to stand out with his shield, while a certain number of spears are cast at him by the girl's brother. If he be dexterous enough to ward off the missiles without receiving a wound, and so prove himself a warrior, he can take his promised spouse, but if not, he must go away with his people a bachelor as he came. This is not such a serious ordeal as it appears at first sight. If the claimant does not prove himself worthy of the girl, then it follows that her brother cannot obtain the sister of the young man whom he has wounded. It generally happens, therefore, that when the brother is throwing the spears referred to, he takes good care that they shall fall wide of the mark. There are occasions, however, where the brother has some other girl in view, or has a "down" upon the suitor, and in such case does his best to injure him. This custom has probably given rise to the stockmen's yarns about "marriage by capture."

It has been said above that the woman and her totem are absorbed by the tribe into which she marries, but this must be received with some qualification. An old proverb says, that "blood is thicker than water," and there is no

place where this is more real than in a blackfellows' camp. Her brothers know where she is, and will not forget her totemic claims. A boy's mother's brother is an important personage in all native assemblages, for whatever purpose they have met. He is there to see that justice is meted out to his sister's son, as well as to take part in passing him through the initiation and other qualifying ceremonies of his tribe. And in communities where the progeny inherit the totem of the mother, a youth and his maternal uncle are fellow totemsmen.

The chief difference in the sociology just described, and that of the tribes of Western Victoria, consists in the fact that among the latter the totems are perpetuated through the women, which renders the development of totemic clans impossible. In Western Victoria the wives are taken away from their own people into the families of their husbands, as in all Australian tribes, but the children take their phratry, totem and other designations from their female parent; consequently, we find all the divisions scattered indiscriminately throughout the territory of the entire community or nation.

Before quitting the subject of sociology, it may be as well to record in this place that I was the first author to discover and report the existence of tribes in north-west Queensland possessing eight divisions in their social structure. In 1898 I published a table illustrating this organisation on the Nicholson River.¹ In the following year, 1899, I tabulated another set of eight intermarrying sections, found among the Inchalachee tribe on Barkly's Tableland and the sources of the Gregory River in Queensland.² In

¹ "Divisions of Some North Queensland Tribes," *Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales*, Vol. xxxii., pp. 251 - 252. The American Anthropologist, Vol. I., N.S., p. 596.

² "Divisions of Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland," *Journ. Roy. Soc., N. S. Wales*, Vol. xxxiii., p. 111.

1899 I also published the sociology of some tribes on Sturt's Creek, Ord and Fitzroy Rivers, Western Australia, which was the first time the eight-section system had ever been reported in that State.¹ That article was followed by another in 1900, "defining the geographic limits of that portion of Australia which is occupied by aggregations of tribes distinguished by having eight intermarrying sections in their social structure." Moreover, among the tribes adopting the "eight-section system" just referred to, in Queensland, the Northern Territory, and in Western Australia, I was the first to observe and publish the marriages which are provisionally distinguished as "alternative," "rare," and "exceptional."²

In a communication to the Anthropological Society of Paris, in 1901, when referring to the different systems of Australian sociology, I stated: "Mais qu'il existe deux, ou quatre, ou huit divisions de toute la communauté, les principes fondamentaux qui régissent les mariages entre les divisions du groupe, et l'ordre de succession de la postérité sont identiques en tout."

LANGUAGE OF MOTHERS-IN-LAW.

Throughout the central and south-western districts of Victoria, and in the south-eastern corner of South Australia there is a hybrid tongue or jargon in use, comprising a short code of words, by means of which a mother-in-law can carry on a limited conversation in the presence of her son-in-law, respecting some of the events of daily life. I observed jargons of this kind among the Woiturru, Bunwurru, Wuddyawurru, Thaguwurru, Tyapwurru, Dhauhurt-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

² "Wumby's Organisation of the Australian Aborigines," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II., N.S., pp. 494 - 501, with map.

³ *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II., N.S., (1900), pp. 494 - 501; *Queensland Geographical Journal*, Vol. XVI., (1901), pp. 69 - 90.

⁴ "Organisation Sociale des Tribus Aborigènes de l'Australie," *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, Tome II., Serie 5, pp. 415 - 419.

wurru and Bungandity tribes when studying and preparing the grammars of these languages which I have already published in New South Wales and America.

Mr. James Dawson also observed this "lingo" as he calls it, among the Peekwurru and Chaapwurru (my Tyapwurru), people.¹ Mr. E. M. Curr says, "A father-in-law converses with his son-in-law in a low tone of voice, and in a phraseology differing somewhat from the ordinary one."² This jargon may have had its origin in the law forbidding a youth to learn the language of the friendly tribe into which he was relegated to be instructed in the national observances and traditional lore.³ Perhaps a sort of hybrid speech was invented to enable him to converse with those around him, or within hearing of his potential mother-in-law. Compare the foregoing with my "Yanan, or Mystic Language of the Kamilaroi," communicated to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.⁴

Among some of the tribes of New South Wales and the north-eastern parts of Victoria, I have observed that when a man is conversing with his wife's mother's brother, he speaks in a tone very little higher than a whisper, and his uncle addresses him in a similar undertone.

THE WONGGOA OR WONGUPKA CEREMONY.

The following pages contain an account of the initiation ceremonies of the native tribes who originally occupied that portion of North-eastern and Central Victoria situated on the Upper Murray, Mitta Mitta, Kiewa, Ovens, Buffalo, King and Broken Rivers. These rites were also in force on the upper Goulburn, Yarra and Saltwater Rivers. Although these parts of Victoria have been settled upon

¹ "Australian Aborigines of Western Districts of Victoria." (1881), p. 29.

² "The Australian Race," (1886), Vol. III., p. 461.

³ See the last paragraph of the "Wonggoa Ceremony," *infra*.

⁴ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. xxxiii., pp. 269-270.

by Europeans for very many years, nothing at all has hitherto been done to obtain a comprehensive account of the initiation ceremonies of the native tribes who were formerly spread over it. The aboriginal languages of the people had been equally neglected until I undertook the congenial task of studying and expounding their grammatical structure.¹ The particulars herein reported were told to me by native men who had passed through the ceremonies.

When it has been determined to call the people together for the purpose of inaugurating the youths of the tribes into the privileges and duties of manhood, messengers are despatched to the different sections of the community, informing them of the time and place of the intended gathering. A suitable camping ground capable of accommodating all the tribes who are expected to be present, is selected near some river, creek or lagoon, in a part of the tribe's domain in which there is sufficient game to furnish food for all the people during the continuance of the ceremonies. In the vicinity of this main encampment, a circular space, known as the *gu-ang'-a*, is cleared of all timber and grass, and the soil scraped off the surface in making it level is used to form a low mound or embankment around its outer margin.

When a messenger arrives near the camp to which he has been sent, he waits till late in the afternoon, because at that time the men have usually returned from their day's hunting, and then approaches the singlemen's quarters close to which he sits down. Some of the people go to him and bring him into the *ngulubul*, where the headmen of the tribe are then brought together. The messenger now states where he has come from and produces the *muddyigang* or

¹ "The Aboriginal Languages of Victoria," Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, Vol. xxxvi., pp. 71-106.

bullroarer and other emblems of his authority, and tells them the time and place of the general assembly. Two men are generally sent together, for the sake of company, but the one who is charged with the message is generally of the same totem as the sender, and he delivers it to a man of that totemic family in the tribe which he has been directed to muster. Moreover, it is indispensable that the messenger shall be a man who has passed through all the inaugural rites of his tribe.

The messenger remains with this tribe until the time arrives to start for the appointed meeting place. All the men, women, and children are then mustered up, and the journey commences. When they reach a point within a few miles of the main camp, a halt is made, and they paint their bodies with coloured clays in accordance with the style customary in their tribe, after which the journey is resumed—the men in the lead, with the women and children following. On the approach of the strangers, the men of the local mob, together with the men of previous contingents who have arrived at the main camp, stand outside the guanga circle, with their weapons in their hands. The new arrivals march on in single file in a meandering line, carrying their boomerangs. They enter the ring and march round and round until they are all within it in a spiral fold, with the novices whom they have brought with them in the centre. The women and children, with leaves in their hands, are standing in close proximity. The headmen now call out the names of camping-places, hills, water-holes, totemic animals and so on, in their native country. The names of shady trees, blossoming and fruit trees, are also mentioned. The men likewise call out the names of the genitalia of both sexes. While they are making these proclamations, they point their boomerangs towards their own country, and stamp their feet.

After all the ceremonial connected with the reception of the strangers is disposed of, they disperse, and erect their quarters on the side of the general camping ground facing towards their own territory. Several days, and in some cases weeks, may intervene between the arrival of the first mob and that of the last contingent, and in order to occupy and amuse the people during this time, corroborees are held every fine night by the light of the camp fires. As soon as the last tribe has arrived, the headmen assemble at the *ngutubul*, and having consulted each other, they determine the day when the novices shall be taken charge of for the purpose of initiation. The band of men who shall have control of the procedure in the bush are also chosen at this meeting.

When all the invited tribes have reached the common meeting ground, a series of special corroborees commences. The first of this series takes place on the evening of the day of the arrival of the last mob. At this dance, while the women are beating their folded skins as usual, an old man taps a couple of sticks together and stamps one foot on the ground, and utters the grunt-like exclamations, "Rirt! yeh! wah!" Next day there is another dance, when the old man changes the exclamation to "Yeh! yeh! wirr!" At the dance which takes place the same evening, the old man shouts "Birr! wah! wirr!" Different words are employed at each dance in prescribed order. On the evening preceding the breaking up of the encampment, the old man calls out "Bui! yeh!" On hearing this, everybody knows that is the last dance of the carnival. At the conclusion of the dance some of the men pretend to quarrel, and others run apparently to quell the disturbance, which suddenly ceases, and then all hands retire for the night.

Next morning all the people are astir at daylight, and the proponents for initiation are mustered out of the entire

camp at some convenient spot, where they are painted and invested with the brow-band, waist-belt and apron. Strings made by cutting narrow strips of the skin of the ring-tail opossum, with the fur on, and twisted, are bound round the biceps and fore-arms of the novices. It is believed that this binding causes the muscles of the arms to develop. A guardian is now assigned to each boy. Such guardian is one of the brothers, actual or titular, of the women from among whom the novice could obtain a wife in accordance with the laws of the tribe.

The novices are next conducted into the *guanga*, where they stand with their heads bowed, surrounded by a cordon of men. Before the boys are taken into the ring, each mother secures a portion of her son's apron, *ngore*, and swings it round her head as she gesticulates and jumps about. A large fire, which has been burning in the *guanga* all night, has reduced itself to a heap of hot embers and ashes. The mothers of the novices, and all the other women, with the children, are also gathered up a little way from the ring, where they are made to lie down, and are covered with bushes, grass or rugs. A sufficient number of men are appointed to keep guard over them, so that they may see nothing of the next performance.

A number of men have provided themselves with green boughs having a dense foliage and a stem about two or three feet in length. They catch hold of these boughs by the stem and hold them up over the novices where they are standing in the *guanga*, thus forming a thick leafy canopy above their heads. At a given signal from the chiefs, a contingent of active men selected from every tribe present, then pick up bark shovels, *bundurra*, shaped something like a tennis racket, and commence throwing the hot ashes from the fire above referred to, over the bough canopy. The boys underneath are surging round and round in a compact

body, whilst the men hold the boughs close together overhead, trying to ward off as much as possible of the falling coals and ashes. The men and the boys shake their shoulders, and jump, for the purpose of dislodging any of the fiery shower which may descend upon their bodies. This fire throwing ordeal continues until all the ashes and embers have been distributed.¹

The heads of the novices are then covered with rugs and they are marched away by their guardians till they get quite out of sight of the *guanga*. They arrive at a place where a line of holes about the size and shape of a human foot and a few inches deep, has been dug in the soil, with a layer of leaves strewn upon the bottom. Two holes are dug for each novice who is to be operated upon.² The boys are now turned rapidly round and round until they become giddy, after which they are placed standing with their feet in the holes. Each guardian then comes behind the boy he has in charge, and kneeling down, puts his head between his legs, so that the boy sits on his shoulders. Another man stands along side, and places his hands over the boy's eyes, so that he may not see or recognise the man who takes out his tooth. A small piece of tough stick is placed across the lad's mouth to prevent his shutting it. During these proceedings a *mudjigang* is sounding in close proximity. The tooth extractor must be selected from among the men of one of the strange tribes. He pretends to accept the office reluctantly, whereupon an old chief pats him on the back with the open hand, and encourages him to undertake the important task. A fresh "dentist" must be appointed for each novice in the same manner.

¹ Compare with my account of the *Bunan*, in which, on the morning of taking the novices away, they are exposed in front of a fierce fire, until dazed and stupefied by the heat.—"The Bunan Ceremony," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. ix., (1896), pp. 335, 336. *Proc. Geog. Soc., Brisbane*, Vol. xv., p. 68.

² Sometimes only one pair of holes were dug, and the novices were placed in them in succession while the tooth was extracted.

The man entrusted with the dental operation, then steps up and with his finger nail pushes back the gum from the tooth to be extracted. Sometimes a headman walks along and rubs the boy's gum with a large quartz crystal for the ostensible purpose of loosening the tooth and making it draw out easily. The extractor then places one end of a small wooden chisel against the front of the tooth and gives it a smart blow on the other end with a mallet, which forces it out.¹ More than one blow is often required to dislodge the tooth, which is then taken out of the lad's mouth with the man's fingers, and the gum pressed together. As the tooth is held up to public view, all the men, who are standing around, shout *wirr ! wirr !* and call out the names of places in the novice's native country, as well as the totems of his family. A man near by swings a bullroarer. The blood which flows from the wounded gum must be swallowed by the boy—he cannot spit it out. The tooth is then handed to the lad's mother's brother, or to his mother's mother's brother, should he be living.

When all the lads have been operated upon, the guardians assist them to withdraw their feet from the holes, which are then filled up. The mallet and chisel are either burnt or are driven into the ground. The novices are then taken away to a resting place in the bush, where they sit down on leaves spread on the ground. Here they remain motionless, with their hands held to their sore mouths, and the rugs still on their heads so that they can see nothing of what is going on around them.

All the able-bodied men start away and leave the novices in charge of some infirm old fellows, and men who have been maimed by accidents or fights. These feeble protectors commence lamenting among themselves, so that the novices can hear all that is said, something as follows:

¹ In some tribes both upper incisors were punched out.

"We are unable to take these youths through the bush and provide food for them. Our great-grand-fathers used to go about in canoes on the dry land as easily as on the water; perhaps they will come and help us." Just then a man, a little distance off, gently swings a bullroarer, so that its intermittent sounds apparently just die away upon their ears. The eldest man says to the others, "That is the distant ripple of the paddle of my father's father's large canoe; let us go and meet him and he will take us anywhere we wish to go."

They now assist the boys to rise, and all of them go forward for some distance, when they encounter the men who had gone away from them a little while previously. The old men pretend to be very much surprised at this opportune and unexpected meeting; and amid much apparent rejoicing the novices are given into the care of the same guardians who had charge of them before. It should be explained here that when the men went away ahead, as stated above, it was for the purpose of giving them time to paint their bodies and get their weapons and other belongings together, to enable them to perform their share of the rôle in the bush.

Men and boys now journey on till they come to a creek or waterhole where they intend to camp. A bough yard of a crescent shape is made, and leaves strewn upon the ground within it, on which the novices are placed sitting, with their heads bowed; and a fire is lit to keep them warm. If a novice wants anything he is not allowed to ask for it, but must make a sign to the guardian who has charge of him. The men set to work and dig several little holes, *papal'wa*, about the size of a wash-basin, and bend a small green rod, with some leaves attached, over each hole. The ends of the rod are inserted in opposite sides of the hole, the rod forming a vertical arch, the centre of which is a few inches above the level of the surrounding

surface. These holes are then filled with water carried from the creek in native vessels. Some rush-grass is cut and spread flat on top of the water, where it floats.

All the novices are now brought up to the *papaluas*, where they crouch down and rest their elbows on the bank, and bend their heads and necks over the rods, while they each suck a mouthful of water through the net-like covering of loose rush-grass floating on the surface. They must not swallow the liquid, but keep it in their mouths, and rise to their feet. All the men likewise take a mouthful of water from the holes in the same way. Men and boys now approach the fire already mentioned and squirt the water out of their mouths upon it—as many as possible squirting at the same moment. The men then jump round and sing:

“Bingalga wanba warrana! yeh! woh!”

This chant is repeated over and over again for some time, and when it is finished the novices are allowed to drink a few mouthfuls of water by crouching down beside the *papaluas*, or water pans, as before. They are also given some human ordure and animal flesh. In a little while both boys and men go to rest for the night.

If the fire above referred to was extinguished by the water blown from the mouths of the men and boys, it was a bad omen, and portended that perhaps some evil would happen to the party whilst engaged upon their duties in the bush, or that some of the novices might divulge the secrets later on, and be punished with death for doing so. But if the fire blazed up again after a short time, it was a sign that everything would turn out right.

The following morning the party go out hunting, accompanied by the novices and their guardians. When stoppages are made in the bush, the boys are placed sitting upon green boughs spread upon the ground, and are not allowed to do

anything. During the afternoon one of the men, who is remarkable for a rotundity of stomach, goes on ahead, and with the assistance of some friends who accompany him, disguises himself as a woman, and lies down in a sheltered place. His friends then stick spears into the ground all around him. Presently the rest of the party, apparently by chance, pass along that way, and pretend that they suppose the person lying within the circle of spears is a woman about to give birth to a child. The novices are brought forward to see the woman, and a number of men dance round outside the spears, singing:

Bandhanggorba wirralgũ ngaia.

The dancing and singing only lasts a short time, and then all the party proceed with their hunting. On arriving at the place which has been agreed upon as their camping ground for the night, a yard is made for the novices in the usual manner. Between this yard and the quarters of the men, a space is cleared of the loose surface rubbish, and a fire lit to provide the necessary illumination. After the evening meal has been disposed of, the novices are conducted out of their yard and are put sitting down in front of the fire, while the men go through various burlesque representations. These performances consist for the most part of imitating animals, or of scenes from the daily life of the people, and are all accompanied by much merriment and obscenity. Some of the animals selected are the totems of those present, whilst others are connected with the myths and superstitions current among the different tribes.

During the next day, the burlesque of “Thunder,” *muri-muriwa*, is enacted. The novices are brought up to a place where several men are kneeling in a row, with pieces of bark in their hands. These pieces of bark are about two feet six inches long and about six inches broad at the widest

part. The outside man at one end of the row hits the ground in front of him forcibly with his bark, and all the men utter a low, rumbling noise and strike the ground in succession. When this "peal" reaches the other end, the outside man there hits the ground with his piece of bark and is followed by the other men back to the original striker. This performance is repeated several times backwards and forwards and is intended to represent the rolling of distant thunder.

Some of the old men address the novices, saying "Your great-grandfathers are coming by and by to take you along in their canoes on the dry land." Presently the booming sound of the bullroarer, *muddyigang*, is heard and the loudness increases till it is quite close. The guardians call out as if addressing some one, "Wait a while! the lads will get into the canoes directly." Almost immediately the rugs are lifted off the boys' heads, and they are told to look at the men swinging the muddyigangs. Each guardian then says to his novice, "There is your grandfather." The swingers now advance and place a bullroarer under the arm of each novice, who is at the same time cautioned against revealing what he has seen and been taught during the sojourn in the bush. Each novice is cautioned by a warrior belonging to one of the strange tribes.

The reader will now be taken back to that portion of the narrative where we left the women and children covered over at the guanga. As soon as the men and novices get out of sight of the camp, the covering is removed by some old men who have remained in charge of them, and they are set at liberty. The mothers and female relatives of the novices then scrape together all the ashes and coals which had been thrown over the youths in the way described in an earlier page, and form a heap in the centre of the *guanga*. Each mother has a reed spear on the end of which she fastens the portion of her son's *ngoré* which she had

secured that morning, as stated, and then inserts the other end of the spear into the mound of ashes, on the side which faces her native country. All the spears thus decorated with *ngorés*, are now standing vertically, or nearly so, in the heap, and the mothers and other near relatives dance and jump around, singing the songs customary on such occasions.¹

If any man belonging to the party who have charge of the novices in the bush, has occasion to go back to the women's camp on a message or for any other purpose, as soon as he appears in sight two of the women run to meet him, each carrying a reed spear with the *ngoré* attached. They hold the spear over the man's head and swing it in such a way that the dangling *ngoré* describes a circle all round his head, about a foot distant from it. Then the women run back to the *guanga* and stand their spears in the mound of ashes as they were before. If there are two or more men they are each saluted in the same way, after which they march up to the camp and explain the business upon which they have come.

The mothers of the novices eat practically the same kind of food which is given to their sons in the bush, and must remain silent the same as their sons. They sing the prescribed songs every morning at dawn and every evening at dusk; and whilst standing singing they lift burning sticks from off the fire and wave them repeatedly towards the direction in which they suppose the camp of the novices to be situated. The novices, their mothers and their potential wives are all painted alike, according to the pattern of the tribe to which they respectively belong. Each tribe has its own distinguishing style of painting at these ceremonies. The mother of every novice has a woman to look after her

¹ See my "Aboriginal Songs at Initiation Ceremonies," *Queensland Geographical Journal*, Vol. xvii., pp. 61-63.

and give her food. This guardian is generally one of the sisters of her husband, or one of her own sisters. Each mother has a small fire which she keeps alight all the time, and she heaps the soil or sand up around it so that it cannot be seen at a distance.

We will now resume the account of the proceedings in the bush at the point where the novices were shown the bullroarers, as described a few pages back. Next morning the neophytes are taken to a place where there is a patch of open and moderately level ground, from which the grass has been removed. Within this space is a sheet of bark, stripped from a gum tree, on which is cut the rude outline of a man about half life-size, representing Dharamulan, a mystic personage connected with the initiatory rites. Sometimes this figure is formed by heaping up the loose earth into the required shape; and in portions of the region herein dealt with there are other drawings on the ground, some being heaped up, whilst others are cut into the soil.

Lying on the top of the human figure are two real bullroarers,¹ one being the *muddyigang* or larger kind, and the other the *yirraga-minnunga*, which is supposed to be the wife of Muddyigang. The novices are brought up and shown the image of Dharamulan, with his two descriptions of bullroarers, and are invited to carefully observe them. The men then dance round and sing:—

Dharamulan ngunning-a-wa

Nundhunna, yeh! yeh! yeh!

After this exhibition, the youths are warned against revealing anything which has been said or done in the bush, under terrible penalties of being cruelly murdered, or being

¹ Among the Yarra and Saltwater River blacks—the Wurrundiyirra-balk—where the Wonggoa Ceremony also extends, the bullroarer is called *berber'ogan*. I got this name from "Billy Berak," a Wolwurrung blackfellow.

seized with fearful maladies from which it is impossible to recover.

One evening after dark the men play the opossum game, *dumpul*. Several men of different stature ascend a tree with dense foliage within sight of the camp fire. This is done unknown to the novices. By and by the other men say "Let us see if there are any opossums in that tree?" and commence throwing sticks up among the branches. Some of the men in the tree mimic the call of opossums and micturate down upon the ground in imitation of a habit of those animals. The men then descend the tree, one after another, at intervals of a few minutes. A hunter stands at the base of the tree, and as each "opossum" comes down he apparently hits it on the head with a stick and it falls upon the ground. During the performance the audience make remarks upon the size and appearance of each animal "killed"—that it is large, small, fat, and so on. The last "opossum" to descend is the biggest of the lot, and as the hunter knocks it on the head, it falls on its back exposing the genitalia, and all hands call out, "That is an old buck!"

Different burlesques and songs take place every day and every evening, but their essential characteristics are the same. Among these performances for the instruction and amusement of the company are mimic plays of the locust, native companion, kangaroo, porcupine and other animals.

At all times when marching along through the bush care is taken that the boys shall not walk under a leaning tree, nor between two trees the branches of which press against each other, because their future growth might thereby be impeded, or some other bad luck befall them. If a novice's belt works loose and falls to the ground, it must not be picked up and given to him again. His guardian takes off his own belt and gives it to the boy, and takes in

exchange the one which fell off. And if it be necessary to cross a watercourse or swamp when out hunting, the novices are carried over on the men's shoulders.

Whilst the men and novices are away in the bush, if any of the men at the women's camp wish to go out to see them, they shout *bu-u-u!* when they arrive within hearing, and the bush mob answer them in the same way. They march on, uttering the same sound, and are answered again and again until they get close enough to the men's camp, where they are met by the old chiefs, and state the purport of their visit.

Every aboriginal camp is kept free of excrementitious matter. When any of the people attend to a necessity of nature, they make a hole in the ground and cover the deposit over with earth. This is perhaps not so much on account of cleanliness as from their superstitious fear of anything belonging to them being picked up by evil spirits, or enemies prowling about the camp, at night or any other time.

When the ceremonies in the bush are over, the novitiates are brought back to the confines of the women's camp, where a wall or screen of boughs has been erected, and a fire lit at the butt of a tall tree close by. When the men and boys get within about a mile of this place, they form into a sinuous line, and advance in a kind of jog. All the novices are in the front, painted and having a forked, leafy bough fastened on each shoulder. Each boy's mother's brother runs in front of him, with his guardian on one side. On arriving within sight of the bough screen, the mothers and aunts go out to meet their sons, each carrying a bunch of twigs in her hand. A mother and her sister take their places one on each side of her son and jog on with him. They each strike him lightly on the hips with their twigs, and shout "*yer! yer!*" as they move onward. When the novices arrive in front of the fire, they come to a stand,

and the mothers and aunts take up their places farther back. Men who are in attendance place green bushes on the fire—the women and novices throwing their boughs on top of the rest. As soon as the bushes have burnt sufficiently to create a dense smoke, the novices are held in it by their guardians until they are partially suffocated. They are then conducted to a place prepared for them not far from the men's quarters. They are now called Narramang, and can go out hunting with the men.

Early next morning the catechumens are again marched away by their guardians and the old men, for the purpose of receiving further instruction, and are kept in the bush for such time as may be fixed by the elders. At the end of the prescribed period they are again brought back to the vicinity of the women's camp and are required to stand in a dense smoke. They are then released and are placed sitting on a seat prepared for them. This seat, *karkaria*, consists of two long logs of wood laid side by side, with leaves thickly piled up on top, for the lads to sit upon. Their mothers have placed netted bags containing food beside the seats for their sons' use. The old women and the mothers of the boys are looking on a short distance off, but the young women must turn their faces the contrary direction.

Every novice must spend a further term of probation among some of the visiting tribes. It is also necessary that they must attend one or more additional *wonggoa* gatherings before they can become thoroughly acquainted with the different parts of the ceremonial, and be admitted to the higher grade. The novitiates are kept under the control of their seniors for a considerable time, being longer for the younger boys than for those verging upon manhood. During this period they must not learn to speak the dialect of the people among whom they are sojourning, because

every boy is required to perpetuate the speech of his forefathers. A youth is generally sent to spend his probationary term in the tribe from which he is to get his wife by and by, when the old men are satisfied that he is entitled to that privilege. A portion of the scarring of the youth's back, arms, and chest, is executed during this time, and he is instructed in the dances, songs, and folklore of the people. The position, extent and pattern of the scarring is regulated by the custom of the tribe to which the novice belongs. When a youth has been scarred he is called *yengyanuga*. See "Mumbirbiri or Scarring the Body," *supra*.

I have elsewhere described the Kannety ceremony of initiation, practised by the aborigines of the south-western districts of Victoria from Geelong westerly to the South Australian boundary. I have also published full details of the Wonggumuk ceremony, which is in force in portions of the central and northern districts of that State.

THE TYIBBAUGA CEREMONY.

In the course of some months, or it may be a year or two, or perhaps several years, after the youth has passed through all the grades of the Wonggoa ceremony, he must submit to the further rite of *Tyib-bau-ga*. The interval which elapses between the two inaugural courses is entirely in the hands of the old chiefs, being regulated by the boy's age. It is not necessary to form a circle upon the ground, like the *guanga*, neither is it imperative to convene the whole community, as in the ceremonial of the *Wonggoa*. But it is generally considered politic to consult with the leading men of some of the neighbouring tribes, who may desire to witness the proceedings, or perhaps bring a few boys of their own to be initiated. Messengers, who must be men who have passed through all the rites connected with the ceremony, are despatched to arrange the preliminaries, and when the time arrives the people proceed to the place appointed.

It not infrequently happens that while a batch of novitiates are passing through the *Wonggoa*, and before the tribes disperse, such of the young men present who have submitted to the requisite course of instruction at previous meetings, are taken charge of by the headmen, and are admitted to the final degree of *tyibbauga*. This is done to avoid the trouble and delay of mustering the people again. It will in some respects be more convenient to describe the procedure respecting one of the novices only, asking the reader to remember that they are all treated alike. The following details were related to me by a man who had been thus initiated.

The candidate for initiation is taken from the single men's camp early in the morning, unknown to the women. A rug is thrown over his head, and he is escorted by some strange men to a retired spot a little way out of sight. Here a fire has been lighted beside which are lying ready for use several bundles of the dry outer bark shed in the spring time by the upper branches of some forest trees. A man steps up to a youth and catches hold of the hair on one side of the head whilst another man sings it off, little by little by applying a lighted taper made of the bark just referred to. This is done carefully and takes a good deal of time—just sufficient blaze being applied to remove the hair without injuring the boy's skin. The hair on the other side of the head is singed off in the same manner. Along the middle zone of the skull, from the forehead to the back of the head, a strip of hair, about two inches wide, is left intact, and is curled into a ridge. Both sides of the head from which the hair has been removed are then daubed with pipeclay mixed with common earth. The hair in the armpits, and the pubic hair, is also singed off. If any of the youths have an inceptive beard it is similarly dealt with.

It should be explained that the hair on the sides of the boy's head is not wholly consumed, like that growing on

the other parts of the body. The operator separates it into small wisps or coils, which he holds out horizontally, one at a time, and then applies the taper near the roots, thus severing the hair from the head. The whole is then wrapped up with green leaves and tied round with string made of opossum fur. This is attached to the desiccated tail of a native dog, and hung upon a neck-lace which is worn by the *guguba* or maternal uncle of the lad's mother.

The youth's body is greased and white stripes of paint drawn upon his back, and from his forehead down his nose, chest and stomach, extending right down to the end of his penis. A belt is put round his waist, and green, leafy boughs fastened in it to represent an apron or *burrandity*. A forked green bough is fastened on each shoulder.

By the time these preparations have been completed it is well on in the afternoon, and the novice is kept in a quiet place out of the way of traffic. Most of the men and women are away hunting, and return to the main camp about an hour before sundown, and commence preparations for the evening meal. When everybody is busy dressing and cooking the results of the day's hunting, the graduate is brought out suddenly and runs in amongst them, shouting Hoh! hoh! yeh! yeh! waho! He jumps and shakes his legs like the men do at corroborees. In one hand he carries a piece of smouldering bark, around the proximal end of which green twigs are tied. In the other hand he holds a club or other weapon, with which he occasionally taps the burning bark, making sparks fly in all directions.

He promenades from one group of hunters to another all about the camp, gesticulating and shouting in the same way. He then withdraws to the place prepared for him near the men's quarters, where his guardian and a few old chiefs look after him for the night. He sleeps with the forked boughs on his shoulders, but next morning he casts

them away. His guardian then provides him with a bag, *dhulangmunna*, made of kangaroo skin, with a loop made of string attached, so that it can be slung over the shoulder. His head is freshly plastered with clay, and the painting of his body is also renewed.

The graduate passes the loop over one shoulder, letting the *dhulangmunna* hang under his arm on the opposite side. In this bag he carries excrement of dogs and other filth. He starts away at a sort of jog, shouting, and goes to a camp in which is a girl who has been betrothed to him. She steps forth and puts some stinking fish, maggotty flesh or the like, into his bag.

He passes on to another camp where a man or woman will perhaps call out "Tyibbauga! fetch me some water." He answers, "waho!" and taking the vessel offered to him, scampers off to the creek or water-hole and brings back a small quantity of water with dirt in it. The person refuses this, and then the novice goes and brings good water. Several different persons may make the same request, and be similarly responded to.

Some one will ask him for food and he offers them some of the evil-smelling commodities out of his bag, or perhaps he brings them a few bare bones. Or he may offer them stones, leaves, or grass. An old man may want him to bring some firewood. He goes and gets a small stick about as thick as a man's finger and a foot or two long, which he carries on his shoulder, pretending to groan under its great weight and throws it on the fire.

Some days he carries in his bag a live "sleepy lizard" or a snake out of which the poison fangs have been taken by means of a stick. In passing women and children sitting down he casts the reptile in amongst them, which scatters them hither and thither. He is not permitted, however, to catch hold of a woman, or to interfere with

any of her work. Another time he collects a few rotten toadstools, pieces of putrid meat, pounded charcoal, or human excreta, and proceeds on his rounds. He will raise a loud lamentation, and on the people running to him to see what is the matter, he pelts them with the contents of his bag. Perhaps he has in his bag a live opossum from which all the fur has been plucked. He suddenly liberates the animal, which runs away among the spectators.

If he finds a little boy going about by himself, he picks him up and runs towards a water hole with him, pretending he is going to drown him. On being pursued by the child's mother, or another woman, he lets him drop, and goes on. Whilst travelling through the camp he is constantly gesticulating in an indecent manner, and if he has to comply with any necessity of nature, he does it wherever he happens to be at the moment, in view of everyone.

If the graduate sees some men sitting at a camp, he will challenge them to come and wrestle with him. If they are roasting a small animal on the coals, he may rush up and upset it into the dirt, or cast filth upon it, or perhaps he will take hold of it and put it into his bag.

If a number of women or girls are bathing in a river or waterhole near the camp, he sneaks up close to them under cover of some bushes, and suddenly dashes out shouting and gesticulating to make them believe that enemies are assailing them. Several men run to the rescue, pretending they think some wild blacks have attacked the women, and the graduate disappears.

The guardian renews the painting of the novice's body and the sides of his head every morning and sees that the contents of his bag are satisfactory. He also provides the youth with a burning brand, composed of two pieces of dry bark placed side by side, which he carries in his hand, enveloped in green leaves. As soon as this bark smoulders

away, it is replaced. The novice usually carries a weapon, as a shield, a club, a spear, a tomahawk; it is the guardian's duty to supply him with these.

Young women who are eligible to the graduate in marriage, encourage him by replenishing his bag, and potential brothers-in-law afford him every opportunity of displaying his buffoonery. At intervals during all the peculiar ceremonial practises of the graduate, above described, he calls out "Hoh! Hey! Waho!" whilst perambulating the camp. Sometimes he jumps and quivers his legs; at other times he goes at a jog, swinging his body from side to side; or any comical attitude in which he has been carefully drilled by his guardian. Where there is a chance of introducing the obscene or phallic element, it is taken advantage of.

It is part of the ordinary routine of the ceremony that a number of demands shall be made upon the novice during his peregrinations. Every man or woman who wishes to assist him in consummating the prescribed ritual calls out "Tyibbauga!" and is answered by the shout "Waho!" The order is then given and it is the duty of the novice to comply with the requests of the people, or at any rate make a pretence of doing so.

The guardian or sponsor of the graduate is somewhere within view all the time, and when the evening approaches he takes his ward back to their own camping place, where he attends to all his wants and "coaches" him for the duties of the next day. These itinerary performances, with variations, continue from day to day until the hair, which was singed off, begins to grow again. None of the performances above described are ever enacted by the youth during the night time, but are confined exclusively to the day.

When the council of old men considers that all the necessary procedure has been gone through, the perambulation of the camp is discontinued, and the youth is taken

to the single men's quarters, where a place has been assigned to him. He is not allowed to go into the women's camp, nor must he converse with any woman whom he meets. The guardian and his people then give presents of spears, rugs and other articles to the graduate's father and his people; and the latter in return make gifts to the guardian's friends, at a meeting which has been held for that purpose. The graduate has now attained the final step in the initiatory course, and after a time he will be allowed to claim the bride who has been betrothed to him, and exercise the rights and burdens of tribal membership.

THE DOLGARITY CEREMONY.

Another form of initiation ceremony, called *Dol-gar-ritty*, of which the following is a condensed description, was practised among the tribes who formerly roamed over the north-western districts of Victoria from the Avoca River westward to the South Australian boundary, and extending from the Murray River southerly to the main range. The following particulars were gathered by me in the native camps.

The preliminaries connected with convoking the neighbouring tribes at an appointed meeting place were substantially the same as those adopted in the Wonggoa, but there was no circular enclosure like the *guanga* at the main encampment. There was, however, a level portion of ground cleared of all loose sticks and rubbish, for the purpose of dancing on.

As soon as all the tribes who are expected in answer to the summons of the messengers have made their appearance the chief men of each contingent consult together, and fix the day on which the principal function of the meeting

¹ For the language of these people, see my article on "Die Sprache des Tyeddywurru-Stammes der Eingebornen von Victoria," *Mittel. d. Anthropol. Gesellsch. in Wien*, Bd. xxxiv., S. 71-76.

shall commence. They also choose the boys who are to be operated upon, but this information is not communicated to the women. When the eventful morning arrives, all the people get up at daybreak, and congregate in a central portion of the camping ground. All the boys are mustered out of the whole camp and are put sitting in a row on green boughs or pieces of bark spread on the ground for the purpose. Several men who have been selected to take charge of the boys are standing opposite, and have been carefully instructed by the chiefs what boys are to be picked out from among the large number who are sitting in the row in front of them. The time of life at which a youth is considered ready for the ordeal is determined by the first appearance of hair on the pubes and chin.

Each man has a small quantity of pipe-clay, in a liquid state, concealed in his mouth. One of these men, pretending to discern a stranger in the distance, says to his comrades "Who is that coming yonder?" Another man answers, "Probably some one to see the boys." This causes the youths to turn their heads rearward to look at the supposed new comer. As soon as they do so, each man puts his forefinger into his mouth and pulls it out covered with pipe-clay; and on the boys again facing round to the front, the men step up to them, and with their fingers draw a white line down the faces of those who have been chosen, from the forehead to the chin. This is a signal to the women, as well as to all the other people in the camp, that the youths thus marked have been taken possession of by the elders, and the remainder of the boys in the row are then dismissed.

The men who have been deputed to act as guardians to the novices now take charge of them and paint their bodies with red ochre and grease—the hair of their heads being combed with pointed sticks and decorated with white

feathers. When all is ready a number of men armed with spears surround the boys and their guardians, shouting and beating their weapons together, and all of them march away. The mothers of the novices, as well as the other women present, make a pretence of resistance by gesticulating frantically and throwing small sticks over the heads of the men, but do not attempt to follow them.

Rugs are then thrown over the heads of the graduates and they are conducted about a quarter or half a mile into the bush, and put sitting down on bushes, in charge of a few feeble old men. The strong agile fellows go forward a short distance, for the purpose of painting their bodies and otherwise preparing themselves for their duties. The novices being now alone with the old men, the latter pretend to discuss with each other, so that the boys can overhear them, something to this effect: "All the active young men have gone away and left us poor old fellows to provide for these youths. We cannot climb trees to catch opossums or similar animals or procure honey. Neither can we run after game upon the ground. What shall we do?" Then they chant a melancholy song to suit the occasion, and some of them pinch the ears of the dogs to make them howl. This has a very depressing effect upon the poor novices who are sitting motionless, with the rugs still over their heads, so that they can see nothing of what is going on around them. Presently one of the old men says, encouragingly, "Never mind, we will do our best to obtain food for the boys and ourselves. We can climb leaning trees for opossums, and perhaps catch a few fish, or procure some yams and grubs." After a while they help the novices to their feet and lead them along till they reach the place where the other men went to a short time before. They induce the novices to believe that they have accidentally come upon their friends again. Each graduate is now given

into the charge of the man who is to act as his guardian and sponsor throughout the remainder of the proceedings. The guardian must not belong to the novice's own people, but is selected from one of the visiting tribes into which the lad could lawfully marry later on.

The whole party now starts away and proceeds to a secluded locality previously agreed upon, perhaps some miles distant, where a camp is formed and the graduates are placed lying down on a layer of green leaves upon the ground, and are covered over with cloaks or grass—their guardians remaining with them. A fence of boughs is erected around where the boys are lying, to protect them from the wind. This yard resembles a horse-shoe in shape, with the open end to leeward, and all the men make their own camps in close proximity. Between the quarters of the novices and those of the men a space is cleared of all sticks and grass, and one or more fires lighted beside it. In the evening, after the youths have partaken of their allowance of food, they are placed sitting in a row near this prepared spot, and the men go through various semidramatic performances, consisting of imitating the characteristic movements and calls of different animals, and indulging in many obscene gesticulations which are usually practised on similar occasions, described by me in treating of the inaugural rites of other tribes.

At the close of the evening's functions, all hands lie down to rest. During the night the boys are not allowed to sleep soundly. The guardians keep continual watch, relieving each other in turn. Just as a lad drops off to sleep he is roused up again. Next morning the men go out in quest of game, but the guardians remain with the boys all day and prevent them from going to sleep. That evening shortly after dark, a number of young men, under the direction of the elders, provide themselves with large green

boughs, and run past where the novices are lying, shaking and rustling the boughs, thumping their feet on the ground, and uttering humming sounds in imitation of the roaring of the wind. If any small saplings are growing near, they are snapped off with a crash by some of the men. This rushing past may be repeated several times, to make the lads believe a violent tornado is blowing. When the "storm" ceases, men and boys seek their night's repose, but the latter are awakened at short intervals, as before.

On the following day the depilation of the graduates is commenced. The boys are carried out of the yard and placed on their backs on couches of green bushes. They are so worn out by having been kept awake so long that they are in a state of semi-slumber and take but little notice of what is done to them. A man sits down beside each novice and begins pulling out the hair from the pubes, under the arms and the incipient beard. When one man becomes tired he is replaced by another; or two men may be employed on the same youth. Beeswax or gum is used upon the ends of the fingers to facilitate catching the hair, which is pulled out singly. The men of the novice's own tribe do not take part in the hair-plucking operation—this duty devolving upon the men of some of the strange tribes present. The pluckers must be men who have been initiated in the same way at previous gatherings, and are the potential brothers-in-law of the respective novices who are assigned to them. The youth is not allowed to see the face of the man who pulls out his hair, but must keep his eyes closed.

Some of the headmen of each tribe sit on the ground near by directing the proceedings, and a bullroarer, *bumbir-bumbir*, is sounded in the vicinity. The hair pulled out of each youth is kept carefully by itself, and is given into the charge of one of his relatives, in the same way that the

extracted tooth is disposed of in other districts. When the plucking out of the hair has been completed, the novices are raised to their feet by their guardians and other men, amid the plaudits of the assemblage. Each graduate is then painted, and invested with a brow-band, *mullengaran*; a man's waistbelt, *ngejir*; an apron, *pain-dyip*. Strips of the skin and fur of a ring-tail opossum are fastened round the biceps and the fore-arm—each arm being bound in three or four places. Kangaroos' teeth are fixed in the lad's hair, and a neck-lace, *djakurn*, made of pieces of reed on a string, is placed around his neck. The novices are then cautioned in an impressive and earnest manner against divulging the details of what they have passed through to any person except the initiated.

Next morning after breakfast the men start out hunting, taking the graduates with them. The latter are freshly greased and painted, and carry a small green bush under each arm. When one of the novices becomes thirsty, he is allowed to crouch down on his elbows and toes at the margin of a pool or stream, and suck up the water into his mouth through a hollow reed which is given to him. The guardian stands alongside and places his foot under the boy's throat, for the purpose of making the swallowing of the liquid difficult and slow, so that he may not drink too much.

During the day the novices are brought within view of a kangaroo, wallaby or other animal lying dead upon the ground. Several men are walking about it, imitating eagle-hawks and making the peculiar whistling call of that bird. Upon being disturbed, they run along swaying their arms up and down to represent the flapping of the wings of these large birds to enable them to raise their heavy bodies from the ground when they commence to fly away from their prey. Sometimes this performance is varied by the men representing crows instead of eagle-hawks. In such case, the action and cry of the crow is mimicked.

One evening by the light of the camp fires, a man takes a small stick about fifteen or twenty inches in length, and binds a piece of the pelt of some animal, newly skinned, on one end, which he inserts into his anus, the free end of the stick having previously been lighted in the fire. The man now moves back into the darkness, swaying his rump with the fiery caudal appendage from side to side, in imitation of the bird known as the "willy-wagtail." Several men may engage in this performance and sing the prescribed song.

A week or more may be spent at these camping places in the bush, the time being regulated by the weather and other considerations. The programme of performances changes every day, and each dramatic entertainment has its own appropriate song, which is chanted by the men engaged in it, or by the old men sitting near the fire. The graduates are shewn the larger bullroarer, *bumbir-bumbir*, and also the smaller one, *mattyamuk*, who is the wife of the former.

In the remainder of the ceremony, from this point onwards to the end, the procedure closely resembles the corresponding portions of the Wonggoa, already described, and will therefore be passed over. The graduates have to pass through this ordeal of depilation at not less than two or three different meetings of the tribes for that purpose before they can be admitted to full membership, and be called *birnapkil*.¹

NOTES ON THE INITIATION OF GIRLS.

During several interviews with an old woman of the Wuddiyawurru tribe respecting the language and customs

¹ Compare the foregoing summary with my description of the "Initiation Ceremonies of the Barkunjee Tribes," who adjoin the people herein dealt with.—*Journ. Roy. Soc., N.S.W.*, Vol. xxxii., pp. 241-255, with map of territory. See also my "Mulyerra-Initiations-ceremonie," *Mitteil. d. Anthrop. Gesellsch. in Wien*, Band xxxiv., S. 77-83.

of her people, I obtained the following information respecting the initiation of girls. At the first sign of the menstrual flux, the girl is taken charge of by an elderly female, who is not her mother, and is removed into the adjacent bush. They are accompanied by some young matrons who help the old woman in her duties. After painting the novitiate, her arms are decorated with strings cut from the skin of the ring-tail opossum, with the fur on. These strings are bound round the upper arm about midway between the shoulder and the elbow and also round the thick part of the forearm. The strings are not wound tightly on the arm, but like any other bandage which closely fits the limb bound, they cause the arm to swell after wearing them for some time.

The old dame, assisted by those who are with her, builds a fire by laying wood upon the ground and applying fire until it is well ignited. Green bushes are then laid on top of the fire, and on top of this covering of bushes earth and sand are thrown to prevent the wood from blazing up, and to augment the issue of smoke. Two of the women present help the novice to get on top of this smouldering heap. When she has remained in the smoke for a considerable time, the old woman hands the girl a yamstick, with which she jumps off her smoking pedestal.

In the meantime, a hut or shelter has been erected of boughs, into which the novice is put by herself and she sleeps there all night—the other women sleeping a few yards away. Next day the smoking ceremony is repeated in the same manner, morning and afternoon. This procedure is continued until the novitiate is cleansed. The bandages are then removed from the girl's arms and she is painted as before. A girdle manufactured from the fur of animals is now put round her waist, from which depends a narrow apron, *ngurraty*, made of emu feathers, covering

her pudendæ. When the novice has passed through this ordeal she is called *ngurrandurrakurk*, an initiated woman, and may be claimed in marriage by the man to whom she was assigned from her childhood.

Among the Yota-yota and adjoining tribes on the Murray River, the ceremony of "making young women" is called *dhuddiwai*, and may be described shortly as follows: When a girl reaches puberty she is taken away some distance from the camp by an old female relative. A moderately large fire is lit, and when it burns quite down, the embers and ashes are scraped off. Green leaves are then strewn thickly upon this warm ground, and the girl is placed sitting on top of the leaves until she is clean, being looked after by the old women who are there. The first flux is called *durgugginutj*, but a woman during her monthly period at any time thereafter is called *gatyibulla*. When the novice passes through this ceremony she is known as *dhuddiwai*, and is painted like the other women of the tribe.

On the Mitta Mitta and Ovens Rivers the following is a brief outline of the procedure as told to me by an old native: At the first appearance of puberty, the girl is taken out of the camp by some old women, and her body is anointed all over with opossum fat and ground charcoal. The fresh skin of a ring-tail opossum is procured and cut into very narrow strips. These strands, with the fur remaining upon them, are then twisted until they become small, rounded strings, resembling cords. The arms of the girl, both above and below the elbow, are then bandaged with a few coils of this string. She is now lifted into the fork of a sapling or tree, from six to eight feet above the ground.

A fire is lighted at the butt of the tree, on the windward side of it, and a number of green boughs laid upon it. Presently a dense smoke is produced, which ascends up around the girl, the quantity of fume being regulated so

that it shall not suffocate her. This lasts for some hours, when the novice is removed to a camp close at hand, where she and her companions remain for the night. The same ceremonial is repeated for a day or two longer, or until the old women are satisfied that their object has been attained. A waist-belt is now given to the girl, to which is attached a small apron, *dyabeng*, which hangs down in front. She is now qualified to become a wife.

After a married woman has a child, she and her babe must be smoked by her old women friends, before she can appear in the main camp. See also "Childbirth," *ante*.

ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

Under this head will be recounted a few of the fabulous or romantic stories current among the aborigines of New South Wales and Victoria, which have been written down by me from the mouths of the old men and women from time to time. The folklore of any primitive people is always valuable, as showing the bent of the human mind in its earliest development, in accordance with the different surroundings and conditions of life. Many native stories are a mixture of legend, folklore and superstitious belief, and could perhaps be classed under one or other of these designations. I shall not, however, trouble with any classification at present, beyond trying to include specimens of the different kinds of tales.

Throughout their folklore we find evidences of the proclivity of the native mind to account for any specialities of animal structure or peculiar habits, as well as the remarkable forms of lakes, rivers, trees, hills, and other natural phenomena. In perusing all the different classes of tales, we find ourselves revelling in a new field of wonder and beauty—the fairy land of Australian romance and poetry.

Mythologic ancestors and fabulous monsters—a class of genii—form a conspicuous element in their legends. Some

of these magical beings reside in the mountains, others in dense scrubs, others in the clouds. Some have their abode in deep waterholes, others live in the trees, others again have bodies which glow like burning coals. Some of them have the power of altering their shape, or of increasing or diminishing their size, at pleasure. Some of them can vanish into the air, whilst others disappear under the ground. All of them, with a few exceptions, are more or less maleficent. Whether in human shape, or as monstrosities, these creatures of aboriginal fancy or exaggeration were possessed of supernatural powers; and many of their habits were different from those of the present race. Some of them could form water-courses; some could cleave mountains asunder and make hills from the material; others had the power of causing springs to burst forth. Some were assisted in their work by means of magical weapons and wonderful dogs.

Obscenity is a prominent characteristic of all Australian folklore. It is persistent in their rock pictures, in their initiation and other ceremonies, as well as in their dances and songs. Where the indecent element has been eliminated by missionaries and others, the peculiar manners and character of the people have lost much of their real personality. Human ordure also has its place in their mythology, as well as in their most important ceremonies. It is supposed to possess many virtues, among which may be mentioned the power of speech, to personify the individual who deposited it. It also enabled a man to catch whatever he was pursuing, by the magical effect of its odour. Human fat also holds an important place in native enchantments.

If the various ceremonies of the aborigines can be called a religion, it amounts to no more than a mystery and a craft, in which the old sorcerers and warriors are the chief personages. Sometimes a sorcerer was supposed to intercept

the fleeting spirit of a dying person and so save his life. Others professed to chase away supernatural enemies by their menaces and gramarye. Others pretended they could ameliorate the cold of winter by casting hot coals towards certain stars. Some professed to be able to cure disease by enchantment. Others again claimed to have the power of bringing rain and causing the food supply to increase by means of magic arts.

Stories similar in character to those recounted in the following pages are found in every tribe throughout all the Australian States. Necessary local variations are introduced in different districts, to accord with divergent practices and modes of living, but the radical elements are the same. Moreover, the animals which took part in these folk-tales, everywhere in Australia had the same phratries, sections, clans, etc., as the people of the tribe where the tale is current.

In every part of Australia which I have visited, the bat and the night-jar hold a peculiar place in the superstitions of the people and figure largely in their stories. The former is the friend of all the men and the latter of all the women. In some tribes the woodpecker (tree-creeper) is substituted for the small night-jar. Rev. L. E. Threlkeld was the first to discover and report these specific totems of the two sexes. In his grammar and vocabulary published in 1834 he states:—" *Tilmun*, a small bird the size of a thrush is supposed by the women to be the first maker of women, or to be a woman transformed after death into that bird; it runs up trees like a woodpecker. These birds are held in veneration by the women only. The bat, *kolung-kolung*, is held in veneration on the same ground by the men, who suppose the animal (bat) a mere transformation."

Baiame.—A little better than half a mile westerly from the railway station at Byrock, on the Western Railway

Line, 460 miles from Sydney, town of Byrock, parish of Bye, county of Cowper, there is an outcrop of granite, about an acre or more in extent. It is irregular in shape and does not project more than a few feet above the surrounding country, which is practically level. The aboriginal name of this granitic outcrop is *Bai*, a word signifying the semen of men and animals.

On various parts of the exposed surface of the rock there are a number of patches of a reddish-brown colour, the staining being due to oxides of iron introduced by natural agencies. These stained patches vary in size from a few inches to several feet. They are of different forms, and the imagination of the natives has assumed certain ferruginous outlines to represent hunting and fighting weapons, utensils, tracks of men and animals, sacred instruments, and other objects connected with their daily life. I made a rough survey by compass and pacing of the positions of some of the most important of these delineations, and submit the following descriptions of them.

Near the northern extremity of the rock is a small hole in which water collects in rainy weather and also during every thunderstorm which falls, and remains for a considerable time. This little "rockhole," called in the native language *wuggarbuggarnea*, was a great camping place of the aborigines when this part of the country was first occupied by European settlers. And there is still residing, in close proximity, the remnant of the old Ngēumba tribe, accompanied by a few friendly aborigines from the surrounding country.

Baiamē, the principal hero in the mythology of these people, is said to have had his home at this rock in the far-away past. He dug the water hole with his stone hatchet, and everytime it became blunt during the operation, he whetted it on the surface near him. The pictorial stains

on the rock are believed to have been caused by Baiamē laying down his magical weapons and other articles of his equipment at different places upon it, the impressions of which cannot be effaced.

About half a chain north-easterly from the rock-hole is a natural depression in which sand and drifted soil collect. This is supposed to have been the hole in which Baiamē cooked his game and other articles of diet. S. 45° E. from the cooking-hole, and thirty-five links distant, is a very good figure of a bullroarer (*muddhiga*), eighteen inches long and nine inches across the widest part. Continuing the same south-east bearing for a farther distance of 140 links brings us to the imprint of a prodigious fighting club, six and a half feet in length by nine inches wide, called *dhurtubirra*. Starting from this club and going south for two hundred and fifteen links we come to a figure which has some resemblance to a monstrous boomerang, nine feet and a quarter long by eighteen inches in width. Again starting from the *dhurtubirra* or club on a bearing of S. 40° W. we find another boomerang-like formation, two feet nine inches long and nine inches wide.

Close to rock-hole *wuggarbuggarnea*, is a narrow, coloured streak, trending in a westerly direction for several yards, which is said to be one of Baiamē's spears. On a bearing of N. 25° W., from the rock-hole, at the distance of 25 links is a *gululla* or native bag carried by the men, three feet long, with a string attached for swinging it over the shoulder.

On another portion of the rock is a tolerably good representation of a human footmark, two feet long and nine inches across the widest part. It is the right foot, and has five toes, the great-toe being about twice the length of the others.

Here and there at wide intervals on the rock surface are grooves worn by the actual grinding or sharpening of stone

hatchets, similar to the grinding places reported and illustrated in my article.¹ These grooves have been made by the present and past generations of natives, who have lived and hunted in the neighbourhood. A portable stone carried by the natives in their bags, and used for whetting any of their stone weapons, is called *giwui*. At other places there are hollows in the rock where Baiamē is believed to have pounded nuts and ground grass-seed for the purpose of making cakes.

There is a long straight crack in the rock, varying from two to three feet in width, and about a foot and a half deep, commencing at the rock-hole and bearing S. 25° E. for about two chains and a quarter to the smaller boomerang above described, and onward for a little way farther. This is said to be the trail along which Baiamē dragged his fire-wood and larger game. It also served the purpose then, as at present, of conducting storm water into the rock-hole. Further imaginary portrayings include tracks of dogs and other animals, the moon, stars and different objects, which I had not time to examine.

Several miles from Byrock, near Oronga Peak woolshed, on the road going to Wilgaroon, there is a tank or dam which has been made for watering stock. On the left of the road in this locality, and not far from the tank, is a large rock called *Gu-lum-bur* in the native speech. On this rock are some ferruginous stains similar to those already described, which are said to be the marks of Baiamē's rump where he sat down to rest himself, his foot, his hand, etc. At what is now the great copper mines at Cobar there was formerly a cave or hole in the rock, which was one of the camping places of Baiamē in the days of long

¹ "Some Stone Implements Used by the Aborigines of New South Wales," Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, Vol. xxviii., pp. 301-305, pl. 43, fig. 3.

ago. This hole sloped inwards, and there was red ochre on its sides. Kūbbūr in the native word for red ochre, and has been corrupted to Cobar by the white people. The old aborigines told me that before the copper mines were worked, there were footmarks, boomerangs, bullroarers, and other delineations on the rocks. The ore of copper visible on the surface was believed to be Baiamē's excrement deposited during his residence in the cave.

It is related that Baiamē started from Cobar after a wild bee, on the feet of which he had put bird's down. He followed the insect all the way to a large rock at Wittaguna, in a cleft of which was the honey comb, which Baiamē succeeded in securing. There is still a bee's nest in that rock, but ordinary mortals cannot reach far enough into the crack to get at the honey.

Baiamē then went away northwards and formed a camp in the solitudes of a forest. All the large trees lean towards the camp from all surrounding points,¹ but the small shrubs and berry-bearing trees grow straight up. Hanging from the branches of the larger trees are bullroarers which are always sounding. [Wongaibon and Wirraidyurri Tribe.]

Dhurramulan.—Dhurramulan was a sort of half brother or near relative of Baiamē's. His name is made up from *dhurru*, thigh, and *mulan*, one side, the whole name meaning leg-on-one-side, as he is said to possess one leg only. He is also called *ngullagelung*, from *ngulla*, a tree, because he lives in the trees. He had a voice like the rumbling of distant thunder. It fell to his lot to separate the youths from their mothers and teach them the Burbung ceremonies. Dhurramulan had a fire or oven in the bush, in the bottom

¹ Compare with my "Journey to Kurilwan," the fabled home of Baiame among the Kamilaroi tribes. Folklore of the Australian Aborigines, (Sydney, 1899) pp. 15-19.

of which were stones, which were kept continually hot. The novices were brought to this place, with rugs cast over their heads, so that they could see nothing of what was going on around them. Dhurramulan caught a boy and hit him on the back of the head, which caused one of his front upper incisors to fall out. The tooth, by Dhurramulan's gramarye, then became a *gunabillang*, or rock crystal, a sacred stone used in these ceremonies of initiation. He then cast the lad into the fire and scorched all his hair off. Sometimes he burnt the boy to ashes, and being a great sorcerer, was able to restore him to human shape. He fed the lads on wallumbil, a small wood lizard, which they were obliged to eat raw. He also gave them his own excrement to eat, and when they were thirsty, they drank his urine.

Eventually, Dhurramulan went into different kinds of trees, where he still resides, excepting during those times when the initiation ceremonies are in progress. A piece of wood, cut from any tree will make a *muddhiga* or bull-roarer, which is also frequently called Dhurramulan, on account of its humming sound, which represents his voice. On the boles of some trees in the bush, generally between the base and the first branches, there are circular or irregular protuberances, some of which project outwards half a foot or more. On the top surface of many of these excrescences there are fairly flat or level places, on which Dhurramulan is said to have a fancy for sitting or lying to rest himself when he comes out of the tree. These protuberances or calabashes are called *dhunung* by the Wir-raidyuri people, and some of the old men told me that they have sometimes found the upper side of a *dhunung* worn smooth by Dhurramulan's repeated occupation. Like some other Australian heroes, he has the magical power of changing his shape, and making his body smaller or

larger at pleasure, from the size of a little lizard or bird, to that of a giant.

Miscellaneous Superstitions.—The Darkinung people had a mythic malevolent creature resembling a man whose body had a red glow like burning coals, who had his abode in rocky places on the sides and tops of mountains. Fathers used to warn their sons to keep away from such spots. His name was Ghindaring, and his image was marked upon the ground at their initiation ceremonies, with a vessel containing human blood laid upon his breast.¹

Gu-ru-ngaty is the name of an aquatic monster among the Thurrawal and Gundungurra tribes. He resides in deep waterholes, and would drown and eat strange blacks, but would not harm his own people. He usually climbed a tree near the water, from which he kept a look out. If he saw a stranger approaching, he slid down and dived into the water, without making a splash, or leaving any ripples on the surface. As soon as the individual began to drink, he was caught by Gurungaty.

Mumuga is another fabled monster of the Thurrawal, possessing great strength and residing in caves in mountainous country. He has very short arms and legs, with hair all over his body but none on his head. He cannot run very fast, but when he is pursuing a blackfellow he evacuates all the time as he runs, and the abominable smell of the ordure overcomes the individual, so that he is easily captured. If the person who is attacked has a fire stick in his hand, the stink of Mumuga has no effect upon him.

The Wongaibon natives believe that a spirit or wicked person named Gurugula hovers about in the clouds and in the air overhead. If he smells the fat of any animal,

¹ See my "Burbung of the Darkinung Tribe," *Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, Vol. x, N.S., p. 3; also "The Darkinung Language and Vocabulary," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. xxxiii., pp. 271-281.

especially of fish, being burnt in the fire at night, he gets very angry. In order not to provoke Gurugula, all cooking is done in the day time; and even then the people are careful not to let any fat burn during the process. The Thurawal and Thoorga people have a similar story. The effect of such a superstition as this would be to preserve the fat for greasing their bodies and other purposes.

Gūram'bugang is the Thurawal name of a small, smooth-skinned dark-coloured lizard seen among rocks and about logs. Women and children are forbidden to injure this animal. If a man gets a piece of grit, an insect, or other irritating substance in his eye, he catches the lid in his finger and thumb and moves it up and down, opening and shutting the eye, repeating in a singing tone:

Bindi, bindi, gurambugang

Dill, dill, dill!

The meaning is, "Wake up, wake up, guram'bugang"—*dill* being merely a request to the injured eye to open. The man continues to repeat these words and moving the eyelid, till the object falls out of the eye.

If children throw sticks, stones, or any missile at a bat, *Kubbugang*, it will cause their thumbs to become short. If they point at that animal, to show its location to anyone, they must point with the thumb, and not with the finger. [Thurawal tribe.]

Among the Ngeumba tribe, women and children of both sexes must not look at the birds known as swifts, *pulluru*, which fly high in the air, or silliness would be the consequence. These birds are believed to be the harbingers of rain, but if the women look up at them, it would prevent the rain coming. The swift is a Kubbi and belongs to the guaimundhun caste.

In the legendary period it was unlawful for women to converse with dogs, the consequence being somewhat

similar to the fate of Lot's wife. The following are some examples:—Among the Wirraidyuri tribes there is a story that on one occasion during the period the youths were away in the bush going through the course of initiation, a dog left the party and went away back to where the women were camped. They asked the dog where their sons were and what they were doing, and he told them, whereupon all the women and children were transformed to stone. This happened near Lake Cudgellico, where there are some rocks of different sizes, which at a distance, and good stretch of imagination, bear some similarity to women and children sitting down.

The natives of the south-east coast of New South Wales have a legend that two women were out in the bush, gathering *burrawang* seeds for food, which they placed in their net-bags, *kurama*. During the day they met a dog carrying a mullet, *murra-murra*, and asked him where he caught it. Upon his answering their question, they were immediately changed into stone, together with their bags of burrawangs and their yamsticks, *gawalang*. Rocks bearing a fanciful resemblance to these women are pointed out at a place on the hills between the Kangaroo Valley and the coast.

If very bad thunder and lightning occur during the night, the old men hold burning sticks in their hands and call out to *Merribi*, the thunder, to go away to another place which they name, and request him to take the lightning with him as a torch, to show him light to fish for *bulundgulong*, a small black fish. [Thoorga tribe.]

Upon the death of a native in the Wimmera district of Victoria, the clever old men and relatives of the deceased sit up through the night and watch the corpse. They suddenly observe the *muruk* or ghost appearing at the body, but do not see whence it came. After a short stay it goes

away towards the *miyur* of its clan. The *muruk* of the slayer also comes to look at the corpse. The old men see him approaching stealthily, and after looking at the body he retraces his steps and disappears in the direction of his own hunting grounds. Having ascertained by this means whom to retaliate upon, they patiently wait for an opportunity to avenge their comrade's death. See "Pirimbir" expedition in this treatise, *ante*.

Among the natives at Byrock, New South Wales, when anyone is dangerously ill, the old wizards proceed a little distance from the camp towards the setting sun and go through some incantations for the purpose of inviting the spirits of the sick person's friends to come and see him. One old man lies down on the ground and the others form a circle around him several yards distant, so that they can chase the spirits toward the man on the ground. The object of the ceremony is to intercept the shade or warrungun of the invalid when it is trying to run away towards the west. If the old man succeed in capturing the spirit in some green leaves which he holds in his hand, and take it to the sick man, he will recover; if he fail to catch the spirit, the patient will die. The spirit is called warrungun.

The Kamilaroi people say that after death, their spirits or internal parts, called *Gandhaddigiba*, go away up the Barwon River and live under the mountains at the sources of that stream.

On the Upper Lachlan River, flying foxes were supposed to be clever fellows who, in the days of long ago, used to travel about spying out the location of their enemies. They could make themselves small and hang on the branches of trees, so that any one who saw them would think they were only loose pieces of bark. Upon becoming flying foxes they continued their old method of camping.

Some of the Wirraidyuri tribes had the following ceremony for making rain. An old man took the rump of an emu, the bone of a kangaroo's leg and a white stone, all tied together. He then dived into a hole of water, carrying the parcel with him to the bottom, for the purpose of saturating it with water. On coming to the surface again, he swayed it backward and forward toward the west, muttering incantations all the time. If he happened to see a fragment of cloud coming up, he put the apparatus into the waterhole near the bank, and waited for the rain.

The Wongaibon people call the mirage *kullugu-kulli*, literally, shingleback's water, because it is believed to be a mythic or magical water which supports the *kullu* or shingleback, a kind of lizard which always lives out on the arid plains far from water. Some of the Wirraidyuri tribes thought the mirage was the smoke made by the fires of supernatural beings, when cooking their game out on the plains.

In the Thurawal tribe the following observance was in vogue for bringing down showers. A *mayulu* or doctor got a piece of kurrajong bark, which he laid on a log and beat with a stick till it became soft and flexible. Then he took some stringybark and pounded it in the same way and wrapped it around the kurrajong bark, and bound the whole with string. This parcel was placed in a water hole, and was believed to have the power of causing rain.

Another superstition which is firmly rooted among all Australian tribes, is that of transmigration or reincarnation. Ever since the time when New South Wales was first settled by Governor Phillip, we have heard of the inveterate belief of the blacks that they would reappear in the form of other men after death. Buckley, the white man who spent so many years with the wild natives of Port Phillip, Victoria, is said to have owed his life to their

assuming that he was one of themselves who had come to life again. A similar belief was discovered at Port Lincoln, South Australia, in 1846, by Mr. Schürmann, who says, "they certainly believe in the pre-existence of the souls of black men."¹

It is stated in Rev. G. Taplin's work, that among the Nimbaldi tribe, about Mount Freezing in South Australia, a spirit called Muree, which may be either a male or a female, meets a black woman, and throws a small waddy, *weetchu*, under her thumb nail, or under the great toe nail, and so enters the woman's body. In due time she gives birth to a child.²

Rev. Duncan Mackillop reports that on the Daly River, Northern Territory, the souls of children are supposed to be shut up in certain hills, scattered over the country, and are given out when an infant is to be born.³ Superstitions substantially the same in character as those above referred to, in various forms to suit surrounding circumstances, have been observed in every part of Australia where investigations have been made.

Dyillagamberra, the Rainmaker.—The natives of the south-east coast of New South Wales have a legend that a mystic personage named Dyillagamberra once lived among them. When he went away from them he travelled up the valley of the Tuross River, and at short intervals dug holes or springs, some on the sides of the hills and others on the tops. This was to secure a supply of water for his people, and the waterholes still remain. He made these lagoons and springs all the way till he got to a mountain the natives call Barrity'-burra at the head of the Tuross River.

¹ "Native Tribes of South Australia," p. 235.

² "Folklore, Manners, etc., South Australian Aborigines," (Adelaide, 1879), p. 88.

³ Trans. Roy. Soc. South Australia, Vol. xvii., (1893) p. 262.

There is a deep lagoon or large waterhole at the foot of the mountain, said to contain all kinds of fish which frequent either the sea or the fresh water. In this lagoon there is plenty of *nyiuun* (congevoi) attached to the rocks around the margin or projecting above the surface of the water. A large rock overhangs one side of the lagoon, and away in one of its dark corners is the camping place of Dyillagamberra, who lives upon the fish and congevoi.¹ On the hillside, above the waterhole, the ground is strewn with different kinds of shells, such as oyster shells, cockle-shells, mussel shells and the like.

In time of drought, if two or three old men go to this lagoon and ask Dyillagamberra to make rain, he pours immense quantities of water out of the hole, and causes a flood in the Tuross river, accompanied by great rain. When asking Dyillagamberra to cause showers, the old men go through certain ceremonial incantations, and throw a stone into the lagoon to produce a surface ripple. They also mention the locality and the people affected by the drought. Sometimes the rain comes so suddenly that the people have to seek shelter in caves, or in hollow trees, or under large logs. Occasionally the showers are accompanied by hail.

How the Wongaibon obtained Fire.—In the far-away past the aborigines had no fire, but had to cook their meat in the sun. After a while it was observed that two old women, *ginma*, the kangaroo-rat, and *gunmar*, the bronze-wing-pigeon, always had sweet, tender meat to eat. They had a small bag in which they carried the fire, shut up in a nut of the needle-bush or *thinku*. These women used to go out into the bush by themselves and cook whatever game they caught, and put the fire out. Different members of the tribe tried to find out what was done by the two women in the bush, but all to no purpose, because they

¹ *Colocasia macrorrhiza*.

were too vigilant. At last the night owl, *büllür*, undertook to watch them. This bird is the colour of the bark of trees and sits motionless, so that it is very hard to see him as he sits on the upper side of a branch.

Büllür went away ahead, making a wide detour, and climbed a tree near a waterhole where the women used to go. By and by they made their appearance, carrying a fine fat iguana, and camped under the tree in which the man was watching. They gathered some sticks and grass and took the needle-bush nut out of their bag. The fire came out of the nut and kindled the wood, and while they were cooking the iguana, one of the women stood waving her hands to and fro above the fire, to keep the smoke from ascending, while she sang:

Ngullu ngulludhur bütthu büddha.

As soon as the meat was cooked the fire was again put into the nut, after which the women had a hearty meal which made Bullur's mouth water. When the day got cooler they started back to the camp, and as soon as they were out of sight, Bullur followed their example. When he reported the details he had observed regarding the fire, a council was held and it was decided to hold a big corroboree, and invite the two fire-women to favour it with their presence. It was hoped that the women might be seized with a fit of laughter, or become so absorbed in the performances, as to relax their attention to the bag containing the fire, and thus give some dexterous fellow a chance to snatch it up and run away with it.

When all the people had assembled on the corroboree ground, the chief actors were painted in different colours and performed in their most mirth-provoking style; but it was all unavailing. The *gimma* and the *yummar* sat stoically beside each other, with the precious bag held between them, as if it had more claims upon their attention than

all the hilarity which was going on in front of them. Then some renowned dancers from an adjoining tribe were asked to come and try if they could provoke the risibility of the two old women. The pelican, *wirraia*, and the black-and-white magpie, *kurruruvur*, came to the camp and executed some wonderfully farcical performances, but their joint endeavours were equally ineffectual.

The old men considered the acquisition of fire of such great importance to their people that they decided to ask still another tribe to send some of their most laughter-exciting players. In response to this invitation two comical characters volunteered—the black cockatoo, *bilir*, and the shingleback, *lulu*. After some preliminary manoeuvres by less distinguished men had been disposed of, the shingleback danced along, to and fro, on the point of his tail, evacuating as he did so. This made a decided impression on the two women, and arrested their attention, but they still remained tolerably self-possessed. The black cockatoo now jumped along among the performers, with his lower bowel protruding through the anal orifice, and ordure mixed with blood running down his tail. This exhibition proved irresistible to the women, who broke out into uncontrollable laughter and rolled over on the ground.

This was the opportunity so long sought for. The sparrowhawk, *girriki*, picked up the women's bag and ran away a little distance, where he upset its contents upon the ground. This liberated the fire, which spread in all directions among the dry grass. The sparrowhawk followed the fire and "sang" to encourage it to go faster. By his magic he produced a whirlwind which accelerated the spread of the flames. As it blazed along, he put some of it into every tree of the forest, both soft wood and hard wood, so that fire can now be obtained by rubbing the two kinds of wood together.

Ever since that corroboree the black cockatoo has reddish stains on the feathers which grow on the under side of his tail. Evidence of the glare of the flame also appears on the back and head of the sparrow-hawk.

How water was obtained by the Kamilaroi people.—On the Melli and Gwydir Rivers, in the Kamilaroi country, the natives say that in olden times there was no water on the surface of the ground. The people had to depend upon showers, the dew, and such moisture as they could procure from roots of trees and vines. The iguana, *yurundiali*, however, knew of a spot where there was a hole in a rock, at which he used to quench his thirst and then place a stone over the top of it, so that it was hidden from the eyes of passing strangers.

His fellows often noticed greenish layers or deposits, such as usually float on the surface of water, about the iguana's jaws and on his head, when he came into camp, but they could get no explanation from him. He always looked sleek and contented, and never went in quest of vines or similar substances. Attempts had frequently been made to watch him when he went out hunting, but he was too adroit to let anyone see him drinking. The sandpiper, *billidhu*, at length volunteered to go out and see if he could discover the iguana's secret.

Next day the iguana started away by himself, and so did the sandpiper. This bird has a habit of running along a little way, and stopping suddenly, as still as a statue. Then he makes another short run, and comes to another abrupt standstill. He learnt this habit from dodging about after the iguana, and has kept it up ever since. He kept his eye constantly on the iguana, and every time that animal looked in his direction, he came to a sudden stop, and was easily mistaken for a dried stick projecting from a log, or for the stump of a sapling. After a while the iguana climbed a

tree and pulled a young opossum out of a hollow spout, and after some exertion swallowed it.

Then the iguana changed his direction and went towards a stony ridge. As he walked along he gazed around him suspiciously and frequently, which increased the billidhu's watchfulness. On nearing a flat rock, he approached it cautiously and slowly, pretending he was tracking some animal. The billidhu now kept coming nearer and nearer, and every time the iguana turned his head towards him he stood still. The iguana finally halted and began removing the loose stone which covered the water, which enabled the billidhu to come quite close. A last look around satisfied the iguana that no one was within view, and he dipped his mouth into the water to take a draught. By this time the billidhu was alongside, and raising his tomahawk cleft the iguana's skull open. As the billidhu had not the talismanic secret of shutting down the water, it flowed out and filled all the hollow places, so that everybody had plenty of water, which has continued till the present time.

The Dhiel and her Water-trough.—The *dhi-el* is a small night jar, which remains in the hollow spouts of trees during the day, and comes out in the night time, feeding upon berry-bearing shrubs. This bird was a woman—a being of mystery—in the far-away past and had two dogs, the soldier ant and the leech. She generally camped some distance back from watering places, and carried water for her own use in a native trough, or *kuddjil*, of magical proportions and manufacture. Dhiel was very friendly to all the people of her own sex, but would kill and eat boys and men. When a girl attained the age of puberty, she was taken by some old female relatives into the bush, where she was treated in accordance with the regulations briefly described under the head of "Initiation of Women" in earlier pages of this work. Dhiel always assisted on such occasions.

It chanced on a day that two blackfellows who were out hunting became very thirsty and went to her camp to ask for a drink. She replied that there was very little water in the kuddyl, and suggested that they had better both dip their heads into it together, so that each might get some. As soon as they did this, the kuddyl closed up around their necks and made them fast. The soldier ant immediately commenced to sting their bodies, and the leech which was in the trough began to bite their tongues, while Dhiel herself beat them with her yamstick. When they were dead, she roasted them, and she and her dogs fared sumptuously for many days.

After a while, when the two men did not return to their own camp, two of their friends went in quest of them into the dry hinterland. In the afternoon they were sorely pressed with thirst and approached Dhiel's camp to beg a drink of water. She received them with the same duplicity as the former pair, and they met the same fate. Several searchers went out, and were similarly disposed of by Dhiel and her dogs. At last the crow determined to go out by himself, in the hope of finding out what mysterious disaster had befallen his comrades. He, like his predecessors, got thirsty and went to Dhiel's camp to ask for a drink. She told him there was just a little water in the bottom of the kuddyl and invited him to put in his head and drink. He carried a charmed shield and when he bent his head into the trough, he held the shield in front of him, reaching from his chest to his chin. The leech jumped at his tongue and the kuddyl attempted to shut upon him as usual, but the magical shield prevented it.

The crow became very angry and ran after Dhiel to kill her. She ran, screaming, first round a *dhurri* or white emu-bush; then around the *yerriai*, or apple bush; next the *dhikku*, or black emu-bush; then the mulga tree; and lastly

the grey box. The crow at length overtook Dhiel and killed her, as well as her dogs, and broke the enchanted kuddyl to pieces with his club. Dhiel's voice went into all the trees around which she was chased by the crow. At the initiation ceremonies the blackfellows use a *munibear*,¹ or small bulroarer which is manufactured from the wood of any of the trees above mentioned. When the old women at the *Burbung* ring hear the munibear sounding in the adjacent bush, they say to each other, "That is our *kut-thainga* or playmate, calling out to us." [Wirraidyuri Tribe.]

Yandhangga.—Another kind of fabulous being is Yandhangga, a small man, with a long beard flowing down to his waist. He has a stone tomahawk naturally formed on his right elbow, with which he kills blackfellows and procures game. On this account he carries everything in the left hand. After killing a man, he skins him and makes a bag out of the pelt for carrying water into the dry sandhills and ridges where he goes hunting. If a blackfellow is walking along and observes Yandhangga, he will probably begin thinking to himself what a queer looking man that is. Yandhangga will then call out to him, "What are you saying about me?" The blackfellow will reply that he said nothing. Thereupon Yandhangga tells the man what his thoughts were, where he is from, and the names of his relatives. After that he kills and skins him; but if the man is some distant connection of his own, he allows him to proceed. I was unable to learn whether the blacks ascribed this supernatural knowledge of Yandhangga to his reading the man's thoughts, or whether it was supposed to be due to his omniscience. [Wongaibon Tribe.]

¹ See my "Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes," in which I have described the munibear and its uses, Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. xxv., p. 298, pl. 26, fig. 39 (May 1896).

The Moon and its Halo.—Two women were carrying the moon, *giwa*, seated on a pole between them, across the Culgoa River. In midstream the moon was either thrown off, or tumbled off the pole into the water and was washed down and drowned. After a while he came to life again, and went out into the mulga country near the Warrego River. He stripped a lot of bark off leopard-wood trees, and his reflection can be seen on the bark of this kind of tree ever since. He carried all the bark which he had stripped a long way, to a place on what is now known as the Multaguna run, and made a large camp for himself. He saw a mob of blacks and invited them to come and see him corroboreeing.

He had his bark propped up with forks all round the corroboree ground, and asked the people, men and women, to come inside the ring of bark. One man was outside and the moon said to bring him in also. A woman who had just given birth to a baby was sitting down a little way off, and *giwa* told them to fetch her to the corroboree too. After he had "opened the ball," he said, "Now, all of you must keep your eyes cast on the ground and don't look at me for a little while." He then went round and pulled down his leopard-tree bark quickly, which fell on top of the people, crushing and smothering them all.

The halo, or large ring sometimes seen around the moon during a moist state of the atmosphere, represents the ring of leopard-wood bark under which the people were suffocated. The scene of the catastrophe is now a small lake on Multaguna Station. All the details of this story would occupy many times the space I have been able to afford in this article. [Kurnu Tribe, Darling River.]

Two Young Men and the Moon.—*Giwa* the moon had two young relatives who had been trained to know some magic. He was a heavy, corpulent old man, not able to

hunt much himself, so he had several dogs to help him. His dogs were the bull-dog ant, the brown snake and some others. The two young fellows mostly accompanied the old man and assisted him in procuring food, but he did not treat them well. If they caught a number of opossums and brought them to the camp, *Giwa* used to cook them, and split them open, and eat the fleshy parts of the legs and all the choice portions of the bodies himself, giving the young men the back-bones and the heads. When they brought home a buck opossum for themselves, old *Giwa* waited till their backs were turned, and cut off the opossum's scrotal pouch with its contents, healing up the wound by his magic, and then insisted that the animal was a doe, which, consequently, the youths were forbidden to eat, by the tribal laws.

Owing to his continual greediness the lads determined to separate from the old man, but were rather afraid of his powers as a wizard. They used to lie behind him in the camp, and, because he could not turn round easily, he called out "Are you fellows there?" and they answered "Yes." He rather suspected they would leave him, so he asked this question frequently. At last they started off early one morning, but before doing so they defecated copiously on the ground a little way from the old fellow, and by their gramarye conferred the power of speech upon the deposit, to enable it to respond to *Giwa's* queries. Every time the moon enquired "Are you fellows there?" the ordure replied in the affirmative.

The young men came upon an emu, which they speared and carried on the top of a flat rock which protruded a few feet above the surface of the ground. Having lit a fire on the rock, they commenced cooking the emu, but suddenly remembered that this bird was taboo to them, and consulted as to how this difficulty could be surmounted. Being clever

fellows, they could pitch their voice so that it could be heard a longer distance than the speech of ordinary mortals. They called out to their aged relative to come and see them, and he at once got up in surprise to find them gone. The ordure was now silent and Giwa started off in the direction whence the call had come.

When the youths saw him coming, they had recourse to their magical functions and caused the rock on which they were standing to rise perpendicularly out of the ground about twenty feet. They then called out "Look, grandfather, what we have here," raising the emu into view. He told them to throw it down to him, upon which they cut off a slice from the fattest part of the body, and cast it to Giwa. He caught it in his hands, but seeing it was mostly fat, he threw it back to the lads.

This was a piece of artfulness on the part of the youths. The flesh of the emu is forbidden to young people, who cannot eat it till given to them by an old man. When Giwa threw the portion of emu to the boys, they greased their mouths with the fat, and ate the morsel of flesh which was attached to it. They were now released from their taboo, and could eat the animal which they had roasted.

They now asked Giwa to go and cut a sapling to lean against the rock, so that he could climb up and join them in the feast. He accordingly estimated the length of the pole he would require, and went into the forest to get it. While he was away the youths caused the rock to rise some ten feet higher, consequently, when Giwa brought his sapling it did not reach the top. The boys suggested that he should go and find a longer pole, and in his absence they again added to the height of the rock. Giwa went away the third time to cut another pole, and succeeded on this occasion, because the rock had not increased in height during the interval.

Giwa prepared himself for the ascent, but on looking round at his dogs, he asked the youths what he should do with these. They suggested that he should put them in his shoulder bag and bring them with him. He adopted their advice, and commenced climbing the pole, but owing to handling the emu fat as stated above, his hands were greasy and slippery. However, after much struggling, he managed to reach within a few feet of the top, when the youths caught hold of the pole and turned it rapidly round. This had the effect of causing Giwa to lose his hold, and he fell heavily to the ground on his back, killing his dogs and injuring his spine. As he lay there, he sang a song while the youths were enjoying their feast on the top of the rock. This song has to be sung to the present day, when anyone is allowed to eat emu flesh for the first time. Giwa walked with a great stoop for some days after his fall, which is the reason that the new moon always appears bent. [Wongaibon Tribes.]

The Yarroma.—This is a creature closely resembling a man, but of greater stature, and having hair all over the body. Its mouth is large, which enables it to swallow a blackfellow whole, without mastication. There are generally two of these monsters together, and they stand back to back, so that they can see in every direction. Their method of locomotion is by a series of long jumps, and at every jump their genital appendages strike the ground, making a loud, sudden noise, like the report of a gun, or the cracking of a stockwhip.

Yarromas have short legs and large, long feet, of a different shape to the feet of a human being. When one of these monsters is heard in the vicinity of a native camp during the evening, the people keep silent and rub their genitalia with their hands, and puff or spit in his direction. Some of the headmen or doctors shout out the name of some

locality a long way off, and the Yaroma is supposed to depart to that place. If they cannot be dispersed by this means, the men take sticks which have been lighted in the fire—a stick in each hand—and strike them together to throw out sparks. This usually causes the Yaroma to disappear into the ground, making a flash of light as he does so. If a man be pursued by a Yaroma his only means of escape is to jump into a waterhole and swim about, because these creatures cannot wet their feet. They have long teeth which they sharpen on rocks in the high ranges; and some of the old men aver that they know of rocks where there still remain marks of this grinding.

On one occasion, a blackfellow went under a large fig tree to pick up ripe figs, which had fallen to the ground, when a Yaroma, which was hidden in a hollow place in the base of the tree, rushed out and catching hold of the man, swallowed him head first. It happened that the victim was a man of unusual length, measuring more than a foot taller than the majority of his countrymen. Owing to this circumstance, the Yaroma was not able to gulp him farther than the calves of his legs, leaving his feet protruding from the monster's mouth, thus keeping it open and allowing the air to descend to the man's nostrils, which saved him from suffocation. The Yaroma soon began to feel a nausea similar to what occurs when a piece of fishbone or other substance gets stuck in one's throat. He went to the bank of the river close by and took a drink of water to moisten his throat, thinking by this means to suck into his stomach the remainder of his prey, and complete his repast. This was all to no purpose, however, for, becoming sick, the Yaroma vomited the man out on the dry land. He was still alive, but feigned to be dead, in order that he might perhaps have a chance of escape. The Yaroma then started away to bring his mates to assist him to carry the dead man to

their camp. He wished, however, to make quite sure that the man was dead before he left him, and after going but a short distance, he jumped back suddenly, but the man lay quite still. The Yaroma got a piece of grass and tickled the man's feet, and then his nose, but he did not move a muscle. Finally he got a bull-dog ant and made it sting the man's penis, but he never flinched. The Yaroma, thinking he was certainly dead, again started away for help, and when he got a good distance off, the man, seeing his opportunity, got up and ran with all his speed into the water close by, and swam to the opposite shore and so escaped. [South-east coast of N. S. Wales.]

Wallanthagang.—Wallanthagang was a small man-like creature, but very thick-set and strong. He wore a lot of pretty feathers in his hair, and carried a large bundle of light spears. He obtained his food by catching parrots which he speared in the feet, so that their bodies might not be damaged for eating. He frequented the thick tea-tree scrubs and brush in the swamps near Cambewarra mountain, in the Nowra district, because parrots are usually very numerous about there. He had a bag slung over his shoulder in which he carried these birds. Only one of these men are ever seen at the same time, and his camp fire has never been observed, nor any place where he had been camping or resting. The clever old blackfellows can sometimes hear one of these animals calling out yau! yau! yauh! If a blackfellow met Wallanthagang in the bush he would not speak, unless first addressed. He would then imitate what the man said, as if trying to learn the language. The blackfellow would probably think this boy-like personage was poking fun at him, and give Wallanthagang a clout. He would then rush at the blackfellow, and catching hold of him, throw him up several feet into the air, and let him fall heavily upon the ground. This would be repeated many

times in quick succession, until the man became very sick at the stomach and quite helpless. Wallanthagang would now carry the man to a bull-dog ants' nest, and lay him down on top of it, so that these insects might sting him until he recovered. [S. E. Coast of N. S. Wales.]

The Wāwi and Song-makers.—The Wāwi is a serpent-like creature which lives in deep waterholes, and burrows into the bank, where he makes his den. He has a wife and children who camp close to him, but in a different place. A "doctor" or clever man can go and see the Wāwi, but must not go near his family. When a man is going on a visit to this monster he must paint his body all over with red ochre. He then follows after the rainbow some day when there is a thunder-shower; and the end of the rainbow rests over the waterhole in which is the Wāwi's abode. The man then dives under the bank, where he finds the Wāwi, who conducts him into his den and sings him a new song for the corroboree. The man repeats the song after the Wāwi until he has learnt it sufficiently, and then starts back to his own people. When they see him returning, painted red and singing, they know he has been with the Wāwi. The bard then takes a few of the other clever men with him into the bush and they strip pieces of bark off trees, and paint different devices upon them with coloured clays. The pieces of bark ornamented in this way are taken to the corroboree ground, and all the men dance, and sing the new song. This is how new songs and dances are obtained. The Wāwi has the magic power of varying his size from a few inches up to prodigious proportions. The black streak in the Milky Way, towards the Southern Cross, is one of the ancestors of the Wāwi. He encourages snakes and adders to bite the black people. [Wirraidyuri Tribe.]

Achievements of the Brambambults.—In the distant past there lived in the north-western districts of Victoria

two warrior youths, who were brothers, named Bram-bram-bulaty,¹ which in the aboriginal tongue means, Two-Brams. These words the natives have shortened into Brambambult, which is more euphonious and is the name by which the heroes are mostly spoken of. They are sometimes called Barm-barm-bult. I have collected a few examples of the principal exploits of these mythic warriors, as told to me by some old natives. It has been found necessary to abridge the narratives very largely, and to omit portions of them altogether, in order to bring them within reasonable limits for publication in this article:—

1. *The Ngindyal.*—The ngin'-dyal was a bird-like animal, having the shape and feathers of an emu, but of enormous proportions, and was moreover, a great magician. She had her nest at Wombagrük, containing only one egg, on which she sat. She used to kill and eat all the people she could catch. One day a crow came prying about, and the ngindyal ran after him in a furious manner. The crow fled across the country and ran into a cave or hole in the side of a mountain, and came out at the other side. The ngindyal rushed at the hill and struck it with her foot, which split it in two, forming what is now known as Rose's Gap. The ngindyal continued on through the cleft in the mountain and was graining rapidly on the crow till he came to another mountain which was passed over in a similar manner. The chase was continued until the crow reached his own *miyur* or spirit land at Dyrnera,² whither the ngindyal had not the power to intrude, and turned back to her nest.

Shortly afterward the crow left his *miyur*, and returned to his ordinary hunting grounds. It chanced on a day that

¹ See my "The Aboriginal Languages of Victoria," Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales, Vol. xxxvi., p. 84.

² Dyrnera is the fabled water of the clan Wanguguliak, to which the crow belongs. See "Sociology of the Tribes of Western Victoria," in earlier pages of this work.

he met the Brambambult brothers near what is now Jeparit, and told them all about his adventure with the ngindyal. They begged of the crow to come and show them the place, and the three of them started off, but they had a long distance to go. The crow did not care to risk another meeting with the ngindyal, so when he had gone part of the way, he said to the Brambambults, "I'll stop here while you two go on to where I have told you of." But the brothers asked the crow to come on a little way farther. They made this request, not because they wanted his assistance, but because he was helping them to carry their large load of weapons.

The three travelled on again, and presently the Brambambults saw in the distance what they thought was a bright star shining. The crow said "That is her eye; she is there, sitting on her nest." The Brambambults left the crow there and advanced on the foe. The younger brother went round to the farther side, when the ngindyal spied him and got up to have a better view. By this time the elder brother was quite close and hurled a spear, which caught the ngindyal in the breast. She immediately turned round and rushed at him, which gave the younger brother an opportunity of throwing a spear, which wounded the ngindyal in the body. She then bestowed her attention upon the junior assailant which allowed the elder brother a chance to cast another spear.

They kept throwing spears alternately until the ngindyal was considerably subdued by pain and loss of blood, and then drove her before them towards what is now called Horsham Plain. When wity-gurk, the lark, saw the ngindyal coming, pursued by the Brambambults, he came out, carrying a bough in front of him, to hide himself from observation. When he reached within range, he cast a spear with all his force, which struck the ngindyal in the

chest and killed her. The Brambambults were somewhat annoyed with the lark for depriving them of the honour of slaying the ngindyal; but as a common enemy had fallen, they did not quarrel about it.

The Brambambults then split each feather of the ngindyal down the middle, casting one half of the feathers on the right hand side and the other half on the left, making two heaps. One of these heaps of feathers was converted into a cock and the other heap into a hen, of the present race of emus, which are incomparably smaller than the ngindyal. It was also arranged by the sorcery of the Brambambults that all future emus should lay a number of eggs, instead of one only. The splitting of the feathers above mentioned is still easily observable in the feathers of all emus, which are double, or consist of two independent shafts.

All the people then journeyed away to Wombagruk to get the egg on which the ngindyal had been sitting. Although every body tried their best, none of them could lift the egg, till *babim'bal*, a sort of wattle-bird, came. He picked it up and put it into his bag, and carried it to Horsham Plain, where it was cooked and made a great feast. The nest in which the large egg lay is said to be still visible at Wombagruk. The ngindyal now occupies the black patch in the constellation of the Southern Cross, and the crow was changed to a Argus, at a respectful distance from his ancient pursuer.

2. *Ngaut-ngaut*.—Ngaut-ngaut lived out in the Mallee country of Western Victoria, and belonged to the Ngrumbamba-*nguttya* people, in the far-off legendary age. He used to kill blackfellows and suck their blood. It was impossible to hurt him with a spear or any other weapon, except in the tongue, which was the only vulnerable part of his body. The two Brambambults went out to punish

him, and caused a spring to break out at a place called Gurabo, where he used to frequent. Having obtained the leg bone of a kangaroo, they ground the smaller end of it to a sharp, keen point, and placed this weapon, point upward, under the water close to the bank. Then they changed themselves into two dead trees—one on either side of the spring.

One very hot day Ngaut-ngaut came up and looked at the water, but he was suspicious. He came again next day and stood between the two trees, with a hand on each. He shook one of the trees, saying "This is you, Brambambult;" then shaking the other tree, he said, "And this is your brother." Receiving no answer, he shook the trees more forcibly, and could hear bits of the rotten core rumbling down inside, the same as one can hear if a dead, hollow tree be struck heavily with the back of an axe. This satisfied him that they were really trees.

But Ngaut-ngaut still thought there might be enemies lurking about, so he went some distance away to search for them. The Brambambults then began to "sing" quietly to themselves to make him more thirsty, and he came back and shook the trees again with the same result. He went away the third time, but not so far, because his thirst was increasing, owing to the necromancy of the Brambambults. On returning the third time, he put his mouth close to the water, but changed his mind and did not touch it. Then he went away again, but only a little distance. This was repeated a few times to satisfy himself that there was no danger near. He now lay down on his hands and knees and dipped his mouth into the water to drink. The hidden bone spike immediately shot up like a living thing and went through his tongue into his head, killing him on the spot.

3. *Wirnbullain*.—Duan, the flying-squirrel, followed a kangaroo from somewhere near Stawell, and it ran away northerly down the Wimmera River, forming the present watercourse. The kangaroo grazed a long time about Lake Hindmarsh, eating the grass quite bare, and formed the lake. It went on and grazed about Lake Albacutya where another lake was formed in the same way. From there it travelled on to Lake Wonga, where it was overtaken and killed by Duan. While he was cooking the kangaroo, Wirnbullain, the tarantula, came up and commenced fighting with Duan. The latter was getting the worst of it and climbed up into a tree out of the way. Wirnbullain commenced gnawing the base of the tree, and cut it down with a few bites.

When Duan felt the tree falling, he bounded or flew into another tree close by. Wirnbullain proceeded to cut this tree down too, and Duan flew into another one. Then Wirnbullain called his two daughters to come and stand at the butt of the tree in which Duan had taken refuge, until he himself cut down all the surrounding trees for some distance. Wirnbullain next commenced cutting down the tree occupied by Duan, and as there were no more trees close enough for him to fly into, he was caught by Wirnbullain and his daughters, who killed him. They carried his body to their camp, as well as the carcase of the kangaroo which he had caught and feasted on them for several days.

The Brambambults were nephews of Duan—his sister's children. When Duan did not come back to his camp in a reasonable time, these two young fellows, accompanied by their mother, Dök, the frog, started away along his tracks. On reaching Lake Hindmarsh, they left their mother there, because she was tired. Going farther on, they met some ants, *mara*, carrying Duan's hair. He wore long hair and

used to dress it with red ochre. The younger Brambambult at once recognized the hair and began to cry, because he knew that his uncle must be dead. The elder brother bade him be of good cheer, that they would by and by ascertain the truth of the matter.

The two brothers wandered on and tracked their uncle to Wonga Lake, where they discovered portions of his body. Upon seeing the trees lying on the ground, which had been cut down by Wiribullain, they at once knew who had killed their uncle. They then tracked Wiribullain to Pine Plain, where they found him with his two daughters. They killed the father and took his two daughters for wives. These girls, however, inherited their father's dexterity in felling trees, which scared the game away when out hunting. If one brother went away round a kangaroo and turned it towards the other brother, who was waiting to spear it, then, just as he was about to launch the weapon, the women would cut down a tree, and the noise of its falling startled the kangaroo, which ran away.

After suffering this annoyance and disappointment from their wives for some time, the Brambambults one day went up to the two sisters, who carried bags across their loins for holding such fruits and yams as they could gather. They pretended that they wanted the women to carry their shields for them, and asked them to turn their backs while they placed the shields in the bags. As soon as this was done, the men chopped the women in the back of the neck and killed them. All tarantulas have had the mark of a shield on the lower part of their backs ever since.

4. *Dyuni-dyunity*.—The Brambambults went to see their brother-in-law, Dyuni-dyunity, the night owl. On reaching the camp, Dyuni-dyunity was out hunting, but his two little sons were there, playing with something which resembled the shoulder blade of a kangaroo. The Bram-

bambults asked their little nephews what bone that was? and they replied, "This is our mother's shoulder blade; our father and we ate the flesh off it this morning for breakfast. Father killed our mother some days ago." The Brambambults became very wrath, because their sister had been murdered and eaten, but they kept it to themselves.

After pondering over the outrage for a while, they asked their nephews to build up a hut, consisting of nothing but dry wood and boughs, and make a small door in one side of it. They told the boys that the building was for their father to sleep in that night, when he returned from his hunting, as it looked like rain. The Brambambults then went away and pitched their camp some distance off.

By and by Dyuni-dyunity returned and enquired of his sons why they had built the hut. They replied that their uncles had been to see them, and pointed out their camp fire in the distance. This alarmed Dyuni-dyunity and he said he would kill the younger Brambambult before long. He started out hunting next morning and brought home human flesh. It was his custom every day to search about for blackfellows, whom he killed and secured the daintiest parts of their bodies, which he carried to his camp for himself and his boys. He cooked some of the flesh and sent a portion by his sons to the Brambambults' camp, but they refused it, saying that they had plenty of meat of their own. Moreover, they told the lads that they were going right away the same afternoon, into another part of the country, and asked them to tell their father so. This was a ruse to throw Dyuni-dyunity off his guard and make him feel confident in his security while he slumbered through the night. But the Brambambults only moved into a patch of scrub, where they hid themselves.

That evening the Brambambults, who were clever wizards, caused a heavy downpour of rain, which made

Dyuni-dyunity and his children seek shelter in the hut which had been erected, and all of them went sound asleep. During the small hours of next morning, after the rain had ceased, the Brambambults went cautiously to the camp of their brother-in-law, and found them all slumbering. They carefully and noiselessly lifted the two lads and carried them out of the hut—the elder Brambambult carrying the elder boy and the younger Brambambult taking the younger—and placed them lying on the grass out of the way of danger. Then they set fire to the inflammable material of which the hut was constructed, and it was soon enveloped in flame.

Dyuni-dyunity did not feel the heat for some time, because he had very long hair all over his body. When at length he became aware of his position, he sprang to his feet and picking up one of his clubs, struck out all around him, thinking that his enemies the Brambambults might be within reach of his blows. His club came in contact with the poles supporting the building and displaced them, causing the fire to burn all the fiercer. It had, in fact, the same effect as what we call "poking the fire." Presently the whole burning mass fell down on top of Dyuni-dyunity, suffocating him and consuming his body.

The Brambambults carried their two nephews away to their own camp, where they all slept till after sunrise. The boys were then told to go to their father's camp for breakfast, but when they reached it there was nothing but cinders and burnt bones. The boys, who had much of their father's cruel nature in them, then returned to Brambambult's camp, and told the younger brother that they would kill him and take out his liver, to furnish them with breakfast. The elder brother then said, "These boys will probably try to kill us some day in revenge for their father." They accordingly fell upon the lads and destroyed them.

The site of Dyuni-dyunity's camp, where the conflagration took place is still pointed out by the natives, about a day's journey northwards from Cow Plain. There is a rocky outcrop, mixed with calcareous fragments which are said to be the charred bones of Dyuni-dyunity.

5. *Gartuk*.—Another time the Brambambults came to the camp of Gartuk, the mopeke, a Guro-gity man, who was a great hunter and had several dogs of different kinds, one of which was the sparrow-hawk. They asked Gartuk if he had any flesh to give them, as they were hungry. He falsely replied that he had plenty of does, but no bucks. The Brambambults were not at this time released from their taboo of female animals, and consequently could not eat the meat which Gartuk churlishly offered them. The Brambambults were vexed with Gartuk for his want of hospitality, and started away. In a short time they discovered a tree, in the fork of which was a recess, *dyattgar*, containing some water, of which they had a good drink.

It may be explained that some trees, at about ten or twenty feet from the ground, or higher than that, are forked into two large branches. If this fork is split slightly open by a wind-storm while the tree is growing, the wood around the injured part decays and rots, forming in course of time a cavity into the centre of the bole of the tree. During rainy weather the water runs down the branches into this hollow part and fills it till it runs over. Such water remains for a long time, being replenished by every shower. A tree of this kind is readily distinguished by bushmen, owing to the discolouration of the bark caused by the overflowing of the water from the cavity down the outside of the bole of the tree.

The brothers now returned to Gartuk's camp and invited him to come with all his dogs and have a drink. Arrived at the tree, they told him to take his dogs under his arms,

so that both he and they could get a share of the water. When the hunter and his dogs got into the dyattiar, the Brambambults by their enchantments made the entrance to the recess close up, shutting them all inside. The brothers journeyed on, and left them there.

After a time, during which Gartuk had eaten his dogs to sustain his own life, Babim'bal, a bird like the wattle-bird, and his brother Bimbin, the woodpecker, came wandering about the tree and heard Gartuk calling out for help. Babimbal was anxious to release his friend from his confinement, but wished to exercise sufficient care not to injure him by a chop of his tomahawk. Tapping the outside of the tree at a certain place, he asked Gartuk if he should chop a hole there. Gartuk replied, "No, that is my belly." Babimbal tapped on another part of the bole and enquired if it would be safe to chop at that spot, and got the answer, "No, that is my eyes." Other interrogations elicited the replies "That is my back," "That is my knees," and similar warnings.

By this time the patience of the rescuers was exhausted. Bimbin chopped into the tree and accidentally cut Gartuk on the stomach, the scar of which accounts for the white place on the Mopoke's belly to this day. At the same time Babimbal, who was a very strong fellow, split the tree down from above with heavy chops of his hatchet, so that all the rotten wood, and earthy matter inside of the bole rolled down on Gartuk's head. The large bunch of feathers on the Mopoke's head is due to the mass of rubbish which fell upon his skull on that occasion.

When Gartuk recovered, he pondered over how he should be revenged upon the Brambambults. Some days after this event he saw a cyclone coming. He ran to his camp and got a large bag, made of kangaroo skin, into which he let the cyclone rush, and tied it up securely. Another cyclone

came in a few day's time, which Gartuk bagged in the same way. He waited until a third hurricane blew, and he secured it in another bag, which he placed with the rest.

Then Gartuk wanted to know where his enemies were, and learnt that they were camped near Mukbilli. So he started away carrying his skin bags. On getting within view of Brambambult's camp, he opened his three bags simultaneously and liberated all the cyclones. The elder Brambambult caught hold of a dog-wood tree and told his brother to get a secure hold of a wattle tree. Dök, a frog, the mother of the two youths, went into the ground. By this time the triple-cyclone was upon them, and the two trees were swayed and twisted in every direction. The wattle tree was torn out of the ground and carried into the air, taking the younger Brambambult with it. The dog-wood tree withstood the hurricane.

When the fierceness of the storm had passed, the elder brother let go his hold of the tree and Dök came out of the ground. Upon searching about they could find no trace of the younger boy. The mother took hold of one of her teats and squirted out some milk, to determine the direction in which her son had been swept by the hurricane. The elder Brambambult then started off along the course indicated by his mother's milk, and came to a place where his brother had been fishing for eels, but had changed himself into a small red-gum tree owing to the nankeen bird making such weird noises. When the elder brother saw the tree he recognized his brother by the way he was standing, being similar to his attitude when he stood as a tree to watch Ngaut-ngaut. Upon speaking to the tree, it regained the human shape, and the two brothers went back and met their mother.

At some time subsequent to the events related in the foregoing pages, the Brambambults took their place in the

heavens as α and β Centauri, whilst the mother, Dök, was transformed into α Crucis. The mother and her two sons belong to the clan and miyur Pattyangal, and phratry Gamaty.

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In the following bibliography are given the titles of ninety five different articles written by me on the ethnology of the Australian aborigines, during the past ten years. The original articles enumerated were contributed to some of the leading Societies in Europe, America and Australia, who open their Journals to anthropological subjects. The names of the different Societies are given in the list, with the volumes and pages where my papers appear. In giving the customs of the Australian aborigines the widest publication, my aim throughout has been to induce a student here and there to embark upon this interesting work.

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