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SOCIOLOGY OF SOME AUSTRALIAN TRIBES.

By R. H. MATHEWS, L.S.,
Corres. Memb. Anthropol. Soc. Washington, etc.

[Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, December 6, 1905.]

INTRODUCTORY.

IN 1894, when writing of the marriage systems of certain Australian tribes, I said: "Among the social institutions of a primitive people there is none of greater interest and value to the anthropologist than the study of these social systems." At different times since then I have published a number of articles on the social and other customs of aboriginal tribes in all parts of Australia, but there still remains much unbroken ground in this branch of science.

Last year I reported for the first time certain subdivisions among the Ngeumba and Kamilaroi tribes,² which had quite escaped the observation of all previous writers. I now report for the first time the entire absence of exogamy among the Wongaibon, Kamilaroi, Ngeumba, Wirraidyuri, Barkunjee and other tribes in New South Wales and Victoria. I shall also endeavour to briefly explain the regulations regarding marriage among some tribes in Central Australia. A perusal of these pages will, it is thought, show the fallacy of the hitherto accepted belief in exogamy among Australian tribes and abrogate all the old-school notions respecting their sociology generally.

In any of my previous articles, whether published in this Journal or elsewhere, in which it may be stated that an aboriginal community comprises 'two exogamous divisions,'

¹ *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, (Queensland) x., p. 18.

² This Journal, xxxviii., pp. 209 and 214.

the reader is requested to substitute 'two principal divisions.'

SOCIOLOGY OF THE WOMBAIA TRIBE.

In illustrating this important subject I shall begin with the sociology of the Wombaia tribe, which occupies a large area on Cresswell Creek and Burnett Downs in the Northern Territory. It will be necessary to repeat a table showing the subdivisions of these people.¹ We shall see by this table that the eight sections of women can be classified genealogically into two distinct sets, which we may distinguish as cycles, each set comprising four specific sections of women in the column headed "Wife." Each of the two cycles reproduces its own four sections in a certain rotation and has perpetual succession, as follows:

TABLE I.

Phratry.	Husband.	Wife.	Son.	Daughter.
A	Choolum	Ningulum	Palyarin	Palyareenya
	Jamerum	Palyareenya	Chooralum	Nooralum
	Cheenum	Nooralum	Bungarin	Bungareenya
	Yacomary	Bungareenya	Chingulum	Ningulum
B	Chingulum	Noolum	Yacomary	Yacomareenya
	Bungarin	Yacomareenya	Cheenum	Neenum
	Chooralum	Neenum	Jamerum	Neomarum
	Palyarin	Neomarum	Choolum	Noolum

I consider this the best form in which to prepare a table of the eight section names. The four women of a cycle are placed by themselves, and the quartette of men who are their normal husbands are set down opposite to them. This is the same arrangement which I have adopted in tables illustrating the Kamilaroi, Wongaibon, Wirraidyuri, and other tribes. I have also used similar tables in describing the Yungmunni, Chingalee, Warramonga, Jarrau and other tribes with eight divisions in their social structure in Central and Western Australia.

¹ This Journal, xxxii., p. 75.

I provisionally call each of the cycles a phratry. Then in studying the upper half or Phratry A of the above table, we see that the women in the "wife" and "daughter" columns reproduce each other in a fixed order. The daughters belong to the same phratry or cycle as their mothers but to a different section of it. For example, Ningulum has a daughter Palyareenya; Palyareenya's daughter is Nooralum; Nooralum produces Bungareenya; Bungareenya is the mother of Ningulum, being the section name with which we started, and this series is continually repeated, no matter which name we commence with. Let us designate this series as "Cycle Z." If we take the women in the "Wife" column of Phratry B it is found that Noolum is the mother of Yacomareenya; Yacomareenya produces Neenum; Neenum's daughter is Neomarum; Neomarum has a daughter Noolum. This series also repeats itself for ever and may be distinguished as "Cycle Y."

It is evident therefore, that the women of a cycle or phratry pass successively through each of the four sections of which it is composed in as many generations, the same section name reappearing in the fifth epoch. If the totems were transmitted directly through the women, they would also remain constantly in the same cycle, and reappear in the same rotation as the women. Comprehensive investigations respecting the descent of the totems in the Wombaia tribe and its congeners, however show that the totems do not follow such a law, because the women of a cycle are not coincident with the intermarrying sections shown in Table II.

In Table I. the husbands, wives, sons and daughters are given on the same line across the page. For example, Choolum marries Ningulum, Jamerum marries Palyareenya and so on for all the others. But extended enquiries reveal the fact that a man of any stated section has potential

marital rights over three additional sections of women. Choolum's wife may be either a Ningulum as in Table I., or a Nooralum, or a Neenum, or a Noolum. That is, he can espouse a Ningulum or a Nooralum from phratry A; or a Noolum or a Neenum from phratry B. Consequently Table I. does not represent such a bisection of the community into two intermarrying moieties as would constitute exogamy. This at once raises the crucial question, Is there any real exogamy in the Wombaia or kindred tribes?

Further study of the actual intermarriages demonstrates that the four sections of women into which Choolum can marry are equally liable to be claimed as wives, though in a different order, by three other sections of men, viz.:—Cheenum, Chooralum and Chingulum. I will now submit another table, showing a category of four sections of women from among whom four specific sections of men must obtain their wives in accordance with aboriginal custom.

TABLE II.			
Phratry.	Husband.	Wife.	Progeny.
A	Choolum	Ningulum	The children of each individual woman are the same as in Table I., quite irrespectively of the name of the husband.
	Cheenum	Nooralum	
	Chooralum	Neenum	
	Chingulum	Noolum	
B	Jamerum	Palyareenya	
	Yacomary	Bungareenya	
	Bungarin	Yacomareenya	
	Palyarin	Neomarum	

In consequence of any specific woman in the "Wife" column of Table II. being eligible for marriage with any one of four different sections of men in the "Husband" column, it becomes evident that such a woman's child's father might have any one of four section names, depending upon which husband she had married. Let us take Palyarin the first name in the "Son" column of Table I. as an example. If his mother, Ningulum, had married

Choolum, he will be Palyarin's direct, or "First" father. If she had mated with Cheenum, he would be the alternative, or "Second" father of Palyarin. If she had taken Chingulum as her husband, he would be the "Third" father. And if Ningulum had married Chooralum, then he would be Palyarin's "Fourth" father. That is to say, it makes no difference to Ningulum which of the four men she marries—her son will be Palyarin just the same. We observe that two of the four possible husbands of Ningulum come from phratry A and two from phratry B in Table I., which is an additional argument against exogamy.

In all cases the section name of the progeny is irrevocably determined through the mother. If Choolum marries Ningulum his children are Palyarin and Palyareenya; if he takes a Nooralum they are Bungarin and Bungareenya; if he chooses a Neenum they are Jamerum and Neomarum; and if he be allotted a Noolum they will be Yacomary and Yacomareenya. See Table I., which exhibits the children of any and every section of women.

Let us provisionally call the category or set of four women noted under the head "Wife" in the upper half of Table II. a phratry. Then it becomes manifest that the men and women of the *same* phratry intermarry among themselves, and consequently there is no exogamy of the sections.¹

Again adopting the phratries as set down in Table II., there could not be any regular succession of the totems, either patriarchal or matriarchal. For example, if we postulate that descent is reckoned through the men, and that the eaglehawk is the totem of Choolum, who has several brothers who all inherit the same animal from their common father. By working out genealogies it can be

¹ Tables II. and III. are introduced merely for illustration. Table I. shows the correct arrangement of the sections and phratries.

demonstrated that this totem would not only be liable to be disseminated through the children of any or all the sections in phratry A, Table II., but in a few generations it could be similarly distributed to the children of some or all the sections in phratry B. Therefore there could not be any totemic partition of the tribe into two phratries or moieties; or in other words there would be no exogamy.

Furthermore, if we assume that succession of the totems is through the women and work out an example from Table II., we shall discover that half the women of each phratry would respectively confer their totems on half the women of the other. All the totems would thus be scattered through both the phratries, rendering exogamy impossible. It appears then that whether we endeavour to trace the totems according to the fathers or the mothers, the result is practically the same.

The section names of the men follow a different order to those of the women—they see-saw from father to son in alternate generations. Thus Choolum has a son Palyarin, and in the next generation Palyarin has a son Choolum, and so on for all the other sections. In 1900 I published a table suggesting how descent might be counted through the men, of which the following is a copy.

TABLE III.

Phatry.	Husband.	Wife.	Son.	Daughter.
A	Choolum	Ningulum	Palyarin	Palyareenya
	Palyarin	Neomarum	Choolum	Noolum
	Cheenum	Nooralum	Bungarin	Bungareenya
	Bungarin	Yacomareenya	Chenum	Neenum
B	Jamerum	Palyareenya	Chooralum	Nooralum
	Chooralum	Neenum	Jamerum	Neomarum
	Yacomary	Bungareenya	Chingulum	Ningulum
	Chingulum	Noolum	Yacomary	Yacomareenya

¹ This statement applies only to Table II. If the totems descended through the women as arranged in Table I., they would remain constantly in the same cycle, similarly to the totems of the Wongaibon and Barkunjee, reported in later pages.

In the table I placed Choolum, Palyarin, Cheenum and Bungerein together, to constitute phratry A, and the remaining four sections formed phratry B. My reason for placing these four sections together was because they represented fathers and sons. Choolum is the "direct" father of Palyarin and the "alternative" father of Bungerein. Palyarin is the "direct" father of Choolum and the "alternative" father of Cheenum.

It seemed to me that if there was any possibility of the succession of the totems being through the men, this would be the best way of ascertaining it. But as soon as I made the discovery that Choolum, as well as all the other sections in the table, had the further right of marrying a third or a fourth section, (Table II.), it became apparent that two of the potential wives of a man of any given section would come from phratry A and the other two from phratry B. No matter in what order these four names may be arranged, it does not alter the fact that they cannot possibly form an exogamous moiety of the tribe.

The foregoing pages illustrate how all the different sections intermarry and are perpetuated. Upon this foundation the actual marriages of specific individuals are regulated by a system of betrothals, which are made after a child is born, and sometimes before that event. The selection of a wife or husband is determined through the grand-parents of the parties to the matrimonial alliance. The following short genealogical tables will elucidate the letterpress:

TABLE IV.

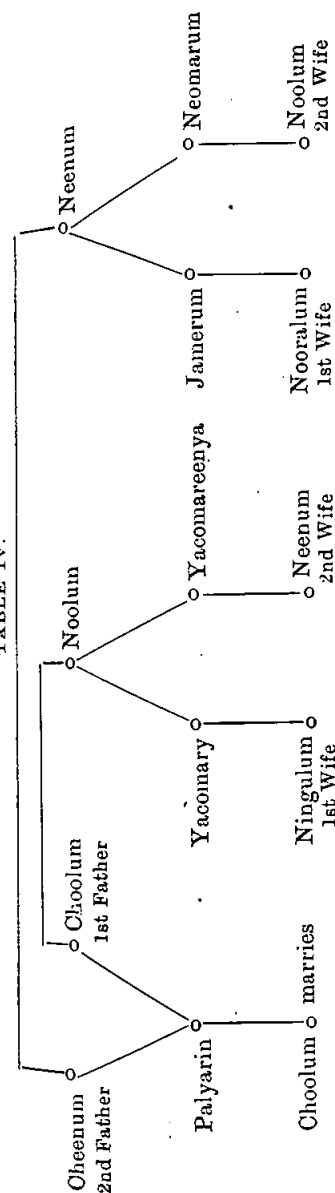
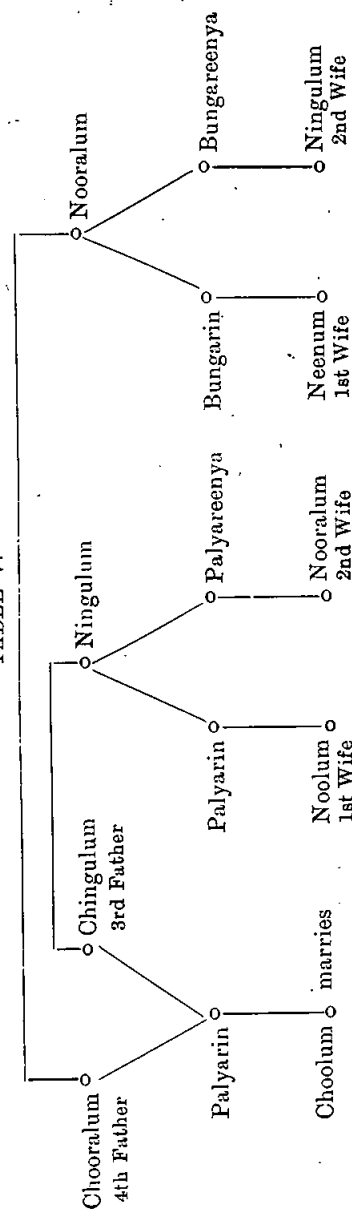


TABLE V.



It was stated in an earlier page that although a man can have but one actual father, yet this father's section name depends upon whom the man's mother had married. A man of any given section may therefore have four different nominal grandfathers. And upon tracing out the genealogies of several families by the continued assistance of trustworthy correspondents who have resided in that district for years, I find that there are, so to speak, four sorts of men in each section—for example, there are four Choolums of different lineage, whom we shall distinguish as Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Looking at Table IV., and in the left side of it, we see that the father of Choolum No. 1 is Palyarin and that Palyarin's direct or "1st Father" is Choolum. Then Choolum No. 1 marries his father's direct or "1st Father's" sister's son's daughter Ningulum as his "1st Wife" already described in Table II. Or he marries his father's "1st Father's" sister's daughter's daughter Neenum as his "2nd Wife."

If we take Choolum No. 2, with another pedigree, still looking at Table IV., then he espouses his father's alternative or "2nd Father's" sister's son's daughter Nooralum as his "1st Wife." Or he takes his father's "2nd Father's" sister's daughter's daughter Noolum as his "2nd Wife."

Perusal of Table V., introduces Choolum No. 3, whose father's "3rd Father" is Chingulum, and also Choolum No. 4, whose father's "4th Father" is Chooralum, but it is expected that the table will speak for itself. It is manifest, therefore, that whatever one of the four specific women which a man of a given section is allowed to take as a wife possesses practically the same relationship to him, although through different channels.

On account of the section name descending through the women, it would have been quite as well, or perhaps better, to have traced Choolum's pedigree back through his mother's father, instead of through his father's father. Looking at Table I., we see that Neomarum is the mother of Choolum. Examination of that table will show us that Neomarum's "1st father" is Chooralum; her "2nd father" is Chingulum; her "3rd father" is Choolum; and her "4th father" is Cheenum. Then Choolum No. 1 would marry his mother's "1st father's" sister's daughter's daughter, Ningulum, as his "1st wife." Or he marries his mother's "1st father's" sister's son's daughter, Neenum, as his "2nd wife" and so on.

According to this arrangement, the normal marriages would be those of a man's daughter's child with his sister's daughter's child. Tables IV. and V. could be easily amended, by a little transposition, for the purpose of showing all the details in full. Among the Wongaibon and Barkunjee tribes, described a few pages onward, if we follow a man's genealogy through his mother, the normal marriage would be that of a man's daughter's child with his sister's daughter's child, and so on, the same as in the Wombaia tribe.

I have placed Choolum and Cheenum together as grandfathers in Table IV. My correspondents in the Northern Territory several years ago informed me that these two sections of men are very friendly amongst themselves, and frequently marry into the same two sections of women, in inverse order.¹ Moreover, referring back to Table I., we observe that Choolum and Cheenum take their direct or tabular wives from the same cycle of women. For similar reasons I have placed Chingulum and Chooralum together as grandfathers in Table V.

¹ This Journal, xxxiv., pp. 123, 129.

According to Table IV., Choolum No. 1 marries a Ningulum or a Neenum, who is represented as his 1st or 2nd wife. Choolum No. 2 is allotted a Nooralum or a Noolum in the same way. Choolum No. 3 (Table V.) espouses a Noolum or a Nooralum. Choolum No. 4 mates with a Neenum or a Ningulum. But there are customary extensions of these rules by means of which any Choolum who is a paternal or maternal grandson of either Choolum or Cheenum (Table IV.) can marry into any one of the four sections mentioned; and any Choolum who is a paternal or maternal grandson of either Chingulum or Chooralum (Table V.) can espouse any one of the same four sections of women.

The sequence in which these marriages take place is as follows:—Choolum No. 1 marries Ningulum, Neenum, Nooralum or Noolum. Choolum No. 2 takes Nooralum, Noolum, Ningulum or Neenum. Choolum No. 3 mates with Noolum, Nooralum, Neenum or Ningulum. Choolum No. 4 espouses Neenum, Ningulum, Noolum or Nooralum.

Study of Tables IV. and V. shows that Choolum No. 1 marries as his first wife a woman belonging to "Cycle Z" mentioned in the explanation of Table I. For his second wife he takes a woman from "Cycle Y." The Choolums Nos. 2, 3 and 4 obtain a wife for each cycle in the same manner. But if Choolum No. 1, or any of the Choolums mentioned, has potential marital rights over the women of all the four sections, as stated in last paragraph, then he might be permitted to vary the order of succession of his possible wives, and select a Ningulum as his "1st" or a Nooralum as his "2nd" wife, and in that case both the women would belong to the same cycle.

When my correspondents in compliance with my request prepared lists of the section names of certain well-known men who were actually married to more than one wife among the Wombaia and other tribes, it became apparent

that the most general custom was to take a "1st" and "2nd" wife from the *same* cycle of women. Instances of polygamy were found, however, in which the wives were from both cycles in accordance with Tables IV. and V.

Although there are four sorts of men in each section—four Choolums for example in that division—they practically resolve themselves into two, namely, those who marry women of the Z Cycle and those who obtain their wives from the Y Cycle (see Table I.). This really amounts to a partition of the Choolum section into two parts instead of four. Again looking at Table I., we observe that Choolum and Cheenum take two of their possible wives, who are at the same time the two most usual, from Cycle Z and the other two from Cycle Y. The remaining two sections of men, Jamerum and Yacomary, do the same. As regards the succession of the totems, this matter has been concisely described in my paper.¹ In that article I stated that "the partition of a tribe into two exogamous portions would be impossible."

Before quitting the eight-section system, it will be well to state that everything which has been said in the preceding pages against the existence of exogamy, refers equally to the Binbingha, Chingalee, Yungmunni, Warramonga, and Arunta tribes. What I have stated is likewise applicable to all the native tribes on the Victoria river, as well as to those on Hall's Creek and surrounding country in the State of Western Australia. There is an indubitable absence of exogamy throughout them all.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE WONGAIBON TRIBES.

The territory of the Wongaibon extends approximately from about Booligal up the Lachlan river to Euabalong, thence to Nyngan, Cobar, Paddington and Ivanhoe. Their

¹ "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland," *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. (Queensland)*, xx., pp. 72-75.

language and initiation ceremonies have already been published by me.¹ Beyond a few fragmentary and inaccurate outlines, practically nothing has hitherto been published respecting the sociology of the Wongaibon community. Several of their subdivisions have never been even mentioned by any author until now. A table will be used to illustrate the letterpress.

TABLE VI.

Phratry.	Husband.	Wife.	Son.	Daughter.
Ngumbūn	Murri	Ippatha	Kumbo	Butha
	Kubbi	Butha	Ippai	Ippatha
Ngurrawan	Ippai	Matha	Kubbi	Kubbitha
	Kumbo	Kubbitha	Murri	Matha

Besides the divisions shown in the table, every individual, male and female alike, claims some animal or plant or other object as his totem. Each phratry and the sections of which it is composed possesses a further distinctive division into Guaigullimba and Guaimundhan, signifying swift blood and sluggish blood respectively. These may be called "blood" divisions or castes. There is still another repartition of the community, which can be distinguished as "shade" divisions. These divisions are in reality an extension of the "blood" castes, and regulate the camping places of the people under the shades of large trees.

Intermarriages are regulated as follows:—A man of the Ngurrawan phratry and Ippai section marries a Ngumbūn woman of the Matha section. This is the normal rule of marriage. In such a case, a man's son's child marries his sister's son's child. But it is quite lawful for Ippai to espouse an Ippatha, which represents the marriage of a man's son's child with his sister's daughter's child. These two alliances are the equivalents of Choolum marrying Ningulum and Noolum respectively in Table IV.

¹ This Journal, xxxvi., pp. 147–154; *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. (Queensland)*, xl., pp. 167–169.

Another variation in the intermarriages of the sections allows the Ippai of our example to wed a Kubbitha or a Butha, corresponding to the marriage of Choolum with Nooralum and Neenum in the Wombaia tribe (Table IV.). In other words, a man of any given section can marry into one or other of the three remaining divisions or else into his own. It is needless to add that these facts altogether disprove the existence of exogamy in the Wongaibon tribe.

Reference to Table VI. shows us that the children follow the phratry or cycle of their mother, but they do not bear the name of her section, but that of the supplementary one, because the women of a cycle reproduce each other in continuous alternation. That is, the section name is invariably determined through the women. The totems remain constantly in the same cycle as the women and are accordingly transmitted from the mother to her progeny. Although the totems, as well as the sections and phratries, are perpetuated through the women, this does not constitute exogamy. We have already shown that an Ippai, for example, can marry into either cycle of women, and consequently a totem of either cycle.

Again, a Guaigullimba mother produces Guaigullimba children, who also take their mother's "shade." The castes of "blood" and "shade" are not necessarily coincident with the other divisions, but apply to any section according to pedigree. In short, they divide the people of every section into two sorts, and are used in tracing out the betrothals and who shall marry whom. There are for example, two sorts of Ippais. If the one who married Matha as already stated, was a Guaigullimba the Ippai who espoused Ippatha would be a Guaimundhun, analogously to the subdivisions of the Choolum section in the Wombaia tribe. An Ippai who could take a Kubbitha for a wife would be a different "blood" from the one who could marry a Butha.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE BARKUNJEE TRIBES.

In 1898 I wrote a paper¹ describing the initiation ceremonies of the Barkunjee and their congeners, accompanied by a map exhibiting the boundaries of the extensive region which they occupied in the western portion of New South Wales. I now desire to very briefly refer to their sociology.

The people of these tribes are segregated into two primary divisions, of which the intermarrying laws and the descent of the progeny will be easily understood from the accompanying table and explanatory letterpress.

TABLE VII.

Phratry.	Husband.	Wife.	Son.	Daughter.
A	Mukkungurra	Kilpungurraga	Kilpungurra	Kilpungurraga
B	Kilpungurra	Mukkungurraga	Mukkungurra	Mukkungurraga

The feminine form of the divisions is distinguished from the masculine by the suffix *ga*. A Mukkungurra usually marries a Kilpungurraga, as in the above table and the resulting offspring are Kilpungurra and Kilpungurraga. In such case a man's son's child marries a sister's son's child. But if a Mukkungurra takes a Mukkungurraga as his conjugal mate, that represents the marriage of a man's son's child with a sister's daughter's child. This conclusively demonstrates that there is no exogamy among the Barkunjee people.

Every man woman and child bears the name of some animal, plant or natural object as his or her totem, which is in all cases inherited from the female parent. There is a further partition of the people into Muggulu and Ngipuru, meaning sluggish blood and swift blood. A Muggulu may belong to either phratry and a Ngipuru individual has the same scope. That is, these "blood" divisions, like the totems, are dispersed indiscriminately throughout the tribal territory.

¹ This Journal, xxxii., pp. 233 - 250.

A man of the Muggulu blood and the Butt shade usually marries a Ngipuru woman of the Branch shade, but this is subject to some irregularities. In regard to the offspring, a Muggulu mother produces Muggulu children, who take their mother's Butt shade; a Ngipuru woman produces Ngipuru children, belonging to the Branch shade. Moreover, the children take the mother's totem.

Intermarriages of individuals of the same totem are forbidden. When a Kilpungurra marries a Mukkungurraga there is no risk of conflict with the totemic regulations. If a Kilpungurra man, however, could mate with any Kilpungurraga, it would be possible for the parties to belong to the same totem; but a Kilpungurraga of the proper lineage could not possibly be of the same "blood caste" as the man.

As an evidence of the importance attached to the "blood" divisions, they are brought into prominence at the scarring of the bodies of the young men during the initiation ceremonies. A Muggulu youth has his shoulders and chest marked with shorter scars, whilst a Ngipuru youth has longer scars, to distinguish one from the other. See my "Mumbirbirri or Scarring the Body."

My remarks on the absence of exogamy among the Barkunjee, apply with equal cogency to all the native tribes who occupied the whole of the western half of Victoria, where the divisions are called Gurogity and Gamaty. Last year I reported certain facts respecting the intermarriages of these divisions, which render exogamy absolutely impossible.²

CONCLUSION.

I have elsewhere stated that whether there are two, or four, or eight divisions of the entire community, the principles which regulate marriage and descent among the

¹ This Journal, xxxviii., pp. 262, seq. ² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 290 and 295.

divisions are identical in them all.¹ I shall endeavour to briefly place an outline of this identity before the reader.

We have seen that the Barkunjee people possess only two divisions or phratries, Table VII. A man of phratry A marries a woman of phratry B. It is also apparent that the men of phratry A, for example, can take their wives from either phratry. This amounts to the statement that the aggregate of men in phratry A can marry all the women in the community.

Next, taking the Wongaibon tribe, Table VI., we find that the two sections, Murri and Kubbi, if taken together, are equal to Mukkungurra of the Barkunjee, and Ippai and Kumbo together represent Kilpungurra. Murri and Kubbi taken jointly marry Butha and Ippatha taken jointly in one phratry. But Murri and Kubbi can jointly marry Matha and Kubbitha taken jointly in the other phratry, which is equal to Mukkungurra espousing Mukkungurraga in the Barkunjee. A little consideration shows us that the Murris and Kubbis taken collectively can marry into the whole four sections of the community.

We now come to the Wombaia divisions, Table I., which on account of their number will occupy a little more space to describe. Choolum and Cheenum, taken together as one person, represent Murri. They marry Ningulum and Nooralum, who together represent Butha, the wife of Murri. Jamerum and Yacomary together represent Kubbi.² They marry Palyareenya and Bungareenya, the daughters of Ningulum and Nooralum, who represent Ippatha, the daughter of Butha and wife of Kubbi. That is, Choolum, Cheenum, Jamerum and Yacomary, collectively, marry all the women in phratry A of Table I., the same as Murri

¹ *Bull. Soc. d' Anthrop. de Paris*, tome II., Serie y., (1901) p. 415.

² These equivalents are only assumed, for the sake of comparison.

and Kubbi marry all the women of a phratry in the Wongaibon tribe, Table VI.

But Choolum and Cheenum, the equivalent of Murri, can also marry Noolum and Neenum the equivalent of Matha. Jamerum and Yacomary, the equivalent of Kubbi, can marry Yacomareenya and Neomarum the equivalent of Kubbitha. That is, Choolum, Cheenum, Jamerum and Yacomary, collectively, can marry all the women in phratry B, the same as Murri and Kubbi can marry all the women of the other phratry in the Wongaibon. Examination of Table I. will show that Choolum, Cheenum, Jamerum and Yacomary, taken in the aggregate, can not only marry all the women in either phratry, but they can intermarry with the whole eight sections of the Wombaia community, Table I., the same as Murri and Kubbi can marry into all the four sections of the Wongaibon.

The four preceding paragraphs may be recapitulated as follows: In the Barkunjee community, a single division, Mukkungurra, represents phratry A. In the Wongaibon tribe, two divisions, Murri and Kubbi constitute phratry A. Among the Wombaia people the four divisions Choolum, Cheenum, Jamerum and Yacomary form phratry A. My examples have all been from one phratry because the same rules apply to both. In all these tribes the women are divided into two primary cycles, groups, phratries, moieties, classes, or whatever name we may employ to distinguish the divisions. It is also manifest that the name of the cycle or phratry to which the progeny belongs is in all cases established through the women, altogether irrespectively of the divisional name of the father.

Perhaps I should state here that in 1898 I described the sociology of the Dippil and other tribes' spread over the region lying between the northern boundary of New South

¹ *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Phila., xxxvii., pp. 327 - 336, with maps.

Wales and the 19th parallel of south latitude which represents more than half of Queensland, which I delineated on a map. In that article I stated that a man of the Barrang section could marry a Barrang woman, a fact which disproves the existence of exogamy in that part of Queensland. In treating the tribes of Cape York Peninsula in 1900 I gave examples of a man marrying into both phratries.¹ Since that time in dealing with the sociology of the Murawarri, Baddyeri and Inchalanchee tribes, reaching from the New South Wales boundary to the Gulf of Carpentaria, I reported some intermarrying laws which are altogether opposed to exogamy.

All the particulars contained in this treatise respecting the Wongaibon and Barkunjee tribes have been collected by myself from the natives personally. My information regarding the Wombaia tribe has been obtained with the aid of trustworthy correspondents who have resided in that part of the country for many years. 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. The present article is necessarily very brief, but it is believed that it will shed much new light on the social organisation of the aboriginal tribes of Central Australia, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, and enable investigators to make a fresh start.

Spencer and Gillen,² have given a table of the eight divisions of the Umbaia (Wombaia) tribe, which cannot possibly represent any practical partition of the sections into cycles, phratries, or moieties. They erroneously state that descent of the sections is through the men, and they are altogether mistaken in asserting that the community is divided into "two exogamous groups."

¹ This Journal, xxxiv., p. 132.

² "Northern Tribes of Central Australia," (London, 1904), pp. 70 and 100.

Dr. A. W. Howitt¹ states that "all Australian tribes are divided into two moieties, each of which is forbidden to marry within itself." He is also in error in speaking of "the segmentation of the community into two exogamous moieties."

Having studied the question of Australian sociology for many years, I am forced to the conclusion that neither promiscuous intercourse of the sexes nor what has been called "group marriage" has ever existed among the social institutions of the aborigines of Australia.² I am equally convinced that the divisions into cycles, phratries and sections have not been deliberately formulated with intent to prevent consanguineous marriages and incest, but have been developed in accordance with surrounding circumstances and conditions of life. This important division of the subject will receive full attention in a future treatise.

¹ "Native Tribes of South-east Australia," (London, 1904) pp. 88 and 284.

² "Les Indigènes d'Australie," *L'Anthropologie*, (Paris, 1902) xiii., p. 240.