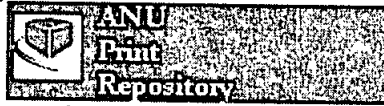


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pedium, Koenig.]

Rubiaceæ—

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P. Br.; *Psychotrophum*, P. Br.]

Campanulaceæ—

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cina, Del.]

Goodeniaceæ—

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Compositæ—

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cephalum, Moench.]

NOTES ON SOME NATIVE TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA.

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Associé étranger Soc. d' Anthrop. de Paris.

[Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, November 7, 1906.]

IN the following pages I shall deal with the sociology, language, and customs of some native tribes located in parts of the continent far removed from each other.

I. SOCIOLOGY OF THE KURNU TRIBE.

In 1902 I contributed a short article to this Society containing an elementary grammar and a Vocabulary of the Kurnū language.¹ In 1904 I forwarded a supplementary grammar of this language to the Anthropological Society in Paris.² In the same year I submitted a description of their initiation ceremonies to the Anthropological Society in Vienna.³ On the present occasion an account of their sociology will be given. This tribe occupies both sides of the Darling River, from Bourke down to Winbar Station, extending back both northward and southward into the hinterland of the Darling for long distances. Their country also reaches up the Warrego River as far as Ford's Bridge, a small village on that stream. The information contained in the three previous articles above referred to, as well as in the present paper, was gathered by me direct from the natives.

The community is nominally divided into two primary cycles, moieties, groups or phratries, whichever of these names we choose to employ for purposes of distinction.

¹ Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales, xxxvi., pp. 154-179.

² Bull. Soc. d' Anthrop. de Paris, Série v., Tome v., pp. 133-139.

³ Mitteil. d. Anthrop. Gesellsch. in Wien., Bd. xxxiv., pp. 77-83.

These cycles are named Mükungurra and Kilpungurra, with their feminine equivalents formed by suffixing *ga* to the masculine name. The Mükungurra cycle is again divided into two sections called Murruri and Kubberi, and the Kilpungurra cycle is similarly divided into two, called Ibburi and Ngumburi. In each of these four sections the names of the women are modified so as to distinguish them from those of the men. The following table exhibits the masculine and feminine form of each section name, the sections which normally or usually intermarry, and the section name of the offspring.

Table I.				
Cycle.	Mother.	Father.	Son.	Daughter.
Kilpungurra	Ngummundyerra	Murruri	Ibburi	Ibbundyerra
	Ibbundyerra	Kubberi	Ngumburi	Ngummundyerra
Mükungurra	Murrundyerra	Ngumburi	Kubberi	Kubbundyerra
	Kubbundyerra	Ibburi	Murruri	Murrundyerra

The above table gives the cycle, mother, father, son and daughter on the same line across the page, and requires no further explanation. Everything in the universe, animate and inanimate, belongs to one or other of the two cycles. And every individual in the community claims some animal or plant or other object as his or her totem. The section name is invariably determined through the mother, because the women of a cycle reproduce each other, in continuous alternation. The totems remain constantly in the same cycle as the women and are accordingly transmitted from a mother to her progeny.

In an article contributed to this Society in 1905,¹ I illustrated the sociology of the Barkunjee tribe as comprising only two divisions, Mükungurra and Kilpungurra, the men of one division marrying the women of the opposite one. In studying the above table, we observe that there is a bisection of each of the two divisions of the Barkunjee,

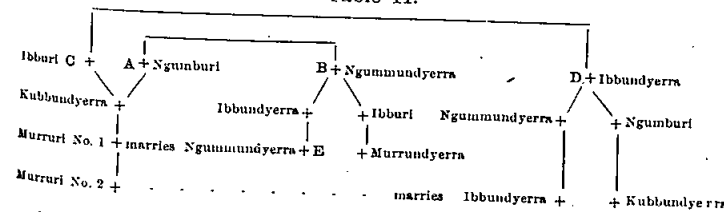
¹ This Journal, xxxix., pp. 118, 119.

so that in the Kürnū there are four divisions of the community instead of two.

The Kürnū, like the Barkunjee, possess a further distinctive division into Muggulu and Ngipuru, with their feminine forms Mugguluga and Ngipuruga, meaning sluggish or heavy blood and swift or light blood respectively. Again, like the Barkunjee, the Kürnū are divided into Nhurrē and Winggu, the Butt and the Branch shade. A man of the Muggulu blood and the Butt shade usually and normally marries a Ngipuruga woman of the Branch shade, subject to variations explained farther on. In regard to the offspring, a Mugguluga mother produces Muggulu children who take their mother's shade. A Ngipuruga mother produces Ngipuru children belonging to her own shade.

The castes of "blood" and "shade" are not necessarily coincident with the other divisions. For example, a Ngipuru man or woman may belong to either cycle or to any section and a Muggulu individual has the same variations. In short, these castes divide the people of every section into two sorts or degrees. The cycles, sections, bloods and shades are used as the foundation upon which the betrothals and marriages are regulated. Before dealing further with this important subject, it will be desirable to introduce another table.

Table II.



In this table, in the lower left hand corner, we have Murruri No. 1; above him is his mother Kub Bundyerra; and above her, at A, is her tabular or No. 1 father. A

little way to the right of Ngumburi is his sister Ngum-mundyerra, marked B, below whom are her children, a daughter and a son. Her daughter Ibbundyerra has a daughter Ngummundyera; and her son Ibburi has a daughter Murrundyerra. Then Murruri No. 1, whom we shall assume to be a Muggulu, marries Ngummundyerra E, as shown in Table 2. She is his normal or No. 1 wife and belongs to the opposite cycle as well as to the Ngipuru blood.

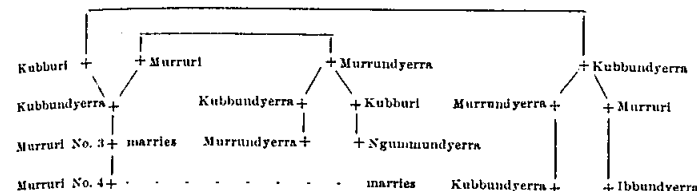
I must digress a moment to explain why Ngummundyerra E is a Ngipuru. Because Murruri No. 1 is a Muggulu his mother must have been a Mugguluga. His mother's father Ngumburi, in the normal course of things, must therefore have been a Ngipuru to enable him to marry a Mugguluga and so produce Kubbundyerra. Ngumburi's sister was consequently a Ngipuruga too, and as descent is counted through the women, his daughter's daughter Ngummundyerra E must also be a Ngipuruga.

But Murruri No. 1 might be allotted Murrundyerra (see Table 2), who belongs to the Muggulu blood like himself. She is the daughter of Ibburi, a Ngipuru man, who must have espoused a Mugguluga and his daughter is accordingly a Mugguluga. In such a case Murruri No. 1 marries a woman of his own cycle and of his own blood division. She may be distinguished as wife No. 2.

Looking again at Table 2 we find Murruri No. 2 in the lower left hand corner, with his mother above him ; and higher up at C, her No. 2 father Ibburi. Away in the upper right hand corner is Ibburi's sister Ibbundyerra, marked D, with her children and grand children below her. Then Murruri No. 2 marries Ibbundyerra, of the opposite cycle and opposite blood division who may be styled wife No. 3. Or Murruri No. 2 might have Kubbundyerra assigned him as wife No. 4. She belongs to his own cycle and to his own blood division. I have not considered it necessary to trace out the blood divisions of the No. 3 and No. 4 wives.

The Kubbundyerra of our example in Table 2 had a Ngumburi as her No. 1 father, or an Ibburi as her No. 2 father. She might instead have had a Murruri or a Kubburi as her No. 3 or No. 4 father respectively, as follows:—

Table III.



Kubbundyerra is shown as the same individual for the sake of simplicity, but the woman in Table 2 might be a different Kubbundyerra to the one in Table 3. The Kubbundyerra of our examples represents the section rather than the individual. This Kubbundyerra might have had a husband from any one of four sections. Perhaps her husband was Ibburi as in Table 1, or Kubburi, or Ngumburi, or Murruri, but it makes no difference to her progeny which of the four men she was mated with—her children are Murruri and Murrundyerra just the same. Owing, however, to the above mentioned variations in her possible husbands and her possible fathers, it is evident that there could be four sorts or degrees of Murruris, depending upon their mother's pedigree as well as upon her marriage. These four sorts of men are shown as Murruri Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the tables. It will be observed, however, that the wife of each of the four men will have nominally the same relationship to him, but through different channels.

The human subject, animals, plants, inanimate objects, the elements, the heavenly bodies—everything on the earth or above it—are divided into Kilpungurra and Mūkungurra, into Muggulu and Ngipuru, and into Butt and Branch shades. The normal and general practice is for one of these pairs of divisions to intermarry with each other. A

Kilpungurra marries a Mükungurra, a Mugulu a Ngipuru, a Butt shade a Branch shade. In explaining Tables 2 and 3 we have seen that these general rules are subject to certain modifications. Sometimes a Kilpungurra mates with a Kilpungurra, a Muggulu with a Muggulu, and a Butt shade with a Butt shade. Another custom of wide prevalence is that a man of a given totem must espouse a woman whose totem is not the same as his. This law, like that of the cycles and other divisions, is subject to departures. For example, a man who is a bandicoot might be allotted a bandicoot wife, although this seldom happens. There is no such thing as a cast-iron partition of the community into two exogamous moieties. The only law of the Kurnū sociology which admits of no variation, is that the cycles, sections, totems, bloods and shades, are irrevocably transmitted through the mothers.

It is for the elders of the tribes to settle what particular genealogy will be adopted when choosing a husband or wife for any particular person. Previous family marriages and a number of other matters are considered in arranging this point. There are also regulations depending upon the totems of the affianced parties, and upon whether they are the elder or the younger members of the family. The maternal uncles of the parties are in all cases among the principal personages in conducting the betrothals.

It is well known that in most Australian tribes a man's brothers are treated as the nominal or tribal fathers of his children, and that his wife's sisters are treated as nominal mothers. This fact introduces a disturbing element into the genealogies, but it is an advantage rather than otherwise, because it increases the chances of a given man or woman obtaining a spouse. For example, Kubbundyerri's father Ngumburi (Table 2) might not have a

sister, but some of his father's brothers might have daughters, who would be called his (Ngumburi's) sisters, and thus supply the Ngummundyerri marked B in Table 2.

This custom also serves another useful purpose, by means of which we can explain why some old men have very young wives. Let us suppose that the Ngumburi last mentioned was the eldest of his father's family. He (Ngumburi) might easily have a younger brother who was, say, fifteen years his junior. This younger brother, Z, who would in time be the father of a daughter, who would fill the place of Ngummundyerri B in Table 2. Again, Ngumburi might marry early and his tribal sister late, so that by a number of circumstances, all probable enough, Murruri No. 1 might get a wife who was twenty or thirty years younger than himself, although she would be of the strictly proper lineage.

It has been said in an earlier page that the totems, consisting of everything alive and inanimate, are subject to the same divisions and subdivisions as the people themselves. Many of the plants, animals, etc., possess the same relationship to each other as the people, a few examples of which will be given from the Kurnū. The iguana, carpet-snake and brown-snake are brothers and sisters; the porcupine and bandicoot are similarly related; so are the emu and native companion. The turtle has no relations; neither has the mussel nor the crayfish. The relationships of brother-in-law, maternal uncle and many others are also current. These kinships extend to inanimate nature as well; a spring may be related to a tree; certain stars are brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, and so on.

II. SHARING GAME AND OTHER FOOD.¹

There is a universal custom in every native camp, which regulates the partition of all kinds of game and vegetable

¹ See also my remarks on food regulations in the article contributed to this Society in 1904, Vol. xxxviii., p. 258, seq.

food among the relatives and friends of those who procure the supply. Let us say a hunter has killed a padamellin. Some of his relatives get their share from the fore part of the animal, and others from the hind part. There is a further regulation as to which side of the animal shall be given. Some are allotted their portion from the right side of the padamellin, others from the left side. For example, a certain relation may be given the right hind leg, another the left; the right and left fore legs would be similarly distributed to others. One man would get the loin, another the backbone, another the tail, another the head. The brisket, ribs and internal parts respectively would go to other relatives. The portion which each person would obtain would depend upon his relationship to the hunter. The worst parts would be kept by the hunter for his own use. Emus, opossums, iguanas, fish and other animals are divided on the same principle, with necessary variations according to their shape and size. A somewhat similar distribution is made of yams, grass seeds, berries and other foods.

We have said that a man gets his share of food, according to his relationship to the person who captures it; but this does not restrict him to one special part of every animal, because his relationship to another hunter will entitle him to a different portion of such hunter's game. Say that a man, A, is allotted the left hind leg of an opossum by his brother's son. A may have a brother-in-law in the camp who will perhaps give him the loin of a kangaroo—the portion of the carcass given by a brother-in-law differing from that given by a brother's son, and so on.

Although a man distributes all the best portions of his own catch of game and eats only a little of the worst parts, yet he shares in the distribution of the game of his relatives and thereby gets some good pieces. Moreover, it looks at

first sight as if a hunter's own wife and children would receive scant attention, but the father and mother of the hunter, and those of his wife if present, see that his family get a proper supply of food. Owing to the native law that a man's father's brothers rank as his fathers, the hunter's children will probably have more than one paternal grandfather to look after their food supply.

A white man, unacquainted with the native food regulations, on going through a camp at feeding time and seeing them dividing the day's takings, would conclude that the animals were merely cut up and divided among all the people. What actually takes place is, that each hunter gives away all the choice pieces of his own catch and receives donations from his relatives. In the end the result is substantially the same as if the game were divided equally in the first instance, but with the advantage that every person is taught to divide with his own kindred.

An old or feeble person, although not a relation, would be given something out of the day's catch; and if any of the party had been unsuccessful in the chase or in obtaining other food, some of the people would see that he did not go hungry. I have often heard stockmen and other uneducated white people say how greedy a blackfellow is, and how he will sit and eat up food without giving his wife any. He is acting in accordance with custom, because he knows that it is the duty of certain persons among the woman's friends to give her a portion. The yarns we sometimes read in books and newspapers regarding the holding capacity of a blackfellow's stomach are equally baseless.

In 1882 Mr. Edward Palmer, when describing the customs of certain Queensland tribes, said:—"Division of game takes place according to old established rules, in which the natives practice considerable self denial, the

hunter often going short himself that others might have their recognised share. When a kangaroo is killed, the hind leg is given to the hunter's father, with the back bone; the other hind leg to his father's brother; the tail to his sister: the shoulder to his brother; the liver he eats himself. Sometimes his own wife will be left without any, but in that case it seems to be the rule that her brother gives her of his hunting, or someone else on her side. She will not get much from her blackfellow, unless there is a surplus. All game has to be shared according to rule, the best part going to the father's camp, the next to the father's brothers. A blackfellow would rather go short himself and pretend he was not hungry, than incur the odium of being greedy in camp, or neglecting the rights of hospitality. Snakes were broken in pieces and handed round."

At my request, a valuable correspondent in the Alice Springs district, Central Australia, sends me the following rules regarding the partition of game there. If a man kills, say a kangaroo, he takes it to the camp and divides it amongst his relations. He gives the tail to his father's brother's son; the loin and fat to his father-in-law, if present; the right hind leg to his brother; the left hind leg to his father; the ribs to his mother-in-law, if present; the forelegs to his father's younger sisters; the head to his wife. The hunter himself takes only the inner parts and the blood. He then waits till he receives a share from some of the other hunters who are related to him.

Mr. James Dawson, in dealing with the aborigines of the south-western district of Victoria, in 1881, reported as follows:—"There are strict rules regulating the distribution of food. When a hunter brings game to the camp, he gives up all claim to it, and must stand aside and allow the best portions to be given away, and content himself

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., xiii., 285.

with the worst. If he has a brother present, the brother is treated in the same way, and helps the killer of the game to eat the poor pieces, which are thrown to him, such as the forequarters and ribs of the kangaroos, opossums and small quadrupeds, and the back bones of birds. The aboriginal narrator of this custom, mentioned that when he was very young he used to grumble because his father gave away all the best pieces of birds and quadrupeds, and the finest eels, but he was told that it was a rule and must be observed. The women also divide the food they collect, which is mainly vegetable. This custom is called 'yūrka bāwhār,' meaning 'exchange.' . . . The grey bandicoot belongs to the women and is killed and eaten by them, but not by the men or children."

Mr. J. P. Gell, reports that among the tribes about Adelaide, in South Australia, grubs living in the bark of trees were eaten by the men only.²

III. SOCIOLOGY OF THE CHAU-AN TRIBE.

The Chau-an tribe have their hunting grounds on the Katherine River and surrounding country. On the south they are bounded by the Yungmunni community, about Elsey Creek, whose sociology was described by me for the first time in this Journal in 1900.³ With the help of a capable and reliable resident of that district, I have since then been studying the sociology of the Chau-an people, and am pleased to be able to supply the following infor-

¹ Australian Aborigines of Western District of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1881) pp. 22 and 52.

² Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, (1842), I., p. 112.

³ This Journal, xxxiv., 130. The equivalence of the section names of the Chau-an, to those of the Yungmunni tribe about Elsey Creek, is as follows:—Plienban is equal to Eemitch, Aratchban to Uwannee, Kāmaranban to Unmarra, and Wamood to Tabachin. In the lower half of the table, Kangala corresponds to Yungalla, and the remaining sections correspond in the order in which they are printed.

mation, which has never before been published. Like their Southern neighbours, their women can be classified into two cycles of four sections each, making eight divisions in all. Up to the present, I have not been able to discover feminine forms of the section names.

I am informed that all the tribes from Katherine River to Port Darwin, have the same sociology as the Chau-an. The names of the eight sections are different from those at the Katherine, but the principle is just the same.

Table IV.			
Cycle.	Mother.	Father.	Children.
A	Kangala	Plienban	Paralee
	Watchban	Aratchban	Pongaree
	Paralee	Kamaranban	Watchban
	Pongaree	Wamood	Kangala
B	Plienban	Kangala	Wamood
	Aratchban	Watchban	Kamaranban
	Wamood	Pongaree	Aratchban
	Kamaranban	Paralee	Plienban

In studying the upper half of the above table, or cycle A, we see that the women in the "mother" and "children" columns reproduce each other in an established order, and this series is continually repeated. Kangala has a Paralee daughter, who has a Watchban daughter, who has a Pongaree daughter, whose daughter reverts to the original Kangala section. A similar invariable order of succession exists among the women of Cycle B. As regards the marriages of the sections, a man of the Plienban section can marry a Kangala, as his direct or tabular wife, which can be called wife No. 1, or he can espouse Watchban as No. 2, or Aratchban as No. 3, or Plienban as a No. 4 wife. And as regards the progeny, if Plienban marries Kangala his children will be Paralee, who may be called his No. 1 family. If he takes a Watchban as his wife, his children

will be Pongaree, which we shall distinguish as his No. 2 family. If he weds an Aratchban his children will be Kamaranban, who can be denominated his No. 3 family. And if Plienban should espouse a Plienban woman his children would be Wamood, whom we shall set down as his No. 4 family. From this we can readily see that the children of a given man, may have any one of four section names, this matter depending altogether upon the woman who is his wife; and consequently there cannot be any recurrent succession of the section names through the men.

Two of Plienban's possible wives and two of his possible families belong to Cycle A, and two to Cycle B. A No. 1 wife, and consequently a No. 1 family, which are those given in Table IV. on the same line across the page, are the most general, and may be considered the normal relationships. A No. 2 wife and family are the next most usual, No. 3 and No. 4 wives and resultant families are not so common, although quite legal in native society.

We have just seen that a man may have a wife or family belonging to any one of four sections. Although a woman may likewise have a husband from any one of four sections, this fact makes no difference at all to her progeny. For example, a Kangala woman might be married to Plienban, or Aratchban, or Watchban, or Kangala, but her children would be Paralee all the same, because the succession of the sections through the woman is absolutely invariable. But owing to the four possible husbands obtainable by women of the Kangala section, it is evident that there could be four sorts of Paralees, according to whom their fathers were.

In the Chau-an, as well as in all the other tribes reported by me, in the Northern Territory, succession of the totems does not depend upon either the father or the mother, but

is regulated by locality, and I shall now endeavour to describe how this is carried out. The folk-lore of these people is full of fabulous tales respecting the progenitors of every totem. Some of them were like the men and women of our own time, whilst others were mythologic creatures of aboriginal fairyland. In those olden days, as at present, the totemic ancestors consisted of families or groups of families, who had their recognised hunting-grounds in some part of the tribal territory. They were born in a specific locality, and occupied it by virtue of their birthright. Some of them would be, let us say, cockatoos, others dogs, others kangaroos, others snakes, and so forth. The members of these family groups were sub-divided into the same eight sections which we find among the people now.

When one of these legendary individuals died, his spirit was supposed to settle itself in some well known spot in his own hunting grounds, such as a rock, or tree, or hill, or soakage, or perhaps it went into the ground. The individual might, during his lifetime, have identified himself with different places, such as where he camped at various times, or did a notable deed, or worked some ceremonial incantation or the like. The sites of these several actions were scattered over different parts of the locality he occupied, as well as over the hunting grounds of neighbouring friendly tribes, whom he was in the habit of visiting. All the members of his own family group had, as a matter of course, equal rights to the same hunting grounds as he, and located their spirits at certain places in a similar manner.

In the course of many generations, all the camping places, water-holes, large rocks, springs, hills, trees and remarkable objects in their own tract of country would become saturated, so to speak, with spirits of all sorts. There

would be bandicoots at one place; frogs would infest others; some would be reeking with porcupines; whilst other spots would be haunted by snakes. Certain of these fabled areas were large, and others were of small extent. Some of the traditionary totems were invested with greater authority than others, like the head men of totemic groups at the present time. Some animals of a kind were numerous, as now, and left a prolific family of spirits, whilst others were few, and left behind a limited number of representatives. The exact location of every one of these notable retreats has been handed down by oral tradition to all the present natives, who give a poetical and much embellished account of the doings of their various ancestors, freely mixed with superstition.

The people of the far past time used to assemble, as at present, for ceremonial purposes, such as initiating the young men, making rain, etc., and consequently every man and woman had travelled over most of the tribal territory. After the death of a given individual, his spirit would revisit all the places which had figured prominently in the man's life, sometimes sojourning at one of these spots, sometimes at another, but the "headquarters" of the spirit would be at a particular soakage, rock, etc., in the old hunting grounds.

Whether in human shape or as monstrosities, these creatures of aboriginal fancy or exaggeration were possessed of supernatural powers. Some of them could form springs and watercourses; some could raise up hills and rocks at certain historic spots, whilst others could cause trees or patches of scrub to grow in remarkable forms. Moreover, these fabled retreats are related to one another, in the same way that human beings are related. For example, a soakage may be the mother's brother of a certain hill; a rock may be the father of a particular

sand-hill; a tree may be the brother of a rock-hole, and so on.

In all aboriginal tribes there is a deeply seated belief in the reincarnation of their ancestors. The original stock of spirits, so to speak, perpetually undergo reincarnation from one human being to another. The natives are quite ignorant of the natural facts of procreation, and believe that conception is altogether independent of sexual intercourse. When a woman for the first time feels the movement of the child in the womb, commonly called quickening, she takes particular notice of the spot, where it occurred and reports it to the people present. It is believed that the spirit or soul of some deceased progenitor has just at that moment entered the woman's body. The entry may have been by the way of some one of the natural openings, or through any part of the skin, the mode and place of ingress being immaterial to these ethereal beings. When the child is born, it will have assigned to it the totemic name of the mythic ancestor belonging to the particular locality. For example, if the quickening happened near a remarkable rock, or hill, or waterhole, or camping place, which was known to be haunted by the traditionary spirit of a galah, the infant would belong to the galah totem, altogether independently of either the father or the mother.

Regarding the succession of the totems, it is important to remember that in all our aboriginal tribes, a wife is taken away into the family group or triblet of her husband, and roams about with him through his country. If he be, for example, a crow, he and his wife will spend most of their time amongst the specific haunts of his ancestors. When his wife for the first time becomes conscious of being enceinte, she will probably be staying at a spot associated with some of the crows of earlier times, because

she is living in a crow man's country. In such a case the child, when born, will be denominated a crow the same as its father. Should the woman, however, at the time of the quickening, happen to be on a visit to her own people in the district where she was born and brought up, the chances are in favour of the interesting fact being connected with one of her own ancestors, say a porcupine; then the child will get the totemic name of the porcupine, the same as its mother. Again, if the woman, at the critical moment, happened to be at a part of the common hunting grounds, where the pigeon spirits are supposed to predominate, her infant would be a pigeon. In this way there could be children of the same parents all possessing different totemic names, many examples of which are found among the Chau-an, Chingalee and other tribes. But as the married pair of our example would naturally frequent their own crow tract more than anywhere else, as stated in the last paragraph, their crow progeny would probably be the most numerous, or it might be that all their children would be crows. This has given rise to the erroneous statements made by other investigators that the descent of the totems is through the father.

In some of these historic places the spirits of several different kinds of animals which were closely related to each other, are now said to inhabit the same rock, tree, spring, etc., or at any rate to occupy places in close proximity to each other, and roam about in company the same as they did when "in the flesh." If a mother first felt the movements of the foetus at that locality, it would be almost impossible to say which of the spirits had entered her body, and consequently in such cases it is always difficult for the old men to decide the denomination of the totem to which the child shall be deemed to belong.

Rev. L. Schultze, in speaking of the tribes on the Upper Finke River, states:—"These natives believe that the

souls of the infants dwell in the foliage of the trees, and that they are carried there by the good mountain spirits 'tuanyiraka,' and their wives, 'melbata.' The nearest tree to a woman when she feels the first pain of parturition, she calls 'ngirra,' as they are under the impression that the 'guruna,' or soul, has then entered from it into the child. Such a tree is left untouched, as they believe that whoever should happen to break off even a single branch would become sick. But if the tree should be injured or broken down by winds or floods, that person would get ill whose 'ngirra,' the tree was."

When Rev. C. G. Teichelmann, and Rev. C. W. Schürmann were engaged in missionary work among the aboriginal tribes in and around Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, in 1840, the blacks called them 'Pindi-meyu,' or "men of the den," because in their white complexions and unusual activity, they believed that they recognised their forefathers returned from the habitation of the dead. 'Pindi,' a large den or pit, was the place of souls, and was situated in the far west, whence the souls of the unborn came, and, hovering among the grass-trees, waited for the hour of conception. When the infant into whom the spirit entered, had finished its course on earth, and was buried, the spirit, 'towilla,' returned to 'Pindi.'

Rev. Geo. Taplin, speaking of the tribes about Mount Freeling, 300 miles northerly from Adelaide, describes how these spirits manage to secure a mother. A tiny spirit meets a woman in the bush and throws its little club at her foot, the end of the weapon making a little puncture under the great-toe nail, through which the spirit enters, and in due time is re-born. The entry may be under the thumb nail, and is accomplished in a similar manner, with the

¹ Trans., Roy. Soc., S. Australia, (Adelaide, 1891), xiv., 239.

² Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, (1842), I., pp. 111 and 120.

same result. The sex of the infant is determined by that of the spirit who enters the woman's body.' Mr. Schürmann, in 1846, reported the same belief among the tribes about Port Lincoln, more than 350 miles by land, via Port Augusta, from Adelaide.²

On the Daly River, in the Northern Territory, Rev. Donald McKillop reports that souls are shut up in hills. Daly River is twenty-one degrees of latitude distant from Adelaide, which shows the wide geographic range of the native belief in reincarnation. He says:—"A few miles from where we live, and not far from the river (Daly), there is a hill, called in the native language 'Alalk-yinga,' that is "the place of children." The natives believe that the souls of future children—or perhaps the children, bodies and souls—are shut up there. They are under the care of one old man. He has to see that they do not escape, and to supply them with water. This he does by means of an underground communication with the river about a mile away. The range, of which the hill in question is the last one, runs right to the river. When a child is to be born, this old man sees to the business."

Mr. G. W. Earl, when among the natives of Coburg Peninsula, in the extreme north of Australia, in 1846, stated that "the spirits of the dead are recognised in the strangers who visit their country." Coburg Peninsula, where Mr. Earl observed the belief in reincarnation, and Port Lincoln, where Mr. Schürmann, in the same year, reported a similar belief, are separated by 24 degrees of latitude, or about 1,500 miles.

When residing at Perth, Western Australia, in 1842, Mr. G. F. Moore reported that the word 'djandga' signified

¹ Folklore, Manners, etc., S. A. Aborigines, (1879), p. 88.

² Reprinted in Native Tribes of South Australia, (1879), p. 235.

³ Trans. Roy. Soc. S. A., (Adelaide, 1894), xvii., 262.

⁴ Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc., (London, 1846), xvi., 241.

"the reappearance of deceased persons. It is also applied to Europeans, who are supposed to be aborigines, under another colour, restored to the land of their nativity." From Adelaide, where the same belief was recorded, to Perth, is about 1,300 miles in a direct line on a map of Australia.

Mr. E. S. Parker, a protector of the aborigines of Victoria, wrote in 1854:—"The aborigines had a distinct belief of the existence of their souls after death. . . . There were also well defined traces of a belief in transmigration of souls. . . . It is well known that, on the first appearance of the colonists, the opinion was taken up, and long maintained among them, that they were their deceased progenitors returning to their former haunts."²

The few examples I have quoted, show that the aboriginal belief in the reincarnation of souls, has been known and reported upon by white men, from 1840 to the present time. The localities I have chosen for these examples are situated in the extreme north, the west, and the south of the Australian Continent.

IV. LANGUAGES OF TRIBES ABOUT ALICE SPRINGS.

During recent years, some friends of mine have had business at the mining fields, in the Alice Springs district, Northern Territory. The journey from Adelaide to Alice Springs, although a somewhat long one, is quite easily accomplished. A train leaves Adelaide for Oodnadatta, 737 miles distant, on every alternate Monday throughout the year, arriving at Oodnadatta on Wednesday at 7 p.m.; fares, first class £5 10s. and second class £3 17s. 6d. On Thursday morning, at 8 a.m., a coach carrying mails and passengers, starts from Oodnadatta for Alice Springs, the

¹ Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of Western Australia, (London, 1842), p. 28.

² The Aborigines of Australia, (Melbourne, 1854), p. 25.

through fare being £7, and the time occupied on the road ten days. Passengers by the coach find their own rations, a fresh supply of which can be had at the following stations *en route*, viz.:—Hamilton Bore, Blood's Creek, Horse-shoe Bend, and Alice Well. Passengers are allowed 25 pounds weight of luggage, independently of their rations; all over that weight is charged at the rate of six pence per pound. Leaving Oodnadatta in the coach, Alberga Creek is reached in 40 miles; 30 miles further brings us to Hamilton Bore; 36 miles more is Blood's Creek and in another 30 miles we reach Charlotte Waters, 136 miles from Oodnadatta. From Charlotte Waters to Goyder's Creek is 29 miles; Old Crown Point is 25 more; another 27 brings us to Horse-shoe Bend. From there to Depot Well is 13 miles, and in 14 more we reach Alice Well, 108 miles from Charlotte Waters. From Alice Well to Frances Well is 22 miles; Deep Well is 27 more; Ooraminna is another 24 miles, and in 30 miles more we arrive at Alice Springs, 347 miles from Oodnadatta.

I have given this short account of the journey to Alice Springs, in the hope of encouraging scientific men residing in any part of Australia, to go out among the aborigines, for the purpose of supplementing our knowledge of their dialects, beliefs, and customs generally. The expense of the trip would be comparatively trifling. The two black-fellows, "Jimmy" and "Warwick," who acted as interpreters to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, are natives of the Lower Finke and Lindsay Rivers country, where they are usually employed on stations and otherwise. They can be heard of any time at Charlotte Waters. The tribe in which these men were born and brought up contains four sections in its social structure, namely, Panungka, Koomara, Parulla, and Bultara.

A township called Stuart was laid out some 20 years ago about a mile and three-quarters south of Alice Springs

telegraph station. The town is situated on the right bank of the Todd River, somewhat less than half a mile below the junction of Charles Creek, and is only a primitive country village.

The journey from Stuart or Alice Springs to Port Darwin is sometimes undertaken by bicyclists. Mr. McDonald was the most successful, as he did the journey without any outside help. He was, however, fortunate in having a good rain on most of the sandy part of the way. Rain on a sandy camel-pad makes it almost as good as asphalt for a bicycle. Mr. A. Lennox was another of the successful wheelmen from Alice Springs to Port Darwin. Several others have done the journey, but have taken longer time, and have had assistance in various ways from other travellers. Footmen also make the trip right through. Occasionally, by their own carelessness, they get into distress and cut the telegraph wire, a recognised practice in extreme cases. The line maintainers then go out and succour them, as well as repair the damage to the telegraph line. The distance from Alice Springs to Port Darwin is about 1,030 miles; the last 200 miles, from Pine Creek to Palmerston, being covered by a railway.

To the east and north-east of Alice Springs, a good many blackfellows are employed by the miners at Winnecke and Arltunga, as water drawers, wood collectors and horse shepherds. The native women do washing and general laundry and scullery work. The younger and better looking ones are often promoted to the position of temporary wives of their employers. The ubiquitous rabbit is very numerous in that region, and is a valuable addition to the aboriginal food supply. In 1899, I described the eight intermarrying sections in this region,¹ and at present the

¹ Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., xxxviii., 76. The Kat'-tit-ya or Kat'-titch-a tribe about Barrow Creek, have a similar organization to that of the Arran'da, with some modifications in the section names. The Kattitya tribe has been erroneously reported as the "Kaitish" by some writers.

grammatical structure of their language will be briefly touched upon.

All the way from about Oodnadatta or Alberga Creek to Alice Springs and Glen Helen Cattle Station, the people speak the Arran'da language, or dialects of it. In 1890, Rev. H. Kempe prepared a grammar and vocabulary of the "Language spoken in the Macdonnell Ranges." He did not however, observe that there are two distinct pronouns in the first person of the dual, and also of the plural. In one of these pronouns, the individual addressed is included with the speaker, and in the other the individual addressed is excluded. I therefore propose to supply a new table which has been forwarded at my request by a resident of that part of the country.

Singular	1st Person I,	Ta or yinga
	2nd „ Thou,	Unta or nga
	3rd „ He,	Era

'Ta' and 'unta' are used with transitive verbs; 'yinga' and 'nga' are used with intransitive verbs.

Dual	1st Person {	We, incl.,	Ngilina
		We, excl.,	Ilina
	2nd „	You,	Mbala
	3rd „	They,	Eratarā
Plural	1st Person {	We, incl.,	Nganuna
		We, excl.,	Anuna
	2nd „	You,	Rankara
	3rd „	They	Etna

In regard to the "double we" in the dual, there are some variations, depending upon the relationship existing between the speaker and the party spoken to. For example if a father speaks to his son, he says ngilaki instead of ngilina, as, Ngilaka araka larityika, we (dual), kangaroo for must go. Emphatic forms are, ngilanta, we, (dual), only. Ngunanta or ngunantara, we, (plural), only.

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc., S. Australia, xiv., 1-54.

The Lō-rit-ya or Lō-ritch-a tribe adjoins the Ar-ran'-da on the west. Their country is approximately from the Musgrave Ranges, northerly via Lake Amadeus, to the Ehrenberg Ranges. In 1900, I reported that the Lō-rit-ya were divided into four intermarrying sections, called Panungka, Koomara, Parulla and Bultara. I stated that the same organisation, with some slight modifications in the names of the four sections, as well as in the order of their intermarriage, extended westerly from Lake Amadeus across the State of Western Australia to the Indian Ocean. I also reported that the children took their descent through the mother.¹

The Lō-rit-ya, in common with the Ar-ran'-da and other neighbouring tribes, practice the rites of circumcision and subincision. Certain mutilations are also performed upon the young women, the result of which being that the vaginal orifice is permanently enlarged. Full particulars of all these rites, and of the impressive ceremonies connected with them, were communicated by me to the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia in 1900.²

The grammatical structure of the Lō-rit-ya language is the same as that of the Ar-ran'-da. The nouns, pronouns, verbs and other parts of speech, are declined in a similar manner, and several words of their vocabulary are substantially the same. I shall therefore content myself with giving a list of the pronouns, and a short vocabulary, both of which have been obtained direct from the natives by a thoroughly capable correspondent residing in that district. Below is a table of the personal pronouns in the nominative case. The first person of the dual, as well as the first person of the plural, contains two distinct forms, one of which includes with the speaker the individual who is

¹ Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, xxxix., 89, with map.

² Op. cit., pp. 622-638.

addressed, and the other excludes him. The first of these is marked "inclusive," and the latter "exclusive" in the following tabulation:—

Singular	1st Person I,		Ngaiulu
	2nd	Thou,	Nuntu
	3rd	He,	Paluru
Dual	1st Person { We, incl.,		Nuntungali
	We, excl.,		Ngali
	2nd	You,	Numbali
Plural	3rd		Palurukutara
	1st Person { We, incl.,		Nguntunganana
	We, excl.,		Nganana
Plural	2nd	You,	Ngurangari
	3rd	They	Tana

The possessive pronouns are as under:—

Singular	1st Person Mine,		Ngaiuku
	2nd	Thine,	Nuntuba
	3rd	His,	Palumba
Dual	1st Person { Ours, incl.,		Nuntungalimba
	Ours, excl.,		Ngalimba
	2nd	Yours,	Numbalimba
Plural	3rd		Palumbakutara
	1st Person { Ours, incl.,		Nuntunganamba
	Ours, excl.,		Nganamba
Plural	2nd	Yours,	Ngurangarimba
	3rd	Theirs,	Tanamba

Substantially the same dialect extends south-westerly from the Lō-rit-ya country to the Blythe and Petermann Ranges, and goes a long way into Western Australia. Among the Lō-rit-ya people the septum of the nose is pierced in both sexes, and they have the same belief concerning re-birth, which I have reported in earlier pages as existing among the Chau-an tribe. The same belief reaches far into Western Australia.

LORITYA VOCABULARY.

The following list of eighty-nine of the most commonly used words in the Lō-rit-ya language has been written down

from the mouths of the native speakers, by one of my most valued correspondents in that locality.

Family Terms.

Man,	pata	Woman,	kunka
Mankind,	mutu	Mother,	yako
Father,	katu	Elder Sister,	kangura
Elder Brother,	kuta	Younger Sister,	malangu
Younger Brother,	malungu	Infant, neuter,	pipiri

Parts of the Human Body.

Head,	kata	Foot,	tyina
Eyes,	kuru	Knee,	mardi
Nose,	mula	Blood,	ngurka
Tongue,	talinya	Penis,	kalu
Teeth,	kadidi	Vagina,	tyuka
Ears,	pina	Anus,	kunnatan
Hand,	mara	Excrement,	kunna
Elbow,	nguku		

Inanimate Nature.

Sun,	tyintu	Rock,	walu
Moon,	pira	A Stone,	buli
Fire,	waru	Sand,	karu
Water,	kape	The Ground,	manta
Camp,	ngura	Pipe-clay	ukuna
Smoke,	buyu	Red Ochre	ulba mapanu

Animals.

Opossum,	waiyuta	Wild Dog,	papa inura
Porcupine,	untia	Emu,	kalaia
Rock Wallaby,	wari	Eaglehawk,	kaluwara
Red Kangaroo,	malu	Pelican,	kabilyalku
Grey Kangaroo,	kanala	Crow,	kanka
Bat,	ulbulbine	Iguana,	wongapa
Tame Dog,	papa	Louse,	kulu

Trees and Plants.

Grass tree,	ulunkuru	Beefwood,	iltyantyi
Red-gum tree,	itara	Bullrushes,	unka

Implements, etc.

Stone Tomahawk,	ilipa	Womera,	meru
Stone Knife,	tula	Boomerang	ulbarinya
" "	irkili	Wooden Trough	kuntila
" "	tangu	Yamstick,	wonna
Shield,	kutityi	Upper Millstone,	miri
Spear,	katyi	Lower "	tyu-a

Adjectives.

Large,	buntu	Good,	pala
Small,	wima	Bad,	kuya
Straight,	tukaruru	Hungry,	a-in-ma
Crooked,	kalikali	Stinking,	boka

Verbs.

Stand,	ngarange	Talk,	wonkanye
Sit,	ninanye	Beat,	bunganye
Walk,	yananye	Throw,	runkanye
Eat,	ngalkunye	Carry,	katinye
See,	nanganye	Bite,	patanye
Give,	yunganye		

Numerals.

One,	kutu	Several,	mankura
Two,	kutara		

V. NATIVE SHOES IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY.

To protect their feet from the sharp stones in rugged country, when travelling any considerable distance, or from the hot sand of the desert, the natives of the Northern Territory sometimes make shoes or sandals from the bark of the tea-tree, with a string tied over the foot to keep them on. This string is made from the bark of a shrub with a yellow flower, which grows on the sandhills. In some districts the shoe itself is made with strands of the bark of the same tree, worked in the manner of netting, and is fastened on the foot as just stated. In other parts these shoes are made of animal fur, woven into a net with very small meshes. Shoes are also sometimes made of emu

feathers matted together to form the soles, and are fastened on the foot with string in the usual way. It has been erroneously said that such shoes, which are worn only by old conjurors, do not leave any tracks on the ground which could be detected by others, but the real explanation of their immunity from pursuit is because no man would attempt to follow the tracks of an individual using shoes of this character, from a superstitious dread of the magical powers of the wearer. Such shoes are very seldom worn, but are occasionally used by the Shamans of the tribe when engaged upon some special work, such as the making of rain, driving away evil spirits, or such like.

Mr. E. M. Curr thus refers to such shoes in his valuable work:—"It was discovered in 1882, or thereabouts, that the blacks to the westward of Lake Eyre, on the Musgrave Ranges, and it is believed in some other portions of Central Australia, wear a sort of shoe when they attack their enemies by stealth at night. Some of the tribes call these shoes 'kooditcha,' their name for an invisible spirit. I have seen a pair of them. Their soles were made of the feathers of the emu, stuck together with a little human blood, which the maker is said to take from his arm. They were about an inch and a half thick, soft, and of even breadth. The uppers were nets made of human hair. The object of these shoes is to prevent those who wear them from being tracked and pursued after a night attack. It is only on the softest ground that they leave any mark, and even then it is impossible to distinguish the heel from the toe. The blacks say they can track anything that walks, except a man shod with 'kooditcha.'"¹

VI. BULLROARERS.

In 1840, when the Lutheran Missionaries, Teichelmann and Schürmann, already mentioned in this article, were

¹ The *i* is sounded as in "mite."

² The Australian Race, (Melbourne, 1886), I., 148.

labouring among the tribes in the Adelaide district, they discovered and described two kinds of bullroarers, a smaller and a larger, used by the aborigines in their secret ceremonies. The 'kadnomarngutta' they speak of as being "a thin, oval piece of wood, about five inches long, and an inch and a half wide, tied to a string by which the natives swing it rapidly round, and thus cause a humming noise. Females and children are not allowed to see it, much less to use it." The 'wimmarrri' was the same in shape as the 'kadnomarngutta' but larger. It was invoked in the incantations of the natives whilst out hunting.¹ The name of the instrument was also repeated while the bodies of the youths were being scarred, believing that it would soothe the pain.

VII. NAMING OF SOME NATIVE LANGUAGES.

A custom of wide geographic distribution, is that of naming a language after its negative adverb. In 1846, Mr. G. Windsor Earl in his paper "On the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Coast of Australia," reports as follows:—"The Coburg Peninsula is occupied by four distinct tribes. They are distinguished among each other by the term which in the particular dialect of each designates the monosyllable 'No.' About Croker Island and Raffles' Bay the tribe is termed 'Yaako.' The Port Essington tribe goes by the name of 'Yarlo'; the western tribe by that of 'Iyi'; and the great southern tribe by that of 'Oitbi.'"²

In 1866, Rev. Wm. Ridley in his book on the Kamilaroi tribe of New South Wales, also records the nomenclature of the language from the negative adverb. 'Kamil' means 'No.' This method of distinguishing a language, extends

¹ Grammar of the Language of the Natives of Adelaide, 1840, pp. 7, 55, and 73.

² Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, (London, 1846), vol. xvi., pp. 241-242.

³ Kamilaroi, Dippil, etc., (Sydney, 1866), p. 14.

from the Kamilaroi southerly, to Port Phillip in Victoria, and northerly to the Mary River in Queensland. To Mr. Earl and Mr. Ridley belong the honour of first discovering this peculiarity in the naming of some of the Australian languages. It is worthy of note that from the most northerly of the tribes reported by Mr. Earl, to the southern limits of the tribes practising Mr. Ridley's discovery, the distance is about 2,000 miles, which may be another link in the evidence of the common ancestry of Australian tribes. Between the two extreme points mentioned, there are extensive regions occupied by tribes whose dialects are not named in the manner referred to.

In 1903 I reported some other methods adopted by certain tribes of New South Wales and Victoria, in naming their dialects, to which the reader is referred.³

VIII. GURĒ OR AVENGING PARTY.

Among the aboriginal tribes inhabiting that portion of the State of Victoria, watered by the Upper Murray, Mitta Mitta, Ovens, Upper Goulburn and Yarra Rivers, if one of their men had been slain by some person in a neighbouring tribe, the method of avenging the injury was known as 'gurĕ.' It was believed that if a man's death were not avenged, his spirit would saunter about and harass his relations. In consequence of this superstitious belief, the punishment of the offender was carried out at the earliest auspicious juncture.

The following is an abbreviated account of the procedure of a gurĕ expedition, as narrated to me orally by an aboriginal native of the Mitta Mitta River, in north-eastern Victoria.

The brothers and friends of the murdered individual, accompanied by the elders or leading men, muster at the 'ngulubul,' or private meeting place of the men, and discuss

³ This Journal, xxxvii., pp. 244 and 250.

the best course to be pursued in dealing out retribution to the guilty party. Some of the hair, or it may be portions of the skin, which had previously been secured from the body of the murdered man, are produced at this meeting, for the purpose of infusing into the minds of those present a desire for speedy retaliation.

The population of a certain locality often consisted of a number of families, who were so far independent, that they might in the aggregate be called sub-tribes. It not infrequently happened that feuds arose between these family groups, and murders occasionally took place. When a wrong of this kind was inflicted upon a weak sub-tribe, which was not able to retaliate, a messenger was sent to report the facts of the case to the other family groups with whom they were connected by ties of kinship, asking for their assistance. The messenger carried with him a flat stick about eighteen inches or two feet in length, and about an inch and a half wide. This stick was marked or ornamented with lines and nondescript devices by means of a marsupial's tooth, and was painted with red ochre. Instead of a wooden message stick, the bone of an emu's leg, or that of a kangaroo's leg, was sometimes used, being marked with a flint in the same manner as the piece of wood.

The neighbouring people who were summoned in this way usually responded, because they might require similar help some day for themselves. On reaching the common meeting ground indicated by the messenger, a party of warriors was selected to proceed into the country of the wrong-doer. Then there was great greasing and straightening and sharpening of spears. Boomerangs, clubs, shields and other weapons were duly examined, and all necessary preparations made for the projected foray. Some of the cleverest sorcerers available were there with their para-

phernalia of enchantment, and instruments of deadly potency. Every man pulled his beard up into his mouth and bit it with savage grimaces. When all the preliminaries had been settled, the chosen band, greased and painted for the occasion, started forth on their mission. The minor details of the expedition are so similar to those of the 'Pirrimbir,' which I have described elsewhere¹ that the most important portions only need be here touched upon.

The party travelled on till evening and camped for the night, screening their fires so that they could not be seen at a distance. Early next morning a tree was marked with zig-zag or irregular lines and ovals of the usual native pattern, the marks extending from near the ground, up along the bole as high as the men could reach by sitting on each others' shoulders. The marks were chopped into the bark with sharpened sticks or chipped stones, or with tomahawks. A gum tree, or a grey-box tree was preferred, if available, on account of the smooth bark. Every man of the contingent took part in marking the tree, in order to transfer as much magical influence to it as possible, until it was, so to speak, surfeited with mischief. Another reason for all the men participating in the marking of the tree is to strengthen the bond of union amongst them, so that none of them can feel any remorse, or give such timely warning to the doomed man as would enable him to escape. While the work is in progress, some of the principal magicians rub the marks with bullroarers, quartz-crystals and human fat to augment the effectiveness of the proceedings, and cause dismay in the heart of the enemy.

When the marking of the tree has been completed, the men dance or jump around it, singing 'Wure bunnungandha dumballadha,' several times in succession. The object

¹ This Journal, vol. xxxviii., pp. 239 - 252. See also photograph of the marked tree.

of the entire ceremony is to charm the intended victim so that he will not go away from the camp he may then happen to be in, but will remain there spell bound and powerless, till his pursuers reach him. At each of their camping places on the journey forward, exactly the same procedure is gone through, including the marking of a fresh tree every morning. Having reached their destination and discovered the whereabouts of the tribe they are in quest of, they go as near as may be considered safe and make a camp in some secluded spot, where they are not likely to be observed. Two clever men are now sent on ahead as spies, to make full and careful observations of the hostile camp, for the purpose of discovering in what part of it the man they are in search of has his quarters, the numerical strength of the tribe, any points of vantage, and so on.

During the time these spies are away reconnoitring the men who are left behind have marked a tree, and cleared the ground around it, as on the other occasions. They have painted their faces and chests white, with patches of the same colour on their upper arms. They have likewise built a bough screen around and above their little fire, to prevent its being seen at a distance after dark. This bough covering is made in the following manner: A few small saplings are cut and placed on end around the fire, which is in the centre. The cut ends of the stems of the saplings are inserted in the ground, with the upper or leafy extremities leaning against each other over the fire, in the form of a pyramid or cone. Another leafy bough is now placed in the apex, with the stem downwards, much in the same way that a keystone is used by stone-masons.

As soon as the spies obtain the first glimpse of the general camp of their adversaries, they crouch down in a depression in the surface of the ground, or hide among

bushes. They then begin to chant in low tones a song called 'guggarga,' which is believed to possess the magical gift of causing a smoke to ascend from the camp fire of the culprit, and thus disclose his location. During the continuance of this far reaching song, the men watch intently till they see a smoke issuing from a certain part of the camp. They then steal up closer to the encampment on the side indicated by the smoke, until they can recognise the man they are seeking, and note the position of his camp fire. Should the actual murderer not be present in the camp, then the spies identify the spot occupied by one of his elder brothers, or his father, who is then substituted to suffer in his stead.

When the messengers have located the doomed man, they return to their comrades, and report progress, with the usual formalities. After some refreshments have been partaken of, a few small pieces of wood are placed on the fire to make sufficient light for the men to see what they are doing. They all dance around the fire at which the chief conjurers are seated, singing in a very low tone, and working some enchantment upon the foe to render his chance of escape hopeless. After a while most of the men go to sleep, but there are always some of the old fellows on the watch. Some hours before daylight all hands are roused up, and they march noiselessly away to the outskirts of the enemies' camp, holding small boughs in front of their bodies, so that they may not be observed. The song of the first bird which greets the dawn is the signal for the attack. The assailants divide, half of them marching off around one side of the camp, while the other half goes round the contrary direction, until they all unite on the opposite side of the camp, their meeting place being close to the intended victim.

The details of the onslaught are similar to those already narrated in the "Pirrimbir Expedition," to which the

reader is referred. When the victim falls, the avengers make a sudden charge upon him, and portions of his skin, flesh and fat are secured, the hands being sometimes cut off and carried away. If any of the man's friends interfere in his behalf, they render themselves liable to the same punishment. The invaders then retreat to their camping place of the night before, where they dance and spit around the marked tree, for the purpose of withdrawing the magic which it had absorbed from their former incantations and necromancy. After this they pick up any food or baggage which they had left there, and start on their homeward journey. On getting back to their own people, a full account is given of the result of the expedition.

Among the tribes herein referred to, the Magellanic clouds are supposed to be two native companions, the larger cloud being the cock bird, the smaller representing the hen. When these clouds are at their lower culmination, and consequently are not easily seen in thickly timbered country, the aborigines have a superstition that there is danger of neighbouring tribes organising a *gurē* party, to avenge some real or imaginary bloodshed. At such times, therefore, unusual vigilance is exercised by the young men, in watching the movements of their enemies.