

VI, 2

MAGIC, SUPERSTITIONS

(For original, see Section VII, Pp. 1-35.)

MAGIC, SUPERSTITIONS

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Page

- 1 Forms of magic : (a) pointing bone or stick
(b) fire magic
Description of sticks and ornaments, markings
- 2 Sorcerer must use his own weapon
- 3 Fire magic (invisible)
- 4 Sorcerers' methods of killing
- 5 Balbuk's methods (hair)
"Animal" method
- 6 Power of magic - all deaths attributable to it
Death of Balbuk
- 7 Sorcerers of the Southwest - degrees and names.
Methods used in different districts varied.
Their "stock-in-trade"
Greatest power within themselves.
- 8 Interpretation of dreams
- 9 Control over supernatural
- 10 Unsuccessful hunter helped by sorcerer
- 11 General methods of healing of mulgarguttuk
Boilyaguttuk - their powers
- 12 Dalgaguttuk " "
Moceeya-moceeya " "
- 13 Rainmaking - S.W.
- 14 Augusta
Gascoyne
Roebourne and Pilbara
- 16 Magic messengers
Various S.W. beliefs and superstitions
- 18 Woolberr's cure for sprained ankle
- 20 Captain Grey's observations on magic
- 22 More superstitions and beliefs
- 24 Gingin, Vasse, Victoria Plains and Pinjarra beliefs
- 25 Capel natives and the magic stick
- 26 Names for sorcerer and sorcery in S.W. districts
- 27 Some women possess magic powers
- 28 Names for sorcerer and sorcery in Eastern and Northern
districts.
- 29 Eastern Goldfields magic
Northampton " - 3 kinds of magic pearlshell
- 30 Ashburton sorcerers and various beliefs
- 31 Roebourne and De Grey sorcerers - magic sent by string-
transformation into animals - invisible journeying.

- 32 West Kimberley
- 33 Broome district sorcerers (jalngangooroo)
No women may be jalngangooroo
How a jalngangooroo is made
- 34 Punishments by sorcerers
- 35 "Singing" a person
- 36 Powers of healing
Rainmaking
- 37 Broome superstitions
"Astral body" of jalngangooroo
Magic stones
- 39 Kalleegooroo - more sacred than magical
Control of spirits (ranjee)
Games of children who pretend to be sorcerers
- 40 Spirit messengers or "familiaris"
- 41 Stellar beliefs
Inbal song
- 42 Fitzroy sorcerers

MAGIC

A profound belief in magic, and in the possession of supernatural powers by living persons, is held throughout Western Australia. Indeed, magic and sorcery might be said to be intertwined with almost every action occurring in the daily life of the aborigines. Sorcerers are appealed to upon all occasions to exert their supposed powers towards curing illness, avenging the same, bringing success in hunting, and directing and controlling the elements, so that rain can only fall through their influence, and thunderstorms gather at their bidding. Every sorcerer has as lively a faith in his own powers as his people have, and an equally strong belief in the powers of his "fellow practitioner", so to speak. A sorcerer when ill will invariably call in the services of another magician, and will place himself unreservedly in his brother doctor's hands.

There are various forms of magic amongst the Western aborigines, the two principal being the pointing bone or stick, and fire magic. The magic bones or sticks are of various shapes, and are generally ornamented, either by bands of red ochre, and white pipeclay, or certain designs are burnt into them, some of these designs being extremely intricate and minute. Birds' down may also be stuck spirally on the stick or bone by means of blood or gum, and a lump of gum is sometimes fastened to one end of the pointer. Dots, lines wavy and spiral, conventional patterns of leaves and other objects, form their principal ornamentation, no tribe which possesses a sorcerer being without its magic pointer, each medicine man consulting his own taste in the designs. These markings may be representations of the "spirit familiars" of the sorcerers, if the familiars happen to be snakes, and a "spirit" or familiar in the shape of a dog will have its pads or footprints marked on some of the implements of its owner, not necessarily on the magic stick, but on any implement which the owner will use in projecting magic.

In some districts, the more elaborate the markings are, the greater the magic appears to be which is contained in such stick. In all cases, the markings specify the ownership of the weapon. Certain bambooroo or message sticks become magic when in the possession of a sorcerer, and are not infrequently used in sending "pointing magic" towards some tribe or person. They also possess curative properties when in the hands of the sorcerer.

A sorcerer employing a magic bone or stick must always use his own implement, or one that has been given him "for good", or that he has "purchased", and not that of any other sorcerer, no matter how friendly that other may be, as some magic may enter his body from the borrowed stick, and cause his illness and death.

I was frequently asked to point my stick (which originally came from the Gascoyne district, and which is covered with conventional tracery having also the figure of a woman on its convex side) at some tribe or individual, but when I argued that the person to whom the magic was to be sent had not injured me, and I offered the stick to the person who had been offended, in order that he might perform his own magic, my offer was never accepted, not even by the older sorcerers of the tribes.

Besides being pointed, bones or sticks which have been "charged with magic" may be thrown into a camp, or placed in some spot, which the particular person aimed at is sure to visit.

In some districts the local tribes expect pointing or fire magic from certain points only, North, Northeast or Southeast as the case may be. Eastern or northeastern sorcerers sent magic into the southwestern tribes, and this magic might catch any member of the tribe. Special persons, however, in any of the southwestern tribes who became unaccountably ill, were generally able to trace the magic to someone in a neighbouring tribe, or to a member of their own

local tribe whom they had injured at some time or other. Amongst those isolated tribes living between Jurien Bay and Edelsland, the evil magic was supposed to come from the north and northeast.

Once, when showing my magic stick to an old Nunnagurdee man at his camp near Geraldton, his woman, also a Nunnagurdee, suddenly catching sight of the stick, screamed aloud, and forbade her man to touch it, as "it had come from the Nanda of the North, and was full of evil magic and would kill both of them." She beat her head with her hands, crouched to the ground and swung to and fro, raving with anger and fear of the Nanda. It took me some little time to assure her that no magic from any tribe could come into my stick; that I held all the magic that was in it, and that when I showed it to my relatives - as she and her husband were - I took all the magic out of it before giving it into their hands. My confident tone assured her, and before I left the camp she was studying the markings eagerly, remarking that the figure of the woman was of course myself.

A sorcerer can put magic into, or withdraw it from any object, stone, bone, wood or any ordinary weapon or implement, as the magic which the object contains must emanate in the first instance from the breast or stomach of the maker or owner of the stick.

Magic can be projected visibly and invisibly: visibly by bone pointing, and by inserting pieces of magic quartz, crystal, jasper, or any stone of a shining appearance or unusual colour; invisibly by projecting fire magic or cannibal magic into the vital parts, or through the bites of insects and reptiles being invisible to the victim. Fire magic is continually being passed to and fro, and is propelled usually from the stomach of the sorcerer without the aid of the pointing stick. In the Southern district, "sending bulya" or "putting bulya" into a person invariably means fire magic. The sorcerer takes invisible fire from his stomach, and facing the direction of the enemy, spreads his hands and lets the

magic go. It reaches its victim in the form of fire, and he very soon dies, unless a more powerful sorcerer is at hand to extract the magic.

Almost every sorcerer has a piece of crystal or bright looking flint, or, in the inland districts, a piece of pearlshell, which forms part of his stock-in-trade. A small piece of pearlshell, owned by a Laverton district man, had travelled over 800 miles inland before it came into his possession by purchase, every tribe it passed through adding to its magic value.

Many pieces of quartz, etc., are the treasured possessions of persons from whose vital organs they have been extracted by the local sorcerer, or by a visiting medicine man, for it is native etiquette to call in the services of a visiting sorcerer should some member of the local tribe fall ill during his visit.

Pointing magic is not generally performed by women, nor are they the possessors of magic sticks or stones. Certain old women can, however, perform magic in other ways.

When a stick was pointed in the direction of an enemy the magic at once went inside the victim, who immediately fell ill and died if no local sorcerer happened to be at hand to oust the magic.

In some parts of the South if it was desired to injure a person in another tribe, a spear, club, or kailee (boomerang) to which some little object belonging to the intended victim was attached, was thrown down near the local sorcerer by the person who wished to inflict the injury, who also indicated the direction in which he wished the magic to go. Whatever the weapon or implement it must be thrown down in front of the sorcerer, as if it were handed to him, the magic which he projected from it might recoil upon the owner of the weapon. The sorcerer takes the weapon, fills it with magic, and points it towards the victim's tribe. It may hit the person it is aimed at or it may be intercepted by some one else; whoever receives it dies very soon.

Some hair from the intended victim might be attached, as inflicting death or sickness by means of the hair was sometimes practised. In this case, the magic generally reached its proper victim.

Hair cutting ceremonies were common in the Southwest, but as the hair was usually cut from the heads of the young men after their initiation, no hair obtained in this manner could ever be used to injure the owner, the hair for magic purposes being generally surreptitiously procured. It was however, extremely difficult to obtain a portion of hair from any person, hence the practice was not very common.

"If you want to 'do away' with anyone," said Balbuk, "get a piece of his hair or something belonging to him, and tie it round a stick or bone, and throw it down, with some spears, to a bulyaguttuk (sorcerer). He will pass it on to others, so that the victim shall not know from which tribe the magic comes. It must be passed on in a different direction to that from which the intended victim comes, and it must be thrown to the bulyaguttuk, else your own spirit will go with it out of your hand, and the magic will come to you.

If your intended victim finds the stick and hides it in the mud it will be rendered harmless. Notebook 15, P. 75

get any hair, chop up some swan's down, or some wai or eagle-hawk feathers and your victim will soon get ill and die."

If you want to do away with anyone, get a piece of his hair and tie it round a stick or a bone and give it (throw it down) to some ngunning who has got a boylya and this ngunning will pass it on to others. It must be passed on in an opposite direction from which the intended victim comes. It must be thrown, else your own spirit will go with it and the harm will come to you. If the victim can get the stick and hide it in the mud it will be harmless. Wambala (swan's down) can be chopped up if they cannot get your hair and you will get ill and die. Also waiji feathers (woonardoo) or mowal (walja feathers).

Some hair from the intended victim might be attached, as inflicting death or sickness by means of the hair was sometimes practised. In this case, the magic generally reached its proper victim.

Hair cutting ceremonies were common in the Southwest, but as the hair was usually cut from the heads of the young men after their initiation, no hair obtained in this manner could ever be used to injure the owner, the hair for magic purposes being generally surreptitiously procured. It was however, extremely difficult to obtain a portion of hair from any person, hence the practice was not very common.

"If you want to 'do away' with anyone," said Balbuk, "get a piece of his hair or something belonging to him, and tie it round a stick or bone, and throw it down, with some spears, to a bulyaguttuk (sorcerer). He will pass it on to others, so that the victim shall not know from which tribe the magic comes. It must be passed on in a different direction to that from which the intended victim comes, and it must be thrown to the bulyaguttuk, else your own spirit will go with it out of your hand, and the magic will come to you. If your intended victim finds the stick and hides it in the mud it will be rendered harmless. If it is impossible to get any hair, chop up some swansdown, or some emu or eagle-hawk feathers and your victim will soon get ill and die."

A Pinjarra woman mentioned the following method of killing by magic: "First catch a live opossum, or some other small animal, and stick it through the stomach or some other part with your beendee (wooden pin or stiletto for cloak fastening, etc.), leave the beendee in the wound, and then put the animal in your goota (skin bag). As the animal moans and cries, so your enemy is suffering, and when the animal at length dies of starvation your enemy will also die." This is the most effective magic in the Southwest, from the women's point of view.

If my brother is killed my kordamat will bring me some food to show they are not guilty; if they are the food will stick in my throat. If there are several blacks about, they will all lie on their backs, and the boylya man will look at them and will see perhaps something moving inside their stomachs. They put a miro on the navel, and if they are guilty, the boylya man will tell by seeing something hitting the miro from inside the stomach of the man, which will turn the miro aside, and then the guilty man will be killed. If Yoolyeeenan is killed, I must not say I belong to her people; I must say nothing, but I will take Ngalyart (Sarah) out where I know my ngoondun have gone hunting and they will put boylya into her and after a short time she will be ailing and will die.

Accidents of all kinds were attributed to magic, and though death by violence was understood, yet even then it was through the magic of some enemy who was supposed to have weakened the man's arm and rendered him powerless to resist his adversary.

There is no such thing as death from disease of any kind. If a man dies from eating rancid meat of any kind, whale, or other fish, it is the "woggal" or some other magic that has killed him. If he is choked with a bone, then the animal or fish he has eaten was "bewitched". If he died from over-eating - a not infrequent occurrence - the food was also tampered with, or he was reckoned to have broken the food laws in some way.

A man goes out hunting and catches a bandicoot which he cooks and eats, being probably very hungry. Presently he feels sick, and then he knows that magic had been put into the animal, and he hastens to the local sorcerer to take the magic from him. Had he been a sorcerer himself, he would have seen the magic in the bandicoot and would not have eaten the animal.

Fire magic is the principal "distance" magic. Fire magic was sent to Guildford from Dandarraga, nearly 150 miles north, and was intercepted by Joobaitch on its way to Bunbung, the real person aimed at.

When Balbuk was dying she suspected both Joobaitch and Woolberr of compassing her death. Both men were of the same phratry as Balbuk (Wordungmat) and were consequently her blood relations. I was sitting beside her when Joobaitch came to see her. Just as he rounded the corner of her hut he emitted several short "pooch-pooch's" to keep the magic that was killing her away from himself. Balbuk glared at him, but did not speak, and later when Woolberr came over to the hut, he made the same noise as Joobaitch, in order that the magic should not touch him. Woolberr offered to take the magic away as he was mulgarguttuk, but Balbuk refused to allow him touch her, as she believed he had put the magic into her because she had

married her son-in-law or "nephew", who was Woolberr's son.

Shortly after Balbuk's death, Woolberr was run over by a train and killed, yet the people at the camp stated that he was "made blind" so that he should not see the train, by some man whose woman he was following when he met his death. Several of the camp dwellers begged me to send magic to those who had accomplished the deaths of Joobaitch, Balbuk and Woolberr.

The sorcerers of the Southwest have various names applied to them, each name apparently representing a "degree" of proficiency, though where the difference or superiority lay was difficult to discern. Mulgarguttuk (mulgar = thunder; guttuk = having or possessing); bulyaguttuk (having "fire" or other magic); mooeeya-moeeya (very clever magician); dandagaranna (somewhat similar to moeeya); dalgaguttuk (having fire+spark messengers or "familiars"), were some of the degrees. Mulgarguttuk and bulyaguttuk were found in all the Southern tribes from Jurien Bay to Esperance, but the other "degrees" appeared to be confined to Pinjarra, Bunbury, Vasse and Augusta, though dalgaguttuk were found here and there outside the Vasse and Bunbury radius.

The methods employed by these sorcerers varied somewhat throughout the area mentioned. They carried very little "stock-in-trade". The pointing stick, which is in use all over the State; teal, a bright piece of shaped crystal quartz; jasper and other bright coloured stones, which could be placed inside a victim, or abstracted from a member of the tribe, constituted their principal magic weapons.

Their greatest power consisted in the magic which was secreted within themselves and in their control of the elements. Some of the Southern mulgarguttuk had herbal remedies for certain diseases, and appeared to have been acquainted with the effects of topical bleeding. Others used some hair from their armpits or pubes to promote cures. Others again believed that their urine, or the urine of some old woman, a "grandmother" of the patient, had curative properties.

If a patient died under treatment, his death was not generally charged to the mulgarguttuk, but to a superior sorcerer in the tribe which sent the magic.

Mulgarguttuk could bring or stop rain, control the thunder and lightning and could cure or kill. Some had greater curative powers than others, and like the Sheogue doctors in Ireland, were known far and wide, a sick man being often carried many miles by his friends to the camp of the renowned mulgarguttuk.

Mulgarguttuk could change themselves into the forms of their spirit familiars or totems, or into any insect or animal they desired, and could transport themselves at night to any spot they wished to visit, returning before dawn to their camp. Joobaitch told me he had often heard the "thud" of their first striking the ground after their flight through the air. A southern mulgarguttuk has changed himself into a mosquito to go a certain journey.

News of friends and enemies could be obtained through the mulgarguttuk or bulyaguttuk (these names being frequently synonymous). In every local tribe, or aggregate of families, there is a mulgarguttuk and there may be more than one in some tribes. If a native dies it is the duty of the local mulgarguttuk to proclaim the direction from which the magic came that killed the native. The indications pointing ^{to} the direction of the murderer are in many cases invisible to all except the mulgarguttuk.

Mulgarguttuk interpret dreams. (Certain women endowed with magic can also do this.) If the dead come in dreams to the living, the mulgarguttuk explains the meaning of the dead man's visit, and instructs the dreamer as to what he shall do to avoid any evil consequences arising from the visit of the dead man. Dreams have for all natives the semblance of reality, and they believe their spirits go to the scene of their dreams, and take part in the incidents of the dream. Warnings through dreams and dream animals, totemic and otherwise, are interpreted by the mulgarguttuk. If I dream that a lizard comes to me, I shall have news of a lizard totem man.

If I see a dead lizard in my dream I shall hear of the death of a lizard totem man. If I describe either dream to the mulgarguttuk, he will indicate the direction from which news will be expected of the lizard totem man, in some instances even mentioning which particular totem man is about to die. If I dream I am bitten by a snake, I will be injured by a snake totem man, or by a mulgarguttuk having snake magic which he is sending to me. My own tribal mulgarguttuk will probably prevent the magic reaching me.

Whirlwinds, thunderstorms and eclipses are caused by the mulgarguttuk, although often, when a more than usually severe thunderstorm occurs, the mulgarguttuk are themselves frightened at the result of their magic. They caused the eclipse of the sun or moon by putting their bookas (cloaks) over it. "Booka ngabbungur" - covering with the skin cloak - is the term applied to the eclipse. In some districts it was a big cliff or hill which the mulgarguttuk made to darken the sun.

All mulgarguttuk are held to have a certain control over supernatural influences, and are supposed to be able to communicate with these at certain times. They can also see janga (spirits of long dead natives) but although they can hear, talk to and be answered by kaanya (spirits of recently dead natives), they cannot see these, as kaanya are invisible spirits always. They do not appear to have complete control over the janga. The instance of the young man who was rescued by mulgarguttuk from janga who were half cooking him and making him alive again shows that janga cannot be entirely subdued by the mulgarguttuk, although their powers to do harm may be restricted by their intervention.

Janga can not only hurt a man, they can also kill him, and unless the mulgarguttuk knows of their intention beforehand, he is powerless to save their victim. The story of the young man who was cut to pieces by the janga, whom his brother afterwards set fire to and burnt, shows not only that janga can kill, but that they can be punished by the relatives

of the person whom they kill, fire being the weapon used.
never

I have/known poison from plant or dead man used on a human being in the Southern districts, although magic, which might be interpreted as poison, is put into certain animals and fish which kill the person or persons eating them.

Mulgarguttuk can "murreek bomain" (called "wort beening" in the Tangelup district), that is, magically half twist the neck of an enemy, who dies within a certain period. They fly or journey in their "astral bodies", so to speak, to the camp of the man they desire to half strangle, and having accomplished their purpose, fly back to their camp and re-enter their material bodies.

A crow or white cockatoo alighting near a camp, and uttering its cries, is believed at times to be a mulgarguttuk of the Crow or White Cockatoo phratry who has come to injure someone in camp. All in camp are subdued until the unwelcome visitor takes its departure, when its probable errand is eagerly discussed. The first illness or accident that occurs in camp will be attributed to the tribe from whose direction the bird came. If any animal or bird is observed to act strangely and not in accordance with its usual habits, there is magic connected with it, and however tempting a mark it may be for spear, club or kailee, it is left untouched.

When a hunter has returned unsuccessful from the chase, he asks the local mulgarguttuk to take the magic out of his spears and dogs, which is done in the following manner :- The sorcerer lights a fire, making plenty of smoke by placing green boughs on top of the fire. He then holds the spear, meer o, kailee, clubs and dogs in the smoke until the magic is considered to have been smoked out of them. If, notwithstanding this ceremony, the hunter continues unsuccessful, he believes it is the magic of the local mulgarguttuk who has bewitched his belongings, and a fight may ensue between him and the mulgarguttuk, unless the other older members prevent it. A mulgarguttuk's person is not therefore always sacred.

A mulgarguttuk can change an ordinary man into a mulgarguttuk, but the powers of the latter can be more readily taken away than those of a mulgarguttuk who has been given his powers by janga or has obtained them through dreams, or who, through being the son of a mulgarguttuk, has developed unconsciously into a mulgarguttuk, receiving his father's magic when the latter dies.

The general methods of healing adopted by all mulgarguttuk are :- gentle or rough massaging; smoking the affected part and drawing from it blood, spume or some magical substance that may be bone, stone, wood or even a live snake.

No mulgarguttuk can do magic with another sorcerer's implements, unless these are given to him for good. He must otherwise always possess his own paraphernalia.

Sceptical white people have often challenged mulgarguttuk to bring rain or perform some magic, and not unusually the natives have been successful. One old Southern mulgarguttuk was asked to produce rain, which he did within twenty-four hours. Another was requested to send his magic stick through the trunk of a tree, which he accomplished. Dai'anan or Yerrap was boylyaguttuk, and Bardit of Bridgetown stated that a white man gave Daianan three sovereigns to put karl (fire magic) into a tree, which he did. (I could not obtain the white man's testimony, as he was dead.)

No particular method of performing magic or rainmaking can be said to be universal, the most general being those used by the mulgarguttuk of the tribes between Jurien Bay and Esperance, this being the largest area in which a certain uniformity of method of procuring and using magic is practised.

Boylyaguttuk have magic powers somewhat similar to mulgarguttuk, except that their chief magic is fire, while that of the mulgarguttuk is principally thunder. Both, however, use fire or thunder on occasion.

Dalga are attendant spirits (koolongur - children) and a dalgaguttuk is a person possessing dalga. These spirits can be taken away by a more powerful sorcerer, but they can be obtained again by fasting from flesh food, and if possible entering some caves. When a person is getting dalgaguttuk, he or she, for this magic can be held by women, lies on a clean booka (skin rug or cloak) given by father or mother, putting the booka on clean boughs (borarr = clean boughs), so that it shall not touch the ground.

When the dalga have come back, the dalgaguttuk will keep clean boughs inside his booka, not spearwood boughs, but any

other kind of wood. Dalga appear visibly like sparks of fire. V 2 P 12

(From "Additions to VI 3a, P. 106")

A dalgaguttuk will know if anyone is booyanning (offended) with him (booyanning, and garrung = offended) and will ask them the reason. He will then sit out in a clear place and will take his spear and meero with him and will ask those who are garrung (offended) to come out and spear him. His brother-in-law will be with the dalgaguttuk to help him dodge the spears if they are thrown at him. A dalgaguttuk cannot defend himself when he is sick, for the nobab or dalga all leave him and go into a stronger dalgaguttuk - mamma or nganga dalgaguttuk.

Dalgaguttuk are spirit messengers which appear visibly like sparks of fire. The sparks (electric) which issued from my hair showed that I was dalgaguttuk, and probably in the old native days in the Southern district a man or woman accidentally found that their hair when rubbed at certain times emitted sparks, and forthwith they were dalgaguttuk.

A dalgaguttuk will know at once if anyone is booyanning with him, and will ask them the reason, and he will sit in a clear place and ask those who are garrung (offended) with him to come out and spear him. They will come out but their spears won't touch him because he is innocent, and therefore the dalga turn the spears aside.

Invisible magic may be taken out of a patient, by the sorcerer first massaging the affected part, then drawing the flesh into a lump, he squeezes it and draws the magic out of

Dalga are attendant spirits (koolongur - children) and a dalgaguttuk is a person possessing dalga. These spirits can be taken away by a more powerful sorcerer, but they can be obtained again by fasting from flesh food, and if possible entering some caves. When a person is getting dalgaguttuk, he or she, for this magic can be held by women, lies on a clean booka (skin rug or cloak) given by father or mother, putting the booka on clean boughs (borarr = clean boughs), so that it shall not touch the ground.

When the dalga have come back, the dalgaguttuk will keep clean boughs inside his booka, not spearwood boughs, but any other kind of wood. Dalga appear visibly like sparks of fire. One dark night I was sitting outside my tent, brushing my hair and talking to some native women who had come over to my camp for a little gossip. Vigorous brushing generated electric sparks, which began to fly from my hair, making a sort of "electric halo". As soon as the women saw these they cried out, "You are dalgaguttuk, and what a lot of messengers (boola dalga = many dalga) you have." Then they remarked to each other that the dalga brought me all news of happenings to our friends and relatives in near or in distant places, including themselves, and that I could send these messengers wherever I desired.

Moceeya-moceeya or dandagaranna can take hold of forked lightning and split a tree in two with it. They can uproot a tree or great stone or rock, and can "mesmerise" a ngyoongar and make him blind so that he cannot see, or deaf so that he cannot hear, etc. etc. A dalgaguttuk will know at once if anyone be offended with him, and will ask them the reason, and he will sit in a clear place and ask those who are gaarung (offended) with him to come out and spear him. They will come out but their spears won't touch him because he is innocent, and therefore the dalga turn the spears aside.

Invisible magic may be taken out of a patient, by the sorcerer first massaging the affected part, then drawing the flesh into a lump, he squeezes it and draws the magic out of

it, carrying the magic which he has extracted in his hands, as though it were a ball. He goes over to a tree, and making a hole at the foot with his toe, he stoops down and places the magic in the hole, covering it up again with his toe. After the burial of the magic, he blows upon the palms of his hands in order to send any magic that may have clung to them away.

When it was desired to send magic to some members of an outlying tribe who had offended either by stealing women or by having sent magic into the camp, all those elderly men amongst the local tribe who had any pretensions to magic powers, united in sending the magic back to the offending tribe. This was done either by bone pointing or by the sorcerers sitting or standing facing the direction in which they wished the magic to go, and sending invisible magic to the offending tribe. The magic came from the stomachs of the sorcerers; they squeezed their stomachs with fingers and thumbs and then flicked the magic which they extracted towards the desired point. All the while they are performing this action, they chant harshly, "oh, oh, oh, ah, ah, ah, e', e', e'," the magic being projected with the chant, which is repeated until it is considered that the evil magic must have reached its intended victim. Magic thus collectively sent is supposed to be ultra powerful in its effects.

Rainmaking. There were various methods. In some districts the mulgarguttuk took a mouthful of water and squirted it towards the point of the compass from which he expected the rain to come. If rain did not follow, the reason given was that a more powerful mulgarguttuk intercepted it.

Another method of bringing rain lay in the mulgarguttuk going out into the open and lying upon his back with half closed eyes, his head being in the direction he desired the rain to come from. The hot sun will be beating upon him all the while. Presently a little cloud appears in the desired direction, and rain soon follows. Rain was also brought by the sorcerers blowing magic from their stomachs into their hands,

and throwing the invisible magic skywards.

All mulgarguttuk and boylyaguttuk were professional rain-makers. They could fly into the clouds, and catching hold of them bring the rain into their country. A coastal mulgarguttuk once caught hold of a waterspout and brought it to his country where it came down like heavy rain.

They frequently brought rain by putting their moora-moora (magic pointing sticks) into the water, when rain soon followed.

Long carved sticks are sometimes placed in waterholes and in creek beds to ensure a supply of rain, the sticks being placed in position before sundown. When the rain clouds come, the sticks are taken away and hidden. These long sticks, sometimes ten and twelve feet in length, were never seen by women. They are not, however, known in the Southwest.

In the Augusta district, when rain was wanted, the bulyaguttuk went up in the air like a bird and sang for the rain. Kwabbij, an Augusta Manitchmat, used this method. He also put his meero (spearthrower) into a small pool or waterhole, and if sufficient rain did not result from this, Kwabbij went into the water himself, and his shadow was supposed to draw the clouds down and bring plenty rain.

To bring rain in the Gascoyne district, E. Cornally stated that a visit must be made by the kajjoordoo or local sorcerer to the waterhole of his kajjoorda (mythical snake). The kajjoordoo leaves his material body in the camp and assuming a "double" journeyed (sometimes he flew) to the pool of the kajjoorda. Reaching the water the kajjoordoo dives to the bottom of the pool, whispers his request to the kajjoorda, and returns to his own country before dawn, knowing that rain will soon come. Some kajjoordoo would not dive to the bottom of the pool, contenting themselves with sitting with their legs in the water, and preferring their request from this position. Very little rain came to the country of these timid sorcerers.

In the Roebourne and Pilbara districts, and generally towards the Kimberleys, rainstones were of a milky white colour, and were either square or diamond shaped. A kind of mica or crystal

would form the substance of these stones. When the Boebourne mobburngur (sorcerers) were asked to bring rain, they first greased their bodies all over, then, taking the stone and some water in a little wooden vessel they went to the highest hill on their own ground, and standing on its summit, they dipped the stone in the water, then rubbed it, again dipped it and shook it in the direction they wanted the rain to come. They then took mouthful of water and squirted it all round, the water sometimes falling on their bodies and rolling off the grease on to the ground, making it appear as though the rain was oozing from their own bodies. After this ceremony, they returned to their camp, and rain soon came. The mobburngur were generally watchful for some clouds to appear before they performed any ceremony of rainmaking.

When inland tribes visited their coastal relatives during the fishing season, they were not allowed to take part in the fishing, although they were permitted to go hunting. It was believed that the fish would smell the strangers, and would go away from that part of the coast.

Warnings through dreams and dream animals, totemic and otherwise, are interpreted by the mulgarguttuk. If I dream that a lizard comes to me, I shall have news of a lizard totem man. If I see a dead lizard in my dream I shall hear of the death of a lizard totem man. If I describe either dream to the mulgarguttuk, he will indicate the direction from which news will be expected of the lizard totem man, in some instances even mentioning which particular totem man is about to die.

If I dream I am bitten by a snake, I will be injured by a snake totem man, or by a mulgarguttuk having snake magic which he is sending to me. My own tribal mulgarguttuk will probably prevent the magic reaching me.

There are various kinds of magic messengers. A little bird alights on a branch near where a native is seated and utters its note. The man who hears it questions it, "Is my kobong (friend) coming?" The bird repeats its note. "Are there some kalleepgur (home people) coming?" Still the bird sings. "Is my woman coming?" The bird is now silent and the man knows his woman is coming.

Amongst some Southern tribes the robin is a messenger of death, and if a robin alights on a branch near them, news of a relative's death will quickly follow.

A little jerragurt (lizard) must bite a Southwestern boy's (baby's) tongue or he will not be able to talk, and little sticks must be broken underneath its knees and in the inner crook of its elbow or it will not walk. Both these ceremonies must be performed by a grandmother of the baby or of its mother.

Southern women must not whistle, some magic will enter them if they do. Neither must women deliberately step over anything belonging to men; should a man be making spears, and a woman accidentally step over them, the spears are cast aside and the woman punished unless extenuating circumstances intervene. In any case the spears are smoked when finished in order to drive away any lingering magic.

During certain initiation proceedings even the shadow of a woman falling near the forbidden places or persons, brought evil magic with it. The absolute avoidance of all females at this time shows how strong was the belief that evil magic could emanate from them.

The abstraction of the kidney or caul fat of enemies was probably practised in the Southwest in the days when the inhabitants were cannibals, but cannibalism apparently died out in very early times, or else was introduced by some later migrants, flourished for a time, and then was gradually abandoned. The legend of the Robin and Wagtail, who destroyed all the man-eating dogs (probably dog totem people) is the only direct reference to cannibalism in the Southwest.

In those districts which are still cannibalistic, the kidney or caul fat of enemies is almost always abstracted, and either eaten or used to grease the bodies of the victors. It is supposed to impart additional strength and prowess, through the absorption of the dead man's spirit. When a Southern mulgarguttuk was in process of making by janga (spirits), his intestines were first magically extracted by the janga, who cleaned them, and after a time, replaced them in the man's stomach, closing the opening without leaving any mark or scar. These mulgarguttuk could always afterwards communicate with janga.

Should a man or woman be buried in a trance, and by some means get out of their grave, they were mulgarguttuk from that time.

Illness of any kind contracted by a mulgarguttuk either lessened his powers, or took them away altogether, according to the nature of the illness.

Anything belonging to a man might be used to injure him, for which reason certain Scriptural commands mentioned in Leviticus were strictly observed.

The death bone or stick which has been filled with magic may be placed anywhere, or in any spot where it is thought the intended victim may visit. Should someone else visit the spot and see the magic stick, that person will die, as it is the first person who catches sight of the stick who receives the magic.

In the Perth Gazette of October 29, 1836, the late F.F. Armstrong mentions the following minor superstitions of the Perth natives: "They say that a fire must not be stirred at night with a pointed stick, or any spears (except night fishing spears) otherwise some young child is sure to die; to burn the blood of a wounded person makes the sufferer worse and endangers others; the mungite or flower of the honeysuckle or banksia must not be eaten too soon in the season, otherwise bad weather is sure to come; the relations of a deceased person will not sleep on the place where his blood was shed until a victim has been sacrificed to appease his shade.

When this is done the trees about his grave are marked in order to let him know that he has been avenged. There are certain ranges of hills, among others, those between Trigg's limekiln and Fremantle which they consider very unlucky to pass over as all who cross them are likely to die soon."

Many of their beliefs are reminiscent of the Celtic tales of witchcraft and sorcery still to be found in Brittany, Wales, the Highlands of Scotland and Southern and Western Ireland.

How much the sorcerers themselves believe and how much they know is artifice cannot be stated, but that they believe to a great extent in their own magical powers cannot be doubted.

During my residence at the native camp, I sprained my ankle severely. Woolberr was my only medical attendant. He came over to my camp offering his services, which I accepted, being desirous of witnessing his methods. First drawing some invisible magic from his breast, he blew upon it, and then pinched, pressed and rubbed the swollen ankle, now and again replenishing his fingers with more magic from the same source. When he considered he had filled his hands with the evil magic from my ankle, he went to the foot of the gum tree near my tent, dug a hole with his toe and buried the magic therein, covering up the hole again with his toe. He did this several times, all the while blowing short puffs to keep the magic away from himself. He repeated the process until I could endure the rough massaging no longer, and so told him my ankle was much better. I asked him how he thought the magic came to me. "It was not intended for you," he said, "you stopped it on its way to Ngilgee. Joolburt (a half caste) got Bimba to send bulya to Ngilgee, because he was gaarung (offended) with her, and you caught the magic. Your nowinning (magic stick) was not "looking out" or you would have seen the bulya coming and have avoided it." Thus the explanation of the accident, really caused by a frantic rush to save my tent from Ngilgee's goats, which were rapidly devouring the flaps! (No half caste can possess magic powers of any kind.)

The late G.F. Moore (Moore's Dictionary, p. 62) stated that the natives believed that the kukubert, the small black goat-sucker (*Aegothales albogularis*) restored the faculties of sight and smell to the kangaroos, who before that time were blind and without the sense of smell and hence easily approached and killed. They also said that this bird could afflict them with sore eyes.

Maia kowa (maia = voice; kowa = laugh) is the name given by the Southern natives to an echo, which is thus to them the "laughing voice of cliff or hill." A mulgarguttuk often makes use of an echo to represent the voice of the kaanya answering him when on its way to Koorannup.

They believed that the Daaran or Eastern men saw where the sun rose out of the water, and where the water and sky met together. The strongest hold which the sorcerers have upon the minds of their people is the firm belief of the latter that they can be killed should they incur the sorcerers' displeasure. Murreek bomain is one of the outcomes of this belief.

In bone or stick pointing it is only necessary for the native to become aware that the death bone has been pointed at him to cause him to mope and die. As he loses flesh daily, all know that the magic is eating his flesh.

Fear and respect, not affection, are the terms in which the sorcerers are generally held by the members of their tribes.

The description of the boylyas, given to Captain Grey by his black servant Kaiber, who shared the privations of the little party in the disastrous journey overland from Gantheaume Bay to Perth, after the wrecking of the whaleboat on the coast, is worth quoting : "The boylyas," said Kaiber, "are natives who have powers of boylya (magic); they sit down to the northward, the eastward and the southward. The boylyas are very bad; they walk away there (pointing to the east) . . . The boylyas eat up a great many natives - they eat them as fire would. . . . The boylyas move stealthily - you sleep and they steal on you; very stealthily they move. These boylyas are very revengeful. They come moving along the sky . . . The natives cannot see them. The boylyas do not bite, they feed stealthily; they do not eat the bones, but consume the flesh. The boylyas sit at the graves of natives in great numbers. If natives are ill the boylyas charm, charm, charm, and by and by the natives recover."

Kaiber and Grey, who were making a forced march to Perth in order to send succour to their weaker companions, came upon a quantity of fresh water mussels, called "unio", which the Southern natives were forbidden by their law to eat. Kaiber at first refused to collect or touch the forbidden food. Grey threatened effectively, and the mussels were gathered and cooked, but, starving as he was, the native persistently refused to touch them, and when the same night a more than usually severe storm of rain, wind and freezing cold beset them, Kaiber broke into lamentations, "Oh, the stone forehead; wherefore did he eat the mussels," etc., for there was no doubt in his mind that the storm was sent by the boylya in revenge for their having gathered the forbidden food.

Brough Smyth states (Smyth's Aborigines, Vol. I, p. 472) that the name boylya calls to recollection at once the word Boluto (Hades) in the Tonguese mythology and the boliauns or boughe-lawns, mentioned in Irish folklore, and instances the performance of some mysterious quackery practised by a noted Sheogue doctor called Paddy the Dash, who was supposed to hold

friendly communication with the "good people", for his cabin adjoined one of their raths. This wizard's assistance was invoked in the case of an old woman who had fallen into a decline. Paddy drew out of his "coatmore" pocket a large black bottle, with two or three packages of brown paper, containing dried herbs, and a bunch of boughe-lawns or boliauns, on which the fairies are said to ride occasionally through the air. The blossoms and tops of these boughe-lawns (weeds) were put into a porringer, filled with water, that had been left simmering on the kitchen fire. Some unaccountable flourishes were made over the sick woman, then some strokes on her back and forehead, with three shakes - "In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost" - when helped to an upright sitting posture by female friends assisting."

It is, as Smyth says, pleasant to pass from the blacks to the whites in dealing with these superstitions.

In taking the booyanning (strange magic) out of a dog which has been unsuccessful in catching game, some Southern boylyaguttuk squeeze the body, legs, head, etc., of the animal, hoping to extract the magic by this method. If this is ineffectual, smoking the magic out is resorted to.

The Southern mulgarguttuk must always be the relation-in-law of the patient. Tondarup cannot cure Tondarup, Nagarnook and Ballarruk must be the healers. Similarly, Nagarnook and Ballarruk cannot cure each other, but must call in the services of Tondarup or Didarruk.

The son of a boylyaguttuk or mulgarguttuk is not necessarily possessed of magic. It rests with himself to gain the power of boylya or mulgar in the manner previously explained. If he becomes a mulgarguttuk he will not generally practise until his father dies. Baaburgurt once inadvertently swallowed a goonok or jilgee (small species of crayfish) when drinking, and was being rapidly choked when his Mora (grandfather stock) Doohee, a mulgarguttuk, came running over to him and pulled the goonok out of his ear! It was quite possible for Baabur to have swallowed the goonok, for his mouth was one of the largest I have ever seen, even in a native. His belief that Doohee pulled the crayfish out of his ear was not to be shaken by any argument.

A Wagin district native once ate a snake's heart, which made him into a boogur boylya (sulky sorcerer). He afterwards rubbed himself all over with snake fat. He was supposed to possess snake magic from this circumstance, and have power to kill all his enemies. In the old days a boylya who was noorn borungur (snake totem man) could take the form of his totem and kill anyone who had offended him.

"Mulgar yennain" - thunder coming - was not infrequently cried out by someone in camp, and at the cry all ran for shelter either to their huts, or by throwing themselves flat on the ground, so that the mulgar should pass over them. Some mulgarguttuk were believed to make, as well as control, thunder and lightning.

Beeamulla and Murnain koojera were the names of mulgarguttuk belonging to the district north of Gingin.

Jattamura, Woolberr's mother's brother (kongon) was one of the greatest mulgarguttuk in the Swan and Gingin districts. He changed a piece of wood into a janga baby, to frighten some children who were mocking him.

Yoogulba was the last Geraldton booldna or koolyarda (sorcerer).

The cuckoo was supposed to bring boils, etc., on the bodies of natives by piercing them with its beak while they slept.

It is interesting to note that many of the aboriginal methods of sorcery, healing or causing disease, bringing or stopping rain, wind, thunder, etc., etc, are similar in many respects to those practised by the American Indians, African negroes and some of the Celtic peoples.

The Swan district natives had a strong objection to anyone stepping over them. They believed that they would die shortly if this happened. (A similar belief obtains in Ireland.) If a person accidentally jumps over someone who is lying down, he must jump at once backwards over the recumbent form, to avert the evil magic.

If a dog runs between the legs of a native, the animal is at once caught and sent backwards through the same opening.

No native will pass underneath a partly fallen tree; if he did his belly would at once swell and he would very soon die. The old superstition respecting the evil results of walking underneath ladders, is somewhat similar to the native belief.

In the old days the natives never stooped over a clear pool to drink, as they had an aversion to seeing their faces in the water. They usually obtained some clean brushwood and placed it over the spot from which they were going to drink.

If a native slipped when passing a winnaitch (sacred) place, he very soon died. If he slipped when catching fish, his death soon took place.

In the Gingin district, and in some parts of the Swan, if a fog lingered persistently, the older people obtained a piece of opossum skin, and some grease and wilgee, and wrapping the grease and wilgee in the skin, they burned the bundle slightly, and then threw it into the fog, which soon dispersed.

Women must not make a whistling sound, or some evil will surely happen to them.

In the Vasse district, when a native lost his or her memory for a moment, it was said to have gone to Koorannup. After a little time it turned round and came back to its owner. "Goonga wata nyinning" or "goonga moona nyinning" (his back is turned to us) was the remark made when this happened.

If any native in the Nyeerrgoo (Victoria Plains) district accidentally touched the sides of the cave or tunnel at the end of which the water lay, he immediately called out in a quick sharp voice "like a native dog" : 'Kelya, kelya, kelya', thus avoiding evil consequences. If he deliberately touched the sides, he died.

In the Pinjarra district, if a native is passing a burial place and begins to bleed at the nose, he is supposed to be bulyaguttuk from that time, the janga showing him by this sign that they have given him magical powers.

Pinjarra natives will not put green boughs on any fire, as these crack and split, and they say that the noise is wolkain bulya going out of the tree, and being without a resting place it is liable to enter any of them.

The name applied by the Capel district natives to my magic stick was "nowinning". On my first arrival at the Native Reserve, I showed the stick to Baabur, Joobaitch, and Balbuk. The two last named, having some magic powers of their own, did not fear the nowinning, although they handled it with respect. Baabur, who possessed no magic, would not at first touch it, but after a time when I had shown him that, being my relation, the stick could not harm him, he took it reverently in both hands, whistled and breathed on it, and then said to me, "He is listening, I must not speak." Then he rocked himself slightly to and fro, and chanted, with the nowinning still held in his hands, "Nowinning goo, nowinning goo," (magic gone away, magic gone away.) I took it from him and put it away, and he then told me its powers. "If an enemy is near and wants to hurt you, nowinning will kill him. You will know that it has done so when you see the blood upon it. It will go through the air, to whatever point you desire and will come back to you again. It is not boorna (wood); it is nowinning. It is more powerful than mulgar, bulya, moeeya-moeeya, dandagaranna or any other magic. You have only to show it to a sulky yoongar or janga (white man) and say, "I will kill you with this," and they will tumble down at once. If any one comes near you it will make them min-daithh (ill) at once."

Yet I can render the nowinning harmless by absorbing the magic from it. Then any native can touch it without evil results following. Hence the magic is not so much in the stick or bone, as in the individuals to whom these may belong. When I left the nowinning in camp during my visits to town for supplies, I was supposed to charge it with magic, and every native who looked over towards my tent at night saw "kala daaling" (fire tongue-flame) inside my tent, and they knew the nowinning was guarding the tent. Its great effectiveness in this respect lay in the fact that it kept Ngilgee's thirty-two dogs, twelve goats and eight cats, whom neither bolt, bars, saucepan or oven-lids could hinder from thieving, at a respectful distance, during my absence.

The various names for sorcery and sorcerers in the Southwestern district were as follows :-

Balladonia	Mobburn
Esperance	Mulgar, boyl
Norseman	Mobburn
Bremer Bay, Korrlup, Jerramungup	Boylia, mulgar, yoomp, yoombuk
Albany, Denmark	Boyl, boolaja
Kendenup	Boyl, bool, mulgar
Mt. Barker	Boyl
Katanning	Boolya, mulgar, boyl
Bridgetown	Boyl
Williams	Boylia, mulgar
Vasse, Augusta	Boylia, mulgar, dalga, mooeeya, dandagaranning
Bunbury, Pinjarra	Boylia, mulgar, dalgar
Perth	Boylia, mulgar
York	" "
Meckering	" "
Gingin	Boolya, mulgar
Dandarraga	" "
Berkshire Valley	Boola, boolya
Dongara	Booldha
Marah, Watheroo	Boylia, mobburn

The methods of the sorcerers in all these district varied but slightly. Local differences in detail probably occurred in contiguous tribes, while similarity of method prevailed amongst tribes far apart from each other.

Some mulgarguttuk made elaborate preparations for the exercise of their functions as healers or killers. Others (and these were the sorcerers who were the most sincerely believed in, both by themselves and their people) made very simple preparations, trusting almost entirely to their powers of "touch" and "healing" and to the invisible magic within them.

Magic is usually only practised by men, but, as has been said before, some women of strong character and striking personality possess certain kinds of magic which they use to harm those who offend them. Women do not generally appear to have curative powers.

A woman, if she desires to bring evil upon some man or woman who has incurred her wrath, either by giving her a meagre quantity of food, or by neglecting her in some way, will perform the "animal magic" in the manner before mentioned.

Possession of what is generally called the "evil eye" has been attributed to several native women, among whom were Balbuk, Notum (Katanning) and other Southwestern women. "Fire" was supposed to be the form of magic projected from the evil eye, "boolya" being applied to the magic of the evil eye as well as to other invisible magic.

Mrs. Searle of Tuckanarra, Murchison district, informed me that in consequence of some native murder having been committed in a district eastward of Tuckanarra, all local and other outlying tribes, whose near or distant relative the murdered man was, were forbidden by the sorcerers of their tribes to decorate themselves with red until the murder had been avenged. A woman who had been given a red frock brought it to Mrs. Searle for safe keeping until the "edict" had been revoked. Lawlers and other Eastern tribes were implicated in the murder, a man named Koylee being the chief aggressor, if not the actual murderer. This is the first instance on record of a special law relating to the general prohibition of red ochre decorations, while preparations for revenge were in progress. No meaning for the prohibition could be obtained.

The eastern and northern names for magic, sorcery and sorcerers are as follows :-

Duketon, Eastern Goldfields	Mobburn, mobburnjarra
Lower Murchison	"
Northampton	Booldha, koolyardee
Weld Range	Mobburn
Illimbirree, Sanford River	Mobburngur, boola-batta
Peak Hill, Gullewa, Murrum	Mobburn
Yeedeling, Peak Hill dist.	Yoongarow mobburn
Murchison, Gascoyne (contributed)	Bulya, kajjeoordoo, mobburn
Warngun, N.E. of Peak Hill	Karreebeeree, mobburn
Ashburton, Roebourne	Mobburn, mobburngurra
Tableland, De Grey	" "
Nullagine	Mobburngur
La Grange Bay	Janga-ngoороо
Fitzroy district	Jalnga-ngoороо, mummara
Broome, Beagle Bay, etc.	Jalnga-ngoороо, jalnga-gooroo

In the Eastern Goldfields districts, my magic stick was called "yanda nyoongin inyillee" by Bailberin, and others of Southern Cross, and held the same reputation with them as it did amongst the Southern natives. It could kill or cure and I could absorb its magic within myself and render the stick harmless. It could produce whirlwinds, thunderstorms or rain at my pleasure. It held light "like the sun" by day, and "like a flame" by night. A friendly sorcerer who examined it felt a "shivering pain running along his arm and up to his shoulder" while holding the stick, but when I withdrew the magic no sensation was felt.

Dharramarra is the name of the magic which is sent to the Eastern Goldfields people from the Nor'Nor'east. It generally comes "like fire" similarly to the boylya of the South. The pieces of stick, quartz, flint or other objects extracted by the local sorcerer from the seat of pain may also be called dharramarra, provided the magic has been seen coming from the N.N.E.

In the Northampton district, I found three species of pearlshell (magic) of varying shapes. One was called dibbooroo, and was of an elongated oval shape, having a hole at one end through which a hairstring was passed. The mobburngurra who possessed the dibbooroo when he wished to perform magic with it first rendered it elastic and then, stretching it outwards towards the person he desired to kill, sent the magic catapulting from him into the victim's stomach, and soon killed him. In using the dibbooroo for healing purposes, the mobburngurra stretched it towards himself, and the magic came away from the patient towards him, going inside his stomach. He at once spat it out in the direction from which it had been sent. The dibbooroo may be worn either uncovered, hanging from the back of the mobburngurra's neck, or, if very magical, it is placed in a little receptacle and carried in the hair.

Thaamura is a round shaped piece of pearlshell, also having a hole near the edge, through which string is passed. It is usually placed upon the affected part, and "moves" with the moving of the evil magic which it extracts after a time.

Meerin-meerin is a diamond shaped shell, with hole and string. One mobburngurra may become possessed of all three shells, but he will only use one at a time in magic. A sick or bewitched man has often been carried on the shoulders of a companion to one of these Northampton mobburngurra, living perhaps thirty or forty miles away. I have seen a sick man carried in this manner from Norseman to Coolgardie, his companions taking it in turns to carry him. When changing the burden, the sick man who could not walk was brought underneath a tree, where he held on to a branch while his bearers were changed.

In the Ashburton district, mobburngur have also almost unlimited powers of life and death and hence the food laws, etc., are strictly kept since the sorcerer is "all-seeing".

Young girls who look at the full moon will never grow any bigger.

If the flower of the Ashburton pig-face is plucked, the sea will rise over the land.

Burning sandalwood will prevent rain falling, unless the knuckle of the mobburngurra's forefinger be doubled, when the magic will be counteracted.

Scraps of meat or bone burning on a fire attract spirits.

The goat-sucker or night-jar, and the powerful owl, which live in caves on the ranges, will steal babies at night.

When rain is required the Ashburton mobburngurra goes to a high hill, and taking some water in his mouth, squirts it in the direction in which the rain is to come. In civilised day, when pearling boats are becalmed, a native (not necessarily a mobburngurra), if on board, will fill his mouth with water, and blow it out in a spray in the direction from which the wind is required.

Cornally states that very frequently he has known men and women on the Gascoyne and elsewhere amongst the natives to suddenly become insane for about 24 hours. At the end of this period, they become all right again, but during their temporary insanity they appear to become changed into another tribe and on recovering, they say they are Talinjees, Bootenas or some other name quite different from their own tribal name which they had held previously and probably the name of a tribe over 200 miles away from them. This peculiar transformation is common to men and women alike and those who have passed through it are credited with the possession of certain magic powers. They continue to live amongst their own tribe. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen mention a somewhat similar performance, in the making of medicing men amongst the Unmatjera tribes (see Northern Tribes of Central Australia, Pp. 480-481). The methods of the Unmatjeras are more elaborate, but the fundamental idea is the same.

The name of the old Thakomara man named Kurkutji of the Binbinga tribe (Spencer and Gillen) is not dissimilar in sound to "kajoorda", the principal medicine man, rain maker, etc. of the Gascoyne natives and the kajoorda-ship being strictly hereditary furnishes another point of similitude with some of the Anula tribes (see N.T. of S.A., P. 488).

The wallanqua of the Warramungas and the kajoora of the Byong, My-a and other tribes are both purely snakes, the person who has sole communication with the kajoora being the kajoorda.

When Dampier and his men landed on the Nor'West coast, the sorcerers and older men in the vicinity assembled on the hill and tried by incantations and hand motions to drive the "spirits" away. The same short puffs which Joobaitch and Woolberr used in the South to "blow off" the magic, and which Dampier interpreted as the "pooch-pooch's" of contempt were uttered by the frightened inhabitants of those days, who, seeing they had no effect, turned and fled from the dreadful apparitions.

Roebourne and De Grey mobburngurra have the power of drawing rope or string, in addition to the usual objects, from their stomachs, and sending magic by these into the desired direction, the rope or string returning to them "covered with blood", showing that vengeance has been accomplished. Whatever shape or form the messenger may take, it returns to the stomach of the sorcerer when revenge has been accomplished. The Roebourne mobburngurra can also change themselves into birds, animals or snakes, as, like all northern sorcerers, they have certain magic control over totems. They can transform themselves into their own totems, whether these are animals or reptiles, and work harm on their enemies while so transformed.

Mobburngurra will sometimes take small snakes, stones, etc., from the body of a patient, and their "conjuring" propensities are shown in their manipulation of the phosphorus from damp matches, which they will rub over their faces and hands, first going some distance from their people, but within sight of them, and then waving their illumined hands and face to and fro. They will even climb trees in the dark, their phosphorised faces and hands only being visible to their friends, who think they are flying in the air.

A mobburngurra will take the form of a snake, and while assuming it, will travel invisibly to the district of the man he desires to kill. The person towards whom his vengeance is directed feels something striking or biting his foot.

Looking down he sees nothing, but presently he falls ill and soon dies. The magic snake had bitten him, and when it had accomplished its purpose, it changed into a mobburngurra again.

All mobburngurra, like the mulgarguttuk of the South, lose their magic powers through severe illness, and, since the white man's arrival, through the white man's drink. Once a mobburngurra has been seen helplessly drunk by his people, he has no further power over them, for they know his magic must have departed from him.

If a strong and powerful man offends againstt he tribe, and for some reason, probably because of his strength, he cannot be called up to receive justice, he is invariably "bulya'ed" or "mobburned" (destroyed by magic).

A piece of shining stone was shown me by a Roebourne district native from whose stomach the mobburngurra had extracted it. The stone was wrapped in a fibrous covering and carried in the man's hair, and was esteemed by him a very precious possession.

In the West Kimberley districts the jalnga-ngoороо possess power almost supreme in their tribes. They can kill or cure; increase or diminish the food supply; bring or stop rain; put mirroороо (magic) into any food or weapon. They can see at night as clearly as in the daytime, and can see through the densest forest. They can point a bone and kill, or put kabboowalla (cannibal magic) or koorongada (magic stick) inside a man while he sleeps at night, and gradually the cannibal magic eats up his vitals, or the magic stick moves and moves inside the victim until it kills him. The man knows nothing about the koorongada as the jalngangoороо made him sleep while he works the evil magic upon him.

Broome district jalngangooroo appear to be in a measure hereditary, for the sons and daughters of jalngangooroo are possessed of magical powers, but they do not exercise these until they have become elderly; that is, the men must be talloorgurra (elderly married men), and the women jabboolyoo (old). Even then, they must not exercise their powers if their father is living, as no jalngangooroo will brook rivalry in his own family. No women can be called jalngangooroo as the principal powers of the jalngangooroo consist in their ability to control the totems, and also to assume the form of these to work as magic. The term jalnga-ngooroo means "many totems" (jalnga= totems; ngooroo= many) and as women sorcerers can have no power over any totems, they cannot therefore be called jalngangooroo. They are called instead mirrooroo jandoo (women possessed of magic), but their powers are strictly defined. They cannot put magic into any totems whatever, nor can they take the shape of their own totems to work evil. They can, however, render themselves invisible and visit a camp to put magic into some man or woman who has offended them. A mirrooroo jandoo may throw magic, either a stick, or a piece of magic bark, etc., into the camp of a person she wants to kill, and that person soon dies.

No woman can make another woman mirrooroo, but a man can make a "brother-in-law" jalngangooroo. The powers of a made jalngangooroo are however not equal to those of a "born" jalngangooroo.

The manner in which a Broome district jalngangooroo was made, was as follows :-

The hereditary or "born" jalngangooroo first took his brother-in-law to a cave or shelter, away from the people in camp. He then put a mother jooragoorong (magic snake) inside him, these jooragoorong having pointed heads and tails. Next he put binja-binja, koorab'bura (magic sticks) and a beerajoonoo (little bird) inside his brother-in-law. All these were taken

from the jalngangooroo's stomach, and put into the man's nalma (head), noongoo (stomach) and nealgun (back). By and by these began to bite the brother-in-law, and they continued to bite him until all his fat had been bitten out. The jalngangooroo who is giving the magic knows when all the fat has been taken out, and as soon as this is done he puts more snakes, etc., inside the stomach, head and back. Soon the man's eyes feel clear, and he hears a noise inside him. He comes outside the nyeerwa (cave) and all the things that have been put inside him come out, and he sees them all moving about. Presently "when they get cold", they come back to him again, and then he rubs his breast and closes them in, and he knows he is jalngangooroo.

The giving of the jooragoorong, etc., by the hereditary jalngangooroo does not lessen them with himself; he is rather all the more jalngangooroo from the circumstance. If two jalngangooroo put magic into a man, the first jooragoorong (or tchooroogoorong) will fight with the second and will drive it away.

A jalngangooroo can make a man nimmerdeegoordoo (lame), koorilee nimmerdee (boomerang-legged), nimbala burdar (turned in feet) and otherwise deform him.

If a little boy in camp mocked and defied his elders, and continued to do so after they had warned him, one of them obtained a warrangujje (nose bone) and made some dots and lines on it with a goombara (stone) and held the bone close to him and sang :-

Warrangujje piddoor garee naa,

Warrangujje piddoor garee naa,

Piddoor garee naa.

The boy's name was mentioned softly over the marked warrangujje and then it was placed in the bark of a tree, and it broke there "of itself" and after that the boy died.

A jalngangooroo can also "sing" a woman who talks loudly at him. He obtains a barran (rattan handle of native axe) and puts a little ginboo (gum) on it and folds it over as if he were

placing a hammer or axe in the bend. Then he sings the following song, using the woman's name :-

Ganbarra goo, warr'warr'garee (handle walking)
 Naa warr'warr garee naa
 Ganbarra goo, warr'warr'garee naa
 Warr'warr garree.

At the close of the song the jalngangooroo throws the barran up into the branches of a tree. If it falls he picks it up and throws it again, and the second or third time the handle breaks. After that the woman rapidly grows thin and dies.

Besides the Inbal song, the following songs are sung by jalngangooroo to send pain or illness away :-

Karbungan jee, karbungan jee,
 Yeere ree re ree,
 Karbungan jee, karbungan jee,
 Yeere ree re ree.

Sore eyes are thus sung :-

Ngamnee ueega ingar inj' (Eyes very sore going)
 Boorilee nganjala (Smoke see (in them))

Yeega mardaboo are running sores, supposed to be mirrooroo and incurable, jalngangooroo do not sing for these.

Jalngangooroo heals best in the dark. He will put jooragoorong (magic snakes) at the seat of pain. Then he pulls out the mirrooroo that has been sent into the sick man. Sometimes it is visible magic, a piece of wood, etc., which he breaks and puts into the fire, the mirrooroo being then burnt away, and soon after the patient gets well.

Moonderagool is invisible mirrooroo or magic string (like the moordinarra of the De Grey natives) which sometimes fastens itself round a man's head, paining him greatly. He goes to the jalngangooroo who pulls it out, breaks it, and throws it away. Sometimes the jalngangooroo will bite it and spit the pieces out, and the patient soon gets better. "Jooa meejala maaboo" (you soon all right), he tells the patient.

If I fall ill, eebala (father), kogga (mother's brother), if they are jalngangooroo, will come and heal me. "Kogga (or eebala) koonna jallajoo," (uncle or father coming to see you) my mother will say to me. My father will be Kaimera and my uncle Paljeri (I being Boorong).

Sometimes the jalngangooroo will take the affected part (generally the stomach) invisibly away from the patient, will clean it and close up the opening, mend the broken part and set it all right again. He tells the patient that someone has put mirrooroo into him, a spear wound or some other wound, and he closes up the mirrooroo hole. If the mirrooroo which he is extracting looks like string, and breaks during the process, the patient dies. "Baaloo eegallada" - the string has broken. No blame will attach to the attending jalngangooroo as it is believed that the sorcerer who put the magic into the man's stomach was pulling at the string to hold it back, and hence the breakage.

When the Broome natives saw an eclipse of the moon, they said it was goonbuloo - the blood of someone who had been killed, which was covering the moon. Yingardee meerijal (or koonyoooloo) = covering the moon up. Koorarr-koorarr = like blood in colour. The moon was showing that the man had been killed.

A koojangooroo jalngangooroo (seacoast sorcerer) when asked by some neighbouring inland tribe to bring rain, will, if willing, decorate himself with doogul, karrmul and babbagoono (red, white and light brown ochre) and will go into the open and lie down in the sun, with his head towards the tribe who made the request. Presently a little cloud appears and rain shortly follows.

The magic which leaves a drunken jalngangooroo makes a noise when leaving him, and when other jalngangooroo hear it they can pick the magic up. The sons of the drunken jalngangooroo may also pick the magic up. In the same manner a dying jalngangooroo will leave his magic behind him. The noise the magic makes when leaving is called mirrooroo (magic).

An ordinary man may "sing" a woman to make her come to him or follow him. No matter how far away her home may be, when she hears the song she must come to the singer. "Koorongara" and "jarrada" are the Broome district names for this form of magic.

When a Broome district Boorong man's left or right shoulder "quivers" or moves, his Kaimera father is thinking or talking about him. When his stomach quivers, his Paljeri mother or Paljeri mother's brother (kogga) is talking about him. When his thigh quivers, his Boorong brothers or sisters are thinking or talking about him, and when his upper right or left arm moves, his Banaka yaggoo or jandoo (wives or women) are talking about him. So also with members of the other classes, the relationships being marked in the parts of the body mentioned.

The living are frequently named after the dead, but are not the reincarnations of such dead. Names of dead or living Boorong will be given to Banaka men and so on.

The spirit or "astral body" of a jalngangooroo can leave his material body in sleep, and wander into far distant places, and communicate with other "doubles" of jalngangooroo, or with the spirits of the dead.

Reeng, who had been carried away by a turtle, and had gone to Loomurn, came back from there in a dream to Burndoor, a jalngangooroo womba, and gave him the Manowra dance and song. Reeng, however, did not return as ranjee, to remain and haunt the vicinity. He apparently only returned from Loomurn to give his dance to Burndoor. There is no Reeng-haunted place in Reeng's own district.

There are various magic stones (called mirrool in the Broome district) amongst the Northern Kimberley sorcerers. Some are used for rainmaking purposes only and are placed in watercourses, waterholes or soaks as the case may be. They are generally of a milky white colour, and are put into the waterholes in the afternoon, rain coming either next day or the following day. Stones are also used for healing, by

magically extracting them from the patient, or for killing, by sending them inside the patient. The rainmaking stones are almost of uniform shape and may be crystal cubes or other semi-transparent flints, or bits of mica.

In a limestone patch in the hills of the Shaw River several crystal cubes have been dug up by the district natives, who not only use them for magic purposes, but also traffic them with sorcerers of other tribes. They are however only sold by sorcerers, as the ordinary native must not handle them for fear of the magic contained in them. Any native other than a sorcerer who tried to traffic in these stones, would have the magic in them turned upon himself by the sorcerers of his tribe. When travelling through the country of the Shaw River, I found several of these cubes in a little limestone patch on the side of a hill. Some of these I brought to the Technical School for analysis, others were given as "valuable presents" to the elderly sorcerers met with in the district between the Shaw River and the Ophthalmia Range, the cubes gaining increased value as their distance from the source of supply became greater. These cubes would be used for all magical purposes, rainmaking, killing and curing, my relationship to the recipients ensuring the absence of evil magic in the cube on its presentation.

Koorabarl, or koorabbura, is the Broome district name for a message stick, which, though not ordinarily "magic" can be made so if in the possession of a jalngangooroo. Koorongada is the name given to an invisible pointing stick used to kill an enemy. The koorabarl may also be used by a sorcerer to point and kill. Mirrooroo koorongada is put into a sleeping man, into his side, and into his heart. He will not feel the magic in the morning when he rises, but after a little time he feels ill and is presently dead.

Tchoorogoorong (snake magic) can be given either to kill or cure or to make jalngangooroo.

The kalleegooroo of the Broome district is not so much magic as it is sacred. It may be used to heal boongana or larrabarree jammunungur who have probably been unskilfully operated upon, but its use in this respect is extremely limited. It is "laid on" either flatly or edgewise, on the breast of the circumcised or subincised boy either during or immediately after the operation in some of the tribes, but in general it is strictly confined to the initiation ceremonies, in which its "voice" plays the chief part, and it is therefore more fitly included in the "religion" than in the "magic" of the Western aborigines.

The control that certain jalngangooroo have over the beega ranjee on their grounds is exemplified in Leeberr's control of the ranjee on his booroo. At the Wallawallong ceremony, when some of the visitors, and younger members of the home tribe had killed a porpoise, Leeberr's special totem, and had failed to give him his due proportion of the fish, he told the beega ranjee to bring some punishment upon them. This was done by the ranjee bringing a number of fighting men with spears and boomerangs, whose shouts and noise frightened the younger members into contrition and amendment. The "army" of fighting men raised by the ranjee would be accounted for at the present day by hypnotic suggestion.

In the Broome district boy children, whose fathers are jalngangooroo, will often imitate their elders by putting wal-lagin (a non-edible fruit like a marble) or birirr-birirr (another green marble-like growth) into their mouths, one into each cheek. These they work with their tongues, massaging their cheeks the while, until the marbles are forced out of their mouths or throats, the game exactly resembling one which I have frequently seen played by children in the South of Ireland.

Sometimes the little Broome boys puffed out their stomachs, crying out, "Ngai dardal, ngai dardal," (I sick, I sick) and a little "jalngangooroo", bringing either koorabarl or koorongada, puts the baaloo (stick) on the back, stomach and sides of the "patient", and presently the "lump" goes down, and the young jalngangooroo says to the patient, "Jooa maaboo?" (you all right?). The boy answers, "Ngowai, ngai maaboo," (Yes, I good, or "all right").

Again, little Broome boys will indulge in a sham fight with toy rush spears and boomerangs and small bark shields. After a short fight someone falls down apparently dead. A young jalngangooroo comes over to him and raises him up, but the boy shows no signs of life. Then the little jalngangooroo puts a finger into each of the "dead" boy's ears and shouts, "Wanjalla ngai". (see or look at, me). The boy opens his eyes, says, "Ngowai" (yes) and becomes alive again.

After the Broome boys have ceased to be jeera (little boys) they can never play these games.

In some of the Western Kimberley districts, a born jalngangooroo cannot lose his magic through anything except death.

All the jalngangooroo of the Broome district had special "familiar" or spirit messengers in animals or reptiles, which belonged to them exclusively. One jalngangooroo had a spirit dog which was called ngalgarr yeela; another had a whipsnake. When these jalngangooroo wished to send their familiars in a certain direction, they pinched their tails, and they then knew where they were to go. They always returned to their owners with their mouths covered with blood, showing that vengeance had been accomplished. The jalngangooroo whose familiar the whipsnake (woolgardain) was, had a figure of the snake drawn upon his larra, which made that weapon magic. The ngalgarr yeela's pads might also be carved or painted on its owner's larra, and so on with other familiars. All these spirit familiars were invisible to everyone except their owners.

No dance or ceremony accompanies either the "fire" Inbal song or the healing Inbal. The latter may also be sung to bring back a woman who has run away from her husband. The singing of the Inbal makes her legs so tired that she is compelled to sit down and rest, thus enabling her womba to catch her up and bring her back or kill her.

The only approach to the "Fire Ceremony" which forms such an important feature in Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's latest work, is the Boorgoon (smoke) ceremony already described, which is performed at weerrganjoo time only.

In the Fitzroy district (according to Majjeree, my only informant), nyal-ngara (magic) is put into the karradurda (circles, loops or coils) which are marked with doogul (red ochre), tchoordoo (earth) and warrba (blood) on the young man's back during part of his initiation (when he becomes ballelee), the finished pattern being called mardula. The long carved stick with karradurda markings, which is met with throughout the Kimberley district and various other parts of the interior of Western Australia, is called in the Fitzroy district billeeang. (Billeeangoo is the name given to the home peoples' food, at the "Exchange of Food" ceremony in the West Kimberley district.)

There are two "degrees" of sorcerers in the Fitzroy district. Jalngangooroo - those who can see magic with their bodily eyes during the day, and Mummara - those who can leave their bodies at any time and assume a "double", their bodies meanwhile remaining in camp. Mummara can see magic at all times, in daylight or darkness. Majjeree was Mummara through his mother's brother, who was Mummara, the magic coming to Majjeree after his mother's brother's death.