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MARRIAGE LAWS, etc.

Early MSS. from various sources

Marriage Laws

Original MSS.

Marriage Laws re-written

Note

All the MSS. compiled from Grey, Moore, Nind and others are subject to considerable alteration, since personal investigation conducted amongst the old Southern natives discloses many important errors.

Totemism referred to towards end of MSS.

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The system of marriage amongst the aborigines of West Australia is an extremely complicated one. Whether it is a survival of laws from a higher state of civilisation or whence it derives its origin, is a question that cannot be discussed with any approach to certainty. Some writers have accounted for it on the hypothesis that it is the result of a reformatory movement prohibiting the once-prevalent inter-marriage of brothers and sisters. The Australian system has been called the Ganowanian, otherwise Turanian, which reckons descent through the mother. Howitt and others maintain that group marriages prevail throughout the tribes, that a woman is not only the wife of the man who possesses her, but is also the wife of the class to which she belongs. Also that even when a native goes amongst tribes whose organisation is not that of his own, though he may cover a thousand miles of territory he still finds the marital rights of the group which is "wife" to his own, acknowledged by the various tribes with whom he may sojourn in that distance. He also acknowledges the marital rights of men belonging to tribes living the same distances away who may at any time become his guests.

It is, these writers state, on account of this custom that the mutual avoidance of son-in-law and mother-in-law is made compulsory, the latter being a woman of the same class name as the native's wife, is thus one of a class of women, who are his wives, but she herself is forbidden to him. In the North and Nor'West of W.A. she is made "tuer" or "too-ah" to her prospective son-in-law immediately on the betrothal of her child to him.

Another confirmation of the system of group marriages, according to Messrs. Howitt and Fison, lies in the fact that in those tribes who have descent through females, the son-in-law must provide food for his fathers-in-law. Certain portions of the game which he kills are allotted to his wives' fathers and although the mothers-in-law cannot speak to or even look at him, the prohibition does not extend to the food he provides.

"It is not," says Fison, "that a man has to leave his own clan in order to go into his father-in-law's division when he marries. He is of his father-in-law's division by birth. Thus, if Dog and Snake be the totems of two intermarrying clans with descent through females, the daughter of the Dog (male) is Snake, and the son of Snake

(male) is Dog. This Dog, the son of Snake, marries Snake the daughter of Dog."

Sir John Lubbock's theory is that the four intermarrying classes might arise out of marriage by capture among four neighboring tribes who had the custom of exogamy with descent through the mother.

Lubbock "After a certain time," Lubbock says, "the result would  
Origin etc. be that each tribe would consist of four septs or clans  
P. 87. representing the original tribes, and hence we should find commun-  
ities in which each is divided into clans and a man must always  
marry a woman of another clan."

Fison however thinks that the four classes arose out of two primary divisions by an orderly process of evolution. The prohibition of sister marriage would give two exogamous intermarrying classes these would be sub-divided into four and probably other subdivisions.

Now it is well known that the West Australian aborigines are divided into certain classes or families who intermarry with each other according to established rules handed down by tradition from their forefathers. Infraction of any of these rules means death, for the laws that divide the classes are clearly defined. By these rules, <sup>the</sup> numbers of each class are systematically prevented from marrying their near kindred, and so well and faithfully have the laws been transmitted, that no one individual in any tribe of marriageable age is ignorant of the restrictions placed upon him or her with regard to marriage within their forbidden degrees of kindred.

To an European the intricacies of the various relationships in each great family or class are bewildering, yet to the native they are simplicity itself. From childhood he is made familiar with the relation he bears towards every member of his class or family. He may be in the midst of a hundred persons yet when asked will instantly define the relationship to himself of any one of them; he thoroughly understands his obligations towards every member of his great family; of every grade, and is also fully aware that family obligations are much stronger than those of blood.

The laws of his tribe - of his race - are instilled into the mind of the young aborigine by the old men and women of his immediate family. While the able bodied members are hunting for their daily food and

the younger women are also procuring roots and fruits and such small animals and birds as they can catch, the children, left in the camp with the old men and women, are taught the customs, laws and class relationships existing in the large "family" of which they are members. The exact relationships between the boys and girls are explained so lucidly that in after life the boys never ignorantly make a mistake in the selection of their wives. These lessons, with other practical instruction as to the manufacture of weapons etc. for the boys, domestic utensils for the girls, and various other native arts suitable to both sexes, tracking etc. are taught on what might at the present day be called the "kindergarten system", the children instinctively imbibing the necessary knowledge without any conscious effort. To a superficial observer of native camp life, the children seem to be allowed to "grow up like savages", according to the common expression, but no European has yet met one of these young "savages" who is not proficient in the acquirement of all the arts necessary to enable him to live the life decreed to him by nature, and unless these arts were taught him from earliest childhood and the customs of the race instilled into him at the same time, such a result could not be obtained, more especially when the character of the native with its absence of perseverance or application is taken into consideration.

The two principal laws amongst the Southern natives by which the family names are perpetuated, and in accordance with which marriages are contracted and relationships defined are, 1st, that children of either sex always take the family name of their mother, 2nd, that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name. With these two great laws the young aborigine is familiar from childhood and knows thoroughly not only all the ramifications of his own immediate family and relatives, but also those of the other great families with whom his people have married, and from whose ranks he will one day obtain his wives. And thus the numerous relationships, so confusing to Europeans minds, are clear and distinct to the native far more so than the "Table of Marriages" as set down by the Church, is to the ordinary British reader.

Grey draws attention to the remarkable coincidence of the Australian marriage system with that of the North American Indians. In "The Archaeologia Americana", vol. II, P. 109, it is thus said of the Indians, "Independent of political or geographical divisions, that into families or clans has been established from time immemorial. At what time, and in what manner, the division was first made is not known. At present, or till very lately, every nation was divided into a number of clans, varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which respectively were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained, that the inviolable regulations by which those clans were perpetuated amongst the Southern nations, were, first, that no man could marry in his own clan; secondly, that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan. Among the Choctaws, there are two great divisions, each of which is subdivided into four clans, and no man can marry in any of the four clans belonging to his division. The restriction among the Cherokees, the Creeks and the Natches, does not extend beyond the clan to which the man belongs. There are not sufficient proofs, that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists among almost all the other Indian nations. But it is not so clear that they are subject to the same regulations which prevail amongst the Southern Indians."

There is much that has yet to be ascertained in connection with these great laws which are followed by the natives of Australia and North America. Were the same or similar laws in force amongst the Hill Tribe of India? and the old Babylonian races of what is now Egypt? Time does not admit of investigation into the laws of those people in pursuance of certain theories, but there is a wide field open to anthropological students to trace the connection between the marriage laws in force in Australia and those which obtain amongst other races, a research that might possibly result in supplying reliable data by which the primeval home of the Australians could be ascertained, and also the period of their migration to these shores.

The Class Divisions of the West Australians have existed seemingly for ages, and appear to have been enacted in the first instance to prevent the evils arising from in-&-in marriages, making it compulsory



for men to seek their wives outside their own family. No man must take to wife a woman bearing his own family name. How or whence these family names originated and what was their earliest signification no scientist has yet discovered. Samuel Gason, writing of the Dieyerie tribe (S.A.) mentions a legend current amongst them which presupposes a state of society in which the consanguine family existed. The legend is called "Murdoo, or the Subdivision of Tribe into Families." (Murdoo means taste, Gason says, but in its primary and larger signification implies family.)

"After the creation," another native legend stated that "Moora-moora, good spirit, had made men from small black lizards, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously, until the evil effects of these alliances becoming manifest, a council of the chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted, the result of their deliberations being a petition to the Moora-moora, in answer to which he ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches, and distinguished one from the other by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana and so forth, the members of any such branch not to intermarry, but with permission for one branch to mingle with another. Thus the son of a dog might not marry the daughter of a dog, but either might form an alliance with a mouse, an emu, a rat, or other family. This custom is still observed and the first question asked of a stranger is 'What Murdoo?' namely, 'Of what family are you?'"

The above is the S.A. legendary origin of the class divisions. According to many writers the tribes were at first divided into two exogamous intermarrying classes, later on there was a subdivision of these classes into four, and from thence further subdivisions.

In North West Australia there are four great classes, which may be the subdivision of two primary classes, but no evidence can be brought in proof of this further than the rule obtaining amongst the four Nor'West families (Boorong, Bannacka, Paljerri and Kymera,) that Boorong marries Bannacka, and Bannacka marries Boorong, their children being Paljerri and Kymera respectively. Then Paljerri marries Kymera and Kymera marries Paljerri, their offspring being Bannacka and Boorong respectively. These four classes are therefore composed of two

pairs of non-intermarrying classes, for Boorong or Bannacka cannot marry Paljerri or Kymera, since it means that they would be marrying their own children. If a Boorong man runs away with a Boorong woman, they are pursued and killed by men of the Bannacka family, and should a Paljerri man elope with a Paljerri woman, the Kymeras take vengeance upon the guilty pair.

It is not possible to dwell much upon the ethnological aspects of this and other subjects connected with the laws of marriage and descent. It is however, hoped that this work will prove an incentive to scientists and others, to investigate the many and peculiar customs of the West Australians. Much time and patient study would yield magnificent results. The works of Howitt and Fison Spencer and Gillen, Dr. Fraser, Rev. J. Mathew, R.H. Mathews and other writers on the Australian tribes show what can be done in this respect. West Australia is still, anthropologically speaking, almost unknown, and now that Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have published their valuable work on the Northern tribes and Central Australia, this State has the unenviable reputation of being the only one that has not yet been scientifically explored, although the W.A. aborigines afford infinite possibilities for the prosecution of special scientific investigations. Since the opening of the settlement of King George's Sound in 1827 up to the present time, the works issued on the subject of the aborigines have mainly consisted of desultory notes on certain tribes, situated in various parts of the State, but no general work of an ethnological character, suitable for purposes of reference, has yet been published. Extracts from the earliest works on the aborigines of this State are given in order to show the paucity of material in connection with this subject, and also to point out the unreliability of those earlier commentators.

Dr. Scott Nind, residing in King George's Sound from 1826-1829, makes first mention of the class divisions and subdivisions of the tribes in the vicinity of the Sound. (Journal Geog. Soc. Vol. I 1831, P. 42-3, also 38.) Though, in view of later records bearing upon this subject, some of Dr. Nind's statements have been found wanting in accuracy, still he merits the distinction of having been the discoverer of this extraordinary system prevailing amongst the aborigines of this State. In this respect his statement is worth

quoting. He admitted at the outset of his remarks the intricacy of the subject of the divisions and subdivisions existing amongst the tribes. "The classes Erniung and Tem," he states, "are universal near the Sound, but the distinctions are general, not tribal. Another division, almost as general, is into Moncalon and Torndirrup, yet there are a few who are neither. These can scarcely be distinguished as tribes, and are very much intermingled. The Moncalan, however, is more prevalent to the eastward of our establishment, and the Torndirrup to the westward. They intermarry and have each again their subdivisational distinctions, some of which are peculiar and some general; of these are the Opperheip, Cambien, Mahnur, etc. What I, however, consider more correctly as tribes are those which have a general name and a general district, although they may consist of Torndirrup or Moncalon, separate or commingled. These are, I believe....named by the kind of game or food found most abundant in the district. The inhabitants of the Sound and its immediate vicinity are called Meananger (Meeningur?) probably derived from mearn, the red root above mentioned, and anger, to eat...

The natives residing on the right and extending to the coast about North-West Cape are called Murram..... These tribes are also not universally divided into Erniung and Tem....Adjoining them, inland, is the Yobberore (Northern men?). Next to them is the Will or Weil (Wayl or Waylo, Northern men?) district, which is a very favourite country, and may probably be named from weil or weit (ants eggs).....Next to the Weil district is that of Warrangle or Warrangu (Narryngur?) from warre (kangaroo)? Although every individual would immediately announce to us his tribal name and country yet we have not been enabled to trace any regular order of descent. The son follows his mother as Erniung or Tem and his father as Torndirrup or Moncalon. Beyond this we have not been able to penetrate for half brothers are not unfrequently different. This would probably be caused by cross marriages. From the same cause also their divisions of relationships are very numerous. Eicher, mother, cuinker, father; mourert, brother or sister; konk or conk, uncle, etc

In their marriage they have no restriction as to tribe; but it is considered best to procure a wife from the greatest distance possible. The sons will have a right to hunt in the country from whence

the mother is brought.

The whole body of the natives are divided into two classes, Erniung and Tem or Taaman; and the chief regulation is that these classes must intermarry, that is an Erniung with a Taaman. Those who infringe this rule are called Yuredangers, and are subject to very severe punishment. The children always follow the denomination of the mother. Thus a man who is Erniung will have all his children Taaman; but his sister's children will be Erniungs. This practice is common to all the tribes in the neighborhood with the exception of the Murram."

Dr. Nind, in the short vocabulary attached to his paper, gives the names of the tribes and classes as follows :-

Names of Tribes

Meern-anger	Warrangle
Murram	Weil
Yobberore	Corine

Names of Classes

Erniung	Taaman or Tem
Moncalon	Torndirrup
Obberup	Cambien
	Mahnur

In 1880, Messrs J.A. Hassell, W.A. Spencer and W.A. Knight forwarded to E.M. Curr a brief account of the King George's Sound natives. According to the statements of these writers, "class marriage prevails, the two principal divisions being Manitchmat, or those of the white cockatoo, and Wordungmat, or those of the crow."

Recent inquiries go to show that the Perth and King George's Sound tribes bear the same principal family names, having as is usual local nicknames. Therefore of the above names only Tondarup is correct. Of the other names, Warrangle (warryngur?) means people living on warryn; Yobberore (Yabbaroo) north; Weil (or Wayle) North; Corine (Cooreeny) northeastern). Taaman may be a corruption of Demman, grandmother, and Murram (Murran) grandfather; Cambien (York and Beverley word for niece).

Grey's statements and those of other writers on the class divisions of the W.A. aborigines are now quoted, in order to show how contemporary writers may differ in their accounts of the customs etc. of the natives, although their studies were pursued within the same latitude and amongst practically the same people.

Grey's Journal which was written during the years 1837-38-39, contains amongst much useful and authentic information, the following names of the great families or branches into which he stated that the natives were divided, the number of classes or primary divisions being seven.

Bal-laroke  
Tondarup  
Ngotak  
Nagarnook  
Nogonyuk  
Mongalung  
Narrangur

In different districts Grey found that the members of these families were given local names, which were understood to indicate some particular branch of the principal families. The most common local names were :-

Didaroke  
Gwerringoke  
Maleoke  
Waddaroke  
Djekoke  
Kotejumeno  
Namyungo  
Yungaree

These family names, Grey stated, were common over a tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles in latitude; they apply to that part of W.A. which lies between 30 & 35 degrees S. latitude. The following local names have also been taken from Grey's Dictionary.

Djin-be-mon-gera  
Karbunga  
Kij-jin-broon  
Koo-la-ma  
Kul-jak  
Maleomeno  
Nagkarn  
Woordookoomeno  
Woort-wauk (K.G.S.)  
Ballard, or Bal-la-gere  
Eroto

Some of the above names are supposed to have been derived from some vegetable or animal at one time very common in the district, and which formed the principal food of the family which bears its name. To other names a mythological origin is attributed in which the birds or animals were transformed into men, and founded the family, such as Kuljak, a species of Swan. The family of the Ballarokes are said to owe their origin to the transformation of these birds into men.

It must be confessed that the greater number of Grey's family names cannot be substantiated. One or two were friendly nicknames, given to distant members of the same family, as "kota-ju-menong" (menong or meenung, Southern name for people), the Murray River branch of the

Nagarnooks. Ngotak, the Bunbury name for the Did-ar-ruks (Bunbury "crows"). (King George's Sound natives were also called Wordongmat (crows). If mat be taken as a contraction of mat-ta, leg or stick or branch, then Wordungmat is the Crow stock. Waddaroke (Waddaruk) "long legs", the nickname given to the Ballarruks near Darling Range, (children of Waddar). Only four of the other names can be identified by the natives, to whom they were submitted. Ballard or Ballagore is a species of opossum, and Grey says the Wallarruks are said to have derived their name from subsisting principally on this little animal, but no confirmation of this statement can be obtained. If it were the origin of that name would it not be the totem of the family? either the Ballard or the Kuljak? yet Ballarruks have killed both without scruple from time immemorial and have deemed themselves fortunate in finding either bird or animal asleep, whereas if either had been the totem of the family they must certainly spare its life unless pressed by hunger, and even then they must not kill their "totem" if it sleeps. The only food the Southern natives will not eat is the unio or fresh water mussel, not because it is their kobong or totem, but from an old tradition concerning some natives who had eaten these shellfish and had been immediately killed by the bad spirits for so doing. Probably "tainted mussels" were more responsible for the deaths, if the tale were true, than evil spirits or "Boilyas".

G.F. Moore's Vocabulary gives the names of four principal families, Bal-larok, Dtondarap, Ngotak, Naganok, which are however resolved again into many local or sub-denominations. The Ballarok, Dtondarap and Waddarak are said to be "matta gyn" (literally "one leg") or derived from one common ancestor. The Ngotak and Naganok are of "one leg", the Nogonyak, Didarok and Djikok are of "one leg".

Moore's local names with their respective meanings differ somewhat from Grey's, though the two writers were contemporary. The names given by Moore are as follows :-

Djen-be-mon-gerra  
 Kota jumeno (Murray River)  
 Kuljak  
 Melok (another local Bunbury name)  
 Nanyungo  
 Utamat (K.G.S.) "Utag yungar," people from far away  
 Waddarak (sons of Waddar)  
 Wurdu kumeneo (woordoo, brothers, murnong, people)  
 Yangor; Nag-kan (K.G.S.); Il-yanok

The difficulty of obtaining an absolutely correct rendering of native words is shown in the above extracts from Grey's and Moore's works. These two writers published their dictionaries within two years of each other and possibly obtained their information in many cases from the same source, yet the differences in both spelling and accentuation are many and varied. Numbers of words culled from either dictionary have been submitted to old natives whose language is supposed to be that which Grey and Moore reduced to writing, but the words have to go through many inflections before their "sense" can be grasped by the native. Nowhere is this more evident than in the tribal nomenclature of Grey and Moore, who, though writing the names of practically the same families, have many varieties of spelling and pronunciation.

Notwithstanding these differences it must be noted that Grey's and Moore's dictionaries are the most authentic works extant on the South West Australian dialects and possess added value at the present time from the fact that the natives of that part of the State are practically extinct and it is mainly to these booklets that reference is made when checking the various contributions, received from old residents, relative to the vocabulary etc. of the Southwestern aborigines.

Next comes in this connection Bishop Salvado's famous pedigree of the six great families about New Norcia. The genealogical tree, whereon the tabular arrangements of these families were set forth, gave opportunity to Mr. Stephen Horgan for a display of native (Irish) wit and through him the expression "six families" has since been given a widely different application from that which it originally held, very few persons being aware that it arose in the first instance from the classification by Dr. Salvado of the six principal aboriginal families.

(Illus. of Dr. Salvado's diagram can be taken from Smyth's *Aborigines*, I, 88, or Worsnop's *Aborigines*, P. 8.)

The names of these six families are :-

1. Tirarop
2. Palarop
3. Mondorop
4. Nocognok
5. Tonderop
6. Jiragiok

The inter-marriages of these families are also tabulated. Now, allowing for the fact that Dr. Salvado was a Spaniard and that during the whole term of his residence in W.A. he was unable to master the difficulties of English pronunciation, it is not strange that he should err in transcribing the family names given to him by the natives, more particularly when it is shown that Grey and Moore, two contemporary Englishmen, differed so widely in their phonetic reproduction of the same family names.

Hence Palarop may easily be translated Bal-lar'ruk, Neeognuk into either No-go-nyuk or Na-gar'nook, and Tirar'op into Did-ar'ruk. Tondarup is scarcely a word that would give occasion for much variation in spelling, nevertheless all four writers have rendered it differently, Hind as Torndirrup, Grey as Tdondarup, Moore as Dtondarap, and Salvado as Tondorop.

Mondorop from monder, the hair on the pubes, Jiragiok cannot be traced, Waijuk is the alternative names of the Nagarnecks and Ngotak or Ngwoota is darkskinned, "like a crow", Mēla murning being fair or light skinned.

The late W.H. Knight forwarded to Brough Smyth in 1877 a copy of Bishop Salvado's Genealogical Tree, and stated in a communication accompanying the illustration that "every native, male and female, belongs to one or other of these six families. The names are inherited by the children, not from their father but from their mother. No native can marry any of his family name, nor any one of some/other <sup>of the</sup> families, but of those only which their law allows." Knight says further that "the Perth and Murray natives are Ballarok; then there are the Dtondarup and the Ngotak, probably identical with some of the above.....The natives being divided into six families and inter-marriages being prohibited, it follows that a Tirarop cannot marry a Tirarop, a Mondorop or a Tondorop; but he may marry either a Jiragiok, Palarop or Neeognok and the children of a Tirarop man and a Palarop woman would belong to the Palarop family or branch, whose choice of marriage is also limited." Knight concludes by stating that the same law prevails amongst the natives of the North West coast, the only difference being in the names of the families.

The above extracts represent the principal literature obtainable on the Class Divisions and marriage laws of the W.A. aborigines.



Now, taking the class divisions and family names given by all these writers, it will be noticed that no two of them correspond, hence none of them can be assumed to be the correct nomenclature of the principal families. They have, therefore, been submitted to Jubyche and other old natives belonging to the Southern portions of the State, natives whose knowledge and intelligence rendered them capable of giving authentic information respecting their families and class divisions.

The result of the most careful investigations into this subject of class names and divisions is that the principal Southern families are reduced to four, having various sub denominations for certain districts.

The orthography of the words now given is based upon the rules of the Royal Geographical Society's System of Orthography, an excellent method by which the exact phonetic reproduction is secured. It will be noticed that in the accentuation of the syllables no distinct rule is observed, but in each case the accent placed on the words by the natives themselves is strictly adhered to.

The names of the four great Southern families are :-

Bal-lar'-ruk  
Na'-gar-nook  
Ton'-dar-up  
Did-ar'ruk

Now, the sub denominations of these great families vary in every district, and as far as can be ascertained, serve but to denote the locality of certain branches, and are not subdivisions of the four classes, as has been stated.

The names are used in the following sense :- A strange native approaches a camp about midday - the hour when friendly visitors make their appearance. An old man from the camp goes over and thus addresses the stranger, "Yin'-ok ma'-ta ngaitch?" What leg (stock, branch or family) you? "Way-juk" is the reply. "Na-a-a," ejaculates the old man, "Yin-ok kalamumba (Bunbury) coo-'lan," Oh, you come from Bunbury! Way-juk being the Bunbury name for the Na'gar-nook family, the visitor is at once received on a friendly footing and his message - for he is sure to be a messenger - is delivered.

The Nor'West natives ask the following question of a stranger who visits their camp at a "friendly" hour. "Wan-jellan-gurra nyinda?" Where do you come from? "Wanjella nyingoo nyinda?"

What name you? The visitor answers, "Kal-lia-burra, Ngia Kymera,"  
I come from Kallia-burra. I am a Kymera.  
Nyinok ny-yoo, who are you, Gocanuk mata, You must give your father,  
not your mother.

Then again there are other designations, "Yung-ar kun-'ning",  
Bunbury people.

"U'-tag yung-ar", people from far away.

"Mur'-nong" people

"Meen-ung", Albany and Beverley people

"Coor-ee nye", Eastern (Goldfields) people

"Kag-arr'", This side of the Goldfields

"Jee'-ding", Northam people

"Yab'-ba-roo", northern people

"Way'-lo or Wei'-lo", Northern people

"War'dan-up", sea coast people

("Mah-nur", which Scott Nind stated was one of the class names,  
is the native term for "ship")

"Wog-gee'-yang, Gingin people

"Quer-'jak", Beverley people.

Woolber (Gingin native) states that Joo'erung was the name given  
to the Gingin people.

The following must be substantiated.

Amongst the natives of the South, the district of Guildford was  
known as Wal-yeer'-ung. Bunbury as Kal'amum'ba or Koon'-ber-nup,  
Canning as Un-gar'-um, Toodyay and Dandar'agan are native names.  
Northam was known as Narr-juk, Moore River as Marr'gee and York as  
Bar-la-dung (a big pool). Princes' Royal Harbor (K.G.S.) as  
Man-ur-gurt and Oyster Harbour (K.G.S.) as Mer-rytch.

In the following Genealogical list which Grey tabulated in order to show the manner in which a native family becomes divided, many errors are found amongst the various intermarriages. In one instance the brother is supposed to have married his half sister, a union that is looked upon with horror by the natives of the Southern district, who state that it never prevailed amongst their families. The system of marriage with a half sister has been called by Howitt and Fison the Kamilaroi system and according to these writers, the practice is confined to a few isolated tribes in Australia, but neither in the North or South of this State has such a custom been followed. White settlers with a life-long experience of the natives and with a thorough knowledge of their marriage customs state that marriage with a half-sister is absolutely forbidden. J.G. Withnell who has lived all his life amongst the Nor'West natives says in this connection, "Brothers' children cannot marry, and the father's brother is not an uncle but a father also because both being males, their children are of the same (class tribe) so, of course could not marry.

The same rule applies to two sisters' children, because the mother's sister is not an aunt but a mother - their children being of the same (class tribe) and so could not marry. The only (consanguinous) marriages allowed are brothers' and sisters' children ("blood or tribal always") for this brings about a change in the class tribe. The brother and sister are then aunt and uncle to each other's children, and this relationship only applies to those who could give in marriage their daughter and son."

Grey's list is now given, an asterisk being placed after those names known to the present day natives :-

Nar-doo-itch or Mo-rel-li, a Bal-lar'-ruk born about  
A.D. 1735.  
had two wives

Kan-dow-ree a Ngo'tak, and  
Bol-ye-ree a No'go-nyuk (?)

Kandowree had the following children :-

Yin-dee-ree, female	All these were Ngotaks
Wun'ya-ree, female	
Kag'-ar-ee, female	
Yung'-al, male	
Wal'-luk-wur, male	

Three of these children, Yin-dee-ree, Wun-ya-ree and Kog-a-ree, were by Nar-doo-itch's brother, her former husband.

Bol-ye-ree's children were :-

Kow'en-ung,	female	
No-gong-o,	male	
Jee'-bar	"	These were all Nogonyuks ?
Koon'a-berra	"	
Ko'teyne	"	
By'er-man	"	

(Jubyche states that Byerman was speared by Gamat, another native, son of Yung'al, and grandson of Nar-dooitch.)

Kim-be'yen-ung a Tondarup married, amongst other wives, Noo'yar, a Ballarruk. Her children were :-

Yow-a-tung (Yu-a'dung)*	female	
Kad'je-nung	"	
Ban'in-yung	"	These were all
Now'ween-gool	"	Bal-lar-ruks

In order to show the way in which the different families marry into one another Grey now traces the descendants of some of the male children of Nar-doo-itch by each of his wives :-

Yung'al the son of Nar-dooitch, called also Ber'agore a Ngotak (?) married

Mingan (Minkup*)	a Ballarruk
Kopan *	a Nagarnook
Yow-a-tung (Yu-a-dung*)	a Ballarruk, daughter of Kimbeyenung

Min'kup's children were :-

Boo-koop+	female	
Yu'yat *	male	
Me'kat *	female	These were all Ballarruks
Tdan'up *	female	

Ko'pan's children were :-

Ee'lar	male	
Wat'up *	male	
Bil-yan *	male	These were all Nagarnooks.
Mon'gan *	female	
Wun-daile *	female	

Yu-a'-dung's children were :-

Im'-bat	male	
Jil'-gar +	male	
Ga-mat *	male	
Du'-biri *		These were all Ballarruks
(Dub-in-ung)	female	
Boo-yin *	female	

Jee-bar, a Nogonyuk (?), another son of Nar-doo-itch, married Kag'-a-ree, a Ngotak (? Jeebar's half sister) Bar'-ri-kan, a Tondarup

Kag'a-ree's children were :-

Mun'gal-wurt *	male	
Eel-'jar *	male	
Wun'-jan-ing *	female	
War'ran-yung *	female	
Bee'wullo *	male	These were all Ngotaks

Bar'-ri-kan's children were :-

Djar'a-bung (Kar-a-bung) *	female	
Nag'a-bung *	female	
Yu'-gat *	male	
Kar'al-ung (Kar-al) *	male	These were all Tondarups.

Bee'wul-lo, a Ngotak, the son of Jee'bar, married :

Wun'daile (Wan-daile) *	a Nagarnook
Noon-'dup (Ngoon-dap) *	a No-go-nyuk
Du'-bin (Du-bin-ung) *	a Ballarruk
Ek'-kan (Egan) *	a Ballarruk
Min'kup *	a Ballarruk
Wee'jee-bung *	a Ballarruk

Wandaile's children were :-

Yen'na (Yennup), *	male	
War'rup (Woor-up) *	male	
Tu'gin (Tju-neen) *	male	
Dow'eer (Dow-werr) *	male	
Wil'gup *	female	
Ka'bin-yung *	female	
Bate'up *	female	All Nagarnooks

(Wilgup's half caste child Mo-dere (Sarah) is still living. "Perth Charlie" was uncle to Modere ?) Sarah is now in the Perth Hospital suffering from pneumonia or some chest trouble.

Ngoon-dap's children were :-

Mee-nung *	male	
Kowelwurt (Kowal-guirt) *	male	
Ngar-ra-jil *	male	
Kau-mar (?) *	Male	
Koot-in *	male	
il-gat *	male	These were all Nogonyuks

(Jubyche states that Kwumar belonged to Imbat's family, and that he was Yua'dung's son and not Ngoondap's.)

Du-bin-ung had but one child, Waj-jup, female, a Ballarruk.

Ek-kan's (Egan's) children were ;:

Wy'up *	male	
Koko-bung *	female	
Wee'muk *	female	These were Ballarruks.

(Wee'muk's son, a half caste named Billy (Kur-jill) is now employed at Mr. Haughton's (?) place on the Gascoyne.)

Min-kup had but one child living, Win-bill, male, a Ballarruk.

In the above list Nar-deo-itch a Ballarruk marries Bol-ye-ree a No-go-nyuk. Now Ballarruk and Nogonyuk are the same family (matta-gyn), Nogonyuk being but a local name for the Ballarruks, and therefore such a marriage would be absolutely forbidden.

According to Grey's own statement a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name, yet Nardooitch marries his own "tribal" sister.

(All Ballarruks and Nogonyuks are brothers and sisters.) Strict inquiries into this question elicit the fact that if a woman be

stolen from a tribe far distant from that to which the captor belongs, he can keep her as wife, even if her class name is the same as his own, the tribe from which the captive is taken being too remote to take into consideration the relationship of the pair. This, however, does not explain Nardooitch's marriage, as Nogonyuk was the local name only in the Perth and surrounding district for the Ballarruk family.

Again, Hee-bar, a Nogonyuk, the son of Nardooitch by Bol-ye-ree, marries Kagaree, a Ngotak, the daughter of Nardooitch and Kandowree, and therefore Jeebar's half sister. This marriage could not take place according to native law.

There is also the error concerning Kaumar who was Yuadung's son and not Ngoondap's and hence belonged to an earlier generation than that to which Grey assigned him.

In these later days when tribe after tribe is rapidly becoming extinct, class regulations are to a certain extent ignored, the few survivors of the once numerous southern tribes being compelled to take such of their own colour as death has left them, regardless of class regulations.

(Yin-jee-ran, alias Lizzie, a Tondarup (Yool-ye-nan's daughter) married Bun-bung, alias Jim Michael, also a Tondarup, there being no suitable person living belonging to her proper marrying class with whom she could marry. Yinjeran and Bunbung live with old Jubytch at Bayswater.)

Yet in such tribes as are still numerous the marriage laws are as scrupulously kept now as they were probably many centuries ago.

Amongst the Southern families, in the days when Grey was pursuing his investigations concerning their traditional laws, there was however no relaxation of the marriage regulations. Grey mentions having collected a "mass of material" bearing upon this point, which however does not seem to have been published, and whether the MSS. are deposited in the New Zealand or South African Libraries (between both of which institutions Grey divided his valuable library) cannot at the present time be accurately ascertained. They are certainly not procurable for purposes of reference, and therefore the errors in the genealogical list can only be pointed out, without being able to ascertain whether they were corrected in Grey's later MSS.

Willambong, a Nor'West native, when questioned on the subject of marriage with a paternal half sister, said, "No, that one sister, blackfellow can't marry his sister, he would be killed if he did." Willambong, a female Paljeri, married Walbarring a Kymera. Willambong's children would be Boorong.

The pedigree of Jubyche's family dating from about the beginning of the 18th century, is herewith appended, and is illustrative of the marriage system in force amongst the Southwestern families. Jubyche was born before Governor Stirling's final departure from Europe and is now reckoned to be about sixty six years of age. His father and grandfather were both "very old men".

#### Genealogical List

Supplied by Jubyche (aged about 66)

About 1725 Door'nong of Guildford, a Ballarruk,  
married  
Bun'-ap of Northam, a Tondarup.

(As far as Jubyche can remember, Bunap was the widow of Doornong's "coona-burt" or "half brother" and when her husband died Doornong had to take her. Marriage of Tondarup and Tondarup was not allowed, and Jubyche can only explain in the above manner why such a marriage had been allowed.

Yinjeeran his daughter a Tondarup married Bunbung, also a Tondarup, but Jubyche states that this marriage is wrong, that he is mamman (father) to Bunbung who is Yin-jee-ran's tribal brother, but there was no Ballarruk man to whom she could marry and as Bunbung wanted her, they gave her to him, but those of the Ballarruks and Tondarups who are still living express their dislike of the union.

Goongurut, alias Goongur jinung, a Wungong Didarruk, was Jubyche's mother's father. Warrgain, a Bunbury Ballarruk, was Gungurut's wife. Warrgin ran away from Goongurut three times, the first and second she was brought back by Goongunur who did not punish her, but when she ran away a third time, he speared her in the leg. She never ran away afterwards and on asking Jubyche why, he stated that "she would then be breaking the law, as she had been speared," and if she had tried to go away again, she would probably have been killed, but no woman ever ran away after being speared.)

Their children were :-

Moorytch, m. a Tondarup  
 Moogatung, m. "  
 Quannitch, m. "  
 Marl-bunda, m. "  
 Ngoo-gup, f. "

Moorytch, Tondarup, married :-

Yoon-jep, a Ballarruk  
 Woo'lee-nan, a Nagarnook  
 Yab'ban "

Yoon'jep's children were :-

Ju'byche, m.  
 Bu'dan, f. These were all Ballarruks.  
 Quag-al'ye, f.  
 Jool'buk-kan, f.  
 Wan-min-yan, f.  
 and one other who died in infancy.

Woo'lee\_nan's children were :-

Ngow'erran, female  
 Deery'an "  
 Quer'rel, male These were all Nagarnooks.

Yab'ban's children were :-

Yee-tan, female, a Nagarnook.  
 -----

Jubyche, son of Yoonjep and Mooryche married :-

Wo-weel-yan, a Tondarup  
 Woo-jee-ral, "  
 Wel'ber-ran "  
 Wan-nygn' a Didarruk  
 Yoel'yee-nan, a Tondarup

Wo-weel-yan and Woo-jee-ral were two sisters who were betrothed in infancy to Jubyche. Their mother and father having died, Jubyche looked after their wants, but Woweelyan died when about five years old, was burnt to death, and Woojeeral about nine or ten, so that neither was the wife of Jubyche although they were so called by the tribe.

Wel-ber-ran died without issue.

Wun-mygn's children were :-

Ngee'-na-ban, f.  
 Gway-'jil, m.  
 War'buk, f. These were all Didarruks.  
 Ngeerbill, m.  
 Nyeer\_bukkan who died in infancy.

The three first children were by a former husband. Goonyup a Nagarnook. Goonyup's brothers to whom his widow belonged, waived their inherited claims to Wun-mygn in favor of their "friend" Jubyche.



Yool-yeen -nan's children were :-

Bee'naran, f.  
 Nar'gill, m.  
 Wab'beran, f.  
 Jin'der-ran, f.  
 Jan'gel, m.  
 Yin'nar-ran, f.  
 Wy'el, alias Tommy, m.  
 Gun'bill, Henry      These were all Tondarups.  
 Ger-rel      Joseph  
 Yin-jee-ran      Lizzie  
 Win-bill      Daniel  
 and 2 others who died in infancy

The first six children were by Yoolyeenan's first husband Ngeerjap, a Nagarnook (a Toodyay man).

The remaining seven were by Ky-ang'-ga, a Ballarruk, the brother of Jubyeche. On the death of Kyangga, Yoolyeenan was inherited by Jubyeche, with whom she still lives. She has borne no children to Jubyeche. (Yoolyeenan is a half caste).

(The wife of a New Norcia native named Jack-ee-mirra has borne fourteen children, most of them being half caste.)

Beenaran married Mogorit, a Nagarnook.

Nargill, m. died unmarried

Wabberan, f. married Ngalgo a Ballarruk

Jinderran, f. died unmarried

Jangell, m. married "Annie", a Nagarnook

Yinnerran, f. married Meenyu (Ngalgo's brother and a Ballarruk.)

Yin-jeeran (Lizzie) married Bunbung (Jim Michael) a Tondarup (mootchoo marriage).

Winbill (Daniel) married Frazer a Nagarnook

Wyel (Tommy)

Gunbill (Henry)

} all unmarried

Gerrel (Joseph)

The intermarriages of the four principal families are as under :

Bal-lar-ruk marries Tondarup.  
 or  
 Nagarnook marries Didarruk

Tondarup marries Nagarnook  
 or  
 Didarruk marries Ballarruk

Ballarruk cannot marry Nagarnook but may marry Tondarup or Didarruk.  
 Nagarnook cannot marry Ballarruk but may marry Tondarup or Didarruk.  
 Tondarup cannot marry Didarruk but may marry Ballarruk or Nagarnook.  
 Didarruk cannot marry Tondarup but may marry Ballarruk or Nagarnook.

It may be reasonably concluded that these four great classes were formed in the first instance by the subdivision of two primary classes, since they seem to be composed of two pairs of non-intermarrying classes, each pair intermarrying with the other pair, thus Ballarruk does not intermarry with Nagarnook, nor does Tondarup intermarry with Didarruk, but the Ballarruk-Nagarnook pair intermarry with the Tondarup-Didarruk pair. Howitt and Fison ("Kamilaroi", 36-7) furnish examples of this system from Central Australia, Queensland and Victoria as showing the wide-spread prevalence of these class divisions.

(Note at top of page : Cup sponges in the south are Bambugung goota, a kind of fairy fish bag.)

As regards the Northern divisions, Boorong and Banaka are the fathers of all Kymera and Paljerri, and Kymera and Paljerri are the fathers of all Boorong and Banaka.

Each produces the other. Boorong-Bannaka produces Kymera-Paljerri, and Kymera-Paljerri produces Boorong-Bannaka.

The following table exemplifies this :-

<u>Male</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Female</u>
Boorong	Kymera	Bannaka
Bannaka	Paljerri	Boorong
Kymera	Boorong	Paljerri
Paljerri	Bannaka	Kymera

It is apparent from the above diagram that although there are now four principal subdivisions of two primary classes, the laws of marriage are not affected by this subdivision, but remain the same throughout the whole State. These four great divisions existing in W.A. bear a remarkable similitude to the class regulations existing amongst a certain section of the Eastern tribes, the Kamilaroi whose class divisions the Rev. W. Ridley, Messrs. Howitt and Fison, have so ably set forth. An important point of difference is that the Kamilaroi system allows marriage with a paternal half sister whereas such a custom has not existed amongst the families of the west. It is just possible that a searching investigation amongst every tribe in every part of this State might bring to light some isolated tribes who have adopted or evolved this innovation but so far as can at present be ascertained among the tribes met with, the custom has never been practised. In all other respects the class marriage system of the W.A. aborigines is the same as that which extends over the whole of the continent. The Eucla and Eyre's Sand Patch tribes afford the only two instances in W.A. of a departure from the ancient marriage laws; although marriage is exogamous the men are restricted to one wife, this peculiarity being a remarkable departure from the almost universal law of polygamy. It has not yet been discovered to which class or family division these two tribes belong. Fuller particulars are being sought in connection with this matter and probably when these come to hand some clue may be furnished as to when and how such a radical change took place, and how many contiguous tribes have adopted this anomalous class system of monogamy and male descent.

Howitt (Native Tribes of S.E.A., P. 129) thinks the Eucla tribes "belong to the Lake Eyre group, having the same class names in variations of Mattered and Kararu." He had not however been able to obtain any evidence in support of that opinion.

According to Spencer and Gillen the names of the four sub-classes of the Arunta tribes are Bulthara, Panunza, Kumara and Purula. Among these tribes descent is counted in the male line. Now westward of Lake Eyre is a tribe known as the Urabunna tribe with the

class names of Matthurie and Kirarawa, these names having many variations, such as Matteri and Karara (to which Howitt thinks the Eucla tribes belong : Native Tribes of S.E.A. 138-9). But the Urabunna people count descent in the female line. Spencer and Gillen say that it not infrequently happens that a man from the neighbouring Arunta tribe comes to live among the Urabunna...Accordingly the men of the Bulthara and Purula sub-classes are regarded as equivalent to the Matthurie moiety of the Urabunna tribe, and those of the Panunga and Kumara sub-classes as the equivalents of the Kirarawa. In just the same way a Matthurie man going into the Arunta tribe becomes either a Bulthara or Purula and a Kirarawa man becomes either Panunga or Kumara. Which of the two a Matthurie man belongs to is decided by the old men of the group into which he goes. This deliberate change in the grouping of the classes and subclasses so as to make them fit in with the maternal line of descent, or with the paternal, as the case may be, will be more readily understood from the accompanying table.

Arunta		Urabunna arrangement of the Arunta Sub class	
Bulthara	} moiety A	Bulthara	} moiety A (Matthurie)
Panunga		Purula	
Kumara	} moiety B	Panunga	} moiety B (Kirarawa)
Purula		Kumara	

The working out of this has the result that the children belong to the right moiety of the tribe into which the man has gone."

Spencer and Gillen (Northern Tribes of Cent. Aust. 104) also note that a southern Arunta man of the Bulthara (Pal'jerrie) sub class who accompanied them right through the continent was "merged" into the different tribes extending to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria in the following manner. He was regarded as a Kabbidje in the Kaitish (Barrow Creek S.A.), a Tjapeltjeri in the Warramunga (Tennant Creek S.A.), a Paliarinji in the Binbinga (Powell-Creek S.A.) a Thalaringuya in the Tjingelli (Powell Creek S.A.), a Toumburia in the Anula (Borrooloola, Macarthur River S.A.) and a Mumbali in the Mara tribe (Limmen Creek S.A.).

The above quotation is pertinent to the subject matter of this chapter on account of the sub-class names given by Spencer and Gillen, which are simply variations of the four great northern class names.

Bulthara - Paljerri  
 Panunga - Ban-naka  
 Kumera - Kymera  
 Purula - Boorong

These class names, variously rendered, are given by all those who have studied the class divisions and marriage laws of the northern natives. In no two instances are the names spelled alike. Charles Harper writing of the Ngurla tribe at the mouth of the De Grey, names the classes thus :

Poorungnoo  
 Banakoo  
 Parrijari  
 Kiamoona

A.K. Richardson writing of the contiguous tribes on the Yule River, gives the following class names :

Booroongoo  
 Palyeery  
 Panaka  
 Kymurra

R.H. Mathews gives the names of the above and other tribes (making no distinction between the tribes) as :

Butcharrie  
 Kurrimurra  
 Burronga  
 Banaka

and of the Fitzroy and Oakeover River tribes as :

Baljarra  
 Boorunge  
 Kimbera  
 Bannicka

and of the Murchison, Gascoyne, Greenough and intervening rivers as :

Buljerry  
 Boorong  
 Kiemarra  
 Boogarloo (Ban-naka?)

But the most extraordinary variations are given by Mathews, in his tabulated arrangement of the collective tribes of the Fitzroy, Margaret and Ord Rivers, which he divides into 8 sub-classes. These, with their equivalents which are also given, are :

Changura	}	Kaiamba
Chauan		
Chagara	}	Panaka
Chambin		

Chungala	}	Parajerri
Chuara		
Chauarding	}	Parungo
Chabalyi		

From these many and varied modifications it may reasonably be inferred that the sub-class names of the Arunta tribes in South (or Central) Australia are akin to those of the northern parts of this State. Amongst the Northern tribes of W.A. the children belong to their grandparents class. Thus the grandchild of a Boorong is a Boorong :-

male	female	children
Boo'rong	Ban'naka	Ky'mera
Kymera	Paljerri	Boorong

The result of this classification is that brothers and sisters cannot marry; a Boorong cannot marry a Boorong, for that would be the union of brother and sister, and a Boorong cannot marry a Kymera, for that would be the marriage of parents and children. Similarly a Bannaka cannot marry a Paljerri for that would also mean the union of father and daughter.

Parents and their children, brothers and sisters, must not marry, the law being very strict in this respect, any breach of such law being punished by death.

Now an interesting point arises in connection with the Northern and Southern tribes, whose class names and form of descent differ so materially from each other. If female descent is the earlier form, why is it in possession of the coastal tribes below a certain degree of latitude and its place taken by a later form of descent amongst those northern tribes - who in all other respects follow the earlier customs and hold the earlier beliefs of the race? Australia is assumed to have been peopled from the North and Nor'West, the various migratory hordes passing southward and eastward, modifying or extending their curious customs as occasion arose, but seemingly never retracing their steps northward again. Yet inversely the later form of descent (agnatic) is adopted by the northern tribes who practise the older customs, while the earlier form of matriarchal relationship obtains amongst the southern tribes who have considerably modified and in some cases dropped altogether many of the customs still in force amongst the northern tribes. Again new corroborees, new songs,

changes of custom, etc. always travel from north to south, and never vice versa. Therefore it must be inferred that all the changes which have taken place in the native customs, have come from the north. Yet descent through the mother, which came with the Dravidian migration, together with their dogs, weapons, hunting and fishing implements, modes of burial and many customs, now practised by the tribes of the North and Nor'West, has in some inexplicable manner been replaced by descent in the male line amongst those tribes who otherwise retain the customs and beliefs of their presumed ancestors, while amongst the southern tribes female descent is still reckoned, although almost all the other customs have undergone important changes.

Spencer and Gillen are of opinion that the complex customs and beliefs of the Australians were not brought to the continent by their far away ancestors, but were elaborated during the long ages in which they were isolated from all external influence. Taking the matter of initiation, the rite common to all the ancestors was that of knocking out a tooth, the rites of circumcision and subincision being introduced later. Now, neither of these customs are found amongst the tribes of the South and Southwest. There seems to be a distinct line between the northern and southern families, the southern tribes having attained to a much higher degree of "culture" than the northern people. Throughout the North and Nor'West there appears to be a remarkable homogeneity with regard to tribal customs etc. so that a person travelling slowly from the Kimberley to about 28° S. Lat. will only notice a slight change in the ceremonies etc. of the various tribes, whereas after that line has been passed an abrupt change apparently takes place in the class divisions, customs, etc. of the tribes, the system of female descent and the absence of the rites practised by the Northern tribes, in connection with the ceremony of initiation being the principal variations. Yet the same homogeneity in regard to the customs and beliefs held by these Southern tribes is noticeable from South of Lat. 28 to beyond King George's Sound, probably to Eyre, where another abrupt change occurs.

Again, it has been asserted that group marriage most certainly exists at the present day amongst many of the Northern tribes, the testimony of white settlers confirming this. Native women, when questioned on the subject, say that they are the "wives" not only of the man to whom they may have been betrothed at birth (or who may have stolen them from some other tribe) but they are also the "potential" wives of their husband's "tribal" brothers. Similarly the men state that they are the "husbands" of all the women in their marrying class. (This par. erroneous.)

"Yabbaroo" states that a native may go hundreds of miles from his country and many different languages may be spoken immediately, but still he can lawfully marry from the tribe he may be sojourning with, as the marriage divisions are recognised and the same law regulates them all over the North. "Tocahs" are prospective mothers-in-law, whom the native must never see or hold converse with until he has been supplied by her with a wife. Withnell and others state however that the mother-in-law is always more or less tabooed, except that after the marriage of her daughter, the rule of avoidance is not quite so strictly observed as before it.

Amongst the Southern tribes a man's wives are his own exclusively, and can only be claimed by one brother after his death, not by the tribal brothers collectively as in the Northern tribes.

It cannot be definitely ascertained at what particular part the Northern and Southern tribes begin to receive their different class names. It is now known that the branches of the Ballarruk, Tondarup, Didarruk and Nagarnook families extend southward at least as far as Albany. Between that point and Eyre's Sand Patch, in the absence of definite information, the similarity of the vocabulary can only be noted, but this points to a close kinship with the Southern tribes. When Eyre's Sand patch is reached the vocabulistic kinship is more distant, and as has been said before, the tribe seemingly merges into the Arunta (S.A.), the two distinguishing customs which differentiate it from the Southern tribes being monogamy and paternal descent (see Helms).

How far north do the Southern tribes extend? and at what point do they merge into the beliefs, customs and nomenclature of the northern tribes? Is the change gradual or sudden? The Murchison and Gascoyne tribes have the northern class names, and as far as is



known, the natives of the Greenough River district belong to the northern half. Is the line of demarcation for the coastal tribes the Greenough River? Spencer and Gillen conclude that the Central tribes having been shielded by their geographical isolation from external influences have retained the most primitive form of customs and beliefs.

It has been shown that the Southern Central tribes - the Arunta - whose beliefs and customs merge gradually into those of the central and northern tribes as far as the MacArthur River (S.A.) have practically the same class names as those of the Northern tribes of W.A. A line drawn westward from the neighborhood of the Urabunna tribe (S.A.) strikes the Greenough River below latitude  $28^{\circ}$  S. therefore the inference has been drawn., that it is somewhere in this particular neighborhood that the change begins.

As soon as the alteration of names takes place amongst the northern and southern tribes, the change of custom also becomes apparent. But there seems to be no intermediary tribes or families having the peculiarities of both tribes - Northern and Southern. Spencer and Gillen, as they travelled northward through S.A., found the customs of one tribe merging into the other, but amongst the W.A. main tribes the change is apparently abrupt, not gradual, and to discover the exact point where the Northern and Southern families "divide", as it were, would necessitate special and personal investigation in that part of the country where the presumed line of demarcation has been made.

The same method which has been followed in the orthography and pronunciation of the Southern family names, has been adopted with regard to the Northern class names, the names being pronounced by two Nor'West natives, who accentuated them in the following manner :

Boo'-rong  
Ban'-aka  
Pal'-jeri  
Ky'-mera

In all four cases the accent was placed on the first syllable. K and g, b and p, seem to be interchangeable letters, some natives giving the hard sound to k, as in Ban'-naka, and others giving the softer sound as Ban'-naga, also Paljerri may be occasionally rendered Bal-jerri, but the above modifications will be adhered to as being

the most commonly used, Mrs. J.G. Meares, Sir John Forrest, J.O. Brown, J. Withnell and other more recent writers having used the same mode of spelling with but slight variation.

All the Northern and Nor'West natives belong to one of these classes and by their marriage laws (which have already been alluded to) intermarriages can only take place as under :-

Male	Female	Children
Boorong	Bannaka	Kymera
Bannaka	Boorong	Paljerri
Paljerri	Kymera	Bannaka
Kymera	Paljerri	Boorong

All Boorongs are brothers and sisters and so are all Bannakas, Paljerris and Kymeras.

J.O. Brown who specially studied this question says, "A Kymera man or woman could not marry a Boorong or Bannaka man or woman, because Boorongs and Bannakas are fathers and mothers to all Kymeras, and so in exactly the same way with the other classes.

It is important to remember that children always belong to the same class as their grandparents, so the grandchild of a Boorong is a Boorong.

The native law was very strict regarding these rules of marriage, any breach of which was punished by death, the old men giving the order and the young men obeying them by spearing or choking one, or sometimes both, of the culprits. If Boorongs and Kymeras, Bannakas and Paljerris were to marry it would mean to them the union of parents and children, while if any belonging to the one class, as two Boorongs for instance, were united, it would be a marriage between brothers and sisters."

J. Withnell, whose class divisions coincide with Brown's, states also that "brothers' children cannot intermarry, neither can sisters' children. The only consanguineous marriages allowed are brothers' and sisters' children, who may be relative cousins or only tribal cousins, in which case they are entitled to each other under the rights of "Nuba", meaning tribal wife or tribal husband. And so a man could not marry any other relative than an aunt's daughter or a tribal cousin, He could not marry a tribal granddaughter, though she were of the right tribe and age, for a tribal granddaughter is a tribal daughter's daughter and not a tribal aunt's daughter." (partly erroneous)

Lionel H. Gould in a communication to Mr. Fison (Kamilaroi and Kurnai, P. 31) confirms Withnell and Brown with regard to the marriage relations of the Nor'West natives. Gould furnishes yet another example of variation in spelling which it is not necessary to give.

Spencer and Gillen also classify the marriages of the Southern Arunta tribes in a similar manner to the Nor'West Australian system shown by the following quotation, (Northern Tribes of Cent. Aust. P. 96) "In the Southern part of the tribe (the Arunta) there are only four sub classes, Panunga, Bulthara, Purula and Kumara..... The descent...is strictly paternal.....A Panunga (Ban-naka) man marries a Purula (Boorong) woman and the children pass into the Bulthara (Paljerri) sub class. In the same way a Purula (Boorong) man marries a Panunga (Ban-naka) woman and the children are Kumara (Kymera).

The Rev. Nicholas Emo, Trappist Priest at Broome, states that the class marriage system of the natives at Broome, Beagle Bay and along the coast to Derby is as under :-

Male	Female	Children
Boorong (Poorungo)	Bannaka	Paljerri (Parajerri)
Bannaka	Boorong (Poorungo)	Kymera (Karimba)
Kymera (Karimba)	Paljerri (Parajerri)	Bannaka
Paljerri (Parajerri)	Kymera (Karimba)	Boorong (Poorungo)

On comparison with the classifications given by Forrest, Brown and others, it will be noticed that while the marriage divisions are similar a change occurs in the tribe into which the children enter. Father Nicholas is however positive as to the absolute correctness of these divisions; he also thinks that the same system extends southward as far as Onslow. Father Nicholas' long residence amongst the natives of Broome and Beagle Bay and his familiarity with their language and customs gives to his statement a certain authority. Father Nicholas also states that group marriage is certainly not in force amongst the tribes with which he is familiar. The widow is the property of the husband's brother only after the death of her husband.

Mrs. G.J. Meares exemplifies this system in a short pedigree of a young native woman, "Willambong".

Yin'nee-joon, a Bannaka,  
married  
Yin-nee-abba, a Boorong,  
their only child being  
Willambong, who married  
Wal-barring, a Kymera.

If Willambong bears a child it will be a Boorong and will marry a Bannaka.

The family of Walbarring is contributed by himself :-

Un-gur -an, a Boorong  
 married  
 Tha'mar-ang, a Bannaka.  
 Their children were  
 Wal'-bar-ring, male, a Kymera  
 Wer-rel-bung, female, a Kymera.

Willambong having no mother or father, nor seemingly any near relatives a departure from the usual custom was made, Werrrelbung, Walbarring's sister, arranging the "marriage" between the pair, instead of the parents or relatives of Willambong.

Mrs. Meares states that the Nor'West natives have uncles, aunts, and cousins (that is, the native equivalents for such), on their mothers' side but not on their fathers', all of whose brothers are called "father".

Father White mentions two names which the Beagle Bay natives use for their "own" and their "tribal" fathers respectively, "ko'ko'ro" and "Ee-balla". The former they use only when speaking of their own father, the latter is used almost generally. It was bestowed upon Bishop Gibney during his visit to the Beagle Bay R.C. Mission in 1901 and it is also given to certain priests on the Mission, not however to all. It is never used in speaking of, or to, the lay brothers.

The native system of relationships differs so widely from the European that to understand it, the mind must become totally free from the universal conception of English terms of relationship and their application.

Howitt maintains (Native Tribes of S.E.A., 157) that "it is upon the division of the whole community into two exogamous intermarrying classes that the whole social structure is built up, and the various relationships which are brought about by those marriages are defined and described by the classificatory system."

In this system the father and the father's brothers are given the same name, the mother and the mother's sisters also having a uniform class name, but strictly speaking, the aborigines have really no individual terms of relationship such as are familiar to English people. Therefore the names "father," "mother", "daughter" etc. are not applied to one individual only but to the group of

amplified and corrected which that individual is a member. All the members of the group stand in some definite relationship towards each other, and for many of these relationships there is no English equivalent. This group relationship is more observable amongst the northern tribes than amongst the southern and southwestern, many of whose customs seem to have changed with their names. There is certainly no evidence existing to show that group marriage prevailed amongst the Southern tribes, but there is ample indication amongst the Northern natives of its existence (marginal note : there isn't). At the present time, the term "nuba" is used by the Northern natives as indicating "tribal wife" or "tribal husband", and a woman is nuba to the men of the proper marrying class, not to the individual. It is interesting to note that this term "nuba" or "nupa" is used in a somewhat similar sense by the Urabunna tribe of S.A. Spencer and Gillen state (Northern Tribes of Cent. Aust. 72-3) that in this tribe a man "can only marry women who stand to him in the relation of Nupa.....Every man has one or more of these nupa women who are especially attached to him and live with him in his own camp, but there is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman, only a preferential right."

Spencer and Gillen's definition of "nupa" which they state is mother's elder brother's daughter, differs somewhat from J. Withnell's signification of "nuba" which he takes only to mean "tribal wife" or "tribal husband" without specifying the relationship.

In the Southwest there is apparently no such relationship as the word nuba indicates. Women are the exclusive property of the man to whom they have been betrothed, or by whom they have been captured or inherited. Where the system of group marriage has changed into that of individual marriage such as the Southern natives have developed, can only be ascertained by a personal study of those tribes contiguous to the hypothetical dividing line which separates the Northern and Southern tribes of this State. (Marginal note in reference to this par. : Personal investigation stultifies much of this information.)

Nuba is the name of the real wife or husband amongst the Tableland natives, yakkan, the tribal wife, or tribal husband. (Mrs. Cusack) Wyal'ga is the name of a bad woman amongst the Tableland natives.

The following list indicates the terms of relationship used amongst the Northern natives, the system used by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen having been followed in giving three columns of names, (1) the native terms, (2) their equivalents in English terms, (3) the English term included wholly or partly in the native term.

Table of Relationship Terms

Supplied by Willambong, native Ngaloma tribe, Roebourne

<u>Native Term</u>	<u>Actual Relationship in English Terms</u>	<u>English terms, included wholly or partly in the native terms</u>
Mam'ma	Father	Father
Mam'ma	Father's brother	Uncle
Kog'ga	Mother's sister's husband	Uncle
Ngan'ga	Mother	Mother
Ngan'ga	Mother's sister	Aunt
Ngan'ga	Father's second wife	Step-mother
Moo'gul	Father's sister	Aunt
Moo'gul	Mother's brother's wife	Aunt
Kog'ga	Mother's brother	Uncle
Moo'gul	Father's sister's husband	Uncle
Theo'go (little)		
Myn'ga (big)	Son	Son
Nyoor'dan (little)	Daughter	Daughter
Com'barra	Brother's child (m. speaking or f.)	Nephew or niece
Com'barra	Sister's child (f. speaking)	" " "
Com'barra	" " m. "	" " "
Kod'ja	Brother	Brother
Theo'ro	Sister	Sister
Mar'rar-da	Brother (first born)	Eldest brother
"	Sister " "	" sister
Nyeer'ding-u	Brother (last born)	Youngest brother
"	Sister " "	" sister
Boon'gallie	Father's brother's child	First cousin
Mar'rie	Mother's sister's child	" "
My'lee	Father's father	Grandfather
"	Father's father's brothers	Granduncles
Coon'derrie	" " sisters	Grandaunts

Ngab'berrie	Father's mother	Grandmother
Tham'ee	Father's mother's brothers	Granduncles
Ngab'berrie	Father's mother's sisters	Grandaunts
Coon'derrie	Mother's mother	Grandmother
My'lee	Mother's mother's brothers	Granduncles
Coon'derrie	Mother's mother's sisters	Grandaunts
Tham'ee	Mother's father	Grandfather
"	Mother's father's brothers	Granduncles
Ngab'berrie	" " sisters	Grandaunts
Boon'gallie	Mother's brother's child	First cousin
"	Father's sister's child	" "
Mar'ru	A widow , a widower	A widow , a widower
Booj'a-mun	Fatherless child	Fatherless child
"	Motherless child	Motherless child
Coo-jeela	One bereaved of a brother	
Yagganjinna	Sister-in-law	
Jamnee	Brother-in-law	

Juhyche speakingSouthwest District Table of Relationships

Father, Maan or maman  
 Father's brother, maan, maman  
 Father's sister, maman yog or mungart  
 Father's mother, demman or murren  
 Father's mother's sister, demman  
 Father's father, murren  
 Father's father's brother, murren  
 Mother, 'n-kan, ngangan  
 Mother's sister, 'n-kan, ngangan  
 Mother's brother, kongan  
 Daughter's husband, moy-ur  
 Mother's mother, murren  
 Son's wife's mother, ngooljar yog  
 Mother's father, demman  
 Daughter's husband's father, ngooljar or demman  
 Daughter's children, demman or murren  
 Wife, korda  
 Wife's sister, ngooljar  
 Husband, korda  
 Husband's brothers, kordamun, ngooljarmun  
 Wife's brother, ngooljar  
 Sister's husband, ngooljar  
 Wife's father, kongan  
 Sister's husband's father, kongan  
 Sister's son, moy-ar  
 Wife's mother, maam yoga or mungart  
 Sister's husband's mother, maam yoga or mungart  
 Elder brother, ngoonden ngob-burn, or burrong  
 Father's elder brother's son, demman or ngoondan  
 Younger brother, kardung, woordoo or kpopedung  
 Father's younger brother's son, ngoondan kardung  
 Wife's father's father, demman or murren  
 Wife's mother's brother, kongan?  
 Wife's mother's father, murren  
 Son, koolong, mamal, noba  
 Brother's son, mamal or koolong



(continued)

Sister's daughter, kombart

Daughter, querrurt

Brother's daughter, querrurt

Mother's brother's children, demman or kordamat

Daughter's husband's mother, ngooljar yoga

Son's wife, kombart

Son's wife's father, ngooljar, murrant

Husband's father (Yoolyeenan speaking), kongan

Husband's mother " " maan yoga or mungart

Elder sister, jockan, jindam

Father's elder brother's daughter, jockan

Younger sister, jockan kowat

Father's younger brother's daughter, jockan

Father's elder brother's daughter, jockan

Daughter's husband (Yoolyeenan speaking), beeding (?), moyur

Son's children " " demman

Son's wife " " bee-ding ? or kumbart

Husband's sister " " ngooljar

Mother's mother's brother, murrant or demma

Son's son's son, murrant or demma

It will be noticed that the words "tribe", "group" and "family" have been made interchangeable terms in this chapter. "Tribe", according to Curr, Howitt and others (Curr's A.R. I 61-2) means "a number of men closely allied by blood and living in the strictest alliance, offensive and defensive, who, with their wives and children, occupy practically in common and to the exclusion of all others, a tract of country which they claim as their own...."

Between the males....there always exists a strong feeling of brotherhood, so that...a man can always calculate on the aid, in danger, of every member of his tribe." In this definition given by Curr and others the words "tribe" and "family" are practically synonymous terms. Grey was the first person who used the word "family" in connection with the W.A. aborigines, Moore, Salvado and others adopting his nomenclature, but there is no actual distinction between the two words. Grey states that the natives were "divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same name, as a family or second name." So with the tribal names.

Spencer and Gillen define the word group as follows :-

"In all the tribes there is a division into local groups which occupy certain well defined areas within the tribal territory....In every case the unit of division is the local totemic group. In the Arunta tribe groups of the same designation are to be found scattered over the large area occupied by the tribe....These local groups are again aggregated, very roughly, into geographical groups", but "there are no terms applied to these groups", every member of the group speaks of himself as a member of the tribe, of which the "group" is but the subdivision.

Brough Smyth (Aborigines, I) states that "a tribe is in fact but an enlargement of a family circle and none within it can intermarry."

The Levirate law by which a widow becomes the property of her husband's brother was practised by the Teutons before Christianity came to them. Howitt states that in the time of Henry I the same custom was in vogue in England, although it must have been then under reproach since one of Henry's laws referring to the marriage of a woman with two brothers depicts it as "humbling her to the day of her death".

The same writer alludes to the ancient Teuton laws which illustrate the social condition of the Teutonic tribes of Europe and Britain in early days. (Howitt's Native Tribes of S.W. Australia, P. 287) These laws show that the female line of descent was even then recognised in certain customs. In the law entitled De Reippus (this term being explained by the commentators as being the price paid on the re-marriage of a widow) the female line of descent was preferred and was followed down to the utmost limit to which the Teuton tribes counted their relationships. Howitt does not suggest any ethnical connection between the early Teutonic tribes and the Australian aborigines; he merely draws attention to the similarity between many Australian customs, and those practised by a people now civilised, who followed them down to a period within the knowledge of classical writers. "If," he conjectures, "the law of the Reippus is a survival from the time when descent was counted in the female line, then there are certain similarities of custom in the Australian tribes which may serve as sidelights on the Frankish custom." Howitt also notices the "Wergeld" (P. 717) of the Teutonic tribes in its relationship towards the system of barter pursued by the Australian tribes. The following is subject to correction :-

It is quite impossible to discover the meaning of the names Boorong, Bannaka, Kymera and Paljerri or even the faintest clue as to their origin. They do not seem to be connected in any way with totems. The natives simply say they were always Paljerri, or Kymera as the case may be, and so were their fathers. Were Paljerris one time bird? animal? vegetable? No, they were always Paljerri - men.

Again, with the four principal family names of the Southern natives, Ballarruk, Nagarnook, Tondarup and Didarruk. Although Grey and Moore endeavoured to assign legendary and mythological origin to some of these names, the old natives now living state there is no such foundation for their family names. They have always been Ballarruks, etc. Were they not at one time eaglehawks? swans? No, they always eat swan, eaglehawk or any other bird, animal or vegetable. But where did the Ballarruks first come from? Ballarruks never came here, they were always here. White fellows came and found Ballarruks and Tondarups, wherever the white men went they found Ballarruks et

But what was their kobong or totem? Were not some animals etc. forbidden them? Were these not their brothers? friends? etc. No, they killed and ate every bird and animal they met with. Did they eat unios? No, because the boylyas killed some natives a long time ago for eating them. Do the boylyas eat the unios? No, no one eats them.

The Northern natives eat the unios and the Juno (northern name for bad spirit) doesn't kill them for doing so? This elicits no direct response except a remark that the northern natives are "wild", "no good", "not clean", etc.

The word "kobong", according to the signification attached to it by Grey, is unknown to the various natives of the Southwest who are still living. Grey mentioned the possession of this kobong, "crest" or "sign" by every Southern family, the kobong taking the form of some bird, animal or vegetable, which they believed contained the spirit of a friend, or perhaps brother, who watched over them; therefore they never killed, hunted or ate the animal whose form their Kobong or totem bore. But from the testimony of the present day natives there were no restrictions of any kind placed upon them as a family with regard to their food. Individuals were restricted at certain periods during youth, initiation etc. to certain kinds of food, but after the allotted time had elapsed the prohibition was removed.

Amongst the Nor'West natives there is a custom called "chadgie" or "tjadgie" which means a total abstinence from certain fish or flesh food for a certain period after the death of a relative. If the deceased has been a man respected by the tribe, the period of being "chadgie" is lengthened to such an extent as to reduce the "devotees" almost to emaciation. It is brought to a close by some person drawing a piece of emu or other forbidden flesh across the mouth of the individual who is undergoing chadgie, this being the only method of breaking the self-imposed fast.

J.O. Brown says "The old men are cunning and make the young men and women chadgie from certain foods, such as turtle, kangaroo, emu, fish etc., often for months. To be "chadgie" of any particular food means that the natives must not eat, or taste, or even touch that food. Consequently the old men and the favourites get more to eat, for the

greater number of natives made chadgle, say, of turtle, the more turtle for the old men and the other natives."

Of their "totemic" beliefs, if at any time they held such beliefs - no trace whatever exists at the present day. They held their "animal" pantomimic dances periodically, but they were not particular as to the season of the year in which these dances were held. Their only stipulation was that there should be a plentiful supply of food during those periods.

Probably the change which brought about their distinctive nomenclature, system of female descent, and individual marriage may also have set aside some of the old forms of belief possessed by their progenitors, but if so, the natives now living have no remembrance of such change, and hence it can only be surmised that when the present system came into force (and there is not the slightest clue as to its origin), many of the old customs including circumcision, totemism etc. were abolished.

Another reason for the discontinuance of the totems amongst the Southern and Coastal natives of W.A. may lie in the abundance of the food supply and the generally favorable conditions under which the natives live having the sea as well as the land from which they can draw their sustenance, therefore they would have no need to call in the aid of "magic".

The Southern natives have, however, many bird and animal legends, which may point to the possession at some distant period of totemic beliefs and customs. Jubyche's imperfect rendering of some of these traditions is given elsewhere. There are many legends connected with the moon and stars, to which he often alluded, but whether from old age, or the forgetfulness that comes from long continued silence on these subjects, no consecutive history could be obtained as to the transformation of the various men and women into the present constellations, such as the Pleiades, Orion, etc. etc.

The eaglehawk, crow, cockatoo and magpie come in for the greatest share of attention in Southern legendary lore, but the bandicoot and parrot are the principal characters in the story of the manner in which fire was first brought to the natives.

Amongst the Nor' West and Northern tribes, however, the totem belief still obtains under various names. According to "Yabareo"

who writes of the Roebourne aborigines, "Every native takes a 'patron' birds, beasts and even the elements are called into requisition to supply this want. A native will say, 'I am brother to the rain,' 'I am brother to the emu.'"

J. Withnell mentions a totemic custom generalised under the name of Tarlow. "Tarlow," he states, "is a stone or a pile of stones set apart as a hollowed spot dedicated to the ceremony of willing that certain things such as children, birds, animals, etc. be made to increase and multiply, each living thing having a tarlow, all of which belong to the head of each family, as master of the craft, descending from father to son.... Say that a family of the Bannaka tribe had the tarlow of the eaglehawk and wished them to multiply. They must journey to that shrine (or tarlow) for it cannot be done elsewhere. Any number of Bannakas may take part in the ceremony but none of the other three tribes can visit the spot. The tarlow descends from father to son (who would of course be a Faljerri). Each tribe has a different ceremony in "willing" each thing required. They carry with them whatever weapons or utensils are used in gathering or procuring the thing to be willed. If they are willing grass-seeds, they take wooden scoops, if kangaroos, spears, etc. The women also take part and inherit the tarlows."

Andrew Lang is of the opinion (Social Origins, p. 166) that the beginning of "totemism" arose from the various pristine groups giving certain special names to their unfriendly neighbors, these names being doubtless animals or vegetable names, given for various reasons. Thus the plant and animal names, now known as "Totems", would be impressed upon the various groups from outside and become fixed, so that by the mention of the animal or plant it would be known which group or tribe was under discussion, and such group would come in time to answer to its nickname."

Howitt states, in reference to the above, that it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, and he can adduce no single instance in which such nicknames have been adopted. (In the Southern parts of this State, where seemingly totemism does not exist, the practise of

nicknames has been indulged in by certain branches of families, "Ngotaks", otherwise "crows" was the nickname given to the Bunbury Did-arruks by the Perth branch and Wordong-mat, "crow legs", to one of the K.G.S. branches.) (The above subject to correction.)

The hypothesis of Professor Haddon with regard to totem names that "groups of people at a very early period by reason of their local environment would have special varieties of food" is supported by Grey, who states that the Ballarruks derived their name from subsisting principally on the "ballard" or "bal-la-ga-ra", a very small species of opossum at one time very numerous in the South and the Nagarnook family were so named from Nag-karn (K.G.S.), a small species of fish which was their principal food. (Subject to correction)

G.F. Moore furnishes an account of a curious ceremony called Mon-vo, this name being given to a ceremonious meeting, arranged for the purpose of conferring upon certain elderly females the character and office of Mur-ran or grandmother. Upon these occasions presents are exchanged between the murren and the person conferring the distinction, who is usually some man of influence in the tribe. The parties having embraced, the murren offers to the man and his wives war implements and ornaments. The man, on his part, makes a suitable return and the ceremony is concluded. But it is a proceeding which confers upon the woman privileges of importance to all parties. She can henceforth no more be carried off for a wife or female drudge, nor be made a victim of revenge. Her influence is henceforth powerful with her tribe, either in stirring them up to war, or in allaying and reconciling quarrels. She is even permitted, if she think fit, when a dispute is anticipated, to mingle among the threatening combatants and deprive their spears of their barbs. This is one of those customs," concludes Moore, "which seem to point to a superior system of polity, beyond anything to be expected among a people so immersed as the aborigines now are in ignorance and barbarism."

(Subject to correction) (Moore's Dictionary, P. 77)

## Subject to Correction

The following relationship terms have been taken from Moore's W.A. Dictionary (1842) :-

- Barnap, an orphan
- Balyata, firm, fixed, applied to man and wife as firmly united together, not likely to be parted
- Bib-by1, a mother mourning for her child (from bibi, breast?)
- Bidier, a man of a certain importance or influence; from Bidi a path, meaning a guide or from bidi, a sinew, as being a strong man.
- Bula, numeral (dual), two brothers, sisters or friends
- Bulala, numeral " parent and child, uncle and nephew or niece
- Bulen, numeral " they two, husband and wife
- Bun-garn, a maid
- Bun-gyte, a girl who is not betrothed
- Burdilyup (K.G.S.), a baby
- Bwyre-ang " the second brother
- Dardar, a woman mourning for the death of any one.
- Deni, brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law. The brothers of the wife are to her kardoman, marriageable relatives; because when a man dies his next brother takes his widow to wife, as a matter of course.
- Djuko, a sister
- Gardang, younger brother
- Gotitkar (K.G.S.) a nephew
- Gudja, an infant
- Gudja-yow, to bear children
- Gulambiddi, a young man
- Gulang, a child of either sex
- Gulangarra, children. The sex is indicated by adding yago or mammarap, a man or woman child. Gulangarra also means the small toes.
- Guloyn, youngest brother or sister, or son, also the little finger
- Gunabal, having lost a brother by death. An expression used in reply to the question, Why is such a one in mourning?
- Gundak, a husband who has lost his wife's brother by death is said to be gundak.
- Gwoyrat, a daughter
- Jindam, the eldest sister
- Kam-bart or gambart, a niece
- Kangun, uncle; father-in-law



- Kardang, younger brother; third son; also third finger.
- Kardijit, a brother; neither the eldest nor the youngest. Derived most likely from karda the half, and therefore the middle, and yow, to put. The second son, also the middle finger.
- Kardo, a married or betrothed person, whether male or female; husband and wife
- Kowat, a young sister
- Kunng-gur, a young woman who has attained the period of puberty, which is at a very early age
- Kynkar (K.G.S.), a father
- Mammal, a son
- Mamman, a father
- Mammarap, a man. From mamman a father, and abbin, to become
- Mandig-ara, a girl not arrived at years of maturity. A woman who has had no children.
- Mangat, aunt, mother-in-law
- Medarang, mourning, but spoken only of a father bereaved of his child
- Mirak, applied to a married woman when speaking of her to her brother; a married sister.
- Moyran (murrán), grandfather; grandmother; grandchild
- Murut, a relation
- Myur, a nephew
- Manning, strangers unconnected by blood or marriage
- Netingar, a term used by the natives to designate their ancestors or their forefathers.
- Noba or nuba, young of any creature
- Nodytch, a deceased person
- Noy-yang, connections by blood or marriage, kinsfolk
- Nubal, pronoun (dual), ye two; parent and child; brothers and sisters
- Nubin, " " ye two; man and wife
- Ngala " " We two; parent and child; uncle and nephew
- Ngalli " " We two; brother and sister; or two friends
- Ngangalar, having been a mother; having had children
- Nganganbru, motherless, an orphan
- Ngannik, pronoun (dual), we two; husband and wife
- Ngannama " " we two- brothers in law
- Ngobern, the eldest or first son; also the first or fore finger
- Ngondo (Vasse), an elder brother
- Quelap, the first appearance of pubescence in youth of either sex
- Tammin, a grandmother; a grandfather
- Tdu-dar (K.G.S.), a girl

- Teni, brother-in-law (see deni)  
 Tur-nit ( K.G.S.), a baby  
 Urdo (Vasse), a younger brother  
 Windang, worn out, useless applied particularly to an old man  
 or woman  
 Yarbelli - union with a female not within the marriageable line,  
 or proper degree of kindred.  
 Yinang, a widow or widower

Relationship terms have also been taken from Grey's Dictionary  
 as under :-

- Bee-dee-eer, an old man with a large family having some weight  
 with the others owing to this. "Man-me-rup bee-dee-eer"  
 an influential man.  
 Beep-a-goot (K.G.S.), a maid, a young girl  
 Bet-tich, an old man  
 Boo-ja-la (dual pronoun), they two, parents and children, uncles  
 and nephews and nieces  
 Boo-la-ne, (dual pronoun) they two, husband and wife  
 Boon-gyte, a maid, a girl who is not betrothed  
 Bul-ial-ja, they two (father and son)  
 Bur-dil-yup, (K.G.S.) a baby  
 Bur-nap, an orphan  
 Bwyre-ang (K.G.S.), the second brother  
 Dje-go (Vasse), a sister  
 Djuko, Djukone, a sister  
 Dju-ko-lung (K.G.S.), a big sister  
 Dte'ne, a brother-in-law  
 Ei-ya, (Vasse) a woman, a mother (plural ei-ya-men)  
 Eun-gar, a brother, one of the same race, used to denote the  
 natives generally  
 Gam-burt, a niece  
 Good-ja, an infant  
 Goo-lam-biädy, a young man  
 Goolang, a child (male or female)  
 Goo-jang-gurra, children  
 Goo-lang-ur (Vasse), a boy  
 Goo-loom-biddy (K.G.S.) a young woman (used in contradistinction  
 to Goolambiddy)  
 Goo-loc-yin, a younger brother or sister  
 Goordar, together, also a married or betrothed person

- Go-tit -kur (K.G.S.), a nephew
- Gwar-rut, a daughter
- Jan-num, we two (the dual pronoun used between two brothers-in-law,  
a corruption of ngan-num-a)
- Jin-dam, the eldest sister
- Kamburt, a niece
- Kan-go, an uncle
- Kar-dang, a younger brother
- Kar-die-jit, a brother, neither the eldest nor the youngest of a  
family
- Kar-do, a married or betrothed person
- Kar-dura, two, a pair
- Ke-lin-gaet, the youngest of a family
- Koo-looy-in, the youngest brother of a family
- Kool-tar (K.G.S.), two people who are man and wife
- Koo-lung, a boy
- Koon-goor, a young man who has attained the age of puberty
- Kow-at, a young sister
- Kyne-kur (K.G.S.), a father
- Mal-lard, a girl
- Mam (K.G.S.), a father
- Mam-mer (Guildford), a father
- Mam-me-rup, a man
- Mam-mul, a son
- Mam-mun, a father
- Ma-yure or My-ure, a nephew
- Mi-rak, a sister
- Moorn yoong-ar, black brother (or) the black race generally
- Moo-root, a relation
- Moo-root-burna, friendless, unrecognised
- Moyra-un, a grandfather
- Mun-dig-a -ea, a girl before maturity
- Na-go-look, an acquaintance
- Na-gul, friendly
- Nank (K.G.S.), a mother
- New-bal, ye two, brother and sister, or parent and child
- New-bin, ye two, man and wife
- Nin-gar, (K.G.S.) another

Nu-ha, the young of anything  
 Ngal-a, we two, the dual between parents and children  
 Ngal-li, we two, the dual between brothers and sisters, or two friends  
 Ngan-gan, a mother  
 Ngan-gan, a mother  
 Ngan-gan-broo (or burt) an orphan, motherless  
 Ngan-neek or ngan-neetch, we two, the dual between husband and wife  
 Ngan-numa, or ngan -num, we two, the dual between two brothers-in-law  
 Ngon-do (Vasse), an elder brother (plural ngon-do-man)  
 Ngoon-do, a brother  
 Ngun-ga ( Vasse), mother  
 Oer-do (Vasse), a younger brother  
 Tdu-dar (K.G.S.), a girl  
 Te-ne, a brother-in-law  
 Tur-neet (K.G.S.), a baby  
 Wer-der, a younger brother  
 Ya-nung, a widow or widower  
 Yar-bil-lee, marriage out of the right line  
 Yug-gou (Vasse), a woman, a wife. (Plural = yug-gou-men)

Amongst the tribes of the Southern districts when a young girl has been betrothed in infancy she remains with her mother until she is of marriageable age, the future husband giving occasional presents of food, etc. to her parents. As soon as her breasts begin to swell preparations are made for handing her over to her husband. Her father and mother tell her she must go and make a hut for her husband and the girl, assisted by her mother proceeds to erect the hut, and having finished it returns to her mother's camp. The bridegroom, meanwhile, has been camping with the relatives of the girl, not her father and mother whose camp he must not approach, and towards evening he goes to the place where the new hut has been erected and takes possession of it. Later on in the evening the girl joins him, having been escorted to his hut by her father.

On the betrothal of the infant the mutual avoidance of the future mother-in-law and son-in-law begins and from that time forward, and until many years have elapsed, after the marriage has taken place, they may not speak to, nor look upon one another, nor can the future husband visit his mother-in-law's hut. The sons-in-law believed that their hair would fall off and they would become bald if they held any communication with their mothers-in-law and the women believed their hair would turn grey if they spoke or looked at their future son-in-law. No restrictions are placed upon his intercourse with the father or other relatives of his wife, only her mother. But any food supplied to the parents of the girl by the son-in-law may be partaken of by her mother, with this restriction, that she must not eat anything that has been cooked by her son-in-law. For instance, she may eat of the game which he supplies, but only if she has cooked it. She cannot eat the meat that her son-in-law has cooked, nor any damper which he may have made, nor can he eat anything that she has cooked. During the absence of the husband the mother-in-law may visit her daughter, but she must not sit in the husband's place, nor can she enter that part of the hut which he usually inhabits, nor touch anything that belongs to him.

"Alle-juk Cam-beer-a-go," the daughter would at once call out if she saw her mother approaching her husband's "corner". "Na-a," (I didn't know) the mother would reply and move further away.

As soon as the infant is betrothed, her father and mother have no further control over their child except to take care of her for her husband, who continues to supply them with food at uncertain intervals both before and after his marriage with their daughter.

All the family are more or less concerned in the marriage of their female members, and are generally interested in the event. When Jubyche's daughter Yin'-jee-ran (alias Lizzie) was asked for by Bun'bung (alias Jimmy Michael) her mother and mother consulted all the other members of the family, the consultation in this instance being particularly interesting from the fact that both Yin-jeeran and Bunbung were of the same family (Tondarup) and consequently within the forbidden degree (tribal brother and sister). But the various members of the family who were called together to discuss this important point, decided that since there was no one of her right marrying class available, the ancient law must be set aside, in order that Yin-jee-ran should be provided for and that her father and mother should have someone to look after them in their old age, and so it was arranged. If the father is dead the brothers dispose of their sister, and after them the near relatives of the girl.

In cases of elopement when for instance, a Ballarruk from the Perth district captured and eloped with a Tondarup woman from the York section, the relatives of the girl followed the runaways and a duel usually ensued between one of her brothers and the man who had stolen her. Spears were thrown and dodged until both parties were satisfied, the woman being meanwhile shielded by her paramour's brothers and sisters, as an attempt was always made to wound or strike the female culprit. Should she have been betrothed to some one of her proper marrying class in her own district, her father and brothers pursued her, and if she was overtaken she was severely beaten by her female relatives on her return to the camp. The promised husband did not usually accompany his father-in-law and brothers-in-law in their pursuit of the guilty couple.

These elopements usually took place after some corroboree which was attended by tribes living at a distance, the visiting tribes being always the offending parties - the hosts' turn came when they were the visitors. The women were, more often than not, a consenting party

following up the man of her choice who lingered behind his companions a couple of days after the departure of his tribe. The woman if she escaped re-capture by her people, became a member of the tribe to which her lover belonged.

The great diversity of dialect amongst the Nor'West tribes is presumably attributable to this universal custom of elopement and also from infant betrothals arranged by the parents with a man of the proper marrying class who may be a member of a distant tribe speaking a different dialect. In the first case, the woman who has eloped, may enter a tribe with whose language she is unacquainted, and a mixture of her own and her adopted tribe's dialect at once begins to take place. The children learn the language of their mother and thus in time a new dialect is formed. In a similar manner, the betrothed girl, who may never have seen her promised husband until she is handed over to him as his wife mixed her own dialect with that of her husband and thus also initiates what Father Nicholas calls a "tertium quid" in dialects.

It occasionally happened that a raid was made upon some distant tribes and several women were made captive by the raiders. Sometimes they escaped pursuit and reached their distant homes with their captives, but in these cases revenge was always ultimately taken by the outraged tribes and the captured women either brought back or some others stolen instead of them. Indeed, it may be said that the chief cause of their tribal wars was in connection with their women.

There have been several cases of twins having been born amongst the Southern tribes. Grey mentions four cases and Jubyche states that a York woman had twins, both of whom lived.

Twins have been born amongst the Northern natives also. At the Toman Catholic Mission at Beagle Bay, a native woman bore twin children in 1901, the infants being full blooded natives. They are still living at the Mission. Mrs. Cusack states that the Tableland natives have sometimes borne twins, but very rarely.

Infanticide as before mentioned, is known to have been practised amongst both the Northern and Southern tribes, before the coming of the whites.

Jubyche's reasons for this practice were : Long journeys through

the bush when young babies would become too burdensome, or the children coming too quickly and there being consequently two babies perhaps to carry, and as the husband very rarely carried his children any distance, the mother found it impossible to carry two in addition to her household goods, therefore the practice had always more or less prevailed. The babies were strangled, no preference being given to the sex of the infant; whatever its sex, if it proved troublesome it was killed. The Northern natives also killed their infants by strangulation. In some tribes the infants were killed by feeding their mouths with sand and in others the baby was simply left behind at the temporary resting place.

It has been stated that the native women living on the coast in the neighbourhood of Cossack practised abortion, their method being to tie their opossum string belts very tightly immediately above their stomachs thus procuring the desired result.

Mr. and Mrs. Susack however state positively that the Injibandee (Tableland) natives frequently procured abortion, which was performed in the following manner. A spinifex cord was first tied very tightly round the stomach near the navel, then another woman pounded or kneaded the stomach violently for some considerable time. If this method was not successful they sat heavily or even jumped upon the stomach until the embryo became detached.

Many of the Southern natives had four and five wives. They were not restricted as to numbers, each native obtaining by capture and otherwise as many as he wanted or could find food for, but the women provided most of the food for themselves and their husband. The northern natives were also polygamous, and obtained their wives in a similar manner to that of the Southern natives, by betrothal, by capture and by inheritance. Bishop Gibney in 1890 found one man near Beagle Bay who he was told had eight wives.

The women of the southern districts bore children about a year after marriage, sometimes a longer period, occasionally a shorter, as with white people.

The northern girls married at a somewhat earlier age than their southern neighbours, and sometimes two or three years elapsed before they became mothers.



The following paragraph subject to correction.

F.F. Armstrong states that as soon as the baby was born it received a name taken from some natural object at hand, but when the ceremony of nose piercing took place, when the boy was about nine years old, the name was changed for that of some one of the tribe which had performed the operation, and that ceremony was looked upon as a formal admission to all the rights and privileges of manhood. This coincides with Jubyche's statement that the male children serve their "probationary" years with some neighbouring tribe, the nose piercing being done by some member of that tribe, no other ceremony attending the initiation.

It is a remarkable fact in connection with the natives that a notoriously bad woman in the tribe is looked upon with the same contempt and loathing by the native women as a woman of the same class is looked upon by her more respectable white sisters. The Southern natives call these women "wendung", wicked or no good, and say of them "Bal el'lee-uk werra", She is no good, or "She is always looking out for men," or some such contemptuous remark. These women are despised by all members of the tribe, and although they must of necessity remain in their own section, they occupy a relatively similar position to their white sisters in iniquity and live "on sufferance" in the tribe to which they belong.

Therefore it must be believed that amongst the natives, contrary to almost universal opinion, a certain tribal morality existed, which was very strictly enforced. Offences against the moral laws evolved amongst the various tribes were punished frequently with death, which was the recognised penalty for such transgressions, and rarely did the victims escape. A case is mentioned in a previous chapter when a woman who had persisted in defying the laws of her tribe was eventually burnt by her infuriated husband.

Bishop Salvado stated that if the wife of a native was offended, her husband revenged himself upon the wife of the offender. He also says that an insult given to a woman with regard to her moral conduct is punished with death.

Both amongst the Northern and Southern natives there is a universal law which prohibits the marriage of a male until he has undergone

the ceremony of initiation through which the state of "manhood" is reached. The ceremonies may be of the simple character peculiar to the tribes of the South and Southwest, or the more elaborate and painful method pursued by the Northern and desert natives, but until he has passed through these the young man is forbidden to marry. After his initiation, if he is the fortunate possessor of a sister, he can exchange her for the sister of some other young man of the right marrying class. This however presupposes that the fathers of both the young men are dead or having a sufficient number of wives already are not desirous of increasing their marital responsibilities for the father has the first right of disposal of his daughter and unless he foregoes this right the son must try and obtain a wife by capture, if he has not already had one betrothed to him for whom, however, he must wait until she is old enough to join him. The wife is not the relative but the property of her husband, as marriage amongst the W.A. aborigines is not held to create relationship, hence none exists between husband and wife. A man may do what he pleases with his wife, he may exchange her for another, he may give her away to any of the proper marrying class. He may ill treat her to the point of death and no mention of his tribe will interfere, unless he attempted to kill her, when his relatives will intervene on the ground that they, as well as her husband, will be held responsible by her relatives for her death. But it must be said that native husbands as a rule are not unkind to their wives. There have been cases known of a native being as much "henpecked" by his wives as any "Mr. Caudle" of civilised life. Mrs. Millett's friend Khourabene a York native is a case in point. Khourabene divorced his first wife by the native law of spearing her. He next came into possession by inheritance from a near relative who had lately died, of a little betrothed child of about five years of age, whom however he "traded off" to another relative who gave him "a very ugly woman" as part of the exchange. Shortly after his acquisition of "Sarah", Khourabene came in for another legacy in his brother's widow, and the two women being too wise to quarrel, "found a common bond of union in making him a regular slave to them both. They played upon his love of flattery.. ..and persuaded him to fetch and carry for them like a dog. The last sight I had of him," says Mrs. Millett, "he was...twisting scarlet

worsted into fillets for the hair of these two baggages who stood by him overlooking his work. They took no share in winding the worsted.....A few days afterwards we heard that Khourabene was again a fugitive, accompanied by Sarah only. The quondam widow, adorned in her becoming headdress, had given him cause for jealousy, and he had speared her."

Women retire from the camp when about to give birth to a child and are usually attended by one or two older women. A birth had, however, often occurred when the family has been changing camp, and the woman has just turned aside into the bush, rested a few hours after the birth of the child and then resumed her march. Parturition is often "assisted" or hastened by means of a string being tied tightly round the abdomen. The placenta is burned or buried, as time or convenience admits, and the baby, if it is to live, is rubbed over with dust or charcoal and placed in the wooden scoop amongst the household utensils. The colour of the newly born infant is a beautiful bronze or shining chocolate, which, however after a few days becomes somewhat cloudy for a short period, but during childhood and more particularly if the infant lives near permanent water and has cleanly habits, the skin retains the chocolate tinge and glistens in the sunlight like "burnished bronze".

The mother nurses her child sometimes for two or three years, the nature of the bush food and its insuitability as an infant diet rendering this custom absolutely necessary. Should another infant be born during the suckling of the previous one, the newly arrived baby is generally strangled, on the plea that the mother cannot nurse two children at the same time. Spencer and Gillen state that a baby is never killed once it has been suckled by its mother, except in an extreme case where a healthy child may be killed for the purpose of feeding a weaker and elder one, but Mrs. Meares and other residents in the Nor'West state that the children may be killed at any age, and many instances are cited in support of this statement. Father Nicholas states that in Broome and Beagle Bay some forty five infants were strangled, and one woman killed and ate her four years' old child.

In the study of the Australian class marriage system a striking proof is observable of the close connection of the aborigines with the other dark races of the earth. Although many material points of difference may be noted, more particularly in the various terms of relationships as compared with the Turanian and Ganowanian systems, there is yet such a striking family likeness influencing or pervading the whole as to destroy all idea of their resemblance being merely coincidental.

F.F. Armstrong, Native Interpreter, writing of the native system of government, says (Perth Gazette, Oct 29, 1836) "There is no supreme authority, either in peace or war, vested either in any individual, as a chief or patriarch, or in any body of individuals. A family is the largest association that appears to be actuated by common motives and interests....In any one family, the best spearman, or at least the boldest ruffian, appears to have the greatest influence both in council and in action."

"Marriages are always contracted at a very early age. The father invariably betroth his daughter when quite an infant to some individual of the same or another tribe whose wife she is henceforth considered, although she may not leave her parents for years afterwards. Incest called "yar-bellee" is not only not common but is spoken of with open disapprobation amongst them. It is certain that parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, are not allowed to intermarry. Polygamy is well known to be general.....When the appointed husband chooses to claim possession of his betrothed, he gives notice of his intention to her relatives.....They are extremely jealous of any infidelity on the part of their wives with strangers; but....they frequently relax in favor of a brother.....The greatest number of children which any one woman has been known to have living is seven or eight; no instance of barrenness has yet been heard of amongst them. On the death of the husband, the wife is always adopted by some of the deceased's brothers....-Infanticide is believed to be unknown amongst them." (The Interpreter was misinformed regarding infanticide, as the old natives state that it has always prevailed amongst them.)

F.F. Armstrong also mentions (op. cit.) the belief held by the Perth natives as to reincarnation. "It is invariably believed that their women conceive in consequence of the infant being conveyed by some unknown agency, from somewhere across the sea into the mother's womb. When a person is in a very deep slumber they have been heard to say of him, 'Now he is away over the sea,' meaning....that his spirit....which had come here as an infant had gone back to its own country."

Although the "toocar" or "toocah" system obtaining amongst the Nor'West natives (avoidance of the prospective mother-in-law) is also followed in the south, it does not appear to have a distinctive name. They say instead, "Mamma yoga winitch corda yang'ere wanga burt"  
 mother-in-law ? wife given talk not

(That woman has given me a wife, I cannot now speak to her.)

"Winitch" (avoid) seems to be the term used instead of "toocah".

Mrs. Cusack states that the natives rarely mention each other's names but call each other by their relationship terms, as "Buncallee yarra" (two cousins talking together), cumballee yarra (two sisters in law talking together).

When a native dies his namesakes, if he has any in the camp, are called joog-garee. They call claiming a betrothed wife chil'lee-mal'goo and their manner of taking possession is to seize hold of the girl by the upper arm, to prevent her twisting herself free. Her mother makes a pretence of detaining her by holding her back from her husband, all the while keeping her head turned away from him, for she may not look at her son-in-law. The father at the same time flourishes and rattles his spears, but the husband keeps his hold of the girl and after the pretended struggle leads her away to his camp.

It is rather interesting to learn that among the Injibandis it is the husband who provides the "house furniture" which consists of the "Yandle", an oblong, slightly curved piece of bark, which is used for carrying the baby, and the tardoo, a bowl shaped piece of bark obtained from the gnarled "elbow" or bole of a tree which is the receptacle for the seeds, roots, etc. collected by the woman. The extra "ornaments", flints, wilgee etc. are carried in a spinifex bag made by the woman.

The name given by the Southern natives to a bad woman in their tribe is "mootcha warra".

Marriage Laws (subject to correction)

R.H. Mathews, L.S.J. in a paper on the Social Organisation of the W.A. aborigines (contributed to the Q.G. Journal 1903-4) formulates a certain theory by which the origin of the different divisional class systems may be accounted for. It is assumed in the remote past there were two tribes called Bulcharri (Paljeri) and Banaka who either by conquest or as a matter of public policy, amalgamated, and that the Bulcharri men married the Banaka women and vice versa. This would give the following organisation, the children taking their mother's name :-

	Father	Mother	children
Phratry A.	Bulcharri	Banaka	Banaka
" B.	Banaka	Bulcharri	Bulcharri

Table 6

Then the two tribes Kaimarra and Burungo united in the same manner and intermarried one with another as follows :-

	Father	Mother	children
Phratry A	Kaimarra	Burungo	Burungo
" B	Burungo	Kaimarra	Kaimarra

Table 7

Now it may be supposed that the first confederacy conquered the second, or that the two peoples considered it politic to amalgamate for purposes of mutual advantage. The alliance could have been accomplished by the interchange of sisters - Bulcharri and Burungo could have exchanged sisters, also Kaimarra and Banaka, but there was no alteration made in the names of a man's offspring in any instance.

The united confederacy would then be illustrated by the following table (which according to Mathews represents the organisation of the Ashburton and other river natives at the present day.)

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Offspring</u>
Phratry A	Bulcharri	Burronga	Banaka
	Kurrimurri	Banaka	Burronga
Phratry B	Burronga	Bulcharri	Kurrimurri
	Banaka	Kurrimurri	Bulcharri

Table 3

On the Murchison river and elsewhere the section name Bugarlu takes the place of Banaka, Mathews suggests that the change might be

explained by supposing a tribe named Bugarlu instead of Banaka to have amalgamated with Bulcharri in past times.

(It may be interesting to note here that the following class divisions now obtaining amongst the Murchison tribes have been obtained by Kenneth Young, after careful inquiries :-

A	{	Father	Mother	Offspring
		Kymarra	Bugarlu	Boorong
B	{	Bugarlu	Kymarra	Buljarrie
		Buljarrie	Boorong	Boogooloo
		Boorong	Buljarrie	Kymarra

It will be seen that, changing from Bugarlu to Banaka, the system is similar to Mathews' "united confederacy".)

In the Roebourne district and on the Yule, Maitland, Shaw, De Grey, Lower Fitzroy and Lennard Rivers, Jurgurra Creek and along the coast to Broome and Condon, Mathews gives the sectional names with their dialectical variations as under :-

Table 4

Phratry A	Paldyarri	Kaiamara	Banaka
	Burungo	Banaka	Kaiamara
Phratry B	Kaiamara	Paldyarri	Burungo
	Banaka	Burungo	Paldyarri

In these four names it will be noticed that the phratries comprise different sections to those shown in Table 3. It may be postulated that the people in Table 4 consisted in ancient times of the confederacies illustrated in Tables 6 and 7, and that at a later period they became amalgamated. The consolidation of the four sections, however, was effected by the coalition of different pairs of sections. Bulcharri married the sister of Kaiamarra, and Kaiamarra took the sister of Bulcharri as his spouse; Burungo and Banaka exchanged sisters with each other in the same manner, thus constituting the organisation existing at present on the De Grey River and elsewhere (Table 4).

Instead of exchanging sisters, Mathews now supposes that the coalescence of tribes could be accomplished by the exchange of wives. This arrangement might be only temporary, or it might endure for that generation. But in the rising generation the men of Phratry A

would obtain their wives from among the sisters of the men of Phratry B, and conversely, just as marriages are arranged at the present day.

In examining Tables 3 and 4, it will be noted that although the phratries in each table are not composed of the same sections, yet the offspring have the same fathers in both tables. For example, in Table 3, Bulcharrie marries Burronga and his children are Banaka. In Table 4, Bulcharrie marries Kaiamurra, and his children still retain the name of Banaka. The same with the other three sections.

This may perhaps bear the construction that at the time of the amalgamation of these four sections, it was considered best to bestow on a man's offspring the same section names which they bore before the consolidation, or in other words, not to let the mother influence the line of descent as had been the custom under the ancient organisation represented in Tables 6 and 7.

Referring back to phratry A of Table 3, it will be seen that Burronga is the regularly appointed wife of Bulcharri and his children are Banaka. In certain cases however, where there is no blood relationship, it is sometimes permissible for Bulcharri to marry a Banaka woman belonging to a distant tribe, but in such case the children are called Burronga.

This alternative privilege may be a survival of the archaic law, when Bulcharri married Banaka, as in Table 6 and the descent of the progeny was regulated by the mother. Kaiamurra can, under like circumstances, take a Burronga woman as his alternative wife, and his children are Banaka.

The fact of different pairs of sections being employed to constitute the Phratries exhibited in Tables 3 and 4, and the consequent variation in the intermarriage of the four sections, together with the persistency of the names of a man's children in both tables, may help to strengthen the hypothesis of the consolidation of a number of small clans into pairs as in Tables 6 and 7, or into quartettes as in Tables 3 and 4.

Mr. Mathews also applies his theory to those tribes which according to him are divided into eight sections (the names of these tribal subdivisions have already been given) and which he locates on



the Fitzroy, Ord, Denham, Margaret and Ashburton Rivers and Sturt Creek, but as these sectional names have not yet been mentioned by residents of the districts named, it is not necessary at this point to follow the theory further. The four great divisions, Boorong, etc., with their many variations in nomenclature, seem to be (so far as can be ascertained up to the present time) the principal names obtaining amongst the tribes throughout the North and Nor'West, the same divisions extending into South Australia and as far as the Georgina River on the frontier of Queensland.

It may however be mentioned that in another paper on "Some Aboriginal Tribes of W.A." (read before the R.G.S., N.S.W., Dec. 4, 1901) Mr. Mathews states that the four sectional divisions are equivalent to the eight previously mentioned. As for instance, the section name Kaiamba (Kymera) is equivalent to the two sections Changura and Chauan; Panaka (Banaka) to Chagara and Chambin; Parajerri (Paljeri) to Chingala and Chuara; and Parungo (Boorong) to Chauarding and Chabalyi. These eight subdivisions, according to Mr. Mathews, are to be found in all the Northern part of W.A. situated northeasterly of a line drawn approximately from Collier Bay to Lake Macdonald and continuing eastward into the Northern Territory and into the northwest corner of Queensland.

In connection with the word mootcha-warra, which is the name for a loose living woman among the Southern tribes, Mr. Cusack describes a corroboree which is performed by the Injibandi tribes at certain periods of the year, called Mootcha-pinderee. The men and women form two separate rings, the men being in the inner circle; both parties then commence to dance, the women threading in and out as in the chain of the Lancers but without touching the men's circle. Round and round both rings travel, the motion becoming gradually quicker. Presently the men say, "Let us make a dust," and they at once stamp furiously upon the ground, causing a thick dust to arise, without however lessening their speed. At this point the women are now seen holding on to the men's belts and rushing round the circle with them and presently various couples detach themselves from the circle and go into the bush, returning again after a time and joining the frantic dancers. During this dance, Mr. Cusack states, "promiscuous intercourse is indulged in." The dance is held several times during the shearing season. The following is subject to correction :

In the Wanna wa corroboree described by Jubyché, at a certain stage of the dance the men break rank and rush over to the women, but each man takes his own wife, who guides him to her side, by her shouts of welcome.

Is there any connection between the Mootcha Pinderee corroboree and the name mootche warra given by the Southern natives to the loose living women of their tribe?

Mr. Cusack states that when a Paljeri man marries a Paljeri woman the child follows its mother's class, that of Boorong, as for instance, a Kymera man marries a Paljeri woman, their children are Boorong. That is the correct class division. When however a marriage between a Paljeri man and Paljeri woman takes place the child enters the woman's family which is Boorong, not the man's which would be Banaka :-

Right marriage	Paljeri man	Kymera woman	Banaka children
Wrong marriage	Paljeri (should properly be Kymera)	Paljeri	Boorong

The same with the other classes, the child is thus practically illegitimate.

It is also asserted by the same contributor that if an inland native woman marries a coastal native the child goes into its mother's class, and if a boy, will be circumcised according to the custom of the Injibandis. Similarly if an inland native man marries a coastal woman, the child, if a boy, will be initiated according to the coastal rites, which do not include circumcision.

With reference to the question as to whether hospitality to a native of a distant tribe covers the loan of a wife during his sojourn amongst them, the Injibandi natives do not exercise their hospitality to this extent according to Mr. Cusack, who however does not make a positive statement to this effect.

Mr. W.D. Campbell, one of the first white men on the Murchison, states that during his travels throughout an extensive portion of the country, the native who accompanied him was always given a temporary wife by the tribes whose country the party travelled over.

The Injibandis are not restricted as to the number of their wives. It mainly depends upon the individual, one man may have his six wives, while another is contented with one. The males do not marry until they have undergone the rites of circumcision and subincision, the females are taken to the camp of their husband at any age from eight upwards. Marriage however is not consummated with these children until they arrive at the age of puberty, but they live in their husband's camp with his other wives. Amongst the Injibandis their real wives or husbands are nuba, their potential or tribal wives or husbands yakkan.

The wives bear children at any time after puberty is reached, the same as white people. Mr. Cusack states that if it were not for the practice of infanticide the average number of children born to the natives would be six or seven.

Infanticide has always prevailed amongst the Injibandis, the causes being the trouble of rearing, or babies coming too quickly. It is the girl babies that are usually killed, not the boys, as the proportion of births of boys and girls is seven to one, or more than that in some families. The babies are frequently eaten, not from pressure of hunger, but from choice.

Curr states (Australian Race, vol. I, 76) that abortion was practised occasionally by the Australian natives and infanticide generally, the latter being effected by strangulation.

J.O. Brown states that when a newly born infant is killed the husband of the woman drinks the milk from her breasts. In some cases where the baby has not been killed, the husband if thirsty will rob the poor infant of its scanty supply.

Drage, read. 8/4/51

Mr. T.A. Drage of Mount View, Murchison, does not think the natives of that district had any fixed marriage laws. "They married as often, or perhaps oftener among their own tribes than they did with other tribes or divisions. It is very evident however that distinct tribes or divisions did exist and possibly in years gone by, they may have had some fixed rule for marrying with other tribes, or divisions. It is very evident however that distinct tribes or divisions did exist and possibly in years gone by they may have had some fixed rule for marrying with other tribes, but as far as I can learn even the oldest of these natives does not appear to know of any such rule.

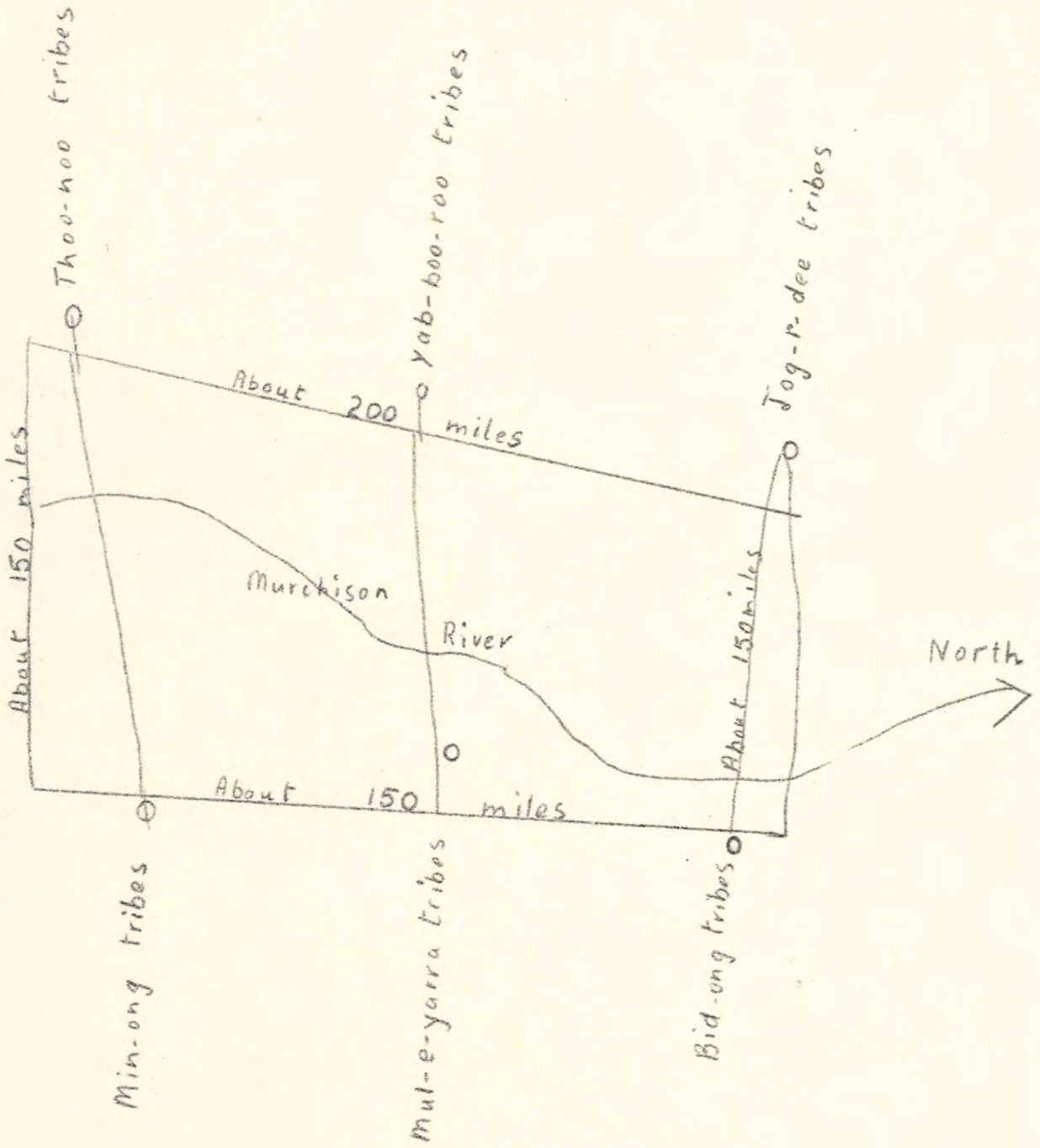
"From inquiries that I have made at various times on this subject I have always found that those on the West side of our river, viz. the Theonoo, Yaboocoo and Jog-r-dee, always appear to marry with each other freely and again, the Yaboocoo natives and the Mul-e-yarra natives also appeared to mix or marry freely, but the other two tribes on the East did not appear to have married with those on the West. This, from what I can learn is owing to their being situated further from the West tribes than the Muleyarra tribes are, and consequently they did not come in contact with the West tribes as often as the Muleyarra tribe did.

"We have here on our station, which is situated right between those tribes or divisions, natives both men and women of all those tribes and we have found that they have all married, one with the other very freely, and from the natives who first worked on the station years ago, I observed that they had also married one with the other prior to the time I went amongst them, but not to the same extent as they have done since and this fact I think shows beyond doubt that the reason they had not married with each other's tribe more freely was on account of their being so far apart and <sup>not</sup> coming in contact with each other often.

Now as to what a child would be born from, a father from one division and a mother from another division - this is an item that it has never struck me to inquire about until I received your circular. I however had a good opportunity of ascertaining as I had at the

moment an intelligent native and one who for the first twenty years or so of his life had lived as other natives did in their wild state. He is a Muleyarra man and has a Yaboeroo woman and on asking what class his child (now about 3 years old) would belong to, seeing that he was Muleyarra and his mother Yaboeroo, he promptly replied that they would have to wait until she got older and whichever divisions dialect of the two she spoke best to that division or tribe she would belong...Although each of these tribes or divisions have a different way of speaking yet it is not to such an extent as to effect their understanding each other without trouble.

I should say that formerly the Theonoo, Yaboeroo and Jogrdee always married into each other's tribes freely, also that the Bid-ong, Muleyarra and Minong did likewise and that the three tribes from each side of the river married with each other occasionally, more especially in the case of the Yaboeroo and Muleyarra tribes owing to their being near to each other.



Marriage LawsSubject to Correction

A.R. Richardson in a letter confirming the marriage Table of the Nor'West natives, as set forth in the circular, says that "In order to enforce regard to their marriage laws, the code of moral honor not being very high amongst savages - recourse seems to be had to superstitious terrors, and a native man (or woman) even looking at what is regarded as his "tooah" that is, a girl so related to him either by marriage or intended future marriage believes some dire calamity will happen to him by the interposition of the evil power, such as his hair turning white, etc. and the girl offending in this way (and being found out) is subjected to punishment by her tribe or her relations etc. etc. No doubt all such laws or superstitions had been instituted by wiser forefathers to guard against consanguinity, and the deterioration of the race."

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Subject to Correction

Jubyche emphatically states that the four principal class names given are absolutely correct. "Bobbie" of Dardanup and "Abraham" of Northam (?) are the only two other natives now living who could substantiate his statement.

Ballarruk, Nagarnook, Tondarup and Didarruk were all originally "matta gyn", of one stock or family.

He states that the Ngotak or Wordong ("Bunbury crows") would not kill crows nor allow them to be killed. But that this custom has no totemic meaning is shown by the fact that the name kuljak (Perth geese or swans) was applied to the Vasse natives, yet they killed and ate swans as well as every other bird. Wad-dar-ruk, "long legs" was the name given to the Helena River natives from the hilly country they inhabited. Waijuk (emus) was given irrespectively to York and Bunbury natives, both these tribes killing and eating those birds as often as they could catch them.



Marriage Laws

When the swelling of the young girl's breasts was noticed by her mother, the girl was then called "cooro-mandie". The ceremony of handing her over to her husband has been already described. In Jubyche's tribe the mother and girl proceeded to make a hut, and the girl's future husband sat with her male relatives while preparations were being made for him. When the hut was built, a fire made and some supper cooked by the young girl. She was sometimes too timid to call her new husband to his marriage supper, and occasionally deputed her brother to this task, the husband however invariably laughed at her timidity and remained where he was until she called him. In the southern parts of the State, the women, even when young, often have great influence over their husbands, which they frequently exercise to the utmost (Mrs. Millett in "An Australian Parsonage," pp. 372-3, gives an interesting example of undue influence obtained by the two wives of Khourabene.)

Jubyche stated that it not infrequently happened that a woman would sometimes say to her two daughters, "You had better both go and live with that man," and the two sisters would share the married hut together. The husband, provided the sisters did not agree, could always dispose of one of them to a brother or a cousin.

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Customs and Laws

In the formation of a southern camp the married families took up one position in the camp; the single men were away some distance from them. The visitors, if married, went amongst the married people's huts, if single they slept with the single men. The young men were allowed to come over to the married people's camp during the day, and sit down by the fires and talk or play games, but they always returned to their own camps to sleep. When rising to go to their camp they generally remarked, "I am going to sleep now," and their friends said, "We'll go too."

In Jubyche's own camp, he and his wife slept side by side, his three boys being by his side, and Yoolyeenan's daughters (if their husbands were away) sleeping at her side.

Friendly visitors camped only two or three paces away from the other huts, but when the various tribes assembled for "Wanna Wa" or

"quarter" each tribe would camp about thirty paces from the next one. The visitors chose their own places, as each family knew exactly the position it was entitled to. Sometimes Jubyche or some other old man would call out to some special friends to take up a certain position closer to his camp, and they and their belongings moved according to the friendly wish. It was however always a friendly invitation, and not a command. No one undertook any special superintendance of the camp arrangements. The women went to and from the camp by a different route to the men, except when they accompanied their husbands.

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Subject to correction :-

The tribes beyond Beverley were called Jekoke. Eastward, "where the sun rises" (York) Kogarah was the name applied (the kogarah corroboree doubtless came from York), Northam and Toodyay tribes were called Jidding, yabaroo the Northam, and Meenung the Southern tribes. Boologup was the name of the district where Bunbury now is, Ee-lak, Australind, Dardingyup, Dardanup, Koombarnup (this side of Clifton's place near Australind), Mardalup close to Australind (where the bridge now is).

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Curr states (Australian Race, I, 16) that in many cases there is but one name for the tribe and its language. He also says that through many degrees of latitude in the eastern portion of the continent, the names of tribes and their languages are derived from the negative adverb in use. Curr supplies many instances of this notably the Kamilaroi, derived from kamil = no, a tribe which occupied the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers, and the subject of an excellent work by Messrs. Howitt and Fison (Kamilaroi and Kurnai (Melbourne 1880)). One tribe on the Weir and MacIntyre called themselves Pikumbul; pika = yes.

Subject to correction :

Concerning the above peculiarity, Jubyche, on being asked the meaning of the word Thoonoo (the name given by a correspondent to one of the tribes west of the Murchison) said "Thoonoo - goa Thoonoo = yes, very true. All the same we say, "Nad-ja-kul = yes, very true, and the Northam people say "Natha-thur = yes, very true." Jubyche could

give no explanation of the difference between "Nad-ja-kul" and their ordinary word for yes, kē-a. It was only the mention of "Thoonoo" which brought the other word to his memory. Whether there is any particular significance in these words in connection with the tribes is a question that requires special and minute investigation. The matter can only be referred to here.

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Marriage Laws.

Fraser

The Rev. Dr. John Fraser favors the primary system of two exogamous intermarrying classes, which he states must have been Fraser's the original system amongst the native tribes, as if  
 Aborigines  
 P. 30 four were the original number of class divisions the well known strong conservatism of the native tribes would not permit them to curtail an arrangement handed down to them by their ancestors. Four or six classes may however come from two by subdivision. Every man in one of these classes must take a wife from another class, and the class into which he has to marry is fixed, for him. Intermarriage with a woman of his own class is incest, and a heinous offence. Descent is reckoned through the mother and the mother's brother has a special relationship to all her children closer than that of the father's brother. A man may marry a brother's daughter, but not a sister's. (Subject to correction)

With regard to the prohibition of communion between mother-in-law and son-in-law, Dr. Fraser says, (Ibid, 31) "If the tribal view of physiology alleges that the daughter is specially a product of her mother, and continues to have a special physical relation to her mother, then the girl's husband must shun all appearance of direct communication with the mother-in-law, for she is of the same tribal class as her daughter, and that is a class over all members of which he has the possibility of marital rights; but his relation to the daughter would render the slightest touch of the mother-in-law equivalent to incest - worse even than intercourse with a sister. The father-in-law is not avoided in the same way.

Dr. Fraser 's theory with regard to the rise of "totemism" amongst the native tribes is as follows : "The experience of all nations that have had any vitality in them shows a sort of gemmation, a putting forth of fresh shoots which go out and establish themselves as new tribes and independent existences. Increase of population leads to this, or civil dissension, or a tendency to wander and colonise. The leader of such a sept bears the by-name of "the lion", or "the bear" or "the kangaroo". On his death that animal is regarded as his visible representation, and is revered accordingly. No man of that clan will harm it; for on his death-bed he may have told his people that henceforth his spirit would live in that animal, and so it is the first of their ancestors. That animal becomes to them a "totem" after which they are named.. if it is a thing, it becomes to them a "fetish", in which the spirit dwells, and may do them good or ill, according to their behaviour towards it. . In Scotland, although there is no "totemism" there, yet the principles which produced it in savage nations still exist; for a loyal Bruce will not willingly kill a spider; the Highland clansmen cherish the plants which are the badges of their clans, and the Scot abroad loves to see the thistle, just as much as the shamrock delights the Irishman....

Whenever a tribe, with only two exogamous classes, thus sent off a hive from itself to form another tribe, it is natural to expect that the names of these two would be retained and applied to a portion of the hive, while two or more fresh names would be introduced for the other classes. Or, on discarding the old names, the new band would arrange itself in divisions, named from their several leaders. In this way the Israelite tribe when they occupied the land of Canaan, called themselves by the names of the sons of Jacob. In Australia, the names by which the various tribes call their class divisions are very diverse, and yet a black man, wherever he is on this vast continent, knows whether a female whom he meets is of the class with which he can intermarry."

Marriage Laws, Consanguinity

According to Peschel the Australian infants are fair or dirty yellow at birth, but after a few days resemble their parents in the darkness of their skin.

In the Nor'West, the infants are usually a dull brown at birth, but in the course of a few days, the skin becomes somewhat mottled, with a lighter and darker tint. Eventually the darker tint covers the whole body, and the child becomes the colour of its parents.

Amongst the southern families Dr. Salvado said that the full blooded infants born at New Norcia are a sort of reddish brown during the first few days, which changes into the colour of the mother in less than a month.

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Subject to correction :

W.H. Graham states that amongst the Kojonup and Eiticup families, the children belonged to the tribe of the father. As Mr. Graham says, that this form of descent prevails "in every other case", his statement requires confirmation, as from information received up to date the southern form of descent is through the mother, the children entering the mother's class.

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Jubyche states that from Williams to Beverley and from Beverley to King George's Sound and from there to Esperance all are Mining, or Minung, people. (Subject to Correction)

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Marriage Laws (All subject to correction)

According to R.J. Carlyon, Yuin, "the female child is given away soon after birth. Should her husband die his brother becomes her husband and if there are no brothers living the woman has to remain single for the remainder of her life amongst her own tribe, but she is at liberty to marry into another tribe.

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D.E. Roe states that the "Yerkla Mining do not intermarry in a friendly manner with the adjoining tribes; but this does not refer to the Western division of the tribe at Eyre's Sandpatch. Girls are promised when quite children and may be claimed at any time. It is the father who gives his daughter, but he may be overruled by his elder brother, especially if the latter has the support of the principal, that is, the oldest medicine man of the local group. In such a case a messenger is sent into the bush, carrying five feathers or charred sticks, each with a mark on it made by the Headman who is the oldest medicine man. If the girl's father and his brothers are equally divided in opinion the Headman decides which of the two men proposed shall have the girl. They are told that he who finds the greater number of feathers or sticks which have been scattered in the bush, is to have her. The man favored by the Headman always goes in the right direction. A wife is bound to be faithful to her husband. For the first offence she is branded with a fire-stick, for a second offence she is speared in the leg; for further offences she is killed. But no penalty attaches to the man. It is very rarely that women are lent excepting to visitors, but it is occasionally done for a friend who has no wife; but in all cases only to one who is of the proper class name. The most frequent case is when one of the Headmen (medicine men) requests a loan for some friendly visitor. When a man dies his widow goes to his brother. In cases of elopement the old men give chase and when the girl is caught she is severely beaten and the man who took her away has, if her promised husband wishes it, to fight with him. The number of spears to be thrown is determined by the medicine men.

(Howitt 257)

Howitt's S.E.A. 283

According to Howitt, female descent in Australia is associated with group marriage, while male descent occurs in tribes in which group marriage is either merely a vestigiary survival or remains only in evidence in the terminology of relationships.

That this is not the case in W.A. is shown by the fact that amongst the Southern tribes where the system of individual marriage obtains the descent is through the mother, whereas amongst the northern tribes where perhaps in places there may be vestigiary group marriages, the descent is agnatic. Howitt states also (284) that in tribes with female descent, a woman living in her husband's local division transmits to her children her class and totem, and her husband's sister, who is exchanged for her, likewise transmits her class and totem, to her children in the new locality. Thus the classes and totems alternate between intermarrying localities with each generation.

Under female descent the class and totem names are scattered over the tribal territory. It is so with male descent also, only that they are fixed to localities. (There are however no totems as such amongst the southern tribes of W.A. holding female descent.)

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It is stated by S. Hadley of the Sunday Island Mission that there are some 12 or 13 women in Cygnet Bay and Swan Point Peninsula who have half caste children and not one of these women has borne a native child since their half caste children were born. However at Cape Leveque Mr. Hadley was informed that a native woman there has three full blooded children after having given birth to a half caste child.

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The Rev. J. Flood, New Norcia, states that the marriage laws of the Maura natives consist in the mother of the would be bride asking the young man. If he accepts, the parties are then and there husband and wife. The young man never asks. If he refuses he must wait until some other girl's mother asks him.

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The Rev. J. Flood mentions a curious psychological circumstance in connection with the birth of half caste children. He states that there is one case in which a native woman gave birth to half caste and black children alternately. Several cases are known of pure-blooded natives having been born after the mother had given birth to one or more half castes.

R.J. Carlyon stated (Science of Man, July '04, p. 91) that when the boy is taken away for the ceremony of initiation which brings him into manhood, he takes some ceremonious farewell of his sister or sisters, as on his return from the initiation ground he is never allowed to speak or look at her again.

Mr. A.L.P. Brown, writing of a tribe on Cooper's Creek, states that a similar custom holds amongst them, but he does not mention whether the boy has previously gone through the initiation ceremony.

"Sister may speak to sister and brother to brother, but on no account must a brother or sister speak or have any dealings with one another. The woman only avoids the man, he appears totally unaware of her existence."

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With reference to group marriages existing amongst the N.W. tribes, W.H. Cusack who has resided for over 20 years in the Tableland district and who has been initiated into the Boorong section, states positively that group marriages do not exist at the present day. A Boorong man marries a Banaka woman, but has no marital rights over the other women of the Banaka section, who are the wives of his brothers (Boorongs). As the Banaka women are the potential wives of the Boorong men, it is natural that every Boorong should be to a certain extent suspicious of the men of his tribe, and hence suspicion and jealousy are inherent in the savage nature. The laws relating to marriage and consanguinity according to Mr. Cusack are so intricate that almost a life long residence amongst them is required, in order to understand the complicated system of relationship existing. For instance, the woman who (by virtue of her being the mother of a girl whom a Boorong can take to wife) is forbidden (tuer) to hold any converse with the potential husband of her daughter, can sit with and chat with the Boorong's younger brother, younger perhaps by only a year or so, to whom through her daughter being assigned to his elder brother she stands in the relation of great aunt.



Whatever variation may occur in the names of the Northern divisions the classes in their organisations seem to be equivalent throughout the North and Nor'West.

Spencer found the same variation in the class names of the tribes through which he passed (Spencer's Northern Tribes of Central Australia, P. 104) . Nevertheless he states that the Southern native (who accompanied the party right through the continent) was "fitted into" the various subclasses of the tribes met with on the way. The native belonged to the Bultharra class division (equivalent to Paljeri in the Northern tribes of W.A.) and when passing through the Binbinga tribe, 17° Lat. was regarded as a Paliaringi (a very slight variation from Paliarri, one of the subclass names in the same parallel of latitude.) According to Spencer "the Binbinga and Arunta social organisations, save for mere differences in the names, are identical.

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Andrew Lang is at variance with Howitt, Spencer and others as regards both the totems and class divisions of the aborigines. Lang thinks that the two exogamous classes had their origin in the amalgamation of two separate and independent local totem groups.

The Rev. John Mathew who has had a long and personal acquaintance with the Victorian Aborigines advances a similar theory to that of Dr. Lang. Mathew speaks of a pristine conflict between two races of men (Eaglehawk and Crow) contesting for the possession of Australia, "the taller and more powerful and more fierce Eaglehawk race

Howitt  
P. 143

overcoming and in places exterminating the weaker more scantily equipped sable crows." Howitt's hypothesis is that the segmentation of the hypothetical "undivided commune" was made intentionally by the ancestors of the Australian aborigine. Lang's theory re totemism having been the outcome of the pristine groups desiring some designation for each of their unfriendly neighbours and bestowing the name of some animal or plant upon them which afterwards was adopted by the tribe to whom it was given, is repudiated by Howitt who says that "Judging of the possible feelings of the pristine  
Ibid 153-4) ancestors of the Australians by their descendants of the present time, it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, nor do I know of a

single instance in which such nicknames have been adopted.... those early savages might through dreams have developed the idea of relationship with animals or even with plants.

Prof. Haddon suggests that groups of people at a very early period by reason of their local environment, would have special varieties of food.

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J. Whitchurch states that the Busselton natives have no system of consanguinity. He has known a man who married his own daughter, who bore him five children. This man always continued to live peaceably with his tribe. (Not substantiated.)

J. Whitchurch states there are no marriage laws amongst the Busselton natives. "The man just takes the woman by the hand, holding her tightly for two or three minutes exclaiming "Burong marritch". If a man wants a woman of another tribe he steals up to the camp at night and twists his spear in her hair when she quietly gets up and goes with him." (Incorrect)

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Marriage was exogamous amongst the Wonunda (Eyre's Sandpatch) people and the children belonged to the tribe of the father. Infanticide existed before the coming of the whites particularly in the case of female children. (Not investigated.)

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Crawley thinks that the invariable antecedent to exogamous systems is the prohibition of marriage within the house. He also thinks that the terms of address (regarding relationship) do not of themselves point necessarily to a previous promiscuity or even group marriage.

Professor Kurnow thinks that the class names merely denote age or youth, as Kubbi is derived from kuberu, young or new, etc. Andrew Lang considers this contention wholly untenable.

Herbert Spencer's theory of the origin of totems is that possibly a man had an ancestor named, say Tiger, whom he came to think was really a tiger, but descent being reckoned in the female line, this seems impossible.

Haddon's theory that totems were formed from people living on certain animals is out of the question because some totems of tribes are wind, rain, etc.

Westernack thinks that exogamy arose from one ancestor's observing that marriages of people near of kin resulted in such people dying out, and thus an instinct of aversion to such marriages was developed.

Dr. Carroll regards the evolution of exogamous classes and totem kins as a reformatory movement intended to restrict consanguineous marriages.

Andrew Lang thinks that the exogamous classes came into existence through the amalgamation of two or more tribes, or through the bisection of a tribe for reformatory purposes. (Messrs. Fison and Howitt advocate the latter theory.)

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Mr. Young's names of the Eastern Goldfields district tribes and their marriage laws are as follows. They are divided into 4 classes, Boolgooloo, Tur'raroo, Boorong'a and Kur'ramarra. The Kurramarra are known by the tribes further East as Mil'unga. They intermarry as follows :

	man	married	woman	children
(Paljeri?)	Turraroo man		Boolgooloo.	Booroonga
(Banaka?)	Boolgooloo		Turraroo	Kurramurra
(Kymera?)	Kurramurra		Booroonga	Boolgooloo
(Boorong?)	Booroonga		Kurramurra	Turraroo.

If Turraroo be placed for Paljeri and the other names accordingly (Boolgooloo Banaka), the crossing of the sections is much more decided than on the Murchison, as :

Paljeri (Turraroo)	Banaka	Boorong
Banaka (Boolgooloo)	Paljeri	Kymera
Kymera (Kurramurra)	Boorong	Banaka
Boorong (Booroonga)	Kymera	Paljeri

On the Murchison the tribes marry as under :-

Kymarra	Boogooloo	Boorong
Boogooloo	Kymarra	Buljarrie
Buljarrie	Boorong	Boogooloo
Boorong	Buljarrie	Kymarra

Mr. Edward Smith of Milly Milly Station (Murchison) furnished R.H. Mathews with the following names of tribes, or tribelets of families.

Yabaroo	These correspond with the names of tribes on the Upper Sandford furnished by Lord Gifford. (see Curr I, 375)	Yabaroo
Muliarra		Muliarra
Peedong		Peedong
Wanmulla		Wanmulla
Meenong		Meenong

Mr. Drage of Mount View, Murchison, supplies the following names of the tribes in his district which correspond somewhat with the above :

Thoonoo

Yabbeeroo

Jog-r-dee (with reference to this name, Mr. Cusack states that amongst the Tableland natives all natives whose namesakes die are called Jug-gar-ee.)

Bid-ong

Mul-e-yarra

Min-ong