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RELIGION, SUPERSTITIONS

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS

Religion, in its application to the beliefs of the native races of the world, has had many definitions applied to it by ethnological students and writers on the subject. Some of these writers maintain that the term "religion" comprises a belief in spiritual beings; others hold that it must contain worship and propitiation; others again define it as a certain reverence for, and responsibility to, a higher power. The French sociologists say that it must contain certain obligatory beliefs connected with obligatory acts. Indeed, any system of faith and worship, or of emotions experienced in connection with matters of life and death, is defined as religion, while again, to other minds, religion is merely a form of superstition.

With all these definitions in view, it may be said that the Western Australian aborigines have certainly some form of religion amongst them. To Professor Huxley and Herbert Spencer the religion of the aborigines is some vague belief about unattached spirits, mainly mischievous, who may be propitiated or scared away.

The initial difficulty in prosecuting inquiries amongst the aborigines as to their religious beliefs, arises from the desire of the ^{white} student to accommodate these beliefs to his own preconceived ideas on the subject, and to take advantage of any accidental resemblance between the native forms and those practised by civilized nations, to press questions which insensibly lead the native mind into a certain ordered direction. The results of such a course are interesting, but the inquirer does not arrive at the native conception of religion, as the true aboriginal system of belief cannot be obtained by this means.

The most satisfactory method of inquiry into the beliefs and practice of the aborigines is to go in amongst them as a learner, divesting oneself completely of one's own personal beliefs, and to follow as closely as possible the native line

of thought. By this procedure, the native idea of religion, vague and contradictory as it sometimes appears to be, will be obtained without the admixture of any foreign element which would tend to lessen its value to the ethnologist.

The religion of the Western Australian aborigines is mainly one of superstition. There is no idea whatever of a Supreme Being, yet the natives have a most decided belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and the after existence of such spirit. The Nalja of the Broome district might be said to be a Supreme god, but he is shown at the initiation ceremonies to be a creation of the men to keep the women in subjection, for the myth concerning him is "explained away" to the young men at a certain period of their initiation. The mammangurra (father of all) of the Southern district natives might also be termed a deity, but the name is in almost all cases applied to the eaglehawk who took precedence of all the other birds "in the days when men were birds". The term "mamman", now applied to "father stock" by all the Southwestern tribes, was originally the name given to the male generative organ, and all the ceremonies in which the word mamman is used are apparently phallic in their interpretation. Mamman is also feared as a god by the women and children. Neither Walja nor Mamman are worshipped in any way, but in the South, at every Mamman ceremony, the burial of mamman is performed at the close of the Jalgoo or Feast of Licence.

Propitiatory offerings are, however, made to a huge mythical snake which is supposed to inhabit certain deep pools, hills, valleys and other spots throughout all the known parts of Western Australia. Every known deep pool throughout the West holds one of these mythical snakes, which are doubtless similar to the "wollunqua" of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen; and certain hills etc., are "winnaitch" (forbidden or sacred) through their being the homes of these fabulous snakes. (It would seem from this circumstance that the remote ancestors of the aborigines had at one time a form of snake worship, as well as a semblance of phallic worship, the few propitiatory ceremonies scattered throughout the various districts being evidently vestiges of such worship. The "cult" may have been brought over with the Dravidian or Indo-Egyptian migration,

This is a history but there is a spirit of animosity between
 the remnants of these Dravidian migrants inhabiting the South
the remnants of these Dravidian migrants inhabiting the South
 west corner of the State, where the habitats of the serpent
 are so numerous, and where propitiatory services are the rule.

There is but slight variation in the names applied to the
 huge mythical snake in the wide range of country between Es-
 perance and Dongara, as will be seen from the following :-

Esperance	Woggal
Bremer Bay	"
N.W. of Jerramungup	Waagul
Albany	Woggal
Augusta	"
Mt. Barker	Waagul
Kendenup	"
Williams	Woggal
Vasse	"
Katanning	Waagul
Bridgetown	"
Mandura	Woggal
Perth	"
Swan district	"
York	"
Gingin	Waagul
Meckering	Woggal
Arthur River	Waagul
Wagin	"
Victoria Plains	Woggal
Berkshire Valley	Woggardee
Dandarraga	"
Dongara	"

In all these places the woggal exercises the same functions
 and the same propitiatory offerings are made to him by the
 various groups. He was always a snake. He watches over food
 and other laws, and punishes ^{all} those who transgress them. He
 exacts a tribute of food in some places, and a bed of rushes
 or leaves in others. The presiding woggal of the Bunbury

district was blind, "but he could work evil just the same." In the Victoria Plains district the female woggal was the borungur or totem of some families there, and the following legend shows her healing one of her human totem kin, and keeping the hostile woggal from harming him :-

Bladwa was a Nyeerrgoo (Victoria Plains) yoongar and was woggal borungur (snake totemist). One day he went out hunting and killed two kangaroos with two spears and was carrying them home when another blackfellow came out of the bush and speared him, the spear going through his ribs. He threw the kangaroos down, broke the spear off and ran to his kala (fire), where his two women were. They tried to pull the spearhead out, but could not, and so Bladwa said he would go and get his woggal to cure him. He went down to the pool where the woggal was and called out, "'N'ga" (mother).

Presently a great whirlpool stirred the water, and another and another, and then the woggal's head and part of its body rose out of the water. It had feathers growing down its back. It looked about to see who had called it. Bladwa walked down to the spot where the woggal had come up and as he went along the water rose higher and higher. When the water had reached his chest, he was close up to the woggal, and he stepped on its back, and two more whirlpools came as the woggal sank with him to the bottom of the pool. He told his wives, who were watching him from the bank, that he would be back in three days, and he pointed with his hand to the place where the sun would be when he returned.

The woggal took him to her maia, and he lay on a feather bed made of the feathers which she cast every year. 'N'ga took the spear out of his wound, put her tongue into the wound, cleaned it, and lay round and round Bladwa.

There were other woggal down there and they tried to bite Bladwa but his mother woggal prevented them.

At the end of three days, Bladwa said to the woggal, "'N'ga, I want to go back to my kala and my women," and so on the afternoon of the third day while the women watched the water, the

whirlpools came again, and after a little Bladwa's head came up, and then he looked and saw his wives, and came to them over the log, and went to his kala, and his wound was quite healed.

The pool where Bladwa went down is winnaitch, and no strange natives can go there. The kalleepgur (home people) always strew rushes at a certain spot on their journey past the pool. If they neglected to do this, they would very soon get ill and die.

In the Minjelungin Swamp (Swan district) there is a deep waterhole which is the home of a woggal.

One day a yoongar had killed some goomal (grey opossum) and he came to the waterhole where the woggal was. As soon as he reached the water the woggal came up and swallowed him, but he disturbed its stomach so much that it vomited him up again. Then the woggal licked the yoongar and made him gwabba - all right - and told him that he would have to provide daaja - meat food - for it always. So the yoongar went out daily and brought in warra (female kangaroo), yonggar (male kangaroo), goomal (opossum) and weja (emu) and fed the woggal with all the daaja he caught.

After a time, the yoongar got tired of catching daaja for the woggal and so he went away. The woggal came up for his daaja, but there was none, and he came up the next day, and the next day, and then he put "bulya" (magic) into the yoongar and covered him all over with kooloo (lice), and the yoongar scratched his breast and made a hole there, and he scratched his side and made a hole, and everywhere he scratched, he made a hole, and he died very soon.

The Minjelungin woggal has hair on its back, and has wings like flaps. No one can drink out of the pool if, when he throws a stone in, bubbles rise to the surface. If the stone sinks quietly, he can drink. No maia (hut) can be made at this place either, for the saplings won't hold, and the woggal forbids the kalleepgur to touch the yoombuk (paperbark) near his pool, as that is his booka or cloak. Swan district people avoided the vicinity of Minjelungin fearing that they should be compelled to supply the woggal with daaja, hence there were no propitiatory offerings made to the woggal at this place. Balbuk stated that a white man named Bailey went to dig in the winnaitch place at Minjelungin, but something resisted his spade, and giving up the attempt he went home, but looking out of his house he saw a big snake "like a tree". He ran for his gun and shot and shot at the huge snake but couldn't kill it and he was so frightened, he left the district.

A woggal lived in a deep waterhole near York, and sometimes when he went away he took all the water with him, leaving the pool dry. In the afternoon the water and the woggal usually came back again. The woggal's excreta is like lime or "moving chalk".

The following legend of the woggal as "punisher in chief" for a breach of the food laws was current from the Swan district to Esperance :-

One day all the men went out kangaroo hunting, leaving their little boys in camp. One of these said, "Let us catch some mice and pretend they are kangaroo and skin them and cook them and cut them up as our fathers cut up the yonggar." They caught some little mice and killed them and cooked them and cut them up, dividing them amongst themselves as they had seen their fathers divide the kangaroo, a head to this one, a leg to another, a portion of the back to another, and so on, for this is the food law, that a certain part of the game caught must be given to the relatives of the hunters. The boys made merry over their feast and then went to play.

Presently the mother mice returned to their camps but could not see their children. They tracked them and tracked them, until at length they came upon their bones where the little boys had left them. The mother mice were very angry and rushed to the cave where the janga (spirit) kangaroo dwelt.

The mice told the janga kangaroo what the boys had done, that they had not only killed their children, but had made a mockery (murranning) of him by pretending the mice were kangaroos. This made the janga kangaroo very angry, and he went to his friend the woggal and asked him to punish the boys for having made a mock of him.

The woggal and the janga kangaroo, accompanied by the mice, went towards the boys' camp and when the woggal came up to the camp, he lifted it up and turned it upside down and made the whole place into a lake, called by the white people Lake Banister, and the boys were drowned in the lake.

Then the janga kangaroo and the woggal turned homewards together, "singing themselves" as they went. The place where the boys' camp was situated was called Dowingerup, and the woggal and the kangaroo sang :-

Dowingerup gaa Dowingerup gaa,
 Woggalilla baggineree kaangana gaa,
 Kaanganup woggalilla baggineree gaa,
 Dowingerup gaa.

They sang the woggal's name to show what he could do.

(This legend has some significance in view of the recent discovery of some bones of the sthenurus or giant kangaroo, which were dug up in the Mammoth Cave, Margaret River, once the home of the janga kangaroo.)

In the Karbomomup or Beereegup (Claremont) legend, the woggal swallowed all the men, women and children, except one woman who was gobbul-guttuk (pregnant), and whom he left on a little island or hillock. The place where the woman was left was winnaitchung ever afterwards, and when the home people passed the vicinity they had to strew rushes over it, otherwise the woggal caught their shadow (molla) and killed them.

At this winnaitch place, no spears must be sharpened at night, nor must any green wood be burnt, nor any daaja cut or broken in the wrong way. Bimbee, a yoongar, broke a crow's wing in the wrong manner, and the same evening, Bimbee's dog's back was broken.

At Perry's limekiln, near Fremantle, there was also a "boogur" (sulky) winnaitch place, the woggal which inhabited it punishing anyone who cut up an emu or an opossum in the wrong manner, by breaking their dogs' backs. Rushes were also strewn at a certain spot in this place.

In the Williams district version of the story of the children and the mice, the inability of the janga kangaroo to punish his mockers is also shown. He must appeal to the janga woggal. It is probable that, as many of the people in the district were kangaroo totem people, the janga kangaroo could not hurt these, but was obliged to call in the aid of the woggal to punish them for their mockery. Rushes were also strewn in the vicinity of the lake or swamp.

At Wendinup (Augusta River district), there is a boogur (sulky) woggal. If he smells the meat, and the yoongar leave some for him, he will not hurt them.

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In the Wandaring district there is, in the kaat (hill) at Bonkil, a woggal who "sits down there". No strange noongar can go there. At Daalangup is a winnaitchung gully where a woggal sits down; he will not hurt kalleepgur, but will hurt booyungur (strangers) and at Kebugain, there is another gully which has a woggal who refrains from hurting kalleepgur. Rushes are strewn at all these places.

In certain other pools containing a woggal, if any game is killed or cooked in the vicinity, the woggal must be given a share of the cooked food, or the hunter will fall ill and die. In almost all the winnaitch spots, which were, or are, the habitats of the woggal, propitiatory offerings must be made when passing its "home".

Woggalung was the name given to any illness which came upon a person who had knowingly committed an offence against a woggal, either by neglecting to strew rushes, or by a breach of some law.

When Karbomunup Hill became the site of a hotel, the proprietor desired at the opening ceremony to add a native dance to the other attractions, but not one of the natives of the district could be induced to take part in it, notwithstanding liberal offers of money and food. Some Nor' West natives were collected to perform the dance, but two of these died during the week following the celebrations, their death being attributed by the Southern natives to the vengeance of the woggal. *Later the Hotel became a Convict Station.*

In the early days of Perth settlement, a boat's anchor was lost in a woggal winnaitch hole at a spot somewhere near Mount Eliza. ^{made for the hole} The natives were offered food, tobacco and money to dive for the anchor, but none would accept the offer. Again the services of a booyungur (stranger native) were requisitioned, who dived for the anchor. "He never came up again," said Balbuk and Joobaiten who told me the story, "the woggal caught him and ate him."

In some districts, no food must be cooked in the vicinity of a woggal waterhole, or the woggal will come out and eat both food and yoongar. If a native passed one of these winnaitch places without strewing rushes, he became ill and died very soon. No one can tell why the rushes were strewn, except that it was "yoongar law", and was done in demma goomber times (the days of their grandfathers).

The woggal may be in the sea, in some rocks, trees, in a sandhill, swamp, etc., but he is always in the deep waterholes. He frequently carries the swamps and bulrushes on his back when moving about. He is of enormous size. The great Indian python in the Zoological Gardens is said to be a woggal which the white people caught. Natives when taken to the Zoo, avoid the vicinity of the woggal as they call it.

Nornalup, the place of the black snake, was the name given to a white gum tree, growing somewhere near the end of the Koombanup estuary (Bunbury). The tree was goobar-winnaitch (strictly forbidden) and was boogur or sulky, and hence always avoided. No propitiatory offerings were made to the snake which was supposed to have its home in or near the tree. The black snake required no offering.

^{W. K. Burrell}
A tuart tree was growing near Ballarat (Mr. Locke's place) and was also winnaitch. Some little time ago, the tree was struck by lightning, but notwithstanding this, the natives avoided the place, and still feared the janga who dwelt there. No propitiatory offerings were made.

Koolgurnup was part of the bank of the Vasse River near Busselton, where the woggal was supposed to "sit down" when it came out of the water.

Weenimup was the name applied to that part of the Vasse River now lying between the two bridges at Busselton. The woggal had its home in the river, but occasionally came out and sat down on Kalgoornup. It was only boogur (sulky) to strange natives, but its vicinity was avoided by the home people. No rushes were strewn.

Marrjeenup or Kookolup was a winnaitch place in the Capel district, a big hill, with a tree growing on it. The woggal of this place was a quiet one, and hence the kalleepgur could hunt near it. If the hunters approached the tree, they stroked it gently, but no rushes or other offering were made to the tree or hill.

In the case of other trees that are winnaitch, the natives when passing, go up to the trees and stroke them gently, or mark them by cutting off a small piece of bark with kojja (axe) or dabba (knife), which they drop on the ground near the tree. Each native follows the other in exact order in performing these ceremonies. If they did not do this, they would suddenly fall ill and die. There is a sheoak (kwela) tree at Rosamel, near Bunbury, which must be avoided altogether, for the woggal of the vicinity is boogur. Jakkeemirra's mother-in-law went close to the tree and died shortly afterwards.

Gabbeelung woggal is the name given to the mythical water snake.

Except in the ^{*}Nyeerrgoo district before mentioned, the woggal's power appears to be generally directed towards evil. When kalleepgur perform propitiatory services, he is quiescent, but any strangers who may ignorantly travel over the winnaitch ground, pay for their ignorance with their lives.

* It is interesting that the Nyeerrgoo woggal was a female and also the Nyeerrgoo dingo, taken in the legend of both. It was the female woggal that healed Blasius, in the desert (Nyeerrgoo) when taken was the female dingo. In the legend of the female dingo found the water.

One large pool in the vicinity of New Norcia R.C. Mission was, according to Bishop Salvado, haunted by a fearsome spirit called a "wawgul", which killed any native who approached the pool at night to drink. "One evening," Bishop Salvado writes, "a great number of natives came to me asking me for water. I gave them all I had, and when it was finished, about 15 of them still remained unsatisfied, and codly requested me to fetch some more from Maura ^{Maurer's?} Pool." "Here is the vessel," I said, "go yourselves." All were silent and none dared to take the vessel, nor say a word to me about their fear. At last, after about an hour's interval, one of them said to me, "If we go to take the water, we shall be killed immediately, but if you go, nothing will harm you." I understood that they held a superstition, and so determined to make them accompany me to the pool, in order that I might be able to undeceive them. They made me precede them to the water, following me in single file and observing strict silence. If I advanced rather quickly they shouted, "Nannup, nannup," (stop, stop) fearing that they would lose sight of me. We reached the pool and I filled the vessels and we started to return. This time they preceded me, running to get in front of me, though still keeping in single file, so that I was left last. I reproved them for their ridiculous belief, and they answered me with contempt, "Moonda dwonga burt." (You don't understand.) They asserted that the woggal is there, and fear him equally in the daylight."

The woggal of some parts of the Southwest appears from tradition to have travelled through certain districts, leaving traces of its journey at certain places. The places where it camped in ^{its journeys} these travels were always winnaitch. All those places in the South where it rested were made known by the presence of lime, which was its excreta, and certain salt pans now found in the inland districts were formed from its urine.

Mullarbor Plain, north and east of Eucla, is, according to native tradition, supposed to be inhabited by one huge *ganba* (woggal), which devoured natives, animals and all living things, so that nothing now lives on the Plain. The absence of grass, trees and stones on the greater part of the Plain is attributed to the same cause. No natives ^{ever} ~~can~~ cross the plain till led across by an Englishman. *For Chichester Reader.*

A joondee (mythical snake) once inhabited Boorecalba (Mt. Ragged), and no natives could climb the hill for food. A mobburnguttuk (sorcerer) went up the hill, caught the joondee, killed and ate it, and after that, the natives could go anywhere on the hill.

Dandarraga Spring (about lat. 31°) was woggalguttuk (possessing a woggal).

Yeelbanbarup, near Pinjarra Bridge, about lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$, was also woggalguttuk.

The travels of the woggal were not confined to any particular route; it went north, south or east, according to the various traditions.

The strewing of rushes in the vicinity of the woggal's home was propitiatory, but the food provided for and offered to the woggal was compulsory and was only bestowed at the command of the woggal. The refusal of the native to continue the supply of food ordered, and his consequent punishment by the woggal, did not afford a precedent for other natives to provide supplies. They were simply more careful in their avoidance of that particular woggal ground.

The woggal seems to be the only mythical animal which has survived the advent of the white man. The janga kangaroo has vanished, also the janga or spirit natives, and the present day natives will walk freely about the one time janga haunted shales, but they will not walk over woggal winnatch ground, nor swim in woggal winnatch pools. They are as careful in their avoidance of these places at the present day as they were in their fathers' time.

Except in the Mt. Ragged district, where the joondee (woggal) was killed and eaten by the sorcerer, the woggal was never eaten, but the ordinary carpet snake and its eggs were the favourite food of the elders only in the camps, girls and boys being strictly forbidden to eat these. If they broke the law, and concealed the fact, it would become known by its effects upon them, for the boys would become boyar (immoral) and their hair would turn grey, and a similar fate, or worse, would befall the girls.

The great Nullarbor Plain Ganiba (woggal) occupied the whole plain to the sea. All over the plain are open holes of large & small dimensions, some containing caves, lakes etc. These were the various means of coming from the sea to the land, & only used by the woggal. Many of these Moonjung-ara (holes) can be traced down to the sea bed, & this than the various winds blow up or downwards according to the direction of the wind. The whole plain is a series of shelves, from which the softer soil has been worn away into the sea. The shores of the Piplid Head sea - stretch far under the cliffs & when the tides ebb there, the roar of their rushing can be heard at several of the deeper blowholes. Sleeping beside me of there the rush of the great spring tides can be heard the rush of wind coming up the holes at this time being so strong that it will keep a rush basket tossing some five or more feet above the hole. Through these holes the janga moves from sea to land. The whole plain (except its edges & some ten or more miles beyond there) is woggal (or Ganiba's) ngoora (camp), & had never been crossed by any native until Chichester Beadon - whom the natives loved & respected for his goodness & decency towards them - all took them across. Direct from Ilganiba water (Piplid area) to Niagara water on its northern edge -
Daisy Walker -

Amongst the Vasse, Capel and Augusta district natives, there was strong belief in a magic piece of wood, called weeragoo, which had the power of killing people, its owner putting it into their livers which it cut to pieces.

Dannee, a Manitchmat, one time living in Wonnerup, was mulgarguttuk (sorcerer). He had a weeragoo and used to put it in his nephews' legs without hurting them and draw it out at the other side. Dannee and Mijjooroo, his deenee (brother-in-law), a Wordungmat, speared a woggal, and before it died, it caught hold of Dannee and Mijjooroo and swallowed them. As soon as it swallowed them, Dannee turned into a dondurn (fishhawk) and Mijjooroo into a turtle, and they upset the woggal's stomach so that it ejected them in its excrement, and they turned into yoongar again. This woggal lived in a pool of the Collie River and when it died, it went into the estuary near Kweealup. According to the Southern natives, the woggal made all the big rivers of the Southwest. Wherever it travelled it left a river behind. If a native camped near the Collie pool, he had to give a hind quarter of opossum, and the liver to the woggal, also a portion of any other game he cooked there. If he did not share his game with the woggal, he died.

In some Southern districts a wild spirit dog frequents certain spots, tributary offerings of rushes, etc., being made to him also. In the same districts, a deep waterhole or a hill or valley may contain a woggal. Bwaia kond was a winnitch cave at Bwaia gutting where a dwerd yaggain (wild dog) sat down. When a strange native passed this spot, blood sometimes ran down from the rock (bwaia), and when the stranger saw the blood running he knew he was going to die. The kalleepgur (home people) strewed rushes round the rock, and in the kond (cave) they put mahogany leaves. They always did this when passing the rock or cave. They could not talk loudly when passing, or the "jennuk" (spirit) talked loudly too and harm came to them (echo?). Ngan'gar burdaing (ngangar - stars) was the name given to the bwaia or rock near the cave.

There were vague traditions extant amongst some of the Southwestern tribes of a great flood which once covered all the land except certain hills, but as these traditions have only come to me through natives who were more or less in touch with civilisation, their authenticity may be somewhat doubtful.

In the Gingin district, it is said that a long time ago there was a great flood which covered all the country except Mindangup Hill, and on this hill, all the daaja (game, etc.) took refuge. The yoongar also went to the top of the hill, but they were afraid to kill the kangaroo until they became very hungry. After some days the water went down and then the kangaroo and the yoongar spread themselves over the country.

Mt. Saddlesack is another hill where natives and animals took refuge during a big flood, and in the Vasse district there is also the legend of a flood which came and drowned all the people except two, a man and a woman. These two went up the hill and were saved. They did not have to hunt for food, for the animals were there on the hill beside them. From these two people, all the yoongar came.

At Borongerup, east of Mt. Barker, a similar legend was related, two Borongerup people, a man and a woman, being the only survivors.

Dr. Scott Mind stated (Jour. Geog. Soc. Vol 1, p.47, 1831) that amongst the King George's Sound natives there was a belief in a future state. When asked where their fathers had gone, they invariably pointed westward. "They believe in ghosts, and some will assert they have seen them. I once showed a boy an anatomical drawing of a full figure, upon which he immediately exclaimed that it was a gnoit (ghost). (Noyteh or ngoyteh = dead, Southern dialects.)

The natives along the whole line of western coast believe that when the body dies, the spirit goes away westward through the sea to some country far away, and that there the spirit

lives in much the same manner as it had lived when in the flesh. The Southern name for the spirit or soul of a recently dead native was kaanya, kaajeen, and other minor variations. Janga, jenga, etc., was the name given to the spirit of a long dead native who instead of taking his final journey through the sea, returned for some reason to his own boojoor (ground) and haunted certain places therein, being generally evil-disposed.

In the Swan district, Joobaitch stated that when his people died, their kaanya or spirit went away over the sea to another country, called Kooranmup or Woordamung, which was far, far beyond the sea, a country where there was plenty of game for the men to hunt, and joolal (edible bulb) and all other roots and fruits for the women to gather.

The kaanya of a dead native will sometimes remain awhile amongst the trees, and when at nighttime, a bird's voice is heard, the nearest relative of the deceased will go and say to the bird, "Where are you?", and the kaanya of the dead will answer, "I am going hway now." When this happens it is known that the kaanya has "gone for good" to Kooranmup and will not come back to disturb them.

"The dead all go over the sea to the same place," said Joobaitch and Balbuk, the two last Swan natives, "bad people and good, all must go the same track, and although the bodies of law breaking women were sometimes burnt, and those of enemies also, their kanya still travelled along the only way. Sometimes the dead natives came back to their own boojoor, and then they were janga, and haunted caves and shady places, hills and valleys, or some part of their own boojoor."

G.F. Moore (Moore's Dictionary, p. 224) also states that in the Southwestern portion of Australia, the old men used to say that "the forms or spirits of the dead went to the westward, towards the setting sun. . . . When therefore they saw white men coming over the sea from that quarter they at once took them to be their deceased relatives re-incarnated, and called them Djenga or ghosts as distinguished from jungar or persons."

Mr. Chauncy stated that before the arrival of a ship from Europe, the Swan River natives supposed that the spirits of the deceased passed into the cormorants which frequented the Mewstone, a granite rock some miles out in the sea, opposite the mouth of the Swan River, and because of this belief the natives refrained from killing these birds lest they should be slaying their ancestors. When, however, they saw some ships coming from the same direction and bringing white people, they called them jenga or ghosts, supposing them to be the re-embodiments of their progenitors who had returned to the land of their birth. Mr. Chauncy was supposed by them to be a native of Middle Swan named Bogan, who had been killed by another native in 1839.

The first settler at Chittering, in the Bindoon district, had a scar on his leg similar to one which had been on the leg of a deceased native. The natives on seeing the scar immediately asserted that the settler was their deceased friend, and the widow claimed him as her husband.

These Australian beliefs are identical with many that are world-wide. The late Dr. Howitt suggested two alternative explanations with regard to this (Howitt's Nat. Tr. of S.E. Aus. 441) "Bearing in mind the long isolation of the Australians in this continent . . . the ancestors of the Australians may have brought them from the primitive home of the race, or their descendants may have evolved them independently of any outside source."

Joobaitch more than once dreamed of his dead relatives, and mentioned them as being camped in such the same manner as when they were alive, their bookas (cloaks), weapons, etc., and their surroundings being similar to those they had in their lifetime.

From the earliest arrival of the whites, the natives have held the belief that these were the re-incarnated spirits of their ancestors and all the first settlers in Southern Western Australia were called janga, "one of the dead" as distinct from kaanya, the spirit of a recently dead native.

In the Perth Gazette of Oct. 29, 1836, F.F. Armstrong contributed an article on the native belief in the after life. "They believe that the spirits of deceased persons pass, immediately after death, through the bosom of the sea to some unknown and distant land which becomes henceforth their eternal residence . . . But the arrival of the whites led to a total change of creed, for they very soon recognised, among their new visitors, many of their deceased relatives . . . The names they invariably apply to the whites when talking of the latter amongst themselves is Djanga or "the dead". . . They consider the Malays, Lascars etc., . . . to be equally with the whites, returned spirits of some of their own ancestors, but who, from some unaccountable cause have returned still black, and are regarded by them with evident dislike. They attribute the change of complexion in the whites, to their ghosts having passed through so much water in their posthumous trip through the ocean. . . They firmly believe in the existence of evil spirits, or agents, or sorcerers. They particularly dread a malignant spirit called Meetagong . . . They represent it to be occasionally of human form - of immense size - and of prodigious strength."

The Southern natives relate a legend concerning Moolard, an evil spirit, who one day caught the sun and put her away in a hole. By and by the sun's sister came with a long stick and tried to get the sun out of the hole, but the stick was not long enough and so she had to come away and leave her sister there. The sun's sister told the moon that Moolard had taken his wife away, but the moon did not trouble himself about the matter at all, and made no attempt to get his wife out of the hole, consequently, the natives like the sun, but do not like the moon. (Dr. Roth states, Nth. Qnsld. Ethnography, Bulletin 5) that the natives of Cape Bedford (Q.) believe that "the moon is the husband of the sun . . . There are really two suns, two sisters; in the cold season it is the elder one who visits them, and in the hot season it is the younger." The Cape Bedford blacks also believed that the first Europeans were the spirits of their deceased relatives, the same word for a European and a deceased aborigine's spirit or ghost being used from the Bloomfield to the Tully River. (Q.)

Bishop Salvado mentions the following beliefs which were held by the natives in the Victoria Plains district (all, except one or two of whom are now dead.) "They believe that the soul is immortal and that at the death of a savage, it passes to the body of another, or remains lamenting and sighing amongst the trees. I have many times observed at night a woman who, some short time before, had lost her little child, rise from her sleeping place, upon hearing the cry of some nightbird, which she believed infallibly to be the soul of her child, and running about through the trees utter the most melancholy lamentations, calling her child by its name, addressing it with caressing words, and beseeching it to come to her, weeping copiously the while. . . The savages on the death of one of their number, having discovered that his soul is going from tree to tree, approach a tree one after the other in order to try and induce it to descend. Should this happen, the soul rests in the body of the first savage if he is alone, or in that of the last if there are more than one. Hence there are some Australians who possess two souls in this way,

"Although they believe that the evil spirit Chinga afflicts them with great calamities, severe illnesses and scourges of all kinds, yet they never offer him any propitiatory sacrifices. I have never observed any indications of an external worship amongst them. When a sudden tempest surprises them, accompanied by great rains, thunder and lightning, they cry horribly, pound the earth with their feet, spit towards the sky and call down death and destruction upon Chinga whom they believe to be the author of that evil, and run for shelter to the nearest trees." Dr. Salvado, who was with them during one of these sudden storms, told them of the danger of sheltering under trees during a thunder storm, but they assured him that the tortuous trees under which they sheltered, never attracted lightning, a statement which he afterwards verified.

The evil spirit, they said, was very busy at night time wandering about the bush, and had often been seen by natives, and therefore they were very careful never to move without a light.

Besides the "Chinga", the moon, which according to them is of the masculine gender, is a wicked spirit. His consort is the sun, who is as much their friend as the moon is their enemy. The moon, they state, traverses the heavens accompanied by many dogs, which he sends to the earth to procure him booty. When the moon himself comes down, he draws with him the native children, whom, however, he is afterwards forced to restore by his spouse, the sun, as they already have a large family. Hence they call the moon the most opprobrious names that can come to their mouths.

Bishop Salvado mentioned a certain good spirit called "Motogon", but investigation revealed that Meetagong was a species of luminant fungus growing in certain places in the Victoria Plains district, the luminant object being supposed to be an evil spirit, whose vicinity was always avoided by the natives.

They have no good spirits of any kind amongst them. King, Wilson, Stokes, Grey, Father Garrido, Bishop Salvado's co-adjutor, and others who came in contact with the Western aborigines, found that when they spoke to them of a beneficent deity they were unable to comprehend the idea of such a being, but mention of the devil always found easy recognition, as that coincided with their own ideas of the evil spirit.

The grave to them is not the final resting place of their dead, for all hold the belief in the survival of the soul or spirit after death. This spirit or soul is associated with their breath.

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When a man dies, his kaanya at once leaves his body, and hovers about the vicinity of the grave for some time before it takes its final journey westward, where all the dead Bibbulmun natives go.

Those who have made a study of Egyptian mythology will remember that the old myths of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties mention the Ka or double, or spirit of the dead, which leaves its body after death, and wanders about for a time until its body is finally placed in its proper tomb. Now the kaanya of the Southern Bibbulmun natives also wanders about for a time, the time being specified as the period which elapses until the body has become "stale" or skeletonised.

A year or more may pass before the kaanya finally departs for the country beyond the sea, and if the dead person has left a child of whom he or she may have been fond, the kaanya will not infrequently come to take the child away. In the Murray district a father died, leaving a little child to whom he had been greatly attached. His kaanya hovered near the camp, and "wished and wished" for the child until it died and went to him, and after that the kaanya went away altogether. Had the mulgarguttuk (sorcerer) been able to light a fire between the kaanya and the hut where the child was, the spirit would not have been able to take the child.

An old Southwestern saying is, "Its father wished for it, and it went to him." The old Gaelic saying of "a wished baby" meaning a baby who was pining away through some supernatural agency, is somewhat analogous to the Australian saying.

During my residence at the Native Reserve at Maamba, the kaanya of a half-caste named Cooper, who was very fond of one of his children, returned again and again until the boy died. Balbuk said that the kaanya's voice as he called to his boy was not like a live person's voice, it sounded as though it were "far away".

In anticipation of the return of the kaanya, no new grave is left without a shelter and fire and sometimes food for the spirit. If these are not left, the kaanya will come to the camp of the living and will probably harm those who neglected their yoongar law in this respect.

Belief in spirits varies in different districts, just as similar superstitions vary in European countries. The early white settlers were supposed to be the returned spirits of dead natives not only from some accidental resemblance in feature or gait, but also because of the belief of the natives, that if the white people had not been previously acquainted with the country they would never have found their way to it.

Grey records in his Journal how he was obliged to submit to the embraces of a hideous old woman who insisted that he was her son come back from the land beyond the sea.

The kaanya, then, haunts the vicinity of its home for some time, before it begins its journey through the sea to its final home.

Each coastal district varies in its methods of entering the sea and reaching the western land of the dead, certain formalities requiring to be gone through by the kaanya before the desired haven can be reached. In some districts obstacles are placed in the way of a smooth passage for the kaanya through the sea, and if these obstacles are not overcome, the kaanya cannot proceed to the land of the dead, but must return to his own district, which he haunts for an unlimited period. He does not return as kaanya, however, another name, jenga, being applied to the spirits that could not find their way to Koorannup.

The various dialectic names given to those spirits which, instead of finally going to the country beyond the sea, return to their own ground and haunt certain places are :-

Jaauuk	Esperance, Bremer Bay, Albany, Denmark, Kendenup, Bridgetown, etc.
Jannuk, jeauuk	Williams, Wagin, Meckering, Kojonup, Cape Riche, Katanning.
Janga	Swan, Perth, Victoria Plains, Mandura, Vasse, Bunbury, Augusta.
Jenga	York, Beverley, Perth (partly)
Jinga, teheenga	Gingin, Victoria Plains (partly), Southern Cross (partly), Norseman (partly).
Jinga, malleejee	Berkshire "Valley
Warnda, kanyongoo	Dongara
Kooroon, gooroon, maagoon, moondung	Laverton, Duketon, Peak Hill district.
Kooroon, gooma	Lake Mibbeean, Ngabberoo, Peak Hill district
Moondung, moondeongoo, jangara	Murchison district, Peak Hill, Murrum, Weld Range.
Warra-warra	Peak Hill district
Jinga, woordum	Southern Cross
Maangoo, winjee, moondung	Murrum
Moondung, jingee, nyorleem	Murchison district (Yeedeling)
Kanbong	Gullewa
Moondungoo	Sanford River
Jangara, moondung, beejiil	Warngun (Peak Hill district)
Jingaa, warda, joonga, moondung	Gascoyne district
Joona, boockarra, wardoo, jingee	Ashburton district, Ft. Cloates, Sherlock River.
Worrooga, worrooka, joona	Roeburne
Koko, malboo, ngalba	Nullagine (contributed)
Howeree, weerancoo	La Grange Bay
Jooarree (similar to "kaanya")	Fitzroy, Broome

Ngarree, ranjee Broome, Beagle Bay

Moondung, janga, jinga, ranjee, are all spirits of dead natives, who have returned to haunt certain places within their fathers' territory. All these are white in appearance and generally like skeletons in form and feature.

Other names for dead spirits and evil spirits are as follows :-

Weeurn, weern, noytech, nyorlim, nyorleem, nyooleem, moobee-luk, meetagong, wen ger gool (dead come back again), ken, warlogum, kakkutch, moolart, balyet, meerarn, wajjum, ngooyower, moluka, biljil, moonarree, kunbung, bajja-booga, jinnaroondoo, mandooree, boodoolya, kardandha, wannajee, dargara (white), jabbulya (old).

All these spirits may work evil, and all are generally white or "like a fire." Some take human shape, some are spirit animals, or rather spirits that take the shape of animals to work evil, some, like "moluka" are shadows, or are footprints like jinnaroondoo, or are simply "dead", like noytech. Meetagong (phosphorescent fungus) haunt shady places and nyorlim and warlogum are distinctly evil and are feared by kalleepgur (home people) and booyungur (strangers). Each district has its special ghost, which takes various shapes, but amongst all of these there is not one beneficent spirit. In some districts, when these spirits are seen, the native at once spits at them, and if he has the means will make a fire at once between him and them. The terms kaanya in the South and jocarree in the north are not applied to anything but the spirit of a recently dead native, and while all other spiritual beings have some bodily shape, or are described as possessing some form, kaanya are apparently without bodily form. No one has ever seen a kaanya, but many have heard it coming towards a camp where a favourite child has been left, and any unusual noise which may be heard after the death of a native,

is attributed to his kaanya. The falling of a bough or branch off a green tree, is caused by the kaanya stepping on it on his way to Koorannup. Even if the death has not happened in the vicinity, if the natives see a bough falling from a live tree, they know a relative has died, either a mammamat (father stock) or ngangamat (mother stock). The kaanya treads on the limb and breaks it. Boorna geyena daggarn ginjee - the branch or tree being trodden (by the kaanya). The kaanya may be noyyung or ngunning (relation-in-law or blood relation).

Should a Vasse man be going out hunting, and a limb breaks off a green tree, he turns back, for he knows the kaanya will hunt the game away, and prevent him from catching any. Next day when the hunter goes out, he is careful to light some blackboy tops as he passes, so that if the kaanya is in the vicinity, the smoke will be effectual in keeping it back.

In two instances I was made aware of this belief amongst them. Once when I was seated with some natives in the shade of a gum tree, a small bough, laden with blossoms, fell from a *Nuytsia floribunda* near by. The natives were silent a moment. Presently a Mandura woman said, "Kaa-jin has stepped on the moojarr on its way, to Koorannup." "What kaa-jin?" I asked. "Oh, some Meenungur." (that is, some member of a tribe east of Mandura.)

The other instance occurred on the Native Reserve near Cannington, a branch falling off a sheoak without any apparent reason. "Kaanya Koorannup goolig," said Balbuk who was sitting with me. (Spirit going to Koorannup) "From where?" I asked, "East somewhere", she replied. "Kwela borungur?" (sheoak totem), I asked. "Kubbain" (perhaps), said Balbuk.

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Sorcerers profess to see kaanya, which they describe variously, "like light", "like the sun's light, like a flame", and so on, the kaanya never seeming to take human shape, although the sorcerer will tell whose kaanya it is, but as all know the recently dead, this is not difficult. Kaanya are not sulky, unless the rules relating to their proper burial have not been observed. Their time on earth is also limited to a certain almost fixed period, after which they cease to be kaanya, and either go to Koorannup "for good" or become janga by returning to their own ground and haunting certain places therein.

A shelter of saplings, bark or boughs, or a breakwind of boughs or long grass, is always erected near the grave for the convenience of the kaanya; a fire is lighted between the camp of the relatives and the grave, and sometimes food and water will be placed near the grave. The two former customs have survived the advent of the white man, but the placing of food and water beside the dead has fallen into disuse.

In the Swan district, the name applied to the country beyond the sea was Koorannup, which name might probably be derived from the Swan dialectic term "koo-raa", meaning "a long time ago", and "up", meaning "place", "district", "country", the country of long ago. The term may have such meaning, but the natives themselves have no knowledge of such meaning. To them Koorannup is the country of the dead, which lies beyond the sea, where their wives, children and relatives live. The Demma goomber dead (ancestral dead) also went to Koorannup (also called Woordannup, or "the country of the sea.") No presiding spirit rules over that country, for amongst the Southern natives there is no such being as the Bunjil or Balama of the Eastern tribes. The Moora Moora of the Dieri tribes (S.A.) and the Daramulun of the Yuin (Eastern) tribes are the terms applied to the shaved sticks, & the pointing sticks or bambocree of the Southwest, with but slight

variation in the rendering. Darramurra, or darramulla, is the Vasse term for the pointing or magic stick which I always carry with me when going amongst the natives. Mooramoora is the Swan district term applied to the same stick. The bamboroo has a rude figure of a woman carved or etched upon it, and the stick has been used in the district from which it was obtained, for collecting natives for the Jalgoe ceremony.

Denma goomber were not infrequently called Demmamurra (grandfathers and grandmothers) in the Southern districts, and the word Daramulun, might very easily be a corruption of this word.

There was no belief in an All-Father in any of the tribes interrogated. The Southern women and children were taught to believe that Mamman was a "sulky old man with white hair", but the male children of these women, when taking their part in the Mamman or Jalgoo ceremonies for the first time, were made aware of the true signification of Mamman, which destroyed the myth for them, but they still kept up the belief in Mamman before their women and children.

All the tribes of the West believe that men were birds at one time (bird totem men had myths of bird totems fighting each other), and also that birds were men in the far back demma goomber times, but with the exception of the mythical woggal, the eaglehawk, the owl or mopoke, and certain insects, no bird, beast or reptile stands out as a deity, or as a Being of supernatural power, possessing the attributes of such Being. The woggal, the only creature to whom propitiatory offerings are made, can be controlled by certain medicine men, and the eaglehawk, next to the woggal in importance, was speared by the crow, thereby proving the limitations of bird and reptile. The Perth natives believed that the kumbegor (owl or mopoke) had power to punish them if they broke certain native laws. He was sometimes called warlogum, was winnaitchung, and is said to have changed walja (eaglehawk), wordung (crow), manitch (white cockatoo) and weja (emu) into men and women.

Several insects and birds must be protected at all times for some service which they were supposed to have rendered in demma goomber times, or in the days when birds were men, or for other reasons, but these were not deified in any way. The robin and wagtail destroyed the cannibal dogs of the South west and so must never be hurt or killed. Dances were often performed in which the colours and peculiarities of these little birds were imitated.

The kilal, kalil or "sergeant ant" must not be killed although in demma goomber times he tried to destroy all the babies. He has no dance given to him, as he is always sulky (boogur) and doesnot desire a dance. It was he who made all the holes in the babies' heads, which are called "wa'la'mat."

The little black lizard, jerragurt, is also protected because he saved all the babies which the kalil tried to destroy.

The jeedal, a long, grey, locust-like insect, is also immune from harm because it is demma goomber and gave its name to a section of the Manitchmat people, who are jeedal-yuk, long, thin, Tondarup people.

The jooreej or long-nosed snipe was said to have divided the sea and the land with his generative organ. If it had not been for him there would have been no sea round the western coast. He is both bird and yoongar (man).

Many of these beliefs were local. In the Wagin district there is a balga tree (species of blackboy) which had once been a yoongar. The yoonger offended the woggal of the district, who turned him into a balga. Again there is the story of a mulgarguttuk who was taken away in a sailing boat, but he changed himself into a shag on the boat, and when the captain saw the shag, he went for his gun to shoot it, but while he was away, the shag changed again into a yoongar. In another version of this story, two boylyaguttuk or mulgarguttuk were taken on board a whaler. One changed himself into a shag and the other into a snipe (koalburnong shag, nyeergeest, snipe), and escaped from the whaler.

In the Swan district, you must not kill a strange insect, as it might be your "parent" or "grandparent" in demma goomber times. Whether this might be a vestige of the belief that the souls of the dead passed into certain insects, or whether it is a lingering tradition of the days when birds,

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insects, etc., were men, the oldest natives could not say. "Hubbain", might be, perhaps, is their invariable reply, when the subject is beyond them.

In some Southern districts, the sergeant ant and other insects are at once killed, no belief as to their being the receptacles for the spirits of dead ancestors, being held.

The blue pigeon appears to be sacred throughout the State. It is called "nganga wenee" - mother dead - in the Southwest, but no definite tradition could be obtained concerning it. Balbuk, Joobaitch and all the southern natives interrogated remember that their parents and grandparents told them it must never be killed or harmed in any way, but they had all forgotten the legend attached to the prohibition.

The kockaburt and yooenja (two species of white owl) inhabited a large stone near Beverley, "where the spirit children sat down." The owls guarded the stone, but they were not the re-incarnation of babies, as both babies' and owls' voices were heard in the vicinity of the stone. They were both placed in the stone by demma goomber or nyitting. The birds could only be seen by mulgarguttuk. When the natives passed that way, they strewed rushes in the vicinity.

G.F. Moore, in the Perth Gazette (2nd May, 1835) makes the following allusion to a standing stone which he observed during one of his excursions to the northward. "Proceeding for some miles in a southwesterly direction, we came to a tall standing stone, where our guides made a halt, and plucking the tops of the grass tree, strewed them, with great gravity, on the ground around it. They were more of a taciturn disposition than our old friend Gear, and we had some difficulty in getting an explanation of this strange observance. "What is this?" "This is Boyay Gogomat." (that is, I believe, the owl or hawkstone.) "But what do you strew the leaves for?" "Weenait", which means something connected with the dead, was all the answer we could obtain. . . So whether it was an offering to a good spirit or a propitiation to an evil spirit we could not ascertain. They seemed to lay much stress upon the ceremony. I have since been informed that if those who pass by omit thus to make a bed for the stone, they will shortly die; that on one occasion two men passed it by with neglect, and they shortly atoned with their lives for their temerity." (Weenait - winnaitch - avoided, forbidden.)

Moore attacked the native superstition concerning the stone, with the argument that "a stone was a stone, a man was a man, therefore a stone was not a man," etc., but the only result of his ingenious argument was the occasion it gave to Too-jeep, Koondebung's wife, to make merry at Moore's expense by parodying his words, "Boya boya (stone is stone), mammarup mammarup (man is man)," etc.

As they strewed the beds of rushes (blackboy) near the winnaitch tree, rock, etc., the Swan district natives uttered the following formula :-

Ngaija noono daranya gongin kalaguttuk nganya mamma.
 I your bed carry countryman me father.

There is a standing stone or bwai'ee winnaitch (bwaiee - stone, winnaitch - forbidden or sacred) at Gooleen, concerning which Jocabaitch and Balbuk related the following legend :-

The bwaiee was once a big man who has now gone inside the stone to live. Every native who passes that stone must strew rushes round it. If they fail to do this, they will certainly die. Many natives whom Jocabaitch knew had neglected to put rushes down as they passed, and they very soon fell ill and died. It was customary for the natives to give notice of their approach to the stone by calling out, "Ngain'ya ye'ya kooling," (I am coming now.) "Nyal winjela nyinda?" (Where are you?) No voice replied to them. Living somewhere in this stone was a small parrot whose whistle could always be heard by persons coming towards the stone, but the bird itself was never seen by the natives.

One day Jocabaitch was taken to the stone by his uncle Winjeetch, in whose country (Dargan) the stone was. As they approached the stone, Winjeetch and Jocabaitch both uttered the words above mentioned, then gathering rushes they walked round the stone throwing the rushes in front of them as they went. They both heard the bird sing, and Jocabaitch, then a youngman, said, "I know where the voice comes from; I'll follow it and find the nest," but when he reached the place, the voice sounded from the opposite side, and hither and thither he went, following the voice, which he could hear perfectly, but he never saw the bird. The bird always stays in the neighbourhood of the stone, and is heard when the natives pass that way, but it has never been seen by any of them. The presence of the little bird in the neighbourhood of the stone is an indication that the spirit that lives in the stone is not a malignant one. The women also strew rushes as they pass, but they do not like going near the place, and avoid it as much as possible.

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There is another standing stone at Beeragunning (Helena River district) which has a great split down the centre sufficiently wide for a person to pass through. At the foot of this stone, rushes are also strewn. The natives can go through the opening in the centre, but if they touch the stone at either side in their passage through, they fall ill and very soon die. Sometimes, if a native attempts to go through the opening, the stone will close upon him, and touching him on one side or the other, informs him of the fate in store for him. Again, if this stone is heard to crack when a native is passing, he will die shortly afterwards. The same proceeding is gone through as at Gooleen, the same words being used. When a strange native accompanies one who has passed that way before, the stone must be told that the stranger is coming, and if it remains silent, all is right, but if a crack is heard, the stranger will not live.

Strange natives have often tested the powers of the stone; some passed through and the stone made no sound, but others were not so fortunate. This stone, Jobaitch stated, had some spirit inside it, but the spirit was not kindly disposed towards the natives, and no little spirit bird attended the spirit in the stone. Sometimes a great night owl was seen in the vicinity of Beeragunning, and if its voice was heard passing over a camp, some member of the camp soon died. There was this difference between the two stones: Beeragunning held a malignant spirit, but Gooleen only caused the natives' deaths if they neglected wilfully to strew rushes round it.

At Gooyangunning (Southern inland district) there are several stones shaped like men, one of the shapes having a koondie (club) across his shoulders. The natives say that these stones were once men who were turned into stone. They call the stone men Maiambee. Once, when a man from another district, rested at night near the maiambee, they did not hurt him although he

was a stranger, and as they refrained from injuring him, he felt they must be his bittangal (totems), and always afterwards he claimed them as his bittangal. He made his sone jin'go or kabbain (spirit of dead natives) bittangal from this circumstance .

The Swan district natives believed that when the sea roared, a strange native had died and was trying to find his way to Koorannup. As he did not know how to go "straight" he generally got caught in the obstruction which existed in the sea half way to Koorannup. This obstruction is a parrot in the Murray district, a huge ponga or native weir in the Vasse district, and a black cockatoo with red tail in the Swan district. The birds either bit the native or killed and ate him. The Swan natives used a stick (boorna-yeeda) to guide themselves across the sea to Koorannup, and they dived beneath the karrak's nest and so got safely to the other side.

The Swan people sang the following song on the evening of the burial of their dead :-

Janga winjar, danga weenjar,
(Spirit, let us alone, or leave us.)

Danga weengar janga wingar

Ngoba wingar eerunga

Ngalburda waddai,

Nyoo, nyoo, nyoo, nyoo.

They ask the spirit to go away over the sea for good, and to let them alone, and not to look back at them as it goes, nor tease nor hurt them should they be away from the camp getting water, etc. To go away for always. The refrain, Nyoo, nyoo, means practically "Shoo, shoo, be off."

In the Narrogin district, sometimes an old mulgarguttuk "cooed" to the spirit of the dead, and if the cooee were uttered near a hill, an answering echo came back which the mulgarguttuk said was the voice of the spirit answering him on its way westward. A second cooee uttered in a lower voice was also responded to, and a third, and then they knew the spirit was on its journey west.

In the Murray district, the moojarr or *Muytsia floribunda* was associated in some manner with the dead, yet it was never placed in the graves, it was winnaitch wood, and was never used for any purpose by the Murray natives.

Their great fear always is that the spirit of the dead will harm them.

When a sorcerer is dying, the noise of the bulya or magic going away from him can be plainly heard. Other sorcerers, if present, can "pick up" the bulya of the dying man, thus making themselves doubly powerful, or the son of the dying bulyaguttuk may catch his father's magic, and become bulyaguttuk.

As the bulyaguttuk will have met his death through the magic of a more powerful sorcerer, the morning after the burial, all the men go out very early, each one carrying his meero only, and all walking in single file towards the grave. If there happens to be timber between them and the grave, they creep behind the trees and into the shadow, so that the murderer will not see them. They may go to see if a booyung (stranger) or kalleep (home person) is sitting with the kaanya of the dead man on his grave. The sorcerer will see the murderer on the grave.

The evil spirits most dreaded by the Southern natives, generally appear to them in the form of snakes. The woggal, kwonda (big black snake), dening (whip snake or adder), noorna or norna (yellow-bellied black snake) are some of these. The noorna is most powerful in the Bunbury and Vasse districts. Warlogum (owls), janga and other skeleton-like spirits haunt the rocks and the hills.

There were "live" janga at Kweeman (Swan district), that is, men who turned into janga while still alive, who lay in wait for natives travelling alone, and when these stooped to drink at the waterholes, the janga pulled all their hair out, and left them with no hair on their heads or bodies.

Sometimes the janga chased the natives. At Dandarraga, when a yeengar was chased by a janga, he tried to cross the river, as a janga in that district, when he reaches the water, stops to look at himself, and while he is admiring his shadow in the water the yeengar escapes.

The janga sings as he looks at his reflection :-

Mow ma'ra ul'latha woo'rajee koolo.

He is singing himself.

In other districts, if a man is chased by a janga, he picks up some red gum nuts, and throws them behind him as he runs. The janga stops to pick up the nuts and gives the yoongar a chance to get away.

Near the Helena River, a janga once went to catch a yoongar to eat. He caught a man who was eating bardees (grubs) and put him in his goota (bag) and said, "Mannee munna nganna ngannain?" ("Who is eating my bardee?") He carried the yoongar on his back in the goota, and went away through the trees. As they passed through the trees, the yoongar tried to get away and at last he caught hold of a tree and got out of the bag. The janga thought he was still in the goota, and he went along to his kala (fire), and put the bag on the ground, and got a stick and lifted the mouth of the goota very gently to kill the yoongar. He found nothing there, and became so garrung (angry) with himself that he speared himself and beat himself with his stick all over his body, and turned himself into a stone at Dargain, and now you can see the stone with the marks of the stick all over it. (This is said by some natives to be the spirit of the standing stone mentioned by Joobaitch.)

There are other janga at Kerrgainbee who drink the blood of any natives they can catch there. You can hear them drawing in their breath as they suck the blood of the natives. The Kerrgainbee janga are mischievous, and will steal the property of yoongar. They have often stolen a bundle of kallees, meeros etc., and taken them to another part of the country, where the bundles have been found by other yoongar.

When any natives pass the spot at Kerrgainbee, they must always adjust their bookas, carry their wannas and spears with the points downwards, and have everything tightly held, their

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gootas properly swung, etc. If either spear or wanna were dropped, or if the natives slipped in passing the place, they died shortly afterwards. There is a dead tree on the hill near this place, where the kaanya of many dead people have gone. After her brother's death, Balbuk heard his voice talking and laughing while she was passing the tree. Many yoongar have heard the kaanya's voices there. Balbuk thought that when the white people came to that district, the spirits would be "quiet" and would not hurt them, and one day she shot a shag in the vicinity, but shortly afterwards her mother and son died.

At the other side (north) of Gooseberry Hill, on the point of the hill, Balbuk stated that if her father killed a kangaroo, opossum, bandicoot, or any daaja there, neither he, nor Balbuk, could eat it, but her mother and Joobaitch, and Joobaitch's own people could eat it. If either Balbuk or her father ate the daaja, the janga or spirit of the place would break their knees and make them crooked (mata nge'lin - crooked legs). Joobaitch's distant "aunt", Ngoogurdan, ate some of the daaja in defiance of warning, and her legs were hit by the janga, and lumps formed and when these went away they left her legs crooked. The yoongar swept and cleaned this place and after they did so, they frequently saw a lot of grey hair flying about the rocks - the jerdal or grey hairs of the janga.

At Jaggoolyoo, up the Helena River hills, there is another level winnaitch place, and when a yoongar sweeps the place and visits it afterwards, if he finds bits of meat on the stone, then he is doomed to die, for the janga is eating his flesh.

A Swan district legend states that one day a young man went kangarooing and never came back. His people wondered where he was, and then they "bulya'ed" him, that is, they got the bulyaguttuk to find out where he was. They "saw red" amongst the hills, and they went to the place where the bulyaguttuk said he was. They found him with the janga who were cooking him and

then taking him out of the fire and making him alive again, so they should have more play ("wabba") with him. His moor-urt (relatives) got him away alive, and one day they took him out kangaroo hunting with them, but when he raised his club to throw it at the kangaroo, his arm broke off, because the bone had been burnt by the janga to charcoal, and the young man died and went to Jin'ja nup-Koorannup.

Near Cockleshell Gully at a spot called Woondeeroo, there is a winnaitch place, where a stone holds a janga, and at Moorlo in the same district, there is a boogur woggal, which will kill anyone who goes near there.

In a cave near Beverley Road, there is a winnaitch stone which has a swan or some bird carved upon its surface. If a woman looks at the stone as she passes the cave, she will become gobbulguttuk (pregnant). There is no tradition as to the carving on the stone. Little children were inside the stone. An owl came one day and frightened the spirit children, and they left the stone and went to a place called Eeling, which was Southeast of the spot where the cave was.

Near this cave a boy once killed his mother, and her janga came back to the place and remained there until the boy was passing the cave again. The janga caught him and was going to kill him, but several buliyaguttuk went to the cave and got the boy out and saved him.

Balbuk stated that in the early days of Perth a little white girl was lost in one of the Southern districts and after some days was found sitting in a cave with the janga. She had been turned into a janga and tried to bite Yoodeen and Boogan, the two yeongar who found her.

A woman died and found the Koorannup opening closed up and her kaanya came on and on and on until it came to the hut where her little baby was. Every night she tried to get the little baby, but the baby's father lighted a big fire to keep her away. At length, however, she took the baby for it died, and then she came no more. The buliyaguttuk opened the passage to Koorannup for her, but he was too late to save the baby.

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The manner in which death came into the world is shown in the following legend of the Swan district natives :-

There was a certain place called Dandegurt, on the South side of Woodman's Point, where a father and son lived. The father had to dodge spears every day, every day, to try to save his son. He did this until the boy had grown big. One day the son said to his father, "Father, father, let me dodge them," but the father said, "No." The boy however tried to dodge the spears by himself, but he could not, and one of the spears went through him and he died. He was buried at Beenyup, but he did not stay there, he went to Koorannup. Not long afterwards his father died also.

The place where the father and son died must always be kept clean by any native passing that way, and fresh blackboy tops must be strewn upon it. If the native neglects to remove the old rushes and does not put new ones there, he will very soon die.

The following legend was contributed by the late F.F. Armstrong to Smyth's Aborigines (Vol.I, p. 428-9) :-

"The natives state that they have been told, from age to age, that when man first began to exist, there were two beings, male and female, named Wal-lyne-yup, the father, and Doronnop the mother; that they had a son named Binderwoor, who received a deadly wound, which they carefully endeavoured to heal, but totally without success; whereupon it was declared by Wallyneyup that all who came after him should also die in like manner as his son died.

Could the wound but have been healed in this case, being the first, the natives think death would have had no power over them. The place where the scene occurred, and where Bindawoor was buried, the natives imagine to have been on the Southern plains, between Clarence and the Murray; and the instrument used is said to have been a spear, thrown by some unknown being, and directed by some supernatural power. The tradition goes

on to state that Binderwoor the son, although deprived of life, and buried in the grave, did not remain there, but rose and went to the west, to the unknown land of spirits across the sea. The parents followed after their son, but (as the natives suppose) were unable to prevail upon him to return, and they consequently have remained with him ever since."

This legend is a variation of the Swan district legend, the locality of each being not far apart.

The Murray district version of Nyitting and his son is here given :-

Ngalyart states that Nyitting was an old man who was always dodging spears that were thrown at him from the eastward. Nyitting had a son, and when the son grew up he said, "Father, let me dodge the spears," but his father would not let him. One day the boy went out by himself, and tried to dodge the spears, but he could not, and so he was killed. Old Nyitting went to Nyeerrganup-Koorannup after his son, and that is why all the yoongar die now, they did not die before the boy was killed.

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The Southern natives believed that there were natives living beneath the ground, in the sky, and that they themselves formed the middle group.

Every shady place is beloved by ghosts, and only the bul-yaguttuk or mulgarguttuk can linger beneath these shades. The ordinary man or woman must make a circuit round these shady places or evil will befall them. If rushes or boughs are to be strewn, in the neighbourhood of these places, it must be done at every passing, or the janga, woggal or whatever spirit the place holds, will revenge itself on the offender.

No one can fully realise the powerful hold which superstition and sorcery have upon the native mind unless they mix amongst the various tribes, and, through familiarity with their daily life, obtain an insight into their superstitious beliefs. However civilised a native may become, he never loses faith in the superstitions of his race; consequently, the professional sorcerers, found in every tribe, exercise the power of life or death over their people. So great is their faith in the supernatural powers of the sorcerers, that when a medicine man or sorcerer falls ill, he will send for another "doctor" to perform his enchantments upon him.

The manner in which an ordinary native became possessed of supernatural powers was thus described by Jobaitch :-

The yoongar who is going to be boylaguttuk (having "boylia" or "fire" magic) first begins to dream and see visions. These he recounts to the male members of the camp the following morning. He will state that he was taken away to some place many miles distant from his camp, and will relate the incidents of his journey. Every night the janga take him away to "far away" places, bringing him back to the camp before daylight. His body can be seen apparently sleeping at the camp, but he is not there, he is away with the janga who are giving him his boylia powers. During all this period he is just as though he were mad (nulkart burt - "brains" none, katta wekkain - head no good).

The story of the manner in which Dernee became mulgarguttuk is rendered in Baabur's own words, and will serve as an illustration of the structure of the language.

Nyga noona war'ang'in'nin, balung ngoonda balung ngoonda, berduka ngoondeen kuttikinjin ngoonda. Bwoga kaluk nga'-ruk, mulgar yenyung, noonda burrong kwabban eejin. Ngoondyn bal dwonga burt, maaral maarala wabbur bo'kumbul. Nyin jinongin maaral nyinnin bo'ning mulgar guttakinjin mooya. Burrong jinongin nganung ngoonda yocat'in Burda noonda kuttik ngowara gwē'din, bow bow bow burdong yookin, daonguri wanēr'ing noonda kuttigin, dwonga burt, noonda bwoga ngabbong. Mulgar go'a dorning, janguk goa dorning alle boyuk boming mulgar la dorning. Allebul beerytchul borduk kwenjuk dorning. Bal dwonga burt, bal kwē'la genjee, "Maaral yenning, mamma la yaading," Gidaluk maara la yennin beejar ngoondardung beerytch borduk, nyinna yennardung.

Koojal gidaluk gwabba, allibul goojaluk mara alle noonong gwabba, gobbola nēnduk, Marryn yallebul goomal goonyabinya nganning, daaja, marryn, nyinuk gwabba.

Kala yocaddinbuk, neen noonong dowela kala burrong kala dookurn dowelung. Kala yocat'aga bal burrongin bal yeya mulgarguttuk noba kweja beelyagul yoogat gwedin mara ngab'. Alle yoolgo mulyagung bordongin, katta waggyn, burda gwabba alle janga jinong'in.

Translation :-

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I am telling you the story now. He sleeps, he sleeps, close he is sleeping, thinking while sleeping. Look out that fire does not burn his cloak, a fresh doctor is being made. Catch hold of his cloak and put it safe. Sleeping, he hears (you) not, the clouds look as though rain was falling from them, the clouds are sitting down and throwing (or hitting) bolts, making doctor.

Beware of touching him. Catch hold (of cloak) and look, "My brother is not". Presently you hear great panting, bow, bow, bow, like jumping from a log is the noise you hear. He hears not, you cover him with the cloak. The doctor (mulgar) is striking, the spirit (janga) is striking, striking the stone is mulgar. Near is the daylight and close is the noise. He does not know for he is singing, "Clouds coming, clouds coming, what is mamman doing". The night is passing like the clouds, but the sleep never goes.

Two days, good, then two nights and you are all right inside your stomach. Fresh marryn and tender young opossums you must eat meat and roots, and you will be all right. There is no fire, but from your thigh you get fire, fire to cook you get from your thighs. No fire, but you get the fire for you are mulgarguttuk. Stone children are coming out from the navel, but you cover it with your hand. The blood falls from your nose but you must not wash it off, you must leave it where it falls. Your head is very giddy, but bye and bye all right, then you see the spirit (janga), the man does not come. (Sometimes the "children" coming from the new doctor are kangaroos, opossums, snakes, etc. and sometimes they come from the head instead of the navel.)

Then one day he returns to the camp a boylya, possessing the power to make people ill or well, to kill or cure, to make rain, and to take any shape and fly through the air to any place he desires, and also to see janga and other spirits.

Mulgarguttuk (mulgar - thunder, guttuk - having or possessing) indicates a sorcerer who can bring thunder and lightning to punish offenders. Mulgarguttuk, according to Joobaitch and Balbuk, obtained their powers in a somewhat similar manner to boylyaguttuk, to whom they are slightly superior. Both boylyaguttuk and mulgarguttuk can be made through dreams, by janga, by the norna (black snake) and by the kardar (lizard.)

The kwaggum or wordung (crow) was the first boylyaguttuk, but who made him so, the natives could not remember.

Ngwee'a'kurt was a very clever mulgarguttuk and boylyaguttuk and would obtain for the natives anything they desired. He could make them successful in hunting and fishing and in battle. He could take the shape of a mosquito or blackboy tree, or anything he pleased. He was a Nagarnook and wejuk and he lived at Wonnerup. (Capel district)

When he died, his powers were transferred to his son, who caught the boylya or mulgar magic as it was leaving his father. Ngweeakurt could have given his magic to his son before he died. The children of boylya or mulgarguttuk are both respected and feared by the others in camp, as it is known that if they are offended, they will ask their fathers to put boylya or mulgar into their enemy. Majjet teel, or magic shark stone, was a piece of crystal quartz or flint which the mulgar were believed to have obtained from a shark, going inside the shark to get the stone. Only mulgarguttuk could possess these stones, but quartz, yellow flint, cornealian and other bright stones, were amongst the magic properties of both mulgarguttuk and boylyaguttuk.

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The thunder (mulgar) is supposed to be an old man with a broken leg. He is biderr (man with big families), having also a great many ngoondan (brothers) and babbín (friends). When mulgar is angry, he sends these men, who are mulgarguttuk, along with the thunder and lightning, to kill some of the natives. If he had not a broken leg, he would kill everybody. He lives somewhere "back of the sea", where there are always clouds, and where the rain comes from.

The mulgarguttuk and boylyaguttuk can leave their bodies at night, and return to them in the daytime, but when they die, their kaanya cannot come back to their bodies any more.

The dead were never mentioned by their relatives for fear of their displeasure. The natives feel that the kaanya of the newly dead are around them, though invisible to all except sorcerers.

Once, shortly after his death, I mentioned Joobaitch's name in relating a dream I had concerning him. "Ah!" said his relatives, "he is not sulky then, or he would have hurt some of us."

Once also I mentioned a dream I had of another Wordungmat (I am Manitchmat), who was at that time visiting us on the Native Reserve. It was not long after Babuk's death, and it was known that she had not been friendly with the Wordungmat of whom I had dreamed. I told my dream to some Murray and Augusta women, and they interpreted the dream to mean that through me, Balbuk would send certain evil magic upon the Wordungmat, and that to avert it I must follow certain formulae by way of exercising the magic. I gathered a few fresh boughs and going over to the man, I hit him sharply all over his body with them, brushing the magic from him towards myself. I afterwards burnt the boughs, and the magic, whatever it might have been, went away in the smoke.

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Many of the native beliefs are similar to others which are world-wide, and suggest the idea that amongst people in the same level of culture, the mental conditions will be the same.

Horror and fear of the unknown is inherent in all primitive peoples, and every little unusual circumstance or happening that cannot be explained is attributed to unknown and evil spirits. A young woman who gave birth to her first child while travelling alone with her husband, killed the infant through her deadly fear of the unknown live thing.

To them, nightmare was an evil spirit come to torment them, and whatever struggles they were engaged in during the process of the nightmare were real occurrences that had taken place while they had been forcibly taken away by the evil spirit. In the Sucla district, a white correspondent states that one of the natives told him of a fearful battle fought with a huge snake which tried to kill him. The man was a sorcerer, and took the correspondent out to the place of the encounter, where he found the ground trodden down and worked about for some distance, but all the footprints were those of the sorcerer who had wrestled alone with the snake, his body meanwhile remaining in camp.

Their superstitions were many and varied. They imagined an eclipse of the sun was caused by a big cliff covering it, or by a sorcerer putting his bocka (skin cloak) over it.

If a native is alone at night, he makes a circle of fires round him to keep off evil spirits. Should he be chased by a spirit at night, he picks up a firestick and throws it in the direction of the spirit who immediately disappears.

(It may be worthy of observation here, that as regards the native belief in the efficacy of fire to ward off evil spirits, the Breton farmers at the present day protect their horses from evil influences by the service of fire. They kindle fires at

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nightfall, and at dawn the horses are led three times round the fires, the farmers chanting a certain prayer during the circuit. On the last words of the prayer being pronounced the men all leap on the fire with their feet joined. The Celts in Druidical times did much the same thing, and in some remote parts of Ireland at the present day, the Irish farmers kindle fires in their milking yards on May Day and drive their cattle through them in order to keep off evil influences. Many women and children leap through the fires for the same purpose.

Similarly, when a native woman goes to fetch water from the pool at nightfall, she carries a lighted stick with her, and often in the camp at night, when the men think an evil spirit is near, they throw a firestick in the direction in which they suppose it to be, in order to drive it away. Some natives say that "the spirit wants a firestick and when it is thrown at him he will go away with it, and will not harm them.")

Balbuk called the dark patch in the Milky Way "weja yara-geori" (emu laying eggs), but she could not remember the Swan district tradition concerning it. Jobbaitch called it both weja and woordaitch beela (big river), also woggal, but he also had lost the tradition concerning these names.

The Southern native tribes distinguished the approach of the seasons by the appearance and disappearance of some stars and constellations, as, for instance, when the day broke and they saw the Pleiades above the horizon, they said, "Jilba (spring) is coming."

The Pleiades were called Tannangurra (a lot of women), or jocka-woord (brothers and sisters). Orion was wanna kwe-lagurra (a lot of wannas). In the Broome district, the Southern Cross is said to be the foot of the eaglehawk, and in that district also, the barrangoolman or morning star plays a certain part in the initiation of young men, while the zodiacal sign Scorpio represents either a game or fish trap, or has some meaning in connection with initiation.

According to the Vasse natives, Jupiter was called Karrung, the Pleiades were ngaangeegur (stars or mothers?), Venus was Meenung (eastern or southeastern) or "the daylight star". The Vasse people believed that the moon divided the sea and the land. The halo round the moon, who is a man and the husband of the sun, is the maia or hut he is making to shelter in during the rainy weather.

Malago, a Perth native living in the early thirties, who accompanied Captain Stokes to the Nor' West in the "Beagle", told the Captain the origin of Magellan's Clouds: "You see little smoke?" he said. "Long, long time ago, Perth man told me he make fire, smoke go far away up, far away, stop, and never go away any more."

The Daaran or Eastern men were believed by the Swan district natives to see where the sun rises out of the water, and where the water and the sky meet together.

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A clear line of blue along the horizon in an otherwise cloudy sky, denotes a death. If the line shows in the north and northeast, a Wordungmat has died. If in the South or Southwest, a Manitchmat is dead. A falling star signified the death of a moorurt (relative), and comets and meteors were also supposed to proclaim a death. Whichever way the star, comet, or meteor went, a kalleepgur or home person from that place died. "Ngangar-al-don kal jeedamitch mokain, warree warreeng moorurtmat yooar," ("Star falling, like fire spark, shaking and quivering, relation no more") was Balbuk 's frequent comment on these falling stars, meteors, etc. They were also called "goomal geej gwerdin" - opossum throwing his spear. Whichever direction the spear was sent, a native from that locality died.

If a young man who is daaja ngardongin (running down a kangaroo) kills the animal he is after and has to sleep on his tracks, he cuts off a paw of the kangaroo and places it in front of him or beside him. He lights a fire on his other side and sleeps between the fire and the paw. The old natives stated that this was the yoongar law relating to their kangaroo food supplies, and that when the janga kangaroo saw that his food laws were obeyed, he would not injure the hunter. The custom may, however, bear the same signification as in the case of the burial of a native whose thumb and forefinger nails are burnt off after death in order that the spirit may not be able to throw spears at the living. The kangaroo paw may be cut off so that the spirit of the animal will not injure its captor during the night. This argument, however, would assume that certain animals have souls or spirits which survive after death, but all inquiries amongst the Southern natives failed to confirm this assumption. Insects, birds, and animals may be the spirit or "re-incarnation" of a parent or grandparent, or some sorcerer may take the shape of one of these to work mischief, but according to all the Southern natives, animals

and birds that are killed and eaten are "nothing" afterwards. Dr. Salgado states that the spirit of a dead baby might enter a bird or haunt the camp of its mother for a period, but the bishop does not say whether the baby's spirit remained always in the bird, or, if the bird were killed, what would become of the baby's spirit. The natives say that the kaanya of a baby or grown up person becomes "stale" or "old" after a time, and then goes westward to the home of the dead.

"Nyitting" ("cold" or ancestors) put the spirit of parent or grandparent into certain insects, which for this reason must not be killed. These nyitting are not deities, nor is any appeal made to them under any circumstances, nor are any propitiatory services offered to them. There is no being who punishes the natives for evil doing except their sorcerers, and no individual or Deity has any control over their actions. The woggal punishes them for breach of yoongar law, but they are never rewarded for good actions, and our ideas of ultimate reward and punishment are entirely foreign to them.

The circuitous route taken by some tribes when burying their dead, is in order to prevent it finding its way to the camp, and the clearing of the ground in the direction in which the spirit is supposed to go is to enable the spirit, when it comes out of the grave, to walk over cleared ground in the direction of its final home.

All spirits must go to this final home from their own country, for there is a vague belief that the tribes in the country of the dead are as circumscribed as in their earthly home, and the same fear exists of a person of, say, the Kaiadup (Murray) tribe who died at Perth, finding himself amongst the Perth people only at Kooranup and not amongst his own people. Hence all natives like to die on their own ground.

Joobaitch's earnest desire to die on his own run was gratified, for he died in the cart that was taking him to the Perth Hospital, and at the request of his widow and stepchildren he was also buried in a portion of his own hunting ground, therefore his kaanya when it appeared to me (in dreams) was "not sulky".

At Kendenup, some distance north of Albany, an old woman returned to die, after having lived for years beyond the confines of her country. How she had traversed the long distance that lay between her own home and the place she had been living in, was a mystery, for she was very old and feeble. "I must die on my own boojoor (ground)", she said. "Why?" I asked, "All yeongar must go to Koorannup from their own boojoor, they get lost if they don't."

In the Weld Range district, a woman from Yalgoo (Murchison) was burnt to death. I went with her friends along the roundabout route the body was carried to the place appointed for her burial. She was buried with her feet in the direction of Yalgoo, the ground being cleared about twenty yards along the way her spirit was to go to its own country. A great fear was upon the occupants of the camp that her spirit might not find its way to Yalgoo, and hence become a lost spirit, or one that might return to the vicinity of the camp and work harm upon the dwellers there, and so the circuitous route was taken - about two miles - in order to baffle the spirit and prevent it finding its way back to the camp. The camp was, however, moved some quarter of a mile away.

The spirit of a dead person can visit a living person in his sleep and communicate with him, and spirits will often come in the form of birds, animals or snakes. All spirits possess powers which they did not have when alive.

There were several natives who "came back from Koorannup". Boyknyeen, a Wordungmat, was apparently buried in a trance and made his way out of the grave. As he came towards his people he called out to them that they had put him in the grave, and had put boorna (logs) over him, and he had tried to go through the stone to Koorannup but he could not get through, for the stone closed in front of him, and he had to come back to them. His sister seeing him coming said, "Are you not buried? We buried you; are you coming back to eat us or kill us?" He told her that the stone closed up and would not let him through. The stone divided him from the janga garup (spirit hole) through which he had to go. He was called Boyknyeen, which means "stone sitting" or "resting".

Bolerr was another native belonging to Bornaagalup (Deep River) who apparently died suddenly. He had two women, and these went away to get someone to help bury him. They travelled two days and two nights in search of someone, but could not find any camp of their relatives, so they returned to the place where they left Bolerr intending to bury their husband themselves. When they arrived near the camp, they saw Bolerr coming towards them, and they lighted fires to keep him off, but he still advanced, and the elder of the two, who had been watching him said, "He is alive, he is not dead."

Bolerr lived for many years and became a great mulgarguttuk.

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Though the Southern natives might be said by some to be a people without religion, it must be said that their moral code was not without its religious aspect, that code, however, having no reference to any special individual who possessed the power to punish them for their non-observance, or reward them for their obedience to their moral laws. Their principal moral laws, which were always inculcated during the initiation ceremonies were :-

- (1) Obedience to their elders
- (2) Conformity to restrictions regarding food.
- (3) Avoidance of females who belong to other men, or who are within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity to themselves.

These laws were in all tribes enforced by the older men to whom it was a matter of interest that the precepts they taught should be carried out, as by the young people's obedience to these laws, all the good things of native life were reserved for the older men, but there was no idea amongst any of them of a great Moral Preceptor who sanctioned these laws. The force which compelled obedience to the laws of their ancestors was magic and superstition, and the lively and ever present fear of the mulgarguttuk who, being possessed of supernatural powers, could see any act of disobedience committed, no matter how far away from him the transgressor might be.

The mulgarguttuk and boylyaguttuk of the South, the moburngur of the Nor'West, and the jalngangooroo of the Kimberley district, were equally efficacious in maintaining the strict observance of the moral laws. The punishment was real and vivid. A breach of the moral code was punished by death or wasting disease, in many cases the outcome of the intense fear inspired in the native by the magnitude of his offence in his own eyes.

Through all their laws, the desire of the old men to keep the best things for themselves in women, food and general comfort is universally apparent.

The following Swan district legends, which have some bearing upon their spiritual beliefs, were related by Balbuk and Joobaitch :-

The moon, a frog, and a worm were once blackfellows talking together. The moon said to the frog, "When I die I won't stay in the ground, I'll come up again." and so he comes up every time he dies. The frog said, "I won't die, I'll jump about in the water when I'm tired of the land," and the worm said, "I'll stay in the boojoor (ground)." "Oh, you are silly," said the frog, "to stay down in the dirty ground, all the same as if you were dead," but the worm took no heed of what the frog said, and so he is always under the ground, and his house is his "boojoor mota" (grave).

The Moon and the Wild Cat

The meeka (moon) said to the ballagor (a species of opossum or native cat now extinct), "When I die I will come up again, and when yoongar die they will come up again too." The ballagor said, "No, when we die we will stay in the ground, and our bones will stay there always." "No," said the moon, "you'll come up all the same as me," "We won't," said the ballagor, and then the moon hit him with the kojja (native axe) but the ballagor escaped into a hole, and the moon split in two, and that is why, when the old men die, they never come up again.

The Legend of the Waddaruk

Some Ballaruk people were one time digging for warrain (an edible root) at a place in the Swan district, and they dug down so far that they made a great hole in the ground, and presently a lot of yoongar, men and women, came out of the hole. Abbadai and Denap, a man and woman, were the names of two of those who came out of the boojoor. Their son was called Waddar, and all Waddar's progeny were called Waddaruk.

When Waddaruk fought with ngunning or ngey'yungur (blood relations or relations-in-law) the offensive epithet was always applied to them, "Ngwawn goom, boojoor goom," (You came out of

the ground).

The Swan yoongar were digging with wanna (women's sticks) and pal'ya'wa (scoop or shovel) when they dug up the people.

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The following legend of a mythical wallaby comes from the Murray district, and bears some slight resemblance to Spencer and Gillen's mythical tales :-

In Nyitting or Demma goomber times, a walya came travelling up north from the Southward, and on his way he sat down to rest. The place where he rested is called Kangoolup (Mt. John) and a big rock was formed where the walya had rested. Everywhere he walked he left shells and pebbles behind him, and you can see the heaps of shells and pebbles now that marked walya's journey north.

As long as the big rock at Kangoolup remained unbroken, there would always be a great many Kaiadup (Mandura district) natives, but when the rock was broken, the Mandura natives all died. If any yoongar knocked the shells and pebbles about, the janga walya called out to them, "What are you knocking about my food for?" The kalleepgur (home people) always made the shells and stones winnaitch, but they did not strew rushes in the vicinity of the rock.

There are circular shaped heaps of stones scattered about various parts of the Murchison and Gascoyne districts, which were said by one old native to mark the stages of the kajjoordoo (mythical snake) on its journeys to and from the pool. The heaps are about three feet in diameter and three feet or more in height, some of the stones being very large. Round the heaps a large ring or circle was formed which was edged with stones. In some districts, the mounds are supposed to be the food of the snake.

Amongst the Murray district people the sun was supposed to be a great log, which the demma goomber set alight for the yoongar.

In the Murray district, Nyeerrganup-Koorannup was the name given to the home of the dead beyond the sea. In the middle of the sea, according to the Murray natives, and on the way to Nyeerrganup-Koorannup, there is a karrak (black cockatoo, with red tail), whose nest is built on the road under the sea which the natives must take. The karrak sits on its nest and waits for the kajjeen or kaanya of the dead man. When the kajjeen approaches the vicinity of the nest, the spirit dives underneath it and comes up on the Koorannup side of the nest and thus gets to his final home. Sometimes the kajjeen does not dive deep enough, and then the karrak catches him and eats him. Before the Murray kajjeen goes on its way westward, the relatives of the dead call out to the spirit, which answers them always when on its way to Koorannup. "Nyeerrgana-Koorana wa? watto yennan." (Nyeerrganup-Koorannup where? you are going.) The kajjeen says, "Goo," (going or gone), and after that the kajjeen goes away for good and never comes back to frighten them.

When the Murray kajjeen has successfully passed the karrak's nest, he continues to walk under the sea, and when he thinks he is close to Koorannup, he catches a tammur, or kwaggar (species of marsupials), or some fish. Before Koorannup is reached there is dry land upon which the dead native walks when he comes out of the sea. It is a kind of sloping country and on the top of the slope the Koorannup natives are waiting for the kajjeen. As soon as he arrives, they take the food that he has caught from him, cook it, and give it to him to eat. When he was eaten he sleeps, and while he sleeps they take the nails off his fingers and take all his skin off, and when he wakes up he is white like other kajjeen.

The moojoer or "Christmas bush" (*Muytsia floribunda*) is the kajjeen's tree only, and must not be placed in the grave. When a Murray man died, his kajjeen found an emu, and placed it under the moojoer tree for his children, brothers, sisters or mothers to eat, but once the mulgarguttuk hear the kajjeen say "Goo" or "Koo'e", they know he will never come back again.

According to the Vasse and Augusta district natives, the dead go to Koorannup, which is "a land of plenty beyond the sea." Many of them dreamed of Koorannup and say the yoonger there are numerous, and that all kinds of game abound, walya, tamar, ngwarra (black opossum) etc.

Other spirits go to janga garup, or the spirits' holes. Two sisters were once turned back from Koorannup, and went to Yalyangup janga garup (the present Yallingup Caves), where there are plenty opossums and fish. Many Bunbury, Vasse, etc., kaanya return from Koorannup because they cannot pass through the monga (native weir) which is built in the middle of the sea between Cape Naturaliste and Bunbury.

They cannot tell until they die, to which place they will go, that is, whether to Koorannup or janga garup. Halfway to Koorannup the monga is situated, and a Koorannup native named Yarrgoomburt, stands at the only opening in the weir, armed with meero only, with which he either makes the opening, or waves the kaanya back to janga garup.

Kwannijsburt, a native, died at Kandeegup, but he did not go to Koorannup, he returned and became alive again, but after he died a second time, he did not return.

Joojee and Moy'yung, the yellow and red mushrooms, were once two boys who stole the roes of the mullet and ate them. Yarrgoomburt chased them and killed one of them and took the gobbel (roes) from him, and ate them, and then went back to the monga in the sea. Boys must not eat mullet, nor the roes of mullet, until after their initiation.

The Vasse natives mentioned a river that is beyond the sea towards Koorannup, called Beendee-beendee, the name given to the shaved sticks worn in the hair and held in the hands at certain corroborees. The banks of this river were composed of bigrocks, particularly near the mouth of the river. The rocks were called Kargan.

A Koorannup song sung by a Bibbulmun native who had come alive after being buried, was as follows :-

Nyeean nyeean yango meeane,
(Crying here I am, woman's voice)

Kooler-a-wangain nyeean nyeean,
(You can hear the echo of her voice, 'here I am, here I am')

Beebula woordarree ngarree
(Bibbulmun, half way to Koorannup, on the sea shore)

A variation of the above comes from the Augusta district :-

Yago meelanda kooler-a-wanga
(Woman long time, I hear the echo of her voice)

Nyeean nyeean ngaaree
(Here, here, (on the) seashore)

Wooroodba noogooling beebula
(I hear the sound of her voice, sweet, Bibbul)

Wooraree ngaaree
(Far away on the seashore)

Another Koorannup song, sung by Baabur, a Capel district native, was as follows :-

Alle nyoongar jeeral, nge'an burding,
Dwarda dai'era guttuk? yang, yang, yang,
Ngangan weejelberree yang, yaang, yaang,
Alle booyal nyoongar nge'an burding,
Dwarda dai'era guttuk? yaang, yaang, yaang,
Ngangan weejelberree, yaang, yaang, yaang.
Ye'ee wow'ern, wow'ern!

(Who is that native going to Koorannup with a hump on her back, and dogs' tails in her hair? Who is that Southern native walking along, with a hump on her back, and dogs' tails in her hair? She is like a spirit. Oh! oh! oh! there she is, oh! her ugly shape.")

Baabor stated that in what is now known as the Caves district in the Southwest, all kalleepgur (people belonging to the district) must go through the caves after death, before they can start on their way through the sea to Koorannup. Every dead native must enter the caves to get to their "starting point", so to speak. From the caves, the kaanya enters the sea. Between Awarramup (Cape Leeuwin) and Boologup (Bunbury district) the monga was set, which prevented further progress until certain formalities were gone through.

The only passage through the weir (monga) was guarded by a Koorannup native named Yarrgoomburt. When the kaanya reached the place of the opening, Yarrgoomburt stood in front of him and said, "Kowija wabbija kanaa?" (Are you going altogether or not?) If the kaanya were going altogether, he suddenly felt something like a crack across his forehead, and he called out, "Dal'al'al'al" or "Dil'il'il'il". Yarrgoomburt then made an opening with his meero in the monga, and the kaanya passed through and never came back again. If however he moved his eyebrows, Yarrgoomburt waved him back with his meero, and it was then that the kaanya of the Vasse people changed into janga, and returned to the caves and their kalleep again.

Sometimes a Vasse native returned to earth and lived for a little time; when he died the second time, he never came back again.

Janga warreda are, according to Baabor, evil spirits made out of dust, and are apparently not the disembodied spirits of real yoongar. These spirits are always evilly disposed towards the natives.

When Yennal's nephew Ngalburn, died, Yennal was sitting at night by the dead body. After the body was buried, when about a week had elapsed, the kaanya of Ngalburn came and sat beside Yennal. Yennal was greatly frightened and said to the kaanya, "Wena doora, moora yenna kor yennardurt." (You are dead altogether, go away, go away at once, don't come back again.)

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Ngalburn got up and went back to his grave, and then went to the janga garup at Weelinup, and passed through the cave to Kooranup, and Ngalburn never returned again.

Sometimes the Bibbulmun sat round in a circle at some distance from the nyoongar's grave, and cried for the dead man. After a time they asked the kaanya of the dead man to "look out" for them and not to harm them. Then they say to the kaanya, "Nganya-go-anning" (I am now going away), and then they all rise and leave the vicinity of the grave.

In some of the winnaitch places in the Vasse district, the janga who haunted the shady place would make himself visible. If he looked at strangers who passed his winnaitch ground, and they saw what happened to be a native looking at them, they soon died. His kalleeggur who passed he did not harm, and showed his knowledge of them by turning his back upon them.

All coastal natives believe that the spirits of the inland natives are always mischievous, and will chase them at midday and at night time, and that they will try to take the coast natives away with them, or take their senses away. If a fire is lighted, they will not approach the smoke, nor will an inland janga cross a river.

An Augusta native stated that long ago, in the Augusta district, when an old man died, his own sister, if he had one, lay down close against his right side, his children lying down beside her, and his wife or wives lay down outside the children.

The sister's children were placed on the dead man's chest before he was buried, otherwise his kaanya would come and take them away, that is, if the children were little. A favourite child was always in danger of being taken by the kaanya of its father, or uncle or mother.

A curious termination was placed at the end of the town or district where a native died. The native's name was not mentioned, Beearragurt (Tommy Pierre) died at Albany, and after his death he was "Albany burt" or Balbardupburt", meaning "Albany not" or "Albany no more", his last walk or foot-steps being there. Wherever a native died, he was similarly alluded to - Karrgata burt, Perth no more, Boologupburt, Bunbury no more. This was in addition to the personal term applied to a namesake of the dead man.

In the Augusta district, when an uncle, brother, or father died, his relatives sometimes cut or burnt their hair off, for "the hair goes away with the dead ones."

In parts of the Vasse district, the lighting of the fire between the newly made grave and the camp was called munyat. The fire might be kept up for a fortnight, by some near relative, after which all left the district.

The returned janga, who come to haunt their boojoor are generally called janga wakkain, or evilly disposed spirits, and when the Bunbury and Vasse natives thought there were janga wakkain following them, they raised their boordun (heavy war spears) or geej borail (stone headed spears), and pointed them in the direction they supposed the janga wakkain to be in, and at night they also kept the spears pointed, and until they again started on their travels.

At Gilgarmup (Margaret River district) there is a big rock and spring. You cannot see it sometimes, the rock swells and is garrang (angry). Watercress grows abundantly in the spring, and is called the geobar's (forbidden spirit's) nganga or beard. The kalleegur (home people) can part the beard and drink the water, which they find sweet and good, but when the strange nyoongar drink it, it becomes bitter to their taste, and they soon fall ill and die.

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The manner in which a place was made goobar or winnaitch is shown in the following legend of Kootungup (Locke's place?)

Once upon a time, a big whale was thrown up on the shore near the bar, and a great number of natives assembled to eat the whale. There were so many yoongar that they stretched in long lines when they lay down to sleep, and almost covered the boojoor. The land where they slept belonged to a woggal, and the woggal was angry that they slept there, and that they held dances on his boojoor, and so he poisoned the boojoor and the mammong (whale), and the yoongar all went away and died, and the place was always winnaitch or goobar afterwards. Kootungup was part of Weereetch's run, and the goobar could not hurt him nor his descendants, because it was their own run, they were kalaguttuk (having their fire, hearths, homes, there.)

In some parts haunted by janga, the noise proceeding from their vicinity was "like a fire blowing and making a loud noise" which the natives called "bittern". When the Vasse nyoongar heard this noise, they knew that someone was going to be ill. Sometimes, on hearing the noise, the nyoongar went over towards the place to see what had made the sound, but when they approached it, they saw only smoke going round and round. The smoke was the janga, who were covering up the place where the bittern came from, so that the natives should not see it.

The first babbín or friend making ceremony was supposed to have been instituted by janga kooraa we'nee (spirits dead long ago) and these janga also made many of the yoongar laws.

The spirits of kwajjardee (dust), dolya (fog), boording (?) are spirits which cannot be seen, but can be heard chopping out opossums etc. These spirits can talk like yoongar.

The principal evil spirits of the Vasse district are :- janga worrada, janga balyat, and janga nyorleem (like a skeleton).

The Bibbulmun beleived that they could hear the janga talk-
 ing in the clouds and singing and playing their kailees. They
 could always be heard in the evening. In the daytime, they
 sometimes took the form of emus, and when a nyoongar tried to
 spear them they disappeared, and then at night time they laugh-
 ed and told the nyoongar that they were trying to spear them
 during the day. They often "sang" to the natives at night as
 follows :-

Nganya yool'a'pun mai'a'pa, murree kal boom, murree kal boom.
 (I am on top in the cloud and can see you and hit your fire, hit
 your fire.)

"Meeka we'na, yooal warrin," (Moon dead, but soon come alive
 again), is a Vasse saying.

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The Jalgoo Kening (dance) or ceremony, when the two wooden images called Mamman are placed at either end of the circle (or jal-goo), and when the burial of mamman takes place after the ceremonies are over, has its place here, in order to show that the mamman of the ceremony is not a deity, although the modern meaning of the term mamman is "father." Its ancient meaning, "the male generative organ" shows it to possess a phallic interpretation.

The ceremony is common almost throughout the whole of the western and southwestern coast.

The word jalgoo has been variously taken to mean "a circle" (York, Beverley) and "blood" (Murchison, Gingin, etc.) and is the name applied to a period of licence, lasting for weeks at a time, to which tribes from all outlying districts send young male and female contingents who take active part in the orgies.

Wanna wa was the name given to the same ceremony by the Perth, and Swan district natives, dhoolgoo and doolgoo in the Gingin district, wanna wa ga towards Jurien Bay, mamma, further north, and so on, with many dialectic changes, throughout the Nor' West, from which all the Southern natives say the ceremony first came. Wanna wa, or wanna wa ga, means "sticks where?" meaning that during the period of licence the woman's stick, her only protection at other times from the lusts of the younger men, is put aside, and she becomes purchasable and accessible to the men taking part in the ceremony. Her stick or protective weapon, is "laid aside" during the whole progress of the wanna wa.

This ceremony, by whatever name it may be called, is the most important and popular of any native gathering, and the messengers who are sent to collect contingents for the jalgoo are welcomed wherever they go. On this occasion, it is usually the younger full-blooded natives who choose the time for the holding of the jalgoo. They bring their request to their uncles and older fathers, asking them to send messengers and

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bambooroo (message sticks) to the various outlying tribes to gather in the visitors for the ceremonies. These messengers may be young or old men, for there is no fixed rule in this respect, and their errand is known by their attire, and by the bambooroo. One such bambooroo is in my possession, having the figure of a woman "etched" in the centre. With such a stick, there is no need for any explanation as to the purpose of the intended gathering, the female figure being sufficiently explanatory.

The messenger, when starting on his journey, placed white fur string (called beerart in the southwest) in his hair, which was tied up in a sort of top-knot, having perhaps a cockatoo's crest, called tugga-luggan, stuck in it. White cockatoo feathers or shavings of wood were stuck in each upper arm string, and the body was wilgee'd all over. The messenger took as many spears as he could conveniently carry, to show to his friends, that is, to demonstrate to them the sort of weapons that the tribe sending out the messenger, intended to give as payment for the use of the women. The bambooroo or "badge of office" was stuck at the back of the piled up hair. In all the bambooroos sent at this time, there is no mistaking the message they convey, even if the messengers, venturing into little known districts, are unable to explain their purport owing to the difference in dialect. The shavings in the messengers' heads and the white fur, confirm the message of the bambooroo.

Joobaitch stated that amongst the Swan district people it was usually either the biderr (men with numerous sons and daughters) who went as messenger, or if prevented from some cause, the brother next to him in influence (of a similar kind) was deputed to take the message. It has happened too, that an old woman of "big families" (i.e. many sons and daughters) has been sent as jalgee messenger, but without the bambooroo. Sometimes the older men, who wanted a jalgee to take place, conferred amongst themselves as to the advisability of holding one,

and in this case it was the older men who took the initiative in arranging the jalgoo. Joobaitch and Winjeetch arranged one of the last wanna wa held in the Swan district.

In every tribe the messenger reaches, preparations at once begin for the visit. Weapons and articles of commerce are gathered up and placed in charge of the men. All the younger men and women who are to take active part in the forthcoming orgies start for the appointed place, accompanied by some of their older relatives; not all of them, however, for many of the very old people are too feeble to travel, and some of the younger members will stay and take charge of these and of any young children who may be left behind. An old man, called "eeko" at this time, is in full charge of the young men, another eeko taking charge of the women. Every contingent from whatever district it may come, has two eekos, one for the men and the other for the women. These eekos are demmangur (grandfather stock) to their young charges. Every weapon or implement, wilgee, or any other product over and above what is necessary for the protection and ornamentation of the members of each contingent, is brought for "barter" at the jalgoo.

When these contingents are approaching the ground where the ceremony is to take place, they generally play some kailee music to announce their coming. If a contingent numbers but a few members, two kailees only will be sounded. If, however, a district sends a goodly number of men and women, these will play four or perhaps six kailees. Each contingent, on arrival at the ground, pitches its camp in the direction of its own home. The gathering when completed may number many hundreds, all, except the eekos who are in charge, and some "mothers" and "fathers" of the visitors, being younger people.

When all the visiting tribes are assembled, a large enclosure is made for the young men only, the young women having a separate camp, not an enclosure. The young men are called Karrara at this time only. Their respective eekos accompany them, but have the privilege of moving to and fro, and arranging the negotiations, later on.

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The ground within, and for a certain distance outside the enclosure, is strictly forbidden to women. The young women are called Kaimera at this time, and are camped with their elders in another circumscribed space, not enclosed, called Kallungarree, and also have their seekos to arrange their allotment to the Karrara men. The older women who have accompanied the contingents help the seekos in keeping watch over the younger females.

The seekos control the jalgoo in so far as the allotment of the Kaimera women to the Karrara is concerned. Due regard is paid to the relationship of the male and female who are temporarily allotted to each other, and it is the seeko's duty to see that the proper "mating" takes place, payment for the "privileges" being made by the men in weapons, hair string, red ochre, and other products.

During the progress of the jalgoo, no man can have any intercourse whatever with his own wife or wives, who, if young, are handed over to any Karrara men desiring them.

On the second or third day of the jalgoo, when everything has been arranged, the ground is cleared a little distance from the men's enclosure, and a circle is outlined on the cleared space. At each end of the circle, two stumps are erected, and painted into a rude semblance of men, these figures being called Mamman. Shaved sticks are placed on the "heads" of the wooden figures, noolburn or hair belts are wound round their middle, and faces are outlined upon them in three colours, white (dardarr) red (wilgee) and moearn (black). The male organ was represented by the insertion of a piece of rounded wood, close to the ground, and below the noolburn. The figures faced each other.

As soon as the wooden figures were erected, those taking active part in the jalgoo decorated themselves. White bands were placed round their arms, legs and bodies; beendees or shaved sticks were stuck in their hair, which was piled up "chignon" fashion either on top, or partly at the back, of their heads. Their faces were blackened with charcoal, and some

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wilgee was also used, their general decorations being similar to those on the mamman. The seekos do not decorate themselves further than placing beendees in their hair, nor does anyone who is not a participant in the jalgoo.

As soon as these decorations were completed, all the Karrara men danced round the circle, outside the two figures, the dance being watched some distance away by the women. The dance, which was largely posturing, with much quivering and bending of the knees, and movements of the body, all tending to excite the passions of the men, occurred every evening while the jalgoo lasted. The decorations and gyrations of the performers might vary a little in detail, according as one or the other contingent took precedence, but the beendees and colours remained the same throughout. No grease, or very little, was used during the jalgoo. A malarree or apron or "tassel" of hair string, might be worn by some of the women (Kaimera) who also wilgee'd their faces, but had no other decoration. Wilgee applied to a woman's face at this time denotes her participation in the jalgoo.

At the close of the dances, the Kaimera women were allotted, the Karrara men being given a certain liberty of choice. Consanguineous relationships were, however, more or less strictly attended to by the respective seekos, who kept "tally" as it were upon the Karrara men who applied for the females under their charge. The avoidance of class distinctions was, however, an easy matter, as the chief desire of the Karrara men was to obtain stranger women. The Kaimera were not taken into the enclosure of the Karrara, but into the bush, returning to the kallungarree afterwards.

All day the men went out hunting, the women also going out, but in a different direction, in search of root and other vegetable food.

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Should a woman wilfully approach the enclosure at any time, or deliberately throw herself in the way of the men when out hunting, she was unmercifully ravished by all the men in the vicinity, and no payment could be exacted from any of them, the woman being the offender.

The allotment of the Kaimera was not always confined to the evening. Since this period was one of unlimited licence, this will be understood.

If a Karrara man wanted a certain Kaimera, he preferred his request to the eeko in charge of her, and he obtained

her at any hour he desired. Hunting and root gathering were generally carried on through the day, the evenings and the greater part of the nights being given over to licentiousness.

In all cases, payment must be made for the use of the Kaimeras, the weapons being given to the eekos in charge of them. "Eeko yeerang'in" (eeko bringing the young woman) is the term used.

The meat food which the men brought in was divided first amongst the eekos and the Karrara themselves, the remainder being given to their own women (wives, sisters, mothers, etc.) and taken to the kallungarree by the eekos, these returning with roots and seed foods prepared by the women.

The Karrara of one district did not confine themselves to the Kaimera of any special contingent or tribe, they chose from any tribe, mentioned some particular woman to their own eeko, who took their request to the eeko in charge of such women, the woman's eeko bringing her to an appointed place, or the eekos themselves might make the choice of women or men.

If the seed or root food has not been properly pounded or cooked, the Karrara will frequently go into the open space near the kallungarree and fling the food back to the women.

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A fight will not infrequently occur in the Karrara enclosure, and when this happens, the women must remain shut up in camp, entirely out of sight of the men, while the eekos endeavour to make peace. As soon as the Karrara are heard singing boogur (sulky) songs, the eekos and older women are on the alert, and all the women sit quietly in camp until the sulky fit is over. Firesticks and other missiles may be flung over at the kallung-arree, but if any of the women's camps catch fire, the women's eekos must put it out, for the Kaimera must not be seen while the Karrara men are boogur.

The jalgeo period lasts sometimes for weeks, the time being regulated by the abundance or otherwise of the food supply, and by the amount of weapons etc., brought by the visitors, for every man must pay for the use of the women.

When the supply has been exhausted, or when the younger members have become surfeited with over-indulgence in unlimited licence, the final ceremony, called the Burial of Mamman, is performed. That this ceremony has an aspect of phallicism about it will be conceded by all, not only on account of the unbridled licence which preceded it, but also from the fact of the term mamman being the old name for the generative organ.

The circle, where the two figures stand, is used for the ceremony. All those who have taken part in the orgies, now take off their jalgeo decorations, the shavings, shaved sticks, etc., and greasing their bodies all over, they take the shavings over to the circle. One or two of their number will gather the shavings (called nyan-nyset in some tribes) and form them into the outline of a man on the ground. The shaved sticks are first stuck into the ground, and are placed so close together as to form a sort of network fence, inside the edge of which the other shavings are placed. The head of the recumbent figure is against one of the wooden images, the feet being against the other. A long rounded piece of wood, or one of the shaved sticks, is

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laid between the legs of the figure, which is now complete.
All the younger Karrara now sing the following "Burial" song:

Ngai'a mardalaa, weel'bing jaralaa,
Wow, wow, wow, ye ye ye ye,
Yoo'ang gootoo mat'lingaa,
Joo'an goocoo arr, arr, arr, mardaralaa.

The meaning of this song, beyond the first word (mother) could not be ascertained.

When they have sung this song, all seat themselves round the recumbent figure, each man placing his arms round the shoulders of his neighbour. Ekos, cobajee (old people) and biderr (also old men, fathers of big families) are seated some little distance away. Presently the young men sway to and fro, still with their arms encircling each other, and resume the singing of the song.

After they have sung, and while they are still swaying in unbroken rhythm, someone amongst them scratches the ground near the figure, and presently a noise is heard proceeding from the place which has been disturbed, a noise like "thunder far away" or like "the roar of a bull", which is supposed by all to be the mamman's voice answering the silent call made to him. (In districts where the bull-roarer is sacred, it is sounded at this time, but no bullroarer was in use in the Southwest.)

At the sound of the voice, all crouch low to the ground, still clasping each other.

Presently they again sing :

Booyal ngoonda, booyal yerdee mandoo,
(South, brothers, south)

Kaaning oerbaa,
(Dance)

This song may probably mean that the period through which they have passed has made them brothers to each other. None of these interrogated could however, render the exact meaning of any of the wanna wa or jalgoo songs. At the close of this song, all rise to their feet and disperse, and the jalgoo is over, each contingent taking its own women again and starting homewards.

The ground where the jalgoo is held is winnaitch to women, children and uninited boys until all traces of the ceremony have been washed or burnt away.

From the above description of the jalgoo it will be seen that except in the scratching of the ground to gain the mamman's attention, there is no suggestion of a deity in the ceremony. A bullroarer sounded in the hearing of a Vasse native was said by him to resemble the voice of mamman, which he had heard at the last jalgoo he attended in the Vasse district in the early fifties.

When mamman was buried, and the jalgoo was over, there was an end of him until the next orgy took place in some other district.

At the last wanna wa held at Cockleshell Gully, the following songs replaced those sung at the Vasse :

Kai'ee marranaa murrardi, kai'ee marranaa murrardo.
Wandarra moora berree naa.

Also :

Ngorder'ee weel'ba burronga wardaa,
Ngorder'ee weel'ba burronga wardaa,
Marrungga beepar marro,
Wuggan ninnee marrungga,
Beepar marro.
Waggan ninnee marrungga nyinjer'e'lo,
Waggan ninnee koonma derree,
Waggan ninnee.

Joobaitch could furnish no meaning for these songs. Ceremony and songs came from the Nor'West according to Joobaitch, and although both words and actions were faithfully followed as the wanna wa travelled southward, the meaning of either was never understood by the natives practising them. The words may have probably had an original meaning, which necessarily became more and more obscure in the journey south, until finally the meaning was quite lost.

There was a vague tradition amongst the Southern natives that before the advent of the jalgoo or wanna wa from the north, a coastal tribe used occasionally to send a contingent of its younger females only in charge of one or two demmangur (grand-fathers) amongst outlying friendly tribes north and south of its boundaries and that use of these women was made by the men in the camps visited, payment being made in weapons, etc. "Return" visits were made of women from one or more of the tribes visited, but there was no ceremony attached to this proceeding.

The jalgoo might be mixed up with initiation ceremonies if circumstances permitted.

In all tribes, the progress of a ceremonious orgy of this kind, by whatever name it may be called, will be made known by the decorations of the women, the circles and lines of wilgee round the eyes and on the foreheads, and various markings on their bodies and legs. Variations in detail occur in almost all districts. the ceremony of the burial of mamman apparently being confined to the Southwest.

According to Kajjaman and other York and Beverley natives, jalgoo or dalgoo meant "ring" or "circle". The shaved sticks were called "moora-moocoo", the old men in charge were "yeego", the old women who accompanied being called "murda wa". (Murda, the eastern districts term for red ochre - wilgee - was applied to the old women because they were past taking part in the jalgoo. Murda wa? "Red ochre where?" i.e. "You are not painted with red ochre?" The term is used in the same sense as wanna wa? (Your stick where?)

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Janga dalarree was the name given to a spirit which once carried away a young Gingin native, the boy being found three days afterwards in the Darling Ranges where the janga had left him.

They also believed that when a baby died, it came back at night and lay beside its mother. If she were young, she was greatly frightened at first, but after a time she became used to the kaajin or kaanya. Sometimes a Gingin woman who had buried her child, gathered a few small boughs in the vicinity of her child's grave, into which she believed the spirit of the child had gone. Tying these together with some rush fibre, she placed the little bundle in her goota (bag). Wherever she camped she took the bundle out which to her held her child's spirit, and put it down beside her. She kept the bundle and carried it about with her until the spirit had become "stale". Then one day she lighted a fire to windward of the kaajin, as she called the bundle, and the spirit of the child went away in the smoke over the sea to the home of the dead.

The Gingin natives believed that men, women and children could be stolen by the janga, while they were still living, and that after a time the janga tired of them and returned them to their country and people, where however they very soon died and went westward, or again joined the janga, becoming janga themselves.

The Gingin kaajin came back to their camps at intervals until their bodies became koojee (bone), after which they never returned. They never came back bodily; the moon came back, but the Gingin natives could not come back in their bodies. No idea of a beneficent spirit existed amongst them, but the belief in the existence of spirits and in the survival of the spirit after death was universal amongst them.

Uncle, brother or father of the dead Gingin man will leave daaja (meat food) near the grave for the kaajin, and the continual wailing of the dead man's old female relatives acts so

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powerfully on the feelings of the fathers and brothers of the dead, that they go away at once after the murderers, and murderer remain them, that is, half strangle them by magic, not killing them at once, but ensuring that they die at an early period, generally in three days.

The spirit of the dead Gingin man, murderer or murdered, goes woortan (seawards), but Woolberr, a Gingin man, had forgotten the name of the "boojoor" of the dead. All the dead man's relatives will be on the shore to meet him. They see him coming, and call out to him as he approaches the boojoor, for he comes up at intervals during his passage through the sea, to see how close the boojoor is.

"Dreaming I see them," said Woolberr to me before his death, "wives and children, they come round me at night and we talk and the children play, and when I open my eyes in the morning I cannot see them, My women will meet me when I go woortan, they will see my kaajin coming through the sea. We never come back when we go over the sea. Our bones become white, like the kangaroos', but our spirit is in the boojoor beyond the sea. I see nothing in the daytime, but at night I see Banyap (his second wife) and the children. Banyap and Kaiel and the other children sit down and wait for me, and I will find them when I go away. All our relations are together, and walk about though their koojee (bones) are at Gingin. Banyap's "self" walks about. She does not want her body, and yet she has her body and is clothed in her booka (kangaroo skin cloak) and has her wanna and gocta as well. Her booka covers all her body and face, except her left eye, which follows the sun from its rising to its setting."

The Gingin people believed that if both eyes or any part of the body, except the left eye, were exposed, it would be bad for the living as well as for the dead. "Don't show the sun all the face," said Woolberr, "that is weendung (bad), show the left eye only, that is gwabba (good)."

They believed that there was ground in the sky, but the dead natives did not go there. When they buried their dead they usually apostrophised the kaajin, telling it to go away for always, and not to return and disturb them.

No paintings nor carvings were found in the Gingin district, the natives believing that if they painted their hands etc., on rocks or trees, they would place themselves in the power of some evil spirit.

Turramurra and kalyarn, both pieces of white flint, regularly shaped, were the magic stones of the Gingin sorcerers.

Jootoytch was the greatest bulyaguttuk in the Gingin district. The woggal was his familiar spirit. When anyone teased or offended Jootoytch, they dreamed of the woggal, and some evil very soon befell them. Some young people once cried out to tease Jootoytch, and he clasped a piece of wood to his breast and sang :-

Jinga woordambiddee bardee gutting,

(Spirit from the sea will come close now)

As the boys looked, they saw that Jootoytch held a jinga in his hand, "like a baby", very small. The boys ran away, and when their fathers and mothers saw the jinga they fled too. When Jootoytch had succeeded in frightening them still more by making the baby cry, he gave it back to its jinga mother.

The Gingin story of the moon and the eaglehawk is as follows :- The meemok (moon) wanted to make all the natives remain alive and never die, but the waljok (eaglehawk) would not let him. Waljok said, "Let them alone, let them die altogether, don't try to make them alive." "But I'm alive," said the meemok, "I die for some days, and then I get up again. Let the yoongar get up too." "No," said the waljok, "let them stay dead; you make light, and you can walk about, and go opossum hunting, and show plenty light. Yoongar can't make the place light at night, no good making them alive." So the yoongar must die altogether.

The meemok and batta (sun) were man and wife. When the moon came up again after he had died, he was like a beeree (finger nail). He always had a great number of dogs to take out hunting.

Another Gingin legend states that the moon made a big hole to live in and didn't like it, and made another, and another, and put fire into some of them, but he found them all bad. "Neea windung boojoor," (this is no good ground) he said, and he went on to Northam, and eastward of Northam he found a place. "Neea boojoor gwabba," (this ground good) he said, and he made a fire there, and the sun came too, and they stayed at this place, and had many children, all yoongar.

The moon is mamman (father) and the sun ngangan (mother), but the ngangan has got more fire, and burns the yoongars' hands and feet and head.

Another moon legend says that the moon and the sun lived in a hole so deep that the longest wanna could not reach the bottom of it. The moon went out every day to get daaja, and wood for the fire, and the sun gathered marrain, jedda, joolal, jaggat, joolgarn and other kinds of roots. Everything the moon brought home he threw down into the hole.

Arthur River people call the home of the dead Darndaling. It lies westward over the sea.

In some southern districts, should a native pass near the vicinity of a grave, and his nose begins to bleed, he knew that he would shortly become bulyaguttuk. In other districts, if nose bleeding took place when passing some winnatch spot, some other bulyaguttuk was believed to be putting some sickness into them. They sometimes tried to expel the bulya that entered them by running a long rush up their noses to induce sneezing, which ejected the bulya.

In the York district, the korrgain (sparrowhawk) was supposed to have made various rockholes

THE WELD RANGE OCHRE MINE

In the Weld Range district there is a famous native mine from which the coveted red ochre has been obtained by the wajari (men) of the district for many hundreds of generations.

The approach to the mine, which lies on top of one of the hills, is circuitous and weird. The track winds in and out amongst narrow valleys, which, green and well-wooded as they are, engender a strange eerie feeling owing to the apparent absence of any life in the vicinity. This district once possessed a comparatively numerous native population, but one man now represents the tribe in whose country the mine is situated. Just fore the last turning is passed, there are two dark odd-looking outcrops of iron ore on the steep slope of the last hill before the mine is reached. According to Idiongu, a Burgulu, the last direct owner of the red ochre mine, these two outcrops are two mundang or spirits of long dead owners who are now watching over the road to their mine.

The names of these mundang are Iliri or Jugalgura and Dar-bidi or Miril. Near the hill where these mundang are watching, is a pool called Danganu, where a Jila (mythical snake) sits down with his wife. Jila also guards the mine and climbs the trees in his neighbourhood so that he can see "far away".

The mundang appear to be sleeping on the slope of the hill, but if a strange native tries to pass and obtain or steal the red ochre, therecumbent mundang stand up and face him, and he soon dies. Sometimes one of the mundang visits the mine, and if you camp near the place at night, you can hear him running down the hill, striking his kundi (club) with his miru (spearthrower) in his journey over the path.

When Idiongu, a Kaimera, was born, he was covered all over with duari (red ochre) and was said to have come out of Duari-Vaklu (red ochre hole). His father was Bo'ana, a Burgulu, his mother Ilijingu being a Paljeri. When his mother gave birth to him he was covered with duari and the mundang who guarded the place were his friends.

Boana and all his people are now dead, and Idiongu is far away, so, except for the mundang, there is no one now to guard the mine. If a great many natives go together to the mine, they will not be touched or hurt by the mundang, but if only a few go, the mundang and jila will kill them. These mundang are somewhat similar to the janga of the South and ranjee of the north in that they were once living in the districts which their spirits now guard.

The mine has always been held sacred from women and children and was used as a hiding place for the imeri (long carved flat sticks) and other objects used during initiation. These were stored in some of the "drives" or "pockets" of the mine.

Animals, eggs, snakes, birds, etc., all made of, or turned into, stone, may be seen in the mine. You must get the ochre quickly, as, if you are very slow, a big winju (wind) comes along, and you very soon die. If a stick cracks, you will die. There are three springs near the mine, but they are only known to Idiongu. When he visits his home he can go and see Miril and Iliri, who were his ancestors.

Iliri and Miril did not go to the home of the dead; they remained mundang in their district and now keep guard over the mine.

The Weld Range natives believed that Nyjmi (the owl) was the father (maman) of all yamaji (natives).

In the Weld Range district, there is a famous native mine (which will be described later) from which the coveted red ochre has been obtained by the aboriginal inhabitants for many hundreds of generations. The approach to the mine, which lies on the top of one of the hills of the Range, is circuitous and weird. The track winds in and out amongst narrow valleys, which, green and well-wooded as they are, engender a strange eerie feeling owing to the apparent absence of any life in the vicinity. One man now represents the once numerous tribe in whose country the mine is situated. Just before the last turning is passed, there are two odd-looking outcrops of iron ore on the steep slope of the last hill before the mine is reached. According to Yoondungoo, a Boorgooloo, the last direct owner of the red ochre mine, these two outcrops are two moondung, who are the spirits of long dead owners who are now watching over the road to their mine.

The names of these moondung are Illeeree or Joogulgoora, and Darbidee or Meeril. Near the hill where these moondung are watching, is a pool called Dhanganoo, where a jilla (mythical snake) sits down with his wife. Jilla also guards the mine and climbs the trees in his neighbourhood so that he can see "far away".

The moondung appear to be sleeping on the slope of the hill, but if a strange native tries to pass and obtain or steal the red ochre, the recumbent moondung stand up and face him, and he soon dies. Sometimes one of the moondung visits the mine, and if you camp near the place at night, you can hear him running down the hill, striking his koondie (club) with his meero (spearthrower).

When Eedeangoo, a Kaimbra boy, now dead, was born, he was covered all over with dooarree (red ochre) and was said to have come out of Dooarreebarloo (the red ochre hole). His father was Bo'ana, a Boorgooloo, "brother" to Yoondungoo, his mother being Eeleejingoo, a Paljeri. When his mother found him he was covered with dooarree, and the moondung who guarded the place were his friends.

Eedeeangoo and all his people are now dead, and Yoondungoo has gone away, so except for the moondung, there is no one now to guard the mine. If a great many natives go together to the mine, they will not be touched or hurt by the moondung, but if only a few go, the moondung and jilla will kill them.

The mine has always been sacred from women and children, and was used as a hiding place for the eemeree (long carved flat sticks), and other sacred and secret objects used during initiation. These are stored in some of the drives or pockets of the mine.

Animals, eggs, snakes, birds, etc., all made of, or turned into, stone, may be seen in the mine. You must get the ochre quickly as, if you are very slow, a big weenjoo (wind) comes along, and you very soon die. If a stick cracks you will die. There are three springs near the mine, but they are only known to Yoondungoo. When he visits his home he can go and see Meeril and Illeeree, who were his ancestors.

Barna-dha-dherba is the Weld Range name for the home of the dead, but Illeeree and Meeril did not go there, they returned as moondung to their district, and now they keep guard over the mine.

The Weld Range natives believed that Nyoomee, the owl, was the father (mamman) of all yammajee (natives).

At Bilyawon, near Peak Hill, there was a pool which had a big jilla in it, and this jilla was shot by a white man. The white man died, and now there is no more water at Bilyawon, for there is no jilla there. While the jilla inhabited the pool, the water was always there.

Moondung is the general term in the Goldfields and Murchison districts for the spirits of long dead natives. It is also the name applied to Europeans. All these spirits are white, and all have power for evil. In certain parts of the Murchison, there are caves and rock shelters, which are the abodes of these moondung. They generally appear at night, the only remedy against them being a firestick, which must be thrown in their direction.

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In the Northampton district a native was buried, and in the morning when his relatives went to visit his grave, he had got out of it, and chased his parents as soon as he saw them. He continued to chase them for days, letting them neither eat nor sleep. At last, when they were almost dead from want of food and sleep, the father speared his son many times, and left him where he lay for other relatives to bury him. The son never came back again. The spirit of this young man was not like the usual kaanya, it was black, "like a real yoongar". When his people went afterwards to the grave where he had first been laid, his body was not in the grave, as it would have been if he had been a real kaanya. They saw only the marks of his hands and feet beside the grave. (Probably a premature burial)

Koogamurra is the Tuckanarra district name for the country beyond the swa where all the dead natives go. Their spirits travel north-westward to reach their final home.

According to one old Tuckanarra native, the story of a "creation" is as follows :-

There were once three big men only in the world, and one day these men went up a hill, putting sticks upright in the ground as they went. They went up another hill and put some more sticks in the ground as they went along. Presently these sticks turned into men and women, the men being on one hill and the women on another. As soon as these men saw the women, they ran towards them and carried them all away with them. Then the three big men put another stick in the ground and plenty water came.

Bardain is the name given to the home of the dead by the Illimbirree natives. Bardain is weeloc (west), the spirits travelling across the sea to get to it.

Dharramarra is the term applied by the Laverton, Ida B. and other district natives to N.N.E. and the fire magic that is despatched from that direction is also called dharramarra.

The Southern Cross natives called my magic stick "yanda nyoongin inyillee", which may probably mean "sun sitting down inside". Whirlwinds could be caused by it, and it also holds the sun's light by day, and shows a flame at night. A small whirlwind rising from the ground where I was sitting showing the stick was supposed to emanate from it, and Gweeya, focusing the sun on a piece of glass, said that "that was the sort of light he saw shining in the stick". When he held it in his hand for a moment he felt a kind of "shivering pain" all along his arm, and up to his shoulder. Gweeya was mobburngur (sorcerer).

E. Cornally, who lived for some twenty years in the Gascoyne district, with only the natives as companions, stated that Gascoyne natives believed the spirits of their dead went to Beejalin.

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E. Gornally, who lived for some twenty years in the Gascoyne district, with only the natives as companions, stated that the Gascoyne natives believed the spirits of their dead went to Beejalin, a place about ten miles north of Carnarvon, and as soon as the spirits got there, they made a fire to warm themselves, and then at daylight the following morning, they dived into the sea, and went to an island some thirty miles distant from Carnarvon (either Dorre or Bernier Island.)

Here the spirits stayed, occasionally visiting their hunting grounds. The spirit walks on the floor of the sea.

Where the Lyndon and Minilya Rivers meet (in the winter season) they form a great sheet of water which flows for some 80 miles before it empties itself into the Gascoyne River. Between this sheet of water and the sea there is a strip of land, about 6 or 7 miles across in places and running the length of the lake. On this strip of land, no natives will ever camp, as they say it is the spirits' or ghosts' land.

All dead men visit Beejalin first, before they dive to the island. They come back Boolbarlee - the northern end of the strip of land - and go from there to their own country, passing to and fro as they choose.

The various names for the Gascoyne spirits which are all evil are :- Warda, joona, jin'gee, moonung and wai'ang'an. The Gascoyne district natives living west and south of the Kennedy Range believed that the Range was full of moonung "like white people", and that these spirits had strange animals with them. (This is no doubt a recent belief, arising from the presence of castaways or early settlers in the Ranges.) No natives, unless they belonged to that country, frequented the Kennedy Range district because of this belief.

According to Gornally, some spirits walk about the bush, other spirits of the dead go to the moon, where there is plenty of game. The same informant stated that the "woggal" of the Gascoyne district was called kajjoorda, the sorcerer who had control over it being called kajjoordoo or kajjoorda. The

Gascoyne sorcerer

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differed from the Southern mulgarguttuk, in that the latter had control over the woggal in his own district, whereas the kajjoordoo of the Gascoyne had no power over the kajjoordoo of his own district, but must seek the aid of a jajjoorda in some distant waterhole, whither his "astral body" journeyed by night, while his material body remained apparently asleep in his camp.

A deep pool in the kajjoorda's own district probably contained a mythical snake, but that snake was controlled by a kajjoorda from another country. The snake in the sorcerer's own ground would not harm the people belonging to that ground. The Gascoyne kajjoorda were generally visited for rain-making purposes only.

"The kajjoorda," says Cornally, "was an enormous snake which possessed the power of transforming itself into any shape it pleased, but whatever shape it assumed, it always lived in the water. It might be inside a hill, or beneath a valley, but wherever it was, there also was water." The kajjoordoo or sorcerers were the "water-providers" or "rain-makers" and no one else could bring rain but the kajjoordoo. ("Kajjoordoo" is the Broome district name for "whitish ashes.")

The kajjoordoo was called by his titles and every district had its kajjoordoo. When a kajjoordoo died, if his son were old enough, he might "catch" his father's powers. Without a kajjoordoo there would be no seeds, roots, game or water in the country.

The kajjoorda was the totem of kajjoordoo only. If the shadow of the snake fell upon any other natives, or if their shadow came between the snake and the sun, they very soon died, the kajjoorda having caught their shadow and killed them.

When the kajjoordoo returned to camp, the occupants would sometimes hear a dull thud, which they knew to be the sound of his feet touching the earth after his flight through the air. Later in the day the kajjoordoo related his experiences, mentioned the districts of the other kajjoordoo whom he had met at the kajjoorda mo'ga (where the kajjoorda sits down) and told the

news which they had imparted to him.

Besides the kajjoorda of the deep pools, every spring contained a lesser kajjoorda, whose sole duty lay in maintaining a continuance of the water supply in its own spring. The spring kajjoorda had no power over the elements. The kajjoordoo was also "master" of the spring kajjoorda, but he held no communication with it.

The kajjoordoo carried no "stock-in-trade", all his powers being located in his stomach. From this receptacle he drew the magic which he applied to the affected parts of those who sought his services.

The "kajoora" of the Gascoyne natives, called waugul by the Southern men and in the Kimberley district ranbul and wonnaira respectively (Mathews); in the country beyond Parker Ranges "wonnangura" (Mathews) is in all cases a huge serpent endowed with great supernatural powers and living in the deep permanent pools scattered throughout the State. (W.H. Bird says the Sunday Island name is kurrada-kurrada.) There is in all tribes some person who has sole communication with the serpent, who prefers requests for rain, etc. to him. This person is presumed to possess certain magical powers which have (in the case of the kajoora of the Gascoyne) descended by heredity to him and which he in turn passes on to his children, all of whom are kajoordas.

The universality of this mythical serpent and its supposed supernatural powers may point to the custom of serpent worship in the remote past. The kajoora has been appealed to for rain making purposes and instructions are also issued by him to the kajoorda re corroborees, new songs, etc. which the kajoorda "faithfully" transmits to the people. In the Southern districts the waugul has been called upon to prescribe and carry out punishment (see Legend of Lake Bannister).

This is another account of the kajoora, in parts repeating the information previously given.

The kajoora is the name given by the natives to a mythical snake which inhabits every deep pool or spring and is supposed to possess magical powers of stopping or of making rain.

There is only one native in every tribe who can communicate with the kajoora and prefer the requests of his people, who may desire the rain to come or to cease. This native is called a kajoorda, and is a person of great importance. He is in some mysterious way related to the kajoora and all requests to the monster must only be made through the kajoorda, who conveys the message always at night. As the kajoorda is a sort of spirit which this privileged native possesses, when a request is sent to the monster, the kajoorda flies out of the body of the native and travels one or two hundred miles to the special pool or spring where his relative lives, returning to his body before the day breaks.

If the request is ignored, and the rain still falls, or will not come, as the case may be, it is owing to the magic of a more powerful kajoorda belonging to some other tribe.

As every tribe possesses a kajoorda and as all tribes camp as a rule near their largest pools, the kajoordas have no power over the snake living in the deep pool beside which they are camped, they must journey to a distant pool or spring, the farther off the better, as the great distances traversed in the night are evidence of their wonderful power.

The kajoorda descends from father to son, and if a kajoorda has no son to whom he can transmit the faculty, the distinction passes on to his nearest brother or his son, and has thus been kept in the one family for generations, handed down from their nool-ye or ancestors.

The kajoorda is a very highly respected person in the tribe, and is held in much regard by his people, much more so than the boylya man which the tribes also possess. The boylya is really more feared than respected since he possesses the power of life

or death over them and they believe that a boylyaman cannot be killed by an ordinary native, only by another boylya. They have great faith in the power of their boylyas between whom and the kajoordas a certain friendship exists.

The kajoorda of the Byong tribe was well known to Cornally and was called Mootchur. (Ask Cornally what pool Mootchur's kajoorda lived in, and how far was it from his main camp, and where was the main camp.)

Cornally, informant

Notebook 3b, P. 168

Ngaj-leri is the man who makes the hot weather. He is related to the kajoorda and they are both related to the boylya. They are really boylya men. He (ngaj-leri) goes to the sun and arranges with the ngajjeri there for the summer and the heat to come. They are lifted bodily up to the sun by night, no one seeing them go or return.

Amongst the Northern and North western people, the various dialectic names for the mythical snake are :-

Boornagarree	Maran, Watheroo
Mil'yoota	N.W. of Mannine
Thaa'beea, Ngow'ara	Murrum
Thai'aree (water snake) Kooneroo	Northampton
Beemarl (water snake)	Mulline
Jilla, Mullara	Weld Range
Jeela	N.W. of Peak Hill
Gooneroo, Goonbarra	Illimbirree
Ngowara	Gullewa
Jeela, Miloora	Peak Hill district
Koojeeda (water snake)	" " "
Thaiardee (water snake)	Oakabella
Jeedarra	Southern Cross
Jeedarra	Coolgardie
Wannardee	Norseman
Joondee	Balladonia

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Ngowara	Gullewa
Jeela, miloora	Peak Hill district
Koojeeda (water snake)	" " "
Thalardee " "	Oakabella
Jeedarra	Southern Cross
Wannardee	Norseman
Joondie	Balladonia
Cool'yeon	Duketon
Kajjoorda	Gascoyne (contributed)
" boogalgarra, Bo'al'garra, wannamungera	" Ashburton, etc. (contributed)
Thooroo, jooroo;	Tableland, Port Hedland, etc.
Toodunga, yoonenerba	Nullagine (contributed)
Bajjamulla	Roeburne
Tehooroo	Broome
Tehooroo, yoengurradoo	Derby
Tehooroo, jo'ara, Ngoono-ngooroo	Beagle Bay
Goolaba	Fitzroy River
Lee'arr'doo, lai'arr'doo	Sunday Island (contributed)

All these mythical snakes are more or less evil. In some districts the sorcerers control them to a certain extent. In others, the spirit snakes keep watch over spirit natives' possessions, as in the case of the Weld Range snake, the jilla.

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In other district, as the Gascoyne, the sorcerer has apparently no control over the mythical snake of his own ground, but must journey hundreds of miles to another waterhole.

In the Ashburton district, "Yabbaroo" stated that the natives believed in a mythical animal resembling a large dog, which they called yeera-nyiggee. It frequented sandhills and hilly country.

Worroga is the term applied by the Roeburne and Tableland district natives to the spirits of long dead natives, the term being also used to denote "white man". The worroga is white in colour, and like a skeleton in form; it haunts various places, not necessarily "shady places" and is not always evil. It corresponds to the janga of the South. Fai'ree is said to be another name for worroga.

Joono is an intangible evil spirit, which appears to enter into the bodies of some people, inciting them to deeds of violence. No one has ever seen a joono, but when the natives observe one of their number wandering about by himself, and hear him now and again utter a peculiarly sharp short cry, they say, "He is joono", or "He has got joono." Mr. Cusack stated that the joono is a man who is executing a vendetta for the murder of one of his tribe.

The Roeburne salutation to departing visitors, whether these are natives or white people is, "Marro joono," which may mean either "Plenty joono," or "May joono be far away from you."

The bajjamulla of the Roeburne district is supposed to have made all the rivers as he travelled inland from the sea, which was his home. The salt lakes of some districts are his urine, the white lime or pipeclay being his excreta.

J.W.O. Brown of Roeburne stated that the joono lived at the bottom of every deep pool, waiting to catch the natives and pull them under. It is like (1) a big kangaroo with a white face, (2) a big snake with his eyes on fire, (3) a very big vampire bat with a white face. Both Mr. Brown and Mr. Cusack were old residents of the Roeburne district.

Meenyaburra was the name given by Walbaring, a Kaimera of the De Grey district, to two female spirit children, one of whom was supposed to live "up in the sky" somewhere, the other taking up lodgment in his own breast. Each of these two spirit children held an end of moordinarra (thick rope made of human hair), and sometimes the sky child drew the rope up, but let it down again to its fellow spirit. These were the "familiar spirits" of some of the De Grey natives, many mobburngur (sorcerers) having meenyaburra. The duty of these spirits was to look after the affairs of their owners. If the mobburn or "medical" powers went away from a native, the little spirits deserted him also. These spirits killed Walbaring's first wife in the following manner :-

Walbaring's wife, a Paljeri, while her husband was away shepherding, "married" a Boorong man (Boorong are mothers and uncles (mothers' brothers) and sons to paljeri women), a wrong marriage to make. When Walbaring returned to his camp, the woman came and lived with him as if nothing had happened, and when the meenyaburra saw this, they took out the kidney fat of the woman, roasted and ate it, and the woman pined away and died while shepherding with Walbaring.

The West Kimberley system of belief is that in "yamminga" time, all animals, birds, fish and insects were human beings. This corresponds to the belief existing amongst the Southern people. Yamminga times are ancestral times, as demma goomber times are also ancestral times.

It is curious to note that both the northern and southern natives believed that their ancestors were "very big men." Just as the Southern natives believed that in demma goomber times there were giant kangaroos and other large animals, as well as human giants, so in the northern regions, tradition tells of giant men whose footprints may still be seen in places along the coast, and also on the rocks in certain rivers in the Kimberley district, such as the Nora River, Fitzroy, and the rocks on the coast north of Broome.

Certain insects, animals and birds, are specialized in the legends of both north and south, as having inaugurated certain laws, obtained fire, made food laws and restrictions, destroyed plagues in the form of cannibal dogs, etc.

In the north, legends and myths centre round the transformation of humans into these special birds and animals, many of the legends giving the reason for certain peculiarities in the birds, beasts, fish, etc., into which they were transformed.

The pelican swallowed Lengo's lanjee (boomerang) and that is why its head and neck are shaped like a koolmees lanjee; the emu's arms were cut off by the pigeon and that is why it cannot fly; the crane was hit in the legs with the firestick, and that is why its legs are red; death came to the native because the carpet snake was jealous of the locust being able to come out of his skin the same as the snakes, which made the carpet snake bite him in two, so that only the snakes should come alive again.

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On the rocky coast near Weerraginmarree (about lat. $17^{\circ}30'$, long. $122^{\circ}30'$) there are, the natives state, footprints (neewal) of Lengo, his wife Marral, and some children and dogs. All these people lived in yammainga times and their boeroo (ground) was along that part of the coast where their footprints are now. The tracks are on the rocks and hardened sandstone along the beach, and are those of giant men and women, and huge dogs, all of whom lived on the coast in yammainga times.

Ngargalula frequented this part of the coast as well as other parts of the Kimberley district, but the natives are emphatic that the ngargalula who come to them in their dreams are not the re-incarnation of any of the yammainga people whose footprints are on the rocks. Lengo, Marral and others went into the ground, or were turned into stone, but if a man dreamed of a ngargalula at Lengo-goon, the place where Lengo and Marral turned into stone, the baby was neither a re-incarnation of Lengo or Marral. Lengo was a Kaimera, and is still called yammainga "eebala" (father) by present day Boorong men. If a Banaka or Paljeri man dreamed that a ngargalula came to him at Lengo-goon, the baby when born entered the Banaka or Paljeri division. (Banaka father, Paljeri son, Paljeri father, Banaka son.) It could not, therefore, be a re-incarnation of Lengo a Kaimera. The only manner in which a ngargalula may change its class has been stated in a previous chapter.

Leeberr, a Kaimera, also a yammainga man, lived at one time at Winninberree. He made a huge kalleegoeroo which formed a road between Kalboo, the ground, and Koorrwal, the sky. Leeberr went up to Koorrwal where there was plenty of walliee (flesh food), amai (vegetable food), baaloo (trees) etc. and he showed the womba (natives) how to go from Kalboo to Koorrwal and back again. All the Winninberree womba used to go up and down on the kalleegoeroo (which looked like a road, and was called boeroo - ground - before the women) from Kalboo boeroo to Koorrwal boeroo.

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One evening a jandoo (woman) left Koorrwai to come Kalboo. She started rather late, and darkness coming on, she camped half-way, and lighted a big fire. The fire burned the kalleegooroo and destroyed the road between Kalboo and Koorrwai, and now no Kalboo natives can go Koorrwai, nor can Koorrwai natives come Kalboo. "Koolin boerr-ngoeroo maggeorgeon," (She slept in the middle of the track.) If the jandoo had come down at the proper time, in the morning or early afternoon, instead of the evening, the womba could still have koorrwai boeroo to hunt over. The dark spot in the Milky Way is now the kalleegooroo the half of which had been burnt, Kalleegooroo baaloo, initiated men call it. Leeberr brought plenty langoor (opossum), parrjanning (kangaroo) etc. from Koorrwai and cooked them for his friends, and when they asked him where he got it, he said, "Pindan baanoo," (east, inland), that was before he had made the kalleegooroo, and showed the natives how to travel on the road it made.

Winninverree was the place where the kalleegooroo stretched from Kalboo to Koorrwai, but no ngargalula from that place are the re-incarnations of Leeberr.

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There are several kinds of spirits in the Kimberley district, all of which are feared, for all are more or less evil. There are no good spirits, except the little ngargalula or spirit children. First there is jocarree, the spirit of a dead native, corresponding to the kaanya of the Southwest; jocarree eejalang - the spirit of the dead; jil'al'ee ngarring - dead, are two distinct terms used by the West Kimberley natives. When one of their number dies, and is buried, his relatives stand between the grave and their camp, and getting some koojila (big sea shells) they beat these with their clubs, in order to try and deafen or confuse the jocarree. They say to him, "Maaloo meela jalla beeroo jaldong innaraa meemala, maaloo meela jalla, marra marra meemala." (Don't come back again, go away for always, don't come back, keep far away, don't come close.) Other Kimberley natives vary the appeal somewhat, as follows, "Maaloo milla jalla bilyoor, jaddonga nurra Loomurn," (Don't come back, spirit, go altogether to Loomurn.) They beat their clubs (nowloo) together standing in a half circle round the grave. If they remain in the neighbourhood for a time, after one or two days, some of the men will creep up towards the grave at evening time, to watch for the shadow (nimaandurra) of the murderer.

Only jalngangooroo (sorcerers) can see jocarree, and when a native dies, the sorcerer will sometimes see his jocarree behind the murderer. When this happens, the suspected man goes at once to his camp, outlines the dead man, in skeleton form, with white pipeclay on his shield, and carrying shield and wirrgin (boughs) only, he comes back to the place where the sorcerer and the dead man's relatives await him, and stands in the open space in front of them, his shield, thus marked, being his only defence. The relatives of the dead man fling their spears at him, either singly or together, but none of these hit him, for the jocarree of the skeleton on the shield protects him from the spears, if he has killed his man in a just quarrel.

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After the spears have been thrown, the murderer goes back to his own camp, but leaves the figure on his shield.

Presently, when he has lain down to rest, he sees the jocarree of the dead man coming towards him. It dances along the ground, and when it is quite close to him, it jumps on his legs, and then on his body, but when it comes near his forehead, he turns his head aside, and the jocarree slips off and goes to Loomurn, the western home of the dead, and it is seen no more.

If, however, the jocarree is going eastward, and alights on the man's forehead, it will kill him. All eastward going jocarree kill their murderers, and take the jocarree with them. The jocarree going eastward turns into a malignant spirit, because, according to the coastal natives, there is no place for the inland jocarree to go to. All jocarree going westward go to Loomurn, which is the home of the dead natives beyond the sea. (Broome dialectic word).

Je'warr means showing the direction in which the murderer is to be found, no death being considered natural. In the districts where tree burial takes place, visits will be made to the tree in order to find out, from the putrid exudations of the corpse, the direction of the murderer. If the offensive matter falls in a northerly direction, then a Kooncean (northern) native is guilty, and so on with the other points of the compass. If the murderer belongs to the dead man's own tribe, and is near, the matter will ooze from the centre of the corpse.

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The next principal spirit is ngarree. Ngarree is a male or female spirit of the boordungan (bush), white in colour "like the sun", having great knobs on its fingers, and with sharp long feet. When it takes female form, it carries a warndal, pinjin, or goordeen (wooden or bark vessels), and catches male and female children, and puts them in the warndal, eventually turning them into ngarree. It shouts like an ordinary jandoo, but its usual noise is a low roaring sound. One legend of the female ngarree is as follows :-

The Ngarree Jandoo and the Nimmamoo

Two nimmamoo (boys whose noses have been pierced, the first stage of Broome district initiation) were out one day looking for honey, and while they were up a tree, a ngarree jandoo who had been tracking them came up to the tree. When the boys saw her they began to cry, and their tears fell down like rain.

Ngarree had a big goordeen (bark vessel) and by and by when the boys came down, ngarree caught them and put them in her goordeen. She took them to her baaloo (tree) and put them inside the baaloo with her other ngarree babba (spirit boys) and when she had put them in she pulled the bark down and closed them all up. Then ngarree went out and killed langoor (opossum), tohooroo (snake), mungar (iguana), bilerr'a'murdee (stump-tailed iguana), koolaman (hooded iguana) and other kinds of wallee (flesh food, or game). She then returned to her baaloo and fed the nimmamoo and her own boys; she intended to make the boys into ngarree, and then kill and eat them. Every day Ngarree jandoo went out and brought home plenty wallee which she gave to the nimmamoo until they grew big and fat. Her own boys grew big and fat, too, and she killed those first and ate them. The nimmamoo saw her eating her own boys, and they said to each other, "She might kill us and eat us too." When she went out again, the nimmamoo pulled the kardimba (turkey "nose bone") out of their noses and blew through the hole of the bone at the bark. The elder nimmamoo tried first, but he couldn't move the opening. The

younger nimmamoo blew through his kardimba and the bark moved away. Ngarree jandoo was a long way off hunting, and so the two nimmamoo came out of the baaloo and ran away Koonneean (north) for that was their father's boeroo, and there were plenty of men koonneean.

Ngarree came back in the afternoon, and saw the bark pushed away, and she knew then that the boys had gone, so she followed them and tracked them and tracked them, koonneean always.

As the boys went along, they told all the womba they met that the ngarree jandoo had been keeping them and fattening them up to eat and they asked all the womba they passed to spear her when she came near. Presently the ngarree came along looking for the nimmamoo, and she saw plenty womba. When she came up to them they speared her all over and hit her with their nowloo (clubs) but they couldn't kill her, because she was ngarree and "different". Womba speared her in the eye, but it was like a stone. They went on spearing her till sundown, but they couldn't kill her. Ngarree went along and met more womba, and they tried to kill her and failed. She tracked the boys again and came upon some more womba. They had been told by the boys that she was coming, and they speared her all over, and one of the spears hit her in the nyeewal nimbal (instep) where her heart was, and that killed her.

Now ngarree jandoo are not allowed to come close to the womba or jecra (little boys). If they came close, they would take the boys away and fatten them up, and make them ngarree boys, and then kill them and eat them. Ngarree jandoo always turns the boys into ngarree when she kills and eats them.

You can see the ngarree showing its teeth (neeringa neelerr), opening its mouth (neelerr warrin), grinding its teeth (neerunde neelerr) and opening its big eyes (neemin bindain ning'arra).

The first white men seen passing in ships or boats were called ngarree, the boats were mai'oor, and the sails man'moor, all of these being spirits. Ngarree-na-ngower inma jooarree - the ngarree are showing themselves to the dead man's spirit. This was said when ships were seen after the death of one of their own people. The Broome district people said, "Ngarree ee'bil'nga Loomurn gabboo," - ngarree coming from Loomurn way.

Wardaba is a spirit like a ngarree, also belonging to the boordungan (bush), frequently taking children and men away to eat. A womba (man) who fears the wardaba at night, will sometimes make up a bundle of grass to represent himself, and placing this beside the fire, he goes some distance away and watches.

Soon the wardaba comes and spears the marra (grass), thinking it is a womba, and then the womba throws his spear at the wardaba, but in the morning he sees nothing, and he finds the spear where he had thrown it.

Bilyoor is a spirit like a jooarree. Sometimes the bilyoor of a child will go inside its mother and talk through her, but will not hurt her. Bilyoor may be also the living spirit of a child, which will take the shape of a bird and alight near its father. Bilyoor appears to be rather the spirit of a living, than of a dead person.

A man may be staying for a time at a place some distance from his home, and he dreams of a ngargalula. A short while after his dream a little bird, designated by a special name - jeerajeer (the generic name for small birds is beerajoon), alights near him. The man knows that the jeerajeer is the bilyoor of the ngargalula of his dream, and he calls out to it, "Tho'a, meejala beebec ngan jee'a," (Go and stay with your mother), and the bilyoor goes to the boorce where the man's wife is, and enters inside her.

Bilyoor-bilyoor is a term occasionally applied to white people. The bilyoor of the north and the bulya of the south are distinct from each other, for bulya is fire magic, but bilyoor is a spirit.

A jalngangooroo womba will take the bilyoor from a man, who very soon gets ill. The sorcerer will put the bilyoor into a cave, in mud, or in water, and he then puts magic into the womba, across his cheeks, breast, or anywhere. Then the dardal (sick) womba's own tribal jalngangooroo sends his own bilyoor after the bilyoor that has been taken away, and the messenger bilyoor smells the other bilyoor in the cave and brings it back. The bilyoor can be heard making a noise like m-m-m-m as it is being brought back by the jalngangooroo's bilyoor. It is then put into the dardal womba, who soon gets well. If, however, the womba's bilyoor has been put into mud or water, the jalngangooroo cannot get it back, it has gone to Loomurn, and the womba dies. "The neegarda (body) is only "flesh" or "skin", the bilyoor has already gone Loomurn."

Nalja is the name given by the men to the sound of the kalleegooroo. To the women, however, it is a "god", represented to them as a "salty old man with white hair", who is often seen coming across the sea, and from the sound of whose voice they must fly, for to see Nalja, or to be in his vicinity is to die. The word kalleegooroo must never be mentioned in the hearing of women or boys; when ceremonies take place in which the kalleegooroo is sounded, the women and children are told that "Nalja is coming." If a woman wilfully looked to see what Nalja was like, she either died through fear, or was killed. The "voice of Nalja" (the sound made by the twirling of the kalleegooroo) is supposed to come from the hair under his armpits or on his pubes.

Nalja has several other characters which the following legends will illustrate :-

The Story of Nalja and Tchambar ✓

Nalja was a yamminga womba, and had two jandoo (women). He used to go out hunting daily, bringing home plenty wallee (flesh food) in the evening. His jandoo found mai (vegetable food), yarrinyarree and other roots and seeds, and so they always had plenty to eat. Nalja, however, only went a short distance, and lay down in the shade and slept.

There was another yamminga womba named Tchambar, or Jambar, who went out in the pindana (inland) - he was a pindana womba - every day and caught plenty wallee. Every evening Nalja went to Tchambar's boeroo (ground) and got wallee from him, and took it home to his jandoo, who thought he had killed it.

This went on for a long time, and at last, one evening, Tchambar, who had killed a fat opossum, took its entrails out, and put doogul inside it, and cooked it, and sent it to the jandoo by Nalja, who did not know that the doogul had been put inside the animal. Nalja gave the jandoo the wallee, and when they opened it and saw the doogul (red ochre) they looked at each

other, for they knew then that Nalja had not caught the opossum. By and by they got up and went after Tchambar, and Tchambar took them away to the pindana. Nalja tracked them, and came up with them in the pindana, and Tchambar fought with Nalja and killed him, "If womba want to keep their own jandoo, they must not let another womba feed them."

The Nalja of this story is apparently not the Nalja of the kalleegooroo. The placing of the doogul inside the opossum meant an invitation to Nalja's women to become the wives of Tchambar. Red ochre is the principal phallic symbol in all tribes, for it is emblematic in all of some form or other of phallicism.

The next legend shows Nalja as a cannibal :

Nalja the Kabboowalla (cannibal) and the Two jandoo

Nalja came from Yalmban (South) and he saw two jandoo making ne'al'burnoo ("seed" cakes). They said to each other when they saw him, "Kogga ee'bilnga," (Uncle coming). The Nalja came up to them and said, "Maaboo ngooroo kogga jabbulyoo koorong'oo koora janna." (I am a good old uncle and you are glad to see me.)

The jandoo asked him where he had been so long, and he said he had been looking for them but could not find them. By and by Nalja went to the yalme (unmarried men's camp) to sleep, and the jandoo stayed in their jooganoo (married people's camp) and went koolin (to sleep) too. While they slept, Nalja crept over from the yalme with his nowloo (club) and killed the two sleeping jandoo, put them in the fire, cooked and ate them. Then he went Koonean (north) and found two more jandoo, and killed and ate them, and many more he killed.

By and by he came upon two more jandoo, but these were mirrooroo jandoo (women possessed of magic) and when they saw him they said, "Kogga ee'bilnga laa'nee," (Uncle coming close), and Nalja went up to them and spoke to them as he did to the other jandoo. They said to each other, "This is kabboowalla, he has killed and eaten our sisters and aunts." When Nalja

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went to the yalmeo, the two jandoo pretended to go to sleep, and they began to snore (ngoolar'raj'joo). Nalja heard them, and he got up and took his nowloo and came over to kill them, but the jandoo had their milgin (digging sticks), and they beat him with them, saying, "You have killed and eaten our sisters and now we will kill you," and they beat him and put him in the fire, and burnt him up. They didn't eat him because he was kalloowalla.

The next legend shows Nalja being assisted in his work of man eating by some puppies :-

Nalja, Kabboowalla and Yeelagullera (man with dogs or puppies) ✓

Nalja was a yamminga womba and was also called yeelagullera, because he always had several little puppies travelling about with him.

Nalja came up to a camp one day, and the womba saw him, and called to him to come and have some wallee, mai and woola (meat, vegetables and water.) Nalja said, "I'll leave the yeela (dogs) here," and he left his karrboorna (shield), yeelberding lanjee (species of boomerang) and nowloo (club) with the dogs. Then he said to the womba, "Hit me," and they said, "What for?" and he said again, "Hit me with a lanjee," and they tried and tried to hit him, but couldn't. When they had thrown all their lanjee, Nalja got his yeelberding lanjee, and threw it at the womba, and killed them all, and ate them. Then he travelled kooneean. He was always a murderer and kabboowalla, because he killed and ate the womba.

At last Nalja came to a camp which had two jalngangoeroo womba, and they said when they saw him, "Here's a kabboowalla coming," and they let him come into the camp, and the two jalngangoeroo said, "We don't want to hit you, you throw the lanjee," and he threw his yeelberding and missed them, and then they caught him and chopped him up, saying, "Jocarna kabboo womba, maaloo yarreedee maa'bal'ngun'jin jooa kabboowalla, manja womba kabboo jooa, maaloo yarreedee maabalngunjin," (You are a murderer,

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you eat men, we didn't meet you before, you murderer, many men
you have eaten, we didn't meet you before.) Kogga or eebala
(uncle or father) can now come to any camp and not be mistaken
for kabboowalla, because the jalngangocroo killed the kabboo-
walla.

Lengo figures in several northern legends. He was a yammainga womba who died and went into the ground, but returned to some caves on his booroo, which belong to him, and which consequently may not be entered by anyone except jalngangooroo. The caves are close by the spot where Lengo went into the ground and where he left his footprints. Lengo is said to have executed the cave paintings or drawings found in his district.

Marral was the wife of Lengo, who is said to haunt the vicinity of rock shelters, and is believed to have made the drawings, etc., on the rock surfaces in her district. In many places throughout the Nor'West, the natives believe that the caves, rockshelters and islands are filled with the spirits of the dead. These are not re-incarnated, as all are evil spirits, and all are avoided.

A Jajjala (Broome district) legend shows the relations of Lengo, Marral and Mandabullabulla :-

Lengo was a yammainga womba, and Marral was his wife. They had a son called Mandabullabulla, who was maamboongana (fully initiated man), and who showed the womba how to catch fish by torchlight. He made woondoongoo (torches), and at night time he used to go down to the shore with his koorillee lanjee (boomerang made from the koorillee tree), and kill wai'ooloo, beereenyangool and other "good" fish. Lengo however kept Mandabullabulla ne'amoo (abstinent) from these and other fish, although he was maamboongana. So one day when he had caught a great many fish, he ate some neamoo ones, and when he came to the camp Lengo tried to spear him, but Mandabullabulla turned into lightning and fled away from Lengo over the sea. Lengo tried to stop him with wirrgin (boughs), but he could not. After a time Mandabullabulla came back and turned into red stone, and now when the tide is out, you will see some red rocks which look as if they were painted with doogul, and that is where Mandabullabulla went into the ground, and turned into stone. The soft red stone on the shore near Walaning, a creek north of Broome, is called Mandabullabullageon.

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In weeralboo (spring time) when the red sunset is reflected in the calm waters of the sea, that is Mandabullabulla showing his torch (woondoongoo).

When Lengo found he couldn't catch his son, he hit Marral on the head with a goombara (stone or rock), and she turned into stone. Lengo's, Marral's, and many yeela's footprints can be seen at Lengagoon.

Leeberr was also a yammainga womba, who made the road from the ground or earth to the sky, but there are no re-incarnations of Leeberr. Winnimberree beelarra (Winnimberree spring) was the place where the woman camped who burned the kalleegooroo. It is a clear place surrounded by mangroves, a wide plain between two creeks. The woman stayed on the booroo where she had burned the kalleegooroo, she and her people always stayed there, and they could never go koorrwal again, nor could the koorrwal natives come kalboo.

A legend of some stone figures which were once natives comes from the Nullagine district :-

A man and a woman were once camped beside a river (the Nullagine) cooking kangaroo. They looked over the hills and saw some lightning coming, and presently they heard the thunder close to them. The man ran away frightened, but the woman was pregnant, and couldn't get up. The man did not go very far away before he fell down and was turned into stone. The woman was also turned into stone, and they are now to be seen by the river. When strange natives pass by, the man and woman stand up, and the strangers die soon afterwards, but if their own countrymen pass and shout to the man and woman who they are, they can pass by in safety. (This legend is somewhat similar to that of the standing stone mentioned by Jeobaitch.)

The following legend of Lengo shows him to have existed in the days when birds were possessed of human attributes, if they were not entirely human. Lengo, however, was always a man, just as the tchooroo was always a snake.

The Tchallingmer (Pelican) and Lengo ✓

Tchallingmer was a womba in yammainga time, and came from yalmban (south), and Lengo was a Waddeeabbuloo or Koonesean man (northern). Tchallingmer had a jeereeb lanjee, and Lengo had a koolmee lanjee (both boomerangs, and both of similar make, but the jeereeb wood is lighter than the koolmee wood, which makes a good fighting lanjee.) They caught waicoloo, walga-walga and many kinds of fish with their lanjee, but Lengo used also to catch them by breaking some janga and neebarda (shellfish) into small pieces, and throwing it into the sea as bait. The fish came up to get the neebarda, and Lengo speared many in this way. He also caught a little karrajoonoo (small mullet) and cooked it and chewed it and spat the pieces into the water, and all the fish came up, and he speared as many as he wanted. Lengo was showing the womba how to catch plenty fish.

Tchallingmer said to Lengo, "Nooroo wan bir dim walleejee," (Make a fire and we'll cook the fish), and Lengo said, "Joongo kanna bir dim," (I'll make the fire). Waddeeabbuloo womba say joongo (fire) and yalmban womba say nooroo (fire).

Then they travelled koonesean, and one day Lengo said to Tchallingmer, "Joongo wan bir dim," and Tchallingmer said, "Nooroo kanna bir dim," and by and by Tchallingmer said to Lengo, "Yanga bunjee lanjee," (you and I change lanjee) and Lengo said, "Arreeanga ngalla joo," (I won't give you mine), and Tchallingmer said, "Ngowai" (Yes), and didn't ask Lengo again. They both threw their lanjee at a fish, and they hit the fish, and Lengo picked the fish up, but Tchallingmer picked Lengo's koolmee lanjee up, and put it in his binjin (boat shaped vessel), Lengo picked up Tchallingmer's jeereeb lanjee, thinking it was his own, and presently he felt it was a bit light, and he said,

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"Arreeang eejan na jeeb," (this is not my lanjee), and he said to Tchallingmer, "Jee-na meeba-ganda janna jeebee," (You've got my lanjee). Tchallingmer said, "Ngowai, ngunnija ballaja, maaloo milowana ngai lanjee," (Yes, I asked you and you wouldn't give it to me.)

Lengo said, "Wannung ngai jeebee," (give it to me) "Loolbera kangara," (Let me throw it first), said Tchallingmer, and he threw the koolmee and it went round, and round and round, and Tchallingmer put a mungoorl (spear) across to try and stop the lanjee, but he couldn't, and so the lanjee went into the sea. Injalgoon lanjee koojoongoorogoon - lanjee has gone into the sea. Lengo went into the sea after his lanjee, but the waves caught him and sent him back again, and he cried for his lanjee, and tried again to swim out to it, but he was again swept back. Tchallingmer then said, "Ngai kalgoree kanginya kanginjee lanjee," (I'll swim out and get it for you), but Lengo still cried for his lanjee. Tchallingmer swam out for the lanjee, and caught it in his mouth, and now he has the koolmee always in his throat and he said to Lengo, "Womba koomandanjee maala joorangujja wongai banjee lanjee, koolmee, etc.," (When men meet one another they must not do that, they must give to each other, or change lanjees if they are asked).

Tchallingmer became a pelican and Lengo travelled north. The place where Lengo fished is now called Lengagoon, and womba who fish in the same place must use the bait that Lengo used.

There are three kinds of ranjee :-

- (1) The invisible ranjee or spirit or soul, which is within a man, and which enables him to dream of ngargalula who will eventually come to him as his children.
- (2) The ranjee or spirit of the thunder and lightning, which may take male or female shape, the male shape usually controlling forked lightning, the female manipulating the sheet lightning. Sometimes more than one ranjee will be seen in the lightning. Both male and female ranjee are left-handed (ngalgarraman).
- (3) The ranjee or spirit of a dead native which, instead of going to Loomurn, returns to its own ground, haunting certain shady places on that ground. Sometimes these ranjee can be controlled by a jalngangooroo belonging to the same booroo.

The last named ranjee were real womba at one time, the ranjee booroo being his real booroo and visible, unlike the ngargalula booroo which is jimbin (underneath) and invisible to all except in dreams. You avoid the ranjee booroo because it is ranjee beega (ranjee's shade), but you may walk over the ngargalula booroo. There is a decided difference in the native mind between the ranjee booroo and the ngargalula booroo. Ranjee booroo is kalboo (above ground) and is known and visible to the natives living in the district. Strange natives inadvertently trespassing on such ground (always forbidden) are punished with sickness and death, and all home people, except jalngangooroo, avoid the vicinity of the ranjee beega. In all the beega ranjee booroo, the name and class of the man who died and changed into a ranjee are known to the old people belonging to that district, and some special jalngangooroo who is "brother stock" to the beega ranjee has always a prior claim on its services. The voice of the beega ranjee is called lanbagoon, and sounds like the tapping of hard wood.

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The ranjee beega of the north is similar to the winnaitch places of the south. They need not always be shady trees or places. They are called by various names : meerijool goombara (or koombara ranjee or haunted rocks, to be avoided); minjoroo baaloo (magic or ranjee trees); and ranjee beega (shady places) etc. Whatever the name of the place may be, the ranjee of the womba who died, "sits down" there. It assumes the form and belongs to the class of the womba whose ranjee it is, and just as at Weld Range and other places, when strangers approach the ranjee beega or minjoroo baaloo, the ranjee of the place rises up, stands facing them for a moment, looks at them angrily, and they die very soon afterwards.

Minjoroo baaloo is a meerijool tree in the bush beyond Walaning. All home people go near this tree, but far away Boorong, etc., must keep away from the tree. A "far away" Kaimera woman, ignorant of the locality, once went near the minjoroo baaloo and died shortly afterwards; the ranjee had looked at her and killed her. When the home people pass this place, the ranjee turns its back upon them, but even they must not go too close or they will get dardal (sick).

The ranjee of the beega is always a man. He is "kin" to the ranjee of the thunder and forked lightning, the lightning ranjee also taking the shape of a man, but there is this important difference between the two : the ranjee beega was once a man, while the ranjee of the thunder and lightning has always been a spirit which assumes the form of a man at times. The ranjee of the thunder is a yamminga ranjee. When the thunder is heard, the ranjee is coming out, and when the lightning shows, that is the ranjee. The beega ranjee is the spirit of a jooarree womba (dead man), haunting certain spots. The lightning ranjee gets up lallurn (summer) time, and can travel far; the beega ranjee cannot leave his booroo and is there through all the seasons.

The jalngangooroo have a certain control over the lightning ranjee in that they can sometimes stop the lightning, by catching it with their left hand, and they also have control over the beega ranjee who is one of their own ancestors, but they have no control over the ngargalula who inhabit the jimbin booroo.

Koorrabarbul is the name of a place in the pindana (bush) which is the booroo of a jandu ranjee (female spirit). The jandu ranjee is sulkier than the womba ranjee. There is no water in the pindana or be'ra'bul (inland) where the jandu ranjee sits down. She, however, belongs to the water (wo'la jaggoo) and is lammar nalma and babbagoonoo (white haired and light brown in colour.)

In some districts this jandu ranjee appears to be identical with the sheet lightning female ranjee. Sometimes she will bring too much rain, and when this happens, the jalngangooroo womba catches the jandu ranjee and takes the moon'deragool (rope with which she pulls the lightning to and fro) from her, and pulls the mirrooroo (magic) out of her ears, and puts tchooroo-goorong (snake magic) inside her to make a proper jandu of her. He then leads her to his booroo, catching her by the wrist, but she usually disappears from him before he reaches the camp, and he finds his hands empty. Occasionally two or three jalngangooroo catch the jandu ranjee and make her all right, and will bring her to the camp where their own jandu are. She stays with the women for a few days and then disappears and is not seen again until the sheet lightning comes. She is often heard making a crackling noise (called barr'bagoona) and then she flashes the lightning (wal'nge'ree) all round the sky.

"Barr'bagoona ying'in'ya wo'la immering," ("The noise says rain is finished,") is the remark the old men make when they hear the thunder receding in the distance, and see the sheet lightning hovering round the horizon. If a jalngangooroo catches hold of the wal'nge'ree and holds it down with the left hand, it will not hurt any one.

"Wal'neg'ree marra marrin" is an instantaneous flash showing where the jandu ranjee or womba ranjee have begun to play the lightning. The beega ranjee is the sole guardian of the jeerungoo mai (jamwood seed) of which mention has previously been made. These beega ranjee were generally jalngangooroo when they lived, but instead of going to Loomurn, they turned into ranjee, and came back to haunt certain places on their own ground. They are the "bogies" of the natives, and the cry of "Min'jala ranjee!" or "Look out! see ranjee!" is sufficient to scare a whole crowd of men, women and children.

As in the South, the Northern natives believe that there are three territories : Koorrwal, Kalboo and Jimbin; Koorrwal, where the natives went up on the kalleegooroo, and where they once could either stay or leave; Kalboo, the surface of the ground, where the present day natives live; and Jimbin, where the ngargalula and totems live. The Jimbin ngargalula become Kalboo womba and jandoo, but neither when they are jimbin or Kalboo can they see the Koorrwal womba, nor can they ever go Korrwal, since the kalleegooroo was burnt. There is no evidence that the thunder and lightning ranjee ever belonged to the Koorrwal womba (sky men).

The Fitzroy term for the ranjee of the lightning was said to be jamba.

Yoo'ja'noon'go is the spirit of a mirroeroo jandoo (woman possessed of magic), who comes out at night, looking like a jocarree with eyes like ne'lin (flame). In some districts the yoojanoongo is supposed to be able to shed her skin like a snake. Only jalngangoeroo can see these mirroeroo jandoo.

Kabboowalla, a cannibal evil spirit which comes from the boordungan (bush) eats everybody it can catch. Jalngangoeroo will sometimes have control of a kabboowalla and can put it inside a man. The kabboowalla tears at his vitals and eats all his intestines. Jingarragee were yammainga jalngangoeroo womba who could fly. Sometimes three or four of these will fly together. Certain trees which are meerijool (magic) belong to the jingarragee who can sometimes be seen in the branches. They may take the shape of one of their bird totems, as for instance, when a jalngangoeroo who is nimmanboeroo jalnga (flying fox totem) wants to go a long distance he may change his totem, leaving his body lying at his camp, and fly wherever he desires. They can also travel in their "astral bodies" so to speak.

When one of these men wanted to go to a distant part of the country, he retired to a meerijool place, and drawing something from his stomach which looked like a shining piece of shell, he placed this on the ground. Then he put a little lerumba (birds' down) on his forehead, nose and chin, and down the centre of his breast, a straight line from the top of his head to his stomach. On either side of this line he put some reerrga (charcoal). He then tied his lips back with string, exposing both teeth and gums. When all these preparations were completed, he took a sort of magic raft (called wooragee in the Boeburne district) out of his stomach, and sitting on this he rose into the air, and went wherever he desired.

(magic staff)

Sometimes the wooragoo was broken in descending, and if another jalngangooroo was near, a wooragoo was borrowed from him, payment being made in lanjee, karrboorna, mungoorl, yoon-gara, etc., (boomerangs, shields, spears, spearthrowers) for the wooragoo is very valuable. He returned on the borrowed wooragoo to the camp where he left his body, which he re-entered. If he broke the wooragoo, and there were no other jalngangooroo near, he stood where he fell, and having no water, and no food, he died, and as he died his body went bad. He then either became beega ranjee, ngarree, or he went to Loomurn.

Flying in dreams like a bird from the hills to the valleys is called "loc'ee ing'ala doombara ngan'ya."

Yarrijan was also the name of a yamminga jalngangooroo womba (now an evil spirit) who, when he wanted to punish someone belonging to another tribe obtained some ngarriban baaloo (bark of a certain tree) which he pounded and softened and placed over his feet in the form of a rough slipper. With these on his feet he went to the camp which contained his enemy. When he reached his victim, he "meera-meera-joonoo'd" him (half twisting his neck). As soon as the man waked and felt that he had been "meera'ed", he went to the man he thought had meera'ed him and made a motion with his spear as though he would spear him, but the yarrijan womba said, "Tho'a koolarra birrij wanjoo," (Shoo, you'll soon go westward.) Then the meera'ed man said, "I'll tell," but the yarrijan struck a dry tree with his yoon-gara (spearthrower) and the beeraloola (little northern bird) carried the noise to the meera'ed man's ears and deafened him so that he could not hear anything. When he came again to the camp to look for the man who meera'ed him, the yarrijan took some burndsa (sand) and threw it about him, so that the meera'ed man looked in another direction. When dying, the meera'ed one was asked who killed him, but the yarrijan put an invisible warrangujje (nosebone) through his tongue, so that he could not mention the name of his murderer.

Jilling-jilling was the name given to the spirit of a dead baby which went inside its mother and tried to kill her. When seen by jalngangooroo this spirit was said to be thin to attenuation, with claw-like fingers and sharp teeth. When it had succeeded in killing its mother they went Loomurnwards.

Some northern natives believed that the residents of Loomurn were spirits only, and that they remained always spirits, but the returned spirits which are all white, and human in form, suggests that some "white belief" prompted this idea. The Southern natives hold that the Koorannup people have bodies, although these are not their earthly bodies, and that they hunt, and have game and vegetable food as they had on their own ground.

Tchooroo, the mythical snake of the northern natives, was never a man, even in yamminga time when all other birds and beasts and reptiles were men. He had power to punish those who broke the food laws, and is said to have made the estuaries and inlets of the northern coast, and that is why the trees come only to the edge of the tchooroo tracks. The tchooroo lived in the sea, and when he cleared the kallungunjee (scrub) he went back koojangooroo (seacoast) again. In another district yamminga womba made the lanjee (boomerang) clear all the ground and they also made some creeks, by throwing the lanjee.

The legend of the carpet snake and the locust shows how womba were made to stay in the ground after they were dead :-

The Banningbooroo (large carpet snake) and the

Mool'guroorung ✓

The moolguroorung (locust) was a womba in yamminga time, and "came first." Every time it died it used to go down into its own booroo and get a new skin and come up again nice and new. By and by the banningbooroo came along - he was also a womba - and he saw the moolguroorung changing its skin and coming up again after it had gone into the ground. The moolguroorung always sang, "M-m-m-m," when he came up again.

When banningbooroo saw the moolguroorung come up he said, "You must not do that; when you go into the ground you must stay there and not come out again." Banningbooroo said this because he was jealous of the moolguroorung being the same as himself, and so he bit the moolguroorung in the middle, and now the moolguroorung is only a little fellow and when he goes into the ground he never can come up again. The tchooroo are the only people now who can come up again fresh and new and with a new skin. If the banningbooroo had not bitten the moolguroorung, womba would have been able to come up again after they went into the ground.

(There are four species of carpet snakes - banningbooroo, balleedee, goonda-goonda, and ngoomboo.)

The Kool'gooroo-kool'gooroo, Jindee-beerabeer and Tehooroo

(Pigeon, Wagtail and Snake)

In yammainga time there were two girls, Koolgooroo-koolgooroo and Jindee-beerabeer, who came from the north. They used to go out together to search for ne'al'burnoo (seed). Jindee-beerabeer found plenty mai (vegetable food) and gave a share to Koolgooroo-koolgooroo, but the latter was greedy and would not give any of her mai to her companion.

They both travelled with firesticks. One day, after Koolgooroo-koolgooroo had been eating all her own mai and some of her friend's as well, Jindee-beerabeer said to her, "You got your milgin (digging stick)?" "No," said Koolgooroo-koolgooroo, and she went to fetch it. While she was away, Jindee-beerabeer made a big tehoroo which stretched right across the track. When Koolgooroo-koolgooroo came back, Jindee-beerabeer said, "You come round this way," and she pointed to the head of the tehoroo. Koolgooroo-koolgooroo tried, but the tehoroo moved forward every time she tried to pass him. "Come this way," said Jindee-beerabeer, pointing to the tail, but the tehoroo moved backwards. Then Koolgooroo-koolgooroo tried to jump over the tehoroo, but he arched his back and prevented her, and when she tried to creep underneath him, he flattened himself on the ground and would not let her pass.

Then Jindee-beerabeer said to her, "I gave you a share of the mai I gathered and you never gave me any of yours. You stop there now and I'll stop here," and then they all turned into stone and you can see them now, one at each end of the tehoroo. Near the point beyond Broome the stone snake lies beside the water. The woman said, "You must always give one another mai, and not keep it for yourself," and that is why all jandoo now must divide their mai with each other.

The tchooroo is shown as punisher in the following legend :-

At Yardoogurra, a place south of Broome, there were a great many jandoo who used to go out by themselves and get wallee and mai and eat by themselves. This was wrong, and the tchooroo turned the jandoo into jiddeejoonoo (ants' nests), because he said that meat hunting was men's work, not women's, they should only get mai. All the ants' nests at Yardoogurra were once jandoo.

Ding'arra lives "where the sun comes from." He takes womba away and makes them jalngangooroo. He is a Baaneeab-buloo (eastern) womba, and on his booroo all the womba stand up when cooking their food. While the womba whom Dingarra takes away remain with him, they can also do as he does, stand up to cook their food, and also sleep while they stand.

The Beagle Bay natives believed that if they absorbed the breath of a dying man, his spirit or soul entered into them, and they thus became possessed of his personal prowess, as well as his spirit, in addition to their own.

Father White, a priest of the German Palatine Order at Beagle Bay, stated that, while tending a young man who had fallen from a tree and fatally injured himself, having occasion to leave the room where the dying man lay, was horrified on his return to see the young native clasped tightly in the arms of the most powerful of his relatives, who, holding him close to his breast, crushed the lingering spark of life that remained in him. After he had accomplished his purpose, he laid the corpse back on the bed, with a grunt of satisfaction. When remonstrated with for his cruelty, he told the priest that by his absorption of the native's soul, he was now in possession of an additional spirit, which would make him doubly powerful, and that he would henceforth be very successful in hunting, etc. In some instances, not one, but many natives have thrown themselves upon the dying man, each endeavouring

to absorb his last breath, which to them is associated with his spirit.

A falling or shooting star amongst the northern native is usually a mirrocoroo womba. "Bool'yool'yoo" is the name given to these stars, and "koolooloo" the noise is called which they make when they have hit the womba they are chasing. Sometimes they will hit a womba in the camp, and though he lies sleeping there, the boolyoolyoo has chased him, and by and by he gets sick and dies. When the boolyoolyoo has come down to the ground, he falls upon koombara (rock) and then the rock splits and makes the koolooloo noise. Some of these boolyoolyoo are jandoo and they will go to a camp and when they are near it, they go into the ground, and then come up again where the womba whom they want to kill is sitting cooking wallee. They put mirrocoroo into him, and by and by that womba dies. Sometimes a jalngangooroo in the camp will see and hear them, and will not only prevent them from putting mirrocoroo into the womba, but will put mirrocoroo into them and kill them.

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Many fish still retain the markings which adorned them when they were human. Gidden-gidden (parrot fish) was a womba in yamminga time, and used to paint himself with doogul (red) and goomberee (yellow). Loolooloo (whale) was also a womba and still retains the scars (moogurdal) which his brother-in-law had cut upon him. All fish with red colouring are called Lengo wallee (Lengo's fish).

The kangaroo was a womba in yamminga time, and showed the womba how to make jammunungur. He took the small bone out of his leg, sharpened it and pierced the boys' noses with it, and that is why all warrangujee (nose bones) are kangaroo leg bones. Then he tied up his arm, and the womba's arms, and showed them how to pierce these with the warrangujee, and bring blood for the jammunungur to drink. The woolgardain (whip snake) and banningbooroo (carpet snake) circumcised and subincised the yamminga womba.

When the womba changed into birds and animals, many of them "ate themselves". At some yamminga period the natives believe that the great transformation took place, some womba being changed into birds (beerajoonoo), some into animals (wallee - game or flesh food), some into stone (koombara), and some into ngarree, ranjee, wardaba, etc.

When the northern natives first saw white men, they reerrgaed (put charcoal) on their faces and waited on the beach for the ngarree, as they thought the visitors were, to approach them. The reerrga was put on to show the ngarree of their dead relatives, who they thought were returning to them, that they had not forgotten them.

A Kaimera man transmits the legends and beliefs received from his Boorong father to his Boorong son, that Boorong again transmitting them to his Kaimera offspring. Thus one set of legends depicting the yamminga days, and the prowess of yamminga ancestors is peculiar to the Kaimera-Boorong people (fathers and sons), while another set will pass from Banaka father to Paljeri son for ever. The renowned ancestors of each are Kaimera and Boorong or Banaka and Paljeri, according to the class of the narrator. A Banaka man does not repeat to his sons a legend of Kaimera or Boorong womba, his "heroes" being of his own or his son's class. A Banaka man has control over a Banaka beega ranjee on his own ground, and so on, but although he will have heard of Kaimera and Boorong yamminga people who performed great deeds, or inaugurated special laws, etc., he will generally mention only the deeds that his own male ancestors - who were Banaka or Paljeri - have performed.

The following legends of the days when birds were men were related by Boorong-Kaimera and Banaka-Paljeri respectively :-

Woolgardain and Koolerding (Banaka-Paljeri narrators)

Woolgardain was a whipsnake but had no poison in yamminga time. He belonged to the land side. Koolerding said to Woolgardain, "How far can you run? Can you run to that tree?" Woolgardain said, "Yes," and he ran to the tree and came back quickly. Then he said to Koolerding, "You run," but Koolerding was too heavy and could not run. Then Woolgardain said to him, "If you give me your poison I can kill and run too." "I will," said Koolerding, "if you give me your teeth." So he gave Woolgardain his poison in exchange for Woolgardain's teeth, and now Woolgardain has poison, but no teeth, and Koolerding has teeth but he cannot kill.

Kalbain and Winninee

(Kaimera and Boorong
narrators)

In yammainga time, a quarrel rose between the winninee (emu) and kalbain (pigeon). Winninee came from Baaneeabbuloo or Banneegup (east) and Kalbain came from koolarrabul (west).

Kalbain put a stingaree mung'ala (point or barb) on his spear, and Winninee obtained a stoneheaded (tchimbula) bamboo spear; he had also a yoongara (spearthrower) and a jarrongur lanjee (boomerang from jarrongur tree). Kalbain had no spearthrower, but he had a koorilee lanjee (fighting boomerang made from the koorilee tree). They fought with these weapons. Winninee tried to hit Kalbain with his jarrongur lanjee, but missed him. Kalbain threw his koorilee lanjee and cut off Winninee's arms, and when they changed into birds, Winninee could not fly because his arms had been cut off. Kalbain said to him, when he cut off his arms, "You must always run along the ground now, and you will be caught easily, while I can always fly away."

Tchallingmer and Karrangarra or Wanberr

(Told by Beejee, a Roeburne Banaka)

Tchallingmer (pelican) was a seacoast womba, and Wanberr (crane) was a Pindana womba. One day they went together to the river to catch some fish, and when Wanberr caught a big king fish he broke it in two, and put it aside and did not let Tchallingmer see it. By and by he put it in his net (jaggoora) and was going home with it when Tchallingmer called out to him, "What have you in your jaggoora?" "Only a little fish," said Wanberr, and he sat down and made a big fire where he camped. Tchallingmer camped on the sea side, where he also made a fire. Wanberr put his fish in the fire, and Tchallingmer said, "Let us make a nooloo (corroboree)."

Another little bird called Koonboorn or Jeeoo, which belongs to the mangroves, sang the song for the nooloo, and while he sang, the fish made a noise in the fire. Koongoorn said, "Koo," but Wanberr didn't answer. By and by they finished the nooloo and Tchallingmer said, "You must have a big fish. Leave your spear and let us fight with a firestick," and he picked up a firestick and threw it at Wanberr, and burned his legs, and that is why Wanberr's legs are always red. Wanberr threw his firestick at Tchallingmer and broke his thighs, and that is why Tchallingmer can't walk fast. Tchallingmer hit the koongoorn and broke his arm, and now the koongoorn cannot go into deep water; he must stay in shallow water always.

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The Story of the Kool'joowan

(A species of Northern wattlebird) (Boorong-Kainera)

Kooljoowan was once a womba and was kabboowalla. He made a large cave (nyeerrwa), and then he went to another camp and called all the womba, jandoo and jeeragurra (men, women and children) to him. It was rainy weather, and he said to them, "All you come inside my nyeerrwa."

They came and stood in a row outside the nyeerrwa, and he lighted a fire in front of them and he sang himself. Presently he said to them, "Now stand," and they stood, and then he said, "Now sit in a row." He had a mungoorl between his toes, and while they were all sitting, he speared them with his mungoorl and cooked and ate them.

He did this again and again, always during rain. Another time he put them all inside the nyeerrwa and made a fire outside and burned and ate them.

One day he came to a camp where some jalngangooroo were and they saw him coming, and said, "Here is kabboowalla coming." He came up to them and said, "I've got a nyeerrwa up there; come out of the rain." They all went up with him, and he accompanied them into the nyeerrwa. The jalngangooroo watched him, and when he was trying to go out and make the fires, they pulled him by the legs and put him into the fire, and then he changed into the kooljoowan and cried, "Kool'yee, kool'yee, kool'yee," as he flew away.

(The kool'joowan makes an arched enclosure having two entrances. It gathers the green seeds of the birrida-birrida tree and other bright objects, and plays with them during the day. It does not sleep in the nest but on the branch of a tree, using the nest as a playroom only.)

The little hawk (geerr-geerr) had put fire into jimmain and wilga baaloo (two species of trees), also reerr'wal, kool'-ingirrub (paperbark), kan'deeleeb (mangrove) and kal'gal, and womba can get the fire kallibur method (sawing) from all these trees.

Langoor (opossum) was a pindana womba, and he tried to make a fire woongalga method (upright method), but could not. He tried and tried all these trees, but failed to get fire from any. Then he tried the ngalleemungal, and by and by he got the woongalga fire. It is only the ngalleemungal tree that can make the woongalga fire.

Langoor ate himself, and he got his fur and used to put it in the stomachs of the other langoor, and afterwards he put it on a baggal (bark "bed"), mixed it with kajjoordoo (ashes), beat it with a burdong (stick), mixing it well until it was all white. Then he made with it won'dong'oo (forehead band), koondil (arm-band), minjil (pubic tassel) and jeerrjee (woman's "apron") etc. Langoor made all these "first time".

Jalboo (native cat) was jealous of Langoor, for Langoor had got bunderung (crackling fire), and he had only jaggal baaloo (no good, dry wood). Langoor hit Jalboo with the bunderung, and that is why Jalboo has white on him and has no bandal (fur), and can't make anything, no minjil nor jeerrjee, nor anything. If Jalboo had hit Langoor with a bunderung firestick, Langoor would also have had no bandal, but Jalboo picked up the jaggal baaloo by mistake and hit Langoor with it, and that made Langoor's bandal nice and white.

When Langoor hit Jalboo with the bunderung, he said to him, "You can't make anything and you can't sleep in the tree, you can't do anything." Only opossum fur is used in making certain objects used at initiation.

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The following bunderung or crackling fire song is sung to
stop an unusually heavy rainfall :-

Bunderunga baaloo baaloo,

Bundarunga koolee koolee.

Geerr-geerr and Jooga-jooga, or Kool'geeroo-

kool'geeroo

(Boorong-Kaimera)

Geerrgeerr (sparrowhawk) had two jooga-jooga jandoo (wives). One morning he left his jandoo in the camp, where they had some ne'al'burnoo (seed) to eat, telling them that he was going too far away to take them with him.

Geerrgeerr went yalmban (south), but did not go very far. By and by he came to a wide plain, and he stood in the middle of the plain and spread himself out, and made a number of geerr-geerr come from him, north, south, east and west, and he fought with these, which were himself all the time.

In the afternoon he came back to the jooga-jooga, all bleeding, lame and cut. When the jandoo saw him, they asked him where he had been, and he told them he had gone a long way, and had met brothers, brothers-in-law, uncles, fathers-in-law, and they had a great fight and that was how he got wounded.

Next day he went yalmban again, and came back bleeding and wounded. He did this for several days, and every day the jandoo asked him if they could come with him. "No," he always replied, "I go marraboeroo (far away country) and you would be too slow. I want to go quickly."

One day, after he had gone, Jooga-jooga said to each other, "Let us follow him and see where he goes." So they followed Geerrgeerr and found him fighting with himself, and they went up to him and said, "Yan'ga moo'gul mee'mar inj'?" (What do you want to fight with yourself for?) and then they rushed at him and said, "Wa'ow, wa'ow," and raised their milgin (digging sticks) to hit him, but he cried out, "Geerr-geerr, geerr-geerr," and went up into a tree, and he is a geerr-geerr now.

Jooga-jooga said, "If womba want to fight, let them send nilan or nimmerdee (messengers) and bring marow'era womba (fighting men) and fight properly and not fight amongst themselves. The "moral" of this legend is that members of a family group must not fight amongst themselves. If they are desirous of fighting, they must go outside their own family for their opponents.

Meerijal or Koonycoloo (man) was a man in yamminga time, and he said, "Ngaiinja," (I'm going). He was talloor (fully initiated man). The womba said to him, "You go with that boy?" and he said, "No," and then they said, "You go with gambil? jallooroo?" Meerijal said, "No." "You go with bal-ellee?" they asked him. "No," he said, "they might make me minjil" (pubic tassel, emblem of circumcision).

Then they said, "Joo ngan'ga le'an," (You say what you want), but Meerijal said nothing; he wanted to take a young girl away with him. The womba pointed to a big woman and said, "Do you want this one?" "No," he said, "she might look too much for bal'ngan'joonjoon (grubs). They pointed to a young girl and said "You like this one?" and Meerijal laughed and said, "Yes," and he took the girl away with him.

They travelled westward, and when the girl stretched out her arm a lot of girls came, and when she stretched her other arm a lot more came, and then she stretched her legs and brought a great many more girls, and Meerijal put doogul on his forehead, and now he has a light - kalgal - that won't burn you, but walga the sun has got a fire.

It is the sun's daughter who always comes up, for if the mother walga came up, all the womba would be burned, so walga's daughter always keeps her mother down, and comes up in her place.

The Sunday Island natives appear to have beliefs and legends somewhat similar to those of their western neighbours. Mr. Sydney Hadley, Manager of the Anglican Mission on the Island, contributes the following legend, which is a mixture of the ngargalula with other spirit beliefs. It differs, however, from the western ideas of the ngargalula, for amongst all the tribes on the Northern mainland where the ngargalula beliefs are current, these little spirit children are entirely harmless, incapable of injuring anyone, and only appearing to those who are jalngangooroo or who are to be their adopted fathers, and who have a ranjee.

"The two little islets," write Mr. Hadley, "known as the Twins, off Swan Point, are the abode of the ngargalul who are fascinating little fairies. There is a huge ragged or cavernous blowhole at Sunday Island, in which they live by day, but at night they come out and disport, and play and sing, as fairies should. They are very small and their movements sound like the wind amongst fallen leaves. This is the form in which babies exist before they are born. If the natives sleep there, these fairies hover round them, and whisper to each other and laugh and look at the sleeping natives, but never hurt them, but should a strange native sleep there, they would enter his body and paralyse him."

Mr. W.H.Bird, who was Resident Schoolmaster on Sunday Island for some two years, related the following legend of the mythical spirit cannibal, kabboowalla or serpent, known on the western mainland as the tchooroo, but amongst the Sunday Island natives as Kurrada-kurrada.

"Kurrada-kurrada is a terrible monster, that preys on men. When he catches a man, he makes a small incision in his abdomen, and draws out the entrails which he eats with great gusto. He then closes the wound and tells the man he will only live three days. The native invariably dies at the end of that time."

Mr. Bird also contributed the next legend, which is undoubtedly an outcome of questions that naturally led the native in the direction indicated by the questioner. Reference to the vocabulary of the Sunday Island natives shows that the term kallaloong, which Mr. Bird calls a deity, is compounded of kalla - past, and cong - future ("l" being inserted for the sake of euphony). This is in itself sufficient to denote the scope or drift of the interrogations.

"Kallaloong was an all-powerful Deity who could convey himself through space, who gave them their tribal laws, and also gave them the boomerang. After living amongst them for some time in the body, he eventually ascended to heaven from the top of a high rock. Kallaloong was evidently the Creator and Father of the tribe. He possessed supernatural powers. He could kill two dugong with one blow of a boomerang, which was a great feat, considering that the dugong at that time was a huge land animal.

"Kallaloong had two sons, who, just after being circumcised, committed a great sin, for while still ballel, (the period during which all flesh food is forbidden), they went out fishing, and having caught some big white fish, and being very hungry, they made a fire, and cooked and ate some, saying to themselves that their Father would not know. However, when they went back to camp, the wind began to rise in their stomachs and their Father noticed it at once, and accused them of having eaten fish.

"They did not deny it, and pleaded that they were very hungry, and could not resist the temptation. Kallaloong got very angry and told them that they had done a great wrong, and he would bring fire and burn them up.

"They were at that time at a small island called Chooloon. Kallaloong left this island immediately and crossed over to Sunday Island, leaving his sons, who were very frightened, behind.

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"Next day the two boys and those that were with them, saw a thunder storm approaching, but instead of rain, it contained fire. Kallaloong was behind it, sending it along, and as it came closer it became hotter and hotter. Some of the natives including the two sons, crossed over to another island, and as it still became hotter, they got under the banyan trees, and then bruised the bark and allowed the juice to drip over them. This saved them, for by this time the sea was too hot, and the caves were no protection. All those that remained behind at Chooloom perished, these being mostly women and children.

"The sons saved themselves under the banyan tree. Kallaloong now sent the fire away, as his anger was appeased, and he settled down amongst them once more.

"Now Kallaloong was the sole possessor of the boomerang, and Nyeen'ya, his father-in-law, asked him for it. Kallaloong promised to give it to him time after time, but kept putting him off until he wearied of it. So one day when Kallaloong was out fishing, Nyeenya went to his camp and stole the boomerang.

"In the joy of possession he threw it into the air, but it never came down.

"Soon after this, Kallaloong showed them the wonders of the boomerang by throwing it up at eventide, when it never came down until next morning. He then presented it to them, and before long he left them for another sphere.

"He made three attempts to depart, each time ascending precipitous rocks, and the third time he went to a rocky islet close to the shore, and then, throwing up his dog first, he ascended into space, and disappeared from the sight of his people."

Mr. Bird stated that "departed spirits were called ngyries (ngai'ree) who apparently walked about the earth, as the natives were afraid of them. Their ultimate abode was in either the sun or the moon, but a murdered native went half to the sun and half to the moon."

W.H. Bird's information, Sunday Island

BELIEFS. Padalool

The tribes inhabiting those islands on the eastern side of the Sound were hostile and our natives were always in dread of them. Padalool was a woman who was loved by all the rest of our tribe and one day, while she and some other women were fishing on the eastern side of the island they saw several catamarans approaching from across the Sound. There were a number of men on the catamaran, and were all painted white with pipeclay. As they came closer, all the women ran away to the camp except Padalool who stopped behind and made friends with the strange natives. As soon as this was done, all the Sunday Island natives came up and had some merry-making and corroborees for two days, but the strangers cast longing eyes on Padalool and decided to abduct her. This they did on the dawn of the third day. They dragged her to their catamarans while Padalool cried for her father to come and help her. As the tide was out the catamarans were high and dry and so as help was approaching the strange natives all dived into the water, taking Padalool with them. They dived a very great distance but when they came up to breathe their hands were changed into flippers. They dived again and on their next appearance their legs and feet had given place to a tail, and after the next dive the head had changed its form and they became complete dugongs.

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Lerraway

This is the children's bogie man and is occasionally impersonated by a woman. Two or three women will go off quietly and dress one of their number with grass. The body, limbs and head are completely swathed in long grass, making a fearful looking figure. She then enters the camp, generally just about sundown and armed with spears and boomerangs, stalks round the camp, frightening all the children. Of course none but the youngest of the children are in the least bit frightened and the elder ones laugh at the antics of the lerraway and the screams of the infants.

Liardoo is a sensual old monster that lives in the swamps. He is generally painted white and is the terror of all young maidens.

Withcraft

Some little time ago a native got wounded badly in a fight. He had received a nasty gash over the eye with a boomerang. That evening I heard them sing a weird incantation over him, and next day inquired the reason. They told me it was done with the object of preventing the wound from becoming bad. They then volunteered the information that that was another kind of song altogether, that they could kill a man with it. If they wished to injure a man in another tribe the men would go out from the camp and dig a hole in the sand. The men would then sit around and begin this chant, and the man they wished to injure would develop a raging fever, which if he was unaware of the magic being worked against him would kill him within twenty four hours. If however he suspected magic, he would call for water and have it continually poured over him. This could always ward off the magic. Also, if the weather was damp or rain came on, the magic would not work.

These then are the religious beliefs of those of the Western aborigines amongst whom investigation was made, their statements being given, as far as possible, in their own simple language without any embellishment.

It is seen that they have no good spirits, yet they have a moral code whose tenets they obey through fear of magical consequences from the sorcerers of their own tribe. Their whole lives are hedged round with restrictions upheld through their superstitious fear of the anger of these sorcerers, and of the certain punishment that will follow a breach of any native law.

By some writers, the Initiation ceremonies of the Northern and Central (Western) natives might be termed religious, although there is no deity connected with them. The lengthy and elaborate rites in connection with the initiation of the young, have obviously sacred tendency, and the precepts and laws expounded to him during this period take deep root in his being. But the laws have not the sanction of any individual "All-Father" beyond the yammainga ancestors of the young man, and these it had been shown are many. No "God" presides over the ceremonies, other than the elders of his own and other families, all of whom will be more or less sorcerers. He is told by these which laws came from human yammainga ancestors, and which were inaugurated by yammainga animals, but there is no half-beast, half-human ancestor amongst the Western people, as far as inquiries have extended. Men were men, or they were birds, or animals, or birds and animals were men, as the case might be, but if they were animals, they were altogether animals; the mythical semi-human ancestors of the Central Australian tribes, are unknown to the Western people. The kalleegooroo might be said to be elevated to the dignity of a God as the name is kept absolutely sacred and secret from women and children, and the dances round the wooden figures of Mamma, together with the sacred closing ceremony, might be defined as religious ceremonies, but that the

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jalgoo or wanna wa ceremony in which these figures play a prominent part, is entirely phallic in its essentials. No definition of their beliefs has been attempted.

Contradictory as some of these appear to be, and vague as many of them are, they represent the entire system of belief of the natives of those districts where personal and detailed inquiries were rendered possible.

The myths and legends connected with these beliefs and the names and attributes of the various "spirit beings" have been as accurately interpreted as the English language will allow.

The most important and general belief amongst them is the existence, in all deep pools and in hills, valleys, etc., of the huge mythical snake, variously described by the different tribes, some giving it "wings and feathers", others a hairy mane, and so on.

It exacts tribute, compels propitiatory services on pain of sickness and death, and is generally evilly disposed except towards those who are its human totem kin. It is held in fear and awe by all and in this respect is as much a deity as any of the supernatural beings of other peoples.

Images of snakes (as well as other objects) outlined on rock surfaces in the vicinity of pools and waterholes, may be found in most parts of the Northwest, and the Kimberley district. These may be outlined by chipping, or painted with charcoal or red ochre, or some local pigment, but wherever the images are limned, that place is sacred.

In many parts of the Kimberley these "sacred" spots are rendered doubly so by being used as the repositories for the bones of those of the dead who receive burial.

The next important belief amongst them is the survival of the spirit after death, and the existence of a "home" beyond the sea for the spirits of dead natives. The latter belief may probably be confined to the native tribes living within a certain distance of the coast, but I have found it existing amongst most of the tribes visited.

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The belief that birds, etc., were human, and that humans were once birds, etc., is also general, and legends of enmity and friendship between birds, beasts, etc., are current throughout the known portion of the State.

The eaglehawk is credited with being the creator of the Southern natives, as well as the founder of some of their important laws, but he is despised rather than deified.

As will have been seen, many of their myths are aetiological, or explanatory of certain peculiarities in birds and beasts, or in their own lives.

The ceremonies in connection with the burial of their dead have for their object the rendering of the spirits powerless to inflict injury upon them, when such spirit comes out from the grave.

The thumb and forefinger of the Southern native holds the spear when about to propel it from the spearthrower, the latter being caught and held in the palm of the hand by the three remaining fingers. On the death of a Southern native, his thumb and forefinger nails are burnt off, and as if this were not sufficient to prevent him from using his spear, the forefinger and thumb are tied together with fibre or hair string, only the fingers of the right hands being thus treated.

There may also be a sacred or religious side to the totemism of the Western natives, particularly when it is remembered that the death of a totem animal involves the death of its human totem kin, as in the case of the porpoises which were found dead on the beach in the Broome district, just before the death of the porpoise totem man, and of the belief amongst the Southern natives that the death of a lizard, etc., was followed by the death of a lizard totem man.

The statement of Bail'berin, the Southern Cross native, that his dream of the emus walking towards him and then tumbling down before they reached him, meant the death of a totem man in his own camp, was verified by the death of the man Koolong, a ngalboo bit-tangal (emu totem) man, shortly after Bailberin's dream.