

IX 1.

NATIVE ART

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## NATIVE ART

The art of painting on rocks and in caves would appear to have been brought into Western Australia simultaneously with the customs of circumcision and subincision; as, with very few exceptions, paintings, drawings, and chippings in outline and relief, in caves, and on cliff faces, rock shelters, and trees, are only found amongst the tribes practising these customs.

The specimens of native art which have been discovered by Grey, Stokes, Brockman, Bradshaw and Stockdale in the Kimberley area, and by Canning in the central area, are greatly superior to the ordinary aboriginal level of art, and show that the natives possess a certain artistic taste, however crude their attempts at reproduction may be. As their decorations, personal and otherwise, are made to please the eye, so their cave and wall paintings have also a certain definite object, which may be the inspiring of pleasure or fear in the beholder, fear being undoubtedly a chief factor in the production of cave paintings and other drawings. Or it may be that these attempts at portrayal are the last lingering traces of a one time occult belief held by the earlier migrants in some primal supernatural beings. However that may be, the present day natives can give no coherent account of the origin or use of the cave and other paintings scattered throughout the Kimberley and central areas. To the ordinary native they are simply forbidden places, which it would mean death to him to enter. What explanation, if any, is given to the young initiated man who sees them for the first time, cannot be ascertained as far as present inquiry has extended, or whether they even form part of his initiation, or are merely the secret places of the sorcerers of his tribe. They are equally a mystery to the average native as they are at the present time to the inquiring student. The legends which have been collected from the West Kimberley natives seem to have some connection with these abodes of mystery; they are certainly the most consecutive of all the chaotic bundles of ideas which each separate sorcerer possesses as to the beliefs

connected with the cave drawings of his district.

Native art is variously expressed : by mural paintings, rock carvings or chippings, tree "etching", various designs on weapons, implements, fur skin cloaks, and on the human body; therefore it cannot be said that the aborigines are strangers to the fine arts, for all over the State the artistic idea finds expression in some form or other, either in the adornment of their weapons, in personal decoration, or in mural painting, and whether the drawing or painting is on stone, wood, or on the person, an essential artistic faculty is shown.

It is in the drawings and paintings found in the Kimberley district that the highest degree of artistic skill has been shown, and it is almost certain that these paintings have been produced by one and the same people, and that these people were comparatively late arrivals. The suggestion that the drawings, etc., are of Malayan or Sumatran origin has already been mentioned (Chap. 1), and since they are only found along the line or road which such a migration - landing on the Northern Kimberley coast - would take, the rites of circumcision and subincision, which follow almost exactly the same route, are additional evidence that both drawings and rites have been introduced by the same people. Notwithstanding that they were a comparatively small and isolated group of migrants who mingled with the aborigines already in possession of the northern latitudes, they were yet strong enough to superimpose their new customs upon almost the whole of Western Australian portion of the continent.

The similarity of the drawings is in itself sufficient to indicate the homogeneity of the artists, the resemblance between the snake drawings of the Northern Kimberleys, and the recent discoveries by Canning in the central area (about lat. 25°) being too minute to be merely coincidental.

The designs found by Bradshaw differ somewhat from those discoveries by Grey and Brockman, but a certain resemblance in the "alphabetical characters" attached to Bradshaw's drawings shows them to possess similar features, and Canning's reproduction of the snake drawings found at Trig Hill, 280 miles

N.E. of Wiluna, are identical with some of those which Brockman came upon in the neighbourhood of Bachsten Creek, North Kimberley.

Brockman's figures appear to be clothed, all in a similar style of garment, and with what appears to be a fringed necklace with pendant just below the throat. None of the paintings have mouths, and all have a sort of halo or "glory" round the head. In these respects they agree with Grey's figures found on the Glenelg. The colours used were red, yellow, black and white, the black being charcoal, and the other colours argillaceous earth. Dr. House, the naturalist of the Brockman Expedition, stated that the drawings were finished with great care and attention to detail, and appeared to be generally executed in places where they would not be injured by the weather.

In the more elaborate drawings the colours appeared to have been simply mixed with water, as they could be smudged by rubbing, but in one or two places on the Glenelg River, Dr. House found smaller drawings and marks in red which were made with some pigment, and were not affected by the wet. There are however some species of red ochre which I find will not rub off when moistened.

In some of the drawings, snakes appear to be devouring human beings, and in one drawing, eggs are shown inside the snake. Dr. House is of opinion that from the fact of the figures being clothed, the artists had evidently either seen white men, possibly shipwrecked mariners, or Malays, whom they endeavoured to reproduce; or that the drawings were copied from some which were originally done by white men, and the result being pleasing to the natives, the art was handed on.

Their strict adherence to one design shows either a lack of originality or that they attached great importance to that particular figure. Some of the drawings have eyes only, others eyes and nose, but in all of them the halo is observable.

Turtles, fishtailed animals with ears, what appears to be grubs, and some mythical animals are represented in some of the drawings. In one drawing at Bachsten Creek, many imprints of hands and feet are depicted, the feet being nearest the ground. A dotted snake is on the left of this drawing. All the hand

imprints appear to be black or red on a white ground, the method of transferring the hand being by first daubing the surface of the rock with pipeclay, then dipping the hand in a moistened solution of charcoal or red ochre and pressing it on the whitened portion of rock. All the hands point upward, being thus most easily impressed; the feet also point upwards.

Single paintings of figures on rocks and basaltic slabs have also been found in Bushstan Creek.

Snakes are drawn perpendicularly or horizontally, and are decorated with dots or transverse lines, and have their fangs protruding. In one drawing, several smaller snakes or grubs appear to be attached to a larger reptile with long pointed ears, the head and fang being of pipeclay, the rest of the figure being red on a dark ground. In the human face depicted in this drawing the "rays" which are shown in Grey's figure are observable, also the dotted lines in the inner hand. In the painting on the basaltic rock found on the Brysdale River, the figure not only appears to be clothed but to have some sort of footgear.

Many of the rock shelters and caves where these paintings were found were used as receptacles for the bones of the dead who had probably received tree burial previously.

Of Grey's figures, the two most important are, the upper part of a nude figure, and a full length clothed figure, both discovered on the Glenelg River in Long.  $125^{\circ} 9' E$ , lat.  $15^{\circ} 57\frac{1}{2}' S$ .

The figures are thus described by Grey (Grey's Journal, Vol I, p. 201, et seq.): "On looking over some bushes at the sandstone rocks which were above us, I suddenly saw from one of them a most extraordinary large figure peering down upon me. Upon examination, this proved to be a drawing at the entrance to a cave, which, on entering, I found to contain, besides, many remarkable paintings. The cave appeared to be a natural hollow in the sandstone rocks; its floor was elevated about five feet from the ground . . . Its height was rather more than eight feet, the roof being formed by a solid slab of sandstone, about nine feet thick, and which rapidly

inclined towards the back of the cave which was there not more than five feet high. On this sloping roof the principal figure, which I have just alluded to, was drawn; in order to produce the greater effect, the rock about it was painted black, and the figure itself coloured with the most vivid red and white. It thus appeared to stand out from the rock . . . It would be impossible to convey in words an adequate idea of the uncouth and savage figure. . . The dimensions of the figure were :-

Length of head and face 2 feet

Width of face 17 inches

Length from bottom of face to navel 2 feet 6 inches

Its head was encircled by bright red rays, something like the rays which one sees proceeding from the sun, when depicted on the signboard of a public house; inside of this came a broad strip of very brilliant red, which was coped by lines of white, but both inside and outside of this red space, were narrow strips of a still deeper red, intended probably to mark its boundaries; the face was painted vividly white, and the eyes black, being however surrounded by red and yellow lines; the body, hands and arms were outlined in red - the body being curiously painted with red stripes and bars."

In another sandstone cave in the cliffs near lat.  $15^{\circ}56'E$ . Long.  $125^{\circ}8'S$ ., Grey found several paintings of a very curious character. "The cave was twenty feet deep, and at the entrance seven feet high, and about forty feet wide . . . the floor gradually approached the roof in the direction of the bottom of the cavern, and its width also contracted, so that at the extremity it was not broader than the slab of rock which formed a natural seat. The principal painting in it was the figure of a man, tenfeet six inches in length, clothed from the chin downwards in a red garment, which reached to the wrists and ankles; beyond this red dress the feet and hands protruded, and were badly executed. The face and head of the figure were enveloped in a succession of circular bandages or rollers, or what appeared to be painted to represent such. These were coloured red, yellow, and white, and the eyes were the only features represented on the face. Upon the highest bandage or roller, a

series of lines were painted in red, but although so regularly done as to indicate that they have some meaning, it was impossible to tell whether they were intended to depict written characters, or some ornament for the head. This figure was so drawn on the roof that its feet were just in front of the natural seat, while its head and face looked directly down on any one who stood in the entrance of the cave, but it was totally invisible from the outside. The painting . . . had the appearance of being much more defaced and ancient than any others we had seen. There were two other paintings . . . carefully executed, and yet with no apparent design in them; unless they were intended to represent some fabulous species of turtle. One of the party walked straight up <sup>to</sup> the cavern, gradually ascending the steps until he reached the slab at the end, . . . and seated himself; to his own and our surprise, his bare head just touched the roof of the cave, and on examining this part of it we found it fairly polished, and very greasy, from all appearance caused by the constant rubbing against it of a person while seated on the rock. This . . . led us to conjecture that the cave was frequented by some wise man or native doctor, who was resorted to by the inhabitants in cases of disease or witchcraft."

These are the principal paintings which Grey discovered. In some others which he saw there were drawings of fish, one of them being four feet in length, but the most important were the figure paintings. The colours employed in these paintings, Grey states, were red, blue, yellow, black and white.

With regard to the clothed figure, the Rev. J. Mathew identifies the characters on the head bandage or halo, as Sumatran, and interprets the lettering as forming the word Daibaitah - the name given to one of the Sumatran deities (Eaglehawk and Crow, 130 et seq.)



Of Bradshaw's discoveries in the neighbourhood of Prince Regent River, one group contained five human figures painted in some brown pigment, a snake and a kangaroo in red and some written characters similar to those found on Grey's clothed figure, together with two other drawings of objects which might be intended as ornaments. One of these consisted of four concentric circles with an elongated disc in the centre and one at each end of the outer circle. The other ornament was an elliptical shaped band with a small rounded disc at either end of the ellipse. Four long spikes projected from the upper part of the band, five shorter ones branching from rounded end. An oval disc was placed inside the band and close to the five smaller spikes. The ornaments and written characters on this drawing were coloured red.

The human figures in this drawing are somewhat different from those found by Grey and others. They all appear to have a head covering of some kind, or the headdress is an exaggerated representation of the manner of wearing the hair at certain stages of initiation amongst the Kimberley people.

The figures are rather Jewish in appearance, the resemblance being enhanced by the head coverings of one of them which partly resembled a fez such as is worn by some eastern Jews. Three of the figures have neckbands of yellow pigment and one of them wears a drooping girdle with tassels, also armlets, from which tassels depend. The legs, from the knees down, trail off into formless points. The form of the snake appears to have been at first drawn and the four figures afterwards painted on its surface. The fifth figure is in a line with the kangaroo, none of whose feet are drawn. The profiles of all the figures are aquiline.

In another group sketched by Bradshaw there is a painting in red of a crocodile, the tail and feet being absent. On this are two human figures both drawn in profile and showing pronounced aquiline features. The hair of both is arranged differently; tassels depend from the head of one of the figures which has also armlets; the lower extremities of these figures have not been drawn.

Two other groups might be said to contain some evidence of symbolism. One is that of a quasi-human form coloured red, from the head of which nine detached yellow spikes or "rays" project. The arms, merely stumps, are outstretched, and from the right arm some tassels are suspended. Underneath the left arm is another projection which terminates in the representation of a skull from the lower end of which tassels depend. The rounded lower part of the body appears to rest on a snake, whose head and neck extend on the left side underneath the skull. Tassels are also suspended from the neck of the snake.

In front of the red figure is a human form with narrow girdled waist, from which tassels hang down, also with leg bands and tassels. Pendants or tassels hang from two round discs at either side of the head, probably representing ear rings. The headdress is similar to those of the other figures but appears to rest on a sort of ball placed on top of the head. Three of the spikes or rays are attached to the headdress. This inner figure is painted brown.

The next painting is apparently meant to be a representation of the sun with projecting rays. Three concentric circles, with a round disc in the inner ring, form a sort of head which is attached to the convex side of two endless bands, bent to form arms. From the concave side of the band downwards there are three similar bands the sharp curve of these almost meeting the curved bands which form the arms. These compose the "body" of the sun-figure. Eleven detached rays encircle the head. Drawn across the sun figure are four incomplete human figures similar to those in the other groups. The colours in Bradshaw's paintings are red, yellow, black, brown, white and pale blue. The Rev. J. Matthew attributes a Hindu-Sumatran origin to these groups, or rather a fragmentary Hindu mythology which filtered through Sumatra (Eaglehawk and Crow, 134 et seq.)

H. Stockdale discovered on the McLeod River several paintings of animals, etc. "The river runs between immense cliffs from two hundred to three hundred feet high and almost perpendicular, on the largesmooth slabs of which were a number of native drawings occupying a space of fully twenty yards, and consisting of kangaroos, platypus, also a figure resembling a monkey, blackfellows dancing the corroboree, the bust of a native woman and many others, besides an excellent lifesize drawing representing an emu feeding. The bird was true to nature and well done; the whole of the drawings were filled in and shaded and showed much artistic taste, the mouths of the faces alone being badly represented." Mr. Stockdale also found, about 100 miles west of Cambridge Gulf, a large cave of native drawings which he considered were "more wonderful than Grey's and thirty or forty times more numerous."

It might be said that the artistic faculty is but dormant in most of the Northern aborigines living in the circumscribed areas, for whether in their carving of wood or stone implement or their paintings and drawings in caves and on rock faces, they show an attention to detail and a keen power of observation which would not be amiss in the more modern expressions of art. The designs on Depuch Island and on the rock faces and surfaces at Port Hedland, Hillside and other districts are entirely artistic productions to which no magic is attached. The present day natives are continually adding to these chippings and on my visit to both the last named districts I saw several unfinished shippings and met the artists who were executing them. Women frequently traverse the locality where most of these artistic productions are to be found. Even the hand and foot impressions found on these open spaces are not considered magic.

There are expert artists and carvers in wood and stone amongst the northern men, as there are superior artists in the civilised world. Often whole families or local tribes will vie with each other in the excellence of their work on shield, boomerang, or stone spearhead, a desire to excel in some speciality being evidently inherent in them. Their adaptation of pieces of glass bottles, telegraph insulators into spearheads, shows that they were capable of reasoning by analogy, and recognised the resemblance between glass, porcelain, etc., and their own flint flakes. Their manipulation of iron hooping, old horseshoes, etc. into knives and other implements is an instance of their ingenuity in applying foreign substances to their own limited uses.

The rock drawings of fish, animals, etc., found in many of the northern coastal districts, are amongst the best of their kind yet discovered; the regularity of the grooved patterns adapted to the various weapons; the wonderful utilisation of a piece of rough flint, quartz, glass bottle or insulator into the finely serrated spearheads, whose points do not measure the twentieth of an inch; the art which can convert the distorted woods of the sunbaked northern regions into boomerang, club, shield or spearthrower, all these demonstrate an intelligence

that the aborigine has not hitherto been credited with, but that he most certainly possesses. His eye takes in form and colour and he reproduces these with the scantiest of materials. He has no perspective but he brings accuracy in its stead. The illustration of the carved message stick, made and ornamented by an elderly Gascoyne district native, is one of the best examples of their fineness of touch and artistic ability. The extreme regularity of many of the Murchison groovings on shields and other weapons, exhibit their capacity for correct linear design, and in the more northern districts, the drawings and paintings of Billingee the Jajjala booroo (Broome district) artist exhibit a degree of native excellence which, had he been the product of civilised parentage, would certainly have made for an artistic career. Billingee might possibly be the direct descendant of the primitive artist who left specimens of his skill in the caves and rock shelters of the North Kimberley district. His human figures are somewhat reminiscent of Egyptian or Assyrian sculptures, particularly in the entire absence of perspective, in the shape of the head and in the arrangement of the hair. The artist was the best shield, boomerang, larra and warndal (scooped vessel) maker of his tribe. I watched him making his native weapons and chipping designs of animals, etc., on rock faces and I sat beside him while he made and finished a glass spearhead with the femur bone of a kangaroo. His fineness of touch in this most delicate task and the absolute precision which directed each stroke so that the evenness of the serrature should not be impaired, was exquisite in its way and showed him to be the possessor of the genuine artistic faculty. As he was familiar with all the markings, yamminga, "familiar," totem, etc., of his people, together with the ornaments worn by the boys at various stages of their initiation, I obtained a drawing book and a box of crayons and asked Billingee to draw therein his weapons, implements, ornaments and any other object he was in the habit of drawing, chipping or making. The octopus and turtle alone stamp Billingee as one of the first aboriginal artists of the Australian continent. He never drew or painted a female figure but he drew the ornaments and decorations worn by

males and females during all periods of their lives.

It will be noticed that Billinge's human figures wear the girdle and the arm and knee bands which are such a feature of Bradshaw's drawings, but there are no tassels. The chignon on the various figures also somewhat resembles the "hanging head dress" of the Regent River sketches.

The native colours used at the present day in the Broome, Beagle Bay and other parts of West Kimberley are as follows :-

<u>Karrmul</u>	White pipeclay
<u>Doogul</u>	Red ochre
<u>Goomberee</u>	Yellow soft stone or clay
<u>Babbagoona</u>	Burnt siena, a species of brown clay or stone
<u>Jarrin</u>	Green (I consider this doubtful, as the native name so closely resembles the English, and I saw no "green" stone or clay in any of the native camps in the Kimberley.)
<u>Nyimber</u>	Black, charcoal or soft stone
<u>Kaijoordoo</u>	Greyish-white lime or ashes
<u>Jabbula</u>	Soft grey mud, often worn as an entire body covering when on missions of vengeance.

These are the only native colours as far as is known; the Broome district natives stated that they did not use blue, for which they have no native name, nor any other colour except those mentioned.

Cornally, informant

Notebook 3b, P. 30

(Gascoyne district)

COLOURS

(Everything painted with these is Too-arree)  
 Yellow - obtained from a stone usually found in river beds and ground up.

Red - obtained from a soft stone pounded up.

White - pipeclay, chalk or kaolin.

Black - charcoal or sandalwood nut.

Billinge's drawings show other tints, but that is due to his having been supplied with a box of many coloured crayons, and using these indiscriminately to satisfy his taste for bright colours. The native has a distinctive name for everything he uses and were any other colours in use amongst the Kimberley men than those named, the native equivalent for such would have been supplied. The Kimberley weapons have all the proper markings painted upon their surfaces, and Billinge has not only drawn his country's weapons, but has also shown his imitative powers in reproducing the groovings and markings on various Southern shields, etc. which had been shown to him.

The jooarree karrboorna - shield with the spirit of the dead man drawn upon it, is specially interesting, since it is the first of its kind that has ever been published.

All weapons are more elaborately grooved and marked in the West Kimberley coastal districts than in the more northern and eastern Kimberleys, the patterns being varied, the herring bone, lozenge and other markings being common.

Sorcerers who have snake familiars will depict these on their larras, and the footprints of a dog familiar, etc., will be marked on the owner's weapon. These are purely marginal designs.

That family and personal, as well as totem, "familiar" and ancestral or "yamminga" markings are common in the Northern districts, Billinge's marks on the larras, his own and some of his relatives' markings, bear witness.

A Jajjalaboocoo womba's (Broome district man's) eenambil'nga (drawings or markings) are as follows :- The creek, on both sides of which the boocoo is, is represented by a zigzag line running down the centre of the larra, and on either side of the creek, at one end of the larra are two round discs, or concentric circles, each representing Jajjala and Cooralagocloc, the two principal camping places on the run. A larra having such markings, when seen by a Beagle Bay or Derby man, is instantly identi-

fied, the examiner remarking, "Jajjala booroo eenambil'nga," (Jajjala wountry drawing). Forging these family markings was called mung'oolman in West Kimberley. Of other specially marked larras from the West Kimberley coastal district, the following meanings have been supplied by the Broome district natives :-

No. 1 A larra with jarrar markings, jarrar banmungo being the name given to certain species of shellfish or mudfish. The outer or extreme edge is the booroo is the ground; the inner vandyked edging represents the joolbarda (beach); the four larger circles are the jarrar, the smaller rings representing their kanjee (bones). The lines between the jarrar show that each one has its own booroo and does not wander far away from it. This larra belongs to a coast native, but his own totem need not necessarily be the jarrar; it may be his father's, if his father is jalngangooroo (sorcerer) or "man of many totems." It will certainly be one of the totems of the family to which the maker of the weapon belongs.

No. 2 A shield, bearing the tracks of wammarain banmungo (another species of shellfish) in the soft mud of the creeks and inlets. The concentric circles are the marks which the wammarain makes as it comes up out of its booroo, the zigzag lines are its tracks to and from its booroo, the vandyked edging is the joolbarda, the diagonal lines represent the river or water separating each wammarain's booroo. The outer edge is the maker's booroo.

No. 3 A larra with jilbee banmungo markings. The central lines and dots are the tracks of the jilbee going to its ee'burnda (hole) which is the circle near one end of the larra. Jimbin ee'gurda koombara (its home under the rocks) is the term applied to the circle. The booroo (ground) and joolbarda are well marked in this specimen.

No. 4 A mirrooroo kalleegooroo (magic bullroarer), having the woolgardain (whipsnake) "familiar" of its owner - a jalngangooroo - grooved and painted on it. Walmarinbul made the woolgardain kalleegooroo and through it he can send evil magic to any offending tribe or person. He is supposed to be able to send the real (spirit) woolgardain on its errand of vengeance by pinching



its tail. This kalleegooroo will be shown to the jammunungur in any ceremonies in which Walmarinbul takes part.

No. 5 A woorumba manowra, one of the slabs representing the turtles in the manowra nooloo (dance). The "male" manowra is longer and slighter than the "female" manowra. The groovings of this implement are diamond shaped. Doogul and loorumba (red ochre and birds' down) are marked in alternate lines in the groovings. The weapon may be from six to eight feet in length, the male weapon being two or three feet longer.

No. 6 shows the two sides of a buljarda karrboorna (hard wood shield). This shield is not generally used in warfare, being too liable to split. It differs from ordinary karrboorna in having the markings on the reverse side, the obverse having only longitudinal groovings. Yamminga or ancestral markings are worked on the reverse side, which however, the natives always call the noong'oo or "stomach" of the shield, what we call the face or front of the shield being to them the ne'al'gun or back of the weapon.

No. 7 A larra with snake tracks, mirrooroo, and not to be seen by women. It may be worn by larrabarree jammunungur at Wallungarree or Wallawallong ceremonies, being lent to them by its owner and maker, who will stand in the relation of kogga or eebala (mother's brother or father) to them.

Tracks of various fish, animals, etc., were reproduced on the rocks or cave walls along the Broome coast, the various marks specifying the fish. For instance, a round O showed the mark the jarrow'el (mudfish) made on the mud surface. Coils represented the ngalara (another species of fish), strokes were the marks denoting the joorobarrajin (a species of mullet), the strokes being perpendicular and generally in rows of three, one above the other.

A tail shaped diamond chipping or painting represented the jinnabee (stingray) sleeping.

The following marks, chipped on the wall of a cave in the Broome district represented a jirovel, some ngaiara drinking all round it, and a young jirovel inside it :- The larger jirovel was denoted by a circle with two ends; nine small coils round the circle, two of them being between the ends (the tail of the jirovel), were the ngaiara drinking; and the small circle in the centre of the larger one was the young jirovel.

A human figure was sometimes painted full length on the rock faces near Broome in the attitude of spearing fish. The arms were outstretched and the legs bent outward at the knees - a characteristic of most of the West Kimberley drawings. The spear was held in the right hand, a binjin or wooden vessel hanging from the left arm, into which the fish when speared by the native are thrown. The face had the eyes only painted, the hair being drawn partly upwards from the forehead. All rock drawings or paintings were called koombara mabbing'un eenam - bil'nga (rock drawings).

Three reasons for the non-insertion of the mouth in the painted figures have been given by Broome district natives :-

- (1) The mouth must not be drawn, otherwise the figure might utter some evil incantation which the jalnga-ngoeroo could not counteract.
- (2) The figure, being a spirit, has no need of a mouth, the voice of spirits being supposed to issue from the nimbarrama (hair under the armpits or on the pubes).
- (3) The figure had no breath and therefore could not speak and hence did not want a mouth.

The absence of the mouth is also noticed in the drawings of Ancient America. Catlin (Travels amongst the North Americans) draws attention to the similarity between the cave drawings and paintings found in W.A. and those of the North Americans, and considers that in point of skill and ingenuity no difference is observable between the two races in their attempts to portray human figures, birds, reptiles, or fishes.

The web-shaped face mask, shown in one of Billinge's drawings, is evidently the modern representation of the "halo" which is found on most of the Kimberley drawings and its connection with the rites of circumcision and subincision is shown by its universal use at these ceremonies. It has been found in the Eucla and Balladonia districts of the South, on the Eastern Goldfields, in the Murchison, Gascoyne and inland districts of the Nor'West and throughout the whole of the Kimberley area. Whether a similar connection can be traced to the South American haloes lies with the future to determine. The haloed head dress of the West, coupled with the Northern cave paintings, and the obvious sanctity in which they are held - no women, children or uninitiated men being allowed to enter any caves which contain drawings - might add another link to the suggestion that some form of worship - phallic most probably - was practised by those migrants who introduced the initiation rites and executed the cave drawings; for that these are coincident, the fact of their following each other along a certain track through the centre of the State, is strong evidence. The haloed headdress was found as far South as the Swan district where circumcision did not obtain, but in all cases where the headdress has been found in uncircumcised areas, it has accompanied dances which have travelled downwards from those inland northern districts where circumcision prevails.

The phallic emblems sculptured by the Kimberley natives, showing both rites on their sandstone surfaces, also bear their part in the initiation ceremonies and are of equal importance with the kalleegooroo (bullroarer) and other sacred implements. I have in my possession a stone instrument, about four inches in length, and half an inch or more in diameter, tapering to a blunt point, but perfectly rounded, which has been used as a "borer" in the initiation of the young girls of the inland central areas, but which neither those upon whom it is operated nor any uninitiated person must ever see. Its outer surface is smoothed and blackened from long use. It has been "lent"

for initiation purposes to tribes as far north as Hall's Creek and Southwest towards the Weld Range. Where it originally came from cannot now be ascertained,,for within the memory of the oldest native questioned, it has been borrowed by one tribe from another for initiation purposes only. Great magic attached to its possession, for it was supposed to bring a peculiar and most painful death when pointed by its temporary owner at an offending person. Whether the phallic emblems showing the rites of subincision and circumcision are used in the same manner as the borer on young girls, cannot be definitely ascertained. It is however certain that the long, flat, carved and pointed slabs are used in this connection in many parts of the inland districts. The phallic emblems in the local Museum are too new to have been used by the natives of the districts from which they were obtained. They have, however, been so excellently sculptured by the crude flint weapons of the Kimberley natives, that their symbolism is immediately recognised.

The mystery of the older cave paintings cannot be explained by the present day natives, except that "Yamminga" put them there. Only Jalngangooroo can enter the caves. The figures are not "ranjee" nor "ngarree" nor "bilyoor", they are beegardain ngooroo or jeegal (forbidden). They may have been executed merely with a view to working upon the superstitious fears of the natives, so that the jalngangooroo might continue to wield the powers handed down to them through so many generations. Three points of difference exist between the older paintings discovered by Grey in the Kimberley district and those met with outside the State. The Kimberley figures have no mouths, their heads are surrounded with "haloes" and they are more or less clothed, although no clothing is worn by any tribe in the degree of latitude in which the paintings were found.

The carved head found by Grey appears from the reproduced drawing to be entirely European in character, and was probably the work of some shipwrecked artist. It was, Grey states, "the profile of a human face and head cut out in a sandstone rock which fronted the cave; this rock was so hard, that to have removed such a large portion of it with no better tool than a knife and hatchet made of stone, such as the Australian natives generally possess, would have been a work of very great labour. The head was two feet in length and sixteen inches in breadth in the broadest part; the depth of the profile increased gradually from the edges where it was nothing, to the centre where it was an inch and a half; the ear was rather badly placed, but otherwise the whole of the work was good. . . The only proof of antiquity that it bore about it was that all the edges of the cutting were rounded and perfectly smooth, much more so than they could have been from any other cause than long exposure to atmospheric conditions." The work has no aboriginal feature whatever about it and therefore could not have been executed by a native.

The descendants of the early Kimberley artists, whose "road" zigzagged down through the central parts of Western Australia, have left traces of their journey in many caves, rock shelters and granite surfaces; but so far, with the exception of Canning's recent discoveries at Killeegooroo Pool and Durba Creek, the native paintings in the central districts have been kept hidden from the eyes of the white man.

Canning had great difficulty in inducing the native to guide him to the pool, the man urging him to camp at another pool, a mile lower down. But when the native found he could not prevail upon the white man to alter his course, he at once began to shout and call out as though to someone in the distance, the shouting continuing until the vicinity of the pool had been reached, when he relapsed into sulky silence. That the place was only resorted to for initiation and other ceremonial purposes was evident from the fact that only elderly natives ventured near it during Canning's sojourn in the neighbourhood.

Canning could not discover why the native called out, nor what was the purport of his shouting. It might have been a warning to the occupants of the cave who may possibly have been conducting some ceremony at the time.

The photograph of the paintings, though rather indistinct owing to the darkness of the cave, shows three human figures, amongst many others, painted evidently with white pigment in a dark background, the figures being similar in many respects to the Kimberley paintings.

One full length figure appears to be standing on a serpent, the outline of the latter being however very faint. The figure is standing, with arms upraised and is either clothed in a long robe or has long tassels suspended from the arms. The shape of the headdress or chignon is conical, the whole figure being rather Egyptian in outline.

The central human figure is decidedly phallic and is surrounded by an oval line, suggesting a frame. Hands and legs are outstretched and are very crudely drawn. The phallus is almost the same length as the legs and has a rounded knob at the end.

The third figure appears to have the "halo" round the head, which is such a feature of the Kimberley drawings. The unusual length of the phallus is also noticeable in this figure, and what are apparently heavy pendants, or perhaps wooden decorations, depend from each armpit. The right hand seems to be holding an uplifted weapon of some kind, the elbow of the left arm being crooked, either to hold the pendant or to represent the attitude of the hand being placed behind the back.

Several other human figures encased in oval "frames" are faintly discernible in the photograph.

In the Darba Creek drawings, only dotted "snakes" appear to be painted. These drawings may however be also interpreted as representations of the bullroarer, the carved flat stick, or grubs. Both the outlines and dots resemble the drawing discovered by Brodkman on the Drysdale and other rivers.

Though it is well known that most of the native "roads" or tribal areas of the central inland districts run east and west for a greater distance than they do in a northerly and southerly direction, yet, as the Kimberley customs of circumcision, etc. have filtered down from north to south, there are apparently no impassable barriers to intercommunication, notwithstanding the diversities of dialect met with when travelling from north to south. There are no "straight" roads of travel in any native tribe, the areas of each zigzagging according to the native boundaries of each tribal "run" or territory, and the northern paintings have apparently followed the same circuitous route. The Southwestern caves, unlike the Northern caves, are the abodes of spirits, but no paintings have ever been discovered in them, nor have the mulgarguttuk or bulyaguttuk (sorcerers) ever penetrated into their depths. From time immemorial they have been either the passages through which the dead spirits must go on their sea road to Koorannup, or they are the homes of returned spirits who for some reason did not get through to Koorannup. It is only then/<sup>dead</sup>natives whose spirits enter these caves on their way to their home beyond the sea. All natives living in the caves district of the Southwest, must go through the caves after death

to reach their final home, and hence there is no tradition of a living native ever having entered them.



The only cave paintings discovered in the South are recorded by Ensign Dale in Stirling's Journal (1831) and Captain Grey. Near Dyott Range, Ensign Dale discovered inside a cave "a rudely carved image of the sun or moon, a circular figure about 18 inches in diameter, emitting rays from its left side and having without the circle lines meeting each other at right angles. Close to this representation of the sun were the impressions of an arm and several hands."

Grey mentions a cave drawing in the York district which consisted of a human figure about which there lingered some native tradition. The legend connected with the paintings nearly all agreed on one point, that originally the moon, who was a man, had lived there, but beyond this statement, no reliability could be placed on the stories, as each narrator invented a new tradition. (The York legend of the moon and the sun who lived in a cave might possibly contain some allusion to this cave.)

York is, however, directly west of the circumcised area, which is east of Kellerberrin, and Kajjaman, a York district woman, stated that some eastern women had been captured by York district natives, in "damma goomber" times and that the children of some of these women had to be given back to the eastern men in exchange for the women captured, the children being accepted into the tribes and undergoing the rites of circumcision and subincision. It is feasible to think that some male relative of these women was the artist of the cave drawings at York and in the Dyott Range cave. Ngwoonbiba, a Meckering native, said that the paintings had something to do with the eastern people who were ngobaburt (no skin = circumcised) but he could not tell what was the connection between the two. His people never painted any cave walls or rock faces.

The cave near Dyott Range was alluded to as Meeka Darrbee, where the moon goes inside or down.

Mr. P. Chauney visited this cave in 1849 and thus writes of the painting :- "At first there is the imprint of the full spread hand and forearm..... then there is the mark of the hand with the fingers spread, mark after mark, and finally of the fingers only, where the roof arches up almost out of reach ; but higher, and just over the mouth of the cave, is a circular figure drawn with the same red substance, about fifteen inches in diameter and filled up with lines and crossbars. It must have been made by a person who was raised from the floor of the cave. This cavern is . . . in the face of a granite cliff overhanging the valley of the Avon River. A native on being questioned as to the markings, said that the moon once dwelt in that cave, but becoming tired of the confinement, he ran up the roof of the cave, leaving his imprint at the top as he jumped up into the sky, where he has been wandering about ever since."

R.D. Hardy found the imprints of five or six hands in caves nearly seventy miles east from the valley of the Avon River.

Robert Austin, Assistant Surveyor General in 1854, found during his exploration of the Murchison district, in lat.  $27^{\circ}43'10''$  long.  $118^{\circ}$  a cave in which there were "representations of seven left hands of the ordinary size with one large right hand above. On the left of this were five pairs of kangaroo's feet and the feet of three emus. They were very well executed and had just the appearance of impressions made by the objects they were intended to represent. The surface of the rock seemed to have been stained by some fluid. They were evidently ancient. This was shown by several rude imitations which had been more recently made beneath them."

Austin found underneath the imitations a stone instrument which had been used in the modern attempts.

On Depuch Island which is a veritable picture gallery of native art, the natural storage of fresh water in the hollow rocks after rains, causing periodical visits to be paid to the island, where shellfish and other fish, iguana and small ground game may be found. The natives who frequented the island have left records of their presence in numerous chippings of birds, fishes, shellfish, etc. on the rock surfaces of the island. They first remove the dark outer surface of the rockface upon which they have traced the outline of the animal they intend to depict and on the lighter part they chip round the outline, so cleverly as in some cases to give the appearance of relief to the chipping. Almost all the objects depicted were easily recognised. Some were much superior in execution to the others and showed a special facility in manipulation. All were artistic productions entirely and free from any magic significance whatever. The greater part of the island is covered with these specimens of native art.

On the sandstone rocks near the beach at Port Hedland were numerous chippings of turtles, and other large sea fish, as well as animals, etc. Unfortunately it was along this ridge that the dray road ran to Marble Bar and the carvings are in consequence now almost obliterated. The present day natives of Balla Balla and Port Hedland continue their artistic productions on the remaining rocks of Depuch, and on those parts of the sandstone rings which have not been touched by traffic.

The impressions of the hands on rocks and in caves are executed in three colours. black, white and red. The last-mentioned colour appears to possess a certain symbolic significance, although the present day natives are ignorant of any meaning attached to it. Some writers think that the symbol was derived from the Kushites in India together with phallic rites and other customs.

Its prevalence in Western Australia and the fact that the natives are ignorant of any occult meaning attached to it, shows it to be a very ancient symbol and from the reverence paid to it by the natives of the districts where it is delineated, by their

avoidance of the locality, there must have been at one time some form of worship practised by the earlier aborigines in which the red hand played no mean part. Whatever colour is used in impressing the hand, the surrounding surface of rock is generally smeared or covered with some other colouring which will bring the hand out distinctly in the gloom of the cave. The hand may be dipped in red or black mixture and pressed against the rock surface, the surrounding rock being coloured white. In drawing the white hand, charcoal or red ochre is softened or moistened in the mouth and the clean bare hand pressed against the surface of some white or light coloured rock, with the fingers of the hand well stretched out. The charcoal or ochre mixture is then blown or squirted against the back of the hand and well between the fingers and thumb and when the hand is withdrawn a perfect impression is left on the rock, enhanced by the dark surrounding of red or black as the case may be. The hand may also be dipped in softened pipeclay and pressed upon a dark rock surface without any further painting.

The hand is always painted in an uplifted position, never downwards, but this may easily be accounted for by the extra difficulty which would be entailed in trying to make a correct downward impression of either hands or feet, particularly as these members are never painted, only impressed or stamped. A hand dipped in red ochre may be pressed on the cave wall, while charcoal is squirted from the mouth of the artist on the surrounding surface.

Great height amongst the northern natives is indicative of great power and strength and as amongst the West Kimberley natives a belief existed that there were once very big men living in that district, the height of Grey's principal carving, 10 feet 6 inches would tend to confirm this belief in the native mind. The older natives of the Broome district show huge footprints on the rocky beach, which they say were the tracks of giant men, women and dogs, who lived in Yammainga time and left their footprints on the rocks when they went into the ground or underneath the sea. Huge figures of men and women who were turned into stone are found in districts widely separated; in the Eucla division; the Nullagine district, and some parts of the Kimberley. Tracks of giant animals are also to be seen in certain localities - the mark left by the eaglehawk's foot as the bird flew into the clouds after its fatal quarrel with the crow - was seen by Kajjaman and others on a hill in the Avon district, and in the Swan area, Balbuk and Joobaitch stated that there was a stone figure in some part of their run that had "once been a yoong'ar (man) who had been turned into stone by the janga (spirits)", why, they could not remember.

The mai'amba (stone man) in the Eucla division became the totem of a man who had unknowingly slept in the vicinity and found himself uninjured when he discovered the stone image in the morning.

When Bishop Gibney first went to the Beagle Bay district, his unusual height, 6 feet 2 inches, at once attracted the natives' attention. He was "weedbo eebal" (big father) with them from the first period of his contact with them, and his influence with them throughout the whole of his journeys between Derby, Disaster Bay and Beagle Bay, was paramount.

A kangaroo or emu hunt may be depicted upon a rock or a wooden implement - such as the spearthrower. If an emu hunt, the tracks of the emu are made, also the tracks of the hunter, the cover (usually a circle or coil at one end of the weapon) from which the bird started, and the fire (variously rendered) at the other and where the bird was cooked. The stone bull-roarer was grooved with a piece of chipped flint, the straight lines being easily worked on the material. Whether the lines represented special markings or the ordinary family or district marks, could not be ascertained, as the implement had changed hands so frequently, that its latest owner was unaware of any special meaning attached to the markings.

The stone slabs found by Warburton in 1873 were "about fifteen inches by six, of an oblong shape, and rounded at the ends. They were marked with unintelligible scrawls and were secreted in a hole on top of a hill . . . in company with a spherical stone about the size of an orange. No clue could be gained as to what they meant or why they were deposited there."

The spherical stone may have been a phallic emblem, or it may have been used at the operation on young girls, as in some northern inland districts the vagina is not enlarged by cutting, but is forced open with the aid of a shaped piece of wood or sandstone, thrust upwards through the opening. Some of these implements measure four or five inches in length and from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. The specimen in my possession is the smallest I have seen. Nearly all are made of soft yellow sandstone, wooden samples have however been found in the country east of Laverton. These are probably used in districts where the goondain (flat carved stick) is not in use, and one or two will suffice for several tribes. Constable Dodd of Kookynie states that in those regions where the goondain is used, every initiated native possesses one of these weapons.

As regards the carved flat pointed boards (goondain) of the Kookynie district, Constable Dodd stated that the smallest

goondain was first used on young girls at their initiation, a flint being used artificially to widen the vagina.

A larger goondain was then inserted into the opening, the implement being left fixed in the womb for a certain time. Another woman attended the young girl during this period.

Every initiated man, according to Constable Dodd, possessed a goondain. The longest specimen is 7 feet in length.

No stone carvings have been found in the Southwestern district and the patterns on the various weapons, message sticks, etc., were mainly worked in straight or diagonal lines, sometimes very symmetrical, but nevertheless showing a very primitive stage of aboriginal art. The colours were four :- Wilgee (red ochre), yoornda or kanjin (yellow), dardarr (white) and moorn (black). The personal decorations of the Southern natives might be carried out in all these colours, the same pattern being painted on body, arms and legs.

The simplest wooden carvings were the notches or straight lines on message sticks or bark, then came the zigzag lines, and finally the conventional patterns.

The most elaborately carved implements were the message sticks of the Gascoyne. The only interpreted message is the carving of the female in the centre, the purport of which is understood without any explanation, the message conveying an invitation to a "kowiroo" or feast of licence.

The pattern is extremely intricate on this stick, and has been most delicately burnt into the hard jamwood of which the stick is made, the curve in the wood being most regularly graduated. The work reflects the greatest credit on its maker especially when the nature of his tools - a flint, shell, bone, and hard pointed ember - is taken into account. The conventional leaf pattern surrounding the figure and drawn with great skill shows the desire of the artist to figure natural objects as they presented themselves to him. They have no other meaning beyond this desire, unless they be taken to mean the enclosure of boughs behind which the participants in the kowiroo are placed.

Message sticks may however convey information as to the movements or travels of a tribe or person. Just as a native, when setting out on a journey, leaves the direction of his route in the soft sand or ashes round his fire, showing the rivers, hills, plains and bush he intends to travel over, so will these marks be produced on a message stick. They will however only be understood by the persons who design them, the messenger who interprets them, and the recipients. Outside the tribes known to, or having easy communication with each other, the message will not be understood, except the notches, which appear to be the general written signs for individuals, days, etc. For instance, message sticks which I have carried throughout the South and Southwest, were understood by the tribes in those places in which the residents were of the White Cockatoo and Crow phratries; beyond that area they were unreadable. Similarly a Murchison, Gascoyne or Northern message stick, unless it has the figure of a female burnt or carved upon its surface, will not be translatable by strange tribes, only by those within the areas of inter-communication.

The messenger will take the ordinary stick as far as he can interpret it intelligently to his hearer. If it is desired to take the stick beyond that point, a messenger from the last tribe to which the stick has been brought will continue the journey, as he, having received its explanation, will be able to interpret its meaning to his neighbouring tribes. The original messenger may remain with the tribe until the new messenger returns with the stick, or he may return to his people without waiting for the stick, which will be brought on by the new messenger when the tribes assemble.

While in the performance of his duties, a messenger's life is held sacred in all tribes, whether these tribes are at peace or war with each other. All natives state that the law in this respect is most strictly kept. If a breach occurred at any time, and a messenger was killed, instant vengeance was taken on the offending tribe, which not infrequently lost several members in revenge for the one life taken. The offending tribe may also be



ostracised for a time by its neighbours until sufficient reparation for the offence is considered to be made.

The natives are inexorable as to the rules of fair play and justice according to their own code, and a breach of these rules brings the anger of all upon the culprit.

Most of the message sticks of the West are rounded, very few flat surfaces being seen. The designs are generally more elaborate and of better execution than in the other parts of the continent and often show a very delicate manipulation of the crude instruments used in their ornamentation.

When the pointed ember is used, a gentle blowing by the native is continuous in order to keep the point alight. When the point becomes charred and blunted, it is rubbed and smoothed again to a fine point and lighted, and so on until the artist completes his work. The natives everywhere do better work with their own weapons than with European tools, their own implements being more familiar to them and consequently giving them a surer touch.

A north west native may accompany a party of white men who will travel through country entirely unknown to him. When their final destination is reached, should the native elect to remain south for a period, he may take a piece of jamwood or other hard wood capable of being worked upon with ember or flint and upon this he will make the notches, lines, curves and dots which will give his own people - not the intervening tribes - an accurate idea of his journey and the country passed through. This will be easily read by his own family or tribe to whom the symbols are familiar.

In these latter days, if a Southern native is asked by a white man to interpret the message on a Broome, Roeburne or any Northern stick, he will do so with the utmost alacrity and self-confidence, his interpretation being exactly proportioned to the credulity of his hearer, and the amount of recompense expected by his free translation of the emblems. The boab nuts of the northern Kimberley district have also their surfaces elaborately carved, animals, birds, human figures, weapons and conventional leaf patterns being the most common. The carving is executed with

a pointed bone, flint or hard pointed wood, and the lines afterwards filled in with pipeclay. These carvings are entirely artistic in production, having no apparent place in any ceremony.

In the Fraser Range, Hampton Plains and other southern inland areas, etchings on bark take the place of rock drawings, as suitable rock faces and rock shelters were not often found in those regions. The markings were produced by means of a pointed piece of hard wood upon some freshly peeled bark. The air, after a time, discoloured the etchings which gradually became more visible through the small globules of gum which exuded from the tree and filled in the markings. These etchings, as well as the scars made upon the bodies of the men were called "worma". In the three etchings from Fraser Range (Reproduced from Trans. Roy. Soc. S.A. Vol. XVI), No.1 represents the artist's country, the hills and valleys of Fraser Range, No.2 represents a tree, with other unknown markings, and No.3 is intended for another part of the country (probably a creek or watercourse)(Helms).

The bullroarer was the only carved or grooved weapon which Helms saw amongst the Fraser Range people. This implement had a zigzag line running along its length, with short transverse lines on either side of the zigzag - a very common form of grooving.

All the other Fraser Range weapons, etc., were either quite plain or charred in various patterns with a pointed ember. Diagonal markings, bands or lines were the only patterns. Some, especially the hair sticks (the larras of the Kimberley district) were rudely incised by means of a sharp stone without any attempt at design. The message sticks, when not made with a pointed ember, were cut with a sharp-edged piece of flint, producing very fine lines.

In the Murchison district nearly every weapon was more or less carved some of the designs being of very superior execution and finish. The Murchison shields are perhaps the most regularly outlined and accurately finished objects of native workmanship in the West.

Swan, Gascoyne, Ashburton and Roeburne district shields are somewhat similarly grooved to the Murchison weapon, but are not so highly finished, nor are the designs as regular as the Murchison display.

Bullroarers, wherever they are used in initiation ceremonies, are always carved, sometimes very elaborately, almost always with local designs, whatever those may be. Curved and diagonal lines concentric circles, coils, herring bone patterns, straight, transverse or longitudinal lines, may all be seen on the various bullroarers of the inland and northern areas. These markings are generally legendary, symbolic or totemic, as the case may be, but their respective designs can only be interpreted by the elders of the tribe in which they have been made.

In the greater part of the northern regions, the methods employed in rock carving are as follows :-

A hard smooth rock surface, boulder or cliff well, is chosen, preferably of basalt or granite. Upon the face of this rock, the outline of the object intended to be carved is drawn in pipeclay, red ochre (if plentiful in the district), or a burnt stick or piece of charcoal. When this is done, the native takes a small hard sharp-edged flint which he holds in his right hand, and with this he chips or "frets" away gently inside the outline until about an inch all round has been chipped or fretted away. The carvings may represent men, animals, birds, fish, weapons, footprints, etc. and as many of them are on open rock faces, they can have no symbolic meaning, since women and children can see them.

In some of the Nor' West districts where the nature of the rock does not allow of the grooved or chipped outline being made, the whole space inside the outline is frequently chipped away to a depth varying from about one sixteenth to a quarter of an inch. Several of the rocks on Depuch Island, and on the Yule, Shaw, De Grey, Fortescue, Ashburton and other rivers show this kind of carving. From the difference in colour between the newly chipped surface and the surrounding rock, many of the carvings look as though they had been executed in relief. A native camping ground or waterhole is generally contiguous to these aboriginal "art galleries", and the neighbourhood will also be prolific in food products, so as to permit of a lengthy sojourn in the district.

The Roeburne district name for carvings, drawings or rock paintings was "murnee."

Native paintings have also been found on the Ord, Margaret, and other Rivers in the East Kimberley district, and in the neighbourhood of Hall's and Sturt Creeks. They are principally animals, reptiles and human hands and feet, and the manner of executing them is similar to that pursued in North and West Kimberley. The symbolic cave paintings of these areas which will undoubtedly be discovered when a systematic search is made for them, are distinct from the productions on cliff wall or boulder and bear a sacred and secret significance.

In the Greenough River district, tapping, indenting or fretting the outlines of animals, etc., on rock surfaces with the aid of a sharp piece of flint, is the method employed.

At Grinding Stone Hill near Williambury Station, there is a cave with native carvings, but no description of these has as yet been obtained.

On many of the rocks, and in the caves of the Weld Range, there are chippings, of hands, feet, claws, etc., and paintings of various kinds. These are evidently used as initiation localities, as none of the Weld Range women are permitted to see them. There were several cave paintings in the district round Mindoola (Weld Range) but although I searched the district for a whole day, I was unable to locate them. Large gatherings of natives from many districts attended the boolee-boolee (a species of salt bush seed) harvest at Mindoola, and it was at this festival that initiation, exchange and other ceremonies were collectively held. The curious rockholes, called "ngamma" by the Southern natives, are found in the Weld Range, one of them being more than sixteen feet in depth, and not more than three feet in diameter at the top, almost perfectly round throughout its entire depth. These holes are called meelee yailba (many waterholes) by the Mindoola natives to whom they afforded a plentiful supply of water for the greater part of the year. The district had everything in its favour for the holding of initiation and other large gatherings, food and water being abundantly provided. The wilgee mine (doocarree-barloo), a source of annual revenue being in the vicinity, added

to the importance of the locality as a "social gathering" ground. The painted caves were the temporary abodes of the local sorcerers but whether they were shown to the young newly initiated boys could not be definitely ascertained. The newly initiated young women were not allowed in the vicinity of the paintings. Many of the caves were doubtless used as receptacles for the temporary safe keeping of bullroarers (yeenma, mirrodee, etc. etc.,) belonging to the visiting sorcerers (mobburngur) at the annual initiation gatherings.

In the neighbourhood of Gum Creek, Upper Murchison, several granite rocks have outlines of emu tracks, human figures, etc., chipped on their surfaces.

At Woorgarung, between Boolardie and Cue, some rock paintings were done with jeewa - a species of red ochre - emu tracks, snakes, boomerangs, hands, feet and human figures being amongst them. No women can see these paintings, "only mobburn go there," they say.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mooranoppin, paintings were found in granite caves of men, animals and birds' tracks, and impressions in red of the right and left hands. Kellerberrin (near Mooranoppin) marked the dividing line between the circumcised and uncircumcised areas. The rites were however encroaching westward in this direction and the presence of paintings at Mooranoppin points to the vicinity having been used as an initiation ground for the eastern ceremonies. Some of the Kellerberrin district people obtained wives from the eastern tribes.

There is a certain rockhole in the Meekatharra district which is only frequented by sorcerers. On the granite rocks beside the spring there are some paintings representing the spring itself, a snake and a kangaroo. No one but the mobburn can drink from the spring, which is supposed to be the home of the jeela (snake) whose form is depicted on the wall of rock overhanging the beemarra (spring). Should a strange native come and drink of the water, the jeela rises out of the beemarra and kills him. There is a tree called "malbarn" growing beside the beemarra, the seeds of which are edible, but they can only be gathered by mobburn. Small stones obtained from the jeela beemarra

were used by the mobburn to cure diseases. Kardungoo, a Paljeri, was the last mobburn of the tribe in whose ground the spring was. All the paintings were executed in red, which was called "weela karaaja" (magic or sorcerer's "wilgee" or "weeluk" - red ochre.)

(It is interesting to see that the term "karaaka" bears a distinct resemblance in sound and meaning to the N.S.W. word "koradji" also meaning "sorcerer".)

With the exception of the recumbent figure of "Mammam" which is outlined with the shavings and shaved sticks worn during the Jalgoo kening of the Bibbulmun people, I can find no further evidence of ground drawings being executed in connection with any native ceremony, though they may obtain beyond the area where investigation ended. In all the known uncircumcised areas of the Southwest, with the exception of the Dyott and York paintings, ground and cave drawings appear to be unknown.

Tree etchings in the Murray and other districts of the Southwest mark a death in the vicinity, and the revenge accomplished for such death is denoted by marks on an adjoining tree to the one recording the death. Some of the markings may be possibly intended to represent certain features in the journey undertaken to avenge the death. Tree markings may also indicate the ground where a Jalgoo had been held. In all cases, the neighbourhood of the marked trees is avoided for a certain period.

Certain winnaitch (forbidden) trees in the Southwest, supposed to be the abodes or property of a woggal (mythical snake) are stroked with the hand in passing, or a small piece of bark may be taken from them, but no marks, etc., of the woggal are made on their trunks.

In general, lines, dots, curves, rings, coils and magical designs, with a few conventional patterns, represent the art of the Western aborigines, some of these however showing a high degree of artistic ability. The designs on opossum or kangaroo skin cloaks are merely lines or dots of very simple pattern.

In personal decoration, dots, lines, circles, etc., may be used, the Northwestern men generally working dots in certain patterns on bodies and legs, the Southerners mainly using linear designs. The rule however is not absolute either way.

When a Southern native is leaving camp for a journey of some distance, should there be no one in camp to whom he can communicate his destination, he first stands in the ashes of his fire, with his feet turned in the direction he is about to take; then he goes on to outline his journey, by making a hollow with one foot to show a gully; his next step forms another hollow, and should he cross a river, the river is drawn with his toenail across his tracks. Should he follow the river up, he draws it parallel to the tracks. Each hollow represents a depression or valley, the space between being a hill, for which no special marks appear to be made. A few rushes, if they grow in the vicinity, are also strewn on each footmark or



"gully" sign, pointing to the direction the native is going.

The starting footprint is always made in the ashes of the fire.

CARVINGS, PAINTINGS

Native carvings, charcoal paintings and etching were often executed on the trunks of trees, the gum tree being usually chosen for the purpose on account of the softness of the bark. These carvings were generally rough representations of men and animals.

On the rocks also in various parts of the Gascoyne, carvings of men, women, animals, birds, fish, etc. were chipped on the smooth surfaces. The outline was sometimes made, with wilgee or charcoal. The method of tracing the hand differed somewhat from the custom which obtained further north, where the hand was either placed against the rock and the powdered charcoal blown from the native's mouth and into the spaces between the fingers and round the hand, or the hand was dipped in the moistened wilgee and then pressed on the smooth face of the rock leaving the sign of the "red hand" which has been found amongst so many ancient peoples.

On the Gascoyne the native placed his hand against a light coloured rock surface and outlined it with a pointed piece of charcoal. On a black rock the outline was done with wilgee or pipeclay in the same manner. There was no wilgee on the Gascoyne, but the natives obtained it by barter - theocarra was the name given by them to the wilgee.

The outlines on wood were done with a small pointed stick, on the soft bark of the gum tree, men, women and children were drawn by this process. Cornally states that in all the figures of men and women painted or chipped on rocks or on gum trees the mouths were always painted in.