



Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems

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The following paper was read, on behalf of the Author, by Dr. E. B. Tylor:—

FURTHER NOTES *on the AUSTRALIAN CLASS SYSTEMS.*

By A. W. HOWITT, F.G.S., F.L.S., Cor. Memb. Anthropol. Inst.

[WITH PLATE V.]

Introduction.

IN a former communication to the Anthropological Institute¹ I reviewed the different class systems which up to that time had come under my notice. I now propose to note some further particulars which are important as showing that the various class systems are regarded by the aborigines as being the equivalents of each other, as explaining more clearly the different types on which the various systems are constructed,² and finally as showing broadly the geographical range of the types. Some little light is also afforded by these additional particulars on the manner of growth and decay of the systems.

In order to make succeeding remarks as clear as possible to the reader, I have added hereto a sketch map, showing approximately the boundaries of the several types of system³ (Pl. V). These boundaries are necessarily only approximate, and will be liable to modification as further local details come in. But making full allowance for this, I do not anticipate that these alterations and additions will disturb the broad and important features which an inspection of the sketch map shows.

Geographical Range of the Types of System.

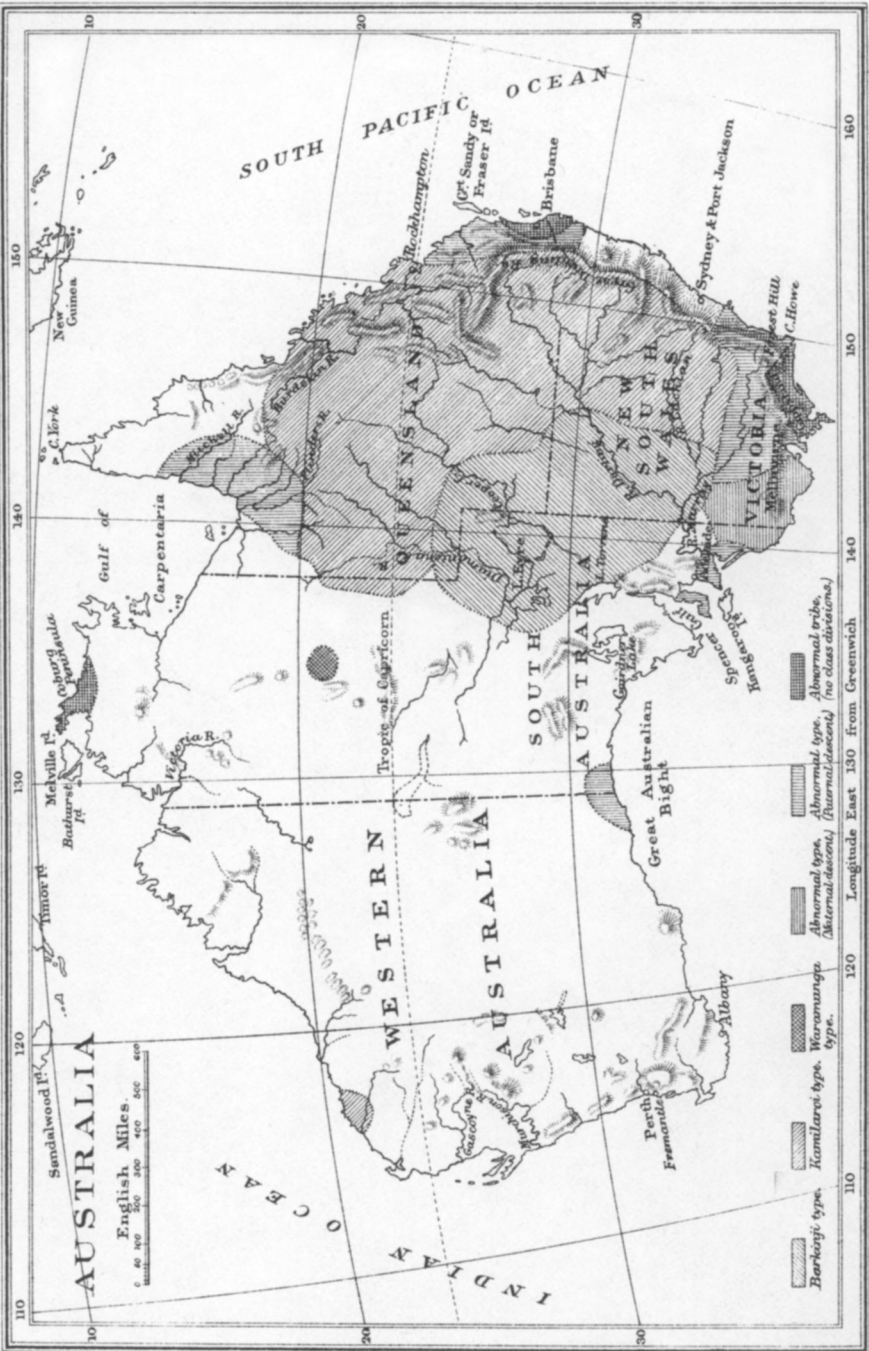
The information at my command enables me to cover a great part of the eastern half of the Continent, and there can be but little doubt that the western half, were it possible now to mark out the boundaries of the types of system obtaining over it, would show analogous results. Unfortunately I am not able to do this. Not because I have left the western half of the Continent outside my enquiries, but because those to whom I have written in Western South Australia, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory have remained deaf to my entreaties for information.

In the sketch map (Pl. V) I have marked out broadly the

¹ "Notes on the Australian Class Systems." "Journal Anthropol. Inst.," May, 1883.

² See p. 41.

³ I have at present no data to shew the extent of country covered by the Waramunga type.



boundaries of the various types of class system. It is not probable, as I have already stated, that further enquiries will make any material alteration in the broad features thus shown, although they may do so in lesser details. For instance, it is not yet quite certain whether all the aboriginal communities in the "Gulf Country" of Carpentaria have agnatic descent. As to this my enquiries are still continuing, as also for the purpose of filling in the blanks which will be found in the Cape York Peninsula and the coast of Eastern New South Wales.

Before mentioning the conclusions to which a study of the range of types of system has led me, it is necessary to make a few remarks about the country over which they are spread. In descending from the Great Dividing Range and its downs and plateaux in North-Eastern Queensland into the interior of the Continent, the country becomes more arid and the streams which flow inland combine to form the Diamantina and the Barcoo Rivers, two great watercourses, which at uncertain times pour deluges of water into the depressed interior.¹ These great floods, after spreading over an immense extent of country, finally remain and evaporate in a system of salt lakes, of which Lake Eyre is the largest example. Into these great saline depressions flows also the drainage from the north and from the west; and the country surrounding them, except after saturation by the floods, is more like a desert than anything I can liken it to. The native communities which are spread over this tract of country (or I should perhaps say were, for they are now practically exterminated), have the Barkinji type of system.² This type also extends southwards to the junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers, and in all probability further to the west and as far south as Port Lincoln, for I find that there also occur the two primary class names *Máteri* and *Kárürü* which obtain in the Lake Eyre country. Whether this type extends further westward than is shown upon the sketch map is unknown to me and must be left for future enquiries to decide. Since, however, the physical character of the country west of the boundary which I have marked becomes more and more desert, I anticipate that it will not be found that the tribes are on a higher social level than those around Lake Eyre.

To the eastward of the boundary which I have marked for the Barkinji type, the country is better watered and has far greater food supply for an aboriginal population, until at the eastern coast the food supply reaches its maximum. I am now speaking

¹ While writing the above I observed the following in one of the local journals. "The country submerged is part of the delta of the Barcoo and Diamantina Rivers."

² See p. 41.

generally, and not with reference to isolated spots which might be picked out where the coast is barren. Over this better watered and provisioned country extends the Kamilaroi type of system with a range also along the northern watershed to the boundary of South Australia, and probably beyond it to the westward. It appears to touch the eastern coast line, and to follow it to about Rockhampton, where it leaves the coast and striking southwards along the coast range follows its general direction until at about the Hunter River, in New South Wales, it reaches its most southerly limit. Thence the boundary of the Kamilaroi type strikes westward to the junction of the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers, where it joins the south-eastern boundary of the Barkinji type.

Thus the true Kamilaroi organisation with small variations, mainly in dialectic forms of the class names, spreads over an area in Eastern Australia at the very least 1,000 miles north and south by 500 miles east and west.¹

This area comprises some of the best watered and most fertile tracts, exclusive of the rich lands of the coast line.

The limits of the still more developed type which I have provisionally called the Waramunga, I am at present unable to define, as that tribe is so far the only instance which I have recorded.²

With the exception of that part of North-Eastern Queensland where the Kamilaroi type touches the coast, the whole of the coast tracts, speaking broadly, between the Great Dividing Range and the sea, both in Queensland and New South Wales, and between the Murray River and the sea in Victoria and South Australia, were occupied by communities having abnormal types of class system which in most cases count descent through the male line. These coast tracts, taken as a whole, are the best watered and the most fertile parts of Australia, and moreover, the richest in animals and plant food for an aboriginal population.

This coincidence of advanced social development with fertility of country is not without some significance. The most backward-standing types of social organisation, having descent through the mother and an archaic communal marriage, exist in the dry and desert country; the more developed Kamilaroi type, having descent through the mother, but a general absence of the Pirauru marriage practice³ is found in the better watered tracts

¹ The organisation is also found in Western Australia, see "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 36.

² See p. 43.

³ I have discussed the Pirauru practice at some length in a memoir communicated to the Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C., U.S.A. and em-
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which are the sources of all the great rivers of East Australia; while the most developed types having individual marriage and in which, in almost all cases, descent is counted through the father, are found along the coasts where there is the most permanent supply of water and most food.

In fact it is thus suggested that the social advance of the Australian aborigines has been connected with, if not mainly due to, a more plentiful supply of food in better watered districts. Still a difficulty suggests itself to this view, because, given the existence of group marriage such as that of the Dieri tribe, one might reasonably expect that this practice of Pirauru would have been rather perpetuated than abandoned under conditions of environment which permitted the Pirauru group to remain together on one spot instead of being compelled by the exigencies of existence to separate into lesser groups having the Noa marriage. This will certainly require careful consideration, but also it must be borne in mind that the origin of individual marriage, the change of the line of descent, and the final decay of the old class organisation are all parts of the same process of social development, and that not one cause only has been at work but a number of causes which have worked together towards that ultimate result which can be seen in the most advanced communities.

I do not attempt to explain this course of development now, but only desire to draw attention to the interesting conclusion arising from an inspection of the geographical range of the types, namely, that their development has apparently a connection with improved physical surroundings. My argument

bodied in the Smithsonian Report for 1883 to which I may refer, but I think it may assist the reader hereof if I extract the following particulars: "The various Piraurus are allotted to each other by the great council of the tribe (Dieri), after which their names are formally announced to the assembled people on the evening of the ceremony of circumcision, during which there is for a time a general license permitted between all those who have been thus allotted to each other. Each Dieri man or woman is the Pirauru of some other Dieri woman or man. The relation of Pirauru may exist between men and women of different local groups or of different tribes. The relation of Pirauru may not exist between a person and those who stand to him or her in one of the following relations: father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's sister, mother's brother, brother's child, sister's child, brother, sister, or any of these whom we call cousins, either on the father's or on the mother's side. Nor may it exist between persons of the same totem. The Piraurus being allotted to each other at each great council previous to the ceremony of circumcision, a man or a woman being already Pirauru, may thus acquire a new Pirauru relation in addition to these previously acquired. Hence in time a man may come to have several Piraurus. As the Piraurus cannot be of the same class name, we have here a number of men belonging to one class married collectively to a number of women of the other class. This is, in fact, a form of group marriage, and it accounts for the so-called polyandry of the Nairs." See "Studies in Ancient History," by Dr. F. McLennan, new edition, p. 100.

requires that the Barkinji type was once universal in Eastern Australia, and that the other types have been gradually developed from it.

The Classes are the Equivalents of each other.

In comparing the class divisions and totems of any great group of allied tribes, such as that comprised in the term "Kamilaroi," one finds that each component tribe has some more or less marked difference or variation either in the names of the sub-classes or in the character or number of totems. These differences are often mere dialectic variations in names, but in other cases they amount to actual differences in the structure of the system or in the animals which constitute the totem groups. When a still larger aggregate of tribes is examined the variations become larger and the differences wider. Nevertheless the general identity of structure and of the fundamental laws of the classes over wide areas, proves beyond doubt that these varying forms are substantially equivalents. I have endeavoured to put this assertion to the proof, and the result has been that the absolute identity and equivalence of the fundamental "primary classes" has been established beyond doubt in tribes along a line extending from south to north across the Australian Continent, from Mount Gambier on its southern shores to the Gulf of Carpentaria, in Northern Queensland. Similar identification embraces tribes westward from Brisbane on the east coast far into the colony of South Australia.¹

This much having been done very little doubt can remain that further enquiries will establish the same equivalence throughout the whole of Australia.

In this connection I may note that the boundaries of any one class system are usually wider than those of a single tribe, and that the boundaries of a "type" of system have a still wider extent, and include aggregates of tribes which may well be termed nations, for they are bound together by a community of classes which indicates a community of descent, and which is usually accompanied by more or less frequent intermarriage.

In the following table I have shown some of the systems which are each others' equivalents. I have taken the primary divisions for comparison and in some instances also the sub-classes, while omitting for the present the totem groups, which are not essential to my purpose, and which would be of use

¹ I feel the strongest conviction that future investigations will shew that the equivalence of the class systems extends to Western Australia, in other words, to the whole of Australia. The four intermarrying classes have been recorded, for instance, in Western Australia by Grey and other travellers, and also by correspondents of Mr. Fison and myself.

mainly to determine some doubtful cases of equivalence. I shall separately discuss them.

In order to bring the question of equivalence within the shortest range of view, I have abbreviated the connected chain by taking those which are most typical. It must not be supposed that the tribes quoted touch each other, for some of them are hundreds of miles apart. It is the class systems which touch, and the tribes quoted are good examples of the particular social organisation to which they respectively belong.

In the table the chain apparently ends at the Belyando River, in Queensland. The fact really is that this class system is found to extend to the headwaters of the Flinders River in a slightly varied form of names as given by Mr. Edward Palmer, in his valuable paper on the Gulf Tribes.¹ The four-class system, of which that at the Belyando River is an example, ceases at the Maikolon tribe, which is the first tribe on the Cloncurry River having a peculiar set of class divisions composed of four male and four female names, which thence obtain to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. When, however, one considers that the only difference in the two systems is that the female name with the Maikolon is distinct from the male name, that is to say, that the brother and sister have different names, while with the Belyando tribe the sister's name is formed by the addition of a feminine affix to the name of the brother, in accordance with the common usage of the Kamilaroi type, one might expect that, the laws of marriage and descent being the same, the equivalence of the two systems would be recognized where the two having the respective systems touch and intermarry. This equivalence has, however, not yet been worked out, but when it is the one link will be supplied which is required to connect the chain of equivalent systems from Mount Gambier to the Mitchell River in the extreme of Northern Queensland, a distance of over 1,600 miles in a straight line.

In some border tribes I find that the people claim the equivalent classes of each tribe, that is to say, the classes peculiar to the group to which their own tribe belongs, and also those which are equivalent to them in the adjoining tribe. For instance in the Wotjobállük tribe of the Lower Wimmera River in Victoria, a man who is Krókitch-Wártwüt in that tribe² told me that when he went across to the Maráura tribe at the junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers he was Kilpara, and that Gámütch is the same as Mókwará. In the tribe which inhabited the country around Warrambool, in Victoria, the Kroki class is the

¹ "Notes on some Australian Tribes," by E. Palmer. "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," February, 1884.

² See p. 63.

equivalent of Bunjil and Kunit of Waa, these being the class names of tribes which were spread over a wide extent of Eastern Victoria, excepting Gippsland.¹

On the Maranoa River in Southern Queensland "a Hipai man is also Urgila, and thus calls himself Hipai Urgila, and so on with the other names."² In Southern Queensland, but to the north eastward of the Maranoa "the Ungori class names are on the one side the equivalents of the class names Hipai, Kombo, &c., and on the other side of those of the Emon tribe, namely, Urgila, Anbeir, &c."³

No doubt whatever remains in my mind that the same primary class divisions are not only identical over vast areas, and include numerous tribes and diverse dialects, but that also wherever two systems of classes touch each other the members of the adjoining tribes invariably know which of the neighbouring classes is the equivalent of their own, and therefore the individual well knows with which class his own has connubium, and he knows also, though perhaps not quite so clearly, the marriage relations of the other classes and their lesser divisions.

Two interesting questions arise from an inspection of the annexed table. The first is how marriages are arranged between, for instance, a totem of Kilpara (Example No. 3) and a totem of Ipai or of Kumbo (Example No. 4) and how the question of descent is settled in such a case. The second question is how descent is settled in marriages between Nos. 4, 5, and 6, for Nos. 4 and 6 have descent through the mother, while in No. 5 it runs through the male line. Probably in such cases the explanation will be found to be that as the woman goes to her husband's *tribe* her children follow the line of descent it counts by in the case of the totem or class which is equivalent to hers.⁴

The Primary Class Divisions were once Totems.

I have elsewhere assumed that the class systems as we now find them are the results of a process of development by which the primary social divisions were sub-divided.⁵ This does not attempt to explain why it is that the primary class divisions have names, which, in certain cases have no other meaning as words, while in other cases they are clearly the analogues of the totems or apparently their prototypes.

¹ See p. 64. Information furnished by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron.

² Information furnished by Mr. Lethbridge of Forest Vale.

³ Information furnished by Mr. James Lalor, M.A., of Roma.

⁴ The three-class systems here spoken of as equivalents are Nos. 4, 5, 6, in Table A.

⁵ "Notes on the Australian Class Systems." "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," May, 1883.

TABLE A.

TABLE SHOWING THE EQUIVALENCE OF THE PRIMARY CLASS DIVISIONS.¹

No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6
Büandik	Wotjoballhak	Barkinji	Kamilaroi	Kaiabara	Wakelbura
Mount Gambier, S.A.	Wimmera River, V.	Darling River, N.S.W.	Gwydir River, N.S.W.	Bunya Mountains, Q.	Belyando River, Q.
Kroki	= Krokitch	= Kilpara	Kupathin { Ipaï Kumbo } =	Kupatine { Bulgoin Bunda } =	Malera { Kurgila Banbe }
Kumit	= Gamutch	= Makwara	Dilbi { Muri Kubi } =	Dilebi { Barang Turowain } =	Wuthera { Wungo Obu }

¹ In this might be added Bunjil = Kroki, and Waa = Kumit, according to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron; Nos. 1, 2, 3 identified by personal enquiries by myself. No. 4 identified by Mr. Cyrus Doyle, late of Kunopia, N.S.W. No. 5 by Mr. Jocelyn Brooke, Sub-Inspector of Native Police, Queensland. No. 6 by Mr. J. C. Muirhead, of Elgin Downs, Queensland. The equivalence of Nos. 4, 5, and 6 has also been determined by Mr. James Lalor, M.L.A. of Kubberamunda, in Southern Queensland.

It might be reasonably expected that if the class systems have been subject to a process of development extending necessarily over great periods of time the changes which language underwent should leave some traces in the names of the classes, which would be likely to remain long after the language had altered. They might be perpetuated as names not having any meaning apart from the classes. This seems to me to be indicated by the fact that over a large part of Eastern Australia the names of the primary classes and sub-classes are the same under slight variations, whereas the languages of the tribes using them are more or less divergent, and often so much so as to be unintelligible to any but the tribe to which the language belongs, or to the few linguists who are found in each tribe.

In a large area of country wherein the four sub-classes are not found, the primary classes have names which convey a meaning as words independently of their signification as class names. They are in fact in such cases totems which each apply to one moiety of the tribe. Along the Darling River, up the Murray River over a large part of Eastern Victoria, and through Maneroo, in New South Wales, the meaning of the two primary class names is almost everywhere Eaglehawk and Crow. In some instances the names are the words for those birds, whilst in others there are synonyms which are more frequently used in speaking of these birds.

If the supposition is correct that in the primary divisions we may recognize the oldest forms, and in the four subdivisions somewhat newer forms of totems, it should be found that these earlier divisions show signs of antiquity as compared with the totems which are, according to this hypothesis, the nearest to the present time. This, I think, is the case. The totems are in all cases words forming part of the living language of the tribe divided by them. They are also invariably natural objects found in the tribal country, and could not in some cases have been brought as totems by the people when migrating in the past from some distant part of the Australian Continent where such animals do not occur.¹ In such migrations, which must have taken place since totems have been used, certain of them must have suffered by disuse, or substitution by the absence in the new country of objects to which the names belonged. The totem name would be either lost altogether or some representative animal would be substituted.

In the case of a primary or secondary division the totem name might continue to exist as a name merely, as for instance,

¹ Of course such totems as fire, water, rain, wind, the heavenly bodies, &c., are not included in my remarks.

the names Dilbi and Kupathin, Krokitch and Gamutch, Malera and Wuthera.

The class name is general, the totem name is in one sense individual, for it is certainly nearer to the individual than the name of the moiety of the community to which he belongs. The more proximate names would certainly be the most easily modified, the more distant names would be those most easily lost, or else would linger on unchanged.¹

In all these cases, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that much would depend upon the line of descent when such changes took place. I have observed that changes in the class systems from the normal type are always far more apparent where there is agnatic descent. Where this comes in the old equilibrium seems to be profoundly disturbed. The primary class divisions may be lost (Narrinyeri) or the totems may have almost disappeared (Woiworung) or both may be wanting, leaving only the abnormal totems the "man's brother" and the "woman's sister" (Kurnai),² or finally the whole class system may have disappeared (Coast Murring and Chepara).

Agnation is clearly connected with these later changes, but some other cause must be sought for these earlier changes which divided and again sub-divided the community under the law of descent through the mother. At present I cannot see any more reasonable cause than a profound feeling in the aborigines against close intermarriage, or as they put it, against "mixing the same blood."

This feeling is a very strong and living one in the Australian savage. No one will be prepared to contend that it is an innate one. It has been arrived at by their ancestors through a course of reasoning which has satisfied them. Anthropologists will have to modify their views as to the reasoning powers of savages. They do reason, and granting their premises, their conclusions are strictly logical and correct. Those who have had much to do with savages, and have got into their confidence

¹ I have at present no evidence bearing directly on the change of totem name, but I am indebted to Mr. J. C. Muirhead for a case in which the tribal (local) name has been changed. He says in speaking of a tribe now called "Münki-bura," which was located at Natal Downs and at the Cape River, "I am not able to state how this tribe came by its name or how the word Munki came to mean sheep, but the following instance of an alteration in a tribal name may illustrate the way in which such changes come about. There is at present a tribe living about 60 miles south of Clermont having the name Wandali-bura. It was formerly called Düring-bura when inhabiting Gregory Creek. For some reason it discarded this place, probably because a Native Police barracks was formed there, and is now called Wandali-bura from Wandali, = to loose, or to abandon or throw away. At one time the Wakelbura (Wakel = eels) tribe was called Orbül-bura, from *orbül*, a tuber found at the root of a small water lily."

² See page 50.

find that they are perfectly capable of reasoning within the limits of their experience.

I think, therefore, that there is reason for believing that originally the primary class divisions were in fact totems, and it might be well to abandon the terms "class divisions" and "sub-classes," and, as suggested to me by Mr. Fison, to adopt instead the terms "major" and "minor totem."

The Types under which the Class Systems may be arranged.

In a former communication I suggested certain formal delineations of the class systems. I have found these delineations so very useful in working out the new details which have from time to time come into my hands, that I propose to follow out the same plan in this paper also. The formulas, if I may be permitted to use that term, are very helpful in bringing into view the similarities and the differences of the systems, and thus also to enable one to mark what seems to have been the process of development. Thus working, the arrangement of the various class systems falls naturally under several "types," and for simplicity I omit in them the totem groups in each. A reference to the map (Pl. V) will aid the reader in following my statements in this section.

The Barkinji Type includes all those systems which have two primary classes and a group of totems belonging to each, and with descent counted in the female line. Abbreviating the tabulated statement of the system¹ it will be graphically formulated as having a community consisting of

$$A + B,$$

¹ As a good example of this type of class system, I give the following which extends over the Darling River from Menindie to Fort Bourke. I have given the totems in their English as well as aboriginal forms :—

Primary Classes.						Totem.
Mükwara	..	..	..	..	..	Bilyara—Eaglehawk. Türlta—Kangaroo. Bürkünüa—Bandicoot. Ülebüri—Duck. Karni—Lizard. Kälthi—Emu. Tüürü—Carpet snake. Namba—Bone fish. Birnal—Iguana. Bauanya—Paddy melon. Yerilpari—Opossum.
Kilpara	..	..	..	..	..

where A and B represent respectively the two exogamous intermarrying moieties of the tribe.

In the Barkinji tribe, and in others which extend over a vast space of inland Australia, there is descent through the mother.

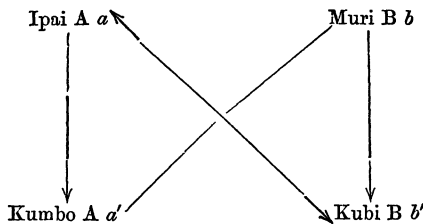
The Kamilaroi Type.—In a former memoir I have given reasons for believing the class systems of tribes which have the “Kamilaroi organisation” to be a development of the simpler forms of the Barkinji type. The Kamilaroi type of system may be shortly described as one in which a community divides into two primary classes, with four sub-classes, and with groups of totems corresponding to them. Descent in this type is generally in the female line. There are, however, exceptions which have descent counted through the father, and which are of sufficient range to form a separate type.

For an example of the Kamilaroi type of system I may refer the reader to previous papers.¹ The Kamilaroi type can be shown graphically by the subjoined formula.

$$A \begin{cases} a \\ a' \end{cases} + B \begin{cases} b \\ b' \end{cases}$$

While in the Barkinji type the descent runs direct in the female line through the class names, it appears in the Kamilaroi type, when one merely regards the names of the sub-classes, not to run in the direct line. Yet when the two diagrams of the descents are compared the principle underlying both is found to be the same.

I have found the subjoined diagram very useful in bringing before the mind's eye in a concise form the rules of marriage and descent in the Kamilaroi type of system. I give it in full for the four classes with the letters attached corresponding to the names as used in the condensed formula of this type. The arrows point to the direction in which the marriages and descents run in the one case used in the diagram, namely that of the two intermarrying classes, Ipai and Kubi.



¹ “Notes on the Australian Class Systems,” “Journ. Anthrop. Inst.,” May, 1883; “Notes on some Australian Tribes,” E. Palmer, “Journ. Anthrop. Inst.,” February, 1884.

Discarding the names and using the letters only, the sub-joined diagram of the marriage of Ipai with Kubitha, and the corresponding descent can be compared with the marriage and descent in the Barkinji classes which are their equivalents.



The line of descent in both runs in the same manner through the female line in the primary classes, but where the sub-classes are developed, it runs through that sub-class which with the sub-class of the mother represents her primary class division. The new arrangement is an ingenious restriction upon marriage, thus forbidding one half of the intermarrying class in its female members to any individual man, and moreover in thus removing a moiety it removes at the same time the man's daughter, who otherwise would be of that class from which he could lawfully take a wife. It removes from the possibility of marriage with him all those women who under the "group relationship" system must be counted as his daughters.

*The Waramunga Type.*¹—Another most peculiar and interesting class system has come under my notice. The community is divided into eight intermarrying classes. That is to say, into four times the number of those of the Barkinji, and twice those of the Kamilaroi type. As this type of class system is a new one to me, and as much interest attaches to it, I shall enter upon some fuller details, showing how the eight class names are related to each other. I have to thank Mr. Fison for most valuable aid in working out this system from the data furnished by Mr. Giles.

The information given by Mr. Giles does not disclose anything showing that there are any other class divisions beyond the eight to be mentioned, or that there are any totems attached to them. This, however, does not in any degree prove them absent, but only perhaps that they have been overlooked. The fact that the existence of the primary class names Dilbi and Kupathin escaped the notice of many of our correspondents is an instance enforcing extreme caution in drawing conclusions from negative evidence.

¹ Obligingly communicated by Mr. Allan M. Giles, of Tenant's Creek, S.A.

The Waramunga class names are as follows :—

<i>Male.</i>	<i>Female.</i>
Akamara.	Nakamara.
Ampajona.	Tampajona.
Ungerai.	Namajili.
Apononga.	Napononga.
Opala.	Narila.
Tungeli.	Nungeli.
Kabaji.	Kabaji.
Apongardi.	Napongardi.

That is to say, the sister of Akamara is Nakamara, of Ampajona is Tampajona, and so on with the other names, excepting Ungerai.

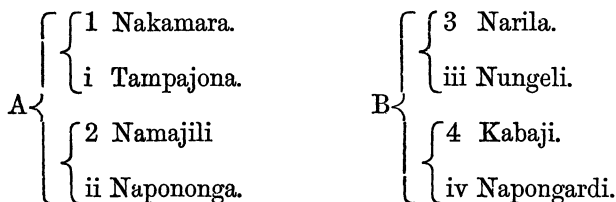
The first matter to be disposed of is how the above eight male and eight female classes are to be placed with each other under the Waramunga laws of marriage and descent.

As to this, Mr. Giles gives full information which I have tabulated as follows, assuming that descent is in the female line, as is most frequently the case in Australian tribes.

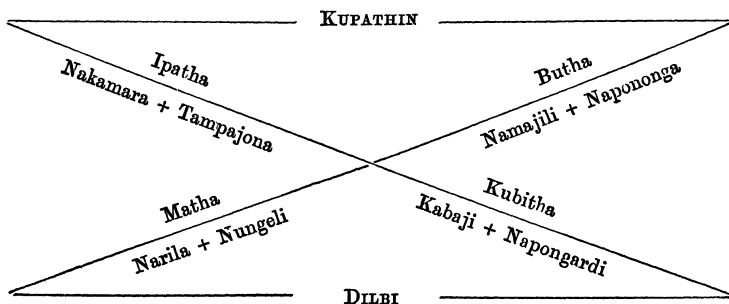
Female	Marries	Children are
Nakamara	Kabaji	Ungerai and Namajili.
Tampajona	Apongardi	Apononga and Napononga.
Namajili	Opala	Ampajona and Tampajona.
Napononga	Tungeli	Akamara and Nakamara.
Narila	Ungerai	Apongardi and Npongardi.
Nungeli	Apononga	Kabaji and Kabaji.
Kabaji	Akamara	Opali and Narila.
Napongardi	Ampajona	Tungeli and Nungeli.

The arrangement of the above in two groups, A and B, can be now deduced from this table, on the assumption that they are sub-divisions of two primary groups. I discard the male names, and take the female names as representing the classes. I commence with Nakamara A, who marries Kabaji; therefore Kabaji is of the class B, and their child Namajili is of the class A. Namajili A marries Opala, who is therefore B, and their child Tampajona is A also; Tampajona A marries Apon-

gardi B, and their child Napononga is A. Finally Napononga A marries Tungeli B, and their child is Nakamara A, being the name from which we started. Here, therefore, we have the following tabulated arrangement, which shows the eight inter-marrying classes in two groups, and they also fall into couplets as follows:—



This arrangement is based upon the fact that, for instance, Namajili is the child of Nakamara, but Nakamara is not the child of Namajili, as would be the case were we treating of two sub-classes of the Kamilaroi type, but is the child of Napononga. The explanation is that Nakamara + Tampajona are equivalent to one of the four sub-classes of the Kamilaroi type. For the sake of illustration this may be assumed to be Ipai. For in a discussion of the principles underlying these systems the equivalent names are of little moment so long as the relative positions of the several names are preserved. It is immaterial whether we assume Krokitch = Kilpara or to Mokwara so long as we treat the names as merely expressing the rule that the class A marries B and *vice versa*. On the above assumption that Ipai may be taken as representing Nakamara + Tampajona, the following diagram may be drawn out, which at a glance discloses the relation of the Waramunga classes to those of the Kamilaroi and Barkinji types.¹



¹ I desire distinctly to say that at present I have no knowledge which of the Waramunga couplets = Ipai. The future may bring information to connect the Waramunga with some other system whose value is determined.

Under female descent the individual reappears in the Barkinji type of system in each generation, and in the Kamilaroi type in the third generation.

The above tables make it now possible to ascertain what the results would be in an inquiry to ascertain the reappearance of the individual class name in the Waramunga type. It is immaterial which name is selected as all work alike. I take that first to hand, namely, Nakamara, and I discard the names, and, for the sake of simplicity use only the letters and numbers attached to the formal table, premising that, as before, m = male and f = female.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \frac{f \text{ A } 1}{m \text{ B } 4} \\
 | \\
 \frac{m \text{ and } f \text{ A } 2}{m \text{ B } 3} \\
 | \\
 \frac{m \text{ and } f \text{ A } i}{m \text{ B } iv} \\
 | \\
 \frac{m \text{ and } f \text{ A } ii}{m \text{ B } iii} \\
 | \\
 \frac{m \text{ and } f \text{ A } 1}{\&c.}
 \end{array}$$

The individual class name $f \text{ A } 1$ (Nakamara) only returns therefore in the fifth generation.

The Waramunga class system seems to me to add very great weight to my former argument that the extension of the class system into the Kamilaroi type was intentional, and not the possible result of accident, but for the object of preventing those intermarriages which the aborigines still regard as incestuous.

Abnormal Types with Descent through the Mother.

There were once tribes spread over the greater part of Western Victoria; indeed probably also over the adjacent districts of South Australia along the coast to the River Murray mouth, which had a social organisation of a peculiar type.¹ So far as I have been able to collect data, the various tribes referred to were not all upon the same level as regards their class systems. In some it seems to have been more complete than in others.

¹ See p. 60.

The difficulty of the inquiry is increased by the decadence of these tribes. Some of them have completely died out while others are represented by miserable remnants.

I find the Wótjbalük tribe of the Wimmera River to be the best example of this peculiar type.

This tribe occupied a tract of country on the eastern side of the Wimmera River, and extending northwards to the furthest limit of the flood waters beyond Lake Albacutya. According to my informants its class system was the same as that which extended over other tribes located in the country from the Avoca River, westward far into South Australia towards the Lower Murray, and from the limits of the Wotjbaluk country southwards to the sea-coast. It is certain that the northern limits of this system of class names was about the Murray River, where the names Kilpara and Mokwara obtained, and to the east where the class names Bunjil and Waa were found.

I have given a detailed account of the class divisions and totems, and therefore need only now refer the reader to it, and to say further that they can be delineated by the sub-joined formula, which shows the resemblance and the difference to the normal types.

$$A \begin{cases} a \\ a' \\ a'' \end{cases} + B \begin{cases} b \\ b' \\ b'' \end{cases}$$

In this type, therefore, there have been developed six sub-classes instead of the four of the Kamilaroi, or the eight of the Waramunga, but there has not been attached to them the peculiar alternating descents, which is their characteristic. It seems open to conjecture that in this form we may see only the Barkinji type with totems in a highly developed form. I shall have occasion to refer to this in a subsequent section.

Systems counting Descent in the Male Line.

All the tribes of which I have so far spoken in this section count descent in the female line. There yet remain, however, other tribes which count it through the male line. As before, I commence with that type which is the simplest.

A class system having two primary divisions only with totem sub-divisions obtained over a large part of Eastern Victoria (excluding Gippsland) and is best known to me in the form in which it occurred in the country north and south of the Yarra River, with the Woiworung tribe. The two primary inter-marrying divisions were Eaglehawk (Bunjil) and Crow (Waa) and there was one totem attached to the Crow division. Descent

was counted through the father, for the children of a Bunjil man and of a Waa woman were Bunjil, and of a Waa man and of a Bunjil woman were Waa. A marked distinction between this and the Barkinji system, which it otherwise resembled, excepting in the line of descent, was that the two major totems were collected into certain localities, thus forming "local totem clans," while with the Barkinji system the members of the two class divisions were scattered throughout the whole tribal territory, members of each division, and of course also of the totems, being formed in the several local tribal groups. In the Woiworung tribe, on the contrary, in certain localities all the men and the children were Bunjil, the wives being Waa, whilst in certain other localities the reverse was the case. There is in this a remarkable instance of a profound alteration in the social arrangements connected with the change in the line of descent, for it is evident that this class system is an altered and partly decayed form of the Barkinji type.¹ The class system of the Murring of the Maneroo tableland was of this type but with less departure from the Barkinji form. It had two primary class divisions, Eaglehawk (Mérung) and Crow (Yuckembrük), each with a numerous group of totems. Descent was counted in the male line and the child took the class and totem name of its father.² The members of the two classes were not aggregated into local totem clans, as with the Woiworung, but were as with the Barkinji distributed throughout the tribal territory.

The Murring of the coast line had, however, with male descent lost the class divisions, and the totems only survived as magical names which were transmitted from father to son.³

Examples of class systems framed after the Kamilaroi type, but with male descent, are found in tribes over a considerable range of country in South-Eastern Queensland. Of these the Kaibara tribe of the Bunya Bunya Mountains is a good example. I subjoin the tabulated system so far as it has yet been worked out.⁴

¹ "On the Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors," "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," May, 1886.

² In "Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," p. 7, "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," May, 1884, I stated that the Ngaryo class divisions had uterine descent. This was erroneous, as I afterwards observed.

³ Yet traces of the old law survive. No person may marry another of the same name.

⁴ From data kindly furnished by Mr. Jocelyn Brooke, Sub-Inspector of Native Mounted Police, Queensland.

KAIBARA CLASS SYSTEM.

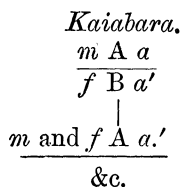
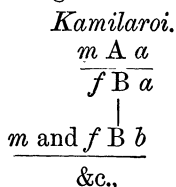
Primary Divisions.	Sub-classes.	Totems.
Kubatine	Bulkoin Bunda	Carpet snake. Native cat. Flood water.
Dilebi	Baring Turowain	Turtle. Bat. Lightning.

An inspection of this table shows no difference from the normal Kamilaroi type excepting in the names of the sub-classes and of the totems.

It is only when one examines critically the rules which govern marriages and descents that the distinctions come into view. To show this I now give a tabular view of the marriages and descents.

Male	Marries	Children are
Bulkoin	Turowain	Bunda.
Bunda	Baring	Bulkoin.
Baring	Bunda	Turowain.
Turowain	Bulkoin	Baring.

Using the same formula for this system as for that of the Kamilaroi type, but under the rules to be deduced from the above table, the subjoined diagram of the marriages and descents can be drawn out, and for comparison I have added that illustrating the Kamilaroi system.



From these diagrams it is clear that with the Kaiabara descent is in the male line, for the children are of the same primary division as their father, and of that sub-division which, with his own, is equal to the primary division. In the Kamilaroi type the children belong to the primary division of their mother and to the sister sub-class of that to which she belongs. I think that we may safely assume that the Kaiabara system is a development of that of the Kamilaroi type which surrounds it on the north-west and south, and of which it is the recognised equivalent.

Abnormal Tribes with Agnatic Descent.

Besides the tribes which I have now mentioned, and which have complete class systems, or traces of class systems, there are others which so far as can yet be made out have no class systems or totems. An instance occurs on the southern coast of Queensland in the Chīpara tribe. Careful enquiries by a competent correspondent in that district¹ seem to establish the fact that this tribe had neither class names nor totems, for the aboriginal informant upon whom my correspondent chiefly relied was acquainted with the Kamilaroi class names, and distinctly stated that in his own tribe there were none such. This seems also to be further confirmed by the statements of another correspondent² on the same coast line but somewhat further to the northward, who informs me that he knew of no such class names as those which obtain to the westward excepting in the case of a few individuals who bore them as personal names. This suggests that in these two tribes (Chipara and Turibul) the class systems had become extinct; just as the class system of the Kurnai had become extinct, and as that of the Coast Murring had also almost disappeared. It is remarkable that all these are instances of coast tribes.

The occurrence of individuals bearing class names in a tribe which did not have them as class names, is paralleled by the occurrence of a family having the name of Bunjil on the eastern side of the Bidnelli country in Eastern Gippsland, where this class name was otherwise unknown.

As a contribution to this part of the subject I have much

¹ Mr. James Gibson, J.P., of Stanmore, to whom I am indebted for unwearied assistance in a difficult enquiry.

² Mr. James Petrie, of North Pine River, who was intimately acquainted with the Turibul tribe from boyhood, and who as being affiliated to it accompanied the Turibul to the great Bunya Bunya feasts, which were held inland at certain times when the harvests of the fruit of the Bunya Bunya (*Araucaria bidnelli*) occurred.

pleasure in being permitted to add as an appendix a valuable critical analytical examination by Mr. Fison of the data given by Bishop Salvado as to the "names" of the aborigines near New Norcia in Western Australia. The original data will be found in a paper presented to the Legislative Council of Western Australia by the command of the Governor of that Colony in 1871. I endeavoured to obtain further information from Bishop Salvado, but I regret to say that my communication remained without reply.

The Totem Divisions.

The word "totem" which has been adopted from the well known nomenclature of the North American Indians, refers in this case to certain names which are borne by certain groups or divisions of the social organisation of the aborigines of Australia. This name which is borne by a whole group, the members of which are considered as being of the same blood and descent, is of course borne by the individual also. It is inherited from the mother or from the father according as descent is counted in the female line or in the male. Thus, taking an instance from the Wakelbura tribe of the Belyando River in Queensland,¹ where a man of the primary class Malera, of the sub-class Kurgila, and totem Small Bee² married, he would take to wife a woman who was of the primary class Wuthera, of the sub-class Obu, and of the totem Carpet Snake. The children would be of the totem Carpet Snake, but in accordance with the rule of the sub-classes which I have before referred to, would not be of the mother's sub-class Obu, but of the sister sub-class to it, namely, Wongo. The children, therefore, inherit the primary class name and totem name from their mother. When as in the Kaiabara tribe descent is in the male line, the rule is exactly analogous, *mutatis mutandis*.

The individual bears the totem name as one of a group to which the name is common, but besides this he has of course his own proper individual name, which, however, is often in abeyance because of the disinclination to use it, or even to make it generally known lest it might come into the knowledge and possession of some enemy, who thus having it might thereby "sing" its owner—in other words, use it as an "incantation."

Where there are two primary class divisions without four

¹ Mr. J. C. Muirhead, of Elgin Downs, who has an extended and intimate knowledge of the customs of these tribes.

² I have throughout given the English equivalents for the totem names.

sub-classes, as in the Barkinji type, it becomes evident that the totems are lesser divisions which form two groups, each of which as a whole is equal to one primary division. I only know of one case where the same totem occurs in both of the primary divisions, and I am not certain whether or no in this case it is an instance of two nearly allied birds, one of each belonging to a class. Where the four sub-classes are found the totem group which represents one primary class also represents its sub-classes in common. Thus, again taking the Wakelbura tribe as an example, the totem Carpet Snake belongs to both Wongo and Obu, these being the sub-classes equivalent to Wuthera, and so also with the other totems.

There is not any definite number of totems to each primary class; on the contrary, it is often found on enquiry that one class will have many more totems than the other, and that moreover some one totem will be a very numerous one as to its members—a “very strong one” as I have heard blackfellows express it—while another totem will be borne but by few people. This may arise out of several causes. There is the possibility in all cases, where the investigator has to make his enquiries from a few native informants that he may not have had given to him all the totem names, for naturally the informant will remember and give those totems with which he has most connection. Thus he will name his own and those of his father and mother, and of the group of women one or more of whom he may lawfully marry, and of those people who form the local group to which he himself belongs. The relative number of the totems may become unequal, for it is quite clear that a totem might be driven out of some district or even be extinguished by a blood feud, for in such a case all the “totemsmen”¹ would have to assist each other and equally abide the result.

The laws which govern the marriages of the two primary classes, and the descents of the children in them, also find expression in the laws governing the totems. But there are variations in the application of the exogamous rule. In all cases a person is prohibited from marrying another of the same totem, or even of one of the totemic sub-divisions of the same primary class. The fundamental law governs both cases. But the general law which permitted him to marry a woman of the other half of the community did not permit him in all cases to take to wife any woman of the other moiety, but frequently he was restricted in choice to a woman of some one totem. Thus, still further restrictions upon marriage arise. Starting from the

¹ “Totemsmen” may I trust be used in analogy with “clansmen.”

earliest restriction, namely, that of the Barkinji type of system, where the choice of a wife is confined to one moiety of the community, the successive sub-divisions into sub-classes and totems produces a further series of restrictions, independently of those which follow out of the action of the wide kinships which arise from the system of group relationship of these aborigines, based upon the original division of the community into two intermarrying groups, each of which had a structure which is now represented by the Pirauru groups of the Dieri and other tribes near Lake Eyre.

It is interesting to note that the totems seem to be much *nearer* to the aborigines, if I may use that expression, than the primary classes. In many cases a man may not kill and eat his totem, and it is a serious offence for him to kill that of another person with intent to injure him. The totem is very generally supposed to warn its human brother of impending danger. The totems give occasion for certain magical dances at the initiation ceremonies ; at the Jeraeil of the Kurnai the totem, "the man's brother," is invoked over the novices.

The folk lore of the tribes is full of stories about the totem animals and their doings. In these stories animals are the actors, but they talk and act as would blackfellows. The narratives often begin in this manner : "A long time ago when the animals were all men," and with the Kurnai, indeed, such animals are recognised as having been their ancestors, the "Muk-Kurnai."¹

The Kurnai distinguish between those animals which were "Muk-Kurnai," and those which are only "Jeäk" or "meat," and no more. It is not easy to recognise with certainty from these stories whether the actors in them are thought to have been animals or men, whether it is the animals which were anthropomorphic, or the men who were theriomorphic. They are men and yet are animals, this is all that can be said, excepting that in most cases they were more powerful, both physically and magically, than men now are.

It is not to be said, however, that all such tales relate to the totemic animals, for some relate to the supernatural beings also with whom the blackfellow has peopled the land, the water, and the sky.

I cannot say whether these tales have been invented to fit the existing totems, or whether totemy and these fables have had a simultaneous growth. Perhaps the latter is the most probable ; and this is certain, that when the aboriginal legends purport to account for the origin of totemy, that is to say, the

¹ "Great-Kurnai."

origin of the social divisions which are named after animals, it is not the totems themselves to whom this is attributed, nor the blackfellows, but it is said the institution of these divisions and the assumption of animal names, was in consequence of some injunction of the great supernatural being, such as Bunjil, given through the mouth of the wizard of the tribe.

Very many of these tales about animals have been recorded elsewhere by other writers on Australian subjects, and it will suffice if I now complete these remarks by recording several which are characteristic.

Among the Muk-Kurnai, or ancestors of the Gippsland blacks, the Crow holds a prominent place, and it figures in one of their favourite legends which recounts how Baukan nearly succeeded in robbing the Kurnai of their fire.

The tribe being engaged fishing, Būlūn, Baukan, and their son Buluntūt,¹ coming to the camp, took away all the fire, and began to ascend to the sky by way of Wilson's Promontory. Reaching the summit, Buluntūt threw up a string, made of kangaroo sinew, which stuck fast to the sky. He then tested its strength by pulling on it, when it broke. He then tried a cord of the sinews of the Black Wallaby, which likewise broke. Finally, he threw up a cord of the sinews of the Red Wallaby, which held fast. Then saying to Bulunbaukan, "Hold on round my neck," he began to ascend the cord, Baukan carrying the fire.

Now, while this was going on, Wagūlan, the Crow, had observed the robbery of the fire by Baukan, and went in haste to tell the Brown Hawk. He, hastening after Baukan, found the fire thieves climbing up to the sky by the cord which Buluntūt had thrown up, and he hereupon swooped on them, and striking violently with his wings, caused Baukan to let fall the fire. This falling to the ground was seen by Bembrin (the Robin), who carefully blew it into a flame, and smearing some of the fire over his breast, has remained thus marked to this day. In this manner the Kurnai regained their fire.

Another legend of the Muk-Kurnai says how that long ago there was a great drought. All the waters were drying up, and the little that was left was drunk up by Tidelik (the Frog). The Muk-Kurnai being reduced to great straits assembled, and endeavoured to persuade Tidelik to give them the water back. But he refusing, they next tried to make him laugh, so that he no longer could keep his mouth shut, and the water would run out. Some tickled his sides, and the Eaglehawk, the Crow, and all the others danced before him. It was of no avail until at

¹ Bulun = two. Baukan is a supernatural dual female being.

length Noyang (the Conger Eel) came up with lakeweed hanging round him, and danced on his tail. The sight was so ludicrous that Tidelik laughed in spite of himself; the water all ran out of his mouth, the lakes and rivers became filled again, and the Muk-Kurnai were saved from perishing by drought.

A Wotjobaluk legend is as follows. The portion which I give is part of a much longer story, all of which relates to animals:—

Two Brambramgal, who were the maternal uncles¹ of Doan (*Petaurus*?), were walking about and met an old man called Gertük (Mopoke), who had a water-hole of his own in the fork of a tree, which no one knew of, and which he would not show to any one. The Brambramgal watched him, and at last saw him go to the tree and drink. Then they said, "May the fork of this tree close up over our grandfather!"² The tree closed up and shut up old Gertük with his dog in the hole. Soon after Binbin (the tree-creeper) with two friends came that way and went running up round the tree. Hearing a voice somewhere, they said, "Where are you?" "Here I am," replied Gertük, "shut up in this tree." Binbin took his tomahawk, and began to knock on the tree to find out where to cut. "Don't cut there" said Gertük, "my forehead is there," "don't cut there, it is where the top of my head is," and so on, until Binbin got cross and cut a hole just where Gertük's breast was and cut him badly. He pulled him out and laid him on the ground. He was bleeding and nearly dead, but his dog came and licking his wound made him well again. The mark in the bird's breast is where the wound was.

Then Gertük being very angry got a kangaroo skin bag and went about collecting whirlwinds until he had it full. Then he tried it and finding it was strong enough to blow the trees out of the ground he went in search of the Brambramgal whom he found near Mükbili.³ He opened his bag and let out a whirlwind. The elder Brambramgal caught hold of a light wood tree⁴ which stood fast, but the younger got hold of a pine tree⁵ and has been blown away with it to a place called Waitwait Kalk. Being alarmed by hearing the noise of the bittern in the lagoons he went away further down the Wimmera River. Meanwhile the elder brother felt very uneasy about him and went for their mother. She, pressing her breast, sent the milk like a rainbow falling at the place where the younger brother

¹ Jarambüp = mother's brother.

² *Wine balebük jadtjira ngapa ngaurak.*

Let it close up fork grandfather our.

³ A place to the eastward of Dimborla shown on the maps as Muckbilly.

⁴ *Acacia melanoxylon.*

⁵ Probably *Callitris verrucosa.*

then was. It was very far off. She and the elder Brambramgal travelled all day and on the following morning she again pressed out some milk which fell nearer to them, and so on day by day until it fell quite near. Then the elder Brambramgal said "Wait here, mother, while I go and look for my brother." He looked about and found where his brother had been eating a duck, and at length he came close to him but his younger brother did not know him. The elder brother took care of him for several days until a snake bit him and he died. Then his brother being very sad said, "I wish that gum tree were my brother!" He cut it down and chopped a figure of a man out of it, saying continuously, "Get up and be my brother!" until the log got up and became a man and recognized his elder brother. Then the two went far away to the westward and lived in a large cave until after a time they went still further no one knows where.

The Woiworung had the following legend:—

The Native Companion¹ and Emu were black people. The Emu did not like to see the Native Companion with so many children. So he took all his own away and hid them except one. Then he went to the Native Companion and said, "Why do you let yourself be troubled with so many children—see how comfortable I am with only one." The Native Companion replied 'Yes, it is very well for you with only one—children are a great trouble—only what can I do—I have so many?' "You had better kill all but one," said the Emu. "I don't want to kill my children," said the Native Companion. "You take my advice and you will be much better off," replied the Emu. So the Native Companion killed all his children but one. Then the Emu brought all his out and said, "See how much better off I am than you!" Since that time the Native Companion has only one child.

The Abnormal Totems.—Besides what may be called the regular or normal totems there are others which are very peculiar and exceptional. When working out the beliefs of the Kurnai I found that their only existing totems were two, one being confined to the males and the other to the females. These totems, in fact, divided the community into two moieties of different sexes, and it was only after I had obtained a far wider view of the class systems of the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, that I came to see that these Kurnai totems are in fact common under other designations or under other representative animals to all the tribes mentioned.

In the Kurnai tribe the Emu Wren,² and the Superb Warbler³

¹ *Grus australiasianus*.

² *Stipiturus malachurus*.

³ *Malurus cyaneus*.

are respectively the "man's brother" and the "woman's sister." The Emu Wren is held to have been among the Muk-Kurnai of olden times, when, according to the phrase commonly used by the blacks, the animals were all men.¹

The high consideration given to the Emu Wren is abundantly shown by the fact that its name is invoked at the Jeraeil, or initiation ceremonies, over the novices for the purpose of infusing into them the due amount of manly virtues as the Kurnai see them to be.

Taking Gippsland as a starting point, I find in the coast country extending thence to Sydney that the Emu Wren is the man's brother but associated here with the Bat in the same relation, while the "woman's sister" is the Treecreeper.²

Totems of this kind no doubt extend far round the east coast, for I find that the "woman's sister" was known at Port Stevens,³ and I have lately heard of it at Brisbane.⁴

Proceeding westwards from Gippsland, totems of this kind are found to have existed among the Woiworung. In this tribe these totems were double, there being the Emu Wren and the Bat for the men, and the small Nightjar and the Superb Warbler for the women. Probably the same totems obtained among all the tribes of which the Woiworung were representative.

The Wotjobaluk of the Wimmera River had also these totems and thus show what were the beliefs of tribes over a vast area of country covered by the class names Krokitch and Gamutch. In this tribe the man's brother was the Bat and the woman's sister was a small Nightjar.

With these people these were real totems although of a peculiar kind. They were called "yaur" or flesh, or "ngirabül" or "mir," just as were the totems proper. The only difference was that the Bat was the brother of all the men while any one totem was the brother only of the men who bore it as their totem. The Wotjo said that the Bat was the man's "brother" and that the Nightjar was his "wife."

The curious custom of fighting about these totems seems to have prevailed wherever they were found. I have narrated elsewhere the Kurnai fights about them.⁵ The Wotjobaluk give

¹ There were also at that time animals which were women—for instance, the Superb Warbler and the Leatherhead (*Tropidorhynchus corniculatus*) whose constant chattering is appealed to by the Kurnai in support of their statement that it was once a woman. There are others, but these will suffice.

² Probably *Climacteris scandens*.

³ Mr. W. Scott, writing to me about the Port Stevens' blacks, mentions "a Woodpecker, the black gin's *gimbi*, or friend. The above mentioned Treecreeper is often called "Woodpecker."

⁴ Mr. James Petrie.

⁵ Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 201.

also a good illustration of this practice. They held that "the life of Ngūnūngūnūt (the Bat) is the life of a man and the life of Yārtatgūrġ (the Nightjar) is the life of a woman," and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is shortened. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim, and from this cause great fights arose in this tribe. I learn that in these fights, men on one side and women on the other, it was not at all certain which would be victorious, for at times the women gave the men a severe drubbing with their yamsticks while often women were injured or killed by spears, although they were clever at turning these aside or even breaking them with their own peculiar weapon.¹

Such fights also took place among the Murring and according to Mr. Petrie also at Brisbane. Thus it is seen that this curious belief in the two totems and the fights connected with this belief extended over a large part of South-Eastern Australia, and I doubt not that on enquiry it will be found to have a still wider range.²

Among the legends current among the tribes which were treasured up by the old men and repeated to the young people there are also some having relation to these totems which I may as well record.

These legends as well as those already given were told to me by old men of the several tribes, and I have endeavoured to record them as much as possible in the manner in which they were repeated.

The Coast Murring say that "long ago, when the earth was bare and as hard as the sky and without trees, Kaboka (the Thrush) by his magic caused a flood to cover the land by which all creatures were drowned except a few of the animals which crawled out into the dry ground and became human-like creatures. They were without sex until the Emu Wren differentiated them into men and women by a curious surgical operation."

The Wotjobaluk also have a legend which relates that formerly the inhabitants of the earth were like unto human beings, and the Bat feeling lonely made the difference in sex and thus having obtained a wife, made a fire by rubbing a stick across a log.

¹ Mr. Fison tells me that in one or two of the Fijian tribes there are occasions on which the women fight with the men. The women are allowed to use sticks and often inflict ugly wounds, while the men may only retaliate by slinging balls of clay at them from the end of a stick.

² Mr. A. L. P. Cameron speaks of these abnormal totems among the tribes in South-Western New South Wales in "Notes on some Tribes in New South Wales."—"Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. iv, p. 344.

With the Woiworung the Bat (Balaiŭng) seems to have been an adversary of Bunjil, and the following is a legend which I have heard.

“The Bat is the brother of all the men. A long time ago, the whole country was covered with long grass so that people could not walk about over it. Bunjil said to the Bat ‘Come and be with us on our side.’ But he replied ‘No, your’s is a very dry ground, you ought to come over to me.’ Bunjil said, ‘Very well! then I will leave you alone.’ He then sent his two men Djürt Djürt¹ and Thara² to burn the whole of the Bat’s country, and he went himself with his children to a place near Mansfield, called by the white men the Cathedral, where he put them in a safe place surrounded by stones. The country was burned up to the Murray River. Bunjil had said to Djürt Djürt and Thara ‘When you have burned all the country you can stop there and be stone.’ They are now turned to stone near Berwick, where you can see Djürt Djürt carrying Thara.³ A few of Bunjil’s children were burned, but the Bat and all his children were scorched. That is why he is so black and has such a grinning face.”

It is evident that the institution of the “man’s brother,” and the “woman’s sister” as totems is very widespread throughout Australia. I have traced it over an extent of about a thousand miles, and in tribes having marked differences in language and in social organization. It seems to be very persistent and enduring, for it remained among the Kurnai in full force after the ordinary social organization in class divisions and totems had become extinct. What may have been the origin of these abnormal totems I cannot tell. Possibly it may have been connected with the origin generally of all totems, and to explain the rise of totemism is as yet one of the unperformed tasks of anthropology.

The Class Divisions have been subject to Development and Decay.

In the preceding sections I have given my reasons for the belief that the primary class divisions were originally totems, and also that the class systems as a whole have been developed by subdivision of the earlier and simpler forms. There can, I think, be no doubt that the present totem groups are the youngest, and

¹ The Nankeen Kestrel, *Tinnunculus cenchroides*.

² The Brown Hawk, *Jericidea Berigora*?

³ I am told that in old times before white men came, the blackfellows when they wanted to catch plenty of kangaroos, used to go to these two stones, and taking a bough, strip off the leaves and throw them down in front of “Djürt Djürt and Thara,” then laying the twigs on the leaves. This is the only instance that I know of anything even approaching a votive offering.

in some cases of systems framed on the Barkinji type the primary divisions are totems as much as the totems themselves. The belief that the class systems have been produced by a division of the earlier groups has support given to it by traces of the process which can here and there be recognized. A good instance is given by the Wotjobaluk tribe. The two primary divisions of this tribe are found over a wide extent of country in slightly varied forms, probably dialectic variations; they have as sub-divisions not four sub-classes as in the Kamilaroi type, but six divided into two groups, and these sub-classes are, in fact, totems. These again have other groups of totems attached to them, for which in default of a better name I have used the term "pseudo totem." I subjoin the data in my possession, premising that there are details evidently still wanting. Enough is, however, recovered to enable me to deduce certain principles which, I believe, to underlie this system.

Primary Classes.	Totems.	Pseudo Totems.	Mortuary Totems.
Krokitch ...	Ngai = the sun ...	Bünji = a star, &c....	Würtangani = a shadow thrown by the sun.
	Barewun = a cave ...	— ? , &c. ...	Beäl Beäl = red gum tree. ²
	Batchangal = pelican, &c.	Berik = native cat, &c.	Mitbagragr = the bark of the smaller Eucalyptus. ³
Gamutch ...	Jalan = death-adder ¹	Günowara = swan, &c.	None.
	Ngüngül = the sea ...	— ? , &c. ...	Jarnia = sea weed.
	Würant = black cockatoo, &c.	Ngui = black duck, &c.	Darimürük = a synonym of the black cockatoo. ⁴

This system seems to be a peculiar development of the Barkinji type. It has two primary classes which are recognized as being the equivalents of the Barkinji class names.⁵ But in this case the totems have advanced to the grade of sub-classes. They have a markedly independent existence, subject to their primary. Yet there is not the restriction which is found in some of the systems of the type named wherein marriage of a totem is restricted to some other totem. In this case a Krokitch of whatever totem can marry a Gamutchgurk⁶ of any of the totems of that class, always provided that there are not any disabilities

¹ *Acanthopsis antarctica*.

² *Eucalyptus rostrata*.

³ *Eucalyptus dumosa*.

⁴ Dari = white, muruk = temple, or side of the head.

⁵ See p. 38.

⁶ Gurk is the feminine affix.

arising out of nearness of kin. Another peculiarity is that several of the totems have a second name, which seems to have been on the high road to separate existence, or which may be the old name in process of extinction. Ngauai, for instance, has a second name, Garchūka,¹ which one informant, a Ngauai man, claimed as the synonym of his "mir," or totem, in fact, that both of these "mir" were his names. But Ngauai was especially his, and Garchuka came "a little behind it." On the other hand another informant, who also claimed both Ngauai and Garchuka, said that he was especially Garchuka, and that Ngauai came a little after his other name. Wherein the difference lay I was unable to learn more exactly, but it seems to me that Ngauai and Garchuka are, in fact, very slightly divergent branches of the same totem. This is, moreover, indicated by a remark made by each informant as to the pseudo totems to which I shall refer further on. Krokitch-Batchangal has also a second name which, however, appears to be more a name than a totem. Its members are called "Darauyauūn-ngau-ūng," or "we are warming ourselves," a name given to them because fire (wanyep) is one of their pseudo totems.

I have given three totems of each class as examples, but there are more; of Krokitch eight, and of Gamutch at least four.

The pseudo totems are very peculiar. In a former work by Mr. Fison and myself, these were referred to in speaking of the Mount Gambier tribe.²

The two primary classes appear in fact to divide all natural objects between them. As the aborigines say of those things, "they belong to them." This is not peculiar to these tribes but is found at far distant places in Australia, and may be much more general than has been suspected.³

As the primary class is divided into a number of totemic subdivisions, so all the objects claimed by the class are divided between these totems. Thus each totem claims a certain number of natural objects which are not all animal, for there are also a star, fire, wind, &c.

The distinction between the totemic names which are subdivisions, and those which are not lies in this. Both are called "mir" but while one of my informants, a Krokitch man, takes his name Ngauai from the sun, he *owns* Bunjil, one of the fixed

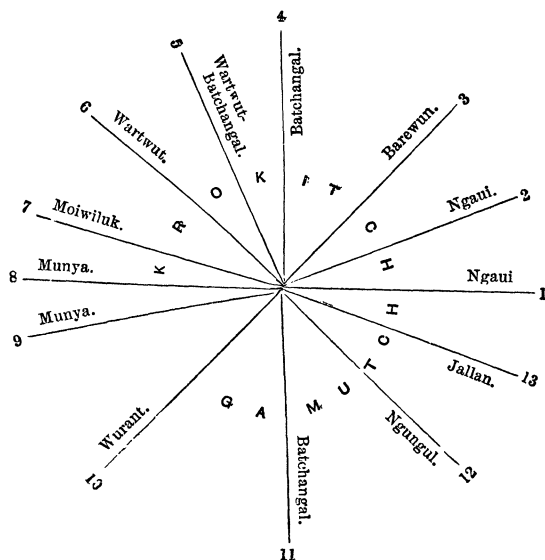
¹ White cockatoo.

² Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 168.

³ Mr. J. C. Muirhead tells me that in the Wakelbura and other related tribes in Northern Queensland everything animate and inanimate belongs to one or other of the two class divisions. A wizard may only use in his incantations substances which belong to his class. The stage on which a dead body is placed must be made of the wood of a tree which is of the same class as the deceased, and so on with other matters.

stars,¹ and does not take it for a name at all—he is Ngaui, but not Bunjil. The true totem owns him, but he owns the pseudo totem. Light is thrown upon the structure and the development of the class divisions by considering the mechanical method used by the Wotjobaluk to preserve and explain a record of their classes and totems, and of their relation to those and to each other.

My informant worked this record out by laying down pieces of stick on the ground, determining their directions by the sun, and I took the directions of these sticks by the compass.



The stick No. 1 was first placed in a direction due east² then stick 2 was laid down pointing N. 70° E. They represented the two sub-divisions of the Ngaui division of Krokitch and the people belonging to them or forming them were called “Ngaui-nga-gūli,” or “men of the sun.”³ The direction in which the sticks pointed indicated how the individual was to be laid in his grave. That is to say, his head was laid due east, or 20° north of east, as he respectively belonged to one or other of the

¹ Probably Fomalhaut.

² In the Wotjoballuk language North = Wartwut, by which name the hot-wind is also known; East = Bopel Bopel; South = Wépür; and West = Winjür.

³ Ngaui = the sun, gūli or kūli = man.

sub-divisions of Ngaui. Ngaui is the principal "Mir" or totem and from it all the others are counted.

My informant then placed stick 4 pointing north, indicating a very powerful Mir of Krokitch, namely, Batchangal. Stick 3 was then placed between 4 and 2, and indicated the Barewun people. The whole space between 1 and 2 is called "Kolkorn-Garchuka or "all" or "wholly" of the White Cockatoo. I have already said that this is a synonym of Ngaui, or nearly so. The space between 3 and 4 is called Krokitch-Batchangal, to distinguish it from another Batchangal of the Gamutch primary class which is represented by stick 11.

Stick 6 was now laid down, being Wartwut, the name of a powerful Mir, whose totem was the Hot-wind, which blows in that country from about north-west. Stick 5 placed between 4 and 6 pointing N. 20° W. indicated Wartwut-Batchangal, a totem having affinities to both 4 and 6. The space between 4 and 5 is called Kolkorn-Batchangal or "all," or "entirely Batchangal," and between 5 and 6 the space is Wartwut-Batchangal. My informant had now some difficulty in fixing the directions for the remaining totems of Krokitch, and he stated that to work it out satisfactorily he would require to get a number of men together so as to have members of the other totems to point out their own directions. However, after consideration he arranged as follows: He placed 8 as indicating Mūnya, and on either hand 7 and 9, indicating respectively Moiwilūk, and a second totem of 8. The space between 6 and 7 he called Wartwut-Moiwiluk, between 8 and 9 Kolkorn-Munya. The space between 7 and 8 he did not name, and I omitted to ask him. These nine sticks represent the principal totems of Krokitch. Perhaps there may be more, as there appears to be, for instance, a vacancy between 2 and 3 and between 3 and 4: on the other hand if the totems 5 and 7 are sub-divisions of 4 and 6 respectively, the vacancies referred to would be explained on the supposition that 2 and 3 had not sub-divided. That 7 is a sub-division of 6 is suggested by the statement of another informant that he was Wartwut but that Moiwiluk also "belonged to him," and by the statement of the informant who made the diagram of stick that the informant just named was "Wartwut but also partly Moiwiluk."

It seems, therefore, that the totems have been formed in this instance by a process of sub-division, by which for instance the group Ngaui has been separated into two nearly allied totems. Munya has also separated into two totems, which are distinguished, if not by separate pseudo totems, at any rate by different mortuary names.

Since the totems are counted from Ngaui, and since Krokitch-

Batchangal comes next in order of importance, it may be that Barewun has been a later development. As the space in the diagram between Ngauai and Barewun is called "wholly Garchuka" it seems possible that Barewun may have been a segmentation of Batchangal.

The synonym Garchuka for both of the Ngauai totems may also mean that that name is the oldest of all, and that out of it those two totems were formed.

Analogous suggestions arise from other particulars given in the diagram.

The mortuary totems are only applied to an individual after his death. Thus a Krokitch-Ngauai man dying would no longer be spoken of as Ngauai but would be "Wurti-Ngauai" or "a Shadow thrown by the sun;" a Krokitch-Batchangal would be Mitbagragr, or the "Bark of the Mallee," and so on. How this has arisen I know not, but it may, perhaps, have been connected with the extreme disinclination of these aborigines to mention the name of the dead.

The tabular form which I have given of the Wotjobaluk class system is imperfect, but the details suffice to show that it is a somewhat abnormal development of the Barkinji type in which the totems have obtained a marked prominence and have been in process of further segmentation partly in themselves and apparently also by the influence of the pseudo totems.

Cases such as that of the Wotjobaluk tribe show a process of development in the class systems, but there are other cases where there seems to have been a decay of the class system tending towards extinction, and of these the Woiworing tribe is a good example, because in it the process has been arrested by the annihilation of the tribe by reasons of the "blessings of civilisation" at a stage when one totem still remained extant. Other totems are recognisable in their apotheosis as stars, as recorded in the folklore of the tribe.

I have had occasion in other papers to deal with this tribe, to which I refer the reader for details.¹ The following are details relating to my above statement.

It was one of a number of kindred tribes all bound together by the same organisation. They occupied that part of Victoria which may be roughly defined by saying that in addition to the Western Port District it extended round the flanks of the Australian Alps to the Ovens River and northwards, westwards, and southwards as indicated by the points Seymour, Sandhurst, Bacchus Marsh, and Geelong. Beyond these boundaries were

¹ "The Jerneil," "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," May, 1885. "Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors," "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," May, 1886.

other communities distinguished by having on the north-east side the Kamilaroi organisation, on the north-west, west, and south the class organisation of the Wotjobaluk type, and to the south-east the Kurnai tribe without any class names whatever. Within the bounds named all the tribes had the two class names Bunjil and Waa, and they constituted what may be called the "Kulin nation," from a word found in some form in all their different dialects and meaning "man," *i.e.*, one of their own full grown males.

The social organisation of these tribes was based upon the above class names with descent in the male line, and the distribution of the members of the two classes in local totem clans, which I have before referred to. I cannot pretend to have obtained a complete list of all the clans of the different tribes of the Kulin nation, but the information which I have recorded gives certain trustworthy data. Out of fourteen clans I find six which were Waa and eight which were Bunjil. Marriage was of course between the two class names, and therefore since these names had received a peculiar local distribution, or perhaps had been locally aggregated, the marriages had become local as well as totemic. That is to say, a man being confined to one class name was also confined by customary law to the choice of a wife from some one or more localities.

The class name Waa = Crow had no totems, but Eaglehawk = Bunjil had one totem, Brownhawk = Thara. A native legend recounts how Bunjil left the earth with his sons and ascended to the sky in a whirlwind. Woiworung astronomy points out where they now are. Bunjil is Fomalhaut and as my informant said, "He is looking at what men are doing." The "sons"¹ of Bunjil are shown in the subjoined table.²

Tádjeri	Achemar	<i>Phascogale pennicillata.</i>
Türnüng	?	<i>Petaurus pygmaeus.</i>
Yukope	α crucis	?
Dántün	β crucis	<i>Trychoglossus multicolor.</i>
Djürt-djürt ³	β centauri	<i>Tinnunculus cenchroides.</i>
Thára	α centauri	<i>Hiericidea Berigora?</i>

¹ Spoken of at p. 59 as Bunjil's "men."

² My Woiworung informant used a curious *aide memoire* for Bunjil and his sons, and he said it was used by his tribe for the purpose of record. The little finger of the left hand is used for Tadjeri, the ring finger for Turnung, the middle finger for Yukope, the fore finger for Dantum, the thumb for Thara, and the thumb of the right hand for Djurt Djurt. Here the record ends.

³ The Wotjobaluk say that Djurt is the brother of Bunjil, who was once a

The first column gives the native name of the totem animals, the second that of the star. The star which is "Turnung" was pointed out to me but I cannot now identify it.

The totems which Waa must have had seem to have become totally extinct without leaving a trace behind. My informant, who was Waa, and who was an extraordinary repository of information relating to his tribe, knew of none. I am convinced that had there been any legend about the "sons," that is to say, the totems of Waa, he would have known it.

The Woiworung class system when it existed in a complete form, must have been precisely that of the Barkinji type—that is, it had two primary intermarrying classes (Eaglehawk and Crow), each having a group of totems attached to it.

I submit that the instances which I have given shew that we may still find traces in the class systems both of development and of decay tending towards extinction.

Conclusion.

In these notes I have placed on record additional facts as to the structure and geographical range of the class systems of tribes spread over almost the whole of the eastern half of the Australian Continent. I submit with some little confidence that the comparison of the different systems suggests a probable explanation of the development of the more complicated systems from the more simple ones. The structure of these systems suggests also that their arrangement with so remarkable a system of checks upon marriage has not been a matter of accidental occurrence, or, if I may use the expression, of the automatic development of their society, but of deliberate arrangement by a long succession of the aborigines in the past, who have thus endeavoured to bring their matrimonial arrangements into accord with that which they believed to be right and proper, and for the welfare of the community.

But while a comparative study of these systems reveals to us with some certainty their structure and the manner of their development, it leaves us in uncertainty as to the causes which led to their first inception, the manner in which the two primary divisions were formed, and the character of the more primitive society out of which the two intermarrying classes grew. It may be a matter of inference that the earlier group was what we have elsewhere spoken of as an "undivided commune," and

man on the earth and who is now a star. Bunjil's two wives were Gūnowara = Swan. With the Woiworung Bunjil is Fomalhaut and his two wives are γ and ϵ Piscis.

that it would resemble one of the two exogamous groups of the Pirauru practice, in so far that each level generation had its marital rights in common, and as a whole was the parent of the next following generation.

It seems indeed that some such earlier community is implied by the establishment of the two primary class divisions. Yet their segmentation, if I may use that word, must have occurred at so early a period of man's history as to admit of the resulting social organisation of two exogamous classes being carried over the whole of the earth's surface wherever savage man has penetrated.

Such a conclusion seems to me to be forced upon one by the prevalence of this organisation over the whole world arranged into some form of intermarrying exogamous groups analogous to those of the Australians.

On this view it may be hopeless to expect to find any record of the causes which led to the origin of the two classes, or if we find any tradition which purports to give an explanation it is one which attributes it to a supernatural agency.

As to the origin of the totem names, I do not venture upon an explanation. *I find no data at present upon which I feel it safe to generalise. All that I think I may venture upon is, that if the two first intermarrying groups had distinguishing names, they were probably those of animals and their totems, and, if so, the origin of totemism would be so far back in the mists of the ages as to be beyond my vision.

If others feel that they have a clearer vision, well and good, but it will be well to bear in mind that no explanation of the origin of totems and of totemism will suffice which ignores the Australian evidence as to the development of aboriginal society out of a status at least as primitive as that of the Pirauru group. Still less will it avail to deny the existence of the "intermarrying classes," or to assert that "they are a hypothesis only."¹ They are facts patent to all inquirers, and any one who chooses can examine them for himself.

Shortly stated, the conclusions to which the facts recorded in these notes have led me are as follow :—

(1.) The class systems of Australia have been developed from the original division of a community into two exogamous groups, each one being of the Pirauru character, and with descent counted through the mother only.

(2.) The gradual development of the various class systems has been accompanied by changes in the status of marriage and in the line of descent.

¹ J. F. McLennan's "Studies in Ancient History." New edition, edited by Dr. McLennan. Appendix, p. 315.

(3.) With the decay of the Pirauru practice, and the establishment of individual marriage, the line of descent has been changed from the mother to the father only.

(4.) With individual marriage and descent in the male line, the tendency has been for the class organisation to become extinct, and for the organisation in local groups to take its place.

(5.) Among the many causes producing social changes must be counted the influence of a more plentiful food supply in better watered districts.

APPENDIX.

The New Norcia Marriage Laws.

Bishop Salvado, of the Catholic Mission at New Norcia, Western Australia, shews the marriage regulations of the aborigines in that locality by means of an ingeniously arranged tree,¹ which is reproduced by Mr. G. W. Rusden in his "History of Australia," vol. i, p. 117. The reader is referred to Mr. Rusden's work as being more accessible than Salvado's.

The New Norcia tribe is divided in six classes, its system therein differing from that found among the West Australian natives in the neighbourhood of the N.W. Cape, which is of the four-class Kamilaroi type, with the usual arrangements as to marriage and descent.

The six classes are called, respectively, Palarop, Nakongok, Jirajiook, Mordorop, Tondorop, and Tirarop. Their marriage prohibitions are exhibited in the following table:—

Class	May not marry
Palarop	Jirajiook, Palarop.
Nokongok	Jirajiook, Nokongok.
Jirajiook	Jirajiook, Palarop, Nokongok.
Mondorop	Tirarop, Mondorop.
Tondorop	Tirarop, Tondorop.
Tirarop	Tirarop, Tondorop, Mondorop.

A glance at this table shows that the six classes range themselves into two sets of three each, and the prohibitions reveal

¹ "Information respecting the Habits and Customs of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Western Australia." Presented to the Legislative Council by His Excellency's commands. Printed by the Government Printer, Perth, W.A., 1871.

an exogamous law, which is strictly binding upon every class, and partially binding upon each set. A clear distinction between the two sets is thus arrived at; in fact, each set represents a primary class, like Dilbi or Kupathin of the Kamilaroi, but with three sub-classes belonging to it, instead of two, as in the Kamilaroi system. Distinguishing these primary classes as A and B, we have :—

A = Palarop, Nokongok, Jirajiok.
 B = Mondorop, Tondorop, Tirarop.

In the following table the marriages are shown, those which offend against the usual exogamous law of the primary classes being distinguished thus *.

Primary Class A.	Marries	Primary Class B.	Marries
Palarop	{ Mondorop B. Tondorop B. Tirarop B. Nokongok A.*	Min dorop ...	{ Palarop A. Nokongok A. Jirajiok A. Tondorop B.*
Nokongok	{ Mondorop B. Tondorop B. Tirarop B. Palarop A.*	Tondorop ...	{ Palarop A. Nokongok A. Jirajiok A. Mondorop B.*
Jirajiok	{ Mondorop B. Tondorop B. Tirarop B.	Tirarop... ..	{ Palarop A. Nokongok A. Jirajiok A.

From the foregoing we get the social organisation of the tribe which is as follows :—

- (1.) Two primary classes.
- (2.) Each primary class has three exogamous sub-classes, any one of which may marry into any sub-class of the other primary division.
- (3.) In each primary class two of the sub-classes intermarry with one another as well as with all those of the other primary division.

It will be observed that one sub-class in each primary division (Jirajiok A, Tirarop B) marries only into the other division. That is to say, these two sub-classes observe the usual exogamous rule of the primary classes, and the question is, why the other sub-classes do not observe it? One or two

conjectural solutions of this problem might be offered ; but our experience in these researches has made us shy of such solutions how plausible soever they may appear. If we knew the regulations as to descent and the totemic divisions of the sub-classes (supposing them to exist here as elsewhere) we should probably find in them much to help us. Unfortunately Dr. Salvado not only does not give these particulars, but he turns a deaf ear to our appeals for information concerning them, and all our efforts to obtain the information from other sources have been equally unsuccessful.

LORIMER FISON.

Description of Plate V.

Sketch map of Australia, showing the geographical distribution of the various class-systems.

The PRESIDENT read the following note :—

NOTE *on* AUSTRALIAN MARRIAGE SYSTEMS

By FRANCIS GALTON, M.A., F.R.S.

A very simple way of understanding the peculiarly complicated system of Australian marriages has lately occurred to me, and I should be glad to bring it before the notice of the meeting. The well-known Kamilaroi system is as follows: I add the letters A., B., C., D., to the names of the sub-phratries for the purposes of the explanation to be offered :—

TABLE I.

A Male	marries a	and the children are
A. Muri	D. Kumbo	C. Ipai.
B. Kubi	C. Ipai	D. Kumbo.
C. Ipai	B. Kubi	A. Muri.
D. Kumbo	A. Muri	B. Kubi