

X, 1a

DEATH AND BURIAL

W.A.

SUMMARY

<u>Page</u>	
1	Customs common to all tribes Customs resembling those of the ancient Jews
3	Modes of burial in Southwest W.A. Perth burial
6	Manner of communicating a death (Perth)
7	Burial customs :- Eucla and Eyre Fraser Range Williams district
8	Cape Riche, Hay district, Albany and Denmark, Mount Barker, Korrlup,
9	Bridgetown, Kojonup and Eticup districts
10	Wagin district, Narrogin, Augusta River
11	Busselton, Burial of native in trance
13	Burial of Doonan people in Capel district
15	Pinjarra district
17	Perth, Burial and Mourning
19	Mourning, Pinjarra
20	Perth customs
23	York and Beverley
24	Southwestern districts - burial
26	Victoria Plains, search for murderer
28	Mooranoppin, Eastern Goldfields district - Southern Cross, Canegrass, Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, Kurnalpi, Laverton.
30	Duketon, Gingin
31	Gingin, the spirit of the dead
32	Wannamal and Mogumber, Dandarraga
33	Berkshire Valley, Marah and Watheroo, Carnamah, Dongara, Northampton
34	Yoolyarin, Yuin
35	Gascoyne and Ashburton
36	Fortescue
37	Pilbara, Sherlock River
38	Sherlock River, communication of death
39	Roebourne, Rableland, Nullagine, Fitzroy
40	Turkey Creek, Broome and Beagle Bay
41	Tree burial of younger men. "Bone sucking"
46	Sunday Island
47	Kimberley

DEATH AND BURIAL

The various rites and ceremonies connected with death and burial are in most cases scrupulously carried out. Why this form or that form of burial should obtain in certain tribes, the natives cannot say. Their fathers buried so, and they must follow the rule. There is great homogeneity in the mourning habiliments, and in many other ceremonial proceedings connected with death and burial, and tribal relationships will be indicated in the similarity of burial customs within certain tribal areas.

The customs which are common to all tribes are :-

Wailing for the dead; drawing blood from thighs, head or face, and the application of certain mourning colours on face and body.

Many of these customs strikingly resemble those followed by the ancient Jews, between whom and the aborigines several Scriptural analogies have been found, not only in burial and mourning customs, but in many other rites and observances peculiar to both races.

The manner of wailing for the dead mentioned in Jeremiah IX, 17-18, is literally carried out by the natives, who "call for the wailing women that they may come . . . and take up a wailing for us that our eyes may run down with tears." The loud cry of the women induces the shedding of copious tears by the male relatives of the deceased who are within hearing of the sounds. In the Weld district I watched strong men whose eyes "gushed out with waters" as they sobbed in mourning for their mother who had gone, and when Joobaitch died at Cannington, the loud cries and abundant tears of his family and friends showed the strength of their grief. The moment the spark of life has departed the loud wailing of the women at once commences.

The commands in Leviticus XIX, 27-28, that "ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard; ye shall not make any cuttings in your

flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you," show that these customs obtained amongst the Jews, as they do at the present day amongst the aborigines. The natives "round their heads and mar their beards" by cutting or singeing off hair and beard. They "make cuttings in their flesh", for the men gash their thighs and the women their heads and faces leaving the blood to flow over face and body. They "print marks upon themselves" by the application of mourning colours on faces and bodies, or by the scars left after the self-inflicted wounds.

Again in Jeremiah XXI, 5, where it is commanded that "they shall not make baldness upon their head," the women of many tribes cut and gash their heads so desperately, that a baldness almost always ensues when the scars have healed.

Ezekial's words in Chapter XXVII, 31, that "they shall cry bitterly and shall cast up dust upon their heads and shall wallow themselves in the ashes" are fulfilled in some tribes whose women and sometimes the men frequently cast themselves upon the ground and throw handfuls of dust and ashes over their heads and bodies in the excess of their emotions, and the injunction in Deuteronomy XIV, 1, that . . . "Ye shall not . . . make any baldness between your eyes for the dead," shows that this custom was common to Jews and aborigines alike, for the native women literally scratch their faces "between the eyes" with their sharp finger nails, their head wounds being made with flints or digging sticks. Many other extracts might be culled from the Old and New Testaments in support of native customs, but the above are sufficiently indicative of the prevalence of certain pronounced Jewish customs amongst the aborigines.

Amongst the Moslems also, the custom of self-wounding in excess of grief by the men, and lacerating themselves with their nails by the women, held sway. Mahamat tried to put a stop to these practices in vain. Throwing dust upon the head in sign of mourning was common in Asia and Egypt.

There were at least two distinct modes of burial amongst the Southwestern natives. Those people who dwelt amongst the hills and away from the sea dug the grave north and south, placed the body partly upon its right side with the head towards the south, the eyes looking towards the rising sun. The earth was formed into a semicircular shaped mound on the west side of the grave.

Those tribes living on the low lying grounds and estuaries of the Southwest coast dug the grave east and west. The body was placed on its back with the head to the east and the face turned slightly on one side so as to look at the midday sun. The earth was thrown out into two heaps, one at the head and the other at the foot. Boughs and logs were placed on the body and the grave afterwards filled up with earth. Not only were these two methods common to the natives of the various districts; there were also other differences noticeable in the burial of Tondarup and Ballarruk, in the areas where the primary phratries were subdivided, and between the burial of Wordungmat and Manitchmat. These variations lend colour either to the probable existence at one time of two separate stocks or races from which the present Southwestern aborigines have descended, or that a state of society existed at one time which was far in advance of the present level of culture of the aborigines.

In the Perth district, the burial of a Tondarup was conducted as follows :- Two Ballarruk brothers-in-law commenced to dig the grave by making several holes in a straight line with their women's wannas, pressing the wannas down as deep as they could. The grave was dug east and west. When several holes had been made, the wannas were discarded, and with their hands the diggers proceeded to take the sand out, placing it evenly in two heaps, one at the head and the other at the foot of the hole. Two smaller heaps of earth which, as the bottom of the grave was reached, had mixed with sand, were placed at either side of the hole. The grave was about two feet wide

and between four and five feet in length. The exact east and west direction were maintained throughout the whole length of the grave. While the men were digging, the sorcerer of the tribe who was "mother's brother" of the dead man, stood by the grave watching intently for any indication of the direction of the murderer. None being forthcoming, as soon as the grave was finished, a fire of small bushes was lighted at the bottom of the hole, and the direction of the smoke was eagerly watched by the sorcerer, who squatted on the ground beside the hole. A slight westerly breeze blowing at the moment sent the smoke to the eastward, and the sorcerer, taking up his meero, pointed it towards York, where the magic which had killed the native had come from.

Perfect silence reigned amongst those who stood and watched the sorcerer until his meero had pointed to the district where they must look for the murderer, when a howl that was half groan went up from the assembled men, all of whom had relatives in that district.

When this point had been settled and the sorcerer had risen to his feet, the brothers-in-law went over to the camp where the body lay on its kangaroo skin cloak. They lifted the corners of the cloak and carried the body sideways to the grave side, letting it down gently into the grave, where after the fire had burnt out, a few leaves and small boughs had been thrown. Upon these the body was laid in a reclining position, the face being turned towards the east, or rather upwards, the eyes looking upwards to the rising sun.

As soon as the body was lowered, boughs and leaves were heaped upon it, and on top of these thick logs of wood were placed to prevent the wild dogs from disturbing the body, and the grave was afterwards filled up with earth from the two side heaps, the sand heaps at the top and bottom being left undisturbed. No earth appears to be thrown directly on the body, leaves and boughs or rushes being the first covering.

All the while the women of the camp kept up a continuous wailing, cutting and gashing their own and each other's heads in the extremity of their grief, but they did not approach the grave too closely. The man's spear was broken, and after the point had been taken off his meero, the weapon was stuck in the centre, not at the head, of the grave mound. The nails of the dead man were not burnt off, although this custom was general in the south. A small fire was then placed between the grave and the new camp, and the mourners departed. The murderer was afterwards either "bulya'ed" by the sorcerer, or some of the near relatives of the dead man made a journey to York and killed a member of the tribe or family suspected.

In almost all cases, except when an insect is unexpectedly dug up from the grave and chooses to go in some particular direction, in which the avengers must also go to in search of the murderer, a grudge of some kind will exist against the tribe towards whose camp the fatal smoke and meero have been turned. When Joobaitch lay dying he suspected two men, a kangaroo totem man, and an opossum totem man of putting bulya into him, but in his case he himself had been the offender and he had always expected the bulya which would kill him to come from them. One of the men who had sent the bulya had, however, meant it for Joobaitch's son-in-law, who had taken his woman, but Joobaitch having intercepted the magic, the son-in-law escaped. By the law of the tribe, a member of each of these totems should have been killed in retaliation, and Joobaitch's son-in-law, as well as his sons, should have undertaken the mission of revenge, but the country being settled, they contented themselves with sending bulya in the direction of the murderers.

Their manner of communicating a death of one of their number is in a sense scriptural :- When Balbuk died, her husband returned to the Reserve, and going up to the oldest man, and the nearest relation of the deceased, he sat down upon his thighs, with his knees stretched out at either side. He then placed his breast against the other's, and put his right hand under the relative's left thigh, the cheeks of both almost touching. Not a word was uttered between them, but as soon as the women saw him go over to the old man, they knew that Balbuk was dead, and a loud wailing at once started which was kept up for some hours.

It appears from Eucla and Eyre correspondents that the natives of those districts did not bury their dead. The Eucla natives did not even wait for the death of the sick man or woman. When they saw that death was drawing near, the dying man or woman was placed in a comfortable position near a fire, and the tribe immediately left the neighbourhood, to which they did not return for a considerable time. The only forms of death which the Eucla people recognised were by magic and spearing.

The Eyre district natives stretched their dead upon the ground with the head turned towards the east. A small fire was placed beside the corpse, a little food near its right hand, and the vicinity was then deserted for many months. No mourning colours are stated to have been used.

The Corallinya (Fraser Range) natives dug the grave east and west, placed the head of the body, partly bent over to the west, the feet to the east. The head was so placed that the eyes looked towards the sunrise.

The Williams district natives buried the body in a reclining position. The nails were burnt off the finger and thumb, and these two members tied together. The head is towards the south, feet north, the eyes looking towards the east. A fire is placed eastward of the body and the man's meero is placed on the west side of the mound. If a woman died, her wanna was broken and placed at the head of the grave, and her goota was hung on a tree nearby. Spears were generally broken in half, or just below the point, and then stuck at the head, the broken part leaning over the grave. A semicircular sand heap was made to the west of the body, and a piece of wood might sometimes be placed horizontally on the grave. The hair of the dead man might also be cut to show to his relatives.

The Cape Riche natives dug a hole about four feet in depth and placed the body on its side with the knees cramped up and with the face turned towards the rising sun. The grave was filled with boughs, logs and earth and a semicircular mound was made west of the grave. A fire was sometimes lighted at the foot, or between the grave and the new camp, whatever direction that camp might be.

In the Hay district the grave was dug north and south, the earth being thrown out on the west side. The body was placed partly doubled up and on its right side with the face turned towards the rising sun. Sometimes a hut of boughs or bark sapplings was erected over the grave, and if the dead man had been popular, frequent visits were made to his resting place while the tribe remained in the neighbourhood, the visitors covering the grave or hut with fresh boughs and also relighting the fire. For mourning, the women put on white pipeclay on forehead, cheeks and nose, the men putting both pipeclay and charcoal on faces and bodies. The mourners, both men and women, cut and gashed their heads and faces, the men cutting their thighs only.

Albany and Denmark district people buried the body in a north and south direction. The Kendenup people placed the head towards the south, the feet to the north. The legs were sometimes bent inwards.

At Mt. Barker the grave was east and west, the body being placed in a reclining position, with the head towards the west, feet east. Recently the Mt. Barker people have adopted the Kendenup method, and place the head south (meewang) and the feet north (yabbaroo).

At Korrlup, 50 miles N.W. of Jerramungup, they were buried east and west, the face "following the sun."

The Bridgetown natives buried their dead with the head turned towards the south, the feet partly north and west. The eyes were turned towards their fire or own ground (meeal kal gurdung - eyes "fire" looking). Men put charcoal only on their faces and breasts, women pipeclay on faces. Men also cut the ends of their hair and beard to show to the dead man's relatives, if they were away, and also the dead man's hair and beard. His meer was placed on top of the grave, the spears being broken and placed in the hut which was erected over the grave. Kerl (boomerang) were sometimes put underneath the dead man's head or body, beneath the bwokka which the body was wrapped up in.

In the Kojomup and Eticup districts, the grave was dug north and south in sandy soil to a depth of about three feet. It was oval in shape and wider at the bottom than at the top. The knees of the corpse were doubled up and tied, and the forefinger and thumb of the right hand were tied together after the nails had been burnt off. This was generally done while the body rested at the side of the grave, a firestick being used for the purpose. The man was thus supposed to be prevented from scratching his way out of the grave, and using his spear.

The body, when placed in the grave, faced the east, and bark, logs, rushes, boughs and leaves were heaped upon it. The earth which had been taken out of the grave was not returned to it, but formed a mound on the west side, the grave itself being filled with boughs and logs. A fire was made near the grave and sometimes a hut was erected over it. The spears of the dead man were broken and with his other possessions were laid beside the grave or hut. The trees, if any, which were in the vicinity, were slightly marked with circles.

The Wagin district natives bury their dead north and south, the head to the south (meenung), the feet north (weelawal), the face looking towards the sunrise. The knees and thighs are tied together, this process being called "yoo-turning". The index finger and thumb nail are burnt off and the members tied. One side of the dead man's head is shaved, the hair being kept by the oldest near relatives. The old relatives generally perform the burial ceremonies, the younger members digging the grave.

When the Narrogin natives buried their dead, they lighted a fire and made a shelter beside the grave, and wherever they camped in their journey from the district they again lighted a fire and erected a shelter for the dead man, the fire being between their camp and the dead man's burial ground. The women scratched their cheeks and drew blood in mourning for the dead, the men gashing their thighs. Sometimes an old man "cocee'd" to the spirit of the dead, and if the "cocee" were uttered near a hill an answering echo came back, which the old man, who was bo,laguttuk, said was the voice of the spirit answering him on its way westward. A second "cocee" uttered in a lower voice was also responded to, and a third and then they knew the spirit was on its journey west.

Amongst the Augusta River natives, when a young man died, he was placed on his warraboka or kangaroo skin rug in a grave that had been dug east and west. The body lay almost straight in the grave with the head towards the west. The body was painted with wilgee, and dardarr (white pipeclay) was also put on the face and trunk. The head was ornamented with eagle-hawk feathers and emu plume (jenjee) and a noolburn was wound round the waist. Logs were placed over the body and with boughs, filled in the grave. Some of the sand which had been taken out was placed on top of the grave.

In the Busselton district the body was buried east and west, with the head to the west. The legs and thighs were tied together, the hands being placed at each side of the thighs. The meero was put at the feet of the body, not at the head. A hut was built over the grave and a fire was made between the grave and the camp.

A white contributor stated that some Busselton natives buried the body in a sitting posture, a small hole only being dug in the ground. The hole is then filled in with sticks to keep the dogs away. While the body is being buried or immediately after, the older men sing a request to the spirit of the dead man to "keep away for good, and not come back to haunt them." Spears are broken and placed in or near the hut or shelter, and the point being taken from the meero, it is also placed at the head of the grave. If a woman, the wanna is also placed at the head. Sometimes the spears and kallees of the dead man will be taken by his relations, particularly if they are well made.

It sometimes happened that a native was buried in a trance, burial almost always taking place as soon as the grave had been dug, or if the native died in the night, he was buried early next morning. Boyknyeen was the name of a Vasse native who, according to tradition, was apparently buried in a trance and soon afterwards came out of his grave. As he came towards the camp of his people he called out to them that they had put him in the grave and put boorna (wood logs) over him, and he tried to go through the stone but he could not get through, for the stone closed in front of him and he had to go back. His sister first saw him coming and she called out to him, "Are you not buried? We buried you. Are you coming back to eat us or kill us?" Boyknyeen told her that the stone closed and would n't let him go through. (This story is only a tradition current in the South amongst the older people. Whether the incident actually happened or whether it was merely an invention there is no means now of ascertaining.

Bo'lerr was the name of a Deep River native who apparently died. He had two women and the family being away by themselves at some special watering place, the women left the corpse at the camp, while they journeyed to another district to get some of the man's relatives to come and bury him. They were away two days and nights looking for someone to help bury their man, but had to return without finding any of the tribe. They came back intending to bury Bo'lerr themselves, but when they neared the camp they saw him coming towards them. They lighted fires to keep him away, but he still advanced towards them, and then the elder woman saw that he was alive. There is more likelihood of this story being true than the previous one, as if Boyknyeen were really buried, his thumb and finger nails would have been burnt off and his body "trussed" in the manner stated, rendering it almost impossible for him to have made his way out of the grave.

The burial of the Doonan people living in the Capel district was as follows :- The grave was dug east and west, the body being placed with the head to the east, the face towards the west. The corpse was placed on its side, with the hands either crossed over the breast or clasped against the cheek. The feet were tucked up behind the thighs. The sand that was taken out of the grave was piled in a heap at either end. The hole was about four feet deep, and boughs and leaves formed a bed for the corpse, with some additional leaves for the head to rest on. The deceased's cloak was wrapped round his body, leaving his head and neck exposed so that the natives should be able to see the face of their dead friend (babbin). The body was then covered with bark, boughs and logs and a little sand was placed on top. The grave when covered was quite level with the surface, the two heaps of sand at either end being left untouched. If the body was that of a young adult, shaved sticks were placed round the grave, the man's meero being placed at the head. Sometimes the sorcerer will hear the meero call "Mamma" (father) and Mamma's voice will be heard in answer. (Baaburgurt informant). A fire was lighted by an aunt (father's sister) or sister of the dead man, so that his kaanya (spirit of a recently dead native) could come and warm itself. The dead man's brother and sister may take his weapons. If the grave has, for some reason, been made some distance from the body, a sort of trestle, consisting of two logs about five or six feet in length, with short transverse pieces fastened with batta (rush) will be made to carry the body to the appointed place of burial. These logs will be unfastened afterwards and placed in the grave. The natives will visit the grave daily at first, and sweep and tidy it. Early in the morning a mulgar (sorcerer) stands near the camp, and shouts loudly, and from whatever direction the answering echo comes, the murderer will be found. (In other tribes, the answering echo is the dead man's voice). If the murderer is in a neighbouring tribe, the mulgar will go with two or three young men and either kill the suspected person, or one of his

relatives. If he belongs to a "far away" tribe, the mulgar will put "boylya" into a snake or a big kangaroo and send it after him. and the snake either bites him or he will catch the kangaroo and eat it and immediately become mindaitch (sick).

Every morning before sunrise, and every evening just after sunset, the women cry for the deceased, as if they did not do so, the men would become "sulky". This crying continues for about a month or more after the burial. The camp meantime has been moved some distance away but not too far for the women to come and tidy the grave. They are at first accompanied by the men who are on the look out for the murderer, but after a time the women go by themselves about twice a week. The mulgar makes a pointed stick called "weerago" as it is to make the murderer sick, and blowing upon this he points it in the direction of the murderer, and presently drops of blood will be seen falling from the point, and they all know the murderer has been caught and punished.

Baabur's wife Nembuk, was buried in her booka with her face towards Koorannup. She had no wanna, so there was none to put over her grave. Her father, mother, brothers and sisters performed all the ceremonies attached to the burial. They made a little fire at the foot of the grave and then left the place.

In the Piniarra district the grave was dug east and west, the sand being put in a heap at either side. The body was placed with the head west, the eyes looking towards the sunrise. The nail of the little finger of the right hand was burnt off. When the grave was dug, a fire was lighted in it and the direction of the smoke indicated the whereabouts of the woolgar (murderer). After the fire burnt out, a wanna was stuck in the same place and bent in the same direction as the smoke went. The grandmother sticks the wanna in the ground, and it is she also who makes the fire. The body is then placed on the booka which also covers it over. The corpse is laid on its back with the knees drawn up, the hands resting upon them. Heavy boughs and logs are placed over the body and some earth thrown in. The grave itself is made level, but at either end the heaps of sand are allowed to remain. The place is then swept clear, a few boughs being sometimes placed over the grave. The meero (if a man has died) is stuck at the head, the wanna (if a woman) is placed at her feet. A little clear place is made a short distance from the grave, and a fire is lighted on the spot, and the grave then left. Every morning however, while the natives remain near, the grave is visited by the women who cry loudly over the dead. This continues for two or three weeks, and at intervals afterwards crying and wailing by the old women may be heard for a considerable time.

The morning after the burial, several old women cry out to the kaajin (spirit) of the dead man, "Are you going away and leaving all your children behind you? Are you going to Nyeerrganup-Koorannup?" The kaajin answers, "Koo'o," and then they know he will never come back.

Banksia and jarra were the only woods used in connection with the burial of the Pin jarra natives. Moojoor or "Christmas bush" (*Nuytsia floribundia*) was never touched by them, as it was supposed to be the kaajin's tree upon which he might rest on his way to Koorannup. Whenever a branch broke off, the moojoor or any other tree, if the branch were green, the kaajin was

supposed to have knocked it off on his way to the home of the dead.

The body of a Pinjarra man may also be buried in a sitting posture, the hands and legs being tied. Whether these differences denote separate modes for Tondarup and Ballarruk, could not be definitely discovered. It is possible that the two methods are optional. The hair of the dead man may sometimes be cut off. When buried in a sitting posture, the face looks directly east, the back being towards the west. Tradition states that some of the ancestresses of the Pinjarra people "came from the east," and it is possible that their faces were turned eastward towards their former home. The meero, with the point extracted, is placed upright behind the head. The spears are broken, and placed some distance south of the grave. Heaps of sand are thrown east and west, and a few bushes may be placed westward of the grave. The ground is cleared for some little distance round the grave.

When a child dies, the mother makes a small hut of bark and sticks over the little grave, and also puts a fire between the grave and the camp for her child to warm itself, and to prevent its visiting her during the night. The burial of the child is not attended with any ceremony, nor is the little body placed in any special position.

Burial in a sitting posture was common amongst the natives between Bunbury and Fremantle, the faces of all being turned towards the sunrise.

The Perth natives who died at daylight were buried the same day. If a brother or son dies they keep him as long into the afternoon as possible in case some of his relations come from some outlying district and want to see him, but he is always buried the same day.

The Perth grave was dug east and west, and was about four feet in depth and five feet in length. When it was finished a dead bough was placed in the bottom of the hole and set a-light. While it was smoking and burning, the women and men all stood to windward, stepping first on one foot and then on the other, meanwhile uttering a sound like "gee'gee'gee'gee". The mulgarguttuk watched the direction the smoke took, and established the locality of the murderer. The thumb nail and little finger nail of the right hand were burnt off, these two members being tied together with a piece of wagarree (hair string) or geerak (kangaroo tail sinew).

When the grave had been filled up, the mourners went back to their camp. Old women put on pipeclay on their heads, faces and breasts in mourning for a son or daughter. Sometimes the younger Perth women put charcoal on forehead, cheeks and nose, or they used ashes for the mourning decoration. They might wear this mourning for mother, brother, sister, or for their babies.

Should a bandicoot, wallaby, or other night animal leave its tracks on or near the grave, the murderer was supposed to come from the direction towards which the animal was going. Or perhaps one of the man's relatives dreamed of his murderer, when no other evidence was required.

The two heaps of sand at the head and foot of the grave were left undisturbed. The body was placed in such a position that the dead person could watch the sun from its rising to its setting. The knees were bent if they were not too stiff,

but generally the body was placed in a reclining position. A hut was made over the grave and a fire in front. A paper-bark vessel containing water was put between the grave and the fire. The man's meero, with the point broken off, was put in the heap of sand at the head of the grave.

If the dead man were a bulyaguttuk, the bulya were distinctly heard going away from him, and were generally "picked up" by those of his relations who were also bulyaguttuk, and who were watching for the bulya to "pick them up", or they might be picked up by one of the dead man's sons.

The same night of the burial, as soon as it was dark, all the men gathered at the part of the camp which was nearest the grave, and with their faces turned towards the grave, all sang the following song :-

Janga winjar, janga wingar, (Spirit let us alone, or
leave us.)
Dangar winjar, janga winjar.
Ngobar wingar wa'dai,
Nyoo'nyoo'nyoo'nyoo.

They ask the spirit to go away over the sea for good, and to let them alone, and not to look back at them as it goes, nor tease nor hurt them should they be away from the camp getting water etc., to go away for always. The refrain "nyoo, nyoo" means practically "Shoo, shoo, be off." Amongst all the Swan River tribes this song was sung after the death of one of their number.

The morning after the burial, all the men went to the grave, walking in single file, each man carrying his meero only, and each one creeping behind and hiding in any shadow that presented itself, in order not to be seen by the murderer in case he had come to sit on his victim's grave. The bulyaguttuk would see the murderer sitting with the kaanya of the dead man on the grave, and would tell them whether he was bboyung or kalleep (stranger or countryman). Meanwhile the older women continued their loud wailing which went on more or less until the camp was removed. The locality of the murderer must, however, always be determined before the relatives leave the vicinity.

The spirits of all the Southwestern coastal natives were supposed to go to the home beyond the sea, and in many cases their faces were turned towards Koorannup, but in their burial ceremonies as in all else, there was no hard and fast rule as regards the details of the proceedings. The general position of the graves of coastal and inland people was always followed, but the position of the bodies etc., varied somewhat even in the same tribe. For instance, the female relatives of some of the Perth families did not cut themselves in mourning for the dead, but they sat round the corpse and cried loudly until the grave was covered; others cut their heads and scratched their faces as part of the mourning ceremony. If they did not do this, their menkind would beat them, as the dead man's nearest relatives would then think they were not sorry for him. Hence the louder they cried and mutilated themselves, the greater their sorrow was supposed to be.

In the Piniarra district too, the men and women sometimes sat round the corpse, and cutting and gashing themselves, let the blood from their wounds fall on the body. This however would not be done unless the dead man had a goodly number of powerful living relatives. It was really fear of the living more than of the dead, which prompted the excessive self-wounding, and demonstrative expressions of woe.

Should a stranger arrive when the family are mooyal (in mourning for a recent death), he won't go near the camp of the mourners, but will make a fire some little distance away, and wait beside it until he is brought to the camp by one of the dead man's relatives. No angry word must be spoken near the mourners for some little time after a death.

Generally the Perth people took a rather circuitous route with the corpse to the place of burial, with the object of confusing the spirit of the deceased so that he should not come back to haunt them that night, and a goodly space westward of the grave was cleared so that the spirit should find no obstacles on its way to its proper home. All burial customs have for

their object the prevention of the return of the dead man or woman.

Not more than one corpse, unless it be that of a mother and her newly born baby, is ever buried in one grave in the Southwest.

Some Perth natives, who had intermarried with the Pinjarra or Bunbury tribes, buried their dead in a sitting posture, and followed the mourning ceremonies of their relations-in-law.

The men might also cut their hair and beard off on the death of their father, mother, aunt or sister. If they had no dabba (knife), handy at the moment, they burnt off portion of hair and beard. The hair may also be cut off the dead man and sent to his babbin or koobong, or his hair and beard may be cut off and afterwards singed, the male mourners rubbing the singed fragments on face and forehead.

Many women in the intensity of real grief for the loss of a son, brother or father, will wound themselves seriously with knife, wanna, spear or any weapon they may catch up in their frenzy, and instances have been known of women dying from the effects of these self-inflicted wounds.

When a native had died, the place of his death obtains a termination for a period. When Joobaitch died, and one of his distant relatives asked "Where is the old man?", "Karragullen burt," was the reply, meaning "Karragullen no more," or "not", "his last footsteps were at Karragullen."

When Balbuk died, her death was alluded to as "Goordal win'ja-ga," (her heart had ceased to beat; goorda = heart, winja = let alone, or stopped). The hunting grounds of Balbuk and Joobaitch became "bindardee" (ownerless) after their death, for they were the last of their tribe. The hunting grounds are never bequeathed to anyone, for they are the property of the local tribe or aggregate of families until the last person dies.

The personal property of a dead man or woman, consisting of weapons, bookas, implements, dogs, etc., might be taken by some of his relatives after his death, if they were worth taking. The brothers, father, sisters, mothers, brothers-in-law or wives of the dead man might take or be given some of his personal effects, but the land belonged to all the families upon it, and could never be given away. A wilgee patch or some other special portion might be given by a dying father to his son or daughter, but it was very seldom that such a bequest was made.

The coastal natives all stated that when the inland natives died, they did not know how to guide themselves through the water, and therefore they fell an easy prey to the big parrot whose nest, "like a tree", lay in the middle of the sea, half way to Koorannup. The parrot caught them by the back, killed and ate them.

Any wilful neglect in carrying out the funeral ceremonies was generally punished in the old days. Even at the present day, when most of the coastal people are civilised, the old order must be maintained. Bunbung, Joobaitch's son-in-law, to whom Joobaitch had not given a daughter, attended the funeral. Wabbingan had "picked up Binnaran, Joobaitch's daughter, himself," and therefore was not called upon to attend the old man's funeral, but Bunbung was "brother stock" to Yinjeran, therefore Bunbung should have seen the old man buried, particularly as the old man had caught the bulya intended for Bunbung. Bunbung and Yinjeran cling carefully to the skirts of civilisation since Joobaitch's death.

When Mooraitch, Joobaitch's father died, his body was placed "nearly straight" in the grave, which had been made slightly longer than the body, this being the manner of burying the Tondarup people. The body lay east and west, and was covered with leaves, boughs and logs. The earth must not touch the body of the dead, but may be thrown on top of the logs

to fill in the grave. Mooraitch's widows made the hut over the grave, and also lighted the fire.

A piece of opossum string was wound into a short roll by the bulyaguttuk, and placed on the centre of Mooraitch's grave, and next morning the relatives came down to see in which direction the opossum string, which would have become unwound during the night, pointed. Tracks of boylyas were also eagerly looked for. If the string had untwirled to its full length, then the murderer came from a long distance, but if the length were a short one, then the bulya was sent by a tribe living near. In Mooraitch's case it was found that a Toojee bulya had sent the magic which killed him. Sometimes the dying man will name his murderer whom he says he has seen in a dream, but even if this were the case, corroborative testimony must be obtained "by fire and by string", for the Southern natives believe that the string and the smoke "point true." The boylya No'bul'wur, who killed Mooraitch, was killed by a Beverley man, a Gwerrjuk, or Kwurr borungur (brush kangaroo totem man).

The sons and daughters are buried after the manner of their mothers' people in the Swan district. Joobaitch's mother having belonged to the Bunbury district, Joobaitch should have been buried in a sitting posture, with legs and thighs bound.

The York natives buried their dead in a sitting posture. The nails of the forefinger and thumb were burnt off and the finger and thumb tied. The head was slightly inclined backward, the eyes looking towards the east. The hair of the dead man is cut off, and, with the nails, is placed in a small mound at the northern end of the semicircle of sand or earth. The peg of the meero is broken off, and the weapon stuck in the middle of the grave, and at the side the knife, axe, dowuk and spears of the dead man may be laid. The barbs and points are broken off all spears. The head is towards the south.

Beverley people also bury north and south, with the head towards the north, and the eyes looking towards the sunrise. The corpse is placed in a sitting posture, the hands resting on the knees. York and Beverley people who were born on, or whose mothers belonged to, the coast, were buried after the manner of the coast natives. If a young man, or an old man dies during some festivities, his ornaments, shavings, swansdown and other decorations will be placed on his grave.

Sometimes, while the fire that has been lighted in the grave is burning, the men present will strike meeros and spears together, for the purpose of keeping any "spirit" or bulya that might come out with the smoke away from them. After this they will gash their thighs, and stamping their feet, sprinkle the blood all round them. A little of the blood may be caught on a bunch of grass or leaves and thrown on the corpse. When the body is buried with the knees bent, the soles of the feet will not infrequently rest flat on the ground, the body lying on its back.

In many of the Southwestern districts, Murray, Bunbury and Vasse, the trees in the vicinity of a man's grave are marked in notches, circles or lines. No one pattern appears to be exclusively used in any district, as I have seen the three different markings in the same locality. The markings are generally rubbed with wilgee, and not infrequently wilgee has been strewn on the grave, but only when the occupant has met with a violent death. The doubling up of the body was peculiar to the tribes who buried their dead in a north and south direction, and from York downwards Albany this custom appeared to have been common. The body was not bound, but immediately after death the nearest relative of the dead man arranges his limbs in the accustomed manner. He places the head slightly forward, bends the arms so that the hands may be either crossed under the chin, or placed resting on the knees. He draws the knees forward and upward to the dead man's breast, and pressed the legs close to the thighs. The body generally rests on its right side when this method is followed. No matter in what direction the grave is made, it must always be absolutely regular, the slightest deviation being noticed and amended. It is always the nearest relatives of the dead man or woman who dig and arrange the grave. In many of the remote parts of the South of Ireland the custom still obtains amongst the peasantry of the relatives of the dead man taking it in turns to dig and fill in the grave.

According to F.F. Armstrong, Native Interpreter in Perth in the early thirties, a native woman who had lately lost a child, while yet at her breast, was observed milking her breasts into a piece of bark, in order to lay it on the grave of her dead child.

Sometimes the frenzy of the older female relatives of the dead man will excite the men to fury, and some of them will lash themselves into a most frantic passion, crying, "Kaia, kaia, nganya ye'ee watto geejee bal, nganya bomungur bal. Kaia, kaia ye'ee nganya watto." (Yes, yes, directly I go to spear him (the murderer), I will kill him, yes, yes, today, directly I go.) While they are singing or reciting these words, they are vibrating their spears tremulously in an excess of passion, stamping on the ground, and otherwise working themselves into a furious state. When worked up to this pitch, if they were not restrained by the more temperate of their friends, they would rush off immediately to the place where the murderer presumably was.

The Victoria Plains district natives tie the wrists of the dead man together, after burning off the thumb and index finger nails. The knees are drawn up in such a position that the heels touch the buttocks. The elbows stick into the joints of the thigh, and the hands are placed under the chin. The nails are buried in a little hole close to the grave or in the mound at the head. The grave is made east and west, and the body is placed on its left side with the head turned towards the east. The food which remained from his last meal is put beside him, that is, if any remains, and near the food are his broken spear, meero and tabba (knife). The knife and the food are close to his mouth and the weapons are at his shoulder. The grave has been laid with a bed of leaves and boughs, and the body is wrapped in an old kangaroo skin. Instead of filling the grave with bushes, logs, etc., sometimes a heavy stone is dropped upon the right side of the corpse, which lies uppermost, breaking all the bones. Upon the stone, logs and other stones are placed, and a little earth strewn on the top. If the man has been killed by an enemy, the spear which killed him is burnt so that it shall not retain any of the spirit of the dead man. The fires, hut and other funeral accompaniments are similar to the coastal and other tribes.

While they are seeking the murderer, if a known friendly tribe is met with, the news is conveyed in the usual manner, and after a sojourn together, the avengers resume their journey. Sometimes an eloquent member of the avenging party will sing in a sort of recitative the manner of his kinsman's death. The others seat themselves in a circle, and the narrator, standing in their midst, begins his account. With action of face and body, and with modulations of the voice, he illustrates the different parts of his story, which he will continue in a voice now strong and loud, now lowered and melancholy, now vibrant and decisive. His voice, naturally flexible, and at the moment well modulated, carries his hearers

with him, and they hang on every word and gesture of his while he is occupied with his narrative. The "music" of the recitative in the Southwest is the ascending of a semi-tone octave, short in the high notes, slightly minor in the middle notes, and protracted in the base for the time necessary to finish the period. At this time nothing can distract the attention of speaker or hearers. When the recital is finished, everyone sits down to a repast, and if the night has come, all will rest, the avengers resuming their journey next morning.

In the Victoria district also a large circular area is swept round the grave and the bark of the surrounding trees is "ringed". Peeled or shaved sticks, called beendee, may sometimes be put round the tree, or the grave, or in a line from the tree to the grave.

The Mooranoppin natives covered their graves with a heap of grass, and erected a small grass hut over it. The body was so placed as to face the rising sun. Before burial the forefinger was broken to prevent the dead spirit from throwing spears at the living, and his thumb and finger nails were burnt, and the thumb and finger tied together so that he should not scrape his way out of the grave.

Throughout the Eastern Goldfields districts the methods were somewhat alike. The Southern Cross people buried the dead with the head to the west, feet east, the body lying on its side, the eyes looking towards the southwest. The elbows were tied and the knees were bent and tied to the thighs. A sheet of bark covered the body, and stones, wood and sand were pile on top. The meero (wambarra) was broken, and placed upright at the head, the wanna, if a woman had been buried, was placed at the feet.

Candgrass people bury their women head west, feet east, their men being buried with the head to the east and the feet west. Why this distinction was made I was unable to discover in the short period of my visit to the native camp. Good women and men are buried deep but bad natives, that it those who break the laws of their people, have only a shallow grave.

The Coolgardie people appear to have been buried in the same manner as at Southern Cross, as both belonged to the same "road". Two semicircles of earth or wood (acacia) surrounded the graves.

A white contributor stated that some of the tribes eastward of Kalgoorlie buried their dead with an arm or leg bone protruding above the grave.

The Kurnalpi people buried their dead in a sitting posture, the head of the corpse being quite near the surface. Laverton natives placed the head to the east, the feet west. The club was put on top of the grave, the meero being put underneath the head. The hair of the dead man was cut off and taken away to

show his relatives. Spears were broken and thrown beside the grave. The eyes looked towards the sunrise. Wood was placed on top of the body, and the hole filled up with stones or sand.

thoonda - legs
weedabi - body
kaata - head
meena, mara - hands

Position of dead body



head east
feet west

Kajjees left in
camp.

Boorna placed beside at head and Meero here
on top of body. Eyes looking towards Sunrise

The Duketon natives made a shallow hole which they scooped out with their wooden vessels. The hole was about four feet in length, two in width and not more than three or four feet deep. The body was laid on its back, with the knees drawn up. String was wound round the legs and thighs which were drawn up towards the breast. The arms were bent at the elbow, and fore and upper arms were tied together. A few heavy logs were laid across the body and then covered with branches. No earth was put on the grave. Two fires were lighted, one at each side of the grave, and the ground cleared for several yards. The bushes at the edge of the cleared space were broken down and pointed towards the grave.

The Gingin natives buried their dead in an east and west direction. Woolberr made a small grave to show how it was done. A wanna loosened the earth, and a walbai or handleless spade scooped out the sand which Woolberr placed most carefully at the head and foot of the hole. Occasionally he looked to see if the proper direction were maintained. A piece of wood representing the corpse wrapped in some bark, was placed in the grave which was then filled with logs and fresh boughs. A little branch was stuck in the centre of the heaps of sand, not in the grave itself. Fresh clean sand, not taken from the heaps, was put over the logs. The meero was put at the head of the grave. Westward from the heap of sand at the head of the grave, a bed of grass etc., was made, and round this the father, brothers and mother's brothers of the dead man put their spears and meeros upright to try to find the direction from which the bulya came. They leave them in this position all night and next morning come to the grave to see if they have been disturbed. Those that might have moved not only showed the point from which the bulya came, but others were also bent to show which of the men should start on a mission of revenge. The owners of those which moved had to follow the murderer. A fire was made between the bed and the heap of sand at the head of the grave.

When the men return from their journey of revenge, they bring boughs with them representing the number of men they have killed, the boughs holding the kajjeen of the dead men. These they place as daaja (meat) on the grave of their relative. They generally speared the enemy in the stomach. They may tie the thumb and forefinger of the corpse, or the little and third fingers.

When a very old man died, a small wanna was placed at his head instead of the meero, as the old man had no meero, being too old to use one. A paperbark yarloo (vessel) was filled with water and placed beside the bed for the kajjeen to drink.

The kajjeen of the dead man haunts the place of his burial, which is near the karlok (fire or camp), and to prevent the spirit harming the living, the parents or bulyaguttuk gather a few boughs, and make a small shelter, lighting a little fire beside it where the kajjeen sits. Day after day the kajjeen comes to this fire which must be renewed until he ceases to come or until the tribe have left the neighbourhood.

Woolberr believed that his woman would see his kajjeen as he went through the sea to the home of the dead, but where that home was he could not tell. "By and by," said Woolberr, "our bones will be white like a kangaroo's, but our kajjeen is somewhere. We see nothing in the day time, but at night in our dreams we can see the kajjeen of our moorurt (relations). They walk about although their koojee (bones) are buried, but they do not want their koojee."

When Woolberr saw Banyap, his woman, she was always dressed in her booka, and had her wanna and goota. Her booka covered her body and face except her left eye, which followed the sun from its rising to its setting. If both of Banyap's eyes were exposed, and Woolberr saw them it would be bad for Banyap as well as for him. "Don't show the sun all the face - that is weendung (bad); left eye only looking - gwabba (good)."

"Woorongul wordong" is an announcement of the death of a Gingin man.

At Wannanal and Mogumbur, the body was placed on its side facing the rising sun. A half circle was made of the earth that was thrown up from the grave, which was oblong in shape. The body was wrapped in its booka, and the smaller personal effects of the dead man were buried with him. His meero and dowuk were placed on the grave over which a hut was built, a fire being placed about two yards from the grave, the fire might be kept alive for perhaps two moons by the wife or relatives of the dead man. Noy'yung or Ngunning can carry out the funeral arrangements. Charcoal was used for mourning, and was kept on the face for two or three moons. Camp was shifted some time after the burial, and after all the ceremonies had been concluded, the tribe left the vicinity and did not return to it until the grass had grown over the grave. If the brothers of the dead man had long hair, they cut it off in mourning for him, and both the mother and the wives and the sisters of the dead man will cut and scratch themselves and make the blood run down their bodies. After a short time the widows will go to the hut of their husband's brother.

The thumb nail is burnt off, as if it were not, it would grow very long and exceedingly sharp, and the kaanya could spear anyone with it if it were not burnt off. The finger and thumb are also tied together.

The Dandarraga natives placed the grave in an easterly and westerly direction. The body was buried with the head to the west, the eyes looking towards the rising sun. If however, the person belonged to the south, the face looked towards the south. The nails were burnt off and the finger and thumb tied. The meero or wanna were placed on the grave, and all spears of the dead man were broken. His personal effects were burnt.

At Berkshire Valley the body was buried in a sitting posture, the head facing the east or south or wherever the person came from. Nails were burnt off and finger and thumb tied. "Babbilyung" was the collective name applied to the hut, or cleared space, and fire or grave. When a booldha mullain (sorcerer) died, all his magic went into another booldha.

At Marah and Watheroo the body was laid flat on its back, the eyes looking up to the midday sun. The man's meero was placed at the head of the grave. The thumb and finger nails were burnt off and the members tied together.

The Carnamah people bury their dead with the head in the direction of the locality to which the deceased belonged. The nails were burnt off and the fingers and thumbs tied. The hair of the dead man was sometimes cut off and burnt. A meero was placed on the grave.

The Dongara people buried their dead in a sitting posture with the face turned southwest or west. Eastern people sat with their faces turned towards the east. Finger and thumb were tied and the nails burnt off.

In the Northampton district (Mount View), a round grave was made in which the body was placed in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed and the face set towards the birthplace of the dead man. The body was buried two or three hours after death, in sandy ground. All present cry and wail loudly for the dead.

In another part of the Northampton district (Arrancoba), the corpse was buried in a kneeling posture, the head usually facing north, feet south, but the head was generally placed in the direction the deceased man came from. The head hung down by the sides. Weapons etc., were burnt, except spears, which were broken.

Amongst the Yoolyarin (Ullaring on map) natives, the body was laid on its back, the head west and the feet east. The hands were placed in front of the shoulders and the knees were drawn up. The grave was not more than five feet in length. A double semicircle of earth and boughs was placed at the head of the grave. The meero, with the point extracted, was put on the grave, and a fire was lighted eastward of the mound. Spears were broken, but walaanoo (boomerangs) were given to mothers' brothers or brothers-in-law "far away".

In the Yuin district, Carlyon states that the corpse was buried in a sitting posture, with the face turned towards the place of birth. A fire was lighted either within or beside the grave, and the smoke watched to see where the murderer came from. Should two men fight and one of them be killed, if the living native has not been met with for five or more years after the death of his victim, as soon as he is encountered by one of the dead man's relatives, he must be speared.

Cornally, informant

VARIOUS MODES OF BURIAL

Amongst the circumcised tribes the dead are buried in sitting posture with their faces to the east. The hole was about four or five feet deep. As a rule the corpse was disjointed a few minutes after death, the body was then fixed in a sitting posture with the arms and hands resting on the knees. Except the disjointing of the limbs the body was not further mutilated, the hands being left whole. A few boughs or some dried grass or sometimes both were placed on top of the corpse and then the sand was filled in round the body and covered the boughs and grass that were placed on the head. There were no boughs placed in the bottom of the grave. The head of the corpse was never more than two feet below the top, generally less. When the grave had been covered over, they made a horizontal hole with the wanna through the mound, sometimes two holes, widening the entrance to these holes slightly so that the jingi could easily find its way out. After the grave was finished, and the holes were made, a raised ring about two or three yards in diameter was formed round the grave, the space round the mound having been swept clean beforehand. When night came a fire was made inside the ring by an old man or woman and then the relatives moved their camp to some distance further. For two or three nights only the fire was lighted by the old man or woman, who returned to the grave about sundown, lighting the fire and at once departing. All weapons, implements, utensils and ornaments of the dead person were burned in the shelter where the native died. The natives refrained for some time from hunting in the district the man hunted last over.

P. 58

When a man or woman died his or her namesakes had immediately to change their names, which they never used again, but Cornally states that after a year or two the name of the dead person would probably be given to some child. They never mentioned the dead person's name if they could possibly avoid it; if they must mention it they spoke of them as the daughter or son of so and so. The fire was lighted so that the spirit of the dead person might be easily able to obtain a firestick when it came out of the grave.

The spirits of the Agardee natives were supposed to go up to the moon.

The Watardees buried their dead in the same manner except that the faces were turned towards the West. As the spirits of these natives went to Beejalin, Bul-bar-ee, the island off Carnarvon and the moon, it may be that the face was turned towards these islands.

The place was swept clean and kept clean for weeks, months sometimes. The fire was kept alight for the same period as the Agardees, the utensils, etc. were burned with the camp of the dead person and the name banished from their minds and speech.

Wailing and crying in varying degrees, according to the temperaments of the cryer was begun immediately the breath left the native. Everyone in the camp cried at the first, but afterwards the men never cried, but every morning before daylight the old women of the camp started a loud wailing which lasted for half an hour. No tears fell, it was a kind of singing wail in which the women enumerated the virtues of the deceased, but without mentioning the name. This continued for months at a time. When the messenger went to announce a death he ran to the next tribe, and when he reached the camp he walked up to the men quietly with downcast head and gave his news saying the mother, son or daughter of so and so had died. As soon as he delivered his message, he either travelled further with his news or if he were tired from the journey a young native took his place and so on until the news was carried to all the members of the tribes. The adjoining tribes also heard the news as they would probably have amongst them relatives of the dead person. If a messenger met a relation of the dead person during his journey, he stopped at once and communicated his news, embracing and crying as he told it and as soon as this ceremony was over the journey was continued.

In some parts of the Gascoyne, the natives dig a deep hole on the east side of a bush, the hole being sometimes over five feet in depth. At the bottom of the hole they make a small drive underneath the bush, digging or sinking again to a depth of about two feet. In this hole the body is placed rolled up in a sort of knot, neither sitting nor in any other special posture, simply rolled so that it shall fit into the small hole made for it. If there is difficulty in getting the body into the hole, a relative of the deceased stands or jumps on the body, making curious noises the while. The hole is left open for perhaps a day, after which it is filled up with the personal belongings of the deceased, and some logs and boughs. Water in a bark or wooden vessel may be left beside the hole.

Cornally, informant

Notebook 3b, P. 40

Cornally states that although the name of a dead person may not be mentioned in the tribe for some time after his death, the restriction is not absolute, as not only is the name spoken after a year or two have passed, but children will be named after a favourite member of the tribe who has been dead some time. Several instances of this may be found amongst the Mya and Byong tribes on the Gascoyne.

According to Spencer and Gillen (Northern Tribes of Central Australia, P. 526) when once a man is dead no woman may ever again mention his name, but this law apparently does not obtain on the Gascoyne, nor in the Nor'West. Examples of this bestowal of dead natives' names upon children have already been given. The owner of the name must however have been dead some time. (It is "when his flesh has gone from his bones" that his name is resumed amongst the living.)

smother the little spark of life yet in them. They generally however, wait for the sorcerer to give the signal before they

In some parts of the Gascoyne, the natives dig a deep hole on the east side of a bush, the hole being sometimes over five feet in depth. At the bottom of the hole they make a small drive underneath the bush, digging or sinking again to a depth of about two feet. In this hole the body is placed rolled up in a sort of knot, neither sitting nor in any other special posture, simply rolled so that it shall fit into the small hole made for it. If there is difficulty in getting the body into the hole, a relative of the deceased stands or jumps on the body, making curious noises the while. The hole is left open for perhaps a day, after which it is filled up with the personal belongings of the deceased, and some logs and boughs. Water in a bark or wooden vessel may be left beside the hole.

There are not many native graves to be seen in the Gascoyne and Ashburton districts, although the natives are numerous in both these districts, which would lead to the inference that the natives have either some secret places of burial, or that they eat the bodies of their dead, or burn them. Almost all the sorcerers of these districts, generally carry a human bone with them, preferably the small arm bone, and this custom might point to cannibalism. But again there are many hills in the northwest districts which are simply loose boulders roughly heaped together, and these the natives could easily, and without any trouble of digging, utilise as burial places. The tops of sandhills and undulating slopes are often chosen as burying places.

The head of the corpse is generally placed between the knees, and the face turned towards the east, or to whatever point of the compass the man's tribe belongs. It is customary throughout a great part of the Northwest for the natives to fall upon the body of the dying man and by sheer weight to smother the little spark of life yet in them. They generally however, wait for the sorcerer to give the signal before they

throw themselves on the body. The nearest relatives of the dead man are those who take part in this ceremony, and the sorcerer does not give the signal until he thinks all hope of the man's recovery is over.

This custom is first noticed in the Gascoyne district, not further south, and appears in various places until Beagle Bay is reached.

The mourners of the dead cut themselves with flints, wannas, clubs and meeros, and throw themselves on the ground,

Cornally, informant
Gascoyne district

MOURNING CUSTOMS

Notebook 3b, P. 92

In some tribes the natives mixed kaolin in their yandees and the men covered themselves all over with the white mixture and in other tribes they only covered their thighs, arms and breasts with the mixture, sometimes on their backs. The women made a plaster cast of this kaolin by pounding it up and then covering their heads with it, close to the scalp. They frequently left it on for six months at a time. This was only worn by widows who had lost their husbands and they were generally old women. The young women painted their thighs, breasts, cheeks and foreheads but did not wear the cap. Elderly women wore the cap for any relative who died, but the young women only painted themselves with the kaolin. The men covered themselves all over with it, for a father, brother or some favourite relative, they only wore it for a few days - a week at the outside. In some tribes the men went into mourning for one of their wives of whom they might have been fond, but they rarely covered their bodies entirely in mourning for their wives, unless they were special favourites.

logs, and a little earth on top. Wailing for the dead, cutting and wounding themselves, and rolling in the sand and dust, are customary with the natives of this district.

throw themselves on the body. The nearest relatives of the dead man are those who take part in this ceremony, and the sorcerer does not give the signal until he thinks all hope of the man's recovery is over.

This custom is first noticed in the Gascoyne district, not further south, and appears in various places until Beagle Bay is reached.

The mourners of the dead cut themselves with flints, wannas, clubs and meeros, and throw themselves on the ground, rolling in the dust, until they become exhausted.

A large space round the grave is swept and cleared of all grass and leaves and smoothed down with the hands, this being generally the women's work. The fire may be made on top of the grave, and sometimes food, roots or seeds in a small yan-dee (wooden vessel) will be placed near the grave. Water and food are however optional, but the kindling of a fire near the grave is general throughout the State.

If the deceased is a man, all his personal effects, his ornaments, hair necklaces, etc. etc., will be laid beside or in the grave. The shield, meere and club are placed near the food and water.

The Ashburton district natives will sometimes double the body into as small a space as possible, and lay it on its side, instead of in a sitting posture. The thumbs of the corpse may also be tied together to prevent the dead man from digging his way out again. The sorcerer will often harangue the corpse, telling it to remain away from them and not to come back to tease or torment them or do them harm.

In the Fortescue district the body is also rolled up into a bundle, buried in a small hole and covered with sticks, logs, and a little earth on top. Wailing for the dead, cutting and wounding themselves, and rolling in the sand and dust, are customary with the natives of this district.

In the Pilbara district the body is placed in a sitting posture, the face being towards its birthplace. The grave will be about four feet in depth. Stones, logs or paperbark will assist in filling the grave. Sometimes a half circle of boughs, together with some weapons of the deceased will be placed round and on the grave. All mourners wear charcoal, the women adding white bands on forehead, cheeks and nose. The body may also be placed in a rock shelter, and when the bones have become skeletonised, several smaller ones will be taken by those of his relations who visit the place, and will be retained by them for some considerable time. The dead man's relatives refrain from eating certain flesh foods which may or may not be their own or the dead man's totems, for some time after his death. In many cases they will become "jajjee" from all flesh foods for a period, until an "uncle" or some older man will take a piece of the forbidden flesh food and rub it across their mouths. They must be absolutely ignorant of his intention until the food is rubbed on their mouths or the restriction is not removed. They are exceedingly particular in this respect.

Burial customs vary slightly in some parts of the Pilbara or Nor'West Division. The Ballamongerry (Sherlock River) natives (Ngallooma tribe) first take out the upper arm bone of the dead man very neatly, scrape and clean it, and place it in their net bags where they may carry it about with them for years. After having extracted this bone, they break all the others, burn off the thumb and index finger nails, and lay the corpse flat in the hole dug for it, the head being placed according to the birthplace of the dead man. (A curious analogy to this custom, though differing somewhat in detail, prevails amongst the Southern section of the Warramunga tribe, S.A. and is fully described in Spencer and Gillen's "Northern Tribes of Central Australia, p. 515 et seq.) The Warramunga tribe appear to be located in almost the exact parallel of latitude of the Roeburne district people and as in the Nor'West the

tribes run east and west for a long distance, it may be that others of their customs correspond with those of the Warramunga people. There is not, however, the elaborate ceremony connected with the extraction of the bone, as prevails amongst the Warramunga. Sometimes the smaller bones of the dead man will, when they have dried, be distributed by his oldest relative, the distribution of the bones assuring success in hunting etc, to their recipients, if the dead man has been a successful hunter.

When communicating a death to a relative who had been absent at the time, the Northern visitor, fully armed, approaches within some thirty or forty yards of the camp, and awaits the coming of a member of the camp. This member, also armed, goes over to within about six paces or more of the visitor. Their spears are held in the meeros in readiness as it were for battle the arm being raised as in the attitude of throwing. The circumstances of the death are related by the camp member, the spears being kept poised during the recital. When it is finished each simultaneously drops his weapons, and they rush into each other's arms, crying loudly for a time. As they clasp each other, one of them, the younger of the two, thrusts his hand under the thigh of the other. Afterwards the men of the camp gather round the newcomer offering their thighs for him to spear. He generally touches the thigh, drawing a little blood, but if he thinks they were neglectful of the deceased, or some person amongst them did not "look out" properly for him, the visitor thrusts his spear viciously through the man's thigh, the man not resenting the attack. The visitor's women meanwhile are joined by some of the camp women and all forming a close circle, with their arms round each other, they cry and wail, hitting each other at intervals, with their hands, on neck or shoulder.

In the Roeburne district all sorcerers are buried in branches of trees. All bodies appear to be buried in an east and west direction, the eyes looking towards the sunrise. The feet and hands may also be tied together in some districts.

The Injeebandee (Tableland district) natives bury their dead in a somewhat similar manner to their Roeburne neighbours. The older men and some younger men are buried in trees, upon some branches of which a small platform has been built where the body is placed without any covering. In that climate the body soon becomes dry, and when it has been pronounced ready for dismemberment, several of the smaller bones may be taken by the relatives and carried about with them for years. The larger bones and the skull will be placed in some convenient rock shelter, or underneath some boulders. Ground burials take place similar to Roeburne and Sherlock. The Injeebandees also crush the remaining spark of life from the dying man.

The Nullagine natives dig a hole half the size of the dead man and make a drive at the bottom about four feet from the surface. Bushes are placed on the flooring of the grave and the corpse laid upon them on its left side, the head to the south, the feet north, the face looking towards the west. The Nullagine natives, according to a white contributor, believe that after lying in the grave for a little time, the corpse rises from its grave, takes its meero, which immediately gets as long as a spear, places it over his right shoulder, and walks away to "another country." The corpse is always buried its full length, when the drives have been made in the grave. A fire is lighted between the corpse and the new camp.

In the Fitzroy district, natives bury the young men in trees, old people in the ground. When the young man's body has been skeletonized, the bones are removed and placed under rock shelters, where many may be placed under one large shelter. These places are "jeegal" (forbidden) and none but sorcerers can go near them.

The following mode of burial amongst the Fitzroy natives is described by C.J. Annear. "As soon as death takes place the body is taken and placed on the limbs of a tree, a few rails are sometimes laid across to form a platform for the body. Directly underneath the body the ground is levelled and swept with grass, upon which a circle is drawn. About the centre of this circle a mark is placed, while on its outside edge stones are laid at equal distances all round. The centre mark denotes natives close, the outer marks natives far away. The liquid falling from the body is caught within the circle. Should it not run, but remain close to the centre mark, a native close by is considered the murderer. The customs mentioned in Chap. XVII of Spender and Gillen's work on the burial ceremonies of the Warramunga tribe, somewhat resemble the above.

If, however, it should run closer to one, or while on its course divide and point to two or more outside marks, natives far away and according to the direction would be considered the murderers. After this has been decided, the body is taken down, and either thrown into a hollow tree, or cave, whichever is the most convenient, and it is then said to become a "debbil-debbil" (a term derived from white men, but the meaning of which I cannot find out) and is said to sometimes speak to the blacks from a distance. I believe the idea has originated through dreams which act like a sort of hypnotism practised in some of our own places of worship."

"I remember once," says Annear, "after having dinner on the river where we had been fishing in company with several blacks, that one of the natives who had been sleeping, suddenly woke, declaring "debbil debbil" had been talking. The others soon corroborated the statement and all that afternoon, though I tried to point out their foolishness, they all declared they could see this imaginary thing walking about."

The Turkey Creek district natives bury their young men and young women in trees, the old men in the ground, and the old women in rock shelters or underneath boulders. Mothers carry the corpses of their babies about with them, and after a time the babies' bones are mixed up with kangaroo meat and the old men eat them. No woman can eat human flesh. (Eembarn, a Jarroongarow man, of the Jaggara (Banaka) Class Division, informant.)

In the Broome and Beake Bay district the manner of burial varies somewhat from that of their southern neighbours.

Babies are buried in jiddeejoonoo (ants' nests) or at the foot of a minjooroo baaloo (species of mangrove) and are wrapped in baggal (bark), the hole in the nest being scooped out with a milgin (digging stick). Little boys are buried in high anthills, the corpse being also covered with baggal.

Bigger boys were buried in trees, and when the flesh had all gone off the bones, these were gathered, and put into a crevice or grave by "uncles" (mother's brothers) or "cousins" (tchallal).

Old men and old women were buried in the ground. Two mungoorl (spears) will sometimes be placed at the old man's head. His lanjee (boomerang), karrboorna (shield) and nowloo (club) were put underneath his head, and the body wrapped in baggal, and baggal also covered it. A weedaweedoo (circle) was made round the grave, of bushes and small saplings, and a fire lighted some little distance away. A few mornings after the burial the old man's relatives go to the grave and clean it, and then go to another camp. The dead man's widow or widows may come back for a period and clean away the rubbish etc., that might have gathered, but after a time they too go away from the district. The hair of the dead man will be cut off to show his relatives at balgai or wallungarree, and they will be satisfied when they see the hair. String may be made

eventually of the hair by the dead man's brother. It is wrapped in baggal and carried about for some time until it has been shown to all the dead man's relatives. Yaggoo or eebala of the dead man may keep the hair.

The body was placed on the side with the head towards the south, the feet north and the face towards the west. The knees were slightly drawn up and the hands clasped together between the thighs. The brothers sons and male relatives of the dead man reerrga'ed themselves across the breast and across cheeks and forehead. The kalgarree jandoo (widows) make kamboor (mud curls), also the man's sister and mother. Doogul (red ochre) and leda (grease) are used in making the mud curls, which may sometimes remain on the head during the life time of the widows, particularly if they are old women. The daughters of the dead man reerrga'ed themselves on face and breast. Koolagoorong is the name given to the son whose father has died.

Wongalong (young men who have been partly initiated) are buried in trees. After three or four days, two or three wongalong climb the tree and cry, and after crying for some time they break all the fingers and toes of the corpse; taking these they mix them up with geerbaijoo. (It will be remembered that geerbaijoo (honey) is eaten only at a certain stage of initiation). They eat the mixture, sucking the "marrow" from the bones. They wear these bones afterwards in their woonebngoo (forehead band) just above the ears, or in their belt. The same proceeding will be gone through with the bones of a young girl who will also be buried on a tree platform. Sometimes a leg will be broken off and the marrow extracted in the same manner. This is supposed to give additional strength and cleverness to the wongalong. Only wongalong do this, never talloorgurra (married men). The jocarree (spirit) of those people, boys and girls, whose fingers and toes the wongalong have eaten, come and play with them at night and their spirit follows them about everywhere; the jalngangoocoo can see them

coming behind the wongalong who had eaten them. The bilyoor (soul or spirit of a young native) follows them everywhere and makes them clever. After a time the bilyoor goes to Loomurn (the home of all dead coastal natives) and after a very long time it will come back to see them again. A bilyoor will never come back in the hot (summer) time. The arm-bones of the wongalong may also be taken and the marrow extracted.

They put paperbark (baggal) and baaloo (wood) "like a nest" in the forks and branches of the tree, and also wrap baggal round the corpse, or rather place it over the body, like a blanket.

They send nilan (messenger, messages, message sticks) to tell all his relations to come and see him, and then all help with the burial, eebala (father), habbula (brothers), beebee (mothers), marrura (younger sisters) from as far a distance as the messenger can reach within the limited time the corpse remains unburied, which at the most is two days. The dead man is taken to his own booroo (ground) by talloorgurra, as he must go to Loomurn from his own ground, but if his booroo happens to be too far away, he is buried facing the direction to which he belongs.

An old man's extra weapons may be divided by his brothers and sons amongst each other and amongst the dead man's own sisters.

After the burial the jalngangooroo and some of the talloorgurra get a koojila (shell) and beat it with a nowloo to deafen the jocarree of the dead man and while they are beating it they sing or chant :-

Maaloo millajalla bilyoor
 (Don't come back, spirit)
 Jaddonganurra Loomurn
 (go altogether to Loomurn)
 Jaddonganurra meemala, maaloo millajalla,
 (Go altogether, don't come back again, go away always)
 Marra marra meemala.
 (Keep far away.)

A beega (shade) is erected over the head of the grave and beside it they make a fire. All round the grave a cleared place is made, and after two or three days, jeewar (little mounds of sand or earth) come up all round the cleared place. Some little distance away a large jeewar will be seen and they know by this from what direction the mirroeroo (magic) came.

One or two evenings afterwards the men will creep up towards the grave to watch for the nimmandurra (shadow) of the murderer, and they see it. Then the dead eebala's (father's) people say :-

Eebala yangar ngan'gajinna womba jeewar an'garam."

(We'll take our father's part and go and kill that jeewar.) Then they go south, north or east for the kannabinjoonoo (murderer). Yinnara (or yingar'arara) mungoorlgoon. (all you "other fellows" will spear him.)

Sometimes the kannabinjoonoo will show himself and his jocarree karrboorna (shield with the spirit or skeleton form of the dead man drawn upon it) to them, and then they fight him. This custom appears as far as can be ascertained, peculiar to this district. A man who has killed another native will draw the spirit of the dead man on his shield and will stand before the relatives to be speared, holding the shield in front of him as his only weapon. All the relatives of the dead man throw their spears at him and if these are successfully parried by him, then they know their relative has been killed in fair play, but if the man falls, they know he has been a murderer.

The droppings from the putrid corpses of those that receive tree burial are also noted to find the murderer's booroo (ground). The jalngangooroo will sometimes see the jocarree of the dead person who will show him where the mirroeroo came from and the jocarree of little children will often come and show him where the mirroeroo has been sent from.

Children must not see the hair of a dead man or woman, they may only see the baggal it is wrapped in. Kogga ("uncles") will keep women's hair.

Billinge's father was buried in the ground, his face being turned to the south. Baggal (bark) was placed on the bottom of the grave, and Billinge's "next father", the dead man's brother, and a sister's son, lowered the body upon its resting place. Baggal was again put on top of the body and the hole then filled in with sand. A fire was made over the grave, but no food or water was left for the dead man. His lanjee, nowloo and karrboorna formed a pillow for his head, and his spear was stuck at the head of the grave. The nails were not burnt. The living relatives are sometimes told by the jocarree (spirit of the dead man) to go far away for a time.

A lock of the dead man's hair may be twisted by his brother or father and thrown on the ground to unravel itself. Whatever direction the end of the hair string pointed is the boocoo of the murderer and an avenging party immediately sets out for that camp, and someone is killed in retaliation.

An avenging party is called collectively or singly "tham-munjoonoo womba." They always come to kill and generally appear just before rangarrama (dawn), though there is no special time for their arrival. All the members of the avenging party have covered themselves all over with jabboolyoo (mud) or karmul (white), so that they may creep along without being observed, or if observed will be taken for ngarree (spirits). Perhaps someone in camp sees them coming; he does not call out to the others, but utters the cry of the curlew, "weeloo, weeloo", which all in camp know means "thammunjoonoo coming."

The thammunjoonoo move to different parts of the ground and one will cry to other like a yeela woorin (dog's howl), and is answered when all are stationed. Sometimes they will mimic a frog's creak. At rangarrama they surround the camp, and making a series of noises like er-r-r-f, er-r-r-r, they close in and kill everyone except perhaps a yaggo, kogga or eebala, whom they know, or a boy whose sister they may have obtained. They will take the boy back with them and bring

him up as their own. Old women they kill and take the young women away with them. Many tchimbula. or jinnal (stoneheaded spears) they bring with them and they send these one after another into the camp. Sometimes they send them into the air, and they fall on the man they want to kill. Thammunjoonoo kill and leave, never burying the dead. When a number go together there is always more than one murder to avenge, as if only one person has been killed, two or at most three thammunjoonoo who have been killed will also be left on the ground unburied, unless some of their people come back and bury them or carry them away.

Sometimes instead of a koojila being beaten to deafen or perhaps gain the attention of the jooarree of the dead man, two lanjee will be tapped together, and the jooarree asked to go away for good.

The Sunday Island natives also bury their dead in the branches of trees, the body being placed with the head to the south, and the face to the east. When decomposition has well set in, a fire is made underneath the platform which thoroughly chars the body. It is then taken down and put beneath large rocks, all the crevices being closed up with small stones.

Captain Stokes, who voyaged along the North West coast in the "Beagle" stated that near Port Essington he saw a mother at one of the native camps take the bones of her baby from the receptacle where she had placed them, and put them upon the ground, setting them up into a semblance of her baby so that she could weep over them. In doing so, Captain Stokes remarks that she displayed a wonderful knowledge of osteology.

A letter sent to Captain Grey from an officer of the "Beagle" described the custom of burial at Cygnet Bay. The letter was accompanied by the skeleton of a native. "The skeleton was found enveloped in three pieces of papyrus bark, on a small sandy point in Cygnet Bay. All the bones were closely packed together and the head surmounted the whole. It did not appear to have been long interred. They had evidently been packed with care - all the long bones were undermost, and the small ones were strewed in amongst them. The head was resting on its base, face across."

(Doubtless the body had first received tree burial.)

In some parts of the Kimberley, the mothers wrap their dead babies in a piece of bark and hang them up on a tree, taking them down after a time and cracking the tender bones to get at the marrow. The marrow is supposed to contain the strength of the child or young man. Whether the women eat the marrow or whether it is given to the old men only is not absolutely certain. The natives of the Kimberley districts say their women never eat the flesh of the dead, or indeed any human flesh, but a white contributor states that the women eat the marrow from the bones of their dead husbands as well as their babies.

In Grey's Journal (I, 227) there is a sketch of two remarkable mounds or tombs which were discovered by him during his expedition inland from Hanover Bay. In his description of them he states that "they were both placed due east and west with great regularity. They were both exactly of the same length, but differed in breadth and height, and they were not formed altogether of small stones from the rock on which they stood, but many were portions of very distant rocks which must have been brought by human labour, for their angles were as sharp as the day they were broken off." Grey had the mounds excavated, but no bones were found, only a great deal of fine mould having a damp dank smell. The antiquity of these mounds appeared to Grey to have been very great, although the outer stones appeared to have been but recently placed there.

In the Leopold Ranges, Mr. Frank Hann found thirteen graves in one place, "three of them being evidently of greater importance than the others, for many tons of stone, topped with heavy wood, were piled upon them. There was no special regularity in the formation of these graves." Mr. Hann made no attempt to excavate the mounds.