

TRIBAL ORGANISATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL

DISTRIBUTION

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

1899 - 1911 Rough copy

To be revised

Corrected and retyped

TRIBAL ORGANISATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL
DISTRIBUTION

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Page

- 1 General geographical distribution
- 4 Division of W.A. natives into 6 "Nations"
Definition of "tribe"
- 5 (1) THE JINYILA NATION (Eucla)
Method of naming groups
Boundaries of "nation"
- 6 Coastal groups and their waterholes, boundaries, etc.
Ngura-um, guyana-um "um" contraction of wa'mu = fire,
home, hearth
- 7 Nalaum, ngau-um, kailga-um, Nadhuin, Kugurda-um, Birgalaum
- 8 Bungalaum, Wardaum, Birlium, Kardalaum, Dhudhu-um, Kunjirium
Inland groups
- 9 Burdiaum, Kalgula-um, Dongurrgum, Kalaum, Nguraum, Bildaum,
Koggarnum, Wubu-um
- 10 Other inland groups
- 12 (2) THE BIBBULMUN NATION
Boundaries; division into 2 phratries = white cockatoo
and Crow.
- 13 Derivation of term "Bibbulmun" - 2 theories
- 14 Intercourse between tribes - difference in descent in
some groups.
- 15 Class subdivisions - where obtaining.
Origin of these names
- 16 Names of local groups :- Burrong wongi, Dunan wongi,
Illa kura wongi, Yangur wongi, Bajjung wongi, Jabbun
wongi, Kurin wongi, Kaijala wongi (Kurin = eastern
kaijali = Nor'Western
Yabbaru = N.N. Western)
- 17 Boundaries of Yabbaru Bibbulmun
- 18 Camping grounds of the Kurin Bibbulmun
"Run" of the Kaijala Bibbulmun
" " " Minung "
- 20 Friendly intercourse - roads open through neighbouring
tribes because of relationship, etc.
- 21 The unity of the Bibbulmun, as illustrated by
previous accounts.
Local group names, giving district, and form of descent.
- 22 Population of Bibbulmun "Nation"
- 23 (3) KARRATJIBBIN NATION
Area occupied by nation
Peculiarity in social organisation - marriage within
the phratry.
- 24 (4) NOR'WEST NATION
Tribes are all uncircumcised and possess 4 class system.
Tribes composing nation and boundaries - Ingarda,
- 25 Baiung, Thaadgardi, Warriwonga, Jiwarli, Binniguru, Butena,

- 25 (cont). Burduna, Tallainji.
- 26 Mulgarnu, Ngalluma
Encroachment of line of circumcision
- 27 Names of groups
- 28 (5) KIMBERLEY NATION "
Extent of area
Tribes of nation :- Kulajarri or Nangamurdu, Bajjibugu,
Karrajarra, Koalgurdi, Banniabbulu, Kularrabulu,
- 29 Waddiabbulu, Waiungarri, Warrwai, Barda, Tchhui,
Warringarri
- 30 (6) CENTRAL REAS NATION
Area
Tribes - Nangamurda
- 31 Karriarra, Ngalluma, Namal, Injibandi, Kurdama, Bailgu,
Ibarrga, Kardadhurra, Tchuraru,
- 32 Tenma, Inyawonga, Jargurdi, Wajjari, Wirdiwonga and
Badimaia.
Neighbouring tribes (east)
Circumcised "
- 33 Trade with adjacent tribes
Names for points of compass
- 34 Inter-tribal roads and camping places
- 35 Pools, etc., belong to families for ever.
"Opphaned" waters.
Ease of intertribal intercourse due to absence of
natural barriers.
- 36 Wirdinya wonga, Waianwonga, with principal pools
- 37 Kurduwonga, with local names
Waianwonga " " "
Ngadhawonga " " " , also its area, pools, etc.
- 38 Neighbours of Ngadhawonga
Local names for Wajari wonga
Ngaiawonga - area, etc., also local names
- 39 Barduwonga - location, waters, neighbours
- 40 Central areas - border of S.A. - W.A.

TRIBAL ORGANISATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL
DISTRIBUTION

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Throughout the whole known part of Western Australia, there is no impassable barrier to the movements of its native inhabitants other than that which custom and tradition ordains.

The highest mountain range does not reach four thousand feet at its greatest altitude. The Darling Ranges which run North and South in the southwestern portion of the State at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea are crossable at all points. Their highest peak is only 1,500 feet above sea level, and they run for a distance of 300 miles. The Stirling Range, 40 miles northeast of Albany, is the loftiest range in the South, its highest altitude being however only 3,640 feet.

The mountainous ranges and rugged precipices of North Kimberley possess native highways as yet unknown to the white man, but traversed for untold generations by their native inhabitants, and the so-called desert areas and spinifex wastes of the central areas have highways along their waterholes, springs, soaks, etc., over which friendly tribes have travelled for initiation and other ceremonies.

Some of the rivers of the West are perennial, others are merely storm water channels, which dry up shortly after the rain, but along which are pools and soaks and hidden water receptacles which are well known to every local inhabitant. The lakes are also merely depressions into which the flood waters of the higher surrounding areas flow, and but few of them are permanent.

The rainfall varies greatly throughout the State. It is heaviest in the Southwest, where in some districts during the winter months there is a fall of some fifty inches. The Kimberley district has an annual summer rainfall of between 30 and 40 inches, but in the central districts the rainfall is intermittent. Sometimes heavy monsoonal rains will pass over from the northwest, generally in the summer months, but as a rule

the slight rainfall of the central portions comes in the winter months, and averages a few inches only.

The northwest itself has a fall of about 20 inches, and all along the Nor^WWestern and Southern coast, and for some distance inland, this average is maintained until the Eucla area is reached where, except very rarely, the fall does not exceed 9 or 10 inches.

Even along the edges of the great Nullarbor Plain there are springs, soaks and watering places, which if Eyre had but known would have made a vast difference to the conditions under which he traversed its surface. Had a change of native guides been possible along his journey over the Bight, there would have been no tale to tell of tragedy and thirst. At the Head of the Bight is Ilgamba spring, capable of affording sufficient water for over a hundred natives, and from that point westward there are rockholes and soaks at certain intervals until Eucla is reached, and as at this point the cliffs take a turn inland, their sloping sides are intersected with gullies, each of which had its own pool or soak throughout the winter months.

On the northern, eastern and western edges of the Great Plain were also native dwellers who held friendly communication with each other at certain times of the year, and amongst all these people the plain itself was apportioned, each section travelling as far over its surface as the exigencies of the chase demanded. The absence of firewood on the plain itself prevented its use as a camping ground, but the natives round the Great Plain's edge never traversed it until taken across it by Chichester Beadon, an Englishman, in the 1860's. But all along its edges the natives passed to and fro for initiation and other purposes. Hence this great treeless and apparently waterless plain did not necessarily isolate the peoples living round it from each other.

That there is a traversable belt throughout the central portion of the State, the spread of circumcision and subincision, with their accompanying elaborate ceremonies is suf-

X It may be interesting to note here that the terms for "man" and certain other words in the Nullagine district are applied in the same sense by the Balladonia and "90 Mile" tribes, and the sacred terms for the initiation knife, the bullroarer and other initiation objects of the Broome district tribes are found amongst the Badu and Waddi wonga near the region of Boundary Dam.

ficient proof. I have witnessed the initiation ceremonies of the Kimberley natives and also those of the Eucla district people, and the essential elements of both are exactly alike, the variations being unimportant and local, and also the Central natives.

Canning, in his survey of the country between Lake Way and Sturt and Hall's Creeks, noted the many native springs, wells, soaks, used by the native inhabitants, and his photographs of the natives of the country through which he passed, show them to be a comparatively well-nourished, tall, sturdily-built people.

The vegetation in those arid areas appears to have adapted itself to its surroundings, for some of the staple foods of the inhabitants grow most profusely in the driest portions of the interior; roots, seeds and small bush fruits growing in abundance after a very slight rainfall.

A species of wild grape, called "ngura" by the Eucla natives, grows far more abundantly after a slight annual rainfall of only six inches, than it does when the fall is heavier, and another vegetable food, the gu-yana, requires fire principally for its growth, a rainfall of one inch following the fire suffices for the production of an abundant supply of this food.

Both these foods grow on the low-lying loam flats between the cliffs and the sea, from Jinyila (Eucla) to Twilight Cove. These flats run 30 miles inland at their widest point, about half way between Wonnunda (Eyre) and Jinyila.

Throughout the whole coastal areas of the West the native inhabitants lived generally under more favourable conditions than those of the inland areas, having both the sea and the land from which they could obtain food, but neither the abundance nor paucity of the food supply prevented performance of the elaborate rituals practised by all the natives of the known parts of the State; many of which take weeks if not months in their observance.

Taking the term "nation" to mean a collection of tribes with community of interests, with certain similar customs, ceremonies and beliefs, the Western Australian aborigines may be roughly grouped into six "nations" as follows :-

1. The Jinyila (Eucla) Nation, extending from beyond the border in the east, to (about) Point Malcolm in the west, and northward to the point where the northern class divisions cease and totemic divisions alone obtain and beyond.
2. The Bibbulmun Nation, extending from about Jurien Bay, north of Perth, to ^{and beyond} about Esperance on the South coast.
3. The Karratjibbin (Southern Cross) Nation, which extended from about Mt. Jackson towards Norseman.
4. The Nor'West Nation, which embraced the uncircumcised tribes of the Gascoyne, Ashburton, Fortescue and Harding Rivers near their mouths.
5. The Kimberley Nation, which extended from below Broome to the McDonald Ranges in the North and about the Fitzroy River in the east, probably further north, east and southeast.
6. The Central areas Nation, including the circumcised tribes of the Nor'West Coast, the tribes of the Upper Murchison and Gascoyne Rivers, and part of the Eastern Goldfields.

The term "tribe" is applied to an aggregate of local groups, occupying a definite area of country, distinguished by certain local names, applied from within or without the groups, or both, and with certain relationships existing between them, arising from intermarriages, community of language, totems and social laws.

The JINYILA "Nation"

In most of the groups composing the Jinyila Nation, the tribal name comes from the totem belonging to the locality, as the Bungal-um, or spearwood people (bungal = name of tree and spear); ngura-um, the tribes belonging to the ngura ground; nala-um - the tribes owning the ground where the nala tree grows, whose roots are cooked and eaten. The tribes call themselves and are called by their neighbours, by these names.

All people outside the Jinyila "Nation" are "Kaiania" - strangers - and all those belonging to the Nation are "goon-minyerra" - friends, consanguines, or connections by marriage. (ngallara = kindred groups)

Again, all groups along the seaboard have a special name applied to them either by themselves or from without; hill tribes will also be specially indicated by a term, river tribes, plain tribes, and so on.

The coastal tribes included in the Jinyila nation are called Wilyaru (coast people), Bilia-um (sea people), Wailbi-um (water people) and Yau-um (Great Diver people - yau-u = Great Diver). The first and second terms are applied by themselves, the third term by their western neighbours, and the last name by their northeastern neighbours. They in their turn apply the term "Wini-um" to the dwellers on the saltbush plains (wini = plain), Koondana-um to the sandplain people, and Kardia-ngura (Kardia = myall tree, ngura = northern word for camp or shelter) to the "Myall" tree people.

A multiplicity of names may be applied to tribes, amongst which it is sometimes difficult to discover the genuine group or tribal name. No such difficulty was however experienced amongst the Jinyila people. The term "wamau" which means "fire", "camp", "shelter", "home", is contracted into "um", and is used as "the people of" or "belonging to" the group.

The Jinyila Nation was in being long before the borderline of Western and South Australia was marked out, consequently part of the S.A. territory is included within its boundaries.

East of the border were the Nyumbuk or Yulbari (coast) people, whose tribal area covered a large patch of timbered

country, composed of myall, mallee, sandalwood and koordi or native peach tree. Its southern boundary was the sea, its northern boundary went towards the plain, on its west were the Nalaum Nalum people of Nalawurding, Murdierung and other waters. The Yulbari area extended to Fowler's Bay and probably further east.

North of the Yulbari were the Badu wongga, whose principal water was Wardargana (Boundary Dam). Most of the Badu are now finding their way towards the Trans-Australian line on the West Australian side and to Fowler's Bay in S.A. They are connected with the Jinyila Nation through intermarriages and the exchange of boys for initiation.

The Wilyari or coastal groups are :-
Ngura-um, inhabiting Jinyila, Yirgili, ^{Kal'dil'yerra} Kalilyerra, Yalgara, Jindara, Mooberna, Jirinyilgudha, Banji-gurilba, Kardu-burinya, Bira-bira, Dhabbura, Biala, and towards Ngajjida - all waterholes on the ngura ground. (The distance from Eucla to Ngajjida is about 18 miles.) Other waterholes are - Kadhala (Kangaroo Plain), Dha-buin, Bunaral, Bile-ning, Dhoon-dha-mira, Windabugarra and Irbilyabbi. The Ngura-um ground stretched as far westward as Wonnunda (Eyre), but only about seven old people, representatives of this once numerous group, are now living.

Guyana-um (edible seed, requiring a bush fire for its generation). This group was conterminous with the Ngura-um, as both plants grew together, on the same soil. The waters of the Guyana-um were Nunira, Brain'biri, Wandhaing, Bannurdu, Windabugarra, ^{Twilight Cove} Malbinya, Willilambi, Dhulina, Yalgarambi, and other smaller ones along the coast from Jinyila towards "90" (Yalugurra and Yalgarambi.) There are about ten Guyana-um now living.

Ngura and guyana growing on the same ground - the waters seemed to be used by either group. The groups mixed with each other, but did not intermarry.

Original MSS. Retyped

6

7

Section beginning "Kugurda-um" needs correction (D.M.B.)

Nala-um Nala-um waters were Nalawurding, Murdierung, Murderia, Yaluna, Jelaburding, Ngarrea-bijja, Kailbija, Kun-ganea, Koong-a-gooli, Murgandurda, Bulgunu, Gurabbi, Yalba-urong. All Nala-um country is timbered area, embracing part of the Tableland, as well as the sloping wooded sides of the cliffs west of Eucla. Only two Nala-um are living.

Ngaua-um (mallee hen and her eggs) Ngaua ground was partly on the cliffs, and partly on the timbered and loamy flats near the cliff sides. Barrjerdabbi, Nuninya, (Nyuninya), Wingana, Miraming, Mungulbi, near Barjerdabbi, ^{Eyre's Sandpatch} Wonnunda, Kadhala, Munderbila, were Ngaua-um waters. Three Ngaua-um, two of whom are old men, the third, a middle aged man, now at Kalgoorlie, are all that are now alive.

Kailga-um (long-tailed iguana) and Ngabbia-um (white ants) These are what may be termed associated totems, the kailga and ngabbia living together in one nest. All Kailga-um were Ngabbia-um, and all Ngabbia-um were Kailga-um. White ants were also called "jirda" by some tribes north of Wonnunda, and "Mida" or "mirda" north of Murderia, and by these people the Ngabbia-um of the coast were called Jirda-um or Mida-um, but the white ant and long-tailed iguana people were "one group".

Their waters were Kogulbirdi, Nalla-nalla, Munderdung, Ballinu, Mallunea, Ngain, Kaueling-gudha, Bauerndun, Ngwarna, Jiala, and Yinjira. Eight Kailgum and Ngabbia-um are still living.

Nadhuin (wild cucumber) There are no Nadhain now living. Their waters were Yamban and other smaller rockholes in the Eucla division.

Kugurda-um (small species of marsupial, now almost extinct), and Birgala-um (white saccharine exudation from certain species of wattle or gum trees) are also associated. Birgala formed the chief food of the Kugurda in its season, and the little animal was therefore very plentiful in birgala country.

One group takes these two names, as with Kailga-um and Ngabbia-um. The waters of these people were :- Mungulbi, Yalbagurong, Kulubilia, Murdi-iring, Kalabingabbi, Bialbi, Yanundu Hill and

soak. Only one Kugurda-um and Birgala-um now living.

Bungal-um (spearwood tree) Warda-um (spearwood tree), Birli-um (water roots of mallee) - all names applied to one group.

This group lived on the coast west of Wonnunda, at "90", "70", etc. (as the places are designated on the map). The native waters of the tribe were : Dhulina, Jirinya, Yaluwarra, Wil-lilambi, Yalgarambi, Bara-andi, Eugarinya, Dabindi, Yurilya, Bardurnda and Nangura. Dhulina and Yaluwarra or Yalugurra are "70" and "90" respectively. About 8 or 9 of these people are still living, three of whom are young men.

Kardala-um (large fish, salmon?) are all long dead. Their country was in the Twilight cove area. Their waters were :- Mandi, Ngardongain, Baldhai-ijen, Koddarl, Jinnalallong, Bul-yiri and Nalbinya.

Dhudhu-um (wild dog) Kuluna Point, Wong-guru and Mo-inyal were their waters, near the Bungala-um people. The only two remaining Dhudhu-um, a man and a woman, have married Bungala-um.

Kurdala (wild "turnip") Kurdala-um country was west of Twilight Cove, but the names of the waterholes could not be obtained as all the Kurdala-um are dead. They appear to have lived on the border of the circumcised and uncircumcised peoples about Point Malcolm, but no information can be obtained further than that they were a circumcised people.

Kunjiri-um A root similar to the kurdala grew in the Bight country, and appears to have given its name to a group there. There is only one Kunjiri-um now living, a very old man, who still wanders along the shores of the Bight, and occasionally visits Eucla.

All the above groups are collectively Willyaru = coast people and call themselves by that name.

The inland groups are called variously, Kaijala-um (northern people, "kaijala" = north); Kundana-um (SandPlains people); Wini-um (Saltbush Plains people); Kobbarl-ija (northern or inland?).

Somewhere on the border are the Badu before mentioned,

Boundary Dam

whose waters are : Wardargana, Jugirning, Allurna, Karnga, Ambera, Ngorl, Arnding, Ngobarn and Bulgia. They appear to be located on the Northwestern or Western edge of the Great plain of the Bight.

Burdia-um ("boodi"rat) and Kalgula-um (wild potato, which the burdia eats in its season). This group had its waters north of Munderbila; Gunarda and Bidanamira being the principal ones. There are two Burdia-um now living, both elderly.

Wilba-um (species of wallaby) These were at Munurr, Yurdunuria or Yurdunguria, Kard'nambi, Boaring, Bajjira, Wallanji, Wongala, Yurdinda and Kundelurning, north of Mungardijja and Murderia. Only one diseased woman and two old men can be found belonging to this group.

Bongurrga-um (wild turkey), Kala-um (fire) and Ngura-um (wild grape, a favourite food of the Bongurrga). This group called itself by these three names. The association of the turkey with fire is common throughout the State and has come down from ancestral times, when the bongurrga used to steal the firesticks of the men and fly away with them. In the Plains areas, Bongurrga-um are associated with fire only, but where the ngura is plentiful near Bongurrga-um waters the groups call themselves Ngura-um also. Bongurrga-um waters are :- Gu-aring, Jurdinya, Jirin, Bijjerdi, Ngarraru, Jijina, Yaldhunda, Koggarawiri, Winminya, Ngandau-iji, Kuruya, Ilarbula and Kogginya, North and West of the Wilba-um.

There are four Bongurrga-um living, father, father's brother, son and daughter.

Bilda-um, (opossum) Koggarn-um and Wubu-um (two species of vegetable food, which the bilda eats in their season). Bilda-um waters were Mungadilba, Murderia, Nyunira, Kunganea, Barjerdabbi, and other smaller waters. The Bilda-um were not called by the other names (koggarn and wubu) associated with them, but the two foods appear to have the same relation towards the Bilda-um as the Kugurda-um and Birgala-um have towards each other. A Kugurda-um man will however give either Kugurda-um or Birgala-um as the name of his group, but a Bilda-um will not give the

terms Koggarn-um and Wubu-um as alternatives when mentioning the name of his group.

Mulgara-um (wild cherry) Mulgara-um were also called Winium, Plains people. Their country was northwest of Eyre, its principal waters being Ya-yurdal, Jinjabi, Birgaleri, Bururbanda, Bildina, Bururgana, Uminilla-mira. There are four Mulgara-um living, all old men.

Kalda-um (large lizard). This group was situated somewhere north of Israelite Bay (native name Jijilandi or Jijilup). Their principal waters were Yirdilabbi, Jijilabbi and Ballajinia. No Kalda-um appear to be now living.

Darrbu-um (species of small bandicoot). This group was also called Kundana (Sand Plains people). Their waters were Kaljunjinya and Murun. Two Darrbu-um are now at Norseman. The Balladonia district was once the area of a Woggea-um or Wombat group, but with the extinction of the wombat in the district, the Woggea-um also have come extinct.

Kardia-ngura (kardia = myall tree, ngura = camp, hut, shelter) This small group was distinguished by their term for camp - ngura - a term which I have also found in the dialects of some Nor'West tribes. They were west of the Mulgara-um. The names of their waterholes were not obtainable.

Kai'ali Nor'west term for kaili - boomerang
Kaili (Southwestern dialectic word for boomerang), Mulba (a Nor'Western term for "man") kai'ali mulba was the name applied by the Bungal-um to a group north of the Darrbu-um, with whose members they bartered the products of their country for kailis, etc, and other northern goods, but with whom they do not appear to have exchanged boys for initiation.

With the exception of the Kardia-ngura, Kaili Mulba and Kabbijarra, a "river" people, W. or N.W. of the Bungal-um, friendly people all the above groups were "Goohminyerra", or one Nation. They exchanged their boys for initiation, they betrothed young girls to each other, their customs and ceremonies were similar, and it was possible for the Willyaru (coast people) to move along the coast from group to group, or to go inland among the groups, through the relationships consequent on initiation and betrothment.

Several of the groups had lesser local names applied to them, as the Bungalaum, who were also Bajji-um (a kind of spear), Kajji-um (another sort of spear), Warrarijan-garra (people whose country is stony), Baiang-u Ijan-garra, where the porcupine and porcupine grass were plentiful, and Baddarn Ijan-garra, the country of thick grass. Darrbu-um were also called Mirun-um, from the Mirun or broombush growing in their country. Warri Ijan-garra was applied to a group east of Balladonia, from the warri "road" they had made to and from the Willyaru tribes.

There was a wild cherry (mulgara) group in the Balladonia district, but the fruit is there called ngammin, and the group calls itself Ngammin-wuk. ^{wuk takes the place of "um" (wamu)} They were friendly with the Guyan-um of Israelite Bay, and with the Kurdala-um (wild turnip) and Kanyi-um (fish) of Point Malcolm.

All the people north of, but not belonging to, the Jinyila Nation were named kaiania - strangers, outsiders - either from the dialect terms for north or northwest, or from their word for "man". The "slipperd men" who lived in the eastern goldfields were distinguished by a special name - "Jinna-arbil", (feet hidden). Between the Jinna-arbil and the S.A. Border were the W an'mala or War 'mala ^{far} (Northwest), Allinjerra (North), Allinjerra Badu (northern "men"). The term for "man" throughout the Jinyila area is "mining" and this term obtains from Yirgili and Kaldilyerra (Points east of Eucla), to the Bungalaum territory, where "mulba" - also used at Balladonia - is sometimes spoken in place of "mining". East of the Border, amongst the Yulbari, Nyambak and Kunjiri men, "nunga" is the dialectic term for "man".

Nothing further is known of the tribes bordering the northern limits of the Jinyila Nation, as the country in which they live is practically unexplored; but with the passage of the Trans-Australian Railway, which traverses the "Allinjerra" area, future investigation will be rendered feasible.

The tribes of Balladonia, Fraser Range, and other districts between the Jinyila Nation and the Southwestern Nation, have not yet been personally examined. The line of demarcation between the circumcised and uncircumcised people comes out on the coast at or west of Point Malcolm, and from there can be traced west-north-west. On the borders of this line, right through to its northwestern point, the local groups appear to become mixed. The few members met with west and N.W. of the Jinyila people show this mixture in their genealogies. Amongst them were Ngammin-wuk, Dwerd-wuk (dog), Wilo-wuk (curlew), Gumal-wuk (grey opossum), Woggea-wuk (wombat), Wurda-wuk (mushroom), Ngwarra-wuk (black opossum), of the Balladonia and Hampden Plains areas.

The following tribes occupy what may be called in lieu of better information, the Balladonia areas :-

Ngammin-wuk. Principal waters - Dralyinya (Balladonia) and Bauangainya.
 Dwerd or Dwert-wuk. Bau-inya
 Jiga-wuk (jiga, a wild cherry ?) Biringubbin Hill district
 Gumal-wuk Urallinya (Fraser Range)
 Ngwarra-wuk Balbinya
 Kulbir-a-wuk (male kangaroo) Widurunya
 Yalba-wuk (female kangaroo) "
 Wilu-wuk Malamaladun, west of Point Malcolm
 Wurdu-wuk Southwest of Balladonia
 Kallaia-wuk (emu) Jijilup (Israelite Bay)

Esperance boys have been adopted into and have been circumcised by the Jiga-wuk of Biringubbin, and the Ngwarra-wuk of Balbinya, into whose groups they were entered. Ba'duk, or Ba'du-wuk (blood-drinkers) was the general term applied by my native informants to all the groups of the Fraser Range and Balladonia districts. The central locality of the Badu wongga is Wardargana (Boundary Dam). They are said to have eaten the worma (raised cicatrices) of the young men who died or were killed, and to have sucked the blood from the veins, and sometimes from the cheeks of the newly dead. They also drank human blood during the initiation ceremonies. The worma eating and blood-drinking from the veins of the dead were supposed to lessen the grief of those who partook of them for their dead "relatives".

Note :- P.11a and 11b were written before personal investigation of these areas (Balladonia, Esperance, etc.) was made.

The Bibbulmun Nation

The Bibbulmun Nation occupied the line of coast between Jurien Bay (about lat. 30. 15) and a point somewhere east of Esperance Bay, towards Point Malcolm. Its inland boundary (approximate) stretched diagonally from about Watheroo (lat. 30.20. long 116.35) to about Mt. Ragged (lat. 30.20, long.123) Its widest area was between Augusta (Cape Leeuwin district) northeast to about Kalgarin (Carlgarin on map) (about lat. 32,30 long. 118.40); its narrowest area was in the Esperance district. All along its landward boundary were the circumcised tribes. The many rivers, hills, estuaries, timbered areas and rich loam flats within its boundaries, in the abundance and variety of the animal and vegetable foods which they afforded, made the Bibbulmun people the most fortunate of all the western tribes, for there was no time of the year which had not its seasonable product for the sustenance of the inhabitants.

Although the Bibbulmun Nation throughout its whole area had but one fundamental language, and possessed similar customs, laws, etc., there were two forms of descent within its boundaries, the tribes dwelling on a narrow line of coast from about Augusta to Jurien Bay following the line of maternal descent, while the rest of the tribes had paternal descent.

The whole nation was however divided into two exogamous phratries, Manitchmat or White Cockatoo "stock" (manitch = white cockatoo; mat, maat = stock, leg, family, ^{line, or} handle, track) and Wordungmat or Crow "stock" (wordung = crow), and every individual belonged to one or other of these two phratries. The social organisation of these people will be dealt with later.

All coastal Bibbulmun were Waddarn-di = sea people, and called themselves, and were called by their inland neighbours Waddarn-di Bibbulmun. The inland tribes were distinguished by the character of the country they occupied. They were either Bilgur (river people - bil = river, ^{beel or} Darbalung (estuary people) or Buyun-gur (hill people - buya = rock, stone, hill), but all were Bibbulmun. Tribes were also named from various local terms for points of the compass, as "Wil Bibbulmun" (wil = north), a

term used by the Albany people in speaking of the tribes north of them; "Kurin Bibbulmun" (kurin = east). The Katanning district people called themselves and were called by their neighbours by this term; "Yabbaru/^{N.W.}Bibbulmun" - Perth and Gingin district tribes were so called from their dialectic term for north - yabbaru. Bunbury Bibbulmun were called "Kunniung Bibbulmun" from their local term for "west". "Minung Bibbulmun" (minung = south) was the term applied to the tribes east of the Darling Ranges from about lat. 31, long. 117 to the southern coast about Albany. Minung may also have been derived from "min", "men" or "mirn", an edible gum or red root, but its more general meaning is "south", and it bears this meaning amongst tribes beyond the boundaries of the Bibbulmun people. Mining = Eucla term for "man"

Bibbul is the singular term for Bibbulmun, "mun" and sometimes "uk" forming the plural. The derivation of the word does not come from the equivalents for "man" which are "yungar", "nyungar" and "nungar", nor from "yes" or "no", which are "kaia", "ko", "go", and "yuat", "yuata" and "kaian" respectively. The southwestern equivalent for bustard is bibbilyer or bibbilyerra and the term Bibbul may have been derived from this, but there is no evidence, traditional or otherwise in support of this suggestion. Another hypothesis suggests itself with reference to the name Bibbul, Bibbulmun or Bibbuluk. Bib, biba, are dialectic terms for "Breasts", and bul, bula, means "many, plenty". Bibbul may therefore mean a people "with many females amongst them." There were always "many women and children" in every Bibbulmun totem group.

Owing to the plenitude of food throughout the year, the Bibbulmun ^{people} nation did not indulge in infanticide, except in exceptional cases, (where twins were born, one was killed) therefore the female, as well as the male children, were allowed to grow up, even when the members of a family numbered five or six or more. Moreover, the journeys were carried out leisurely, and as game and other food could be procured all along the way, there was no necessity to sacrifice any children who accompanied their parents on these journeys, and children of either sex were always recognised as an asset of the group to which they belonged, for it was generally at cere-

monial assemblies that betrothals of girl children, and exchange of boys for initiation took place.

Both the above suggestions were placed before members of the various tribes, but the reply in all cases was "kubbain" - "it might be so, perhaps"; no one could tell the origin of the name by which they were called; they were always Bibbulmun to themselves and to the tribes adjoining them.

All along the narrow line of coast between Augusta and Jurien Bay where maternal descent obtained amongst the Bibbulmun, the groups had yet another name for themselves and for their neighbours. They were Bida-kal (bid, bida = ^{beeda, "one stock"} vein, sinew; kal, kala = fire) or Kal-ip-gur - members of the same fire, hearth, home, town, county, one and the same people, of one sinew, etc. etc. or, as we would term them, a kindred people.

Between all these people there was constant intercourse from time immemorial. They assembled at any point between Augusta (Cape Leeuwin) and Cockleshell Gully (Jurien Bay district) for various purposes, either when a certain local food was ripe, or when the spawning season arrived or the swan nesting season, or warrain (edible root) season, etc., there was in fact a main irregular highway north and south, ^{and east} with branches eastward here and there over the hills wherever relationships extended.

The Minung Bibbulmun also called themselves Bid-kal or Kal-ip-gur and had their main routes throughout each others' territory. Paternal descent obtained amongst the Minung Bibbulmun, but in the "border" country, that is, the country where the two forms of descent met, the difference in descent proved no bar to the interchange of boys, the betrothal of girls, or the general friendly intercourse. Relationships were adjusted according to the transfer of the boys or girls into the tribes having female or male descent. The same language was spoken, the same exogamous phratries existed, and similar customs and laws obtained. The difference in descent meant different applications of relationship terms, and the dropping of the final syllable in the dialect, but that was all. In all other respects the Bibbulmun nation was the most homogeneous of all the nations of the West.

Amongst the Bibbulmun whose descent was maternal, there were certain subdivisions of the phratries Manitchmat and Wordungmat, but these subdivisions did not interfere with either marriage or descent as the following table will show :-

Phratry A.	Manitchmat	Subdivisions -	Tondarup Didaruk
Phratry B.	Wordungmat	"	Ballaruk Ngagarnuk

These four subdivisional names obtained from Augusta to Jurien Bay, and were also found amongst the Minung Bibbulmun living on the ^{eastern} "border line" above mentioned. Their origin is variously accounted. By some tribes Didaruk is said to have been derived from sea or sea foam, didara = sea, being a coast dialectic word. In the Bridgetown area didar means spear, and ^{or whose group area produced good spears.} Didaruk are people whose totem was the spear. In the Busselton and Vasse area, dida is a species of small fish, resembling whitebait, which is very plentiful on the Vasse coast, and at one time these little fish were eaten by and were the totem of some Vasse coastal natives.

Tondarup is derived from dornda = light brown hawk, and is supposed to have been first applied to those natives whose colour resembled that of the dornda or dondurn as it is sometimes called.

Ballaruk is stated to have originated from ballau-ara, a small dark-furred marsupial at one time very common in the Southwest, and the totem of some Swan district natives.

Ngagarnuk was stated by Gray to have been derived from nagarn, a little fish inhabiting the coast, but dida and nimmat are the only two names applied to the "whitebait" along the Southwest coast, and there is no fish called nagarn in the southwestern waters. It may however be a dialectic name of some other product, growing within a circumscribed area.

(Yes, there is; I found one later.)

These and other subdivisional names are not tribal names, as they are found in every group between Augusta and Jurien Bay. Local groups distinguish themselves, and are designated by their neighbours by certain local dialectic terms, such as

(These words are local dialectic variations)
Burrong Wongi (burrong = to bring, fetch, carry; wongi = speech, talk), by which the Bunbury district Bibbulmun were known;
Dunan wongi - the name by which the Capel district Bibbulmun were known. I was unable to discover the meaning of "dunan", which was unknown to those who spoke the dialect. Illa kuri wongi (coming directly) spoken by the Bibbulmun of the Murray and Swan River districts; Yangur wongi (yangur = going, to go) spoken by the Victoria Plains district Bibbulmun. Bajjung wongi (bajjung = species of tree bearing edible gum) spoken by some York and Beverley district Bibbulmun; Jabbun wongi (jabbun = to fall down) spoken by the Gingin district Bibbulmun. All these were local names applied to groups of Bibbulmun living in certain areas whose dialects contained the words by which both the dialects were known and the people speaking them were known.

In the same manner the Minung Bibbulmun had local terms applied from certain dialectic words. Kurin wonga (kurin = east, wonga = speech) was the local name by which the Katanning district Bibbulmun were known. Kaijala wonga (kaijala = north or northeast) was the name applied to the Bibbulmun of a district north of Bremer Bay, and so on.

Each tribe, or aggregate of local groups, had a definite area over which every individual member had hunting and food rights. Within this area were certain waters, hills, valleys, rivers, estuaries, which were the property of the groups inhabiting that particular part of the country.

Owing to the early settlement of the Southwest, it was extremely difficult to obtain the definite boundaries of any special local group or groups, as in nearly all cases the once numerous inhabitants had dwindled down to one or two old men, and the old people were often found far away from their own hunting grounds.

A section of the Yabbaru Bibbulmun whose hunting grounds lay between the Swan and Canning Rivers, was represented by one old man who defined the boundaries of his people's run by mentioning the various gullies, creeks, brooks, etc., which

separated his run from that of the Perth and Fremantle Bibbulmun on the South and from the Gingin Bibbulmun on the north. The extent of country over which his tribe had hunting rights was estimated by an officer of the Lands Department, who was thoroughly conversant with the locality, to cover 168 square miles. Within this area every waterhole, spring, brook, hill, etc., had its special name, and amongst the families composing the tribe, each "family group" inherited from its father or fathers a certain portion of the tribal run which seemed to be its special "kala" (home or fire). My informant, old Joobaitch, who was the last of his group, seemed to lay special claim to some springs in what is now the Canning district, where he was born, and was so eager to die upon his own special ground that he managed to evade the civilised comforts of the Public Hospital, and died near one of his own springs while he was being brought into Perth for medical attention.

The section of the Yabbaru Bibbulmun, locally "Illa kuri wongi" which occupied what are now Perth, Fremantle, Rockingham, etc., were bounded on the south by the Serpentine River, the hills forming their eastern boundary. The Murray district Bibbulmun were the occupants of the Murray River district, also the Serpentine. South of the Murray people were the Burrong wongi or Kunniung Bibbulmun of the Bunbury area, whose eastern boundary was part of the Darling Range.

The hunting grounds of the Dunan wongi section were between the Capel and Wonnerdup Rivers, their eastern boundary being the hills from which these rivers take their rise.

South of the Dunan wongi was the Augusta district section, but only one woman belonging to this area is now living, and as she was taken from the district while still a child, she had no recollection of her father's country.

South of Busselton, the line of coast where maternal descent obtained was a very narrow one, being apparently confined to the mouths of the various rivers flowing into the ocean between Capes Leeuwin and Naturaliste.

The country occupied by the Minung Bibbulmun, Kurin Bibbulmun, etc., where descent was agnatic, was portioned out in a similar manner among the local groups. The number of pools, rockholes, springs, etc., on each "run" occupied by sections of the Bibbulmun may be gathered from the following examples :-

A section of the Kurin Bibbulmun in the Esperance and Neridup areas inherited the following places between Lort River and Cape Arid, the names of the various camping grounds from west to east being Karagurning (Fanny Cove), Wari-irning (near Barker Inlet), Murning-up (Butty Head), Burnating (Baylernup), Menbinup (Spencer's Lake), Gabbi-kail (Esperance), Bai-i-dup (Goorammup Hill), Mirung-up or Minung-up (Mt. Merivale), Manduburnup, (Frenchman's Peak), Mirung-ain (Mt. le Grand), Yirangudding (Blackboy Creek), Kornijip (Babenorin), Boyerding (Boyatup Hill), Balong-up (Hawesh) and Yorlining (Hill at Cape Arid.)

The next "run" in the Phillips River and Oldfield areas belonged also to the Kurin section of the Minung Bibbulmun. It comprised Mungalin-up (Creek), Nye-inup (between Mungalinup Creek and Young River, Miriling and Dumbalup (Salt Lakes district), Kauajungup (Gowjendup Hill), Kalingup (Carlingup), Ngarramurding (Jerdaguttup), Kundong-unyin (Hopetoun), Wujarup (Point near Hopetoun), Belup (Steere River), Kal-i-ding (Kundip), Gabbail (Ravensthorpe), Tumbeling (Mt. Short), Kauerdiring (Cartacup), Gebalip (Phillips River - geb, geba = water; up = place), Kojonungup or Kojonungain (Eyre Range), Menyenup (West River), Wongalngup (Hammersley R.)

The run of the Kaiala Bibbulmun was in the Kent area and included Ngaumop (Dempster Inlet), Mirdamirning (Junction of Tweelup Ck. and Fitzgerald R.), Jiukain (Jacup), Jeramungain (Jerramungup), Peniung (Peeniup Ck.), Jerdawerup (between Gardiner R. and Peniung Ck.), Jingarup (pool on Peniung Ck.), Wurup (between Peniung and Kurakain Ck.)

In the Plantaganet and Hay districts the runs of certain groups of the Minung Bibbulmun were numerous named. A small group whose last remaining representative roams about the Kattanning district, had its hunting ground on the Palinup River

(between the Kent and Plantaganet areas). Balerongin (Beaufort Inlet), Binebup Creek, Waberup Ck., Melip (Long Creek), all tributaries of the Salt and Palingup Rivers, were some of the waters, and Wundalungup (Chillitup Pool), Majjeduggin Pool near Nelalup (Mt. Graves), Maierup, Kaibelup, Matungin and Murdabiding, Yating Pool and Ngamalup Spring were camping places on the run.

The Stirling Ranges were also the inheritance of a local group, of whom I could find but two members living.

The Albany district Minung Bibbulmun are all dead. Nebinyan of Two People Bay district (Yilbering = Two People Bay) was the last member of this group. He died at Katanning in 1911. Wandiyilmernong ("Tommy King") of Kingilyilling (Albany) died at Albany about 1903, and Wabbinyet of Warrangain (Torbay and Denmark district) died about 1909.

All these people laid claim to certain portions of the Minung Bibbulmun territory, which they stated had been held by their people since "nyitting" ("cold" or "ancestral" times). From these runs they could not be dispossessed, and on, or as near these as white settlement rendered possible, they lived and died. Indeed I know of one instance amongst the Minung Bibbulmun of an old woman walking over 200 miles to reach the spot where she had been born, and where she wished to die. She lived about a fortnight after her long journey to her "kal" (fire, hearth, home).

Every group held relationship of some kind with every other group, for all constituted the Bibbulmun Nation. A Minung Bibbulmun from Albany could travel through the tribes east, west, and north of him, as far as the limits of his relationship extended. Nebinyan died at Katanning whither he had gone to be looked after by some Kaiala Bibbulmun and Kurin Bibbulmun with whom his father's people had intermarried.

There was also free intercourse between the Minung Bibbulmun and the Western Bibbulmun, notwithstanding the difference in the form of descent of both people. Whether this was due to the facilities afforded by white settlement, and the greater ease with which long journeys could be accomplished under white

protection, cannot now be definitely ascertained. The living members of the various groups state that they could always travel through any area in which a "relation" existed, the term relation being used in its widest sense. Again, the journeys taken by young boys in preparation for their initiation could be extended as far through Bibbulmun country as the boys' guardians cared to go, and this rule again made for an extension of the highway. One old man, now dead, of the Dunan wongi section, stated that he took some boys to Doggerdirup a distance of some hundreds of miles (Bald Head, Albany) from their birth place at Wonnerdup, but that journey was undertaken after white settlement.

Yabburgurt, the last Murray district native, whose fathers' ground was in the Manjuburdup (Mandurah) district, stated that he could travel to Yunderup (Busselton) and find mururt (blood relations) there; he could go to Kugalerup (Blackwood River district) where some of his nganganjura (mother's people) lived; to Karrganup near the Moore River (Gingin district), where waiabinuk (relations-in-law) lived.

Joobaitch, the last Swan and Canning district native whose father's springs, pools, etc., were in the present Perth and Guildford district, could go south of Bunbury, as his mother's father came from the Burrong wongi district. He went eastward to Mortham, York, Meckering and northward towards Dandarraga, in all of which places he found mururt and waiabirding. "relations-in-law"

Woolberr, the last member of the Gingin district section of the YabbarumBibbulmun, had a friendly highway towards Jurien Bay on the north, Goomalling and Dowerin on the east, and south towards the Murray, as his mururt and waiabirding were to be found in the local groups of these districts. Woolberr was killed while endeavouring to cross the railway line near Perth. These show in which direction of the groups wives, husbands, betrothals (daajeluk) were sought and obtained, close consanguinity being avoided.

Monnop, the last Victoria Plains district Bibbulmun, had also an extensive highway opened to him through relationships, etc. His father's country was near the border of the circumcised tribes, and some boys from his father's people's group had been given over to the circumcised tribes for init-

iation, but only those of his people who were willing to be circumcised went on friendly visits "over the border". The highway of his people ran west and northwest to the coast about Jurien Bay, and south into the Swan district. Monnop died at Guildford in the early part of 1914.

These instances will suffice to show the unity of the Bibbulmun Nation. They were one people, speaking one language, and following the same fundamental laws and customs. Why their forms of descent should be different they themselves could not explain. The Minung Bibbulmun accused the Western Bibbulmun of having inaugurated female descent in order to "legalise", so to speak, mootch or wrong marriages, while the Western Bibbulmun suggested similar motives for paternal descent obtaining amongst their eastern neighbours.

All along the borderline where the two lines of descent met, the tribes were friendly with each other, intermarrying and adjusting their "in-law" relationships to suit the form of descent obtaining.

Local group names, obtained from natives of the following places within the Bibbulmun area, are summarised as follows :-

<u>District</u>	<u>Group names</u>	<u>Descent</u>
Esperance	Waddarndi, Kurin Bibbulmun	Paternal
Hopetoun	Waddarndi, Kurin, Minung Bibbulmun	"
Bremer Bay	Minung, Waddarndi, Bibbulmun	"
North of Bremer B.	Kaiali, Kuli ("name"), Minung	"
N.W. of Bremer Bay	Kurin Bibbulmun, Minung	"
N.E. of Bremer Bay	Kaiali, Yabbaru Minung	"
Albany	Waddarndi, Minung Bibbulmun	"
N. & E. of Warren R.	Waddarndi, Minung Bibbulmun	"
Southern Ry. Line from Albany to Beverley (east of)	Minung	"
W. of Ry. Line to- wards Augusta	Waddarndi, Minung Bibbulmun	"
Bridgetown	Bibbulmun	"
E. of Greenbushes	Yabbaru, Kuli, Wila Bibbul	"
Collie	Wilu = north Bibbulmun (border)	Maternal and paternal

<u>District</u>	<u>Group Names</u>	<u>Descent</u>
Arthur River	Minung, Marruk-ur (marruk= east) Bibbul	Paternal
Williams River	Bibbulmun	"
Hotham River	Bibbulmun, Minung	"
Brookton, Beverley, and York	Minung Bibbul, Border line, where two forms of descent were found.	

The local names of the western coastal Bibbulmun from Augusta (Cape Leeuwin) to the district north of Jurien Bay, were :-

Augusta	Waddarndi Bibbulmun, Wila Bibbulmun	Maternal
Caves district	Burrong wongi Waddarndi Bibbulmun	"
Vasse district	Bibbulmun, Burrong wangi	"
Cape and Wonnerdup	Bibbulmun, Dunan wohgi	"
Bunbury	Bibbulmun, Burrong wongi	"
Murray River	Bibbulmun, Kuri wongi	"
Perth, Fremantle	Yabbaru Bibbulmun, Illa Kuri wongi	"
Swan River and Toodyay	Yabbaru Bibbulmun, Illa kuri	"
Gingin, Moore R.	Yabbaru, Ju-er-ung (eastern) Bibbulmun Jabbun wongi	"
Victoria Plains (New Norcia, etc.)	Yangur, (to go), Yabbaru Bibbulmun	"
Dandarraga	Yabbaru Bibbul, Wi-ja-ri (wija = to go) Wongi	"
Between Jurien Bay and Dongara	Ngurdi-maia (ngurdi = down, below; maia = voice, speech) Mixture of Bibbulmun, with local system.	

The population of the Bibbulmun area can only be approximately ascertained by an estimate made in Governor Stirling's time (1834-39) of the number of natives inhabiting the Perth and Swan River districts within a radius of 40 miles, which was computed to have been between 1000 and 1500. Assuming that all other districts were equally well-populated, there could not have been less than 40,000 aborigines living in the Southwest before white settlement took place. The comparatively close settlement of the southwestern area has resulted in the almost total extinction of the pure-blooded natives. The number of full-blooded natives in the whole of the Southwestern portion of the State, including the Metropolitan, computed

Original MSS. Retyped pages

26

23

Substitute "moiety" for "phratry"

during the Census of 1901, was only 876, 89^{only} of these were ^{being} represented in the Census statistics as belonging to the Metropolitan area. The last Metropolitan district native died in 1907. Gingin district has also lost its native population, also Victoria Plains, York, Bunbury, Busselton, Albany, etc.

The Karratjibbin Nation (Groups)

The name Karratjibbin has been applied to this nation, as it was the term supplied by my Southern Cross informants, for their chief camping ground in that locality. Only a few weeks could be devoted to this most interesting people, but sufficient information was obtained to justify their separation from the Southwestern Nation and also from the Central Areas.

The area over which this ^{group} nation extended, ran from Mt. Jackson in the North (about lat. 30.20) through the Southern Cross district towards the Dundas area.

The peculiar organisation existing amongst these people differentiates them from every other known tribe in the West. They possess a two-phratry system, which in this respect links them with their southwestern neighbours, but with the important difference amongst the Karratjibbin people of each phratry marrying within itself and producing the other phratry. The two phratries are :-

- A. Bi-rung-umat (Birungu = Golden Kingfisher)
- B. Ju-amat (Bee-eater, also a kingfisher species)

According to the genealogies, A. marries A. and produces B. and B. marries B. and produces A.

Whether the area of these people extends further than the limits mentioned, could not be ascertained in the short time allowed for investigation. (Further information limited this group to the area mentioned.) I found the system amongst the Norseman district natives and in the Mt. Jackson group. Their social organisation, customs, laws, initiation, etc., coincide with those of their eastern, northeastern and southeastern neighbours, with whom they have traded their local products. Whether they exchanged boys for initiation with these neighbours I could not discover. The rule was to send a Southern Cross

Karratjibbin boy to Mt. Jackson, and vice versa. A Norseman district boy went to Karratjibbin.

The various groups composing the nation held rights of possession in certain waterholes, hills, soaks, springs, etc. the chief of which appeared to be Karratjibbin, Wilgauin (Mt. Jackson), Yogguragain (west of Karratjibbin), Kammining (N.W. of Karratjibbin), Malyorning (?), Juwardain (nr. Mt. Jackson).

The phratry names represent two species of kingfisher, one of which nests in trees, the other tunnels a nest in the sand.

The Karratjibbin nation borders the Bibbulmun on the northeast, and several of the latter were adopted into and circumcised by the Karratjibbin people.

The Nor' West Nation

The Nor' West Nation includes the uncircumcised tribes of the Wooramel, Gascoyne, Minilya, Lyndon, Ashburton, Cane, Robe, Fortescue, Harding and Sherlock Rivers, near their mouths.

There are certain differences in the social organisation of some of the tribes dwelling within this area, which will be dealt with in their place, but they come under one heading fundamentally in the absence of circumcision, and in the possession of the four class system of organisation.

The system is briefly as follows :-

A. Boorong, B. Banaka, C. Kaimera, D. Paljeri.

Every individual belongs to one or other of these classes.

The tribes composing this nation are :-

The Ingarda, whose southern (approximate) border is the Wooramel River, their southeastern corner being about the vicinity of Carrandibby Range. They may be found further south, towards Hamelin Pool. They are bordered on the east by the circumcised tribes. Their northern boundary is the Gascoyne River. (It may be stated here that amongst all the groups forming the "Nation", intermarriages appear to have always taken place, and in consequence, the boundaries of all tribes are approximate, "free passage", so to speak, over adjacent boundaries being always allowable.)

The term Ingarda or Ingara, may have been derived from "'nga" (mother), but 'nga is a Southwestern dialectic equivalent. The meaning of the word could not be ascertained from any of the Ingarda examined.

The northern coastal neighbours of the Ingarda are the Maia (maia = voice, speech, shelter). The habitat of the Maia was the country between the Gascoyne and Minilya Rivers, the latter river forming the northern boundary. They were found eastward towards Kennedy Range. North of the Maia were the Bai-ung, whose country lay between the Minilya and Lyndon Rivers, and eastwards towards Joolabroo Pool. Bai-ung may be derived from a dialectic term "bai-i" (posterior). Eastward of the Maia and Bai-ung are the Thadgardi or Thargarri whose eastern boundary was the Lyons River. (Meaning of this word unknown.) Eastward of the Thadgarri were the Warriwonga or Warranga (meaning of term unobtainable). The Southern boundary of the Warriwonga and Thadgardi was the Gascoyne River. The Lyons River separated the Warriwonga from the Thadgardi. East of the Warriwonga were the circumcised tribes. The Lyons River taking a sharp curve eastward formed the northern boundary of the Warriwonga. Some Warriwonga were adopted and circumcised by the tribes east of them.

North of the Warriwonga were the Jiwarli or Tchi-warli who occupied the country between the Lyons and Ashburton (near Capricorn Range). The Jiwarli also had the circumcised tribes on their eastern border, and many of their boys had become circumcised and lived with the Jiwarli.

The Binniguru tribe were located in the Central Ashburton and Hardey Rivers district. The Jiwarli were their southeastern neighbours, the circumcised tribes bounding them on the east. Some Biniguru were also adopted and circumcised.

West of the Binniguru were the Bu-tena, Burduna, or Buduna people. The Burduna were separated from the Thadgarda by the Lyndon River, and from the Binniguru by the Central Ashburton and Henry Rivers. The Ashburton also formed their northern boundary. North of the Bai-ung and west of the Burduna were the Thallainji or Tallainji (^{Bibbulmun word} tallain = tongue ?), a coastal tribe occupying the country between the Ashburton and Lyndon Rivers at their mouths. On the east the Tallainji were separ-

Original MSS. Retyped pages

30

26

Substitute "moieties" for "phratries"

ated from the Burduna by the Yannarie River. (corruption of Henry R.)

The peninsula whose apex is the N.W. Cape appears to have been occupied at one time by some Tallainji who were called Mulgarnu (turtles) probably from the fact of the turtle forming their chief food in the turtle laying season. There are no Mulgarnu now living.

Northeastward of the Tallainji were the Nu-ala (you people, "you fellows") whose country lay between the Ashburton and Fortescue Rivers. The Tallainji and Burduna were the southwestern neighbours of the Nuala, the Binniguru were on their southeastern border, and the Martathunera were their northeastern neighbours. The Mardathunera appear to have been located near the Fortescue River, towards its mouth.

Adjoining the Mardathunera were the Ngalluma, the most northern of the uncircumcised tribes of the Nor'West Nation. The Ngalluma were a coastal people, and in the "pairing" of the classes they differed from their western and southern (uncircumcised) neighbours. Eastward of the Ngalluma (ngalli = we, all of us), about Balla Balla, the line of demarcation and runs S.E. between the circumcised and uncircumcised tribes begins, bounding the Ngalluma, Binniguru, Jiwarli, Warriwonga and Ingarda tribes of the Nor'West Nation, some local unidentified groups in the Northampton district and Geraldton district, and the Bibbulmun Nation of the Southwest and South ^{until it reaches the southern coast} about Cape Arid or Point Malcolm.

In the Northampton and Geraldton districts I found some local groups which did not seem to be identified with, or placed in the Nations south, east or north of them. They possessed neither the northern class names nor the Southern phratries. For want of a better term I called them isolated groups with the tribes N., S., and E. of them. On all their borders intermarriages and adoptions had taken place, and it was in the vicinity of these groups that the circumcised tribes had come nearest to the western coast. The circumcised "line" was within twenty miles of Geraldton at the time of white settlement in that district and was gradually encroaching. (It has now reached to the coast through the Wajjiri (circumcised tribe) 1917.)

The names supplied by the members of the various groups were :-

Nanda (nanda = what), who occupied the district between Northampton and (about) Gantheaume Bay.

Nanda-dhera (what is it?) Greenough River district

Ngu-guja (nguga = honey from banksia flowers, or a species of edible fungus) Bowes River district.

Nunnagurdi (nanna = what?) Geraldton district

Badi-maia (badi = "no"; maia = voice, speech), About Ming-enew and Yandanuka. These Badimaia belonged to a circumcised tribe, the Wajjari, but called themselves locally Badimaia.

Wattandi or O-pi (wattarn = sea, opi = skin). Dongara district
Dhauerngu (dhauera = north or totem) Carnamah district, west of Lake Moore.

Batiga (batino) East of the Dhauerngu. This group was also a local section of the Wajjari tribe, which had encroached westward.

Ngurdi-maia (ngurdi = down, below, maia = voice, speech). North of the Yabbaru Bibbulmun, Arrowsmith River district.

Nanda, Nunnagurdi, Ngurdimaia, Dhauerngu had intermarried with the Wajjari circumcised tribes on their eastern border, and at the time of my visit to the Northampton district (1909) some members of the Wajjari tribes were living in the Bowes River district (Champion Bay), and therefore the circumcised tribes may be said to have penetrated to the coast at this point. The Ngurdimaia and O-pi had intermarried with some Yabbaru Bibbulmun and through these intermarriages, some family groups could visit Dandarraga, etc., some Batiga also could visit the Victoria Plains district through intermarriages.

There may have been other groups north of the Nanda, between them and the Ingarda, but no members of these groups could be traced. Each group appeared to occupy a small area, and married within its boundaries, Nanda marrying Nanda and producing Nanda, but it was not possible to study any group within its own area, as owing to white settlement, the groups had dispersed, some being absorbed into the Southwestern areas. Closer investigation might reveal interesting information concerning these curious people, but such investigation would necessitate a visit

to almost every station and farm in and around the Northampton area, where the remnants of these people are scattered. X

X
A fundamental law of marriage (which probably prevailed throughout Australia) was the marriage of father's sisters' daughters, with mother's brothers' sons. The offspring of paternal aunts' and maternal uncles formed the first legitimate marrying pairs, and this law held good until white settlement took place.

tribes whose customs are identical with those of the Kimberley people. Some of my Broome (Kimberley) informants stated that there was a highway along the Ninety Mile into the country occupied by those tribes, and that some of their "relatives" were amongst the Bailgu tribe of the Nullagine district, but I have included these intermediate tribes in the Central area for reasons which will be given later.

Amongst the known tribes composing the Kimberley Nation were the Kulajarri or Nangumurdu who occupied the Ninety Mile Beach about Wallal in the Pardu area. (Kula = west, Kulajarri = western). East of the Kulajarri were the Bajjibugu tribe running parallel with the Kulajarri towards La Grange Bay. The Bajjibugu went inland towards the McLarty Hills.

North of the Kulajarri or Nangumurdu were the Karrajarra (another dialectic word meaning "west"), whose country ran northward from La Grange Bay towards Roebuck Bay.

Eastward of the Karrajarra were the Ko-al-gurdi or Yalmban (Koalgurdi = south, Yalmban = southwest). Their eastern boundary was Edgar Range or Jurgurra Creek.

North of the Koalgurdi were the Banniabbulu (banni = east) whose eastern boundary was the Fitzroy River.

The western neighbours of the Banniabbulu were the Kularra-bulu (kularra = west or seacoast; bulu = people) Some of their principal watering places were Jajjala, Jirr-ngin-ngan (Broome), Wirraginmarri (creek), Idal (fresh water lake) and other springs and creeks towards Cape Boileau, their northern boundary.

to almost every station and farm in and around the Northampton area, where the remnants of these people are scattered. X

The Kimberley Nation

The tribes included in this Nation extend from (about) the Ninety Mile Beach, to about Balla Balla, to about Macdonald Ranges (lat. 15.20, long. 125) eastward to about the Fitzroy River, probably further north, east, southeast and south.

Between the Ninety Mile Beach and Balla Balla, where the Nor'West Nation joins the circumcised area, there are some tribes whose customs are identical with those of the Kimberley people. Some of my Broome (Kimberley) informants stated that there was a highway along the Ninety Mile into the country occupied by those tribes, and that some of their "relatives" were amongst the Bailgu tribe of the Nullagine district, but I have included these intermediate tribes in the Central area for reasons which will be given later.

Amongst the known tribes composing the Kimberley Nation were the Kulajarri or Nangumurdu who occupied the Ninety Mile Beach about Wallal in the Pardu area. (Kula = west, Kulajarri = western). East of the Kulajarri were the Bajjibugu tribe running parallel with the Kulajarri towards La Grange Bay. The Bajjibugu went inland towards the McLarty Hills.

North of the Kulajarri or Nangumurdu were the Karrajarra (another dialectic word meaning "west"), whose country ran northward from La Grange Bay towards Roebuck Bay.

Eastward of the Karrajarra were the Ko-al-gurdi or Yalmban (Koalgurdi = south, Yalmban = southwest). Their eastern boundary was Edgar Range or Jurgurra Creek.

North of the Koalgurdi were the Banniabbulu (banni = east) whose eastern boundary was the Fitzroy River.

The western neighbours of the Banniabbulu were the Kularra-bulu (kularra = west or seacoast; bulu = people) Some of their principal watering places were Jajjala, Jirr-ngin-ngan (Broome), Wirraginmarri (creek), Idal (fresh water lake) and other springs and creeks towards Cape Boileau, their northern boundary.

The Kularrabulu were also found at Thang-ul-ngun-jil, twelve miles south of Broome.

Cape Boileau was the southern boundary of the Waddi-abbulu or Ku-nian (both terms meaning "north"), whose northern boundary was Bulabulaman Creek, Beagle Bay district. Lake Louisa and Fraser River were on their eastern border.

East of the Waddiabbulu were the Wai-ung-arri of the Mt. Clarkson area. The eastern boundary of the Waiungarri was the Fitzroy River, at its mouth.

North of the Waiungarri were the Warr-wai, who, with the Waiungarri were to be found in the Derby district and along the western shore of King Sound.

The ^{ngool-ngool} Nyul-nyul (species of snake) were north of the Waddi-abbulu and Warr-wai, and occupied the Beagle Bay and Disaster Bay (King Sound) districts. The Nyul-nyul were also called Kunian and Waddiabbulu, by the Warrwai and Kularrabulu people. Most of the Nyul-nyul people have been absorbed into the Roman Catholic Trappist Mission established at Beagle Bay and Disaster Bay in 1890, now Pallotine German.

The tribe to the north of the Nyul-nyul, inhabiting Pander and Cygnet Bays, Cape Leveque and Swan Point, were the Barda (barda = sea beach). The Barda occupied the whole of the peninsula whose apex is Swan Point.

The people inhabiting Sunday Island call themselves Tchau-i. Their western neighbours were the Barda, Nyul-nyul, and Warrwai, with whom they intermarried, crossing the intervening waters in mangrove rafts or log "canoes";

In the Macdonald Ranges, Glenelg River, the Mai-al-nga people were located. These people had the same customs, class divisions and marriage laws as the Sunday Island and Beagle and Disaster Bays tribes, but no information was obtainable of the tribes living between Macdonald Range and Sunday Island.

At the Fitzroy Telegraph Station, and probably stretching westward along the Fitzroy were the Warri-ngarri people who possessed the coastal class divisions and marriage laws obtaining amongst the Kimberley Nation, with the neighbouring tribes of which they intermarried.

Original MSS. Retyped pages

34

30

Marginal note

Have been investigating S. & C.A. groups since
1912 - 1934. (D.M.B.)

They also intermarried with the people northeast of them, whose Class divisions number sixteen.

East of the Warri-ngarri were the Gi-ja-wa, but nothing further is known of these people except the name. The Margaret River and Mueller Range were in the country of the Gi-ja-wa.

In the Hall's Creek district, the tribes possessed the 16 classes system, and some native prisoners from the Wyndham area stated that this system prevailed throughout northeast Kimberley. The social organisation of the Hall's Creek tribes, notwithstanding that their Class divisions are four times as numerous as those of the Kimberley Nation, which number only four (Boorong, Banaka, Kaimera, Paljari), is similar to that of Kimberley, the divisions being so arranged that a Kimberley man may marry a Hall's Creek woman of his proper Class in his own country.

The following tribal names were supplied by a Kimberley prisoner at Rottneest Island :- Bunuba (Fitzroy), Jarruru (Hall's Creek district), Lungu (Wyndham), Burungana (West of Wyndham).

The Central Areas

The country included in these areas covers the whole of the centre of the State, its western boundary being the line of (approximate) demarcation between the circumcised and uncircumcised people. The coastal tribes whose locality lies between Balla Balla and the Ninety Mile Beach are included in this area, owing to similarity of Class divisions, customs, laws, etc., and also to the circumstance of one of their tribal names becoming a Class Division in the Goldfields area; I-barrga is the name of a tribe in the Pilbara area, and the same name takes the place of Banaka in the Class divisions of the central Goldfields area. Jarruru appears to be the name of a tribe in the Hall's Creek district, and takes the place of Paljari in the Goldfields Class divisions.

The coastal (circumcised) tribes included in the Central areas Nation are the Ngala, whose locality is south west of Nangamurda, about Condon Creek and Breaker

Inlet. West of the Ngala are the Karriarra people, whose western neighbours are the uncircumcised Ngalluma. I have found Karriarra, Ngala, Ngalluma and Namal natives camping amicably at Cossack and Roeburne, and Ngalluma and Karriarra have intermarried, although the Ngalluma are a circumcised people. an uncircumcised

South of the Ngala are the Namal, whose country covers a portion of the De Grey River district. The Namal are an inland people, but have outlet to the coast through relationship with the Ngala. Southwest of the Karriarra and southeast of the Ngalluma are the Injibandi (inja = to go), whose country is west of the Yule River. Part of the Sherlock River runs through Injibandi country, and the pools and springs in the vicinity of Mungaroona Range are camping grounds of the tribe.

The Kurdama appear to be the eastern neighbours of the Injibandi, their tribal run being between the Yule and Strelley Rivers.

Several small tribes or groups are located on the upper waters of the Turner, Coongan, De Grey, Davis and Oakover Rivers, but the exact locality cannot be definitely stated. The Ngadharri appear to be in the neighbourhood of the Ripon Hills, the Kurdama and Banjima or Panjima being west of the Ngadharri.

The Bailgu tribe runs westward from the Nullagine towards Mulga Downs on the Fortescue River., southeastwards to some unknown point.

It is probably near or on the Oakover River that the I-barrga are to be found. I met some members of the Ibarrga tribe on my journey up the Strelley River, but I subsequently found that they were out of their own territory and were journeying to Karriarra country for the shearing season. It is this tribe which gives its name to a Class division on the Eastern Gold-fields.

The Kardadhurra tribe claims part of the Davis River as its "run", some of its members having camping places at Mt. Mackay, Mt. Lewin and the Range east of Lynn Peak.

The Tchuraru tribe is south of the Injibandi, and has the hills and pools of the upper Hardey and its tributaries, and part of the Windell area for its hunting grounds. Its western

neighbours are the Binniguru (Tchuru = sun, snake).

The Tenna are situated about Wondarry Creek, which rises in Capricorn Range. They are Southwest of the Tchuraru, and east of the Jiwarli or Tehiwarli.

East of the Tenna (ten, den = dead) are the Inna-wonga or Inyawonga (inna, yinna = You, sit) whose pools are on the Angelo River, a tributary of the Ashburton.

The Jargurdi, Jakkurdi or Wandabi wonga (jargurdi = string made from animal fur or human hair and netted into bags, etc.; wandabi = name of a local dance) territory is also in the neighbourhood of the Ashburton, between that river and the Gascoyne. Mt. Egerton, Teano Range and Waldburg Range form part of the Jargurdi run. Jargurdi are also found at the Gap, Ethel River, and towards the Rabbit Proof Fence.

Wajjari wonga, wadhari wonga, Wirdi wonga and Badi-maia or Badiwonga, are all one people, and are one of the only two known tribes in the West who are named from their tribal term for "no" (badi, wirdi, wajja, wadga, or wajji). The Wajjari are on the Gascoyne and Murchison Rivers, and have been found as far north as Bangemall (Frederick River), as far west as the coast, ^{at Champion Bay} in the Northampton district, and along the Railway Line from Mullewa, near Geraldton to and N. & N.E. of Nannine. In the Sandstone district they call themselves Badimaia, and at Bingiling, Field's Find, and Warrida Hill (about lat. 29, long. 117) they call themselves Wirdi wonga (wirdi also means "pearlshell" and "lie" in the Wajjari area), and they have other local names also. The southwestern neighbours of the Wajjari are the Minung Bibbulmun, and amongst some Wajjari camping near Moora on the Midland Railway line, I found some Yangur Bibbulmun from the Wongan Hills district who had been circumcised by and adopted into the Batiga group (a section of the Wajjari) with whom they were living. It was the Wajjari tribe also that had encroached upon the Nanda, Nandadhurra and Munnagurdi of the Northampton area, and upon the Ingarda and Warriwonga and Jiwarli whose country they bordered.

The circumcised tribes bordering the Nor'West nation were: The Karriarra, Injibandi, Tchuraru, Tenna and Wajjari, and in

all of these tribes there were "adoptions" from the uncircumcised tribes west of them and intermarriages had also taken place. The tribes inhabiting the head waters of the Fortescue, Ashburton, Gascoyne and Murchison districts, and the Upper Murchison, East Murchison and Goldfields areas appear to have extensive highways tunnning east and west, or northeast and southwest - always in a zigzag line towards pools and camping places on the route. These highways or trade routes extend from one tribal territory to another in every part of the State. and throughout what is now the Commonwealth of Australia, before the white man's advent.

The Peak Hill and Upper Murchison tribes traded with the Gascoyne tribes, and through them with the uncircumcised tribes of the Nor'West Nation. Yaggara (red ochre) was purchased from the Ashburton coastal tribes, also wirdi-wirdi or wira-
"Ling'gili" and "go-arn, the former from the Darwin area, the latter wira (large pearlshell) by the tribes inhabiting the Thaduna a N.W. & W. shell were bartered for centuries S & Cent. & W. and carried their separate and distinguishing names throughout.
 and Lake Way districts. Spears and other products also came from the Upper Ashburton and from districts still further north and northeast, for barter amongst the Lake Way and other tribes.

From all tribal territories roads branched in various directions according to the facilities for food and water to be found along the way. There were not only the four points of the compass, but there were also intermediate points along which these routes ran. For instance, amongst the tribes inhabiting the Peak Hill and Lake Way districts the following names applied to intermediate points between the cardinal points :

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Yabbaragurra (or Yabbura-gurra) = north. | Wardal = N.N.E. |
| Minung = south | Kaiali = N.E. |
| Koggara = east | x. Bidung = E.N.E. |
| Wilu = west | x. Wanmala = E.S.W. |
| Yallinjerra = S.E. ? | x. Boggumaia = S.S.E. |
| Nugarn = S.W. and W.S.W. | x. Dhargurdi = E.N.E. or N.N.E. |
| Ingarda = N.W. | x. Yabbaru = N.N.W. |

x. Applied also to the tribes of E.N.E.

The Lake Way tribe, whose chief camping ground was Wiluwuna (Wiluna on map), had eleven "roads" branching in as many different directions from Wiluna, along which the tribes travelled to and fro, These were the Lake Darlot road, the Laverton road, New England road, Wongwal Station Road, Mt. Cleveland Road (Yuram'murda), Peak Hill Road, Minderoo Road, Mulajinda (Abbot's) Road, Barambi Road, another road whose name was not given, and Mt. Sir Samuel Road.

The Lake Way-Peak Hill Road contained the following chief camping places : Yander (Yarnder) pool W.N.W of L. Way, Wiluwuna, Baburgunna, Kardurda, Dhurerl, Birridi, Gunmara, Bilyawoh, B'ri-mangu, and Yallamurra (Peak Hill). Besides these permanent pools, springs, etc., there were small rockholes, creeks, special places where seed or other food might be found, and so on. Over forty names have been supplied of these lesser camping places along this route alone. From Peak Hill there were well-traversed roads to the lower, middle and upper branches of the Gascoyne, and also to the watershed of the Ashburton, the roads being as winding and crooked as the rivers. Certain of these roads became "closed" to native traffic owing to the formation of stations, mining townships, etc., within their areas and in consequence the tribes have had to open up new roads of late years. One example of these new roads will suffice. It is a variation of the Peak Hill-Lake Way Road. Nowadays the Lake Way tribes have to go to Peak Hill via Meekatharra, their pools being : Yarnder, Mulain, Kurangu, Milyi-milyi, Baiarbabba, Yalungalu, Darin, Mardong-ga-yuara, Migadhurda (Meekatharra), Malgababba, Mulajindi (Abbots), Minduru (Minderoo), Babbawarndil (Mail change, 25 miles S. of Peak Hill), Yalba, Murgajibi, Yallunguba and Yallamurra (Peak Hill).

Tribes seldom return by the same road to their own grounds, as they can make a "semicircular" tour by the northward or southward, or in any direction in which there is a chance to barter the articles they carry with them, or where a relationship might be traced.

Every pool, spring or lake in every tribe is associated with the family or group occupying the vicinity, or with some

individual member of that family, whose birth occurred beside the pool, etc. Such pool belongs to the family of the person born there as long as the family exists. Should every member of the family die out, the pool or pools which belonged to that family or group become "kutu-wanna", or "kutu-burna", dead ground, country whose owners are dead. In all tribes there is a dialectic equivalent for this expression, and I have only met one instance where such country has been "jumped" by a member of another tribe. That is in the Meekatharra district, whose local groups have died out since the advent of the white people. Sometime in the late nineties a rather powerful Lake Way district native who had made his own country too hot to hold him went with his family to Mardong-ga-yuara pool and took up his residence there, relying upon the white people as well as upon his own known prowess and magic powers for protection from the relatives-in-law, and the friends of the dead group who lived north, south and west of Mardong-gayudara. There he resided with his family, passing from pool to pool according to the seasons, and fighting for his tenureship of the district, until he contracted venereal, when he was sent to Bernier Island. As soon as the man had been removed, his family at once fled from the district. I obtained his release from Bernier after my visit there, and he died near his own people's ground some time afterwards.

The absence of natural barriers makes intertribal intercourse easy, and as all the known tribes within the central area practised the severer rites of initiation, their boys were freely exchanged. Every exchange leads to an extension of friendly country through which traverse can be made at certain periods of the year. To exemplify this statement amongst the Lake Way people: Muri, a Wilu-wuna man, accompanied A.W. Canning along the new stock route from Wiluna northwards, passing through his own tribal camping places. Kurguguga, Kunongu, Jilgurdianyura, to Karanu, a boundary waterhole. Here he was met by a member of the adjoining tribe,

who accompanied the party past the various camping places, Igil, Jundelwarra, Mungeri, Kujila (spring with mythical guardian snake), Milyiniri, Murninjerrri Hill (red ochre locality), Warngara (Salt Lakes, where Tompson and Shoesmith were killed), and on to Ngunba, a large spring or pool, the furthestmost point of friendly territory. From this point Muri turned back, returning by a different route, along the Rabbit Proof Fence, passing Maia-maia, Mibian, Miganjil, Jurerl, Yarnder, and on to Wiluwuna, his friend accompanying him the whole of the way.

It will be obvious that the definite boundaries of a tribe cannot be given, since each tribe possesses a multitude of names for the prominent features - hills, rivers, creeks, etc., along its borders. The principal camping grounds and pools of the tribes on the watersheds and upper branches of the Ashburton, Gascoyne and Murchison Rivers, and on the Goldfields will be given, with the European names (if any) given to them by explorers and others.

In the neighbourhood of the Ophthalmia Range, which runs through the Windell and Kundra area, are the Wirdinya wonga, whose well watered country possesses many camping places, of which the principal are : Jurnanguna, Gunma, Nyumaru, Yirardina, Gunong-bunya, Mungardama, Ngangarli, Wardunya, Balbinya (Nichol Spring), Biarbuna, Nyirinbina and Savory Creek. The Ina wonga or Inva wonga or Yena wonga are their nearest neighbours on the west, some of the pools of the Inya wonga being Kurunbida, Jindibirila, Mambulula and Jardungunna near Angelo River. The tribes immediately north of the Wirdinya are not yet known, but the Bailgu of the Nullagine area are not far from them. The Jargurdi appear to be south of them, as they have inter-married with Jargurdi from Ethel River, Jammi-jammi, Wurolyu (near R.P. Fence) and Wau-ur-bunna being Jargurdi pools.

The Thaduna area is occupied by the Waian wonga (waian = no, do not; waian wonga = "no" dialects) whose country is also well-watered. The principal pools are : Jaduna (Thaduna Hill and pool), Jibun, Jiminya, Wilguna, Jiridinya, Yiringunna and Jedinya, and towards Nangomara Pool on the Gascoyne.

Along the Gascoyne River, and westward towards Warala (Eurillia Creek) are the Kurdu-wonga, whose principal pools were : Jigaji (tributary of the Gascoyne), Tchugariera (Mt. Clere), Malbia (Mt. Labouchiere), Bunjawara (Mt. Arapiles), Minga (Turner Creek), Jammuna, Kardinia, Ilingunna, Winjongu, Yunderu and Mibili.

Near Malbia, and towards Nangamarra Pool, the Kurduwonga were called Nabala wonga from a dialectic (local) term for "we"; at Sawback Range, on Gulgawarin, Gan-gan and Kulijerdi pools, the occupants called themselves Ngajja wonga (ngajja = I), and at Yaluwilu, S.W. of Malbia, they called themselves Ngadhari (local term for "we" wonga). These appear to be small local groups, ^{associated} within the Kurduwonga tribe. The Waianwonga also have these smaller groups which name themselves from some local term, such as the Ngabi wonga (ngabi = we?) whose pools were Maianda and Yinmaninja on the Gascoyne; Ngaga wonga (ngaga = I, me?) at Guneri, Ngammarunadhano, and Wandierung; Ijagunda or Ngarga wonga at Dallian, Birulu, Dardaru and Munbinyarra pools, between Minga and Jilgungunna, and Kalara near Mibingunna. Between the Wirdinya and Waianwonga are some small groups which call themselves Barragun wonga at Yiraguli in the Waianwonga area, and Barraga wonga at Boru-boru, near the Wirdinya pools Kujidung and Bururailgunna. At Jiril, Yari, Kurdiwala and Wajunga Pools, in or about the same area, between Wirdinya and Waian wonga, was a small group called ^{by 4 names} Ngogonya, Ngarga, Ngaga or Wirdinya.

The Ngadha wonga (ngadha = I, me), area was a large one, covering Peak Hill district, the Robinson Ranges, Meekatharra district, part of the Murchison River, the Ord, and Minderoo Creeks and many other tributaries of the Murchison. The chief pools of the Ngadha wonga were Yallamurra (Peak Hill) Marduwiri (Horseshoe), B'rimangu, Bilyawon (pools in Robinson Ranges), Babbawarndil (Mailchange, 25 miles south of Peak Hill), Mulajindi (Abbots), Wirdibabba, Bihdhana, Nala, Minderu, Malgababba, Bata, Milyi-milyi, Migadhurda (hill and pool), Mardong-gayuara and many others.

The western neighbours of the Ngadha wonga were the Wajari who however had several local names applied to small groups in certain areas. They were Marduwonga at Milyura Creek, Biringari, Wali-wali, Mangul; Wajari wonga at Mt. Taylor (Kalamuji) and Babbawiri; Kurila wonga at Orilba and Wandari (north of Mt. Taylor), Maianyina and Mardiagai at Dhura-wuda, Babungurda, Baba-ilya, Bundabilyi, Biribingunya, Waligudharra, all pools on Murchison River, in the West Robinson Ranges; Wadhari at Thardutharduna (these are all dead); Magumaia, Bangumaia and Maddigai at Bururdun and Biran'gai (Cue district) and Nugarn (nugarn = south or southwest) wonga in the Wannine district. Kauai-nyina, Migara, Kauai wonga were local names for the Wajari at Ilyura Pool (or Yilura), north of Wealbarguntha Hill, and east of Quartzite Hill.

The Ngaia, Nzaiu or Ngai-yu wonga occupied the Lake Way district (ngaia, ngaiu, ngai-yu = I, me). The Waianwonga were their northwestern neighbours, the Ngadha wonga bounded them on the west, the Wajari on the southwest, the Bardu wonga on the Southeast, and on the south were the tribes of the Eastern Goldfields.

The Ngaia wonga went north beyond Lake Ngabberu (all lakes are called ngabberu in the Murchison district). Their northern and eastern neighbours are not known. The pools of the Ngaiawonga were mainly along the ranges - Kimberley, Barr Smith, Frere, etc., and in the head waters of the Murchison. Some of their permanent springs and pools were :Balju Spring (near Mt. Alice), Wiluwuna (spring or pool at Lake Way), Yandergunna (Yandil Soak near Mt. Bartle), Balgabiriridi, Nigara (Creek), Babura (Mt. Lawrence), Bandol, Gunmara, Mundungunbala (Finlayson Ranges), and many others.

As with the other tribes, some local Ngaiawonga were known by certain special names. The Nganya (nganya = I, me), wonga were at Kunderba, east of Wilu-wuna, the Ngai-yu were at Guyanga, Bulyun (Boolygoo Range), Jilawarn (creek at Mt. Holmes), and Ngai-yu and Baduwonga were at Tulu, Warriman, Thauajil, Inderijera, Wala, Igalajera, Malu-nyundi (between Lawlers and Laverton),

and at Maljer Pool north of Leonora. Nzai-yu and Yira wonga (yira = mouth, teeth) were at Kagula (spinifex country near New England), Thammerga, Kundi, Werebin, Mogulgurra and Yira-wula (Lake Maitland or Bates Range area).

At Lake Ngabbaru, Ngajja wonga and Ngaia wonga camped at the same pools - Yulbini and Biril-biril.

South of Lake Mason, near Sandstone and Nan-gara, some Ngadha wonga, Badi-maia, and Ngaiawonga camped on Dhudhubuga, Warlil-guna and other pools in the vicinity.

The Barduwonga are the southeastern neighbours of the Ngaiawonga and are located in the spinifex country north and northeast of Laverton. The information concerning the Barduwonga was obtained from a member of that tribe at Rottnest Island prison.

The points of the compass supplied by Turada, having his own territory as the centre, were :

Yabbura = north, Bangai-ida = south, Yallindharra or Yallindherra = east, Bugalgarra = west, Wau-wula = N.W., Weri-woga = W.N.W., Burdi-ida = W.S.W., Yulbari = S.W., Koggara-dugulgu = S.W., Koggarara = E.S.W., Yabubinmalwoga = E.E.N.E., Kaiali, Yabbudi-waberdi-kurduru = E.N.E., Kaiali kabi daramurra = N.N.E. (daramurra = magic water stone, coming from N.N.E.)
Bilbaguru mard-ida = N.E. (bilbaguru = name of spear purchased from N.E.).

The principal springs, soaks, etc., on Turada's father's country were Mardailga, Yilurn, Yinolu, and Burduradda, all of which were in spinifex country and were permanent waters. The names of 70 other pools and camping places of the Barduwonga were supplied by Turada. *See attached notes (Turada)*

The tribes adjoining the Barduwonga and with whom they held friendly intercourse were :-

Mardia wonga, Kaiali (E.N.E.)

Mardia-ngulyi, Dhulgu-nguru, or Daramurra (E.N.E.)

Ngu-yum-burrong or Manjinji wonga, Yallindharra (E.)

Dita wonga, Koggara dugulgu (S.W.) ** interesting to know that Thuradha's group travelled across the S.A.-W.A. border near or at or N. or S. of Boundary Dam for initiation ceremonies etc. Munjinja wonga groups came to my camp (Ooldea, Nullarbor Plain) from Musgrave & other ranges east of Thuradha's group area.*

Badu wonga, Bangai-ida (S.), the Badu of Boundary Dam.

Bugail or Bugai-i-kuju wonga (point not given)

Waddi wonga (waddi = man), wonggai-i wonga, Ngallaia wonga,

Yulurijja - are all E. and N.E. of Barduwonga.

(Ngakkalea, a native of the Jinyila/^{Eucla} area, called the Dita wonga Dirdu wonga or Dirdu guarriba, and the Badu wonga, Badu warriba.)

These are probably the same tribes as those given by Turada.

Boys were exchanged with any of the above tribes by the Barduwonga, who also exchanged boys with the Ngai-yu wonga.

The Kalgoorlie district tribes appear to have been called Wia-ngurdu wonga, and the Southern Cross district people Ngadhiera wonga. (Both these names were supplied by Jilguguru, a Wajjari of Lake Barlee district).

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the West is that which is still ethnologically unknown - the central belt and along the border of S.A. and W.A., between Eucla district and Kimberley. In the Hall's Creek district is the Jarruru tribe, and westward of the Jarruru is the Ibarrga. At what point these tribes become Class Divisions or Matrimonial Classes, forms but one of many exciting problems in connection with variations in tribal and social organisation of the central tribes, which will only be solved by personal investigation.

All class divisions or matrimonial classes ceased before white settlement had taken place west and east of the white man's Border line between W. and S.A. and C.A. Australia.

Later information supplies the following names of Border tribes :-

Baduwonga - about Boundary Dam

Waddiwonga, adjoining Badu

Ngallee (ngallee = we, us)

Yulbari (seacoast), Bight area

baadu = blood drinkers

waddi = man

Near the E.W.
Railway route.

APPENDIX

This should be compared with the first few pages of II, 1, of which it appears to give a more detailed account :-
(in note form)

Different comers had different points of entry.

A natural highway from North to South, tribes pushed southwards always. Tribes of the seaboard and of the interior fair-haired families. Scanty haired families inland, wavy and curly and comparatively straight haired coast.

Kudharra and variants throughout the West. (kudharra = two)

Pronouns and certain other words common in use in all tribes.

Desultory landings of small bodies along the coast, probably from wreckages. Main currents represented in S.W. and Central.

Class divisions travelling S.E. Birungu, Karritjibbin nation,

Kimberley S.E., Nullagine. The Southern islands unvisited.

The highest mountain is only 3800 feet.

Darling Ranges run along N. and S. 20 miles from the sea, to a distance of 300 miles. Its highest peaks are not above 1500 feet.

Stirling Range, 40 miles N.E. of Albany, is the loftiest range in the south. Its highest altitude is 3640 feet.

Some S.W. rivers are perennial, others merely storm water channels. Lakes also merely receptacles for flood waters.

W.A. has many climates, ranging from temperate to tropical.

Rainfall heaviest in S.W. and North - 2 seasons, long summer and short winter. Rainfall 50 ins. In the Northwest rains come in

summer, Nov. to March (35 or 40 in. rainfall). The Central area is subject to change. Sometimes summer rains come from the W.

more often winter rains from W. or N.W., very seldom from E.

Monsoonal rains always travel from N.W. to S.E. N.W. 20 in. rainfall.

In the S.W. with similar food and water conditions to those of the

N. Kimberley the tribes vary in their customs. Kimberley elaborates

S.W. doesn't. In the dry spinifex and central areas, springs, native wells, waterholes, soakages, ngamma holes, mallee, gum.

In summer they went inland from the Eucla coast.

There is no part of Western Australia that presents an insuperable barrier to the movement of its native inhabitants. The so-called desert (spinifex) areas have thousands of waterholes, springs, soaks, etc. within their boundaries, while the mountainous ranges and rugged precipices of North Kimberley have native highways unknown as yet to the white man, but known for generations to the native inhabitants who passed to and fro within the fastnesses, pursuing their ordinary habits and purposes.

Hence there are no impassable boundaries other than those which native tradition and custom ordained. A small range, a score of trees, a few sandhills, a watercourse, or waterhole or spring may define a boundary over or across which custom forbids encroachment or trespass, but none of them are insurmountable. There is no area in the known west so inhospitable that it will not afford sustenance to the humans who inhabit it.

Even the great Nullarbor Plain had its camping places for the people who lived round its edges and long before the coming of the white man, there was communication between the native inhabitants of what are now Western and South Australia along the edge of the Bight. If Eyre had only been able to change his native guides as he went along on his journey over the Bight, he would have found native watering places all along his route.

At the Head of the Bight is Ilgamba spring or soak, capable of affording sufficient water for over one hundred natives. Murrawijini (no) Giljurabbi, Mallabi, Waijinda, Ngunyabi, Gungalda, Koombana, Ginibugurra, Nallawarding, Murdierung - all these were good waterholes along the cliffs between Ilgamba and Jinyila (Eucla), and from this point westwards there is no lack of native springs etc. All these hold water throughout the winter months, from the time of the first rains, about March, until October or November, and during this season of the year the coastal peoples traverse the friendly areas for initiation, and other purposes. On the Northern, Eastern and Western edge of the Plain were other peoples who communicated with friendly neighbours east, west or north of them as the case might be. Amongst all these people

bordering the edge of the Plain, the Plain itself was apportioned, each section traversing as far over its surface as the exigencies of the chase demanded. The absence of firewood on the Plain prevented it from being used as a camping place, but a certain portion of it was traversable by the people inhabiting the surrounding area and traverse was made along its edge. Hence the great treeless and apparently waterless plain did not necessarily isolate the peoples living round it from each other.

That there is a traversable highway North and South is shown in the spread of circumcision and subincision, with their accompanying elaborate ceremonials within that belt. Canning met with many native wells, springs, soaks and waterholes in his route from the Lake Way area to Sturt Creek across what was supposed to be desert country, and his photographs of the natives inhabiting those areas show them to be a comparatively well nourished tall sturdily built people.

The rainfall in these central areas is however comparatively slight and intermittent.

P. 3

Both the vegetation and the fauna of the interior areas, however, appear to have become adapted to arid conditions, and to require a very slight rainfall for their growth and maintenance. Take the ngura of those arid areas, a wild grape which grows profusely in the Eucla, Eyre and other areas, with a rainfall of only six inches the fruit grows in abundance. The gooyana requires a bush fire and a very slight rainfall to yield an abundant supply of summer food. Roots of wild creepers, spinifex and other seeds do not require much rain to ensure a plentiful quantity, and amongst the smaller game, marsupials of all kinds seem to obtain sufficient moisture from the heavy dews that fell in many of these arid centres to sustain life. The increase in rainfall in the Northern coastal districts has not lessened the elaborate ceremonials that the Kimberley natives perform, many of these taking weeks in their celebration. In the Southwest areas the heavy rainfall and the abundance of game and other foods all the year round made perhaps for an easier life, but the initiation ceremonies and other gatherings not infrequently covered weeks, if not months, in their performance. In the Central areas, the ceremonies were equally

long and elaborate. In both Kimberley and the S.W. there was no shortage of food at any time of the year, and indeed the inhabitants dwelling along the whole line of coast lived throughout the year in more favourable conditions than those of the interior.

The rainfall or the conditions of the country did not therefore prevent the inhabitants from practising their elaborate rituals for the same ceremonies that are practised in Northwest Kimberley where abundance of food obtains throughout the year are followed by the people inhabiting the dry desert country north and south of the Railway Line and also in the Eucla and other districts.

The Western Australian aborigines may be grouped into several nations. The Eucla Nation, the Southwest Nation, the Nor'West (coastal) nation, the Kimberley and Central Areas Nation.

The term tribe is applied to an aggregate of local groups occupying a definite area, distinguished by certain local names, applied from within or without, or both, and with certain relationships arising from intermarriage, initiation or from class or totem or both.

The Eucla Nation or Willyaru Mining (Wiljaral or Waljaru) - seacoast men, occupy the line of south coast from about Point Malcolm to and beyond the West Australian border. How far northward the tribes forming the nation extend, cannot be definitely stated. The "friendly" country goes up to the "Jinna arbil" or slippered men's country, somewhere S.E. of the Eastern Goldfields area, South of the Trans-Australian Railway Line, probably to and somewhat beyond the edge of open timber (about lat. 31°).

All people outside the ^{group area} Nation are kaiania (strangers), all those within it are goonminyerra and ngallararra (friendly people). The various tribes included in the Eucla Nation are as follows : (coastal (Willyaru) tribes).

Guyanaum (guyana = edible fruit; ^{"um", contraction of "wamu"} wamu = camp, hearth, home)

Bilium or wailbum, those inland being kobbarl ija, yallinjerra north
or ^{N.W. of} kaili winium. ^{wini = plain}

district - Jinyila (Eucla), and along the coast towards Point
Culver (Israelite Bay).

Nguruum (ngura wamu - ngura = wild grape)

District - Munderbila, Windabugara, Dhābuin, Irbil-yabbi,
Boonaral, Bilening, Ngajjida, Kadhala (Eucla district).

Dhūdhu-um (dog)

Murderia (Madura on map), Burain'birdi.

Nala-um (sweet bark on root of nala - species of mallee)

Birainbirdi (part of), Bulgunu, Nuninya, Barjerdabi, Mungalbi,
Gurabbi, Yalba-uron, Yambam.

Wilba-um (wallaby)

Kuluna, Mūmūrr, Yurdunuria, Yinyira, Yurdinda, Barjadabi.

Kailca-um and Ngabbia-um - white ants
long-tailed
iguana

Kogulbirdi, Nalla-nalla, Munderdung, Ballinu, Mallunea, Kuniling-
gudha, Bauerndun, Murgandudha.

Mulgaruum (seed, edible)

Moinyal

Kugurdaum and Birgalum (opossum-like animal and wana, its chief food)

Murdi-ining (all dead)

Bildaum, Kogzarn and wubu (opossum and the fruit it fed on)

Kunganea, Barjerdabi, Moongadilba, Murderia

Mulgarum

Kaili or allinjerra (northern), Kundaiji, informant

Ngauaum coast (Eyre)

Kailgum "

Birgalum "

Kugurdum "

Burdian kailala

W ilbaum "

Guyarum coast

Kalaum kailali

Birgulum at Bialbi, Yanundur Hill, N. of Eyre (See P. XXVIII, in Gen. Bk Bilda was kalda from Bialbi. He was Doolina and came to Bialbi for water and became mate for Birgulum.

Bongurgam came to Bialbi for water. Bialbi and walja ate all that came to their water.

Nalum at Birainbirdi (Jiranda mooberna people), Nalbinya, Murgandurda, Kailgajin, Kailgaring, Ngarrabija, Kailbija, Koongunia, Murderia. Wilbaum, Kadnambi, Brainbirdi.

Kailgum at Kailbija, Kardalijja (N. of Wonunda), Yunguru, Boaring, Ngalgurung, Murderia.

Koogurdum and birgulum at Kadanambi and Yalugurra, Kulubilia, Hill near Munderbila, Karguli, Birainbirdi, Karguli, Nyoonira, nr. Munderbila Mulgarum, Doolina?

Kardalum (fish) Kurdalba, Warrangudha, Wonunda.

Ngauum, Jinyila, Mooberna, Nyooninga, Mangulbi near Barjerdabbi, Wingana, Miramining, Erin Well.

Guyanum, Wililambi, Doolina, Yalgarambi, Birainbiri, Wandhaing,

Jirdaum (white ants) "

Dhudhum, Kailbija, Jirinya

Darbum, sp. of bandicoot

Kundanum. (Sand plains) Kaljunjinya N or N.E. of 70m. Murun

Guyanum and Bungalum, Dulina, 90

Murgaru ^{Nor West edge of Nullarbor Plain} nr. Border, Allurna, Jugirning, Ngarl, Karnga, Ambera, Arnding, Ngobarn, Bulgia

Kaiium and Baiium, tree people's country, Yoorilya, Bardurnda, Nangura, Bajji, Murun.

Wardaum Wililambi, Yoorilya, Marau

Wilbaum, Moonoorr, Kooloona, Yoordinda, Ngarda iril, Boornina, Boaring, Yurdungaria, Moordianing, Wongala, Yinyira, Walanji, Bajira

Wardaum, Wililambi (see above)

Burdium, Kalabingabbi and Yaldugurung, Kungania, Bayerdabbi, Birdinamira, Windabugurra, Boogainbija, Yuana, Munderbila, Gunarda, Tallara, Wandhaing.

Mirun-um (broombush country)

Warri iangarra (road people), E. of Balladonia (Hunchback's country) a native

Warar ijangara - large sharp stone country and people, (Wirrgain)
Baiangu ijangara (porcupine country and people), Dulina and Wililambi
Badarn ijangara (grass country and people), near Dulina
Kabiara (river country people), N.W.
Kaldaum (fish) Irdilabbi
Kurdalum, Kanyiaum, Nanunbi, Miljirong, Mulla mullardabbi (Pt. Malcolm)
Kailgum and Ngabbium, Moonoor, Ngardiyiral (nr. Kuluna), Yanyira,
Yurdunguria, Munderbila.
Nguraum, Kuluna, Jinyila, Womunda, Kadhala, Wanjingura
Bildaum, Birainbirdi, Bayerdabbi, Boolgoon, Koonganea, Nooninya
Birgalaum, Nyooneri, Wirdong
Mulgarum, Yambam, Kurabbi
Madhurum, Wongaru, Nganganganga, Thanalu
Bongurgaum and nguraum, Bijerdi, Ngarraru, Jijina, Yaldhunda,
Kogginya; Bongurgaum sometimes came to Bialbi for water.
Yau-um, coast people.

Page 6

Wilyaru places and totems

Jinyila Ngallawurding, Mooberna, Ngajjida, Koraingabbi, Windabugurra,
Yanundur, Kalabingabbi, Yulguru, Ngoorarrba, Murdi-ining, Wirdurdu,
Murderia, Moongaidja, Nalbinya (Twilight), Wonundera (Eyre),
Kardanambi, Wonggur, Wililambi, Dhoolina, Yalgarambi, Jijilandi,
Kogulbirdi.

Wilyaru people

Guyanum, Ngauum, Naum, Nguraum, Kugardum, birgalum, kailgum,
Ngabbiaum, Dhudhuum, Nguraum, Bungulum, Madhurum, Kardalum,
Kurdalum, Kanyiaum, Pt. Malcolm, Jirdaum, Guyanum and ngamin one.
Kaiali or Yallinjerra people: Wilbaum, Burdium, Bongurgum,
Kalaum, Mulgarum, Kalaum, Kundanum, Winium, Bildaum, Bajjinum,
Kajjium, Miruum.