

## Australian divisional systems

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## AUSTRALIAN DIVISIONAL SYSTEMS.

By R. H. MATHEWS, L.S.

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[*Read before the Royal Society of N. S. Wales, June 1, 1898.*]

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IN the following pages it is proposed to give a brief account of all the intermarrying divisions of the aborigines throughout Australia, with which we are acquainted up to the present time. As no similar work has hitherto been attempted, it is hoped that an article of this character will be found of some value to others who may embark in the same line of investigation. The group and totemic divisions are strongly manifested in all the principal ceremonies of the Australian aborigines; hence it is of the utmost importance that any one studying the customs of these people should have a knowledge of their divisional systems.

Before proceeding to enumerate the different systems found throughout the continent, it will perhaps be interesting to give a short outline of the structure of aboriginal communities in general.

An Australian tribe has certain territorial limits, and is known by a general name, which is in most cases derived from the language spoken by its members, as is the names of the Wiradjuri, Kamilaroi, Koombanggary, etc. The area of a tribe's domain varies with the character of the district they inhabit, as well as with the numerical strength of the people. In the well-watered coastal districts of New South Wales, where fish and game are abundant, their hunting grounds would be comparatively small; whilst in the open plains of the interior, where game is not so plentiful and water is often scarce, the tract of country required to support a tribe would necessarily be more extensive.

Every tribe is made up of several sub-tribes, all speaking the same language, each of which occupies its own hunting grounds, which are defined by hills, water-courses, patches of scrub, or other remarkable natural features. Each of these sub-tribes has

a headman or chief, and these headmen collectively are the rulers of the whole tribe. The customary laws are administered by these headmen, who, in the exercise of their authority, are supported by all the initiated men of their respective divisions. When a number of these tribes are bound together by having the same divisional (or class) systems—speaking dialects of the same tongue, participating in identical or similar initiation ceremonies, and among whom intermarriage is more or less frequent—they form communities. Aggregates of these communities may be called nations.

The members of a tribe, and of course, also of its component sub-tribes, are divided into two exogamous intermarrying groups, bearing distinctive appellations, and having a more or less varied selection of totems attached to each. In some tribes these two groups are the only divisions observable—the individuals of one group intermarrying with those of the other—of which the Mattiri and Karraru groups at Port Lincoln, South Australia, may be taken as an example.

In other tribes the two groups are subdivided into smaller segments. For example, the Yuipera tribe at Mackay is composed of two primary groups, called Wootaroo and Youngaroo; the former is again divided into two sections, called Woongo and Coobaroo, and the latter into two, called Bunbia and Gurgila.

In other communities, of which some tribes in the Northern Territory may be taken as an example, the two primary groups are segregated into four sections each. Group A. is subdivided into Choolum, Jamerum, Chenum and Yacomary. Group B. is similarly divided into Chingalum, Bungarin, Chooralum and Palyarin.

There are other tribes, especially in some parts of West Australia, whose divisions appear to be of an abnormal type, but I shall be glad to receive further particulars before coming to any definite conclusions respecting them.

Besides the segregation of the community into the groups and sections to which I have referred, there is another partition of



the latter into lesser divisions, bearing the names of animals, or other natural objects, which from their analogy to the well known North American tribal divisions, have been called *totems*. It is evident therefore that an aboriginal native inherits a group and a sectional name, followed by that of his totem. For example, a man of the Kamilaroi tribe may belong to the group Kupathin, section Ippai, and totem Emu. In addition to these ancestral titles, each blackfellow has his own personal name, as Fleet-foot.

The individuals belonging to any group, section, or totem, do not collect into certain localities by themselves, separate from the rest, but are dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole tribal territory—members of each section and totem being found in all the local divisions. It is possible for all the totems in the community to be represented in the same locality. This dispersion of the totems is due to the intermarriage of the individuals of which the groups and sections forming the social community are composed.

As the intermarriages of the groups, sections and totems will be fully explained later on, it is only necessary to say here that, in nearly all Australian tribes descent is reckoned through the mother only—the father being generally disregarded in determining the division to which the children belong. There are also strict totemic regulations of universal prevalence which prevent persons of the same totem from either marrying or having sexual intercourse with each other.

In dealing with this subject it will be preferable to take the divisions existing in each of the colonies separately, stating shortly who was the first to observe them, and then to give particulars of their structure and geographic range, from information collected by myself.

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIAN DIVISIONS.

The Rev. C. W. Schürmann was the first to place on record the rules of marriage and descent in force among the aborigines of

South Australia. In a pamphlet which he published in 1840,<sup>1</sup> describing the customs of the Parnkalla and other native tribes inhabiting the Port Lincoln district, on the west of Spencer's Gulf, he says: "They are divided into two distinct classes, the Mattiri and Karraru people. . . . If a husband be Mattiri, his wife must be Karraru, and *vice versa*, the children taking invariably the appellation of that class to which their mother belongs." That is, if a Karraru man married a Mattiri woman, the sons and daughters would be Mattiri, the same as their mother. In a similar manner the children of a Karraru woman would be Karraru. Mr. C. Wilhelmi, in 1860<sup>2</sup> confirmed the divisional names and rules of descent given by Mr. Schürmann.

These rules of marriage and descent will be more apparent if arranged in tabular form, thus:—

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Mattiri	Karraru	Karraru
Karraru	Mattiri	Mattiri

In 1874 the Government of South Australia issued circulars asking for certain particulars respecting the customs of the aborigines, and such circulars were sent to all persons likely to be acquainted with the subject throughout the colony. In response to these notices, a large amount of valuable information was obtained, and was published by the Government Printer, Adelaide, in 1879, under the title of "Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines." This book was edited by the Rev. George Taplin, who had taken an active interest in the movement from its inception. In the following pages references will frequently be made to the work mentioned.

Mr. James Bryant mentions two divisions as obtaining amongst the tribes about the Gawler Ranges, who adjoined the Port Lincoln people on the north. He spells the names of the divisions as

<sup>1</sup> Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln, S.A. (R. Thomas & Co., Adelaide). This work is republished in "Native Tribes of South Australia," (1879), pp. 207 - 252.

<sup>2</sup> Trans. Roy. Soc., Victoria, (1860) Vol. v., p. 178.



Muthury and Cariero, and states that they intermarried with each other.<sup>1</sup>

Still farther inland, round the head of Spencer's Gulf, and down the eastern side of it as far as Crystal Brook, as well as in the Flinders Ranges, which extend from there to the east of Lake Torrens, Mr. Noble reports the existence of the same two divisions which he calls Muttay and Arrie.<sup>2</sup> Both Mr. Bryant and Mr. Noble call these divisions "clans,"—which is by the way quite as suitable a term as "classes," although neither of these names are very appropriate.

Mr. Samuel Gason, in describing the customs of the Dieyerie tribes at Lake Eyre, states that they were organised into intermarrying divisions, bearing the names of animals.<sup>3</sup> In 1882, Mr. A. W. Howitt, from information supplied by the Rev. H. Vogel-sang, a missionary among the tribes referred to, reported that their divisions were Mattiri and Karraru, being the same names as those stated by the Rev. C. W. Schürmann at Port Lincoln. Dr. E. C. Stirling in 1896,<sup>4</sup> and Professor W. B. Spencer in 1897,<sup>5</sup> mentioned these divisions in the same district.

It will be seen that I have traced the two divisions, Mattiri and Karraru, through a wide extent of territory, reaching from Port Lincoln, viâ Port Augusta and Farina, to somewhere about Oodnadatta, a distance of over seven hundred miles. From the latter place northerly to the neighbourhood of the James Ranges the tribes are divided into four sections; and thence to the Gulf of Carpentaria they are divided into eight sections, the particulars of whose organisation I shall now endeavour to explain.

In 1875, Mr. Christopher Giles,<sup>6</sup> who was a station master at Charlotte Waters telegraph station, reported that the tribes in that neighbourhood, who spoke the Arrinda language, were divided

<sup>1</sup> Folklore, Manners, &c. of S. A. Aborigines, p. 103. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> The Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines, (1874), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Horn Exped. Central Australia, Part iv., p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> The Engwurra Ceremony—Proc. Roy. Soc. Vic., N.S., x., 18.

<sup>6</sup> Folklore, Manners, &c. of S. A. Aborigines, pp. 82–91.

into four classes, called Parroola, Panungka, Booltara and Koomurra. He gave the rules of intermarriage established in relation to these four divisions, with the names to which the offspring belonged, which may be briefly summarised as follows :

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Paroola	Panungka	Koomurra
Panungka	Parroola	Booltara
Booltara	Koomurra	Panungka
Koomurra	Booltara	Parroola

In 1878, Mr. J. D. Woods<sup>1</sup> confirmed the observations of Mr. C. Giles in regard to the divisions of the tribes from the Peake to Charlotte Waters and Alice Springs, his spelling of the four names being as follows: Parula, Pooninga, Pultara and Coomara. He says the children of either sex always take their mother's family name. Mr. E. M. Curr mentions the same names in 1886.<sup>2</sup> In the same year they were referred to by Mr. F. E. H. W. Krichauff,<sup>3</sup> and in 1887 Mr. D. Lindsay also mentions having observed them.<sup>4</sup> Mr. W. H. Willshire reported these four classes at Alice Springs in 1891,<sup>5</sup> and again in 1895.<sup>6</sup>

The Rev. Louis Schulze, a missionary at Hermannsburgh, on the Finke River, discovered that each of the four classes which had been reported by previous writers, had a fellow or complementary class, if I may so term it, attached to it, thus making four pairs of classes, or eight divisions in all. The names of the additional classes he found to be Pungata, Mbutjana, Knurraia and Ngala.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Schulze also observed that a man had the privilege of choosing his wife from either of two prescribed divisions. A Booltara man, for example, could marry either a Koomara or Mbutjana woman.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Philos. Soc., S. Australia, II., 85-86.

<sup>2</sup> Australian Race, I., 417.

<sup>3</sup> Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust., S. A. Branch, II., 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 3rd Session, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The Aborigines of Central Australia, (Adelaide, 1891) p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Journ. Anthrop. Inst., XXIV., 183.

<sup>7</sup> In 1897, Professor Spencer and Mr. Gillen confirmed the existence of the four additional divisions.—Proc. Roy. Soc., Victoria, X., N.S., 19.

<sup>8</sup> Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia, XIV., 223 - 227.



I was much interested in the paper communicated by Mr. Schulze, and during 1895 I was enabled to make independent enquiries through Mr. Jackson, a friend who went out to the mica and ruby fields in the Hart's ranges, and the gold mines about Arltunga, or Paddy's Waterhole, as it is commonly called. From information then obtained, I was enabled to tabulate the divisions as under, showing two intermarrying groups, A and B :—

	Husband	Wife	Children
Group A.	Bultara	Koomara	Panungka or Knurraia
	Pungata	Mbutjana	Knurraia or Panungka
	Parulla	Panungka	Koomara or Mbutjana
	Ngala	Knurraia	Mbutjana or Koomara
Group B.	Koomara	Bultara	Parulla or Ngala
	Mbutjana	Pungata	Ngala or Parulla
	Panungka	Parulla	Bultara or Pungata
	Knurraia	Ngala	Pungata or Bultara

My correspondent confirms Mr. Schulze's statement regarding the intermarriage of the men of a pair of complementary sections with the women of another pair. Thus, Bultara can marry a woman from either the Koomara or Mbutjana sections, and Pungata can marry into either of the same sections that Bultara can. If Bultara marry a Koomara woman, the children will be Panungka, but if he select an Mbutjana wife, the children will be Knurraia. It appears, therefore, that the children of each of these men may be either Panungka or Knurraia, which is regulated by the section to which the mother belongs. Marriage and descent in the other pairs of sections will follow the same rules, *mutatis mutandis*, as exemplified in the table.

It will be seen by the above table that my arrangement of the divisional names differs from that of Mr. Schulze. He also states that the children have paternal descent, but Mr. Jackson represents that they belong to their mother's group, as shown in the table,



and this is supported by Mr. Woods' statement already quoted. As there is a difference of opinion in regard to the line of descent among the Alice Springs tribes, I intend making further enquiries and will also endeavour to obtain comprehensive particulars respecting the totems. For the present, therefore, a list of totems already collected will be omitted.

My correspondent afterwards made his way northwards, and before leaving the Hart's Ranges I gave him such particulars of the divisions of the Warramonga tribes as I could obtain from Mr. A. M. Giles' statements published by Mr. A. W. Howitt,<sup>1</sup> and asked him, if he had the opportunity, to make certain further enquiries which I indicated. He met some of these blacks and gathered particulars from which I am able to tabulate eight divisions in the following order, illustrating the rules of marriage and descent:

	Husband	Wife	Sons	Daughters
Group A.	Kabatjee	Nakamarra	Ungary	Namatjillee
	Opalla	Namatjillee	Ampatjona	Tampatjona
	Apungata	Tampatjona	Aponunga	Naponunga
	Tungulli	Naponunga	Akamarra	Nakamarra
Group B.	Akamarra	Kabatjeen	Opalla	Narulla
	Ungary	Narulla	Apungata	Napungata
	Ampatjona	Napungata	Tungulli	Nungulli
	Aponunga	Nungulli	Kabatjee	Kabatjeen

The foregoing table shows that the community is segregated into two groups, A and B, one of which intermarries with the other; and each of these is again subdivided into four sections, the names of which are given. The sons of the women of group A marry the daughters of the women of group B, and *vice versa*, therefore the women of one group are the mothers of the men of the other.

Each group has perpetual succession through the women—the daughters belonging to the same group as their mothers, but to a

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 44.

different section of it. The women of group A pass successively through each of the four sections in as many generations. For example, taking the women of group A in the table, we find that Nakamarra is the mother of Namatjillee; Namatjillee of Tampakjona; Tampakjona of Naponunga; and Naponunga is the mother of Nakamarra, the same sectional name with which we started, and this order of succession is repeated *ad infinitum*.

The men of any given section likewise reappear in the fifth generation, but in a different manner to their sisters. We have seen in the last paragraph that the women of a group never pass out of it, but perpetually alternate from one section to another. The men, however, fluctuate from one group to the other in each generation. For example, Kabatjee, of group A in the table has a son Ungary who belongs to group B; Ungary has a son Apungata of group A; Apungata has a son Aponunga of group B; and Aponunga has a son Kabatjee, which brings us back to the starting point in group A. In four generations the men pass through two sections of each group.

The son of the brother marries the daughter of the sister, and conversely, the son of the sister marries the daughter of the brother. This can easily be shown by preparing a short pedigree of any given individual. Let us take a man of the Opalla section as an example :

Opalla marries Namatjillee			
Son Ampatjona		Daughter Tampajona	
Ampatjona marries Napungata		Apungata marries Tampakjona	
Son Tungulli	Daughter Nungulli	Son Apanunga	Daughter Naponunga

By this table it is seen that Opalla marries Namatjillee, the offspring being Ampatjona and Tampakjona. Ampatjona marries Napungata, and has a son and daughter Tungulli and Nungulli. Ampatjona's sister Tampakjona marries Apungata and has a son



and a daughter Aponunga and Naponunga. Tungulli the son of Ampatjona marries Naponunga, the daughter of Tompatjona his father's sister. Apanunga the son of Tompatjona marries Nun-gulli, the daughter of Ampatjona his mother's brother. The relationship of brother and sister here referred to must of course be understood as tribal only, and not of the full blood.

Mr. S. N. Innes, having read my paper on the Kamilaroi class system,<sup>1</sup> took a lively interest in the subject and commenced studying it. He wrote me that he was acquainted with a number of tribes having very interesting divisions, and stated his willingness to assist me if I gave him the points on which to make enquiries. This I immediately did, and made such suggestions as I thought might be of value. After a lot of correspondence, and much thrashing out, I am now enabled to prepare the following table, showing the divisions of the tribes occupying a considerable tract of country in the Northern Territory, stretching from near the Gulf of Carpentaria westerly across the overland telegraph line; and there is reason to believe that a similar organisation extends onwards into West Australia.

	Husband	Wife	Sons	Daughters
Group A.	Choolum	Ningulum	Palyarin	Palyarinya
	Jamerum	Palyarinya	Chooralum	Nooralum
	Cheenum	Nooralum	Bungarin	Bungarinya
	Yacomary	Bungarinya	Chingulum	Ningulum
Group B.	Chingulum	Noolum	Yacomary	Yacomarin
	Bungareen	Yacomarin	Cheenum	Neenum
	Chooralum	Neenum	Jamerum	Neomarum
	Palyarin	Neomarum	Choolum	Noolum

The community is divided into two intermarrying groups, A and B, the men of one group marrying the women of the other, or the sons of group A marrying the sisters of the men of their own generation in group B, and *vice versa*, subject to certain rules which

<sup>1</sup> The Kamilaroi Class System of Australian Aborigines—Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), x., 18 - 34.

are apparent in the table. The women never change out of the group to which they belong, but pass successively through each of the four sections of which it is composed. Taking the women of group A as an example, it is shown that Ningulum is the mother of Palyarinya, Palyarinya of Nooralum, Nooralum of Bungarinya, and Bungarinya of Ningulum, and this series is continually repeated, each section name reappearing in the fifth generation. Succession is counted through the females—the women of one group producing the men of the other.

#### NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISIONS.

The Wiradjuri and Kamilaroi communities are divided into the four undermentioned sections, the names of the women in each section being different from those of the men. For example, in some families all the sons are Murri, and all the daughters Matha; in others they are Kubbi and Kubbitha; in others Ippai and Ippatha; and again in others they are Kumbo and Butha. These names were first reported by the Rev. Wm. Ridley in 1853 as occurring among the Kamilaroi tribes on the Namoi and other rivers.<sup>1</sup> Since then I have reported the same divisional names among the Darkinung<sup>2</sup> tribe of the Wollombi district, and among the Moorawarrie of the Culgoa and adjacent rivers. I have also observed four divisions with the same nomenclature among the Wailwan, Uollaroi, Wallaroi, Pickumbul, and Ukumbul tribes.

The intermarriage of the sections, and names of the offspring can be more clearly understood by means of a table:

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Murri	Kumbo	Ippai
Kubbi	Ippai	Kumbo
Kumbo	Murri	Kubbi
Ippai	Kubbi	Murri

From particulars supplied by Mr. Chas. G. N. Lockhart, the Rev. L. Fison, in 1872, states that among the Darling River tribe

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Ancient History, Second Series* (1896), by J. F. McLennan, p. 289; also, *Kamilaroi etc.*, (1866), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xxxi., 170, 171.



at Wentworth, a Kilpara man must always marry a Mookwara woman, and a Mookwara man a Kilpara woman.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the same people in 1875, the Rev. R. W. Holden<sup>2</sup> reports the same divisional names and rules of marriage as those given by Mr. Fison, but neither of these gentlemen mentioned the divisional names of the offspring. In 1878, Mr. R. B. Smyth, in referring to these divisions says, on the authority of Mr. J. Bulmer, that the children take their caste from their mother.<sup>3</sup> For example, if the mother be Mookwara the children will be Mookwara; if the mother be Kilpara, the children will also belong to that division. This appears to be the first report showing the line of descent in the tribe referred to.

In May 1883, Mr. F. Bonney, who resided fifteen years near the Darling, mentions the divisions Muckwarra and Kilparra as obtaining on the Darling River above and below Wilcannia. He also mentions their prevalence among the natives of the Barrier Ranges, which includes Silvertown and adjacent stations.<sup>4</sup>

In 1884-85 I was surveying in the Silvertown and Broken Hill district, and made a tour from there to Tibooburra, and thence to the Darling via the Paroo river. Among the tribes throughout that immense tract of country I found the two divisions, Muckwarra and Keelparra, with groups of totems attached to each.

In 1885, Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, who lived some years between the Darling and the Lachlan Rivers reported that these two divisional names extended up the Darling from Wentworth at least as far as Menindie. He was also the first to observe that Muckwarra was equivalent to the pair of sections Murri and Kubbi of the Kamilaroi, and that Kilparra was the equivalent of the Ippai and Kumbo sections.<sup>5</sup>

In 1883, Mr. E. Palmer described the divisions of what he called the Kombinegherry tribe on the Bellinger River,<sup>6</sup> consist-

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria, x., 161.

<sup>2</sup> Folklore, Manners, &c. of S. A. Aborigines, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Aborigines of Victoria, I., 86.

<sup>4</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 129. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV., 351. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII., 304.

ing of the four sections Kurbo, Wombo, Marro, and Wirro. Since then I discovered the same divisions, with some modifications of sound and spelling, among the tribes of the Clarence, Kempsey, Manning, Hastings and Hunter Rivers, with their numerous affluents. I also found similar divisions in the New England tribes, but two of the female sectional names were entirely different. I have elsewhere given the sectional names and list of totems, of all the tribes referred to in this paragraph with their rules of marriage and descent.<sup>1</sup> I was moreover the first to establish the equivalence of the sections to those of the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri communities.<sup>2</sup>

#### QUEENSLAND DIVISIONS.

The Rev. Wm. Ridley gave the names of the four divisions of the Kogai tribe, on the Balonne, Maranoa and Coogoon Rivers, with the laws of marriage and descent as follows :—<sup>3</sup>

Husband.	Wife	Sons	Daughters
Wūngo	Unburrigun	Urgilla	Urgillagun
Obūr	Urgillagun	Unburri	Unburrigun
Unburri	Woongogun	Obūr	Obūrrūgun
Urgilla	Obūrrūgun	Wūngo	Wungogun

Mr. Ridley was also the first to draw attention to the equivalence of the sectional names in different tribes. For example, he showed that Wūngo of the Maranoa tribe was equivalent to Murri of the Kamilaroi; Obūr to Kubbi, Urgilla to Ippai, and Unburri to Kumbo.<sup>4</sup> It may be as well to explain that when a certain section in one tribe holds the same place in the system as a section in another tribe, such sections are said to correspond to each other, or in other words, to be equivalent, as in the above example.<sup>5</sup>

When Mr. R. B. Smyth was compiling his work on the aborigines, published in 1878, one of his correspondents, Mr. George Bridgman, Superintendent of Aboriginal Stations, near Mackay, who had seen Mr. Ridley's classification, reported that

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Roy. Soc., N. S. Wales, xxxi., 168—171. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxi., 169, 170.

<sup>3</sup> Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages, (1866) p. 38. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), x., 31.



the Yuipera and adjoining tribes at Mackay were divided into two primary classes, each of which was subdivided into two others. This will be better understood in tabular form :—<sup>1</sup>

Primary Division	Husband	Wife	Offspring
Wootaroo	Woongo	Bunbia	Gurgila
	Coobaroo	Gurgila	Bunbia
Youngaroo	Bunbia <sup>2</sup>	Woongo	Coobaroo
	Gurgila	Coobaroo	Woongo

The above four names, although differing somewhat in spelling from those reported by Mr. Ridley, are manifestly the same.

Mr. Bridgman was the first to observe that the tribe, although divided into four sections, actually consisted of two groups, Wootaroo and Youngaroo; and that the children belong to their mother's primary division, but to the other section of it. He further states :—"An intelligent native now at Mackay, who has been living with the Kamilaroi people, says the Kamilaroi system is the same as that here." This was subsequently found to be correct by Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle, one of Mr. A. W. Howitt's correspondents, who reported the primary divisions of the Kamilaroi as being Dilbi and Kupathin.<sup>3</sup> He had no doubt been informed of the two groups of the Mackay tribe, published five years before. The Rev. L. Fison, in 1880, and Mr. E. M. Curr in 1886, also refer to Mr. Bridgman's researches.

In 1883 a paper by Mr. Edward Palmer<sup>4</sup> was read before the Anthropological Institute, London, containing the results of his personal researches, in which he dealt, *inter alia*, with the divisions of the tribes on the Flinders, Cloncurry, Mitchell, Kennedy and other rivers in Northern Queensland. He showed that the natives about Hughenden and the heads of the Flinders and Cloncurry Rivers, and extending easterly from Tower Hill Creek

<sup>1</sup> Aborigines of Victoria, (1878), I., 90, 91.

<sup>2</sup> This word is written Bembia in Smyth's book, but it is evidently a misreading of the MS., for we find that Mr. Bridgman spells the word Bunbia in an article he contributed to Mr. Curr's work on the "Australian Race," Vol. III., p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., (1883) XIII., 335. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII., 302.

towards the Belyando River, were divided into four sections called Woonco, Coobaroo, Bunbury and Kurgielah,<sup>1</sup> which is practically the same nomenclature as the tribes at Mackay and Maranoa River. The intermarriages of the sections, and the names of the offspring, were also identical.

In 1886 Mr. E. M. Curr published the names of the same four divisions as obtaining among the Kowanburra, Wokkelburra, and other tribes on the Belyando and Suttor Rivers, Elgin Downs, Bowen Downs, and the sources of the Alice. The particulars were supplied to Mr. Curr by Mr. James Muirhead, a resident of that district. This gentleman appears to have been the first to draw attention to the native custom of each section being restricted to certain kinds of food. He stated that the Bunbury section is confined to opossum, kangaroo, dog, honey of small bee. Woongo is allotted emu, bandicoot, black duck, black snake, brown snake. Obur has carpet snakes, honey of stinging bee, etc. Kurgilla has porcupine, plain turkey, etc. He also observed that Woongo and Obur formed a primary division called Wootheroo, whilst the other two sections were Mallera.<sup>2</sup> The primary division Mallera is the equivalent of Youngaroo of the Mackay tribes.

Some of Mr. Curr's correspondents reported the same four sections among the tribes of the Nogoia and other head waters of the Mackenzie River<sup>3</sup>; and at Logan Downs, Peak Downs, etc., where the primary divisions were called Youngaroo and Wootheroo,<sup>4</sup> being identical with those at Mackay. Other correspondents of the same author discovered that the four divisions referred to also obtain at the Cape River.<sup>5</sup> At Halifax Bay—at Hinchinbrook Island, and on the mainland adjacent—identical sectional names were reported to Mr. Curr,<sup>6</sup> and published by him in his valuable work.

<sup>1</sup> Each of these names has a feminine equivalent: Wooncoan, Coobarooan, Bunburyan, and Kurgielan.

<sup>2</sup> *The Australian Race*, (1886) III., 26, 27. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III., 91. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III., 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 468. Mr. Curr mentions the names Utheroo (Ootaroo), and Multhuroo (Mallera), as occurring on the Cape River.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 418, 425 and 427.



The Rev. Wm. Ridley, in his "Journal of a Missionary Tour among the Aborigines in 1855,"<sup>1</sup> stated that the family names at Moreton Bay were Bandūr, Bundar, Barang and Derwain, with the corresponding female names Bandūran, Bundaran, Barangan, and Derwaingan. He reported that the Warwick and Canning Downs blacks had the same family names as at Moreton Bay, and also that these names prevailed from the latter place to Wide Bay.<sup>2</sup>

In 1865 Mr. G. S. Lang said: "The Moreton Bay blacks are divided into four classes, and all the children take after the class of their mother."<sup>3</sup> The Rev. E. Fuller, a missionary for some years at Fraser's Island, north of Wide Bay, says: "The children are supposed to belong to the mother's tribe."<sup>4</sup>

In 1883 Mr. E. Palmer stated that he found the divisions mentioned by Mr. Ridley extending northerly from Wide Bay to near Rockhampton, except that Balcoin was used instead of Bandūr.<sup>5</sup> He also reported them as existing among the tribes in the Bunya Bunya Mountains. The last statement is confirmed by the Rev. J. Mathew, one of Mr. Curr's correspondents. Mr. Mathew says: "The names of the children depended directly on the mother's name."<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Palmer, from information supplied to him by Mr. Jocelyn Brooke, Sub-Inspector of Police, gives a diagram showing the four names in a rectangular position, and states that "the child always takes its name from that opposite to its father's name."<sup>7</sup> This does not necessarily lead to the inference that descent is through the father, though it may bear this construction.

In 1888 Mr. A. W. Howitt, from particulars furnished to him by Mr. Palmer's informant Mr. Brooke, arrived at the conclusion that "descent was in the male line."<sup>8</sup> In 1894, partly from Mr.

<sup>1</sup> This article was also published in Dr. Lang's "Queensland," (1861), p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages, (1875), p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Aborigines of Australia, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Queenslander*, Sept. 7, 1872.

<sup>5</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 304, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Australian Race, III., 162, 163.

<sup>7</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 305. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII., 49, 50.

Palmer's statement above referred to, and partly owing to Mr. Howitt's conclusions, I assumed that these tribes had paternal descent.<sup>1</sup> On making further enquiries of some natives of Jondaryan run, who belong to this organisation, the following arrangement of the divisions was arrived at—the spelling being in accord with the pronunciation of my native informants.

Husband	Wife	Sons.	Daughters
Djerwine	Bandjooran	Barrang	Barrangan
Bunda	Barrangan	Bandjoor	Bandjooran
Bandjoor	Djerwinegan	Bunda	Bundaran
Barrang	Bundaran	Djerwine	Djerwinegan

When travelling among the tribes on the head waters of the Clarence, Richmond, Dumaresq and Condamine rivers, I found the rules of marriage and descent somewhat different to those obtaining farther north, particulars of which are given in the following table :—

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Terrawine	Barrang	Banjoor
Bunda	Banjoor	Barrang
Barrang	Terrawine	Bunda
Banjoor	Bunda	Terrawine

Terrawine and Bunda are the equivalents of Ippai-Kumbo, and Barrang-Banjoor of Murri-Kubbi.

In the article published by Mr. Palmer in 1883 he gave the sectional divisions of the Mycoolon and Myappe tribes on the Saxby and Cloncurry Rivers, with the laws of marriage and descent which he tabulated as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Marringo	Goothamungo	Bathingo and Munjingo
Yowingo	Munjingo	Jimmalingo and Goothamungo
Bathingo	Carburungo	Marringo and Ngaran-nghungo
Jimmalingo	Ngaran-nghungo	Yowingo and Carburungo

<sup>1</sup> Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q), x., 29.

<sup>2</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 302.



This table clearly shows that there is matriarchal descent, and Mr. Palmer reports that such is the case. Mr. A. W. Howitt, however, arranges Mr. Palmer's sectional names in a different order to that shown above, and endeavors to show that descent is through the father. He says "under the influence of agnatic descent, the girl is of the same class name as her mother's mother."<sup>1</sup> This is not correct, because in the Kamilaroi tribes, where descent is uterine, the daughter always takes the sectional name of her mother's mother.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Palmer also reported the discovery of four other sectional names among the Koogobathy tribes on the Mitchell River and surrounding country. These divisions he arranged as follows, with the rules of marriage and descent :<sup>3</sup>

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Jury	Barry	Mungilly
Mungilly	Ararey	Jury
Ararey	Mungilly	Barry
Barry	Jury	Ararey

He stated that Jury was equivalent to Marringo, Mungilly to Yowingo, Ararey to Bathingo, and Barry to Jimmalingo. When I first read Mr. Palmer's paper—having confidence in his general accuracy in other cases—I assumed that descent among the Koogobathy was in the male line ; and in a paper I wrote in 1894, it was stated that there were some tribes in the Gulf country who had agnatic descent.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards I made enquiries through correspondents, who reported that the children belonged to the mother's group, the same as in the Mycoolon tribe. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Queensland in September 1897, I corrected the statement I had made in 1894.<sup>5</sup>

A blackfellow at Charters Towers, who had travelled with drovers to the Palmer river informed me that the descent of the

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIII., 346.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII., 304.

<sup>2</sup> Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust. (Q.), x., 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, x., 32.

<sup>5</sup> "Aboriginal Customs in North Queensland."—Proc. Roy. Soc. Queensland, XIII.

children is uterine, as exemplified in the following table. He spoke from memory of what the Palmer natives had told him, and I have not yet had an opportunity of checking his statement.

Husband	Wife	Offspring
Jury	Barry	Ararey
Mungilly	Ararey	Barry
Ararey	Mungilly	Jury
Barry	Jury	Mungilly

In 1897 Dr. Roth found that the same divisions which had been reported by previous writers on the Maranoa, at Mackay, and the other places referred to also obtained on the Hamilton, Georgina and neighbouring streams. Dr. Roth also confirmed the sectional names discovered by Mr. Palmer among the Mycoolon and Myappe tribes; and further, he ascertained the equivalence of the sections to those of the tribes about Hughenden and Boulia. For example he states that Bathingo corresponds to Coobaroo, Jimmalingo<sup>1</sup> to Woongo, Yowingo to Kurgielah, and Marringo to Bunbury. He also reports that the Mycoolon divisional names are found with some modifications, in the Kalkadoon and neighbouring tribes.<sup>2</sup>

#### WEST AUSTRALIAN DIVISIONS.

Capt. Grey, now the octogenarian Sir George, when exploring in West Australia in 1837-39, observed that the natives were divided into certain great families; and that each family adopted some animal or vegetable as their *kobong* or totem. A man could not marry a woman of his own family name, and the children always took the family name of their mother. Sir George gives the names of these divisions as Ballaroke, Tdondarup, Ngotak, Nagarnook, Nogonyuk, Mongalung and Narrangar. From his table of genealogies I collect the following partial statement regarding the intermarriage of the sections:

<sup>1</sup> In 1883 Mr. E. Palmer stated that Jimmalingo belonged to Wootharoo among the Leichhardt River tribes, which agrees with Mr. Roth's observations.—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XIII., 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnological Studies among the Australian Aborigines*, (1897), p. 57.



Ballaroke marries Ngotak, and the children are Ngotak  
 Ballaroke „ Noganyuk, „ „ Noganyuk  
 Tdondarup „ Ballaroke, „ „ Ballaroke  
 Ngotak „ Ballaroke, Nagarnook and Noganyuk  
 Noganyuk „ Ngotak and Tdondarup.<sup>1</sup>

In an official report on the "Habits and Customs of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of West Australia," printed at Perth in 1871, p. 21, Bishop Salvado gives the names of six classes prevalent in the tribes at the Catholic Mission Station at New Norcia, in the Victoria district, eighty-two miles northerly from Perth. The names of the classes which each one of the others may marry, and also the classes into which they may not marry, are stated, but unfortunately the classes to which the children belong are not given. The information supplied by Salvado may be tabulated thus:—

Class	Could Marry	Could not Marry
Tirarop	{ Palarop, Jiragiok N-ocognok	Tirarop, Mondorop Tondorop
N-ocognok	{ Palarop, Tondorop Tirarop, Mondorop	N-ocognok Jiragiok
Palarop	{ Tondorop, Mondorop N-ocognok, Tirarop	Palarop Jiragiok
Tondorop	{ Palarop, N-ocognok Jiragiok, Mondorop	Tondorop Tirarop
Mondorop	{ Jiragiok, Tondorop N-ocognok, Palarop	Mondorop Tirarop
Jiragiok	{ Tirarop, Mondorop Tondorop	Palarop, N-ocognok Jiragiok

The information supplied by Sir George Grey, and by Bishop Salvado, is very meagre and unsatisfactory. I trust that if this article of mine should be read by any gentlemen residing in either of the districts referred to, that they will endeavour to gather

<sup>1</sup> Two Exped. N.W. and W. Australia, (1841) Vol. II., pp. 225, and 228.

further details regarding the divisional names and totems, with the rules of marriage and descent established in relation to them.

When Sir John Forrest visited Nichol Bay on the north-west coast, in 1878, he found that the aborigines were divided into four families, with rules of marriage and descent which he tabulated in the following manner :—

Husband	Wife	Children
Paljarie	Kimera	Banigher
Boorunggnoo	Banigher	Kimera
Kimera	Paljarie	Boorunggnoo
Banigher	Boorunggnoo	Paljarie

The grand-child in the male line is of the same family as his grand-father; and in the female line, of the same family as her grand-mother.<sup>1</sup>

In 1880, the Rev. L. Fison published these class names, which he had obtained from a correspondent, as Paliali, Paronga, Kimera and Banaka.<sup>2</sup> A correspondent furnished Mr. E. M. Curr with the same divisions in 1886, which he reported as Palyeery, Boorungo, Kymurra, and Panaka.<sup>3</sup> The resemblance of these names to those of the divisions at Alice Springs, 1000 miles to the eastward, is remarkable.

#### EQUIVALENCE OF DIVISIONS.

It is highly important to show how the groups and sections of a tribe in one district correspond to those of other tribes in different parts of the country. From some natives whom Mr. Jackson met about Oodnadatta, Macumba and Charlotte Waters, he ascertained that the group Mattiri of the Arrabunna tribe was equivalent to the pair of sections, Bultara and Parulla of the Arrinda tribe; and the group Karraru to the sections Panungka and Koomara. I subsequently checked this statement by referring to Mr. Kempe of Peake Station, who gave me the same answer.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Anthropol. Inst., ix., 356, 357. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Sci., II., 653, 654.

<sup>2</sup> Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> The Australian Race, I., 298.



The equivalence of the Alice Springs and Warramunga tribes is as follows:—Bultara corresponds to Kabatjee; Pungata to Apungata; Parulla to Tungulli; Ngala to Opalla; Koomara to Akamarra; Mbutjana to Ampatjona; Panungka to Aponunga; Knurraia to Ungary. It is evident therefore that the group Mattiri is equivalent to the four sections of group A of the Alice Springs and Warramunga tribes respectively; and that Karraru corresponds to group B of each of these communities.

In June, 1887, Mr. David Lindsay stated that the Warramunga tribe occupied the country lying between Tennant's Creek and Powell's Creek, N.T., and for a considerable distance on each side of the Overland Telegraph line. He was also the first to report that they had an unusually large number of divisions regulating the intersexual relations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. Aust., S.A. Branch, Vol. II., 3rd Session, p. 10.