

Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms
of Superstition and Society

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inches long, standing erect and extending from ear to ear ; this is in imitation of the back of a buffalo.¹ The Small Bird clan of the Omahas "leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the wings."² The Turtle subclan of the Omahas "cut off all the hair from a boy's head, except six locks ; two are left on each side, one over the forehead, and one hanging down the back in imitation of the legs, head, and tail of a turtle."³ Amongst the Manganja in Eastern Africa "one trains his locks till they take the admired form of the buffalo's horns ; others prefer to let their hair hang in a thick coil down their backs, like that animal's tail."⁴

The practice of knocking out the upper front teeth at puberty, which prevails in Australia and elsewhere, is, or was once, probably an imitation of the totem. The Batoka in Africa who adopt this practice say that they do so in order to be like oxen, while those who retain their teeth are like zebras.⁵ The Manganja chip their teeth to resemble those of the cat or crocodile.⁶ It is remarkable that among some Australian tribes who knock out one or two of the upper front teeth of boys, the most prized ornaments of the women are the two upper front teeth of the kangaroo or wallaby ; those are tied together at the roots so as to form a V, and are worn in a necklace or hung amongst the hair.⁷ In other cases it is the boys' teeth which the women wear round their necks.⁸

The bone, reed, or stick which some Australian tribes thrust through their nose may be also an imitation of the totem. It is not worn constantly, but is inserted when danger is apprehended ; which perhaps means that the man then seeks most to assimilate himself to his totem when he

¹ *Third Rep.*, 235.

² *Ib.*, 238.

³ *Ib.*, 240.

⁴ Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 114. But it does not appear whether this people have totems or not.

⁵ Livingstone, *South Africa*, p. 532.

⁶ *Id.*, *Zambesi*, p. 115. On the general custom of filing the teeth among savages see *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. p. 213 sq.

⁷ *Tr. Ethnol. Soc.*, New Series, i. p. 287 sq. ; *Jour. and Proc. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xvii. (1883) p. 26 ; cf. G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Austr. and New Zeal.*, i. pp. 92, 98 ; *Eyre, Jour.*, ii. p. 342.

⁸ Collins, *Account of the English Colony of N.S. Wales*, London, 1798, p. 581.

most needs the totem's protection.¹ Kurnai medicine-men could only communicate with the ghosts when they had these bones in their noses.²

Totems
tattooed on
the bodies
of the
people.

The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands are universally tattooed, the design being in all cases the totem, executed in a conventional style. When several families of different totems live together in the same large house, a Haida chief will have all their totems tattooed on his person.³ The Iroquois tattooed their totems on their persons.⁴ Mr. E. James, a high authority on the North American Indians, denies that it was a universal—from which we infer that it was a common—practice with them to have their totems tattooed on their persons.⁵ Mackenzie says that the Ojibways (Chippeways) are tattooed on their cheeks or forehead “to distinguish the tribe to which they belong.”⁶ The Assinibois (Assiniboëls) tattooed figures of serpents, birds, etc. (probably their totems) on their persons.⁷ Tribes in South America are especially distinguished by their tattoo marks, but whether these are totem marks is not said.⁸ The same applies to the natives of Yule Island,⁹ Eskimos of Alaska,¹⁰ and Manganjas in Africa.¹¹ In one of the Hervey Islands (South Pacific) the tattooing was an imitation of the stripes on two different species of fish, probably totems.¹² The Australians do not tattoo but raise cicatrices; in some tribes these cicatrices are arranged in patterns which serve as the tribal badges, consisting of lines,

¹ T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales*, ii. p. 339.

² Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 253.

³ *Geolog. Surv. of Canada, Rep. for 1878-79*, pp. 108B, 135B; *Smithsonian Contrib. to Knowl.*, vol. xxi. No. 267, p. 3 sq.; *Nature*, 20th January 1887, p. 285; *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1886, p. 67 sq. How different the conventional representation in tattooing may be from the true, we learn from the Hindu tattoo marks (conventionally supposed to represent ducks, geese, peacocks, etc.) depicted by Major-General A. Cunningham in his work,

The Stûpa of Bharut, plate lii.

⁴ E. de Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 78.

⁵ James, in *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 315.

⁶ A. Mackenzie, *Voyages through the Continent of North America*, p. cxx.

⁷ *Lettr. Édif.*, vi. 32.

⁸ Martius, *Zur Ethnographie America's zumal Brasiliens*, p. 55.

⁹ D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, i. p. 419.
¹⁰ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 48.

¹¹ Livingstone, *Last Journals*, i. p. 110, cf. p. 125.

¹² Gill, *Myths and Songs of the S. Pacific*, p. 95.

dots, circles, semicircles, etc.¹ According to one authority, these Australian tribal badges are sometimes representations of the totem.² For the cases in which the women alone tattoo see the note below.³

Again, the totem is sometimes painted on the person of the clansman. This, as we have seen (p. 9), is sometimes done by the Indians of British Columbia. Among the Hurons (Wyandots) each clan has a distinctive mode of painting the face, and, at least in the case of the chiefs at installation, this painting represents the totem.⁴ Among the Moquis the representatives of the clans at foot-races, dances, etc., have each a conventional representation of his totem blazoned on breast or back.⁵ A Pawnee, whose totem was a buffalo head, is depicted by Catlin with a buffalo's head clearly painted on his face and breast.⁶

The clansman also affixes his totem mark as a signature to treaties and other documents,⁷ and paints or carves it on his weapons, hut, canoe, etc.

Thus the natives of the upper Darling carve their totems on their shields.⁸ The Indians who accompanied Samuel

¹ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. pp. xli sq., 295, ii. 313; Eyre, *Journ.*, ii. 333, 335; Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 140; *Journ. and Proceed. R. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, p. 201.

² Mr. Chatfield, in Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 66 n. On tattooing in connection with totemism see Haberlandt, in *Mittheil. der anthropol. Gesell. in Wien*, xv. (1885) p. [53] sq.

³ Among most of the Californian tribes, the Ainos of Japan, the Chukchi in Siberia, and many of the aborigines of India, it is the women alone who are tattooed. See S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 109; Siebold, *Ethnol. Stud. ueber die Ainos*, p. 15; Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 6; Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, p. 296, popular edition; Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, pp. 114, 157, 161, 219, 251. (Among the Nagas of Upper Assam the men tattoo. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 39 sq.) Old pioneers in California are of opinion that the reason why the women alone tattoo is that in case they are taken

captive they may be recognised by their own people when opportunity serves. This idea, Mr. Powers says, is borne out by the fact that "the California Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaws" (Powers, *Tr. of Calif.*, p. 109). There may therefore be a grain of truth in the explanation of tattooing given by the Khyen women in Bengal; they say that it was meant to conceal their beauty, for which they were apt to be carried off by neighbouring tribes (*Asiatick Researches*, xvi. p. 268; Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

⁴ *First Rep.*, pp. 62, 64.

⁵ Bourke, *Snake Dance*, p. 229.

⁶ Catlin, *N. Amer. Ind.*, ii. plate 140.

⁷ Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 247.

⁸ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. pp. xliii, 284.

Totems painted on the bodies of the people.

Totems painted or carved on weapons, huts, canoes, etc.

Phratrie
and sub-
phratrie
totems in
Australia.

Kubera; and the Yungaru phratrie has for its totem the alligator, and Wutaru the kangaroo;¹ while the subphratries have for their totems the emu (or the carpet snake), iguana, opossum, and kangaroo (or scrub turkey).² As the subphratries of this tribe are said to be equivalent to the subphratries of the Kamilaroi, it seems to follow that the subphratries³ of the Kamilaroi (Muri, Kubi, Ipai, and Kumbo) have or once had totems also. Hence it appears that in tribes organised in phratries, subphratries, and clans, each man has three totems—his phratrie totem, his subphratrie totem, and his clan totem. If we add a sex totem and an individual totem, each man in the typical Australian tribe has five distinct kinds of totems. What degree of allegiance he owes to his subphratrie totem and phratrie totem respectively we are not told; indeed, the very existence of such totems, as distinct from clan totems, appears to have been generally overlooked. But we may suppose that the totem bond diminishes in strength in proportion to its extension; that therefore the clan totem is the primary tie, of which the subphratrie and phratrie totems are successively weakened repetitions.

Subtotems,
i.e. natural
objects
classed
under the
totem and
sharing the
respect due
to it.

In these totems superposed on totems may perhaps be discerned a rudimentary classification of natural objects under heads which bear a certain resemblance to genera, species, etc. This classification is by some Australian tribes extended so as to include the whole of nature. Thus the Port Mackay tribe in Queensland (see above, p. 77 *sq.*) divides all nature between the phratries; the wind belongs to one phratrie and the rain to another; the sun is Wutaru and the moon is Yungaru; the stars, trees, and plants are also divided between the phratries.⁴ As the totem of Wutaru

¹ Fison and Howitt, 38 *sq.*, 40. The Rockhampton tribe (Queensland) has the same phratries, but its subphratries are different (*J. A. I.*, xiii. 336).

² Fison and Howitt, p. 41. The totems of the phratries and subphratries are given by different authorities, who write the native names of the subphratries differently. But they seem to be speaking of the same

tribe; at least Mr. Fison understands them so.

³ The names of the Kamilaroi phratries, Dilbi and Kupathin, are clearly identical with Dilebi and Cubatine, the names of the Kiabara phratries (see above, p. 62), and the latter mean Flood-water and Lightning. Are these phratrie totems both of the Kamilaroi and Kiabara?

⁴ Brough Smyth, i. 91; Fison and Howitt, 168; *cf. J. A. I.*, xiii. 300.

is kangaroo and of Yungaru alligator, this is equivalent to making the sun a kangaroo and the moon an alligator.

The Mount Gambier tribe in South Australia is divided into two phratries (Kumi and Kroki), which again are sub-divided into totem clans. Everything in nature belongs to a totem clan, thus¹ :—

Subtotems in the Mount Gambier tribe.

Phratries.	Totem Clans.	Includes
Kumi.	1. Mūla = Fish-Hawk.	Smoke, honeysuckle, trees, etc.
	2. Parangal = Pelican.	{ Dogs, blackwood trees, fire, frost (fem.)
	3. Wā = Crow.	{ Rain, thunder, lightning, winter, hail, clouds, etc.
	4. Wīla = Black Cockatoo.	Stars, moon, etc.
	5. Karato = A harmless Snake.	{ Fish, stringybark trees, seals, eels, etc.
Kroki.	1. Wērio = Tea-Tree.	{ Ducks, wallabies, owls, crayfish, etc.
	2. Mūrna = An edible Root.	{ Bustards, quails, dolvich (a small kangaroo).
	3. Karāal = Black crestless Cockatoo.	{ Kangaroo, sheoak trees, summer, sun, autumn (fem.), wind (fem.)

With reference to this classification Mr. D. S. Stewart, the authority for it, says, "I have tried in vain to find some reason for the arrangement. I asked, 'To what division does a bullock belong?' After a pause came the answer, 'It eats grass: it is Boortwerio.' I then said, 'A cray-fish does not eat grass; why is it Boortwerio?' Then came the standing reason for all puzzling questions: 'That is what our fathers said it was.'"² Mr. Stewart's description of the respect paid by a tribesman to the animals of the same "subdivision" as himself has been already quoted (see above, p. 8 sq.); it seems to imply that a man is debarred from killing not only his clan totem (when that is an animal) but also all the animals which are classed under his clan. The natural objects thus classed under and sharing the respect due to the totem may be conveniently called, as Mr. Howitt proposes,³ subtotems. Again, the Wakelbura tribe (Elgin Downs, Queensland) is divided into two phratries (Mallera and Wuthera), four subphratries (Kurgila, Banbe, Wungo, and Obu), and totem clans. Everything in nature is classed

Subtotems of the Wakelbura tribe.

¹ Fison and Howitt, *loc. cit.*

² Fison and Howitt, 169.

³ In *Smithson. Rep. for 1883*, p. 818.

Subtotems
of the
Wakelbura
tribe.

under its phratry and subphratry. Thus the broad-leaved box-tree is of the Mallera phratry and the Banbe subphratry, and so is the dingo or native dog. When a man of this tribe dies his corpse must be covered with the boughs of a tree which belongs to the same phratry and subphratry as himself; thus if he is Mallera-Banbe he is covered with boughs of the broad-leaved box-tree, for it also is Mallera-Banbe.¹ So in summoning an assembly the message stick carried by the messenger must be of the same tribal division as the sender and the bearer of the message.² Of a group of tribes in N.S. Wales it is said that everything in nature is divided among the tribesmen, some claiming the trees, others the plains, others the sky, stars, wind, rain, and so forth.³ Again, the Wotjoballuk tribe in North-western Victoria has a system of subtotems, thus ⁴ :—

Subtotems
of the
Wotjobal-
luk tribe.

Phratries.	Totem Clans.	Subtotems.
Krokitch.	1. Hot Wind. 2. White crestless Cockatoo. 3. Belonging to the Sun.	Each totem has subordinate to it a number of objects, animal or vegetable, e.g. kangaroo, red gum-tree, etc.
Gamutch.	4. Deaf Adder. 5. Black Cockatoo. 6. Pelican.	Do.

Of the subtotems in this tribe Mr. Howitt says, "They appear to me to be totems in a state of development. Hot wind has at least five of them, white cockatoo has seventeen, and so on for the others. That these subtotems are now in process of gaining a sort of independence may be shown by the following instance: a man who is Krokitch-Wartwut (hot wind) claimed to own all the five subtotems of hot wind (three snakes and two birds), yet of these there was one which he specially claimed as 'belonging' to him, namely, Moiwuk (carpet-snake). Thus his totem, hot wind, seems to have been in process of subdivision into minor totems, and this man's division might have become hot wind carpet-snake had not civilisation rudely stopped the process by almost extinguishing the tribe."

¹ *J. A. I.*, xiii. 191, 337.

² *Ib.*, 438 n.

³ *J. A. I.*, xiv. 350.

⁴ *Smithson. Rep.*, loc. cit.

some rudiments of religion appear in a regard for the comfort of departed friends. For example, certain Victorian tribes are said to have kindled fires near the bodies of their dead in order to warm the ghost, but "the recent custom of providing food for it is derided by the intelligent old aborigines as 'white fellow's gammon.'"¹ Among the Dieri, if the deceased was a person of importance, food is placed for many days at the grave, and in winter a fire is lighted in order that the ghost may warm himself at it.² Some of the natives of Western Australia keep up a fire for this purpose on the grave for more than a month. But they expect the dead to return to life, for they detach the nails from the thumb and forefinger of the deceased and deposit them in a small hole beside the grave, in order that they may know him again when he comes back to the world.³

Thus some tribes show a certain regard for the comfort of the departed, which might easily grow into a worship of the dead.

Again, the natives of the Herbert river, in North-east Queensland, often put food and water in the grave, and they deposit with the dead his weapons, ornaments, and indeed everything he used in life. On the other hand, they generally break his legs to prevent him from wandering at night, and for the same purpose they cut gashes in his stomach, shoulders, and lungs, and fill the gashes with stones.⁴ The Turribul tribe placed their dead in trees. If the deceased was a man, they left a spear and a club near him that his spirit might kill game for its sustenance in the future state; but if the deceased was a woman, they laid a yam stick near her body in order that she might dig for roots.⁵ Among the Jupagalk, a person in great pain would call on some dead friend to come and help him—that is, to visit him in a dream, and teach him some song whereby he might avert the evil magic that was hurting him.⁶ Customs like these, it is plain, might easily develop into a worship of the dead.

¹ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 50 sq.

² Mr. O. Siebert, in A. W. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 448.

³ R. Salvado, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie* (Paris, 1854), p. 261; *Missions Catholiques*, x. (1878) p.

247. For more instances of lighting fires for this purpose, see Dr. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 452, 455, 470.

⁴ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

⁵ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

⁶ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

the Water clan before he may drink. The headman tells the men of the other moiety to give the stranger water. Were permission not thus obtained, the natives say that the headman of the water totem would kill the transgressor by means of a magic bone.¹

But Kaitish people rarely partake of their own totems, except ceremonially at the *intichiuma* rites; for it is thought that otherwise they would lose the power of magically multiplying them.

But while Kaitish men of any totem are thus publicly acknowledged by the rest of the tribe to possess the exclusive right to that particular totem, they rarely avail themselves of that privilege of eating or drinking it which they freely grant to others. Under normal conditions a Kaitish man does not eat his totem except ceremonially at the time of the *intichiuma* rites, when the headman of the totem is bound to eat a little of it. Were he to partake too freely of his totem, the men of the other moiety of the tribe would kill him by means of a magic bone, because such conduct would, they believe, incapacitate him for performing the *intichiuma* ceremonies successfully, and so the rest of the community would consequently suffer through the diminution of the totemic animal or plant, and hence of the food supply.² Even in regard to such an absolute necessity of life as water, though the men of the water totem cannot, of course, deny themselves it altogether, they are subject to certain irksome restrictions in the use of it. If a man of the water totem be quite alone, he may draw it and drink it without offence; but if he be in the company of men belonging to other totems, he may not obtain it for himself, but must receive it from a member of the other moiety of the tribe. As a general rule, when a man of the water totem is in camp, he receives water from a man of the same subclass from which he, the Water man, takes his wife, in other words he receives water from one who is his tribal brother-in-law (*umbirna*). But if no man of that subclass happens to be in camp, the Water man may be provided with water by any member of the other moiety of the tribe.³ To take another illustration of these self-denying ordinances of totemism among the Kaitish, if an Emu man be out hunting by himself in the scrub and sees an

¹ *Northern Tribes*, p. 326.

² *Ibid.* p. 323.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 160, 325 *sq.* According

to the latter passage he receives water from his tribal father-in-law (*ikuntera*).

emu, he will not touch it. But if he be in the company of men of other totems, he is free to kill the bird, but he must hand over its dead body to the other men.¹

In the Unmatjera tribe, whose territory lies immediately to the north of the Arunta and immediately to the south of the Kaitish, the restrictions as to eating the totem are fundamentally similar to those of the Arunta. At the *intichiuma* ceremonies for the multiplication of the totem, a little of the totemic animal or plant is eaten by the members of the clan; and the remainder, which has been brought to the headman, is handed over by him to men who belong to the other half of the tribe. The Unmatjera believe that if a man were to eat his own totemic animal or plant, except during the performance of the *intichiuma* ceremonies, he would swell up and die. In this tribe, as in the Kaitish, whenever a man of the water totem is in the company of other men, he may not help himself to water, but must receive it from some one who has not got water for his totem.²

While thus among the really central tribes, the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish, men are not absolutely forbidden, nay, are on certain solemn occasions obliged, to eat of their totemic animal or plant, the prohibition to partake of it is absolute among all the more northern tribes from the Kaitish to the sea. In other words, among these northern tribes the totemic animal or plant is strictly tabooed to members of the totem clan; they may not even eat it ceremonially at rites observed for the purpose of multiplying the totem.³ Nay further, in some of these tribes a man is debarred, either absolutely or in certain circumstances, from eating the totems of his father, his mother, and his father's father, whenever these totems differ from his own. In these tribes, say Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, the relationship between a man and his totem in regard to eating it is very simple, but at the same time very strict.

In the Unmatjera tribe also people as a rule only eat of their totems at the *intichiuma* ceremonies for multiplying them.

But in the northern tribes the prohibition to partake of the totem is absolute; and in some of the tribes a man is further debarred from eating the totems of his father, his mother, and his father's father, whenever these totems differ from his own.

¹ *Northern Tribes*, p. 160.

² *Ibid.* p. 324.

³ *Ibid.* p. 326. To this rule water is doubtless an exception. In many Australian tribes old men enjoy an exemption from many restrictions in regard

to food which are imposed on younger men. But it does not appear that this exemption extends to their totems. See *Native Tribes*, pp. 168, 468, 471; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 609-613; G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 16.

He may neither kill nor eat it, and the same prohibition applies to the totem of his father and the totem of his father's father, whenever these totems, one or both of them, differ from his own. As a rule a man's totem is identical with that of his father and his father's father in these northern tribes, because with them the totem is generally hereditary in the male line. But if the totems should all differ, then a man is forbidden to kill and eat three different totems, to wit his own, his father's, and his father's father's. With regard to the relationship between a man and his mother's totem there is some difference of usage between the tribes. In the Worgaia tribe, at all events in the western section of it, the mother's totem is strictly tabooed and may not be eaten; but in the Walpari and Warramunga tribes a man may eat of his mother's totem, provided it be given him by a member of that half of the tribe to which the particular totem belongs. For instance, in the Walpari tribe if a Curlew man is the son of a Honey woman, he may eat honeycomb on condition that it is given him by a member of that moiety (the Kingilli) with which the honey totem is associated. Similar restrictions apply to the maternal totem when it happens not to be an edible object. Thus when the mother of a Walpari man has fire for her totem, then her son must obtain a fire-stick, when he wants one, from a member of that half of the tribe to which the fire totem belongs. Again, in the Warramunga tribe, if a Wild Cat man has an Emu mother, he will not kill the bird and will only eat it if it be given him by a member of the other moiety of the tribe to which the emu totem is reckoned. Similarly if a Warramunga man has a mother of the water totem, he ought in strictness to have water given him by a man of the other half of the tribe to which the water totem belongs; but if he happens to be alone and thirsty, the rigidity of the rule is relaxed so far as to allow him to get the water for himself.¹

The black snake totem of the Warramunga may serve

¹ *Northern Tribes*, pp. 166 *sq.* In regard to a man's own totem Messrs. Spencer and Gillen elsewhere observe that "a Warramunga man, for example, will not hesitate, under certain con-

ditions, to kill his totem animal, but he hands it over to men who do not belong to the same totemic group, and will not think of eating it himself" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 327).

as an illustration of these rules. That totem belongs to the Uluuru moiety of the tribe and to the subclasses Thapanunga and Thapungarti of that moiety. As we have seen,¹ it has its centre at the water-hole called Tjinqurokora on the Tennant Creek. Black Snake men and women, and those whose fathers or fathers' fathers were Black Snakes, may not eat the reptile at all. Any person whose mother was a Black Snake may only eat it if it be given to him or her by Uluuru men, that is, by men of the moiety who claim the black snake among their totems. The men of the other two subclasses of the Uluuru moiety, namely, the Tjunguri and Tjapeltjeri men, and those men of the Thapanunga and Thapungarti subclasses who do not belong to the black snake totem, may eat a black snake only if it be given to them by Kingilli men, that is, by the men of the other moiety of the tribe, who may eat it freely at all times.² No woman may go anywhere near the sacred pool to draw water: all initiated men may go there, but Black Snake men may not drink at the spot: all Uluuru men who are not Black Snakes may drink of the water only if it be given them by Kingilli men: finally, the Kingilli men, that is, the men of the tribal moiety to which the black snake totem does not belong, may drink freely of the water of the holy pool where the old original black snake was born and died.³

Thus it appears that in the Warramunga tribe the totemic prohibitions with regard to eating are much more extensive and numerous than among the more central tribes. For, in the first place, the prohibition to eat the totem is

Warramunga rules as to eating black snakes

In the Warramunga tribe the prohibitions with regard to eating the totems are much more extensive and numerous than in the more central tribes.

¹ See above, p. 222.

moieties or classes (phratries) and the eight subclasses (subphratries) of the Warramunga tribe are as follows:—

² *Northern Tribes*, p. 167. The two

Class.	Subclasses.	Class.	Subclasses.
Uluuru {	Thapanunga Tjunguri Tjapeltjeri Thapungarti	Kingilli {	Tjupila Thungalla Thakomara Tjambin

See below, pp. 265 *sq.*

³ *Northern Tribes*, p. 167. As to

the mythical history of the Black Snake ancestor, see above, pp. 222 *sqq.*

not confined to members of the totem clan, but is conditionally extended to all members of that moiety of the tribe in which the particular totem clan is included, for no member of that moiety may eat of the totem, even though it is not his own, unless it is given him by a man of the other moiety. As the same rule applies to every totem, it follows that all the totems of his own half of the tribe are tabooed to every man unless he receives them as a gift from men of the other half. In the second place, a man is prohibited from eating not only his own totem, but also the totems of his father and his father's father whenever these differ from his own, and, further, he is forbidden to eat his mother's totem unless it be given him by a member of his mother's tribal moiety. In the third place, not only are all these totems tabooed either absolutely or conditionally to every man and woman, but, further, the sacred birth-place or death-place of any one of these totems may also be tabooed to him or her. In short, in the Warramunga and kindred tribes, men and women live immeshed in a network of totemic taboos which must considerably restrict their eating, and from most of which the Arunta and other central tribes are entirely free. Totemism has apparently either tightened its hold on the northern tribes or relaxed it on the central tribes. Which of these two things has happened, we shall inquire presently. Meantime I will only again ask the reader to observe the significant fact, to which I have already called his attention,¹ that in these tribes the totemic prohibitions have been in a large measure extended beyond the limits of the totemic clans and now embrace those much wider kinship groups which we call classes or phratries, subclasses or subphratries. Here, therefore, the newer organisation of the tribe in exogamous divisions (classes or phratries) seems to be superseding the older organisation in totem clans.²

Among the Mara and Anula, two tribes situated on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, a man may not eat his totem, and he only eats very sparingly the totem of his

¹ See above, pp. 225, 227.

² For evidence that the classes or phratries are newer than the totem

clans, see above, pp. 162 *sq.*, and below, pp. 251 *sq.*, 351 *sq.*

a full or a half-brother in our sense of the word, and not merely a tribal brother.¹

The tribes about Maryborough observed the usual rule of avoidance between son-in-law and mother-in-law. The two would never look at or towards each other. A man would hide himself anywhere or anyhow, if his wife's mother were near. The relation between them was called *mulong*.²

Mutual avoidance of mother-in-law and son-in-law.

§ 8. Tribes with Anomalous Class Systems and Female Descent

We have now completed our survey of the tribes with normal class systems, whether of the two-class or of the four-class type, in South-Eastern Australia. It remains to notice some tribes whose class systems present certain anomalous features. We begin with those which trace descent in the female line. Among these the first to be considered will be the Wotjobaluk, whose tribal name is derived from *wotjo*, "man," and *baluk*, "people."³

Tribes with anomalous marriage systems.

The Wotjobaluk occupied a considerable area of what is known as the Wimmera district of North-Western Victoria. Their country extended from the Wimmera to the Richardson River and northward to the salt lakes in which these streams lose themselves before they reach the Murray.⁴ The whole of this district, as we have seen, consists of vast sandy plains, sparsely covered with grass and intersected with belts of scrub and forests of Casuarina, Banksia, and eucalyptus. The climate is very dry, the rainfall very low, and the drought sometimes severe.⁵

The Wotjobaluk of Victoria.

The Wotjobaluk were divided into two exogamous classes (moiety) called Krokitch and Gamutch respectively, and each of these classes included a number of totem clans, the members of which claimed to own various natural species and natural phenomena. The things which the

The Wotjobaluk, their classes and totems.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 236.

² A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 236. Similarly among the tribes about Brisbane a man and his mother-in-law never looked at or spoke to each

other (A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 237).

³ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 54.

⁴ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 54.

⁵ A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 267 sq., 273. See above, pp. 316 sq.

members of a totem clan thus claimed as belonging to them may be called their subtotems. Examples of similar subtotems have met us before.¹ "The whole universe," says Dr. Howitt, "including mankind, was apparently divided between the classes. Therefore the list of subtotems might be extended indefinitely. It appears that a man speaks of some as being 'nearer to him' than others. I am unable to ascertain the precise meaning of this expression. When pressed upon this question, a black would say, 'Oh, that is what our fathers told us.'"² The social system of the Wotjobaluk tribe with its classes, totems, and subtotems is set forth in the following table :—³

WOTJOBALUK SYSTEM

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Krokitch	the sun	the star Fomalhaut (<i>Bunjil</i>), plains turkey, opossum, a grub (<i>gur</i>), a tuber (<i>garuka</i>), grey kangaroo, red kangaroo.
	galah (or white) cockatoo	{ native companion, bandicoot, emu, mussel, musk duck, mountain duck, magpie goose.
	a cave	subtotems not known.
	pelican	" "
	carpet-snake	" "
	the hot wind	{ a venomous snake, a small snake, Pennant's lorikeet, a small bird (<i>wurip</i>), the moon.
a tuber (<i>munya</i>)	subtotems not known.	

¹ See above, pp. 78-80, 133-136, 430, 431 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 454 sq.

³ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 121. Compare, *id.*, "Australian Group Rela-

tions," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, pp. 818 sq.; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 60-64.

WOTJOBALUK SYSTEM (continued)

Classes.	Totems.	Subtotems.
Gamutch	deaf adder	{ native cat, black swan, tiger - snake, sulphur - crested cockatoo, crow, dingo.
	the sea	subtotems not known.
	pelican	{ thunder, magpie, native cat, fire, white gull, white-bellied cormorant, small black cormorant, large cormorant, bull oak (<i>Casuarina glauca</i>), a wader, grey heron, chough.
	black cockatoo	{ a small iguana, lace-lizard, black duck, a small snake, teal duck, a bird (<i>jering</i>).

In this tribe the classes, totems, and subtotems are all called *mir*.¹ On the Wotjobaluk system Dr. Howitt observes that it appears to be a peculiar development of the two-class system of the Darling River tribes with totem clans but no subclasses.² But in the case of the Wotjobaluk, he says, "some of the totems have advanced almost to the grade of subclasses, and they have a markedly independent existence. The new features are the numerous groups of subtotems attached to the classes Gamutch and Krokitch respectively. It seems as if some of the totems of a two-class system had grown in importance, leaving the remaining totems behind in obscurity; and probably this has arisen through this tribe dividing the whole universe between the two classes, as, for instance, the Wiradjuri do."³

Peculiar features of Wotjobaluk totems.

As to the respect which a Wotjobaluk entertained for his totem animal, we are told that he "would not harm his totem if he could avoid it, but at a pinch he would eat it in default of other food. In order to injure

Intimate connection between a man and his totem.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 122.

³ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 122.

² See above, pp. 380 sqq.

another person he would, however, kill that person's totem. To dream about his own totem means that some one has done something to it for the purpose of harming the sleeper or one of his totemites. But if he dreams it again, it means himself, and if he thereupon falls ill, he will certainly see the wraith of the person who is trying to 'catch' him. The same beliefs are held by the other tribes of this nation."¹ Such beliefs illustrate the intimate connection which is supposed to subsist between a man and his totem; the totem animal appears to be to some extent identified with the man, since any injury done to it will be felt by him.

Relation
of certain
totems
with each
other.

Further, several of the totems are thought to be specially related to each other. Thus the sun totem (*ngauñ*) is in some way associated with the white cockatoo (*garchuka*) totem. For a man of the sun totem has been known to claim the white cockatoo as a second name of his totem (*mir*); he maintained that both Sun and White Cockatoo were his names, but that Sun was specially his name and White Cockatoo "came a little behind it." On the other hand, another man who claimed to be both Sun and White Cockatoo, said that he was especially White Cockatoo, and that Sun "came a little behind his White Cockatoo name." The exact relation of the two Dr. Howitt was not able to ascertain. He inclines to regard the two as "very slightly divergent branches of the same totem," or as "slightly divergent appendages of the class Krokitch, under new names."²

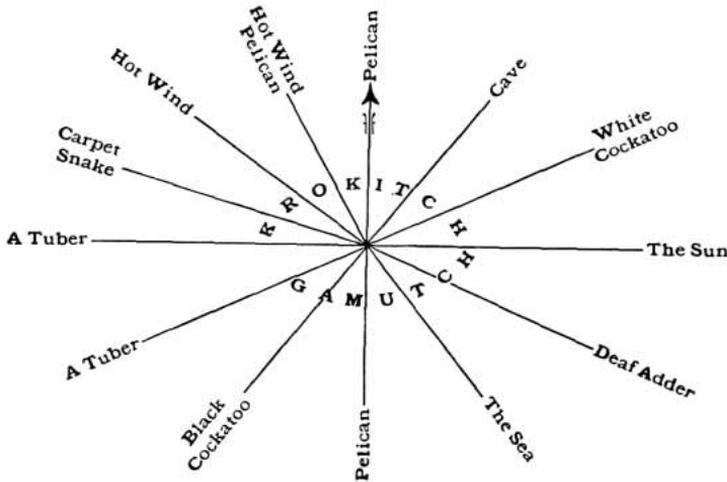
Totemic
burial
customs
among
the
Wotjo-
baluk.

Some light is thrown on the relation of the totems to each other by the mechanical method which the Wotjobaluk employed to preserve and explain a record of their classes and totems. It was their custom to bury the dead with their heads pointing in different directions according to their class and totem, and the various directions were all fixed with reference to the rising sun. Two of Dr. Howitt's informants, who were old men, spent about two hours in laying out the mortuary directions on the ground with sticks, and Dr. Howitt took their bearings with a compass. The

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of* *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological South-East Australia*, pp. 145 sq. *Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 61.

² A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 122;

diagram which he thus constructed, he tells us, may not be altogether correct because the list of totems is probably incomplete. It is as follows:—¹



Thus it will be observed that men of the Sun totem are laid in the grave with their heads to the east; men of the White Cockatoo totem are buried with their heads to the north-east; men of the Hot Wind totem are buried with their heads to the north-west, which was appropriate, since in the country of the Wotjobaluk the hot wind blows from that quarter. And similarly with the other totems. It will be noticed that the pelican totem is found in both the two primary classes Krokitch and Gamutch. No explanation of this repetition is given by Dr. Howitt. He tells us that the Sun was the principal totem, and that from it all the other totems are counted.² When a man died, he was no longer called by his old totem name, but received a new name, which varied with the particular totem. These new names are called by Dr. Howitt "mortuary totems." Thus when a man of the sun totem died, he would no longer be

Mortuary totems of the Wotjobaluk.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 453 sq.; *id.* "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp.

62 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 63.

spoken of as Sun (*ngau*) but as "Behind the sun" (*wurti-ngau*), that is, as a shadow cast behind the speaker by the sun. When a man of the Krokitch class and the pelican totem died, he would no longer be called Pelican (*batchangal*, *batya-ngal*) but "Bark of the mallee" (*mitbagragr*); and so on with the other totems. The custom probably originated in the extreme dislike of the aborigines to name the dead.¹

Relation
of men
to their
subtotems.

The relation in which people stand to their subtotems as distinguished from their totems is, as usual, somewhat vague and indefinite. A man claims to own his subtotem, but he does not identify himself with it or name himself after it, as he names himself after his totem. For example, a man of the Sun totem claims kangaroos as his property because they are his subtotems, but he is not called Kangaroo; he is called Sun after his totem the sun. Similarly a man of the sun totem claims the star Fomalhaut (*Bunjil*) as his, but he is not named after the star. Again, a man of the hot wind totem claims two sorts of snakes, two sorts of birds, and the moon as his, but he is not called after any of them; he is called Hot Wind. "The true totem," says Dr. Howitt, "owns him, but he owns the subtotem."²

Sex totems
among the
Wotjobaluk: the
bat is the
"brother"
of the men,
the owlet-
nightjar
is the
"sister"
of the
women.

The totemic system of the Wotjobaluk is still further complicated by the possession of what I have called sex-totems.³ Among them the sex-totem or, as they called it, the "brother" of the men was the bat, and the sex-totem or "sister" of the women was the owlet-nightjar, which was also called the "wife" of the men. These sex-totems of the Wotjobaluk, says Dr. Howitt, "were real totems, although of a peculiar kind. They were called *yaur* or flesh, or *ngirabul* or *mir*, just as were the totems proper." The only difference was that, whereas the bat was the brother of all the men and the owlet-nightjar the sister of all the women, an ordinary totem was the brother or sister only of the men

¹ A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) p. 64; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 123.

² A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 123; *id.*, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian*

Institution for 1883, pp. 818 sq.; *id.*, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 61 sq.

³ See above, pp. 47 sq.

and women who bore its name. In regard to their sex-totems the Wotjobaluk said that "the life of the bat is the life of a man, and the life of the owlet-nightjar is the life of a woman," and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is shortened. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim, and from this cause great fights arose in the tribe between the men on one side and the women on the other. For example, some men might kill an owlet-nightjar and then boast of their exploit in camp. The women would then in their turn kill a bat and carry it to the camp on the point of a stick, and with a piece of wood in its mouth to keep it open. This was held aloft in triumph, the oldest woman walking at the head of the procession and the younger women following, while they all shouted *Yeip Yeip* (hurrah)! The men then turned out, armed with clubs, boomerangs, and even spears, and engaged the women, who fought with their digging-sticks, belabouring the men with them and cleverly parrying or breaking the spears that were thrown at them. Sometimes, however, the spears went home and the women were wounded or killed. But at other times they got the better of their male adversaries, who had to retire discomfited with broken heads and sore bones. These curious fights between men and women over their sex-totems seem to have occurred in all the tribes of South-Eastern Australia among whom sex-totems have been found.¹ The true character of the sex-totem, as Dr. Howitt justly observes, appears to be shown by the statement of the Wotjobaluk that "the life of a bat is the life of a man," and that "the life of an owlet-nightjar is the life of a woman"; for such a belief fully explains the rage of either sex when one of their sex-totems has been killed.² Thus

The life of men and women is thought to be bound up with the life of their sex-totem.

¹ A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 57 sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 148, 150, 151. In the first of these passages we read: "The Wotjo said that the Bat was the man's 'brother' and that the Nightjar was his 'wife.'" From this it is not quite clear whether the Nightjar was deemed the wife of

the man or of the Bat.

² A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 148: "The true character of the sex totem is shown by the Wotjobaluk expression, 'The life of a bat is the life of a man,' meaning that to injure a bat is to injure some man, while to kill one is to cause some man to die. The same saying applies to the Owlet-nightjar with respect to women."

among the Wotjobaluk the conception of a sex-totem, as well as of an ordinary totem,¹ seems to involve a more or less complete identification of a man or woman with his or her totem animal. His or her life is apparently thought to be so bound up with that of the animal that an injury done to the animal injures correspondingly the man or woman, while its destruction entails his or her death. On these and similar facts I formerly based a theory that a totem may have been supposed to contain the external soul of the person who claimed it.²

Marriage
and
descent
among the
Wotjo-
baluk.

The rule of marriage in the Wotjobaluk tribe was that a man of one class (Krokitch or Gamutch) must marry a woman of the other class (Gamutch or Krokitch), but that he was free to marry a woman of any totem in that class. The children took their class and totem from their mother. For example, if a Krokitch man of the sun totem married a Gamutch woman of the black swan totem, the children would be Gamutch Black Swans. If a Gamutch man of the tiger-snake totem married a Krokitch woman of the bandicoot totem, the children would be Krokitch Bandicoots, and so on.³ In all negotiations with a view to marriage the first question was, "What is the *yauerin* ('flesh') of the two persons?" For *yauerin* meant class and totem as well as flesh, and no marriage could take place between persons of the wrong class or totem. But besides this class restriction on marriage there was in the Wotjobaluk tribe a local restriction also, since a man was forbidden to marry a woman of the same place as his mother: they thought his flesh (*yauerin*) was too near to the flesh of the women who lived there. Hence he had to go for a wife to some place where there was no flesh (*yauerin*) near to his. The same rule applied to the woman.⁴ Thus we find that in the Wotjobaluk, as in the southern tribes of the Kulin nation,⁵ class exogamy is combined with local exogamy. This is

Local
exogamy
among the
Wotjo-
baluk.

¹ See above, pp. 453 sq.

² *The Golden Bough*,² iii. 413 sqq.

³ A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group Relations," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883*, p. 819; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 60

sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241 sq. In the last of these passages Dr. Howitt omits to state the rule of marriage with respect to the totems.

⁴ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 241.

⁵ See above, pp. 437 sq.

the anomalous feature in the class system of the Wotjobaluk, which in other respects appears to be normal.

Besides the restrictions imposed by the class and the maternal district, the Wotjobaluk, like all other Australian tribes, prohibited marriage between persons who stood in certain degrees of kinship to each other. **In particular they** laid great stress on forbidding the marriage of a *marrup* with a *marrup-gurk*; that is, a man might not marry the daughter of his mother's brother nor of his father's sister. Two such persons might not mix their flesh, their *yauerin* being too near. Nay more than that, their descendants were prohibited from marrying each other so long as the relationship between them could be traced. However, the native informants added "that they remembered that one or two cases had occurred in which such a marriage had been permitted, but in them the parties were from places far distant from each other, for instance, the Wimmera and Murray Rivers, and that in those cases their respective parents were distant tribal brothers and sisters."¹ This Wotjobaluk prohibition to marry the daughter of a mother's brother or of a father's sister is, as Dr. Howitt observes,² a great remove from the custom of the Urabunna, among whom, on the contrary, a man's proper wife is precisely the daughter of his mother's (elder) brother or of his father's (elder) sister.³ The same view as to the propriety of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother or of a father's sister was held also by the Jupagalk, a tribe which bordered on the Wotjo nation, but they said that the woman should be obtained from a distant place so as not to be too near him in flesh.⁴ We have seen that the Kulin, like the Wotjobaluk, also prohibited not only the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister, but also the marriage of the descendants of such cousins, so far as the relationship could be traced.⁵

In the Wotjobaluk tribe, when it had been ascertained that there were no impediments of any kind to the marriage of two persons, whether a girl and a boy, or a girl and a

Wotjobaluk prohibition of marriage between cousins, the children of a brother and a sister.

Betrothal and marriage among the Wotjobaluk.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241-243.

² A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 243.

³ See above, pp. 177 *sq.*

⁴ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 243.

⁵ See above, pp. 438 *sq.*

man, they were betrothed by their respective fathers, whose consent was essential. Yet it was the elder brothers of the pair who made the arrangements. Such engagements might be made at any time, but they were most commonly arranged at the great gatherings when the intermarrying tribes met together to feast or perform ceremonies. In anticipation of these meetings the young men used to ascertain what unmarried girls had not been betrothed, which of them were of the class with which theirs might marry, and what were the places from which they might take a wife. Having ascertained these particulars two young men would meet at one of these assemblies and agree to give their sisters in exchange to be the wives of their respective younger brothers.¹ The ceremony of marriage was simple. The bride was taken to the bridegroom's camp by her father, accompanied by the father, father's brothers, brothers, and male paternal cousins of the bridegroom. At the camp the father's sister of the bride said to her, "That is your husband. He will give you food. You must stop with him." No one but the bridegroom had access to the bride at marriage in this tribe. Men too were very strict in requiring fidelity from their wives, and would not lend them to friends or visitors from a distance.²

Punishment of elopement and of unlawful marriages among the Wotjobaluk.

It happened not uncommonly that a girl who had been betrothed to a man in her infancy liked some one else better and eloped with him. All her male kindred pursued the runaway couple, and if they caught them, the lover had to fight them or rather to parry the spears which they threw at him. The girl's father and brothers were the first to cast their spears at him, and the others followed. If he passed through the ordeal successfully, he was allowed to keep the girl, provided always that he was of the right class and not within the prohibited degrees of relationship. But he had to find a sister to give in exchange for her.³ Very different was the case if the man who ran away with a girl was of

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 241 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 245. However, in the Mukjarawaint tribe, which was the southern branch of the Wotjo nation, men of the same totem

as the bridegroom had access to the bride at marriage. See A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 243, 245 sq.

³ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 245 sq.

the wrong class or within the prohibited degrees of relationship. Such an offence against the tribal morality was punished with great severity. All the men of both the intermarrying classes gave chase, and if they caught the culprit they would kill and bury him. "My Wotjobaluk informants said that this was always done in the old times before white men came ; but that they did not do as their western neighbours did, namely, eat him. It was the duty of the woman's father and brothers, in such a case, to kill her. This was confirmed to me by a Mukjarawaint man, who said that if a man took a woman who was of the same *yauerin* as himself, the pursuers, if they caught him, killed him, and with the exception of the flesh of the thighs and upper arms, which were roasted and eaten, they chopped the body into small pieces, and left them lying on a log. The flesh was eaten by his totemites, including even his brothers. This he said was also the custom of the Jupagalk."¹

It was not customary in the Wotjobaluk tribe for a widow to be taken by her deceased husband's brother. They had a feeling against the practice. An old man explained to Dr. Howitt that it was unpleasant to lie in the place of a dead brother, and so to be always reminded of him.² Similarly some of the Queensland tribes near Brisbane considered it monstrous that a man should marry his brother's widow, and such marriages never took place among them ; but the brother of the deceased had a voice in giving the widow to another.³

Widow not married by her late husband's brother.

The Wotjobaluk had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term *maam* to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters ; and he applied the same term *bap* to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he applied the same term *wau* to his brothers, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to the sons of his mother's sisters. He applied the same term *matjun* to his wife, to his wife's sisters, and to his brothers' wives. A woman applied the same term *nanitch* to her husband, to her husband's brothers,

Classificatory system of relationship among the Wotjobaluk.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 246 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 248.

³ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 237.

and to her sisters' husbands. In the generation below his own a man applied the same term *ngaluk* to his sons, to his brothers' sons, and to the sons of his wife's sisters. Similarly a woman applied the same term *nunungyep* to her sons, to her sisters' sons, and to the sons of her husband's brothers.¹

The
Mukjara-
waint.

In the south-western part of Victoria, to the south of the Wotjobaluk, there was a tribe or subtribe who were reckoned to the Wotjobaluk, but who called themselves Mukjarawaint. They lived in the northern parts of the picturesque Grampian Mountains and at the sources of the Wimmera River.² Their system of classes and totems has not been recorded; but we hear of a black cockatoo totem and a white cockatoo totem among them, and learn incidentally that a White Cockatoo man might marry a Black Cockatoo woman.³

The Mara
nation.

From the southern limits of the Mukjarawaint to the sea on the south, and from Mount Gambier on the west to Eumerella Creek on the east, there was a nation who called themselves Mara, a name which in their language signified "man" or "men."⁴ A small tribe of this nation bore the name of Gournditch-mara, and had its headquarters at Gournditch or Lake Condah.⁵ This tribe was divided into two exogamous classes, Krokitch and Kaputch, the names of which are clearly identical with the Krokitch and Gamutch of the Wotjobaluk. Two totems are recorded, namely, White Cockatoo and Black Cockatoo, each of which claimed a number of subtotems. The system may be exhibited in tabular form as follows:—⁶

The
Gourn-
ditch-mara
tribe, their
classes and
totems.

¹ A. W. Howitt, "Australian Group-Relationships," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. (1907) pp. 287 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 54 sq., 243. As to the Grampian Mountains compare A. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, i. 267, 269.

³ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 245 sq.

⁴ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 124.

⁵ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 69. See the account of this tribe by the Rev. J. H. Stähle, of the Church Mission, Lake Condah, reported by Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 274-278.

⁶ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 124, on the authority of the Rev. J. H. Stähle.