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The Native Tribes of South-East Australia

A. W. Howitt's classic study, first published in 1904, investigates the organisation, practices and customs of the indigenous peoples he encountered during his forty years exploring Australia. He describes how he made 'close and friendly contact' with tribes who were, in his words, in a condition of 'complete savagery'. Howitt achieved considerable status among the Aborigines, and was even permitted to witness some of their sacred ceremonies. Focusing particularly on the social organisation of the tribes, their kinship systems and marriage rules, his book is a captivating account of a now-vanishing culture. It includes illustrations of people and weapons, maps outlining the locality inhabited by each tribe and diagrams explaining family structures.



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The Native Tribes of South-East Australia

ALFRED WILLIAM HOWITT





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THE NATIVE TRIBES

OF

SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA







THE

Native Tribes

OF

South-East Australia

BY

A. W. HOWITT, D.Sc.

HON. FELLOW ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

London

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то

THE MEMORY OF MY WIFE

WITHOUT WHOSE UNFAILING SYMPATHY

THIS WORK

MIGHT NEVER HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN



PREFACE

THE materials for this work were collected during the past forty years, commencing during explorations in Central Australia, where I came into close and friendly contact with two tribes who were in a condition of complete savagery. Circumstances later on enabled me to acquire considerable influence over tribes in South-East Australia, and to become acquainted with their sacred ceremonies and be present at them.

In 1873 I joined Dr. Lorimer Fison in investigating the classificatory system of relationships which obtains among these savages. In connection with this inquiry, our attention was directed to the tribal class system, and the rules of marriage and descent connected therewith.

In these investigations we were assisted by correspondents living in places scattered over the greater part of Eastern Australia, and in a less degree in the western half. Without their aid it would not have been possible to have brought together the collection of facts which was necessary to enable us to draw sound conclusions as to the real character of the organisation and beliefs of the native tribes.

In the course of our work we found the conclusions to which we were led regarding the system of relationships, the character and origin of the tribal and social organisation, and the rules of marriage and descent, brought us into conflict with hypotheses as to primitive society and its organisation



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and development advanced by certain leaders of anthropological thought.

Such being the case, we deemed it advisable, in anticipation of fuller publication, to make known the preliminary results of our inquiries. This had also the advantage of not only making known our results, but also submitting our conclusions to criticism, and finally, to use a well-known mining term, to "marking out our prospecting claim."

This we did by, in the first place, communicating a series of memoirs to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; and secondly, by other publications, all of which are included in the following list.

It will be seen that the several chapters of this work, in one aspect, are those memoirs elaborated, but they also include other facts which have been since obtained.

With the increase of information, due to a wider scope of inquiry, the mental horizon was necessarily widened, bringing the facts into a truer perspective. Thus it has come about that some of the views expressed in earlier papers have been modified, as will be pointed out in several places in this work.

The following list gives the publications referred to, being either the joint works of Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself, or of myself alone:—

Kamilaroi and Kurnai. Lorimer Fison and A. W. Howitt. 1880. "From Mother-right to Father-right." A. W. Howitt and Lorimer Fison, Journal Anthrop. Inst. August 1882.

"Notes on the Australian Class Systems." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. May 1883.

"On Some Australian Beliefs." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. November 1883.

"Australian Group Relations." A. W. Howitt, Smithsonian Report, 1883.

"On Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1884.



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- "On the Deme and the Horde." A. W. Howitt and Lorimer Fison, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1884.
- "The Jeraeil, or Initiations of the Kurnai Tribe." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. May 1885.
- "On the Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1886.
- "On Australian Medicine-men." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. August 1886.
- "Notes on Songs and Song-Makers of Some Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1887.
- "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1888.
- "Notes on Australian Message-Sticks and Messengers." A. W. Howitt, Journal Anthrop. Inst. 1889.
- "On the Use of Gesture Language in Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci. vol. ii. p. 637. 1890.
- "Anthropology in Australia." A. W. Howitt, Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci. vol. iii. p. 342. 1891.
- "On Trade Centres in Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci. 1901.

The facts upon which my conclusions are based were stated substantially in the above works. But in some cases my views have been modified by a wider experience and more mature consideration. Yet the broad facts on which Dr. Fison and I relied, and the general deductions from the same, remain unaltered. That they were securely founded upon native custom is sufficiently shown by the splendid work done by Spencer and Gillen, who have independently found the same social facts, and have drawn therefrom the same conclusions as we did.

I have to express the very great obligations I am under to correspondents for information about the organisation, customs, and beliefs of the several tribes with which they were acquainted, or as to which they obtained information. My sincerest thanks are due to them, not only for this information, but also for the patience with which they bore my continued questioning, and for the very great trouble

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which some of them took to work out further details of social questions which their information or my personal knowledge suggested.

In the following list I give the names of the tribes described or referred to, and the name of the correspondent in each case to whom I am indebted for the information recorded. I have also given in the body of the work, in footnotes, the names of the correspondents whose statements I quote. Where there are no such footnotes, and especially as regards the Dieri, Yantruwunta, Yaurorka, Leitchi-leitchi, Wiradjuri, Wotjobaluk, Mukjarawaint, Jupagalk, Jajaurung, Wurunjerri, Thagunwurong, Kurnai, Wolgal, Ya-itma-thang, Ngarigo, Yuin, and Biduelli, I speak from personal knowledge of those tribes-people at some time during the last forty years.

It will be observed in the perusal of this work that there are certain gentlemen to whom I am especially indebted for most important contributions, and to whom my special thanks are due for very valuable assistance, without which I could not have fully given the information as to certain tribes. These are: Mr. Harry E. Aldridge, Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, Mr. W. H. Flowers, the Rev. Otto Siebert, the late Mr. Edward Palmer, Mr. Tom Petrie, Mr. J. C. Muirhead, and the Rev. John Bulmer.

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS AND TRIBES DESCRIBED BY THEM

Harry E. Aldridge		Maryborough district, Queensland.
J. W. Boultbee .		Wilga, Kongait, Tongaranka, Bulali,
		Naualko, Guerno, Barabinya.
J. W. Boydell .		Gringai.
G. H. Bridgeman .		Bombarabura. Tribes about Mackay.
Jocelyn Brooke .	•	Kaiabara.
Rev. John Bulmer,	-	Kurnai, Ngarigo, Theddora, Wiim-
		baio.
John Buntine .		Theddora.



			PRI	EFACE xi
A. L. P. Cameron	•	•	•	Barkinji, Ithi - ithi, Muthi - muthi, Ta-tathi, Wathi-wathi, Wiradjuri, Wonghibon, Unghi.
R. Christison				Dalebura.
R. Crowthers				Wollaroi, Bigambul, Yualaroi.
Cyrus E. Doyle				Kamilaroi.
C. I. Duve .	:			Kurnai, Ngarigo.
M. J. Fehan				Paruinji.
W. H. Flowers				Kuinmurbura.
Dr. John Fraser		٠		Various tribes through correspondents.
J. Gaggin .				Herbert River tribes.
Captain Garside				Wiradjuri.
F. Gaskell .				Kukata.
S. Gason .				Dieri and kindred tribes.
James Gibson				Chepara.
Rev. J. H. Gribble	e			Wiradjuri.
J. Hogarth .			•	Yendakarangu.
C. F. Holmes				Hunter River tribe.
A. Hook .				Gringai.
Frank James				Dieri, Mardala.
Rev. H. Kempe				Aldolinga.
J. H. Kirkham				Buntamurra.
Julius Kühn .				Narrang-ga
James Lalor .			•	Bigambul, Emon, Ungorri.
T. E. Lance.		٠		Kamilaroi.
R. Lethbridge	•			Maranoa tribe.
W. Logan .			•	Mundainbura, Yakunbura.
W. Lucas .	•	•	•	Kurnai.
Dr. E. M. M'Kin	lay			Wiimbaio, Gringai.
Hon. A. M'Lean				Kurnai.
J. C. Macleod		•	•	Kurnai.
J. C. Muirhead			•	Wakelbura and kindred tribes.
C. Naseby .	•	٠	•	Kamilaroi.
W. O'Donnell			•	Kurnandaburi.
John O'Rourke			•	Ngarigo, Kurnai, Theddora
Edward Palmer		•	•	Wide Bay tribes.
Tom Petrie .	•	٠	•	Turrbal.
Rev. J. G. Reuth			•	Dieri.
D. Elphinstone R	loe	•	•	Yerkla-mining.
Dr. W. E. Roth	•	•	٠	Annan River tribe.



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0.111.0.1				Canama ara I
G. W. Rusden	•	•	•	Geawe-gal.
W. Scott .				Gringai.
J. Shaw .				Wurunjerri, Wiimbaio.
Rev. Otto Siebert				Dieri and kindred tribes.
Mrs. James Smith	ı.			Buandik and kindred tribes.
Professor W. Bal	dwin S	Spenc	er	Arunta, Waramunga.
Rev. J. H. Stähle				Gournditch-mara.
D. Stewart .				Buandik.
T. M. Sutton				Narrang-ga.
F. W. Taplin				Narrinyeri.
Rev. George Tap	lin			Narrinyeri.
E. R. Vernon				Kamilaroi.
H. Vogelsang				Dieri.
H. Williams .				Yerkla-mining.

I have endeavoured to show on the maps which accompany this work the range of the several class organisations, and the locality in each state, of each tribe referred to. But the reader will kindly bear in mind the great difficulty which always presents itself, not only in defining the true boundaries of any tribal country, but also, in many cases, of giving the true and comprehensive name of the tribe. A member of a clan will probably give its name, and only on closer inquiry will give the name of the tribe of which that clan is a part. It is still more difficult to ascertain the name of what I have termed a nation, that is, of a group which includes two or more kindred tribes.

Some tribes are again spoken of by the name of their language. Such causes have produced errors giving considerable trouble to correct, and it is to be feared that even now they have not been eliminated in all cases.

In the map which faces page 90 I have indicated the approximate boundaries of the several class systems mentioned in Chapter III. The boundaries are necessarily but approximate, as more precise ones could only be obtained by possessing an intimate knowledge of those of each tribe along the common line of division. But sufficient is given to show



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on broad lines the range of the great groups of tribes organised successively from the two-class system of Central Australia, and the more developed four- and eight-class system of the more northern parts of the continent, to the highly-modified organisations of the coastal regions of South-East Australia.

I have more than once drawn attention to the almost complete identity, even in details, of certain tribal customs in places far distant from each other. I now mention this in advance, for the purpose of pointing out that in such cases I have endeavoured to give the expressions made use of by my native informants, or my correspondents, as the case may be, and have given them in detail, in order to impress the coincidence, since it shows a remarkable and widely-spread observance of custom.

By far the greater part of the materials for this work was collected and recorded before 1889. Since then the native tribes have more or less died, and in the older settlements of South-East Australia the tribal remnants have now almost lost the knowledge of the beliefs and customs of their fathers. I have preferred to let my notes remain, as they were written, in the present tense, rather than to attempt to bring them up to the present time.

Among the causes to which the rapid extinction of the native tribes by acquired vices must be attributed, I may note the use of opium in Queensland. My correspondents inform me that it was acquired from the Chinese employed there, and that it is given to the aborigines as wages and gratuities, or is sold to them by retail traders.

Dr. Lorimer Fison and I have been so long associated in investigations into the organisation and customs of the native tribes of Australia, that it was with feelings of the greatest regret that I found his other engagements would prevent him from joining me in this work. It had been



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always my hope that his name would be associated with mine in it, but although that cannot be, the fact remains, as will be seen from the list of our joint works, that much of what I have done is equally his.

I wish to acknowledge the great obligations I am under to Professor Baldwin Spencer for much assistance during the preparation of this book, and for photographs which have been reproduced in it. He most kindly read over the drafts of the several chapters, and I have benefited by his kindly criticisms and suggestions in their final settlement. I have also to thank him and Mr. F. J. Gillen for generously permitting me to use some of the photographs taken by them in Central Australia.

My thanks are also due to Miss A. J. King for some interesting photographs of Kurnai men and women.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. J. G. Frazer for much kindness and for most valuable suggestions in connection with this work.

The Government Astronomers of New South Wales, Queensland, and South Australia have most willingly supplied me with information as to rainfall and temperature. And to Mr. P. Baracchi, the Government Astronomer of the State of Victoria, are due my especial thanks for the interest which he has taken in this part of my work, and for the suggestions which he has made.

Mr. J. H. Maiden, the Government Botanist for the State of New South Wales, very kindly examined and named a collection of plants from Lake Eyre, some of which have been drawn for this work by Miss Flockton under his direction.



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