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PhD
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ABORIGINAL SONGS FROM THE BUNDJALUNG AND GIDABAL AREAS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA

by

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music

University of Sydney

July 1992
Dedicated to the memory of

Helen Joan Gummow

(1934 - 1990)
Firstly, I wish to express my most sincere thanks to all Bundjalung and Gidabal people who have assisted this project. Many have patiently listened to recordings of old songs from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, sung their own songs, translated, told stories from their past, referred me to other people, and so on. Their enthusiasm and sense of urgency in the project has been a continual source of inspiration.

There are many other people who have contributed to this thesis. My supervisor, Dr. Allan Marett, has been instrumental in the compilation of this work. I wish to thank him for his guidance and contributions. I am also indebted to Dr. Linda Barwick who acted as co-supervisor during part of the latter stage of my candidature. I wish to thank her for her advice on organising the material and assistance with some song texts. Dr. Ray Keogh meticulously proofread the entire penultimate draft. I wish to thank him for his suggestions and support.

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Sincere thanks to all the recordists who have contributed to the sample of songs. This thesis could not have been written without access to these recordings.

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ERRATA

The text should be altered to include the following minor alterations and corrections.

Page
xi Line 5: "accordion" should read "accordion"

xviii Map 3: "Marybourgh" should read "Maryborough"

4 Line 14: "Calley where" should read "Calley whose"

9 Line 25: "Willoughby" should read "Willoughby"

22 Line 5: "Pentecostaliam" should read "Pentecostalism"

24 Line 23: "the Ngiyampa and Wangaaypuwan language" should read "the Ngiyampa language"

44 Line 13: "difficult, even" should read "difficult it is, even"

46 Line 44: "dances were frowned" should read "dances was frowned"

47 Line 5: "opportunites" should read "opportunities"

47 Line 13: "aprobium" should read "aprobium [sic]"

70 Line 18: "obvious by" should read "obvious from"

71 Line 23: "works such as R.H. Mathews" should read "works such as those of R.H. Mathews"

75 Footnote 2: "The vowel shift identifies which particular dialect a person speaks. Therefore a person" should read "The different vowel identifies which particular dialect a person speaks. A person"

77 Footnote 5: "nintheenth" should read "nineteenth"

78 Footnote 6: "Collins descriptions" should read "Collins' descriptions"

78 Footnote 6: "timourous" should read "timorous"

93 Line 24: "(1978: 183)" should read "(1978: 183, 189)"

123 Line 13: "Jack Barron, lead" should read "Jack Barron led"

134 Foottnote 19: "rubarb" should read "rhubarb"

176 Line 2: "accordians" should read "accordions"

176 Line 28: "accordians" should read "accordians [sic]"

177 Plate 23: "accordian" should read "accordion"

195 Line 13: "The well known Ngiyampa, Wangaaypuwan songmaker" should read "The well known Ngiyampa songmaker"

215 Line 3: "as morphology" should read "as the morphology"

229 Line 19: "The text and has been" should read "The text has been"

253 Line 17: "strengthened" should read "strengthened"

261 Line 18: "Seine" should read "Seine"

267 Line 33: "Issacs" should read "Isaacs"

270 Line 19: "Hearld" should read "Herald"

287 Line 4: "lingust" should read "linguist"

309 Line 3: "may comprises" should read "may comprise"
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Analysis -</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIAS</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIATSIS</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Musical Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Master of Ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS.</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>National Aboriginal Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPWS</td>
<td>National Parks and Wildlife Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRCAE</td>
<td>Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
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<td>pMs.</td>
<td>pamphlet manuscript</td>
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<td>pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROMTAC</td>
<td>Return of Material to Aboriginal Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRHS</td>
<td>Richmond River Historical Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Song(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
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<td>TNU</td>
<td>Texts Not Undertaken</td>
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<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Text(s) Pasted From Sharpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Text(s) Structured</td>
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ORTHOGRAPHY

The following orthography is used only for song texts in Chapter 4 and texts that have been structured in Appendix 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Apical</th>
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<td>Stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
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<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
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Vowels a e i o u

Lengthened vowels are indicated with h

Titles of songs are spelt as they appear in the archival documentation. Bundjalung and other Aboriginal terms used throughout this thesis appear as they appear in the literature. English words appearing in song texts are spelt in English, for example, "two-up" and "fair play".
Map 1. Places mentioned in the Bundjalung and Gidabal areas.
Map 2. Places mentioned in south-eastern Australia. Places where Bundjalung songs have been recorded are marked with *. For more details see Map 5 (p. 6).
Map 3. Australia showing places and areas mentioned.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Preamble
The topic of this thesis concerns traditional Aboriginal songs and their related performing arts of dance and visual displays from the Bundjalung\(^1\) language area of south-eastern Australia (ie. northern New South Wales and southern Queensland see Map 4). Today there are basically two types of Aboriginal music: traditional music, which usually involves singing in an Aboriginal language, and modern music, which includes such genres as country and western, hillbilly, rock and roll, blues, accordion playing and Christian gospel music. This thesis will deal mainly with the traditional music. I have used the term "traditional" to describe songs which were originally composed and performed before European contact. I also extend the term to refer to songs which, although composed after European contact, are modelled on pre-European songs (although some European influence is often apparent). Although modern Aboriginal music, that is music which is derived from European styles such as country and western, bush music and gospel songs, will be mentioned in several sections of the thesis, an in-depth study of this is beyond the scope of this project.

---

\(^1\) Bundjalung refers to a language area and one specific dialect within this language area. Today Aboriginal people in this area usually identify themselves as being Bundjalung, except for Gidabal people from the Woodenbong area who maintain their own dialect name. (Dialects in the area will be discussed in Chapter 2.) The term Bundjalung is used throughout this thesis to refer to all Aboriginal people in the area, including Gidabal people. Bundjalung is the spelling used today by Bundjalung people, but in several linguistic and anthropological studies the spelling Bandjalang is used.
Map 4. Approximate locations of Aboriginal language areas of New South Wales and southern Queensland.
Until 1983 there was virtually no musicological research on New South Wales music. In my honours project (Australian Aboriginal Music of New South Wales: An Exploratory Study, UNE 1983), I focussed on recordings of NSW songs in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies archive for which textual transcriptions had already been made. During this project I realised that in order to make more conclusive statements concerning the music of NSW, I should examine one particular area of NSW with the aim of placing the music and, where possible, related performance arts of dance and visual displays, into an historical, social and cultural context. This would involve fieldwork and would include study of the language, history, and state of the traditional culture. Since I was by now familiar with the AIATSIS collection, I decided to study the Bundjalung area for which I knew there was already a large amount of recorded material. Even before I had done any fieldwork, I had decided that my study would need to rely heavily on the AIATSIS sound archives and other previously recorded material as I was aware that the traditional music and culture of the Bundjalung people (and NSW Aboriginal people generally) was being performed less often and remembered by only a handful of older members of the communities. According to Beckett, even as early as 1905 the ceremonial activity throughout NSW was drawing to an end (1978: 6).

The Bundjalung Collection of Recordings

Appendix I lists the sample of 352 songs considered in this thesis. I have used the term "song" to describe a distinct burst of singing in the recordings; this includes short fragments, sections of songs, as well as complete performances. The vast majority of songs are performed by Bundjalung singers, but the sample also includes a
few recordings of *Bundjalung* songs sung by non-*Bundjalung* people. These recordings, from 26 singers or groups of singers, represent part of the *Bundjalung* musical tradition for a period of over thirty years from 1955 to 1986. The songs in the sample are from four sources: 256 songs from the AIATSIS sound archive; 37 songs from the National Parks and Wildlife Service (henceforth NPWS) archive; one song from field recordings by Margaret Sharpe, a linguist working on the *Bundjalung* language; and 58 songs from my own field tape collection, which is also available at the AIATSIS.

The following details are identified for each song in Appendix 1: the song number which is used throughout this thesis, the recordist, the date of recording, the place of recording, the singer, the title of the song, the tape identification number and track, including the item number of the song on the tape where applicable, and the text number.\(^4\) In Appendix 1 songs are listed according to recordists and ordered by date of earliest recording. The first recordist mentioned is Calley where recordings, made in 1955, are the earliest recordings in the sample. The last recordings listed are my own as they are the most recent recordings included in the sample.\(^5\) The recordings are listed according to date, except that where a recordist has recordings in both the AIATSIS and the NPWS archive all the AIATSIS recordings are listed before the NPWS recordings. The sample does not represent every song sung by a *Bundjalung* singer in the four collections represented here. Exceptions include recordings that were not accessible through the indexing system at the time and therefore have been missed. Significant omissions have been located by the AIATSIS sound archivist Grace Koch and are listed in Appendix 2.

It is not always possible to identify multiple performances of the same song from title information alone. One reason for this is that in the *Bundjalung* area, as in

\(^4\) It must be noted that in the AIATSIS archive there are inconsistencies in the numbering system. Songs sung with speech interruptions are sometimes counted as one item while at other times they are counted as several items.

\(^5\) At the time of writing the most recent recordings of *Bundjalung* songs are by Sharpe in 1989. See Appendix 2 for further details of these.
NSW generally, Aboriginal people often do not have formal titles for songs. Rather they refer to them in terms of the composer and the circumstances of its creation (for example, the song made by Duncan about Amy Johnson). Because of this practice the same song can be identified in a number of different ways. Indeed, it is unusual for multiple performances of the same song to be identified in the same way every time they are recorded. The title given in Appendix 1 is the title available in the documentation and is usually given by the singer. However, due to the performance situation in the Bundjalung area, it is not uncommon for singers to be unable to give any contextual information or other details about the songs. This accounts for the large number of songs in the list identified as "song item", "corroboree song", "unidentified" or just "song". In some of these cases where the archive title is vague or appears to be incorrect, I have been able to identify a song more exactly and have listed such corrections in square brackets after the title appearing in the archive index. I have not attempted to standardise titles for multiple performances of the same song, but performances of the same song are all listed with the same text number. Hence in the sample of 352 songs there are 93 text numbers which represent song subjects. Text numbers are covered in detail in Appendix 3. In Appendix 1 songs that I have musically transcribed have been marked with #. I have transcribed multiple performances of a small number of song subjects. These will be discussed in the musical analysis in Chapter 4.

Map 5 shows the Bundjalung area and the places where the recordings were made. (The boundaries of the Bundjalung area will be discussed in Chapter 2.) It can be seen that although the area crosses the NSW/Queensland border, the majority of recordings were made in NSW. During my work in the area in 1986 I attempted to find people in Queensland (at Beaudesert) but this proved impossible, perhaps because, as Bundjalung people in NSW advised me, most people from Queensland had come down

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6 The spelling of song titles in Appendix 1 is as they appear in the AIATSIS NSW song catalogue.
Map 5. The Bundjalung area showing places where the recordings were made (adapted from Geytenbeek 1971: vii). Dialect names have been deleted and place names have been added. Places where recordings were made are marked with *. For details of places outside the Bundjalung area where recordings were made see Map 2 (p. xvii).
to be with relatives in NSW due to the more favourable Aboriginal policy in that state.  
According to several NSW Bundjalung people, those who did stay in Queensland had probably moved up north to places such as Cherbourg, a large Aboriginal reserve established in the early twentieth century (see Map 3 p. xviii). I made another attempt to find people in Queensland in 1988, when I attended a Bundjalung language course at Burleigh Heads in Queensland. This course, taught by Margaret Sharpe and Mick Walker, a Bundjalung person, was designed for Bundjalung people interested in learning more about their own language. Several senior Bundjalung people from Brisbane and surrounding areas attended the course. Some of them could remember a few words and phrases, and the course enabled them to recover further memories of their language. Unfortunately, none of the Queensland Bundjalung people at the course could remember anything about songs, and could not suggest anyone else from Queensland who might know more.

The following is a brief history of the recordings included in the sample (see Appendix 1 for a list of the sample of songs). All the recordists were non-Aboriginal people who were visiting the Bundjalung area for various reasons and lengths of time.

In 1955 Malcolm Calley and Stephen Wurm recorded material at Woodenbong on the NSW/Queensland border (song nos. 1-20 in Appendix 1). These recordings were made in connection with Calley's post-graduate work in the Anthropology Department, University of Sydney, and are preserved on one of the early gramophone records produced by the University of Sydney. Unlike any other recordings in the sample, these recordings have been edited and each song is preceded by a short announcement by the recordist. Unfortunately, very little other information concerning the content and context of the songs has been included in the recording.

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7 In 1959 Calley stated that with the exception of one family in Beaudesert, there were no Aboriginal people living between the McPherson Ranges and the Brisbane River in Queensland (1959: 17-18).

8 In future references song numbers will be denoted as S1-20. Hence S = song.
During the 1960s Barbara Gibbons made recordings at Woodenbong and Coraki (S21-39). Gibbons has recorded traditional and modern Aboriginal music in various areas of Australia. Also during the 1960s, the linguists Brian and Helen Geytenbeek spent three years in Woodenbong recording language material which included songs (S40-105). Their recordings of songs include detailed text elicitations and translations of song texts and they have transcribed several song texts from their recordings. (Unfortunately, I have not been able to transcribe any recordings on LA3392B (S63-68), recorded by the Geytenbeeks at Woodenbong in 1966, due to their having been made with flat batteries and hence having a low level of recording quality.) Their research resulted in the publication of *Gidabal Grammar and Dictionary* in 1971 (*Gidabal* is a *Bundjalung* dialect. *Bundjalung* dialects will be discussed further in Chapter 2.)

Marjorie Oakes, a local historian who lived in Lismore also made several recordings in Lismore and Casino during the 1960s (S106-133). Her recordings include language material and stories relating to sites of significance as well as songs with descriptions of their dances and other related visual displays. There are recording quality problems with LA1066A (S118-127), recorded in 1968 at Casino in a hall at a performance for the Casino Historical Society. Although I have transcribed three of these songs (S120, S121 and S123) the singer's voice is not always clear due to background noise from the audience. Oakes has written several articles concerning traditional Aboriginal culture of the Richmond River area (Oakes 1972, 1979 and 1981).

During the 1960s, a recording project (which was basically a musical salvage operation, collecting and trying to make sense of the remaining knowledge of a small number of older Aboriginal people whose songs were being performed less frequently) was undertaken by John Gordon, who travelled extensively throughout NSW during the 1960s. Gordon taught music at the Sydney Teachers College from 1942 to 1977 and for 20 years during this period was head of the Music Department at the college. He was also the University of Sydney's carillonist for more than 50 years (for more
details see Walker 1991). Gordon has recorded throughout the Bundjalung area at Lismore, Cabbage Tree Island, Woodenbong and Baryulgil (S134-184). Although his recordings are of very good quality and comprise an enormous number of songs, fifty-one of which are Bundjalung and included in the sample, he does not always ask the singer to explain the text in detail and often only a small amount of material concerning the song is given.

Recordings by John Sommerlad were made during the 1960s and 1970s at Tenterfield, Woodenbong and Heathcote State Park (near Sydney). His recordings were done in relation to his work with the National Parks and Wildlife Service and include detailed descriptions of the performance context of songs and dances (S185-218). As stated earlier, these recordings are also available at the AIATSIS.

During the 1960s and 1970s Janet Mathews recorded songs in northern NSW and on the south coast. Mathews was a pianist and her project, similar to John Gordon's, was basically a musical salvage operation (for more details of Mathews' musical career see Mathews 1987). There are three songs recorded by Mathews in the sample (S219-221). In 1964 and 1965 she recorded Two-Up a Bundjalung song, on the south coast of NSW performed by Jimmy Little, a non-Bundjalung Aboriginal, and in 1975, she recorded one Bundjalung song which was sung by Leonie Binge, a Bundjalung singer who had moved from Lismore to Moree in north-western NSW. All of the recordings by Mathews were recorded outside of the Bundjalung area.

In 1977 the linguist, Margaret Sharpe, recorded one Bundjalung song while working on language material at Cabbage Tree Island (S222). Sharpe is an authority on the Bundjalung language and since 1985 I have collaborated with her in transcribing song texts. Other recordings made in 1977 are by Andrew Willoughby at Woodenbong and include detailed descriptions of the context of the songs (S223-276). Willoughby has recorded 54 songs in the sample, including multiple performances of the same song and fragments of songs. These recordings are exceptional as the singer, Dick Donnelly (see Plate I), often stopped singing to explain the text and then repeated phrases. He also taught Willoughby and Oakes one song, Mundala, and went to great lengths to
explain its context and meaning (3257-275). This teaching session is the only one included in the sample and will be discussed in Chapter 4, Musical Analysis.

Howard Creamer's recordings were made during the 1970s and 1980s at Old Koreelah Station, Currumbin, Woodenbong, Tooloom Falls and Texas, and were made in relation to documenting land sites with the NPWS. They include detailed descriptions of sites and ceremonial grounds as well as songs and descriptions of performances in the old days (3277-293). In 1977 Stephen Wild recorded one song


a place that was much more private and suitable for them to remember details from the past.

There are several important points that can be made about the singers and the composers they often speak about; none of the songs in the sample are performed by their original composer. By the time tape recording technology was being used in the area, performances were occurring less frequently and new songs were rarely composed. In 1988 Charlotte Page (see Plate 2), a Gidabal person from Woodentong whom I recorded talking about songs rather than singing them, described Jack Barron, a famous composer of songs, in the following terms:
explain its context and meaning (S257-276). This teaching session is the only one included in the sample and will be discussed in Chapter 4, Musical Analysis.

Howard Creamer's recordings were made during the 1970s and 1980s at Old Koreelah Station, Cawongla, Woodenbong, Tooloom Falls and Texas, and were made in relation to documenting land sites with the NPWS. They include detailed descriptions of sites and ceremonial grounds as well as songs and descriptions of performances in the old days (S277-293). In 1977 Stephen Wild recorded one song (S294). This is another recording of the Two-Up song. It was performed by Ted Thomas, a non-\textit{Bundjalung} Aboriginal and recorded at Mt Taylor, ACT.

My own recordings were made at Cabbage Tree Island, Evans Head, Tooloom Falls, Bonalbo and outside Lismore on the Casino Road during 1985 and 1986 (S295-352). A recording session commonly involved one singer who was usually the only person, or one of the very few people in the community who could still recover the old songs, dances and other details from their fading memories of the past. Hence, like the majority of other recordings in the sample, all of my recordings are by old people who in many cases had not performed for many years, their main reason for singing being for recording purposes. Three of the singers I recorded insisted that they would not sing in their community because the young people did not respect the songs and there were too many interruptions. Singing was very personal for them; they wanted to be at a place that was much more private and suitable for them to remember details from the past.

There are several important points that can be made about the singers and songs. First, the most knowledgeable singers are at least one generation younger than the composers they often speak about; none of the songs in the sample are performed by their original composer. By the time tape recording technology was being used in the area, performances were occurring less frequently and new songs were rarely composed. In 1988 Charlotte Page (see Plate 2), a \textit{Gidabal} person from Woodenbong whom I recorded talking about songs rather than singing them, described Jack Barron, a famous composer of songs, in the following terms:
They were good singers in those days. That's why I say I wish there were tape recorders in them days. Good to have in them, you know... And that old fellow Hron, Grandfather Hron, he could sing. He had the voice. He was a happy-go-lucky man (Gummow Woonembong 1988: FT8/63).

Secondly, as stated earlier, the majority of songs are solo performances by old people who had often not performed for many years, their main reason for singing being for recording purposes. When we record this we must ask the question: was solo or group performance the usual practice in the past? Apart from the teaching session by Doreen mentioned earlier, in the sample there are only four songs performed by more than one person. Further discussion of this issue will be considered over the course of the research.

Thirdly, as far as I am aware, there are only five performances in the sample that were actually danced to while being recorded. They are all Shake-a-Leg songs. It is noticeable that the dances were not performed during the recording, so it is unknown if dance was a part of the recording process or if the dance was taken from another source. This information is no longer accessible from the sound recordings in isolation and is not mentioned in the surviving documents. The five songs known to have been accompanied by dance are:

Plate 2. Charlotte Page (left) and her sister Leena King in 1988. Photograph by M. Gummow.
They were good singers in those days... That's why I say I wish there were tape recorders in them days. Good to listen to them, you know... And that old fella Barron, Grandfather Barron, he could sing. He had the voice. He was a happy go lucky man (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

Secondly, as stated earlier, the majority of songs are solo performances by old people who had often not performed for many years, their main reason for singing being for recording purposes. When we realise this we must ask the question: was solo or group performance the usual practice in the past? Apart from the teaching session by Donnelly mentioned earlier, in the sample there are only four songs performed by more than one person:

1) *Barara Abanji* (S4) performed by Dick Donnelly and Tom Close (see Plate 3) and recorded by Calley in 1955 at Woodenbong;

2) *Drinking Wine* (S170) performed by Ethel Gordon and her son Ken Gordon recorded by Gordon in 1968 in Baryulgil;

3) *Mundala* (S190) performed by Donnelly and Sommerlad recorded by Sommerlad in 1970 at Tenterfield;

4) *Manager at Cherbourg* (S327) performed by Eric Walker and Una Walker recorded by Gummow in 1985 at Bonalbo.

Further discussion concerning the possibility that group performances occurred frequently in the past will be undertaken in Chapter 4.

Thirdly, as far as I am aware there are only five performances in the sample that were actually danced to while being recorded. They are all *Shake-a-Leg* songs. It is possible, however, that recordists failed to note that dancing was taking place. If so, this information is no longer accessible from the sound recordings in isolation and is not mentioned in the surviving documents. The five songs known to have been accompanied by dance are:

9 The names of song categories, as identified and discussed in Chapter 3, are capitalised and underlined throughout this thesis.
1) *Djanggawul* Shaking Leg (S124);  
2) *Djanggawul* Shaking Leg (S125);  
3) *Djanggawul* Shaking Leg (S126).

These three songs were recorded by Oaks in 1968 at Casino. They were sung by Cecil Taylor and danced by Tom Close and Dick Donnelly. The three men came from Woodenbong to Casino to learn for the Casino community and I have been able to obtain photographs of performers, by Eric Walker and Eric Walker, who is one of the performers. Walker has also written the historical society, and Charles, who is from Woodenbong, who is associated with the performers. Walker has also written the historical society, and Charles, who is from Woodenbong, who is associated with the performers.

4) Shake-a-leg by Errol Walker.  
5) Shake-a-leg by Errol Walker.

The quality of the photographs is limited to will be discussed in a future section. All the singers.

Plate 3. Tom Close (left) and Euston Williams. Photograph from the AIATSIS collection. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
1) *Djanggalbili* Shaking Leg (S124);
2) *Djanggalbili* Shaking Leg (S125);
3) *Djanggalbili* Shaking Leg (S126).

These three songs were recorded by Oakes in 1968 at Casino. They were sung by Cecil Taylor and danced by Tom Close and Dick Donnelly. The three men came from Woodenbong to Casino to perform for the Casino Historical Society and I have been able to obtain photographs of this performing group from the Casino Historical Society, and Charlotte Page of Woodenbong, who is the sister of one of the performers, Rory Close. (See Chapter 3 pp. 96 and 100 for these photographs).

4) *Shake-a-Leg* (S328) recorded by Gummow at Bonalbo in 1985 and sung by Eric Walker while his wife, Una, danced;
5) *Shake-a-Leg* (S331) recorded by Gummow at Bonalbo in 1986 and sung by Eric Walker while his wife and grandchild danced.

The question of whether more songs in the sample were previously danced to will be discussed further in Chapter 4, Musical Analysis.¹⁰

**Singers Represented in the Sample**

Table 1 shows the singers and recordists of the sample of songs. It can be seen that there are twenty-six separate singers or groups of singers listed alphabetically. All the singers, except for four, are Aboriginal. The non-Aboriginal singers are:

1) John Sommerlad, who recorded and performed *Mundala* (song 190) with Donnelly in 1970 at Tenterfield. Sommerlad learnt this song from Donnelly;

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¹⁰ I have been unable to locate any films of *Bundjalung* dance. In 1931 a newsreel was produced. According to the AIATSIS Film Archivist, however, it was destroyed in a fire in the 1950s. It was entitled: *Queensland Abos Put On Their War Paint*, Sydney: Fox-Movietone Productions, 1931. Summary: Members of the Woodenbong Tribe of the north Queensland dance, in this Movietone newsreel item. This film was released on 28/7/1934.

It is also possible that dance has been filmed by Lorraine Mafi-Williams, a *Gidabal* person, in relation to the film *Eteemarni*, the story of Leo, a *Gidabal* warrior and ancestral being. This film features the *Gidabal* elder Millie Boyd. Although there is no dance in the film it is possible that dance was filmed and is on unedited rolls of film shot during the production of the film in 1988. I have not yet located these rolls of film.
2) Andrew Willoughby and Marjorie Oakes who sang with Donnelly while he was teaching *Mundala* (songs 258-263, 269, 270, 272, and 274-276) in 1977 at Woodenbong;

3) W. Oakes sang an Aboriginal Language Song (song 134) in 1968 at Lismore. Oakes is of European descent and learnt this song from her grandfather, who was the son of an early settler on the Manning River. According to Oakes, her grandfather learnt this song from the Aboriginal people in that area. Although it is not certain that this is a *Bundjalung* song, I have included it in the sample as an example of how European people perceive Aboriginal songs. Three of the Aboriginal singers are not *Bundjalung*, but have been recorded singing Two-Up, a *Bundjalung* song. They are Harry Buchanan, who was from the Gumbainggir area near Kempsey, Jimmy Little from the south coast of NSW and Ted Thomas who is originally from the south coast of NSW but was recorded at Mt Taylor in the ACT.

There are only six female singers represented in the sample. They are Leonie Binge; Millie Boyd (see Plate 13 p. 59); Ethel Gordon; W. Oakes (non-Aboriginal singer); Charlotte Williams (see Plate 4 p. 19); and Mary Cowlan (see Plate 18 p. 127). Only 69 songs from the total of 352 are performed by women. The difficulties of recording women singers became apparent to me in 1987 when I attended a funeral of a senior male member of a community. At the funeral his sister, whom I had not previously met or heard of, told me that in 1985 she had seen me sitting under the trees playing recordings of old songs to her brother. Although she had wanted to come and listen to them as well, she had felt too shy. It was not until after her brother's death that I was able to work with her. Generally when people referred me to the senior male members of communities I was not told of any senior female members.

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11 Details concerning Oakes' full name are not available in the AIATSIS archival documentation.
Table 1. Singers and recordists of songs in the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singers</th>
<th>Recordists *</th>
<th>Date of Recordings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 MC</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Binge</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Boyd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Buchanan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Charles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Close</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Cook</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Cook</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Cowan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Donnelly</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donnelly &amp; Close</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donnelly &amp;/or Willoughby &amp;/or Oakes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Gordon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Gordon</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. &amp; K. Gordon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Little</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Morgan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Oakes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Rhodes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Roberts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Roberts</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Taylor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Thomas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Walker</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. &amp; U. Walker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Williams</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Recordists - Date of Recordings
1 = M. Calley 1955
2 = S. Wurm 1955
3 = B. Gibbons 1965-6
4 = B. & H. Geytenbeek 1964-6
5 = M. Oakes 1962-8
6 = J. Gordon 1968
7 = J. Sommerlad 1968-70
8 = J. Mathews 1964-75
9 = M. Sharpe 1977
10 = A. Willoughby 1977
11 = H. Creamer 1973-81
12 = S. Wild 1979
13 = M. Gummow 1985-86
From Table 1 it is obvious that the amount of material recorded from each singer varies. It can be seen that the largest number of songs has been sung by Dick Donnelly, who was a confident performer and during the 1960s went on lecture tours in the New England area and Sydney performing songs. Recordings of Donnelly span over a period of twenty-two years from 1955 to 1977. It must be noted that throughout his performances Donnelly took great pains to explain the texts and other aspects of the songs. During a performance it is not unusual for him to interrupt the song with comments explaining the text or other aspects of the song to the listeners. It must be noted, however, that these comments usually occur at the end of a musical phrase. He rarely interrupts a phrase, but speaks at the end of a phrase before beginning the next phrase.

In Table 1 other confident singers who could sing several songs and were recorded during the 1960s include: Kenneth Gordon from Baryulgil; Jim Morgan from Coraki; Frank Roberts from Lismore (see Plate 5 p. 20); Lyle Roberts from Lismore (see Plate 6 p. 39); Cecil Taylor from Woodenbong (see Plate 16 p. 100); and Charlotte Williams from Woodenbong (see Plate 4 p. 19). The other singers who recorded only a small number of songs, although not well practised, were able to remember a particular song or songs from the past. More recent recordings have been made during the 1970s and 1980s of Millie Boyd from Woodenbong, Herbert Charles from Woodenbong, Eric Walker from Bonalbo and Mary Cowlan from Coraki.

All of the singers I recorded apologised for not being able to remember more. One singer, Eric Walker, listened to many recordings in the hope that he would be able to remember more songs which he had not heard for many years. While he was trying to remember songs during a recording session he stated:

I lost all them - all them songs ... I can only go a certain way and then a blank. I sort of missed out that part. It's slipped my mind those words ... Might have to get them again, write them down and sing to myself. Not write them down, I can sing them from the tape. Sing it a few times with the tape (Gummow Bonalbo 1968 FT10B).

In other words, some of my recordings have been made by singers who, as a result of listening to previous recordings, have been able to recover their own memories of the
Plate 4. Charlotte Williams at Muli Muli, the Aboriginal community at Woodenbong 1954-5. Photograph by M. Calley. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
Plate 5. Pastor Frank Roberts Senior, singer (standing), and his son Pastor Frank Roberts Junior (sitting), Tabulam 1955. Photograph by M. Calley. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
past. I expect that this situation may apply to some Bundjalung recordings made in the future. It is also possible that singers may decide to learn more songs by listening to the existing recordings.

**Anthropological and Linguistic Literature**

Throughout the literature, Australian Aborigines have been conceptualised in different ways during various periods of Australian history. Cowlishaw states:

For many years the dominant images were of savages, noble or ignoble. Then later when anthropologists took over defining, the Aborigines became people with kinship and ceremonies or tribal remnants who had lost their culture. Recent political changes have meant that Aboriginal voices now challenge all such characterisations (1988: 87).

Although some images depicted in the literature often tell us more about the attitudes and assumptions of the writers than the subject being written about, they have all contributed in various ways to perceptions of Australia and Aboriginality.

In the Bundjalung area the earliest accounts of Aboriginal people are by explorers, early settlers and travellers. One of the earliest accounts by Bawden in 1886 and 1888 discusses the relations between the white settlers and the Aboriginal people (Bawden 1979). Anthropological studies of the area were done by A.W. Howitt, who in 1904 discussed Aboriginal groups on the north coast of NSW (Howitt 1904), and R.H. Mathews, a surveyor who in 1897 documented the Wandarrai, an initiation ceremony of the area (Mathews 1897). This is the most detailed account available of an initiation ceremony in this area.\(^{12}\) During the late 1890s and 1900s there were also many descriptions written by travellers and interested amateurs published in the journal *Science of Man*. Details in these articles which are discussed in Chapter 3 are often the only descriptions available concerning particular ceremonial rites and performance practices. Other accounts of Aboriginal performances can be found in the local

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\(^{12}\) R.H. Mathews (1841-1918) made extensive contributions to Aboriginal ethnography throughout south-eastern Australia. For details of his work see Elkin, 1975 "R.H. Mathews: His Contribution to Aboriginal Studies", *Oceania* XLVI(2): 126-52.
newspapers *Northern Star* of Lismore (*Northern Star* 1910a, 1910b and 1962) and *Kyogle Examiner* of Kyogle (Dawson 1931).

Subsequent anthropological works include Radcliffe-Brown (1929) who spent three weeks in Woodenbong during the 1920s (Radcliffe-Brown 1929), and Calley who in 1955 completed an M.A. thesis entitled *Aboriginal Pentecostalism: a study of changes in religion, North Coast, NSW* at the University of Sydney, and in 1959 completed a Ph.D. thesis in the same department entitled *Bandjalang Social Organisation*. Calley spent a large amount of time in the *Bundjalung* area and has published several articles (Calley 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1958 and 1964) and produced an impressive collection of photographs of the people he worked with, several of which are included in this thesis. In 1960 Hausfeld, a manager at Woodenbong station, completed an M.A. thesis in the Anthropology Department at the University of Sydney entitled *Aspects of Aboriginal Station Management, Woodenbong* which discusses various aspects of traditional culture (Hausfeld 1960).

During the 1950s and 1960s the journal *Dawn* (later known as *New Dawn* in the 1970s) was distributed throughout Aboriginal communities in NSW. As well as providing information concerning health, housing and financial issues for Aboriginal people, many Aboriginal people contributed information concerning local mythology and sites. Also, since the 1950s there has been an increased interest from local historical societies, and during the 1970s and 1980s one local historian, Marjorie Oakes, published several articles concerning *Bundjalung* culture (Oakes 1972, 1979 and 1981).

During the 1980s a large amount of information has been made available through the National Parks and Wildlife Service. In 1984 Creamer wrote a report to the NPWS entitled *A Gift and a Dreaming-The New South Wales Survey of Aboriginal Sacred and Significant Sites 1973-1983*. Although this report was made specifically in relation to documenting sites throughout NSW, a large amount of material concerns the *Bundjalung* area and includes many aspects of traditional culture such as descriptions of particular rites that were carried out at sites. A large amount of information for this
report was from Aboriginal people who were concerned that their traditional sites should be documented as the traditional culture was not being passed on to younger Aboriginal people and the non-Aboriginal population should also be aware of these traditions.

There are also many linguistic studies and dictionaries of particular dialects of Bundjalung which have been instrumental in making transcriptions and translations of song texts possible. These include: M. Cunningham (Sharpe) A Description of the Yugumbir Dialect of Bandjalang (1969); N. Holmer Notes on the Bandjalang Dialect Spoken at Coraki and Bungawalbin Creek, NSW (1971); B. and H. Geytenbeek Gidabal Grammar and Dictionary (1971); Crowley The middle Clarence dialects of Bandjalang (1978); W.E. Smythe Bandjalang Grammar (first researched in the 1940s but not published until 1978); and M Sharpe and others An Introduction to the Bundjalung Language and its Dialects (1985).

Previous Musicological Research

The early literature on Aboriginal people of south-eastern Australia contains several notations of songs: the Rev Dr Torrance notated three songs from the Melbourne area in Victoria, sung by the singer Berak (Howitt 1904: 419-421); R.H. Mathew in 1907 published notations of six songs associated with the Bunan initiation ceremony on the south coast of NSW (Mathews 1907: 33-35). It must be noted that these notations were made before the invention of recording equipment and hence were made while listening to a singer perform a song. This situation would have made a detailed musical study extremely difficult.

The earliest research after the invention of recording equipment which makes reference to NSW music was by the musicologist Trevor Jones in 1965. His article "Australian Aboriginal Music: The Elkin Collection's Contribution Toward an Overall Picture" (Jones 1965) surveyed the Elkin collection and other gramophone discs at the University of Sydney including the recordings mentioned earlier by Calley in 1955.
Jones included Woodenbong as one area of the study and transcribed and analysed several songs recorded by Calley in 1955 (Jones 1965: 344-351).\textsuperscript{13}

The next project making reference to NSW music was done by the social anthropologist, Jeremy Beckett, who recorded musical and anthropological material in western NSW during the 1950s and 1960s. He has written extensively on western NSW Aboriginal culture (Beckett 1958a, 1965a, 1967 and 1978), and two of his articles "Aborigines Make Music" (1958b) and "The Land Where the Crow Flies Backward" (1965b) are among the earliest detailed writings on Aboriginal music of NSW. They include material concerning both modern and traditional music, but do not include musical transcriptions.

As mentioned above (see p. 8), in 1968 John Gordon undertook a recording project with the aim of establishing the state of the musical tradition in NSW. Gordon recorded extensively throughout NSW and also musically transcribed and analysed approximately thirty different musical items from his recordings (Gordon 1968a: MS 548). Until recently this was the most substantial collection of musical transcriptions available of NSW music. Three of Gordon's transcriptions are of his Bundjalung recordings of Cecil Taylor singing: Square Dance Song (S152); Raymond Duncan (S153); and Two-Headed Threepence (S154). Another project was by the linguist Luise Hercus, who during the early 60s did extensive work surveying the languages and songs of Victoria and in 1969 published The Languages of Victoria: A Late Survey.

The linguist Tamsin Donaldson's detailed research on song texts from western NSW, particularly the Nguyampaa and Wangaaypuwan language area, has been of great importance for my own work. In 1979 Donaldson discussed the problems of translating oral literature, specifically when dealing with song texts (Donaldson 1979). Then in 1984, in a paper entitled "Kids That Got Lost: Variation In The Words Of Nguyampaa Songs" she examined multiple texts of one song and discussed the various

\textsuperscript{13} Copies of the transcriptions and details of the analysis are not included here as they were located late in the final stages of the compilation of this thesis.
types of problems that occur with song texts when their singers are not performing regularly. In 1987, in another paper entitled "Making a song (and dance) in South-Eastern Australia", she gave an introduction to the state of the performing arts in NSW and demonstrated, again through variant analysis of several performances of one song, that the song had a very flexible structure which involved textual and musical cueing. Unfortunately, Donaldson's work does not include musical transcriptions, but it is from her work that my musical analysis takes its starting point. The principles discovered by her in western NSW are evident in several songs from the Bundjalung area and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The primary focus of my honours project (Aboriginal Music of New South Wales: An Exploratory Study, UNE 1983), was on NSW songs in the AIATSIS archive for which textual transcriptions had already been made. My aim was to transcribe the music in an attempt to discover: if there were characteristic musical features in specific areas of NSW; if there were common musical features throughout NSW; and how these related to the rest of Aboriginal Australia. Since I was at this stage unfamiliar with Aboriginal linguistics, the analysis in my honours project (which comprised a sample of only 54 of the approximately 1,000 songs in the AIATSIS sound archive) relied entirely on previous field work and consisted of a synthesis of material from several different collectors. Although the conclusions I was able to make concerning NSW Aboriginal music seemed to fit in with the research that had already been done in other areas of NSW and Australia, my honours project was extremely limited due to the nature of such a survey.

Synopsis of Chapters

Chapter 1 has given an historical survey of the Bundjalung recordings, recordists and singers. The sample of 352 songs is listed in Appendix 1. The Bundjalung literature has also been surveyed. This is not intended to be comprehensive, however, and only the most relevant works have been mentioned.
Also, an introduction to previous musicological research in NSW has been given with the aim of placing this project into its research context.

Chapter 2, "The Bundjalung (including Gidabal) Area", includes a brief ethnography of the Bundjalung people to place them into a geographic, linguistic and historical context. The main part of Chapter 2 discusses various issues and problems I came across while I was in the Bundjalung area: problems associated with asking people to sing; problems associated with listening to recordings from the AIATSIS of old Bundjalung songs; problems associated with translating or explaining the meaning of song texts; attitudes concerning the teaching of songs, dances, language and other aspects of the traditional past. This chapter is intended to bring to light the state of the tradition today and to contextualise the recorded sample.

Chapter 3 is entitled "Performance Ethnography of the Bundjalung (including Gidabal)". In 1987 Clunies Ross stated that "as yet there is no general historically-based survey of Aboriginal song and the related performance arts of dance and visual displays" (Clunies Ross 1987:3). Chapter 3 is a response to this statement for the Bundjalung area and comprises 7 main parts. Parts 1, 2 and 3 concern Song Categories; Part 4, Material Culture; Part 5, Musical Instruments; Part 6, Song Creation; and Part 7, Group Organisation in Performance. In order to give as many details as possible this chapter draws on several types of information: recordings of Bundjalung singers explaining their songs; more recent explanations by other Bundjalung people who are able to recover memories of performances of the past; and the literature which includes written documents and photographs.

Chapter 4, "Musical Analysis", begins with a detailed account of research by Donaldson of Ngiyampaa songs in western NSW. Donaldson's research is the first in NSW to examine multiple performances of one song in order to demonstrate that the song has a flexible structure. It is from her work that my analysis takes its starting point. The musical analysis focuses on two song categories: Yawahr and Sing-You-Down. Generalisations are made concerning the musical structure of these two song categories. These generalisations are then related to the rest of the sample of songs.
In Chapter 5, general conclusions to the thesis are made. The bibliography comprises all references cited in the thesis as well as a large amount of material relating specifically to the historical situation in NSW and ethnomusicological and anthropological methodological material.

In Volume Two there are five appendices. Appendix 1, as stated above, is a list of the sample of songs in the thesis. The songs are listed according to recordists, and then ordered by the date of earliest recording. I have aimed for the sample to be as comprehensive as possible and any omissions from the AIATSIS collection are listed in Appendix 2.

Appendices 3 and 4 are intended as resource files. During the early stages of this project a large amount of time was spent locating material and working on texts which were not easily accessible. Rather than discard this material it was decided to include it in appendices, thus making the resources easily accessible for future research. Therefore appendices 3 and 4 comprise large amounts of data, only a fraction of which is discussed in detail in the body of the thesis.

Appendix 3, comprises song texts and contextual information. When I began this project less than 10% of the sample had texts transcribed. Since 1985 I have collaborated with Sharpe in transcribing song texts. Due to the size of the sample, however, I have not been able to work on every text in detail. Appendix 3 nevertheless includes texts which I have worked on in conjunction with Sharpe as well as first drafts of texts from manuscripts by Sharpe. Any other references relating to texts or contextual information have also been listed. For each of the 93 texts in Appendix 3 there are the following five headings: Appearances in Sample; Text Transcription; Notes; Contextual Information; and Sources. The amount of information given for each text may vary considerably depending on the information available from the performer and the amount of time I have spent compiling information. This appendix is not designed to be complete. Its compilation was necessary, however, firstly in order to organise and become familiar with information relating to the sample and secondly to decide how to proceed with discussing the material in Chapters 3 and 4.
Appendix 4 comprises 43 musical transcriptions: 35 by me and 8 by other people. Of the 43 transcriptions only 20 are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Appendix 5 comprises a list of the songs on the cassette tape bound in the back of Volume Two.
CHAPTER 2
THE BUNDJALUNG (INCLUDING GIDABAL) AREA

Introduction
In this chapter I want to explain some of the circumstances concerning songs and singers I came across from 1985 until 1989 in the Bundjalung area. From 1985 to 1989 I visited Bundjalung people almost every year. In 1988 and 1989, I was also involved with several Aboriginal groups in the Sydney area and began teaching Aboriginal music and Aboriginal Studies to Aboriginal students in three TAFE colleges and at the University of Sydney. Hence, I became aware of various issues facing Aboriginal people throughout NSW. The situations and issues I came across are, like culture and society, not static but in a permanent state of flux. This is an account of how I perceived various situations at specific points in time; it is not an account of the "whole" story, or even a selection from the "whole" story. Clifford has stated in relation to this:

Cultures are not scientific "objects" (assuming such things exist, even in the natural sciences). Culture and our views of "it," are produced historically, and are actively contested. There is no whole picture that can be "filled in," since the perception and filling of a gap lead to the awareness of other gaps (Clifford 1986a: 18).

The following section of this chapter is an introduction to the ethnography of the Bundjalung people and language. This is necessary in order to place the area into a geographic, linguistic and historical context. Then all following sections discuss my experiences in the Bundjalung area from 1985 until 1989.

Ethnography of the Bundjalung (including Gidabal) People

Before contact with Europeans, the eastern coast of Australia was densely populated with Aboriginal tribal groups. This area had a fertile soil, a heavy annual
rainfall and an abundance of species which provided food. The following is an account by Alex Vesper from Woodenbong of the origin of the Bundjalung people and the settlement of Australia:

This story has been handed down by the aborigines [sic] through their generations. This story cannot be altered.

I am sixty-seven years of age. I heard this story from my grandfather who was a full-blood of the Ngarartbul [Ngarahgwal] tribe near Murwillumbah. On my grandmother's side the tribe was Gullibul [Galibal], from Casino and Woodenbong. I heard this story also from many old aborigines who came from other tribes.

The first finding of this unknown land, Australia, was made by three brothers who came from the central part of the world. The names of these three brothers were Mamoon, Yar Birrain and Birrung. They were compelled to explore for land on the southerly part of the world. They were forced out of the centre of the world by revolutions and warfare of those nations of the central part.

They came in a sailing ship. As they made direct for south, coming across and seeing different islands and seeing the people in these islands, they kept in the sea all the time until they came to Australia, to the eastern part of this continent.

Their first coming into the land was at Yamba Head, Clarence River. They anchored just on the mouth of the Clarence. This was the first landing of men in this empty continent. They camped, taking out of their empty ship all their camping belongings, such as a steel axe and many other things of the civilized race in the central part of the world.

After they had rested from the voyage, through the night a storm started to rise from the west. The force of wind broke the anchor and deprived them of the ship, which was driven out to sea and never seen again.

These three brothers had each a family of his own and they had their mother. Their three wives were with them. When they knew that the ship was gone, they reasoned among themselves and said, "The only possible chance is to make a canoe and return from here from island to island."

So they went up the Clarence River and they came across a black-butt tree. They stripped the bark off it, made a big fire, a long fire, and heated the bark until it was flexible, until you could bend it about as you pleased. Out of this fifteen to twenty feet long sheet of bark, they made a canoe. Three of these canoes were made.

They went back to their families and told them to get everything packed up as they were about to leave. Their families said, "Yes, we'll pack up, but mother has gone out for some yams. She was looking for something to eat." So they sang out. They searched along the beach, among the honey-suckle and the tea-tree along the coast, trying to find the old woman. But she had wandered too far out of the reach of their search. She thought within herself that her sons would not be able to make the canoes so quickly.

The three brothers said, "Well, she might have died. We'll have to take back into the sea." So they packed up. So they took to the ocean in the three canoes with the intention of returning where they came from.
After they got a distance out from Yamba Head, the old woman arrived back at the camp they had left. So she went up to the top of the hill and started singing out for them. And she saw them two or three miles out on the ocean.

She was trying to wave them back, but it seemed to be impossible for her to draw their attention. So she was angry with them. She cursed them and spoke to the ocean to be rough. As she cursed them and spoke to the ocean to be rough, the ocean started to get fierce. As they attempted to continue on against the tempest they were driven back to the northern shore beyond Yamba. They were compelled to come in to land at the place which is now known as Evans Head.

They made the first settling place in Australia at Evans Head. One of the sons returned to Yamba when the ocean was calm and found the mother still alive. She had lived on yams. That is how Yamba got its name. Well, that word "yam," it comes from a civilized word. It means "sweet spud." So that word alone will give you a clue as to where those first people came from.

So, one brother went back to Yamba and brought the mother to Evans Head. When they settled there, in the process of time, they increased their families. One family race generated northwards on the Australian coast, one to the west and one to the south. As they were generating, they were keeping on extending, and they kept in touch with each other all the time.

As they went on in that manner they became tribal races, and the first language of their origin we call Jabilum, that means, "The Originals." Tabulum [sic] is the word the white man made out of this word. And the first language of these Jabilum was the Birrein tongue. And the second was Gumbangirr, [Gumbainggir] of the Grafton tribe. Weervul [Wiyabal] is the Ballina lot. And Gullibul [Galibal], that is between the two. Gullibul sprang out of the centre from Tweed Heads (Robinson 1965: 40-43).

Another more recent account by Ted McBryde incorporates scientific knowledge and Aboriginal mythology:

Way back in the Dreamtime, there was a family came, originated I suppose from Africa, and they came across country and in those days we believe that Java and New Guinea were all joined to Australia, and they eventually ended up here. They came by canoe and landed at Yamba ... The three brothers, the eldest one was Bundjalung, the second eldest was Gullybal [Galibal] and the third, the younger fellow was Gidabal. Bundjalung the eldest boy, he took up the Lismore to Byron Bay area to just below Kyogle. And then the next son, Gullybal [Galibal], he took in his area here and the youngest man, he went on to the Woodenbong area. So that's where we originated from, as far as I know (Creamer 1984: 1.7).

The traditional territory of the Bundjalung was between the Logan River in Queensland and the Clarence River in NSW. The territory extended inland as far as the Great Dividing Range to Tenterfield, Warwick, Ipswich and Toowoomba (see Map 1. p. xvi). According to Crowley, before European contact there were probably about twenty closely related dialects spoken in the Bundjalung area. Most dialects originally
had a name which described a particular feature of that dialect; for example, Gidabal, those who say "gida" for "that's right", and Yugambeh, those who say "yugambeh" for "no". Map 6 shows the estimated original dialect boundaries in the Bundjalung area. The name Bundjalung referred to the dialect that was originally spoken at Bungawalbin Creek, the south arm of the Richmond River. As European contact caused some groups to amalgamate, a sense of solidarity developed among the language groups and the term Bundjalung began to replace most local dialect names. Today, members of the Gidabal group of Woodenbong maintain their own dialect name in opposition to all other Bundjalung dialects. According to Sharpe, although all Bundjalung people (except Gidabal) have adopted the name Bundjalung, this is a recent development. Throughout the last fifty years many of them would have used their own local dialect name (Sharpe 1985: 101).

According to Crowley (1978: 144), Bundjalung is an example of a dialect chain in which adjacent dialects are very similar but as distance between dialects increases, similarity decreases. This dialect chain can be seen in Map 7. In relation to differences between dialects Sharpe has stated:

Evidence from all sources, including my own contacts indicate that some differences Bundjalung people point out as marking distinct dialects were really quite small, and in many cases minor enough that the second language learner of Bundjalung would barely notice them. The problem for Bundjalung and Gidabal people with these differences, as they explain it, is that sometimes an acceptable word in one dialect has a 'rude' meaning in another. Embarrassment or the fear of offending another about such items looms large for many of them (Sharpe 1985: 112).

The slight differences between dialects was also commented on by the singer Donnelly in relation to learning songs from different dialects within the Bundjalung area:

DD: I come up this way [to Woodenbong], old Jack Barron, see. This Jack Barron was a great old corroboree man. This old Jack. Well, wherever there's front and back verandah on these houses before ever these new houses built. And every time old Jack he used to be in one of them house - he'd always be singing a song at the back or in front, see. Well I used to always go up to Jack and I said to myself "Now, there's a good man." ... And I always used to listen to his songs. Well he'd sing there and that night he'd say, "What about a corroboree?"
Map 6. Estimated original dialect boundaries within the Bundjalung area (copied from Sharpe and others 1985: xviii).
Map 7. The Bundjalung dialect chain (copied from Crowley 1978: 143).
Well, I'd say, "I'll join yous too" because I'm a Bundjalung, see. He's a Gidabal and not much difference in the talk - in the Bundjalung and Gidabal, see... Anyhow, I said to him this afternoon, well, I'll go and listen to this man. I very like listenin' to other people singin' their songs because I like to catch it and sing it meself (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

According to Calley, the Bundjalung were the only tribe in this part of Australia who did not have section organisation and were most probably a remnant of an earlier population movement who originally inhabited a much larger area. Due to the pressure of later migrations, they were forced into the mountainous north coast area. Within this area people in the north did not know those of the south. Thus, all groups did not have contact with each other. Calley states that there were at least two major sub-divisions: the Clarence River groups and the Richmond River groups. It is possible that there were other major groups along the Tweed River, Logan River and Brisbane River, but in 1959 there was no information available concerning these areas and local groups from the Logan River and Brisbane Rivers no longer existed (Calley 1959: 10).

Traditionally the Bundjalung had close contact with tribes to the north such as the Waki Waki and Kabi Kabi. The enemies of the Bundjalung were tribes to the south such as the Gumbainggir and the Dhangati. In 1964 Calley stated that many Bundjalung would not go south of the Clarence River (1964: 49). Creamer, in 1984 also reported that people in this area were concerned about going to a site belonging to another group due to the traditional sense of sites being the property of a local group and dangerous to strangers (Creamer 1984: 2.18). This sense of belonging to their own country was still obvious to me in 1985 when some singers insisted on being at particular sites to sing.

Contact with northern tribes was strong and the Bundjalung travelled north to the Blackbutt Ranges in Queensland every three years to feast on bunya nuts (see Map 3 p. xviii). According to Calley only coastal and Richmond River groups attended by travelling along the coast (1959: 11). Groups from the Clarence River did not attend. These gatherings usually lasted for three months in which a variety of different groups attended. Some cultural exchange presumably resulted from this interaction
(Oakes 1981: 2). As contact with the northern tribes was strong it seems likely that the Bundjalung could have amalgamated with them, but did not as a result of different policies regarding Aborigines in Queensland and NSW. In NSW, Aboriginal people were not always obliged to live on stations and reserves and many communities originated as unofficial camps. In Queensland the development of small settlements was not tolerated and Aborigines from diverse areas were gathered onto very large stations. According to Calley, NSW Aboriginal people were not willing to live under these conditions and seldom contacted relatives in Queensland Aboriginal communities (Calley 1959: 16).

The first contact with Europeans during the late 18th century was friendly, but soon relations degenerated. Initial contact was sporadic but quickened after Port Macquarie was established as a penal settlement. During the 1840s the main intrusion was from the cedar cutters after which the pastoralists moved into the region. By 1850 the Europeans had entered and taken control of the areas which are now known as Casino, Tunstall, Runnymede, Unumgah, Baryulgil and the Logan river. The Aborigines were largely dependent on the Europeans who paid them for their work with food such as flour and meat. Calley mentions one instance concerning the hostility of these early relations and quotes an instance where one Aborigine who was working as a station hand was paid in flour laced with arsenic as a result of which twenty-four people died (Calley 1959: 20-21). This period also saw the decline in the numbers of Aborigines due to inadequate diets and appalling living conditions (Oakes 1979: 204). The situation worsened in 1859 when gold was discovered at Drake and large numbers of Europeans and Chinese entered the area. This was followed with the Free Selection Act in 1861. Subsequently, the Aboriginal populations became displaced as the countryside became cleared and fenced. The Aborigines retreated and lived on the edge of the European settlements and worked as station hands or panned for gold. These Aborigines were the first fringe dwellers, but their social isolation was an advantage in maintaining their traditional culture, and as stated earlier, until around the 1930s the Bundjalung managed to retained their various dialects. They continued to
live in their own communities throughout the area. At Tabulam the Aboriginal settlement was approximately 2km away from the town until the late 1950s, but due to pressure from European property owners the settlement was shifted to a site about 4 km out of town on the other side of the river as the Aborigines were too close to the European community. Today the situation has hardly changed and many Bundjalung people in NSW live in Aboriginal fringe communities at Tabulam, Woodenbong, Cabbage Tree Island, Coraki, Baryulgil and Malabugilmah (near Baryulgil) (see Map 1 p. xvi).

Introduction to the Bundjalung Area

As stated in Chapter 1, before I visited the Bundjalung area I became familiar with the majority of the AIATSIS collection of songs and a large amount of the literature concerning Aboriginal performances in the area. Two main questions arose in relation to this body of documents: how can this material be made relevant to Bundjalung people today; and what is my role in making this material relevant? I realised that just by visiting Aboriginal people to ask them about the past, and by playing recordings from the past, I was changing their perceptions of their history. For example, people did not previously know of the existence of these recordings; listening to them brought back many memories. This often resulted in people remembering and talking about songs, singers and performances from the old days. Some people even began to sing songs which they had not performed for many years. In this way, and other ways which will be discussed in this chapter, my own actions affected and will continue to have some affect on the performance practices of Bundjalung people.

My first contact with a Bundjalung person from northern NSW was in 1982 when I was in the final stages of my honours thesis at the University of New England, Armidale, NSW. I saw an article in the Lismore newspaper Northern Star entitled "Dying Art" which stated:
Mr. Lyle Roberts, the last elder of the Bundjalung tribe of the Northern Rivers, is concerned that knowledge of the corroboree is dying out. He is prepared to pass his knowledge on and is looking for recruits. He says he is willing to teach men and women. "There is no colour bar either," he said.

Mr Roberts lives at 86 McKenzie Street, Lismore.

Our picture of Mr Roberts under the Aboriginal flag, taken by Tom O'Connor, won this year's Prodi Award for photography [see Plate 6] (Northern Star 1982: 5).

I responded to this offer and in early 1983 received a letter from Roberts which stated that he was the oldest Bundjalung person in the Northern Rivers area and was prepared to teach me Aboriginal language and culture (Roberts pers. comm. 1983). In 1983, a second newspaper article in The Sun Herald entitled "Aboriginal Revival" stated:

Aboriginal corroborees may be about to make a comeback on the Far North Coast. An elder of the Bundjalung tribe, Mr Lyle Roberts of Lismore, is hoping sufficient young Aborigines will be interested in learning about the customs and rituals of their race. Mr Roberts said he would teach them to make spears and shields (Sun Herald 1983: 120).

My knowledge of the AIATSIS collection of Bundjalung recordings, these two newspaper articles and my letter from Roberts suggested that the Bundjalung area was the most appropriate area to begin fieldwork. Unfortunately, Roberts died in 1984.

The Bundjalung Tribal Council

I arrived in Lismore in January 1985 with copies of the majority of Bundjalung recordings from the AIATSIS sound archive. My initial intention was to visit as many Aboriginal communities as possible in order to let people know of the existence of them. I wanted to know if anyone would be interested in the recordings and hoped that I would find people who, after hearing the tapes, would agree to sing and be recorded. Before I arrived in Lismore I had contacted Frank Roberts, a nephew of Lyle Roberts, a member of the National Aboriginal Conference and founder of the Bundjalung Tribal Council. I arranged to meet him in order to explain my project and to ask for his support and advice.
I realized that Roberts was known throughout the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities as a political activist, and that politics for him involved not only dealing with many different types of European and non-Aboriginal people who were often in powerful positions, but also dealing with Aboriginal people who, in some cases, were more traditionally oriented than himself and less familiar with European political structures. I also knew that the people at the Tribal Council gave him a more explicable role, that is, they could possibly translate them. I also said that I intended to return recordings to individuals of the recordings and I hoped that I could leave a complete set of the recordings with an organization in Lismore in order for people to have access. I felt that this was important because I believed songs from this area should be returned to the communities and the people they belonged to. I also explained that I would like to record more songs and that I felt that this was important.

I realised that Roberts was known throughout the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities as a political activist, and that politics for him involved not only dealing with many different types of European and non-Aboriginal people who were often in powerful positions, but also dealing with Aboriginal people who, in some cases, were more traditionally oriented than himself and less familiar with European political systems. In an effort to bridge the gap between these two groups, that is the powerful non-Aboriginal people and the traditional Aboriginal people with little political power in the European sense, Roberts founded the Bundjalung Tribal Council comprising a number of senior male elders from various Aboriginal communities throughout the Northern Rivers region. In this way, the Bundjalung Tribal Council gave Aboriginal people throughout this region a vehicle through which they could express their views to the non-Aboriginal community as well as to other Aboriginal communities.

Roberts stated that when he had mentioned my project to the Bundjalung Tribal Council, several elders had asked him what advantages would accrue to Aboriginal people from my project. I explained that: I had old recordings of Bundjalung songs which were available at the AIATSIS, Canberra; I was unsure if many Aboriginal people in the Bundjalung area were aware that these recordings existed and would like to visit as many communities as possible in order to play them to anyone who was interested to hear them; some songs in the recordings had little or no explanations and I hoped that some people would be able to explain what the songs were about and possibly translate them. I also said that I intended to return recordings to individuals of their relatives and had made arrangements with the AIATSIS through ROMTAC (Return of Material to Aboriginal Communities) to do this; and that I would also like to leave a complete set of the recordings with an organisation in Lismore in order for people to have access. I said that I felt that this was important because I believed songs from this area should be returned to the communities and the people they belonged to. I also explained that I would like to record more songs and that I felt that this was
important since today many songs were being performed less often and consequently being forgotten.

Roberts emphasised in reply that even then, in 1985, some researchers came to Aboriginal communities and took material such as recordings and anthropological data from people but the Aboriginal people from these communities who had been instrumental in these projects never saw the results. Therefore, I should aim to leave the results of my research with the communities and people concerned. He agreed that my project may be of help in trying to revitalise some aspects of the culture and suggested that younger people in the communities that I visit might as a result become interested in their culture. He said that at this stage one of the major problems was alcohol and if this problem could be dealt with in conjunction with a cultural revival, it was possible that elements of the past could be revitalised. Roberts also suggested that I meet the Bundjalung Tribal Council for them to advise me of people who could help, and the best way to proceed with the project.

On 18th January, 1985 I met the elders of the Bundjalung Tribal Council, who comprised: Frank Roberts, his brother Fletcher Roberts who lived in south Lismore, Tim Rhodes from Cabbage Tree Island, Tim Torrens from the Aboriginal Health Centre at Casino and Eric Walker from Tabulam who, according to members of the council, was the senior member in the area of traditional culture, including songs and other related performing arts. They were very interested to hear the AIATSIS recordings so I began by playing a recording from 1966 of a radio interview with the late Jim Morgan from Coraki singing and telling stories from the past (Gordon Lismore 1966 LA 1177B). In 1966 at the time of this recording, Morgan was the most senior authority on music and culture and until his death in 1966 had been a member of the Bundjalung Tribal Council.

After listening to the recording, Walker stated that he remembered these songs and that there were people in Tabulam who would be interested to hear the tapes and know more about my project. He also stated that he remembered many songs and would be willing to speak to me about the possibility of being recorded. I also showed
the council a list of the names of the singers from the AIATSIS collection and the places where they were recorded (see Appendix 1 for these details). Members of the council told me that, unfortunately, most of these singers had died, the most recent death being Lyle Roberts (whom I had contacted in 1983).

The council agreed that my project was potentially one step towards revitalising the past and they offered to support me in any way possible. Roberts made arrangements for Torrens to hold a meeting at the Health Centre in Casino and to ask some people whom he thought might be interested to come and listen to the recordings and listen to my explanation of my project. Roberts also arranged for me to play the recording of Morgan on the Lismore FM Aboriginal Radio Programme the following week and to explain my project to the listeners. He also agreed to arrange a meeting in the Lismore City Hall before I left the Lismore area and to ask the elders to invite as many people as possible. According to Roberts, these meetings would let many people know about my project.

I was pleased that the Bundjalung Tribal Council had agreed to support my project, and from the arrangements Roberts made, it was clear that he was extremely supportive. Roberts also asked for two copies of all the recordings to be placed in spare rooms in the NAC building. The Bundjalung Tribal Council were considering starting a cultural centre and according to Roberts, it would be an appropriate place to house the recordings as the Tribal Council, which comprised members from communities throughout the area, was very closely connected with Aboriginal communities throughout the area.

The Institute of Aboriginal Community Education, NRCAE

In 1985 the administrator of the Institute of Aboriginal Community Education at the Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education was Vic Hunter; although he was from the Kimberley area of Western Australia he had many contacts in the Northern Rivers area. Similar to Roberts, he emphasised that I should leave the results of my project with the community. According to Hunter, many Aboriginal people wanted
their language and music documented, but also wanted the results of this work to be available to their community. Hunter also emphasised the importance of going to communities and seeing what people's reactions would be to these recordings. He took me to several communities and introduced me to people so that I could then make arrangements to go back and work with them. These communities included: the Box Ridge Aboriginal community at Coraki; Cabbage Tree Island; Muli Muli, the Aboriginal community at Woodenbong; Tabulam; Malabugilmah; and Baryulgil.

Hunter also advised me to visit the linguist, Margaret Sharpe, at the then Armidale College of Advanced Education, for information concerning song texts. He said that there were many dialects, and today many Bundjalung people were confused about their language as dialects were merging together in some areas while in other areas, due to conflict, they were growing further apart. This situation, namely the continual changing relationship between dialects, is paramount in all traditions, and particularly in an oral tradition. In addition, this was occurring at a time when many Aboriginal people in this area (and NSW generally) were speaking less of their own dialect and more Aboriginal English which meant that it was extremely difficult to obtain translations of song texts.

Various Perspectives of Traditional Culture

After consulting with Roberts and Hunter, I realised that there were many different ways that Aboriginal people were dealing with cultural issues. In some ways, Roberts' dealings with traditionally oriented Aboriginal people was from a non-traditional perspective. Indeed, it was clear that he was familiar with European political systems and often used European methods of negotiating when dealing with Aboriginal people who were in some ways more traditionally oriented than himself. This was apparent from the fact that he organised a Radio Programme and general meetings where anyone who was interested, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, could learn about my project. Hunter, on the other hand, who was not a Bundjalung but from a more traditional background in the Kimberley area of Western Australia, emphasised
the importance of visiting people in the communities rather than arranging general meetings. Both perspectives and approaches reflect people's different backgrounds, experiences and aims.

After consulting with several other people, it seemed that there was a multiplicity of perspectives among Aboriginal people. Every perspective reflected an individual's background and the ways in which she or he operated; and incorporated various amounts of knowledge concerning European political systems and Aboriginal political systems. Each perspective was relevant to an individual and therefore stood in its own right, but it was not necessarily meaningful to every individual. In other words, conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals, and groups of Aboriginal people, often developed because of their different perspectives.

I have emphasised the multiplicity of perspectives because it is important to bear in mind how difficult, even impossible, not to mention inappropriate, to make generalisations when referring to the attitudes held by any group of people. It must be understood that throughout NSW and south-eastern Australia generally, Aboriginal people have been unable to speak freely or openly express their views until very recently. Indeed, the treatment of Aboriginal people by the European invaders of Australia was incomprehensibly cruel. Concerning the early relations between Aboriginal and European people Rowley states:

An almost unique feature of the situation was the long established administrative habit of confining Aborigines in managed institutions, not for having committed offences or being mentally deficient, but because they belonged to a particular racial minority. To match such a tradition of management, one may look to institutions used to confine enemy aliens in wartime. The progress of the Aboriginal from tribesman to inmate has been a special feature of colonial administration and of white settlement in Australia. Some of the reasons have been humane, but institutions have also been a method of settling or deferring political and moral issues such as those related to rights arising from prior occupation of the land (Rowley 1970: 2).

Rowley goes on to describe how the relations between Aboriginals and Europeans developed:
To adjust, Aborigines would have needed long periods of more or less peaceful interaction and sufficient access to their own basic resources to be in the position to make new choices in ways of living. But they had neither the time nor the experience of impersonal government or large-scale organisation to save them. The power of the state was completely outside their experience. Their own 'men of high degree' used no institutionalised and impersonal authority of the kind which a European took for granted. From time to time the settler governments did attempt to identify and deal with such persons, but in their concepts of human organisation the two races were too far apart. The results were the 'King Billys', with their contemptuously-given neck and head ornaments. The white man's contempt has forced these Aboriginal actors to play the fool, as butts for European jests, for the relations between the most insignificant white man and 'King Billy' were jesting relationships in which the tensions could be discharged (Rowley 1970: 25).

This history provides the context in which I have received a variety of responses from Bundjalung people. One response from a man from Coraki, who in 1988 (the year of the Bicentennial Celebrations for the so-called "settlement" of Australia) was in his late 50s, discusses this history and how it has affected Bundjalung culture. He described how in 1950 he was arrested at Woodenbong reserve for trespassing. He had been visiting his aunt and had applied to stay for three days. After this time he had tried to stay longer and as a result was arrested. He stated:

The managers on these reserves or missions ran the place like prison farms ... The Bundjalung language didn't die out, it was strangled, murdered and now you're trying to dig it up again. What do you expect? In the 50s and 60s we were arrested for speaking our language in the street. If I said one word at school I was given six cuts. Now, all sorts of people are all of a sudden interested and they're trying to find out all sorts of things ... Today, children are too busy. Their minds are cluttered with TV and radio.

This is only one of many stories I have heard throughout northern NSW and Sydney, of the injustices done to Aboriginal people.

As apparent in the above story, early contact with Europeans has continued to affect Aboriginal people. Today many Aboriginal people have been influenced by European modes of education, language, religion and other aspects of European culture. In many cases these European influences were originally forced onto them. When referring to the establishment of Christian missionaries throughout Australia Reynolds states:
Aborigines found many advantages in the missionary presence, especially in those areas where they continued to have ready access to their own country and the food it provided. But conflict emerged in regard to the education of the children and the questions of marriage and burial where Christian and Aboriginal traditions met head-on....

... But the missionaries mounted an intellectual challenge to Aboriginal society and culture far more deliberate, and consistent, than any other group of Europeans in colonial Australia. It was most apparent in the separation of children and parents by the establishment of dormitories which became common on Australian missions established during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth (Reynolds 1982: 191).

In the Bundjalung area during the early twentieth century the United Aborigines' Mission was established (Calley 1955: Part 3.2). Then during the 1940s Pentecostalism began to replace the UAM. It's introduction had an enormous effect on the traditional culture, and the performance of songs and dances were prohibited. Calley states:

Conversion marks the commencement of certain prohibitions for the initiate. These involve all the things that are thought of as pleasures. An exhaustive list would include smoking, drinking, participation in sport, gambling (whether for money or not), dancing (including all forms of folk dancing), swearing, singing anything but hymns, and I assume, wife beating (Calley 1955: Part 3.21).

According to Calley, during the 1950s Pentecostalism was increasing throughout the area.

The Cubawee Reserve is the centre of religious activity among the North Coast Mixed-Bloods. They are at the same time the chief point of contact with the UAM and the centre of Pentecostal evangelism. ... The other Reserves possess smaller congregations and although until recently a UAM missionary was resident on Woodenbong, the Christian group without exception considers itself Pentecostal and is very much against the return of a White missionary to the station. At Tabulam, all the Christians are Pentecostal converts, their contact with the UAM having been sporadic and superficial. The same holds good for the tribally nondescript population of Cabbage Tree Island, where the first real rally was held in 1954. Baryulgil is still on the very periphery of Pentecostal influence and contains hardly any sufficient Christians to make up a congregation. Because of its isolation, visits by other congregations are very rare, only one taking place during my period in the field (Calley 1955: Part 3.46).

Calley goes on to describe how the status of singing and dancing changed due to the missionaries. In the following quote, he refers only to the dance forms such as ballroom dancing, square dancing and "folk" or Aboriginal forms of dance. As the performance of these dances were frowned upon, it can be assumed that any type of
dance involving Aboriginal ritual was regarded as being as undesirable and possibly even worse than the dance forms already mentioned.

This raises the question of the status of the embargo on dancing, one of the strongest of the Christian taboos. Obviously when first introduced by the UAM this was intended to reduce the opportunities for promiscuity, being in line with the views of a number of Church bodies in the White Community. With the Pentecostals, the object of this embargo is almost forgotten, and dancing is condemned as being an evil in itself, a form of "pleasure". Though originally I expect the taboo applied to only ballroom dancing, it has now been extended to all forms of folk dancing as well.

The weekly square dances run by the white school-master on the Tabulam Station have not escaped their share of aprobiun, and when it was suggested that they should be introduced into the school curriculum at Woodenbong, and that the young adults should be given an opportunity to learn also, the scheme was met with very active opposition from the Christians. As one man phrased it, "Tabulam is lost already, but we do not want our 'djajum' (children) dragged into the gutter too" (Calley 1955: Part 3. 55).

Plates 7 - 12 show children at Tabulam square dancing at one of the dances run by the school teacher.

This brings me to mention an attitude I frequently came across among non-Aboriginal people namely, that Aboriginal groups who have had little contact with European society are recognised as being close to the "true" or traditional society that existed before European contact. Hence, they are recognised and treated as members of a different culture. In contrast, however, is the attitude often held by the same people that Aboriginal people who have had a considerable amount of contact with Europeans, as is the case throughout NSW, are not only less worthy than the "true" Aboriginal society, but often are not even recognised as Australian Aboriginal people. In an article that discusses the image of Aboriginality in NSW, Creamer states:

From many accounts written in the mid-twentieth century, there emerges a picture of Aboriginal people without Aboriginality, of lost traditions with nothing to replace them. Thus begins the image of cultureless outcasts, in a kind of cultural vacuum, neither ready for, nor accepting, the assimilation offered by white society. This is the 'between two worlds' model of Aboriginal culture which contributes little to culture theory, because it says little about the actual cultural construct that has emerged; the ideas, beliefs and values of the Aboriginal people who remain; their rules for living; their symbols and their view of the world (Creamer 1988: 47).
Plate 8. The same children as in Plate 7. Photograph by M. Calley 1954-5. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
Plate 9. The same children as in Plate 8. Photograph by M. Calley 1954-5. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
Plate 11. The same children as above. Photograph by M. Calley 1954-5. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
Plate 12. The same children as above. Photograph by M. Calley 1954-5. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
This "between two worlds" model is apparent in the discourse of Aboriginal people.

The following incident was discussed in 1968 by the Bundjalung Pastor Frank Roberts (father of the Frank Roberts discussed earlier) while being recorded by Gordon.

FR: Now my son said, "Most of the outback white men do not know that we exist. They think that we [are] still in our tribal condition, black and naked and wild." and I remember some time ago, [at] Casino Show - three Englishmen came - real Englishmen. [They] came out here and said "We want to see Aborigines."
"I'm one"
"No you're not. No you're not"
I said "I've got Aboriginal blood!" and my uncle was there. He was pretty black and he said, "Well, I'm an Aboriginal. I'm a blackfella".
"Oh well that's all right. I want to see a blackfella" (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

Although this comment was made in 1968, I continue to find this attitude today.

It is this type of attitude that has engendered a struggle for identity among the Aboriginal people of NSW and south-eastern Australia generally. People are searching for ways of being recognised as members of a tradition which was once as rich and vital as other areas of traditional Aboriginal Australia. In their search many are looking to the past and are trying to find ways of making aspects of their traditions relevant in their lives. In 1986 at the AIATSIS biennial meetings a session concerned with this was entitled "Uses of the Past in the Construction of Aboriginal Identity". Nine papers presented at the meeting and two other papers written for other purposes were then included in a volume entitled Past and Present - The Construction of Aboriginality (Beckett 1988). The description published as an appeal for contributions stated:

There has been some tendency among anthropologists to regard Aboriginality as unproblematic. To do so is to ignore a process of cultural construction that is integral to the working out of relations between Aboriginal and European Australians.

In describing Aboriginality as a cultural construction we are not suggesting that it is inauthentic. It refers to the ways in which Aborigines select from their experience and their cultural heritage to communicate a sense of identity to their young people, to Aborigines of differing backgrounds, and to other Australians. European Australians are also engaged in the construction of Aboriginality as 'experts', advocates and critics. The media devote considerable space to Aboriginal affairs, constructing Aboriginality for the many European Australians who have no direct experience of Aborigines. Aborigines themselves are exposed to these influences and have come to terms with them in their dialogue with European Australia.
The principal currency in these exchanges is the Past. The memories of old people, anthropological writings, archaeological remains, documentary records, are all ransacked to give authenticity to competing constructions (Beckert 1988: 1).

From this it is apparent that Aboriginal identity is constantly changing and (as stated at the beginning of this section) each individual perspective reflects an individual's background and the ways in which she or he operates at an individual level and sometimes at a group level. The following sections of this chapter will discuss various perspectives that became obvious from different reactions and incidents that occurred when I asked Bundjalung people to: sing; listen to recordings from the AIATSIS of old Bundjalung songs; translate or explain the meaning of song texts; and discuss their attitudes concerning teaching songs, dances, language and other aspects of their traditional past today.

Remembering Songs and Singing

In this section I want to explore what is involved for a singer to remember and perform a song or songs. In some cases the singer must think about the old songs, or listen to recordings and then use these as triggers to remember songs. In other cases, singing involved much more than only remembering songs. All singers were drawing on memories of their childhood and youth. Some had not performed for many years. This seems to have been the case during the 1960s and 1970s when the majority of the recordings in the AIATSIS archive were made. For example, in 1977 Donnelly stated to Willoughby and Oakes that there were only a few people who could still sing the old songs and it was often hard for them to remember them:

AW: Do you remember any of the songs about before white man came down here - any of the tribal songs...
DD: About before white man came here? Wait on, I might know some of them. You see, I never been singing this song for a long time. I forget, you know. I'm gettin' old lose me memory...
MO: Are you the oldest guy around here in your tribe?
DD: Oh, down that way? No, there's some older than me down that way. But they can't tell you a story like I can, see. I don't know why. And a lot of these people can't sing the song that I can sing, you know (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong LA4744A 1977).
When Donnelly talked about his performances of songs and dances his descriptions were often nostalgic reminiscences about the old days:

DD: Well, I got amongst the tribes and started dancin' and singing... happy times that we had at that time, see. Wherever we camp - we just camp anywhere - white people came along and say "How you getting on"?
But today they want to know what you doin' in their property. They got us jammed up in each home. Up here, down Tabulam and somewhere else - you know them. You got to go to a home, an Aborigine home now. But at that time - it's free, you camp about anywhere (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

In 1985, when I began asking singers if they could perform any of these old songs some were eager to sing and describe what they could remember from earlier days. For example, in 1985 at Cabbage Tree Island, one man was happy to sing and describe what he could remember. As stated above, I soon realised, however, that singing songs often involved much more than only remembering songs. Some singers insisted on specific contexts before they could even consider performing. For example, two singers both stated that they would not sing in their community because young people did not respect the songs and there were too many interruptions. They both wanted to sing somewhere much more private. One singer from the Box Ridge community at Coraki agreed to sing in the Bundjalung Park at Evans Head as this was part of her father's traditional country and hence was an appropriate place to sing and talk about the old days.

All the singers I recorded were elderly people and some were not in good health. One singer from Cabbage Tree Island said that he would not sing for me because he did not always feel well enough, but when he did feel well he went into the bush on his own and recorded what he could remember of the language and songs. Rather than feeling pressured in a recording session, he made his own arrangements and recorded material in a way that was more convenient to him.

Singers were often not confident and felt overwhelmed by the amount they had either forgotten or never been taught. This was reflected in the number of comments by people stating that they were not good singers. This attitude, that is feeling uncertain of the memories of songs and dances that have not been part of everyday life for many
years, was common and became apparent in 1985 when I asked one man if he could remember or still sang any songs. He remembered one song and sang it, but stated that he would have to practise before he would be recorded. The next week when I tried to make arrangements to record him he stated that he could not agree to be recorded as he could not speak his dialect fluently. Instead, he referred me to the most knowledgeable person in the area who could speak this dialect.

It became apparent that there were many reasons why singers became overwhelmed by the amount of material that they were not familiar with. One singer performed many songs and I arranged to send him copies of recordings from the AIATSIS archives. When I returned the following year he stated that he had listened to the recordings and as a result, many of his memories had returned. After a recording session, I left more AIATSIS recordings with him and arranged to return the following week. When I returned his wife stated that he had listened to the tapes day and night. One of the tapes comprised a selection of recordings from the Bundjalung area, with a companion booklet that gave details of the singers, songs, and song texts (see Gumnow: 1984). This is a comprehensive selection of the recordings available in the AIATSIS archives. In a traditional context, one singer would not have learnt songs from all the areas covered by this tape and booklet. The singer stated that he had enjoyed the recordings and booklet and that he had also learnt a few things about the old songs and singers. He also commented that I must have listened to a lot of songs. Perhaps he felt I was more familiar with Bundjalung songs than he had realised. Throughout the recording session he wasn't comfortable and said to me several times "You don't mind if I make a mistake, do you?". Perhaps he was overwhelmed by the recordings he had listened to and had realised just how much he could not perform, through no fault of own. Also, the fact that I had left a written document which I had compiled concerning Bundjalung songs, perhaps contributed to his feeling uncomfortable; he was unsure just how much information I was familiar with. In order to understand my relationship with this singer, and all singers and Bundjalung people I came into contact with, one needs to consider questions relating to our relative power in
In 1985, while I was working with Millie Boyd (see Plate 13), it became obvious that today it is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to create the ideal context for performance. Boyd agreed to sing particular songs at their appropriate places. We went to Tooloom Falls, just outside of Woodenbong, and Boyd explained how they were created and sang a song concerning an ancestral warrior connected to the site (S319 and S320). The context for performing this song, that is, actually being present at this particular site in order to sing the song, was extremely important for her. Boyd also agreed to sing two songs concerning her father's country, Mt Warning at Murwillumbah. She could only sing these songs at the specific sites concerned, so we arranged to go to Murwillumbah. The whole day was centred around the fact that in the afternoon Boyd would be at a lookout, looking back onto Mt Warning and the sun would be shining on the mountain. At a specific time in the afternoon the sun would shine on an area of the mountain which was usually in shadow. At this time it would be possible to see a cave where a mythical being, Wollumbin the regent bower bird lived. Then she would sing the Mt Warning song.

In the afternoon we found the lookout. Since Boyd had last visited here the highway had been widened and as a result it was very noisy at the lookout. Boyd decided that it was too noisy and it would be better to find a quiet place where we could still see the mountain. Unfortunately, we could not find anywhere suitable. One place we saw was not appropriate because there were picnic facilities there and Boyd wanted somewhere much more private. Another place that Boyd suggested might be suitable required a short walk through the bush, but as she was in her mid 80s and not in the best of health we decided not to walk far from the car. After it became obvious that we
would not find a suitable place in time for Boyd to stop as planned, we decided that as Boyd had some business which she needed to attend to in Lismore we would drive to Lismore and after she had attended to her business we would find a quiet place where she could sing. She stated that if she could not have the mountain in view, she would like a wide open space so that she could imagine the mountain in front of us. Boyd finally sang these two songs at dusk, on the back road from Lismore to Casino, in a wide open space where she could imagine Mt. Warning (5321, 5322 and 5323).

The fact that Boyd had to imagine the mountain because the situation at Mt. Warning was not suitable is in some contrast to the fact that in southeastern Australia the family and workable occupations of many original peoples depended for everything listening to the songs. After this initial reaction, people were often surprised that these recordings had existed for so long without their knowing about them. One particularly interesting story was that of a family. One man, a senior member of Muli Muli, was listening to recordings of his parents. He was at home with several of his sons, their wives and younger members of the family. Although he was the only one there who could understand all the recordings, many of the younger people were very interested to hear the voices of their relatives. While they were listening to the recordings, one son rang relatives in Randera, Sydney and after he had told them about the recordings he asked me to hold

would not find a suitable place in time for Boyd to sing as planned, we decided that as Boyd had some business which she needed to attend to in Lismore we would drive to Lismore and after she had attended to her business we would find a quiet place where she could sing. She stated that if she could not have the mountain in view, she would like a wide open space so that she could imagine the mountain in front of us. Boyd finally sang these two songs at dusk, on the back road from Lismore to Casino in a wide open space where she could imagine Mt. Warning (S321, S322 and S323).

The fact that Boyd had to imagine the mountain because the situation at Mt Warning was not suitable for her to sing, brings to our attention the fact that in southeastern Australia the face of the landscape has changed due to the visible occupations of non-Aboriginal people. It seems that in this context there are few places for anything from the Aboriginal past, except in the minds of Aboriginal people themselves.

**Listening to Recordings from the AIATSIS**

There were several different reactions from people in response to listening to old songs sung by their relatives. One of the most common was at first, for people to be upset at hearing the voice or voices of relatives who had died. In 1985, for example, at *Muli Muli*, Charlotte Page and her sister Leena King became very upset when they first heard familiar voices, but after a while they calmed down and began listening to the songs. After this initial reaction, people were often astounded that these recordings had existed for so long without their knowing about them. One particularly memorable incident occurred at *Muli Muli* in 1985 when I was playing recordings to a family. One man, a senior member of *Muli Muli*, was listening to recordings of his parents. He was at home with several of his sons, their wives and younger members of the family. Although he was the only one there who could understand all the recordings, many of the younger people were very interested to hear the voices of their relatives. While they were listening to the recordings, one son rang relatives in Redfern, Sydney and after he had told them about the recordings he asked me to hold
the tape recorder up to the telephone receiver for his relatives in Redfern to listen to his grandmother singing. The relatives in Redfern listened to this for about ten minutes.

Listening to the recordings often brought back memories and sometimes people regretted that today the songs and dances were not being performed as in the past.

Charlotte Page of Woodenbong stated:

CP: Yeah - them older people all died, especially the singers, and when the singers went there was no more corroboree. It was sad, I'll tell you. I even feel sad about it now. We haven't got them singers now, they're all gone. Even if there's anybody who can sing them now - Well I don't think they can sing them - and that's it...I don't like singin' and I don't like thinkin' about it now, you know. Not that I'm a good singer, but um ... I just don't like singing them ... It sort of brings back the memories (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

After listening to the recordings many people would remember stories about particular songmakers, singers or performances they had participated in or watched when they were younger. Also, people would remember a particular song they had heard in the past, and asked if this song was in the AIATSIS recordings so that they could listen to it. For example, at Cabbage Tree Island, Douglas Cook mentioned a song composed by Raymond Duncan describing when blue denim jeans first became fashionable. Unfortunately, this song is not in the AIATSIS recordings. Charlotte Page and Leena King from Muli Muli, mentioned another Raymond Duncan song describing the cars' shiny lights as they drove along near Grafton at night (Text 22), and one woman from Coraki remembered another Raymond Duncan song concerning Amy Johnson, the first woman pilot (Text 52). These two songs are both in the AIATSIS collection and were recorded during the 1960s and 1970s. Although during the 1980s people told me about these two songs, I could not find anyone who could still sing them.

In some situations the recordings were used as a catalyst to help people remember songs, but this did not always result in people singing. At Muli Muli, two women said that they did not sing these songs today, but while they were listening to the recordings they would often sing along with the song, or sing parts of the song. Also at Baryulgil a woman listened to recordings of one of her relatives and then I
asked her whether she could remember any of these songs. She stated that she knew all the songs, but needed to hear them before she could remember them.

This was also apparent when I spoke to another senior male member of the community at Woodenbong. During the 1960s he had worked with the poet Roland Robinson who recorded many stories and songs. After he had listened to a recording I asked him if he remembered any songs and whether he would be prepared to sing them. Although he said he knew some of the songs he had heard, he explained that he would have great difficulty remembering everything correctly. He was concerned that any mistake I might make in the future would be a reflection of his teaching. He decided that rather than risk being misinterpreted, it was preferable to teach nothing.

Another reason why people were hesitant to sing in public was because today, many Aboriginal people are very protective and possessive of their culture and rarely perform songs on request. The songs and language that are still remembered are precious possessions from the past that their owners hang on to. As stated earlier, this is understandable when we consider the history of European contact. The following incident may reflect this. The only occasion when one singer sang the first time I met her occurred in 1985 at Coraki. After I had played recordings to a senior female member of the community, she said that she understood the songs and remembered a lot of old songs. Then she started singing. The next day when I returned prepared to record her, she stated that she could not remember any songs and it was a long time since she had sung. I suspect that when I first played recordings, she was so overwhelmed by them and also by my presence that she was caught off guard. It was not until my second field trip that she actually agreed to sing. Generally, this seemed to be the case with most singers. During my first field trip I recorded only two singers and a grand total of two songs.

I also met many people who wanted to know what was being sung or spoken in their old dialect. For example, in 1988 Charlotte Page of Muli Muli stated:
CP: I was sorry I never used to ask my dad. I'm forgetting about things [songs] like this now... I wish I knew more about it, especially the singing. I'd love to know all them songs (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

Another consequence of my activities was that younger members of communities began asking older people about the songs. For example, at Box Ridge, Coraki, I played the recording of Jim Morgan to his son Keith Morgan. Although he could remember his father singing some of the songs, he could not understand the songs and wanted to know more about them. He went to find the oldest member of the community to see if she could understand the songs and language. Thus, I wasn't the only one asking for their help. Older people were often being asked to remember the past by their own relatives in the community, rather than the request coming only from someone outside the community.

As mentioned above, I would often receive different reactions from people of different generations. In 1988 at Coraki I played a recording of one singer to his wife, daughter and a senior member of the community. The two older women had heard the recordings before, but his daughter had not heard recordings of her father and was trying to understand what he was saying. She began asking the older women what was being said. She stated:

"We were bought up with white education. We never learned our old ways".
The senior woman answered,
"You just don't try. That's what I say to young people. You just don't try".
The daughter answered
"How do you expect me to know this when I'm too busy learnin' white education".

Later, the daughter explained how western education had become very important for her and this meant that in the past she had had little time to learn traditional ways:

When I was a nurse you just learn so much because life's at stake and you have to know it. But this is just culture. Life is not at stake.

From the above statement it is obvious that the impact of western contact cannot be overestimated. The extent of western contact became apparent at Maclean in 1986. I played recordings to one senior woman of the community who was very pleased to hear them, but did not know songs. All this occurred while she was watching the
afternoon serials on TV and during the advertisements she tried to remember words from her own dialect. A similar incident also occurred in Tabulam when I went to visit two sisters. Unfortunately, I arrived in the afternoon and when I explained what I was doing I was told to come back after the TV serials had finished. The use of television throughout the area was also commented on by the singer, Dick Donnelly in 1977 while speaking to Marjorie Oakes and Andrew Willoughby:

MO: Your people up there, they get together and dancing and singing, or they just...
DD: No, they're watching television ... but
AW: There's no one interested at all?
DD: No (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

I also met people who would not sing and were not pleased about my project. For example, at Coraki, one woman said she knew a lot about traditional culture, would not speak to me about it and simply stated that what she did know she would keep to herself. She was not passing on any of her knowledge to me, or to any of her family as she believed it should be forgotten as it had caused so many problems for her people in the past.

I also received a similar type of reaction at Tabulam from two members of the Pentecostal Church who both strongly opposed land rights and any attempt to revitalise any part of the traditional Aboriginal culture. When they heard Dick Donnelly singing old songs in the Bundjalung dialect they stated that the songs in the old language were evil and represented the terrible existence that Aboriginal people had had before they became Christians. Although they had both agreed to listen to these recordings, and the songs were not of a restricted nature, soon after the tape began they became quite hostile and were convinced that evil forces were at play. Some of the songs were originally from Tabulam, but had been recorded in Woodenbong, after Donnelly had moved there. Both members of the Pentecostal Church stated that Donnelly should not have sung these songs and that traditionally, the songs which were from Tabulam should only have been sung to Tabulam people in the Tabulam area. According to them, if Donnelly had sung these songs in Woodenbong in the traditional times the elders would have killed him. Both members of the Pentecostal Church advised me to
stop all work dealing with the traditional culture and stated that they wanted nothing to do with the project.

All of the above events occurred while I was visiting various communities and particular people. While I was in communities, whenever I played a recording I always received some type of reaction from the person or people concerned. This was either positive, negative, or often a referral to someone else who may be able to help. The only time I did not receive any type of reaction, except for silence, was in a situation away from Aboriginal communities. This was at a meeting at the Casino Community Health Centre arranged by Frank Roberts and Tim Torrens. About fifteen people attended the meeting where I talked about the project and then played an AIATSIS recording. There was no feedback from the people. I am not sure if any of them were related to any of the singers, or where they were originally from. This occurred early during my first field trip and when I mentioned to Frank Roberts that I had expected more feedback he stated that people had come and listened intently showed that they were interested. According to Roberts, Aboriginal people will not immediately ask questions. They will think about the issues before they decide whether to support my project. Although I agree with Roberts that it takes a long time for Aboriginal people to decide whether they will support researchers and projects, I also believe that this particular meeting was in many ways an inappropriate way of trying to generate a discussion with members of the communities because they were placed in a context based on non-Aboriginal systems. This is a context where some people often feel powerless, and hence, in this particular meeting they may have felt that they could not express their views.

Translating and Explaining the Meaning of Songs

There are a number of reasons why it is difficult today for people to translate songs. In addition to the unhealthy state of the traditional language, there are also problems associated with the recordings themselves. The recording quality of some tapes is not ideal, and therefore difficult to hear for technical reasons. Another problem
concerns the speed of the songs. The most frequent remark I heard when people were trying to listen to songs was that it was so fast they could not catch it or understand what was being sung. Many songs have been recorded, without texts being elicited or explained and the sung text is sometimes quite fast. For example, after Charlotte Page and her sister Leena King (see Plate 2 p. 12) of Muli Muli listened to recordings of their father Tom Close, they explained that they could not catch the words. King stated:

These people should have spoken plainer. They would have known one day we would have tried to do this (King pers. comm. 1986).

This comment was made after they had listened for hours and already explained the meanings of several songs. They could not, however, understand their father’s songs, which to them were the most important of all.

Another problem concerned the nature of song texts. When people listened to recordings of songs made by the songmaker Raymond Duncan they would often say that it was a good song because Duncan had mixed up the language. That is, a song which incorporated into its text words from several different dialects was regarded as a good song. When these songs were made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a singer needed to be familiar with several dialects in order to understand them. As this was usually the case in a traditional context there was not a problem, in fact it was often the mixing of several dialects that made the song appealing and a challenge to understand and learn. This has become a major problem when attempting to translate them today.

Despite these problems, some singers could remember songs being performed many years ago, as they had been participants in them. They could explain texts and describe the context of the song and dance where appropriate. Even these singers apologised, however, for not knowing more, when in fact they were the most knowledgable members of their community.
Teaching Songs, Dances, Language and Culture

In this section I want to explain the difficulties throughout the Bundjalung area and NSW that Aboriginal people experience when trying to learn about their traditional past and finding ways of making this past relevant today. As already stated, in the Bundjalung area there are very few people who can still remember the old songs, and even fewer who are prepared to teach them to the younger generation. In 1970 Donnelly stated to John Sommerlad that Bundjalung people were not interested in songs and dances:

JS: Are you teaching your songs? To somebody else?
DD: Today?... No, they walk away when I sing.
JS: You'll be able to get a white man who's interested to learn.
DD: ...only you people are listening to me. My people won't listen to me. Yeah, they won't listen to me (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

In 1977, according to Donnelly it had been approximately forty years since songs and dances had been performed and taught regularly. He stated to Andrew Willoughby and Marjorie Oakes:

DD: I done a lot of corroboreeing in my time, you know. Dance with other people, see.
MO: You dance too with the song? ... or just lead the song?
DD: Oh yes, yes I used to do the dance - paint up and ... while my mother and father sing the song.
AW: How long ago was the last corroboree that you were in?
DD: Oh, about 40 odd years ago since they knocked off corroboreeing here. I went up here to this place [Woodenbong] where I'm living now, there was people there. Jack Barron and different other one, you see. There was all the leaders in these great dances that we had, see. But all our leaders dead now.
AW: And none of the young guys were interested?
DD: No, no. They had no practice, see. That's [the] way they'd do it - somebody showed 'em. They'll all got to be leaders see - in these dance ...

DD: See, you gotta sing these dances, eh? The same as in a hall when the MC sing out for a certain dance, well you have to play that certain tune, eh? Same that - different dance, different song. I know em all, see (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

There have been many projects initiated by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people throughout the Bundjalung area and south-eastern Australia generally in order to learn more about various aspects of Aboriginal culture such as language, songs, and dances. These efforts have included: setting up cultural centres and resource centres;
language courses; Aboriginal Studies courses and performing groups. During my work throughout northern NSW I came into contact with several cultural centres and language courses. Each particular centre or course had its own aims, approaches and problems. Due to lack of space I will not discuss these cultural centres and courses in depth, but will discuss the situation in one community. Although the issues I discuss below are specific to the situation I came across in one community from 1985 until the late 1980s, this situation is not uncommon throughout south-eastern Australia.

In 1985, I spoke to an Aboriginal Studies teacher at a Central School (that is, a school that covers years K-10). At the school there was a group of Aboriginal boys who performed songs and dances. According to the teacher, the group was started by a non-Aboriginal teacher at the school who organised and arranged for a senior Bundjalung man to teach the boys dances. The boys were taught dances by the elder who sang Bundjalung songs while the boys danced. When these classes began there were three main reactions from the Aboriginal community. First, members of the Pentecostal Church were outraged that any traditional culture was being taught. Parents came to the school and complained about these classes and refused to allow their children to participate. Secondly, some people believed that it was not appropriate for the traditional culture to be taught; and that it was best to forget the traditional knowledge and concentrate on European education. Thirdly, some were concerned about the new context for teaching and learning which differed so markedly from the traditional context. That is, while the boys were learning many dances, other aspects from the traditional culture were not being taught. Therefore, this group was faced with the problems of deciding which aspects from the past could be made relevant today; how these aspects could be made relevant; and accepting the fact that there were some aspects of traditional culture which were not possible to recreate.

From the above reactions it is obvious that teaching traditional dances generated a lot of conflict. The elder who taught dances was a member of the Uniting Church of Australia and strongly opposed the views held by members of the Pentecostal church. According to him the Uniting Church of Australia is the only church that supports
Aboriginal culture and land claims. He believed that his traditional culture was something to be proud of, and should be taught to children. As a result of the conflict between different groups of people, however, he ceased teaching. The performing group continued to be run by a non-Aboriginal person as well as other Aboriginal members of the community, but there was no one else in the community who could teach. As a result, the boys began to make up dances themselves and two members of the group learnt the didjeridu in order to perform dances to live music. When their former teacher learned of this he was not pleased. According to him, making up songs and dances is not part of the Aboriginal tradition and should not be done today. In 1985, he stated:

Both song and dance are from the Dreamtime, you can't separate them. Making up songs and dances doesn't agree with the spirit of Aboriginal people.

During 1985, due to these various opinions and organisational problems the group ceased operating.

In 1986 when I returned to the area, the elder's wife was teaching Aboriginal studies and language at a primary school. The elder refused to have anything to do with this as he felt that people were only interested because money was involved. According to the elder and his wife the Bundjalung language should be taught to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children as this could improve relations between the two groups, but when classes began some Aboriginal parents felt it was unfair for non-Aboriginal children to learn their language. In addition, some parents felt uncomfortable that their children could speak more of the language than they could.

As mentioned above, the elder refused to teach at the school for political reasons but at home he taught his family about the traditional culture. In 1986, he listened to recordings from the AIATSIS archive and used them to assist him to teach dances. He and his wife described to me how they had lined the children up and taught them to dance to the recording. In this way he taught them to dance to the Square Dance Song (Text 34). While the recording was playing he was able to demonstrate the dance to the
children and instruct them. Without the recording he could not have taught the dance because he did not feel well enough to sing and dance at the same time.

The impact of western technology, such as tape recorders and video cameras, cannot be overestimated, especially in an area that has been influenced by western culture for so long. At Tabulam, in 1986, I was shown a home-made video recording of a senior member of the community and his family. The recording was made several years ago and consisted of an interview in which traditional myths, language, songs and dances were explained and performed. In this way, some members of the community were able to teach their families aspects of the traditional culture in the privacy of their own home.

From the above account of the situations I came across from 1985 until 1989, it is obvious that there are many different opinions concerning teaching Aboriginal songs, dances, language and culture. One thing that is apparent today is that recordings from the AIATSIS archives which were made during the 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s have become relevant to some people. In this way, Aboriginal people are making decisions about making material from the past relevant. The recordists could not have expected that their recordings would be used by Aboriginal people in this context today. This is obvious by a statement made by Calley in 1955, concerning his research in the Bundjalung area:

It is taken for granted that the Anthropologist is in some way concerned with welfare, and it is impossible to correct this view. The most that can be done is to attempt dis-association from the Aborigines' Welfare Board and claim that the research will, in some vague way, be of benefit in the distant future (Calley 1955: Part 1.9).

It was impossible for Calley, and other recordists during the 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s to predict how their material would be used in the future. Similarly, it is impossible for me to know how material I record and write will be used by future generations. Although my own expectations of how the material could be used by Aboriginal people in the future will influence how I prepare and present material, it is impossible to predict if my expectations will be appropriate in the future.
CHAPTER 3
PERFORMANCE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE BUNDJALUNG
(INCLUDING GIDABAL)

Introduction
The following is an account of the performance ethnography of the Bundjalung
(including Gidabal) people. Information for this chapter has been drawn from three
major sources:
1) Recordings of Bundjalung singers explaining their performances. This source
includes all of the recordings in the sample and comprises specific information which
relates to specific songs.
2) Explanations and descriptions of performances by singers or others who were able
to recover memories of performances of the past, even though they were not able to
perform these songs. This type of information includes reminiscences of the past by
Bundjalung people, sometimes after they had listened to AIATSIS recordings. It is
often difficult to interpret this material as it may be unclear whether the details refer
specifically to particular songs, or whether they are very general statements. Another
obvious problem is the difficulty in trying to remember many details from the past.
3) Written documents. This includes written accounts of the Bundjalung area and also,
where relevant, other areas of NSW.

In this chapter I have aimed to give a performance ethnography of the
Bundjalung and not a general ethnography. Due to the large amount of literature
available I have not attempted to be exhaustive in my coverage, but have referred to
major anthropological works such as R.H. Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown. Where
possible, literature referring to other areas of NSW has been used in an attempt to place
Bundjalung performance practice into a broader context. The most salient quotes are
included here to cast light on song and dance. The chapter is divided into 7 parts: Parts 1, 2 and 3 concern song categories; Part 4 "Material Culture", which includes details concerning body painting and objects incorporated into performances; Part 5 "Musical Instruments"; Part 6 "Song Creation"; Part 7 "Group Organisation in Performance", which includes general details concerning song and dance.

Part 1 comprises categories that I have been able to identify from the sample of songs and Bundjalung people's explanations of these. Part 2 comprises song categories evident from the literature. This includes literature relating specifically to the Bundjalung, as well as literature from neighbouring areas where relevant. It is necessary to make the division between song categories established by Bundjalung singers and song categories established from the literature because information from performers is not always reflected in the literature and vice versa. Part 3 is a miscellaneous category comprising songs in the sample that have not been covered in Parts 1 and 2; that is, songs I have not been able to identify as belonging to categories as identified either by performers or in the literature, because specific details concerning their original performance context and genre have not been recorded. For example, although songs categorised as Corroboree Songs may have originally belonged to a traditional category such as Yawahr, there is now insufficient evidence to make this connection. There are also many songs concerning public events, which may well include songs that were originally Sing-You-Down songs, Yawahr songs or some other type of song, but due to lack of details recorded about the context it is impossible to know how these songs were originally categorised by their performers.

Throughout this chapter each text is referred to by number and sometimes title. For example, Text 1a: Shaking Leg Djanggalgara Song [Maragingyi - Gamilaroi] or Text 1a. The title of the text is usually the title which is most frequently given by the singer or recordist. Any details which I have added to the title for identification purposes are in square brackets. See Appendix 3 for a complete listing of texts and associated contextual information. When text numbers appear in brackets ( ), the texts concerned have been dealt with in more than one context in this chapter. For example, Text (8):
Pigeon Call One Note/Island to Mainland/Song Sung To Babies, has been classified under four different contexts: **Blessing For Babies**, (see p. 112); **Healing Songs**, (see p. 136); **Initiation Songs**, (see p. 145); and **Sites and Dreamings Songs**,(see p. 151). Sixteen texts from the sample of ninety-three texts have been classified into more than one category. They are cross referenced and their different performance contexts explained. This is discussed further in Table 2 and conclusions (see pp. 159-160).
Part 1. Song Categories Identified By Bundjalung People

Eight song categories have been identified by Bundjalung people when describing performances: Yawahr, Shake-a-Leg and Burun songs are all identified by their dances; Sing-You-Down, Blessing For Babies and Lullaby are identified by the functions for which they were performed; Djinean is identified by the content of the songs; and Jaw Breaker is identified by the language of the song. The following eight sections discuss each of these song categories. Each of the eight sections is divided into two parts: a) General Information; b) Specific Texts From The Sample. Part b of each section discusses texts from the sample. Song numbers are not usually given.

For a complete list of text numbers and their associated song numbers see Appendix 3 Part 1 "List of Texts" (see p. 292). Further details of each text (including transcriptions and translations) can be found in Appendix 3, Part 2 "Song Texts and Contextual Information", under the relevant text number.

Due to the large amount of material, in Yawahr and Shake-a-Leg categories, part a) has been further subdivided under the following headings: Generic Information; Musical Structure; Singing; Tempo (this heading only occurs in Shake-a-Leg); and Documented History of Performances.

Yawahr

a) General Information

Generic Information

The word "yawa:r"¹ appears in the Geytenbeek's Gidabal dictionary as a noun meaning "corroboree" (Geytenbeek 1971: 68). Crowley has also listed the word in his Bundjalung word list as a noun "yawa:r" meaning "corroboree with action and mass participation" (Crowley 1978: 189). The same word has been recorded by Cunningham/Sharpe as "yuwa:r" meaning "song (corroboree)" in Yugambeh.

¹ In Geytenbeek's orthography a colon : is used to indicate a lengthened vowel. This is also used by others including Crowley (1978) and Cunningham (1969).
northern dialect of Bundjalung (Cunningham 1969: 116). The vowel shift evident in the
northern dialect indicates that the term was almost certainly a Bundjalung word and
used widely throughout the area.² Note that in all the available word lists the word
Yawahr has been translated as corroboree, or corroboree song. What are the
implications of this term?

The word "corroboree" originally comes from the Dharuk language area which
became part of Sydney. It appeared in early word lists as "ca-rab-ba-ra" meaning to
dance, and "car-rib-ber-re" a mode of dancing, as opposed to "gnar-ra-mang" the
name of a dance in William Dawe's vocabulary list (1788-91: 8).³ This suggests that
the word "corroboree" originally referred to one specific type of dance. Today,
however, it is often used by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people throughout Australia
to describe any Aboriginal performance involving song and dance. The Australian
National Dictionary defines corroboree as a noun:

An Aboriginal dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical
accompaniment are an integral part, may be sacred and ritualized or
secular, occasional and informal. Hence, loosely, in extended senses, esp. with reference to a meeting or assembly, or to festivity generally
(AND sited in Donaldson 1987: 19).

In the Bundjalung area it is likely that the term "corroboree" replaced several
Bundjalung terms referring to specific types of performance. One of the generic terms
it has replaced is Yawahr. Although it is clear that Yawahr was a term referring to a
specific type of dance, it is also possible that, like "corroboree", it had an additional,

² The vowel shift identifies which particular dialect a person speaks. Therefore a person speaking a
southern dialect would say "yawahr", while a person speaking a northern dialect would say "yuwahr"
(Sharpe pers. comm. 1988).
³ One of the earliest accounts of a corroboree was written in 1793 when John Hunter described an
Aboriginal performance he attended at Port Jackson in 1791, organised by two local Aborigines,
Bennelong and Coaly. He states:
They very frequently, at the conclusion of the dance, would apply to us for our
opinions, or rather for marks of our approbation of their performance; which we
never failed to give by often repeating the word boojery, which signifies good, or
boojery caribberie, a good dance. These signs of pleasure in us seemed to give them
great satisfaction, and generally produced more than ordinary exertions from the
whole company of performers in the next dance (Hunter 1793: 213).
broader meaning covering danced performances in general. In 1988, Charlotte Page of Woodenbong stated that the terms *Yawahr* and corroboree were interchangeable:

MG: *Yawahr* ... What was that one?
CP: That means corroboree, *Yawahr*. Yeah, I'm forgettin' about that one. That's the name of that corroboree - *Yawahr*.
MG: That's a special name for one corroboree?
CP: No, it'll be in all the corroborees - what we used to do.
MG: All the corroborees?
CP: Yeah ... Well *Yawahr* songs was just the song for the corroboree ...

It wasn't any other song. It was a *Yawahr*, a corroboree ... It was for just that play see. I don't know whether we'd call it a dance or a play. I think we'd call it a play ... or corroboree dance some of them would call it see (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

Page has also explained that one of the ways in which *Yawahr* was distinguished from other genres of song was that it involved open performances of song and dance in which men and women were able to participate.

CP: There's two [types of song and dance] - *djangar* 4 is different to *Yawahr*, yeah.
MG: So *djangar* is the leg corroboree?
CP: *Djangar* - yeah
MG: And *Yawahr* is a corroboree?
CP: Yeah ...
MG: And what would they do in the *Yawahr*? They wouldn't do the leg one.....
CP: Oh no ... That *Yawahr* wasn't for the leg corroboree ... The womans used to do the *Yawahr* - and some of the men would be at the back of the womans - doing their part while we'd be doing our part, but the *djangar* - there was only those two [men dancing] ...
MG: That's in the leg one?
CP: Yeah
MG: Only two dancing?
CP: Yeah
MG: But in the *Yawahr* - it was a lot of people?
CP: There was ... oh yes ... it was mostly womans and well teenagers I suppose ...
MG: Is a *Yawahr* corroboree for everybody?
CP: Anybody who'd like to be in it, you know? Yeah.
MG: Yeah?
CP: But there was only just - lot from here. If anybody else came along they sort of didn't join in. It was just for us [at Woodenbong] (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

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4 *Djangar* is another genre of song which is often called the "leg corroboree" or "Shake-a-Leg". It is usually danced by only two men. I have adopted the general term "Shake-a-Leg" in this thesis to refer to this genre because there are a number of different Bundjalung cognate terms used by performers such as "djangar", "djangga/bi/i" and "djangal" (see p. 93).
From this it is clear that *Yawahr* performances included many dancers, in contrast to *djangar* or *Shake-a-Leg* dances (discussed in the next section), which included only two dancers. It also suggests that each specific group of people throughout the *Bundjalung* area had their own *Yawahr* songs and dances that were unique to their own particular community. These *Yawahr* songs and dances helped communities to establish their own separate identities and were performed to people from different areas at larger gatherings. On 29th June 1910, the *Northern Star*, a Lismore newspaper stated "the 'Yowarra' [*Yawahr*] [was] a smaller function compared with the 'Waggooya', in which many tribes took part" (*Northern Star* 1910a: 5). (These larger gatherings are mentioned briefly later in this chapter in *Initiation Songs* see p. 142.)

In the AIATSIS recordings and *Bundjalung* literature there are many songs and performances described as corroboree songs and corroborees. Many of these descriptions appear to be very similar to *Yawahr* songs. Although corroboree songs have been classified under Part 2 of this chapter (*Songs Identified From the Literature*), I will attempt here to relate them to *Yawahr* songs. From the literature it is clear that in the *Bundjalung* area the term corroboree was being used as early as the mid 19th century. The following account by Dawson describes a corroboree he attended in 1869:

One evening in the year 1869, King Billy of Yulgilbar, in his courteous and dignified way, persuaded my mother to let 'boy,' meaning my brother and me, go with him to see a corroboree a mile or two away in the bush from our home at Bellevue, near Grafton, on the Clarence River.

Rather fearfully and reluctantly, and with many injunctions to the King to look well after us, my mother gave consent, and in the dusk we walked with him to the encampment and corroboree ground. The camp was situated on a wooded ridge, sloping gently to a flat where ran a gully, which supplied water and also clays of various colors, useful for painting and decorating the bodies of the campers.

Including natives of both sexes and of all ages there must have been present nearly 300, together with innumerable dogs. The weather being clear and cool, there were few bark gunyahs, most of the shelters being cunningly constructed of boughs and bushes, and very cosy they looked, each with its small glowing fire in front. We boys, of barely

5 During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the title "King" was given to particular Aboriginal people by Europeans in an attempt to improve relations between the two races.
nine and eleven years, were the only white visitors and soon after we arrived the fun began. The dancing ground was a level stretch about the length of a cricket pitch, and at each end stood a tree, the bark being curiously scored and carved, apparently by tomahawks. Between these trees, and tied to them, stretched a rope of spun opossum fur, knee high or a little more. A few yards from the rope, and facing it there was a large stringy-bark shelter where sat the "orchestra," composed of several gins, two of them having opossum rugs folded with the fur side in. These they beat with the flat of the hand producing a drum-like sound. The others had boomerangs and nullas, the ends of which, struck together gave forth a clapping sound and served to keep time to the singing and dancing.

When all was ready, some thirty young men, naked, their hair stuck full of parrots' feathers, and their glistening bodies fearfully and wonderfully painted, stepped across the rope, keeping it between their legs, the object being to ensure a perfectly straight line for the dance. Some of the performers were realistically painted to represent skeletons, the ribs, thigh, and shin bones, etc., being picked out in pipe clay, which showed up well against the black of their bodies.

At a signal the orchestra struck up with their crude and primitive instruments, accompanied by a high pitched, but not unmusical chant. As this wild chant rose and fell, the dancers stamped with the right foot and then the left, at the same time swinging and swaying their arms and their bodies from side to side now fast now slow, and in perfect unison with the singers and musicians. Several fires of light brushwood had been kindled and, as the glare illuminated the swaying bodies of the performers and the throng of dusky "stone age" onlookers. The whole formed a thrilling scene of wild and savage life, which indelibly impressed itself upon my plastic, childish mind.

The performance lasted, perhaps, half an hour, or a little more, when the music ceased and the warriors, with a tremendous and joyful shout, leaped clear of the rope and dispersed themselves in various directions to their different quarters, no doubt in search of rest and refreshments.

King Billy, true to his promise, escorted us home and delivered us up safe and sound.

In later days I have sometimes thought that we must have been two rather plucky little boys to trust ourselves alone and at night, so far from home, amongst that horde of wild and untamed looking savages. But we had great faith in King Billy, and felt that when he had passed his word for our safety we had little or nothing to fear (Dawson 1931: 6).

The above description covers several aspects of the performance, but unfortunately, not many specific details concerning the type of song performed and its context. It is

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6 By contrast Collins descriptions in *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (from 1788-1801) of Aboriginal performances in the Sydney area are unusual in their detail concerning musical characteristics in different areas of Sydney. He states:

A party who went to the eastern shore to procure fire-wood, and to comply with the desire which the natives had so often expressed of seeing them land among them, found them still timourous; but being encouraged and requested by signs to sing, they began a song in concert, which actually was musical and pleasing, and not merely in the diatonic scale, descending by thirds, as at Port Jackson: the descent to this was waving, in a rather melancholy soothing strain. The song of Bong-ree, which he gave them at the conclusion of theirs, sounded barbarous and grating to the ear; but Bong-ree was an indifferent songster, even among his own countrymen.
fortunate that I have been able to match one of the details given by Dawson, namely the use of a rope, to a sketch drawn in 1888 of a corroboree from the Grafton area (see Plate 14). This was drawn by an Aboriginal known as "Ulladulla Mickey" who lived in Ulladulla on the south Coast of NSW; a copy of the sketch appeared in *The Sunday Herald Features* on 4th February (Crozier 1951: 7). An explanation of the sketch was given by Elkin and is quoted under Plate 14. It must be noted that although Elkin states that the use of a skipping rope indicates Western influence, this sketch is very similar to the description of the use of a rope by Dawson in the description above, which indicates that ropes were possibly being used in corroborees before significant Western contact.

Although there are many descriptions of corroborees in the literature they often lack detail and become one more description of some type of song and dance done for a purpose which is often not understood by the writer. For example, the following description of a corroboree witnessed in 1856 or 1857 was published in 1860, by

> These people, like the natives of Port Jackson, having fallen to the low pitch of their voices, recommenced their song at the octave, which was accompanied by slow and not ungraceful motions of the body and limbs, their hands being held up in a supplication posture; and the tone and manner of their song and gestures seemed to bespeak the good-will and forebearance of their auditors. Observing that they were attentively listened to, they each selected one of our people, and placed his mouth close to his ear, as if to produce a greater effect, or, it might be, to teach them the song, which their silent attention might seem to express a desire to learn. As a recompense for the amusement they had afforded, Mr Flinders gave them worsted caps, and a pair of blanket trousers, which they seemed well pleased. Some other natives now made their appearance; and it was some time before they could overcome their dread of approaching the strangers with their fire-arms; but, encouraged by the three who were with them, they came up, and a general song and dance was commenced. Their singing was not confined to one air; they gave three (Collins 1971: 426).

As stated above, in the literature there are many descriptions of Aboriginal performances written by European people. Collins, in *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (from 1788-1801)* has written one of the few descriptions of a European performance and the response by the Aboriginal observers. He states:

> So long as their visitors consisted of only two, the natives were lively, dancing and singing in concert in a very pleasing manner; but the number of white men having imperceptibly increased to eight, they became alarmed and suspicious, seeming to look with a jealous eye upon a shot-belt that Mr Flinders wore, and which, though they did not rightly know how, might some way or other be a deadly weapon.

Observing this, he gave it to one of the people to take away. Three of the sailors, who were Scotchmen, were desired to dance a reel; but, for want of music, they made a very bad performance, which was contemplated by the natives without much amusement or curiosity (Collins 1971: 424).
Plate 14. Sketch of a corroboree from the Grafton area by Ulladulla Mickey in 1888. Photograph from *The Sunday Herald Feature*. Crozier states:

Professor Elkin's explanation - Top strip: The authentic bush background - opossum in the gum trees, kangaroos, snakes, etc. Second strip: Camp fires and squatting natives sheltering; family on the move - the way the man is carrying the child on his shoulders is normal, but the woman has the other child on her back. Below the family is a group of children in a corroboree attitude, though the two men appear to be holding a skipping rope, indicating Western influence. Third strip: The corroboree. Foreground, centre: a white man (note hat and beard) and an Aboriginal beating time for the corroboree (Crozier 1951: 7).
Mrs McPherson, whose husband held Keera Station in the New England area during the 1850s and land in southern Queensland (possibly in the Bundjalung area).

Although her account is detailed it is not clear where the performance took place and, as far as I am aware, she only saw the performance from a distance and did not speak to any of the Aboriginal performers:

A very curious sight is a corroboree or native dance, in which the men alone take part. One of these Australian realizations of Mr. Spurgeon's ideas of what a ball should be, was held in our paddock during our stay in the interior, and though the 'at home' was not very largely attended, as it was the only one I was likely to have an opportunity of witnessing, I walked down with my husband and looked on at a respectful distance. It was really a curious sight, those wild looking figures seen in the dark night by the red glow of the fires, performing all sorts of strange evolutions, their naturally savage appearance rendered still more striking by the streaks of red and white clay with which they were bedaubed, and the quantities of feathers and down with which they had covered their hair. The women sat round in an admiring circle, chanting in chorus a sort of wild recitation, all the singers beating time, and admirable time too, with their 'paddy melon' sticks on a sort of a drum made by a fold of their opossum skin cloaks, which was stretched between their knees, the monotony of the never-ending air being relieved by the shoutings and howlings of the dancers. It really hardly occurred to me that they were human beings, the whole picture in the lurid glare of their torches seemed so unreal, I could only compare it to a scene of diablerie from Der Freischutz or Faust. The continuation of sounds produced by this primitive orchestra was rarely loud enough to be disagreeable, and was not wanting in a sort of musical power well suited to the scene. Some experienced elder of the band marked the time by knocking together two sticks - not exactly after the fashion of M. Jullien, however, inasmuch as he only uses one.

I do not think that the meaning of these 'Corroborees' has ever been exactly understood. I fancy myself that they are looked on partly as superstitious observances proper to be performed at certain seasons of the year, and during certain phases of the moon (A Lady 1860 in McBryde 1978: 254-255).

In the collection of recordings and the literature there are also several descriptions of corroborees by Bundjalung people who recall performing in their younger days, or remember how older people performed in the past. The following description is from a radiocast typescript of Jim Morgan from Coraki being interviewed by Mildred Norledge:
QUESTION: Would you like to tell me about a Corroboree you have seen?

ANSWER: I will only be too pleased to do so. Corroborees to us were more or less what your theatres are to the white men. The most exciting part of a Corroboree to me - was the lovely big fires we had. The fires acted as "stage lights" as well as for warmth in the winter or cold nights... this and the entry of the dancers into the Corroboree ring. The dancers would come from all directions for entry into the ring.

The dancers were painted - "made up" you would call it. Their dressing room was some selected place in the bush. It was impossible to identify who a dancer was when painted. The dancer's costume was a kind of loin cloth.

The Corroboree that I remember fascinated me, tho' I saw it through a child's eyes. The story of which centered around two men lying in the ring - about 16 ft. apart, both were wrapped in possum rugs, and were still as tho' either were unconscious or passed away from the world of life.

When the dancers had entered the ring, they would appear as if they were very nervous when they beheld and gathered around one of the two men lying in the ring. So they would dance close to the men in a nervous and apprehensive manner using pantomimic movements all the time. Gradually they would get closer to the man they had first gathered around, and pick him up. The dancers would then carry him to where the other man was lying, placing the man they had carried beside him. Next the dancers would carry the other man to the place in the ring where they had picked up the first man. Gathering around the man they first danced around, they indicated by their actions or what is better termed "MIME" that they were massaging this man, trying to restore him to either consciousness or life. After a while, he would commence to show some signs of movement, this he would do gradually till he finally reached a "sitting-up" position. And after further massage, would stand up, appearing to be very weak, and unable to stand properly, acting the part of a man whose strength was gradually returning to normal. When his strength and vigour had returned to him, he would then take part in the Corroboree with the other dancers. Then the dancers would proceed to where the other man was lying. They would repeat their dance routine. Finally, all would dance together and the Corroboree would end (Norledge nd: 1-3).

Although the above three descriptions are all historically valuable, they are mainly composed of very general statements about performances, with few details concerning any one particular song or dance, and accordingly it is difficult to match these up with material recorded in the sample.

Musical Structure

The distinction based on dance between Yawahr and djangar (Shake-a-Leg) songs is important because from evidence in the current sample the musical structure of these two types of songs (Yawahr and Shake-a-Leg) appears to be very similar. Many
*Yawahr* songs have several sections of text with different dance steps corresponding to the different sections of text. This also applies to *Shake-a-Leg* songs. (For more details see *Shake-a-Leg* see p. 93). For example, one *Yawahr* song, Text 5: *Mundala* comprises two sections of text called *Mundala* and *Gahmula*, and two different dance steps. The first section of text, without the last line, may be repeated any number of times, while the second section is never repeated. The last line of each section is used by the singer to signal to the dancers that a change in the text, and therefore a change in the dance, is about to occur. (This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 see pp. 200-207.)

**Dance**

Although there are many accounts of dancers performing different dance steps for different songs and sections of songs, there are few detailed descriptions of these steps. Many descriptions of dances are extremely vague, for example, "Oh there's a beautiful dance for that one" (Oakes and Willoughby, Woodenbong 1977 LA4745A). There are hundreds of comments like this in the sound archives. In many cases this type of comment is the only description of a particular dance that we have. By contrast other descriptions are very general, for example, Charlotte Page of Woodenbong gave a general description of *Yawahr* dances:

CP: That *Yawahr* ... it was just sitting down or standing up. The womans used to do the *Yawahr*, and some of the men ... Some of the men would be at the back of the womans doing their part while we'd [the women] be doing our part (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

From this it appears that there were several types of *Yawahr* dance movements; some that involved sitting down and some that were performed standing up. Also in some dances men and women had different dance steps where perhaps women sat and men stood up behind the women. It is unfortunate that there is not enough information to match these comments on dances with the songs they may have been performed with in the past.

The most detailed description available of a *Yawahr* dance concerns Text 5: *Mundala*. In 1968 Donnelly gave a general description to Gordon:
JG: That's a corroboree song?
DD: A corroboree song ... Yes - beautiful dance that one, you know. If you was lookin' at the people doin' it. Very nice dance, yes. I danced in it.
JG: Would it be men only?
DD: Oh no, women too. Men and women, yeah ... oh yeah
JG: What about children?
DD: Oh some of them do it. Always willing to paint up, see. The boys, yes, oh yes. All in it, yeah - not all, but all who were willing to paint, we let 'em have a dance too. That's how the ol' people used to teach the younger ones how to do these things (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B).

In an interview with John Sommerlad in 1970, Donnelly described the number of dancers:

JS: How many dancers?
DD: Oh, there could be two dozen, according to, you know, who paints up (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

In 1977, Donnelly was recorded teaching Mundala and during the teaching session described the dance in detail:

DD: We on Gahmula now, ay, ay. We come back on to Mundala in a minute. This is the change in the step, see. Gahmula you dance down that way; Mundala you change again, step see ... Good to see them. Lots of people dancing one way. They back on to Mundala, change step again. Do it the other way (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4745A).

This suggests that the dancers all danced in one direction for the first dance step and then changed their direction for the second dance step. On one occasion Gordon asked Donnelly:

JG: Did somebody tell them? Did somebody cry out to change step?
DD: Oh no. They just know - they listen to the song see, the end yeah. And they watch the leader, see. It's up to the leader. When he changed - when they all changed the step. Just the same as doin the waltz, we was the same, you see (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B).

Unfortunately we do not have any details concerning which direction they danced and what the movements of the dance steps actually involved.

Singing

Although most of the songs in the sample are solo performances, there are many descriptions that indicate that in the past they may have been performed by more
than one singer. This applies to *Yawahr* songs, as well as other types of songs and is discussed on p. 208. From available material specific to *Yawahr* songs it is clear that in some cases women and men sang together. One detailed account of how men and women sang Text 5: *Mundala* is given by the recordist, John Summerlad. In 1968, Donnelly and Summerlad performed the song together at a lecture in Tenterfield. In the lecture Summerlad gave details of how Donnelly and he performed the song:

JS: The song that Mr Donnelly sings now - I've sometimes sung this with him because it's in different verses and so that I'm probably singing a woman's part, but - someone sings one verse and that's one stage of the dance then someone else takes over and sings another stage and the dance changes and then the other person might come back and sing it again and it might change back to what was being sung in the first place (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

In the recording of Donnelly and Summerlad, the first verse, *Mundala*, is sung by Donnelly and then the second verse, *Gahmula*, is sung by Summerlad (who states above that he was probably singing a woman's part). Then Donnelly returns with the first verse again. This is the only example available of two people actually singing alternate sections of the song. According to Sommerlad's description a man sings the first verse, *Mundala*, and a woman sings the second verse, *Gahmula*. It is also clear that when the song is about to move on to the next section of text, the singers and dancers change their respective parts simultaneously. Although Sommerlad learnt this song and details of the dance from Donnelly and then explained these details and performed the song with Donnelly, there is no detailed description of this type of singing by a *Bundjalung* singer. When Donnelly was describing the song he stated: "there's always a man and a woman singer" but did not state if they sang together, or sang separate sections of the song as described by Sommerlad (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A). This is discussed further in Chapter 4. Due to the nature of the material at this point in time it is impossible to establish if this type of singing was widespread in the *Bundjalung* and neighbouring areas.
Documented History of Jawahr Performances

In 1910 a Bundjalung performance which has been described both as a corroboree and as a Yawahr was performed at Dunoon and described in the local newspaper, the Northern Star:

The corroboree [sic] arranged to take place this evening at the Dunoon Homes by descendants of the original possessors of the country is what is known as the "Yowarra," [Yawahr], a smaller function compared with the "Waggooya," in which many tribes took part, and always followed the Kebar rite of making the youths young men. The Yowarra used to be well worth witnessing, and it will be interesting to old residents to witness how those of the present day acquit themselves. The time of starting is stated to be 7.30 p.m., but as clocks at the Dunoon Homes may be a trifle out, we think it will be safer for the audience to be there at 7 o'clock (Northern Star 1910a: 5).

According to the Northern Star, even in 1910 performances of Yawahr, or for that matter performances of any type of Bundjalung song and dance were performances for posterity. The next day, the Northern Star described the performance in some detail, part of which is quoted below:

The aborigines' corroboree [sic], which the residents of the Home at Dunoon have been for some time carefully preparing, took place last evening...
The enclosure was well screened with the aid of branches of trees, foliage and ferns. Then they had prepared seats on one side of the arena. These were arranged on the north side in rows, each above the other, until at the back they were elevated to a height of about six feet. They were secure structures, made with saplings, neatly fitted, and comfortable. Those on the right hand were shilling seats and those on the left had cushions, made of grass, and as comfortable as need be desired, the charge for which was 2s. Then, as a compliment to members of the District Board, a special seat was provided for them in the best position that could be chosen, and if it is not inappropriate to say, upholstered in their fashion. In front of this was tastefully arranged a row of ferns in pots. The main entrance was through a turnstile, the workmanship of which would not have disgraced a tradesman. With considerable forethought, the passage did not lead straight to the arena, but at an angle, which gave entrance without permitting the interior to be seen from the turnstile. All along this passage way was decorated with growing ferns of the various species growing about the reserve. Tickets were sold outside and these were collected before entrance to the arena was gained. Midway across this enclosure a long lawyer cane was stretched, and it supported a number of coverlets, to form a screen until the programme commenced, and the place was lighted by several lamps and flare lights. Mr. J. Barrie, secretary, and Mr. T. G. Hewitt, chairman, of the District Board, arrived at 7.15 p.m. accompanied by Miss. Barrie, Miss. Hewitt and Miss. M. Hewitt. The aborigines [sic] were on the alert, and greeted their arrival with a song of welcome. One man, carrying a lantern, acted the part of usher very well, and escorted the party to their reserved seat,
and after a brief inspection of the preparations, those taking prominent part were complimented on the amount of work they had done and the excellent design and arrangements. The audience numbered fully 300... At 7.40 the screen was removed, and disclosed the full strength of the company, the women and girls taking part in front of the line of men and boys, altogether about 40.

There was then disclosed a good representation of a man over life size and effigy of a kangaroo, also life size, and one of an emu... Then immediately was commenced the corroboree, [sic] which consisted of vocalists, male and female, and Jack McQuilty as director also beating time with two boomerangs. It was an action song, in which the men and boys were clothed with trunks, and the exposed portion of their faces, bodies and limbs painted in grotesque fashion. Several had grotesque head dresses and feathers to add to their appearance. The women and girls were clothed in white dresses, with ornaments in the hair, and every now and then joined in the singing. The time kept in all the movements was admirable, and as they filed out the audience applauded them. No time was lost in putting on another act, and in this the men and boys were the performers, and the leading man supplied the action, which was followed simultaneously by all the others. Several more followed, each distinguished by its own special actions, and evidently intended to convey some particular pursuit. In one of these the men were armed with spears and shields, and went through all the mimic evolutions of a fight, with shouts of challenge and taunts to the foes. This was very well rendered, and was very interesting, and one could well imagine what a striking scene it was in old days, when 400 or 500 men were taking part in it. Another act, in which Jimmy Mercey, fully accounted as a warrior in picturesque dress, and S. Cook, in more fanciful dress, was a spirited and lively performance, which greatly interested the whole audience, and they were loudly applauded. In yet another performance there was a representation by the leader of a man stalking game, and here the full effect of having the effigies of the kangaroo and emu on the scene was realised. One of the last had a good deal of comic effect in it, and keen sense of the ludicrous, and their antics provided lots of laughter. Although their prolonged efforts in singing and in action must have been a severe strain they were maintained to the last with great vivacity until at 9.30 Mr. Barrie and Mr. Hewitt, on the part of the audience, conveyed to Jack McQuilty that the audience was thoroughly satisfied... and so the corroboree, the only one witnessed for many years, terminated... Those who took prominent parts in the corroboree were: Mr. Jack McQuilty, Charlie Brown, Jimmy Mercey, S. Cook, Archie Turnbull, Wurrah, Koollum, Harry Crommelin, Taylor, Johnson, and others. There were several aboriginal visitors from Coraki, Cabbage Tree Island and other places... It may be interesting to those who were present last evening that the man depicted was a representation of Yabbrine, who, according to aborigines' tradition, introduced the corroborees. He was the youngest of three brothers, the others being named Birrnung and Mummoonie, among whom a better end arose. Yabbrine, by introducing the corroborees, brought all the people together in harmony. Hence, it is always a meeting of goodwill, and when in old times tribal fights were engaged in, and disputes were settled, the corroboree was the finale, and then all dispersed in peace, so the meeting yesterday signified more than a mere performance (Northern Star 1910b: 2).
Although the above description mentions seven different songs and/or dances, no individual names are given, but all songs are referred to as Yawahr or Corroboree Songs. From information given above, and from information in part b of this section, it is clear that there were several different Yawahr songs and they had specific names.

b) Specific Texts From the Sample

As stated on p. 74, part b discusses texts from the sample. Song numbers are not usually given. For a complete list of text numbers and their associated song numbers see Appendix 3, Part 1 "List of Texts" (see p. 292). Further details of each text (including transcriptions and translations) can be found in Appendix 3, Part 2 "Song Texts and Contextual Information", under the relevant text number.

Texts from the sample that I have classified as Yawahr will be discussed. They comprise texts: 3, 4, 5, 28, 33a, 33b, 34, 39 and (42). Texts 3, 4, 5 and 39 have all been identified by Bundjalung people or recordists as belonging to the Yawahr category. Texts inferred as being Yawahr comprise: 33a and 33b, as it is probable they are the same as Text 39; Text 28 as the contextual information and musical structure is similar to Text 5; Text 34 and Text (42) due also to both the contextual information and musical structure. It must be noted that both contextual information and musical structure are necessary to place texts 28, 34 and (42) which have not been identified by Bundjalung performers or recordists as belonging to the Yawahr category. All texts are discussed below in numerical order except, Text 39, which is discussed directly after texts 33a and 33b due to the similar subject matter.

Text 3: Juwa [Yawahr]

Calley has described this as "a Yawahr, a corroboree proper, a group dance in the Bundjalung language" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A).
Text 4: *Barara Abanjii*

Calley has described this as "the third part of this corroboree, sung by Dick Donnelly and Tom Close" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). It is not clear if Text 3 and Text 4 are parts of one particular corroboree and/or *Yawahr*.

Text 5: *Mundala*

It is not clear which language area this song is from. The singer was not able to translate the song and usually stated that it was from the *Gungari* area near the New England region; on a few occasions, however, he stated that the song was from the *Gamilaroi* area. Calley and Donnelly have both described this song as a *Gungari Yawahr* which was brought into the *Bundjalung* area from the *Gungari* area by Bessie Comet. According to Eric Walker, Bessie Comet lived at Tabulam approximately around the 1940s and 1950s (Walker pers. comm. 1985).

Text 28: *Maringgu*

The singer often stated that this song was from the same place as Text 5: *Mundala*, i.e., either from the *Gungari* area or the *Gamilaroi* area near the New England region. He did not know the meaning of the song. The musical structure of this text is similar to Text 5: *Mundala*.

Text 33a: *Binjalah*

No contextual information is given by the performer. The singer calls the song *Binjalah*.

Text 33b: *Itch Corroboree [Binjarah]*

From examining texts 33a and 33b in Appendix 3, it can be seen that they are both similar in that they repeat the word *binjalah* or *binjarah*. It is possible that these two texts are performances by different singers of the same song, but as they are not exactly the same I have separated them. One possible reason for the texts being
different is that the singers had not performed for many years and hence remembered either different texts or different parts of the text of the song. According to Eric Walker, Text 33b is a Bundjalung corroboree song. It was performed at night and the main actor (or dancer) was a real clown. This was performed for children, by adults. It is about an itch. The man was supposed to have an itch and someone came to scratch him. The dancers came out scratching like a kangaroo. One man would lie down and have the itch and someone else would come along and scratch him. Then he would roll over and another man would come along and all of a sudden he would get the itch too. At the end of the dance all the men would dance and shake their legs, and scratch. They were all painted. This was only a short corroboree for the children (Gummiow Bonalbo 1986 FT10A).

Note the similarity between Text 33a, Text 33b and Text 39 which is discussed below. In addition, the contextual information for Text 33b and Text 39 is very similar. It is possible that these are all performances of the same song, but in Text 39 the vowel sounds are different and the word banjinah is used instead of binjalah or binjarah, as in Text 33a and Text 33b. It appears that Text 39 is in a different dialect from Text 33a and Text 33b; hence the vowel sounds could be different.

Text 39: Banjinah

The singer Cecil Taylor, introduced song 127 as a Woodenbong corroboree called Banjinah. It was performed for a meeting at the Casino Historical Society and danced by Herbert Charles and Rory Close.

According to Herbert Charles, song 292 describes how a man went to a mountain and hit a rock at a djurbil (site of significance) in the Rocky River area (Dick Donnelly's country). The man was trying to steal the djurbil, but the rock jumped out and hit the man. Banjinah means "hit him".

In 1988 Charlotte Page of Woodenbong described the dance to this song and identified it as a Yawahr:
MG: And how many in the *Yawahr*?
CP: Oh, there'd be about a couple of others, but the only one I remember is *Banjinah*.
MG: And what was that one about?
CP: Oh, that was about ... I think *Banjinah* means hitting a stick on a log, or hittin' a tree.
MG: Oh I see. And did you dance in that?
CP: Yeah, I used to dance in that one.
MG: With other people? How many other people were dancing?
CP: Oh, there'd be about eight I suppose, or there might be only six and a couple of girls.
MG: And would you have actions?
CP: Oh yeah, we used to do the actions.
MG: And so was old Jack Barron doing the singing?
CP: Yeah, he was the main singer, he was.
MG: And did you have lots of different sorts of actions to do?
CP: Yeah, oh yes - there was a couple of different actions of the men are supposed to do, you know - yeah.
MG: And what would they do?
CP: Oh they'd - that's why I'm telling you about that song - *Banjinah*. It's a funny song - it's a comical song, you know, but it was only the men that could do it - just like that leg corroboree. Any men could begin that, even young boys if they wanted to. They'd be all on the ground, you know. But that was a good one, people would have to laugh at the action, you know.
MG: What did they do? Was it really funny?
CP: Yeah, they used to be scratching one another. There's no need for it ... but that's just how it had to be and it was really good one. It was a laughing one.
MG: Oh yeah. Oh that would be really funny.
CP: Yeah. It was funny. It was comical.
MG: Just talking about scratching.
CP: Yeah, that's just the way the song was. They didn't have the itch or anything like that. You know what I mean? That's just the way they had to act.
MG: And who made up that song?
CP: Well I suppose, Grandfather Barron would. He was the only one who could sing. Oh, there was another ol' man who could sing too. Young Alec William, Mr King's uncle.
MG: Oh yeah.
CP: Alec Williams, he was a good singer too (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

**Text 34: Square Dance Song**

As stated above, this song has been identified as *Yawahr* on the basis of two criteria: musical structure and contextual information. According to Cecil Taylor, this song was composed by Raymond Duncan some time in the early 1900s. Barn dances and reels were often performed by Aboriginal people in their own communities away from the European dance halls. Taylor stated that Aboriginal musicians would often
play western instruments such as the violin, piano accordion and mouth organ at these dances.

According to Eric Walker, in the old days the dancers were all painted up and danced near the light from the camp fire. One good singer, Howard Walker, sang while the women played the *bulbi*, possum skin drum. Eric Walker learnt this song and dance from two old sisters, one of them was Ginny Brown who lived in Tabulam for a while, but Walker thought she was originally from near Kyogle.

In the text Section 1 begins by saying that everyone is about to start dancing. Section 2 mentions something about cuddling your partner and section 3 mentions removing each other's clothes. The text of the second part of each section involves the repetition of two syllables - "ya we" in the first section, "di nin" in the second section and "gu bul" in the third section. According to Taylor the repetition of syllables at the end of each section is "the sound of the foots... They call it the hands up in the old time square dance ... and the noise is the foot. The sound they make with their foot kicking the floor" (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

**Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree**

As stated above, this song has been identified as *Yawahr* on the basis of two criteria: musical structure and contextual information. According to Pastor Frank Roberts Snr the dance to this song was slow and performed by both men and women. Roberts stated:

FR: In the corroboree of course, there are 13 acts. There were 50 men and 40 women all painted up for corroboree - and [at the end of] each song the leader would just give a sort of *drrr* - just to give the sign to change their acts as he sang the other verse. And this continued on 'till the whole 13 acts was completed ... *drrr* means change. He couldn't whistle or give any indication with his hand, but just *drrr* ... (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

This song has also been classified under *Sorcery Songs*, for more details see p. 140 and Appendix 3.
Shake-a-Leg

a) General Information

Generic terms

The term Shake-a-Leg has been adopted here because there are a number of different Bundjalung cognate terms used by performers. Throughout the Bundjalung area it is generally agreed that Shake-a-Leg songs were quite different from other types of songs. Crowley at Tabulam documented the noun "djanger" as a "corroboree in which participants shake their legs, and has few dancers" (Crowley 1978: 183). The Geytenbeeks when working on the Gidabal dialect in the Woodenbong area also documented the noun "djanger" as "shaking of legs for the corroboree" and "djanger ba-" a verb phrase meaning "to dance a leg-corroboree; to hover (of bird, insect)" (1971: 57). The term "djangara" was also used by the singer Donnelly in 1968 when describing a similar song (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B). In Lismore, the singer Lyle Roberts stated that the shaking leg song was called "djanggalbili" or "djanggalbili yawahr" meaning leg corroboree (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066A). At Baryulgil I have heard the word "djangal" used during the 1980s to describe "when they shake their leg" (Gummow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2).

In 1988 Charlotte Page of Woodenbong explained how Shake-a-Leg songs were different from Yawahr songs and her explanation has been quoted above (see p. 76). From this it is clear that at Woodenbong the Shake-a-Leg dance comprised only two dancers, in contrast to the Yawahr dances that included many dancers. This is also evident from definitions given by Crowley: "djanger corroboree in which participants shake their legs, and has few dancers"; and "yawahr corroboree with action and mass participation" (1978: 183).

Musical Structure

When discussing Yawahr songs, I stated that some Yawahr songs appear to have several sections of text and that different dance steps were danced to different
sections of text. This also applies to Shake-a-Leg songs. Fletcher Roberts of Lismore has described how there were several sections in Shake-a-Leg songs:

MG: Was that when there was the other section then?
FR: Yeah, there was about two or three sections. It had to be performed very good, see, they had to be trained ...
MG: And so when did the singers know when the next section was going to happen, or the dancers. Were the dancers doing lots of different things?
FR: Yeah, they knew when to change. Oh, [they] just use the word - when they sang the first part they change to the second part, they use this expression - brrr.
MG: So when they heard that it meant to change.
FR: Yeah, to get ready to change ...
FR: The same with the song that Dad [sang], well, the corroboree that we done at the showground, there was about seven or eight changes in that leg corroboree (Gummow Lismore 1988 FT88/1).

From this description it appears that in the Shake-a-Leg songs the end of sections could be marked by the sound "brrr". The use of "brrr" to end sections is also mentioned by Donnelly. After he sang a Shake-a-Leg song Gordon asked him about the use of "brrr":

JG: That brrr that was the end of a section was it?
DD: Oh yes. That liven the people up, you know, so the people can see them coming this way. The people that are going to do the dance - they are doing that - the one that's up sitting. They want you to know that something coming, see (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B).

It appears that Donnelly was explaining that the brrr informed the dancers and the audience that something different was about to happen and that part of one of the Shake-a-Leg dances involved sitting.8

Dance

From people's accounts it seems that in the early days the Shake-a-Leg dance was usually performed by two men or two teenage girls. In Baryulgil, according to

8 The use of brrr is mentioned by Barratt when describing a corroboree at Port Jackson between 1814 and 1822 where women were present. In footnote 87 he states that "the sound "prrs" could be no more than a conventional sound accompanying the clapping sticks" (Barratt 1981: 52). Captain Tench described a dance in the Port Jackson area during the 1790s which appears to have been similar to Bundjalung Shake-a-Leg songs. He states:
These dances consist of short parts, or acts, accompanied with frequent vociferations, and a kind of hissing, or whizzing noise: they commonly end with a loud rapid shout, and after a short respite are renewed (Tench 1961: 289).
Lucy Daley it was danced by men only (Gummow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2). In Lismore, Fletcher Roberts has also stated that the dance was done by men only (Gummow Lismore 1988 FT88/1). In Woodenbong and Tabulam, however, it appears that teenage girls also performed the dance. Charlotte Page from Woodenbong remembered how she performed the dance when she was a young girl.

MG: So the leg one's just two dancers - two men.
CP: Yeah...
MG: But the women just watched that one?
CP: Oh, some of the women would be singing too...
MG: But they wouldn't dance.
CP: Oh no. It was just certain ones - and younger ones. You know, girls, because I was only a girl at that time (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2).

According to Eric Walker of Bonalbo teenage girls at Tabulam also danced the Shake-a-Leg (Walker pers. comm. 1986). Fletcher Roberts from Lismore has described the dance (see Plate 15):

It was a special dance that we used to have a little shield or bugah, that's Bundjalung, and a boomerang ... We used to use it to do that, you know, what they call the shakes ... it was part of the corroboree. Shake the legs and er, put a lot of work into it ... This man, he would approach this other man with a shield and boomerang, and he would pretend to attack him and he would just hold the bugah and with the boomerang he would step aside to avoid the big bugah. Anyhow, they would come very close together like and then this man would try and hit the other chap with the bugah, and he would protect himself, like a tribal fight, you know (Gummow Lismore 1988 FT88/1).9

**Singing**

Throughout the **Bundjalung** area **Shake-a-Leg** songs were sung by both men and women. In Lismore Fletcher Roberts stated that the song was usually sung by two or three of the tribal elders. Sometimes his grandfather, Lyle Roberts, and granny sang together (Gummow Lismore 1988 FT88/1). Charlotte Page of Woodenbong stated that men and women could sing **Shake-a-Leg** songs. At Baryulgil Lucy Daley stated:

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9 Hunter has described the variety of dances in the Port Jackson area and comments on one striking feature which appears to be similar to the **Shake-a-Leg** dance. He states:

One of the most striking was, that of placing their feet very wide apart, and by an extraordinary exertion of the muscles of the thighs and legs, moving the knees in a trembling and very suprising manner (Hunter 1793: 212).
Plate 15. Herbert Charles (left), whose nickname was Streaky, and Rory Close from Woodenbong dancing the Shake-a-Leg, 1966. Photograph reproduced by Casino Historical Society.
Oh, they all sing it. Everybody helps to sing, womans and men. They all want to sing (Gummow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2).

From the material available it is not clear if men and women sang together, or sang alternate sections of the song, as discussed with Yawahr songs (see pp. 84-85).

**Tempo**

One distinctive feature of Shake-a-Leg songs appears to be the fast tempo. Charlotte Page of Woodenbong has described how these songs were faster than other songs:

CP: [The] song for corroboree was, you know, just clappin', but for the leg corroboree they had to sing it faster ...
MG: So the leg one was really fast - that was djangar, and some of the other ones were a bit slower.
CP: Yeah.
MG: So was there a special word for a fast one or a slow one - or something like that?
CP: It was just that word djangar.
MG: And that means leg corroboree - and everyone knew it was fast.
CP: Everyone knew, yeah. It was different to the corroboree, you know (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2).

I have not been able to find any Bundjalung terms that refer to the tempo of songs and dances. The Shake-a-Leg song is the only Bundjalung song that performers have described several times by referring to the tempo.

**Documented History of Shake-a-Leg Performances**

In 1968, Lyle Roberts of Lismore described how the Shake-a-Leg, or djanggalbili, was performed at the beginning of a Yawahr performance.

LR: Well that's, it goes for the djanggalbili and the corroboree Yawahr, we call it a Yawahr. And that's come in the act, you know the corroboree, it's Brother Cecil Taylor he belong a lot more Woodenbong, people there, and same at Tabulam, Coraki, Cabbage Tree know a lot, but last time before, before we do the act Yawahr we start off with a djanggalbili. That's what I just sang now (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066B).

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10 This is in contrast to the Murawari group of north western New South Wales where according to Jimmie Barker, specific terms were used for different dances: Bagada: was a fast corroboree dance; garrambala a slower dance; and in the waguda the performers kept their feet still while swaying and making other rhythmic movements with their bodies (Mathews 1977: 36-37).

This description could refer to individual dances, however, rather than being a terminology concerning tempo.
From this it is not clear if the Shake-a-Leg was usually performed at the beginning of a Yawahr or if this was only the case on one particular occasion. It is also not clear if this order of performance occurred only in Lismore or throughout the Bundjalung area.\textsuperscript{11}

According to Fletcher Roberts Shake-a-Leg was so popular that it was performed at the Lismore show some time around the 1950s. He remembered how he was one of the dancers in the performance.

\textbf{MG:} Now, when you were performing at the showground, when would that have been, a few years ago now?

\textbf{FR:} Oh, that was in the 1950s

\textbf{MG:} Was it just anybody coming to the showground could watch?

\textbf{FR:} It was in the centre of the show ring ... Thursday night was a lot of people from Lismore, it was the main night, the main attraction ... When [the] lights went on in the centre of the ring, they all marched out, painted up, you know, with bugahs and boomerangs, and the women, and in the centre, they'd have a mike and my grandfather and granny sang the old tribal song (Gummow Lismore 1988 FT88/1).

The specific performance that Roberts participated in has not been included in the sample of songs and as far as I am aware, was not recorded; he gave this description, however, after he had listened to Song 139 in the sample and stated that this was the same song. This song is only one performance of Text 41; further details concerning the performance of this song at the Lismore Show can be found in part b below.

Shake-a-Leg songs continued to be performed regularly until at least the early 1970s. In 1970, Donnelly explained to Sommerlad that a group of three or four men from Woodenbong began to perform the old songs and dances. When they first began they could only perform one song and dance, Shake-a-Leg.

\textbf{JS:} You explain about the three or four that you have at Woodenbong that go around dancing.

\textbf{DD:} Oh, there's Rory Close, Herbert Charles, Cecil Taylor. They're the dancers. I'm singing you know ...They only sing one song. Like, you must sing different song for different dance. Now this is Shake-a-Leg now. I'll sing it for you. This is Shake-a-Leg one. They say now djangal ... this is Shake-a-Leg. Quick one (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

\textsuperscript{11} It is possible that Roberts was also explaining several different meanings of the term "Yawahr"; due to the nature of the material, however, it is impossible to be certain.
This song was extremely suitable for their performances as its minimum requirement was only two dancers and one singer. Charlotte Page has described performances of Shake-a-Leg by Rory Close and Herbert Charles (see Plate 16):

And my brother [Rory Close] and our cousin [Herbert Charles] - they're gone now - they used to do the leg corroboree [sic]. And they were pretty smart with their legs and they used to have this spear and what's that baga: ... They had a shield and a spear each and they'd be acting as if there was really fighting, you know. As if they was going to kill one another with these spears. Some people used to get frightened because they thought it was going to happen but we got used to it and we knew what was going to happen. If they did throw their spear they'd throw it either behind that other fellow or into the ground (Riebe 1988: 7-8).

Text 46 from the sample comprises three Shake-a-Leg songs (S 124, 125 and 126) that were sung by Cecil Taylor and danced by Herbert Charles and Rory Close in 1968. Photographs from this performance have also been included. Details of this performance are given in part b (see pp. 104-105).

In 1969 Lyle Roberts taught a group of Lismore school boys a Shake-a-Leg dance (and possibly song) which they performed at a school concert. A photograph of this is available in Oakes (1972: 6). In 1986 Shake-a-Leg was performed for me at Bonalbo by Eric Walker. This song (S 331) is Text 1b in the sample. Before he sang the song he mentioned that he was teaching girls and boys the dance. After he began singing his wife Una Walker began dancing and was then joined by her three year old grandson. This is the only dance I have seen performed (Gummow Bonalbo 1986 FT9A).

b) Specific Texts From the Sample

The following are details relating to Shake-a-Leg songs in the sample of songs and comprise texts: 1a, 1b, 21, 29, 31, 32, 41, 46 and 92. Every song in this category has been identified as Shake-a-Leg by the performer, recordist or later by Bundjalung people listening to recordings. No songs in this category appear in any other song category.
Plate 16. Herbert Charles (left), Cecil Taylor (singer) and Rory Close from Woodenbong ready to perform the Shake-a-Leg, 1966. Photograph courtesy of Charlotte Page.
Text 1a: Shaking Leg Djanggara Song [Maralingya - Gamilaroi]

Calley has described this song as "a djanggara, shaking leg song which was brought in along the trade routes from the Gamilaroi country farther west" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). The singer usually describes this as a Shake-a-Leg from the Gamilaroi area; on one occasion, however, he stated that this song was from the Gungari area.

Text 1b: Shake-a-Leg

According to the singer, Eric Walker, there is more of this song, but he was not able to remember the entire song. From listening to this song it is apparent that this text could possibly be part of Text 1a; it is difficult, however, to be certain as the singer had not sung the song for many years and may have changed some of the text. Also, a textual transcription has not yet been done. Walker stated that this Shake-a-Leg song is from the Gungari area near New England and Glen Innes. While he sang this song his wife, Una Walker, and one of their grandchildren danced.

Text 21: Shake-a-Leg

There is a recording problem and part of the song (S 26) is recorded at double speed. Donnelly describes this song as a Shake-a-Leg.

Text 29: Shaking Leg - Wayal Wayal

Donnelly learnt this Shake-a-Leg song in Baryulgil. According to Geytenbeek it could possibly be in the Galibal dialect.

Text 31: King Bobby's Song

Donnelly described how this song was performed by King Bobby, leader of the Aboriginal group at Baryulgil, and Tom Bissetti, the Italian publican:
Well, King Bobby was the head of the tribe ... Lionsville was about 12 mile away from Yugilbar Station where they were livin' then. Well, this Tom Bissetti, he built a pub up there see. And they said, "Hey, oh look, there's a man going to build a pub up there at Lionsville". There was a great gold rush there see. And this Tom Bissetti must have thought "Oh I'll make money while the gold is going good". Anyhow, all the diggers and that used to buy there ... Well, King Bobby went up there and got in with old Tom Bissetti, you see. And he used to sing him this song. This one. This is how he got round Tom Bissetti to give him a drink.

Old King Bobby used to shake his leg and Tom Bissetti said, "This is a wonderful man, this fella ... I better give him a nobbler, give him a drink. Get right up on the brandy"[said] Tom. "Bob, sing me that song".

King Bobby's shakin' his leg and jumpin' around about and as long as he's got that bit of, you know, rum stuck into him, he's right. Well, ... old King Bobby sung it to him that night, that much, that many times, old Tom Bissetti started to sing that song too, see. Every time he see King Bobby comin' he sing that song. It made old King Bobby ...

"I can get a drink whenever I want it".

So, at the finish, all the people nearly shifted from Baryulgil and lived around the pub at Lionsville ... Well they're going to live up there at Tom Bissetti's because he had all the drink. They made a camp all around Tom Bissetti's pub (Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

On another occasion when Donnelly was describing this song he stated

Old Tom Bissetti used to be the old publican one time ago. So the old King Bobby used to be very fond of this man. So he used to stop with him there and he was the tail end of the wild tribe, this old King Bobby was. Anyhow, we used to, Old Tom Bissetti got in with him and he [King Bobby] used to spin some good Yawahr song to old Tom. So Tom used to be very fond of this man ... This is that Italian. He used to sing that song beautifully just like old King Bobby used to sing it. That's the song that old Tom Bissetti learned from old King Bobby (Geytenbeek Woodenbong 1964 LA3392A).

It is not clear if Donnelly was referring generally to other songs that King Bobby sang or, if he was categorising this Shake-a-Leg song as a type of Yawahr song.

Text 32: Shake-a-Leg

This song (S 68) was recorded at an extremely low level and is almost inaudible. The singer states that this song is another Shake-a-Leg song.
Text 41: Roberts' Corroboree Song

Although this song is referred to by singers as a Corroboree Song as well as a Shake-a-Leg song, due to the detailed information available I have classified it only as Shake-a-Leg. According to Lyle Roberts, his father made this song and it describes how his father left his family at Wyrallah and Lismore to settle with his wife at Cabbage Tree Island. All his relatives missed him and cried.

In song 128 the singer sings brrr between sections 1 and 2. This recording was made by M Oakes in 1968, after the singer, Lyle Roberts, had listened to recordings of Cecil Taylor from Woodenbong. Oakes was asking Roberts about the Shake-a-Leg songs they had been listening to and Roberts described this song as a djanggalbili (Shake-a-Leg) and a Yawahr.

According to Fletcher Roberts, Text 41 was so popular that it was performed at the Lismore Show some time around the 1950s. He remembered how he was one of the dancers in this song; and that the dance comprised up to twenty women and twenty men.

MG: And how many people danced in that corroboree?
FR: Oh, 20 or 15 and 15 to 20 women.
MG: And that was men and women.
FR: Yeah (Gummow Lismore1988 FT88/1).

This is in contrast to the Shake-a-Leg performances mentioned earlier that comprised only two dancers. There are two possible reasons why this performance included more dancers than the performances mentioned earlier. First, it is possible that in Lismore the Shake-a-Leg dance, in contrast to other areas in the Bundjalung area, always included many dancers. The second reason, however, appears to be more likely and becomes clear when we examine the circumstances surrounding the Lismore Show performance. The Shake-a-Leg dance was very spectacular and was probably an impressive dance to perform to an audience not familiar with Aboriginal dance. Also, at the time of performance, that is the 1950s, it is probable that many of the dancers learnt the dance especially for this performance. Under these circumstances, therefore, it may have been appropriate to have a large group of dancers perform together.
It is quite likely that the performance Roberts maintained occurred during the 1950s actually occurred in 1962. Roberts stated that the local newspaper mentioned the corroboree at the show, and the only description I have been able to locate appeared on the 18 October 1962. The description of the performance is as follows:

Poor lighting last night spoiled the aboriginal corroboree for 12,000 people at the Show.
The corroboree was presented by aborigines from Cubawee reserve Tuncester.
It has not before been presented at a North Coast exhibition.
Most of the 12,000 people in the ground rushed the grandstands and ringside when the corroboree started.
But the effect of the corroboree was lost because of the poor lighting near the centre of the ring.
Despite this, spectators cheered the aborigines after each ceremonial tableau.

One of the few remaining full-blooded aborigines in the district, 77-year-old Lyle Roberts, organised and led the corroboree.
He chanted tribal dialect over the public address system in harmony with the performances of the rituals.
His dialect and gutturel [sic] utterances were a faithful repetition of early tribal performances.
Male members of the corroboree were marked with war paint made from clay (Northern Star 1962: 4).

This is one of the most recent written descriptions of Bundjalung performance that we have. Unfortunately it does not give many details of the song or dance.

**Text 46: Djanggalbili - Shaking Leg**

This text was performed for a meeting of the Casino Historical Society. The singer was Cecil Taylor and the dancers were Herbert Charles and Rory Close. Taylor introduced this performance (unfortunately due to the recording quality it is not possible to hear everything that is spoken).

Ladies and gentlemen the next song on the program is what we call a quick leg stroke. Now this was done all over the Commonwealth of Australia amongst our people. Now here tonight we've got pretty experienced [inaudible] So now to give you an idea what they used to have in the early days. Now this corroboree is very seldom seen today [inaudible] (Oakes Woodenbong 1968 LA1066A).

Although this performance was not specifically identified by the performers as a Shake-a-Leg song, the recording was later played to Lyle Roberts of Lismore, who stated that this song was a Djanggalbili, or Shake-a-Leg.
It is quite likely that Text 46 could be identified as *Yelbelay Yulbelay*. In 1988 Charlotte Page stated that there were many different Shake-a-Leg songs and some of the individual songs had specific names:

It wasn't a corroboree - it was a leg corroboree you know... It's got a funny name - *Yelbelay Yulbelay* -- I don't know what that means. *Yelbelay Yulbelay* - that's the name of the song (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2).

Although the recording quality is not good, the word *yelbelay* can be heard several times.

**Text 92: Shake-a-Leg**

The singer Eric Walker, stated that both boys and girls danced the Shake-a-Leg. While this song was being sung by Eric Walker, his wife Una Walker, danced in the kitchen (that is, away from the singer and recordist).

**Burun**

a) General Information

Crowley when working at Tabulam documented the noun *Bulun* 12 as a "corroboree in which participants shake their chests" (Crowley 1978: 181). The Geytenbeeks when working on the Gidabal dialect in the Woodenbong area also documented the noun *Bulun* as meaning a "corroboree involving considerable movement of trunk and hips" (Geytenbeek 1971: 54). This genre, similar to *Yawahr* and Shake-a-Leg, is distinguished by dance movement.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

In the sample of songs only Text 2 has been identified as a *Burun*, or shaking chest song.

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12 I have used the term "Burun", as it was used by Eric Walker in 1985 (Walker pers. comm. 1985).
Text 2: Shaking Chest, Burun

Calley describes this song as "a Burun, shaking chest song in the Bundjalung language from round about Woodenbong" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). According to Eric Walker of Bonalbo the dance to this song was performed by men only and involved shaking their chests while they stood in a circle (Walker pers. comm. 1985).

Sing-You-Down

a) General Information

In the sample of recordings there are several songs that have been described by singers as songs for "running-you-down" or a "warning song" or they might say "I'll sing this fella down" after they have explained the circumstances surrounding the creation of the song. In 1955 Calley first used the term "gossip song" when introducing a song in Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls, which concerns two young girls who are being cheeky to their grandfather (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). It is quite probable that Calley adopted the term from Elkin who had used it since 1946 to describe songs from Arnhem Land concerned with peoples' activities and behaviour (Elkin 1954: 74). The term "gossip song" is not used by Bundjalung singers, and I have not been able to find a vernacular term which was used to describe these songs. In the AIATSIS archives several of these songs are described as corroboree songs, but it is not clear whether they were a particular type of Yawahr song, or a different type of song. Two texts, Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls and Text (20): Crow were performed with dancing in the early days. It is not clear if other songs in this category were also danced.

It appears that Sing-You-Down songs were used to control social behaviour in communities. The songs and their stories are concerned with some type of unacceptable behaviour by particular people. They were sung and used as a warning to let the people know that their activities were being observed. If the person concerned did not listen to the song and change their ways they were then punished more
severely, the punishment sometimes resulting in their death. Donnelly has described how these songs were used to embarrass people in order to enforce law and order in the camp:

Years ago, you see, they never took anything to court, but that's the way they let the people know that he'd done wrong. They'd make a song about it. If I done wrong, they'd make a song about me, then they'd go right to the middle of the people, then they'd sing it and they'd be listening now... They'd say, “What have you been doin? ... This man is singing about you. You mustn't do that again see.” Everyone knew what you'd done, see. Your secrets, like. He's watching you all the time, but he makes a song about you after (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1219B).

The subjects covered in these songs include drinking, gambling and generally any type of behaviour that was unacceptable.

Two song makers who were known for observing people's activities and making songs about them were Jack Barron from Woodenbong, and Raymond Duncan from Koreelah in southern Queensland. Taylor, from Woodenbong, has described how Raymond Duncan observed the people and made these songs:

That old chap, practically, he was starting to think, he was laying down on his stomach, from a place where no one couldn't hardly see him, you know ... So he, sort of smart fella, and wicked fella. He announced that he was and so, clever old chap, making songs of course. Just like Slim Dusty and all these hillbilly fellas ... practically make these songs up, put it together. So did this old chap (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

Due to the public nature of these Sing-You-Down songs were one of the few types of song that continued to have relevance in communities at a time when the traditional rituals and their associated songs were being performed less often. Another reason why these songs were remembered and performed frequently may be because of the remarkable stories that surround their creation and performance. Specific details of the songs in the sample can be found in Appendix 3 under the relevant text numbers which are listed in part b. Details of two songs will be discussed here, Text 6: Two-Up and Text 30: Raymond Duncan.

Two-Up is perhaps the most well known Sing-You-Down song and was composed by Jack Barron of Woodenbong. The song describes a game of two-up, a gambling game in which two pennies are spun in the air and bets are laid on whether
they fall heads or tails. This song is still remembered today throughout the Bundjalung area and other areas of New South Wales (it has been recorded on the south coast of New South Wales). It concerns George Slabbin at Dunoon. Every time there was a game of two-up Slabbin would pick up the pennies. The person who picked up the pennies had to be paid and Slabbin refused to let anyone else have a turn at picking them up. Jack Barron was watching Slabbin and made this song about it. Donnelly has explained how Barron used the song as a warning to Slabbin and what would happen if Slabbin didn't take any notice of this warning:

DD: Well, he runned him down. He shouldn't be doin' what he was doin', you know ... He said, "I'll steady this man now. I'll sing him," you see. It's the only way to steady him. He steadied him down all right. Because everybody knew then round about Baryulgil and different other places. I got the song and I sung it in different places about George Slabbin see. Well they runned him down that song. Well, that's what they used to do years ago to quieten a person down if he was doing a thing what he shouldn't do.

AW: And the person, like George couldn't go back to Jack and ... tell him off or anything?

DD: Oh no, because he sing him again.

AW: He didn't get angry or anything?

DD: ... If he sing you, well, you gotta quieten down. See they was head of the tribe, see. These fellas, older people you must take notice of older people. Because the young people couldn't be doin' things, you know what I mean? Mustn't be bossin' the old people. See. That time if you do, well they take you up there then way up in the [inaudible] death. You understand me? If a young people start disturbing the old people and not doin what they should, you know what I mean? Not lookin' after the old people, well, they say, "You better go up here." Well they said, "What are you going to do?" "If you don't keep quiet or do the thing ... what the people want you to do here, we'll put you up there. Because you're a bad man. We get rid of you," see. Death for that man. Well George was frightened now. Better take notice of this. He gave the pennies to somebody else now. Jack can have them (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

Another famous song, composed by Raymond Duncan, describes himself, the composer. It would have been sung as a Sing-You-Down song, except that Duncan, as composer, decided to praise himself rather than run himself down. In it he mentions what a marvellous fellow he is and describes himself as a wicked fellow (possibly because he is always watching people and making songs about them). Then he
mentions that his own country is the Koreelah district in southern Queensland and describes what a fine place it is. Donnelly described the song:

This Duncan he was a great song maker, see. Well, there was a certain tribe, a certain country see. Koreelah was old Duncan's land, you see. They said, well, "That's your run over there."

"Where?"

"Over Koreelah", see. Well, he must have thought to himself, "I'll make a song about this place," see. Well, in that song he's played himself up, what they done. How he lived over there see, where he was born ... Duncan the great man praises himself in the song ... Oh, he praised himself in the song. Oh no, he wouldn't run himself down. Poor old Duncan - he was a great man ... but you want to look out - you mustn't do things wrong while he was about ... because [he'll] sing you quick (Oakes and Willoughby 1977 LA4745A).

In 1988 Charlotte Page from Woodenbong explained how earlier this century, when she was a young girl, songs were used in her family as a punishment for unacceptable behaviour:

And then, so her [Lena] and I would have a bit of a fight now and again at home. I don't know whether sisters are all like that but I know her and I used to ... And then sometimes it would be that way Dad would be listening. 'Righto, come on out here you two.' This is the way he used to punish us. Not with a strap or a stick. It's a funny thing. Right in the front of our place, the big place, slab house what he built, a tin roof, it had two big stumps in the front. Not really big, just enough for us to stand on. One was higher than the other and I'd have to get on the high one. 'Right,' he said, 'get up there now.' And, oh, it would hurt us to get up there, we didn't like it. 'Stand up straight.' And then I used to think, well, I'd rather get a hiding than this but then it was a hiding. Instead of getting the hiding we had to try and get up on the stumps. And our brothers would be there whispering and teasing us, you know, and we're struggling to get on the stump. And so when we got up there on the stump, 'Right, now turn round and face us.' We wouldn't want to look at them because they was teasing us and poking faces at us and making fun of us. But anyhow, 'Stand up straight, Dad would say. One word and we had to do it. And then he'd say, 'Whistle that song now.' There was one certain song that we had to whistle13 and we had a job to whistle it. It was mostly whistled than sing because they would be looking at our mouth see. It used to be funny when we tried to whistle. And when we finished singing it, or whistling that song, he'd say, 'Alright, get down now.' And everything would be alright again (Riebe 1988: 2-3).

The song mentioned by Page cannot be identified in the sample of songs. It is clear, however, that this type of song was probably being performed until quite recently, and

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13 In 1978 Crowley documented the term win-bal meaning whistling (Crowley 1978: 189).
perhaps is still being performed by a few Bundjalung people today. It is also obvious from the details in Appendix 3 that Sing-You-Down songs were extremely popular and continued to be performed many generations after their original law-enforcing function was needed.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

I have categorised the following texts as Sing-You-Down songs: 6, 7, 19, (20), 30, 44, 51 and (62). Texts 6, 7, 19, and (20) have all been described by Bundjalung performers as Sing-You-Down or a song "running you down". Text 30, as stated earlier, praises Duncan instead of running him down. Texts 44 and 51 have been described by performers as "warning songs". Two texts have also been classified in other song categories: Text (20) has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs, due to its supernatural aspects (see p. 153); and Text (62) has also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 148), due to the fact that it is not clear whether the song is a Sing-You-Down or merely describes a public event. Details of all these songs are given below and further details can be found in Appendix 3 under the relevant text numbers.

Text 6: Two-Up

This song is discussed above in part a) General Information.

Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls

This song was composed by Jimmy Biggle about two young women who annoyed their grandfather. Donnelly knew the two women from Tabulam who are described in the song. Donnelly stated that the dance to this song was performed in the two-up ring.
Text 19: Old Mrs Bissetti

This song was composed by King Bobby, leader of the Aboriginal group at Baryulgil. It concerns Mrs Bissetti, the publican's wife at Lionsville, near Baryulgil during the gold rush in the early 1900s. King Bobby made this song after Mrs Bissetti refused to give him a free drink.

Text (20): Crow

According to Donnelly, this song, which concerns the crow, was very old. He learnt it from his mother when he was six or seven years old. It is in an old language. Donnelly stated that it was about a crow who was annoying a man while he was cooking a possum. The man decided to "sing the crow down" because he made so much noise. This song was also danced (Walker pers. comm. 1986). In an early recording (S40) Donnelly described the supernatural aspects of the song. These are discussed under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 153).

Text 30: Raymond Duncan

This song was composed by Raymond Duncan and is discussed above in part a) General Information.

Text 44: Tumbler

This is another song by Duncan and was made around 1910 at Casino. It concerns a man called Finnegan. In the old days this song was sung to warn Finnegan to stop drinking. This song was described by Taylor as a "warning song" (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

Text 51: Two-Headed Threepence

This song was made by Duncan and concerned Billy Hill. Duncan knew that Hill was cheating at two-up and he sang this song to warn Hill that he might be caught.
Taylor described how Duncan sang this song while Hill was travelling from Ngulumgar Station on the Richmond River to Kyogle (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

Text (62): Gambling Song - Goverman Song

This song describes gambling at Stony Gully which was about six miles from Kyogle. The song mentions winning money. In all performances the singer, Donnelly, mentioned that the gambling boss might have been Alec Vesper who won all the money and cleaned out the other players. I have also classified this song under Public Events Songs (see p. 148) as it is not clear whether this is a song that mentions gambling generally, or is directed towards Alec Vesper because he won the money.

Blessing For Babies

a) General Information

There is no general information concerning this type of song.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

Text (8) is the only text in this category.

Text (8): Pigeon Call One Note/Island To Mainland/Song Sung To Babies

This text has been sung by four different singers and has four different types of contextual information. It has been classified under Blessing For Babies; Healing Songs (see p. 136); Initiation Songs (see p. 145); and Sites and Dreamings Songs, (see p. 151). It is possible that this text had several levels of meaning and different singers knew different levels of meaning. Songs 31-37, 106, 347, 348 and 349 of Text (8) are discussed here.

Songs 31-37 and 106 of Text (8) were performed by Jim Morgan who described this as a very old song and stated that some of the song words belonged to a lost language. According to Morgan, the most important part of this song was
associated with his grandmother. When he was a baby and beginning to learn to walk, early every morning, as soon as he got up, his grandmother used to pick him up and stand him on his feet. Then she would massage him all over, starting from the legs and going all over the body. Then she would sing this song which was used as a kind of blessing. As she massaged him she would talk to him and say,

> These arms, let them be strong. When you grow up you're going to be a good man. You're not going to do anything that's wrong and you're not going to be wicked because if you're going to be wicked you won't live long. Somebody will kill you. So you've got to be very good. And you're not going to forget about these things that I'm tellin' ya (Gibbons Coraki 1966 LA434B).

Then she would blow into his ears and say,

> Let these ears be opened. Can you hear me? Listen to me (Gibbons Coraki 1966 LA434B).

According to Morgan, in the old days the grandmothers of all the boys would sing and give advice to the boys and it was like a kindergarten stage of their initiation. Children were not allowed to grow up without knowing right from wrong.

In 1988, Eric Walker performed Text (8) (see S 347, 348 and 349) and stated that songs were still being sung to babies. For more details of the context of these songs see Appendix 3, Text (8).

**Lullaby**

a) General Information

In 1988, Charlotte Page of Woodenbong described how when she was young her mother or father would sing songs to send her to sleep. She described how her father sang to her:

> CP: He'd be laying on his back and he'd put me on his stomach, on his tummy and he'll sing these songs see ... and tap my back to make me go to sleep (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2A).

It is not clear if these songs were sung specifically as lullabies, or if they were also sung in other types of performance contexts. On one occasion Page stated that they were not special songs, but just a song he would sing. Just after this, however, she stated that they were not corroboree songs, but special songs. It is not clear if she
meant that any type of song that was not danced could be sung as a Lullaby, or that there were specific songs sung only as lullabies.14

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

Text 64 is the only text from the sample that has been identified by its performer as a Lullaby.

Text 64: Lullaby

The singer, Donnelly, heard this song when he was about twelve years old sung by his mother and other people. He used to sing this song to his thirteen children to put them to sleep. A translation of the text is not possible. The singer stated that it was a very old song in an old language. After one performance he stated that the word for sleep was buni; it is not clear, however, if this word is in the same language as the language of the song. On another occasion he stated that he could not give any meanings of the words of the song. It is not clear if lullabies were sung only by women or women and men.

Djingan

a) General Information

In 1971 the Geytenbeeks documented the word "djingan " as a noun from the Gidabal dialect meaning a "sacred song-prayer" (Geytenbeek 1971: 57). In the recordings there is only one reference to what may have been described as a Djingan song. The song, although not actually performed, is discussed by Harry Cook from Cabbage Tree Island. It concerns supernatural events and was composed by Cook's grandfather who was known as a "clever man". Before Cook discusses the song he

14 Further west in the Murawari area, Jimmie Barker recorded a lullaby and explained that they were usually sung slowly by women as children went to sleep. This particular lullaby was a well liked song and was also used at corroborees where its performance would be much faster and longer with more repeats to facilitate the dancers (Barker Brewarrina 1970 LA1921B). This song would have been classified, therefore, into more than one type of performance context by its performers.
states "Well, he made this Diungan song". (In the recording the word "djungan" is so indistinct that it is impossible to know if this is definitely what Cook was saying.) If Cook did in fact describe this as a Diungan song, he would presumably have been referring to the supernatural events that occurred to his grandfather which led to the song's creation. It concerns Evans Head and Cook described the events surrounding the song to Gordon:

HC: Evans Head, yes they've got one for Evans Head but ... my old man, grandfather, made a corroboree song there, you know. Well, he made this Diungan song. Well, he was away out in the sea somewhere - Evans Head, and he was sort of a clever man, he was. Sort of a witch like.
JG: Yes.
HC: And, well, God must of give him that power see.
JG: Yes.
HC: To heal people. Well, them, Evans Head, actually the mob was watayacall there ... like. They have a corroboree under the sea, in the cave somewhere.
JG: A corroboree under the sea, in the cave?
HC: Yeah ... He made a song out o' that corroboree song, he caught that. It was corroboree and all about here with it.
JG: You saw that corroboree?
HC: Yeah, I seen that corroboree.
JG: And heard that song.
HC: Yeah, that song, but I forgot all about it and they used to all - watayacallit - one time. Yeah you see, he was under the sea for a week. They were lookin' for him and they come down here ... The white people ... people like. They come down here lookin' for him. They didn't know where he went, but, when they come back to Evans Head, under the sea somewhere, they're feeding him on brandy - his boss like - he was cold and watayacallit? They were feeding him on brandy, when he come back and he got all right then and he made that song. He made up that song on them ... on the land, after he come out of the sea. You see, he seen 'em corroboreeing, all the women, that's ... whether they took him in the sea ... but he was away for a week - he must have been under the sea - they must have took him - all the witches from the seaside like - under the sea. They took him away and had him there for weeks. He was my grandfather (Gordon Cabbage Tree Island 1968 LA1219B).

From Cook's description it appears that his grandfather, a clever man, witnessed a corroboree under the sea at Evans Head, and after he returned to the land he made a song about his experience. Cook also described this as a corroboree song. It is possible that his use of the term corroboree only referred to the fact that the song also

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15 The vowel shift in the first syllable is a standard difference between the southern dialect spoken by Cook at Cabbage Tree Island and the northern dialect documented by the Geytenbeeks at Woodenbong.
had a dance, and was not referring to another genre of song. As the material concerning the context of this song is unclear, it is impossible to be certain how the performers of this song would have classified it.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

No songs in the sample have been identified by their performers as *Diingan* songs. Two texts, (70) and (88), are most clearly parallel to the example cited above. I have also classified them under *Sites and Dreamings*. There are other texts in the sample classified under *Sites and Dreamings Songs*, (see p. 151) which may also have been *Diingan*, but we do not have information to make this connection.

**Text (70): Unyoke Bullocks**

The singer, Dick Donnelly, described this song:

Now, there was a bullocky, he was an Aborigine, see ... he was a bullock driver, this man. I forget his name now. Just the other side of Kyogle town ... Just when you get down to that town you see that mill. That was the track one time, the bullocky's track. They used to bring logs and different other things over from different other place. This man, the bullock wagon got bogged there, right up to the axles, see. Well, he was floggin' them to try to get them out and he heard a noise from heaven.

"Don't you do that" ... He heard a noise ... Well, that made him, you know, no good. He unyoked the bullock, see. "You mustn't do that, don't flog the bullock because he can't pull him out of that bog". Well, he went home and made a song ... He soon unyoked the bullock, let him go. He went home. He gonna pray. He heard the noise from heaven (Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

A dance was made and performed with this song at Baryulgil. Donnelly used to perform the dance and learnt the song. Later he learnt the story of the song from Alec Vesper in Woodenbong. This song was also danced and Donnelly describes how in his earlier days when he lived at Baryulgil he learnt the dance.

DD: Yeah. Then they made a good dance out of that song. I used to do it down at Baryulgil. And I used to dance to that song, see? *Duguhn Balehn* (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

From the above it appears that "*Duguhn Balehn*" was the name of the dance. (It is probable that it also referred to the noise from heaven, similar to "*Dugun Malehn*" in
Text (88) below. Donnelly also describes how after he moved to Woodenbong and forgot about this song, the story of this song was described in a church service by a senior member of the Woodenbong community, Alec Vesper:

Well, I come up this way now [to Woodenbong]. One Sunday, old Alec, you know old Alec Vesper? ... He'll tell you the story about this now up in church on Sunday. I thought if I open my binum now, that binum means I open my ear, why ... Hey, after the church was over I went and had a coke with old Alec. Old Alec told me then who made it and where it was made and what noise he heard from heaven, see. Well, I thought to myself, well, this is funny. I found out where it was made and who made it and just the other side of the Kyogle town (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

Text (88): Heavens Open

According to Eric Walker this was a very serious spiritual song which was sung and danced by both men and women. It describes how God showed a man whose daughter had died a glimpse of heaven and his daughter in heaven. He stated:

EW: Yeah, he was a clever man yeah. He was the man that made this, who sang this watsaname, corroboree like, made this. Oh yeah it puts something through you to think that there's something there. There is a another meeting place ... you know ... There is life after death, like. Which a lot of people think when you die you're finished, you're dead and you're gone, but the Aborigines that was their belief. They knew that there was heaven up there somewhere ... They knew that there was God ... They knew that there was God in the three, you know the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. They had the names for them all, the Aborigines ... this is the corroboree that they sing ... Dugum Malehn yeah ... It's about the heavens open. And in the same way, John, [inaudible] he didn't know what it was all about but God sent him there because he could give him a good glimpse of heaven and show him what heaven goina look like. You know what I mean? And that's the same as this old man like - God, he showed him this ... see. This song Dugum Malehn. Dugum is something that explodes like. You know if you've got a gun like. Well he heard that up there ... It's a real spiritual watsaname and then everybody starts you know. And then they brought you - like if you come when they have this corroboree and then you couldn't come to it and just walk straight up to it. Before you could come to it you'd have to get, you know, say about ten or fifteen yards, might be more, and a couple of elders, or a elder would come along, a woman like ... you know... If there was a woman come along then they'd come and grab you and they'd take you up and sit you down in the place. You just couldn't come and just walk straight up because it was very serious, you know, sacred (Gummow Bonalbo 1985 FT8A).
Jaw Breaker

a) General Information

There is no general information available concerning this type of song.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

Only Text 57 from the sample has been described by the performer as a Jaw Breaker. There is no information available concerning the performance context. It appears to be similar to a tongue twister.

Text 57: Jaw Breaker

The singer did not know the meaning of this song, but described it as a Jaw Breaker.
Part 2. Song Categories Identified From The Literature

As stated at the beginning of this chapter it has been necessary to make the division between song categories established by Bundjalung singers and song categories established from the literature because information from performers is not always reflected in the literature and vice versa. The following seven song categories have been identified from the literature: Corroboree Songs; Increase Songs - Species and Rain; Hunting Songs; Healing Songs; Sorcery Songs; Mortuary Songs; and Initiation Songs. I have also included another section, Other, for miscellaneous songs described in the literature.

In general, it has been possible to place only a small number of songs from the sample into these categories. Where possible, literature concerning the Bundjalung area has been used. When this is not possible, literature from other areas of south-eastern Australia has been used in an attempt to provide a more detailed picture of what might have been performed throughout south-eastern Australia in the past.

The following eight sections discuss each song category mentioned above. Each of the eight sections is divided into two parts: a) General Information; b) Specific Texts From The Sample. Due to the large amount of material under Increase Songs, part a) of this section has been further subdivided into: Species Songs (Including Babies); and Rain Songs.

Corroboree Songs

a) General Information

As discussed in relation to Yawahr, (see p. 77), in the Bundjalung literature and the AIATSIS recordings there are many songs and performances described as corroborees and Corroboree Songs. For details of descriptions of corroborees in the literature see Yawahr (see pp. 77-82). There are also several photographs of corroborees; many of these, however, do not have detailed explanations (see Plate 17).
Plate 17. Preparing for a corroboree at Dyraaba Station on the Richmond River, property of Henry Barnes, 1860s. Photograph possibly taken by J.W. Lindt. Reproduced by John Oxley Library.
b) Specific Texts From The Sample

I am using the category Corroboree Songs to include all songs in the sample that have been identified as danced public songs, and have not been classified into a category established by Bundjalung people. The following eight texts from the sample have been classified as Corroboree Songs: 26, 27, 53, 69, (72), 75, 90 and 93. Although texts 53, 69, (72), 75, 90 and 93 have been described by performers as Corroboree Songs it is not clear if they may have originally belonged to specific Bundjalung genres such as Yawahr. Text (72) has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs.

Text 26: Bubumanyeh Buyeh

According to Morgan there were about four or five different verses to this song. Only part of the song is sung here, presumably the first verse. Morgan used to dance in this song when he was a boy. He stated that the dancers would be painted with white clay and red ochre. Everyone was painted differently. The song would be sung near a campfire and beyond the light of the fire the dancers would be seen coming to the fire from all directions. Some of the dancers would be crawling and some would be just sneaking along. Then they would all get in a row and dance (Gibbons Coraki 1966 LA434B).

Text 27: Unidentified I

According to Morgan, some songs, like this one, were so fast that sometimes a mandolin or another instrument accompanied the song (Gibbons Coraki 1966 LA434B).

Text 53: Song in Bandjelang [Bundjalung] I

The singer stated that this song was about a corroboree. When she finished singing she stated that she forgot the song. It is not clear whether she meant that she
had forgotten the next part of the song, or whether she was stating how surprised she was that she could sing this song because she thought she had forgotten it.

**Text 69: Weeping Mother**

According to the singer, Leonie Binge, this is a Corroboree Song and was performed with a willow tree dance. A mother is weeping like a willow because the husband and wife have gone away. (Presumably the wife is her daughter.) She is weeping and swaying like a willow tree. While she is doing this girls and boys also dance. The girls dance around the boys who stand in a circle. The girls have willow leaves in their hands which they sway like a willow. Then they kneel and bow while they cry. Then people (presumably the boys) come and stand the girls up and comfort them. This was repeated several times. The singer learnt this song in Lismore and at some time before 1970 it was performed by a group of Aboriginal performers who visited schools to perform to school children.

**Text (72): Leo's Song**

This song concerns Leo, a Gidabal warrior and ancestral being. While Leo was away from his wife Dormarah he asked her to sing to him. He stated that if she sang the echo of her voice would travel to him and help him to win the war (Gummow Tooloom Falls 1985 FT7A). This song was danced by men and women and described by Boyd as a Corroboree Song. I have also classified this song under Sites and Dreamings (see p. 156) due to its subject matter.

**Text 75: Woman Being Tied Down By A Spell**

According to Boyd, this song is about her grandparents and great-grandparents. She stated:
MB: They're singin' out. My grandfather was singin' out. This is belong to the Geynyan tribe - my great-grandparents, my grandmother ... That's up Warwick way. They belong to Warwick, but they brought that corroboree to Woodenbong ... This woman - fighting for her life you know. My grandmother and she put her hand out and ... she said, ...

"Brother ... get hold of me by the hand and lift me up put out of all this spell that's around my body" ...

All the spell was tied around her body ... She was getting discouraged ... when she could hear that song ... to come and catch her (Gummow Casino 1985 FT7B).

The dance to this was described as a pretty corroboree where the dancers were painted black and white. There were seven dancers and one singer, Jack Barron, lead the corroboree. One woman sat down in the middle and called out to her brother to hold her hand and pull her up out of the spell.

**Text 90: Tribal Fight**

According to Walker, this Corroboree Song concerns a tribal fight. When there was a dispute between two tribes they would finish the dispute by fighting out on a hill. Although they would not kill one another they would have a serious fight. After this the dispute would finish. The dance was done by men who had shields and nulla nullas. When one group put their shield up the other group hit them and then vice versa. Then one group would fall down and the other group would make smoke signals as a sign of victory (Gummow Bonalbo 1985 FT8A).

**Text 93: Gungari Jack**

According to Walker, this song is part of a Gungari corroboree. Gungari Jack was the main dancer and when he danced he could get down on the ground and shake his legs. Other men would also dance in this corroboree which was made by Raymond Duncan (Gummow Bonalbo 1986 FT9A).
Increase Songs - Species (Including Babies) and Rain

a) General Information

Species Songs (Including Babies)

During the 1960s, the Geytenbeeks recorded the noun "birbanj", a generic term meaning "increase corroboree" (1971: 60). It is clear that in the Bundjalung and neighbouring areas on the coast there were many increase sites where rites were performed. In 1984, the National Parks and Wildlife Service had located a total of 43 increase sites in NSW. All 43 sites are on the north coast of NSW, and Creamer stated that this area appears to be "isolated geographically and to some extent culturally from the rest of the state" (1984: 2.14). These sites may be marked by some particular feature such as a waterhole, a peculiar rock or stone, a group of trees or a mountain and include places for the increase of certain species such as wattle, grubs, possum, honey bees (as well as specific rain sites and sites relating to the increase of babies). Traditionally they were known as *djurbil*, but today they may be referred to as "holy places" or "prayer rocks".

In 1929, Radcliffe-Brown spent three weeks in Woodenbong among the Gidabal people and stated "one of the most important features is the existence of localized rites for the increase of natural species" (1929: 399). He gives details of nine different *djurbil* sites used for increase rites. According to Radcliffe-Brown, at a *djurbil* that consisted of sacred stones, it was not uncommon for some of these stones to resemble the shape of the species with which they were connected. He also states that he was satisfied that the animal or other natural species that the site was connected with, was, or had been, abundant in the area where the rite for its increase was performed (1929: 409). Radcliffe-Brown was also told of two or three *djurbil* in the Woodenbong area where the rites for the increase of children or babies were performed. Oakes also mentioned similar sites at Cabbage Tree Island and Tatham (Oakes 1979: 194). From descriptions by Radcliffe-Brown and Oakes it appears that rites for the increase of babies did not involve singing.
From the literature it is not clear which particular increase rites for species involved singing. According to Radcliffe-Brown, the rites for species were quite simple and may have included splashing water, throwing stones or mud, or knocking fragments off a rock. He stated that one important feature of these rites was talking.

The performers of increase rites do not paint themselves or put on any special decorations, nor do they dance or sing any part of the rite. The performer talks all the time he is carrying out the rite, but there are no set formulas (spells of prayer) that he repeats. He just tells the animal, or whatever it may be, to become plentiful, and mentions special places where it is to become abundant (1929: 409).

The singer Donnelly has also described these rites:

_Birbung_ mean a place where you can get all these foods, see. That was the old Aborigines, he'd be praying about these things. You must have that over there. You must have these other people to live on see. _Gibinya now_. There's a rock down there they call _Gibinya_ see, down here, not far down, oh, a good way down. But anyhow, I call it a prayer rock see. Only the one man used to go down and pray. Well, if he was getting short of wallaby or something well, you see, well they go to that old fella now and ask him. "Oh, we're gettin' short of some food, up on the mountain". Righto, see. He'd go to this rock down there... Not every rock, only the certain one. Well, he'd pray there now, about these things. Might be a week, or a couple of weeks time, that there'd be plenty again (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

From examining other sources it appears certain, however, that some increase rites did involve singing. For example, Steele stated that a _Gidabal_ man from Woodenbong, Daniel Sambo, the owner of a koala _djurbil_, explained that the increase rites for the koala consisted of talking and singing to the stone the words "_Gumbee wanjin boorabee,"_ which, according to Steele, means "make plenty of koalas". This rite was being performed by Sambo up until the 1960s (Steele 1984: 38). Oakes also states that increase rites may have involved certain words or a song (1979: 189).

**Rain Songs**

According to Radcliffe Brown, of all the _djurbil_ in the Woodenbong area the most important one was associated with rain and was known as _Banyara_ by the _Gidabal_ people. Today it is called Dome Mountain. In the past there was a snake who had wings with which he had flown from Yulgilbar on the Clarence River and settled on the
mountain called *Banyara*. He was called a *warzam* and was friendly to the people from Woodenbong, but people from other areas were cautious of him. He was responsible for making a noise like thunder in the mountain and would make this noise when any member of the Woodenbong group was sick (Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 405). Although Radcliffe-Brown could not discover the meaning of the word *warzam* he suggests that it could be the name of a sacred being connected with rain.

According to Radcliffe-Brown, in the Woodenbong area there were no rain making ceremonies due to the plentiful rainfall. However, members of the Woodenbong group could go to this *djurbil* and ask the *warzam* for rain to flood the area (Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 405). Unfortunately Radcliffe-Brown does not describe the specific rites carried out for rain making, therefore it is not clear whether they involved singing. We can only assume that they were similar to the rites he described for the increase of species which are discussed above.

Further south in the *Bundjalung* area at Evans Head, there is a cave in the headland called the Goanna Cave (see Plate 18). This site is another *djurbil* associated with rain. The cave belongs to a family at Box Ridge near Coraki. According to the Aboriginal people of this area the whole headland looks like a goanna and its tail goes south down past Chinaman's Beach. The spirit of the goanna lives in the cave and this site is associated with rain making. Oakes has described the rites for rain making:

> An elder with some chosen companions approached the cave, sang a song and said words asking for the sacred being to send rain, then he threw stones into the cave because he could not get in himself. Perhaps this was a symbol of the stones carrying the words in. If a stranger tries, the result will be a big flood on the Richmond and a Clever Fella has to go there and ask the spirit "in the language" to ease up (Oakes 1972: 3).

This is the most detailed account available of rainmaking rites in the *Bundjalung* area. Despite the lack of information concerning the details of the rites, there is evidence that this site is still important to Aboriginal people today. In 1979 Oakes stated that during the early 1970s when archaeological work was being done at New Zealand Beach at Evans Head, Aboriginal people were invited to attend the surveying. They did not attend, staying away deliberately as a silent protest. They were protesting because this
site is a *djurbil* and traditionally the area should not be disturbed. Stones and other material were being removed by the archaeological group. Unfortunately, the absence of Aboriginal people was interpreted by the students as being due to lack of interest. Hence they assumed that most of the traditional culture had been lost in this area (Oakes 1979: 189). This is far from the case as can be seen from the following article from *New Dawn*:

Recently, an Aboriginal workshop of stone implements was exposed by heavy seas washing away coverings and dunes at Evans Head near Lismore. Students and experts from various universities soon gathered at the site to examine the implements. Later, a white man began to notice that the area was having an unusual run of unbearable wet weather. Aboriginal people in the Evans Head - Coraki area said that if the white people had left the Aboriginal factory at Evans Head alone, the rain would have stopped long before (*New Dawn* 1971: 12).

Another comment made by a *Bundjalung* woman, Lorraine Mafi-Williams, describes how Rain Songs continued to be used in Lismore up until the 1940s. Mafi-Williams described how in Lismore during the 1930s and 1940s when the water tank was empty her father, Bill Turnbull, banged the billy and sang a song as he walked along the mud flats. He needed rain to fill the water tank (Sharpe pers. comm. 1988).

There are no recordings and few details of Rain Songs throughout the *Bundjalung* area. Several Rain Songs have been recorded, however, from other areas further west in NSW. In this way the *Bundjalung* area appears to differ from the drier western NSW where rain making ceremonies were frequently performed.  

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16 For example, Jimmie Barker from the *Murrawari* area recorded a rain song and stated that rainmakers were extremely powerful people (Barker Brewarrina 1972 LA2568B). Although the younger people may know the rain songs, the *Murrawari* tradition required the song to be performed by the oldest and most knowledgeable people. The person would stand quietly for a few moments before asking to speak to the spirit. Then they made their request which sometimes involved singing. Barker has stated: Sometimes the prayers would be in the form of a song, possibly asking for rain; the rainmakers were reputed to be particularly clever people (Mathews 1977: 32).

Rainmakers from the *Murrawari* area were particularly famous throughout NSW. The journal *Dawn* has stated that in the 1960s and 1970s several rainmakers were brought to Sydney, during times of drought, to perform ceremonies (*Dawn* 1965: 14 and *Dawn* 1967: 15).

Further west in the *Wangawuypuwan* area, according to Reay, rain ceremonies involved the use of a rainstone, a large white quartz stone which was sung over before each time it was used. The ceremony itself also involved singing and a dance which represented the coming of rain. In this area there was also a ceremony for stopping rain which involved "the burning of a midget tree to the accompaniment of ceremonial dancing and singing" (Reay 1944-45: 319). According to Reay, these ceremonies were no longer being performed at the time of writing.

R. H. Matthews has described the rain making rites of the *Wiradjuri* and stated: An old man took the rump of an emu, the bone of a kangaroo's leg and a white stone, all tied together. He then dived into a hole of water, carrying the parcel with
b) Specific Texts From The Sample

In the sample of songs Text (13) is the only song which may have been used as a Species Song.

Text (13): Going to New England

This song has been described in different ways on different occasions: Going to New England; Journey to Wajam Birbany (Main Road); Quail and Flying Squirrel; Travelling Man; and Moonbi. In 1955, Calley introduced the song as:

A song composed by Jimmy Biggle tells of going through to the New England area where there are many flying squirrels (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A).

Although Calley's explanation does not suggest this was an Increase Song, Donnelly subsequently described the song in a way that associates it with species increase:

You travelled to Armidale, through to Tamworth, eh? ... You see they got written, Moonbi Range. It's not Moonbi, it's Moonbin, see. You go up this way in the bush you see a lot of black quail fly out. That's what they call Moonbin, birbunj. Birbunj means there's plenty up there, see. Well, if you had to go and get plenty of quail you had to go up there ... Wajam is a flying squirrel (Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

They pray about different things to have plenty see. Something else there, something else here ... gabay [honey] birbunj, fish birbunj. You see, all these sort of things, they're praying. Well, whatever they wanted was always there. Whatever they wanted they go to that certain place to get it (Geytenbeek Woodenbong 1964 LA3392A).

From Donnelly's descriptions it is clear that this song mentions the plentiful supply of quail and flying squirrel in the New England area where there is an increasesite. It is possible that this song was at some stage in the past sung as an increase rite because on several occasions after singing the song Donnelly mentioned the increase site mentioned
in the song and then explained how increase rites were performed. This song is also
classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 147).

Hunting Songs

a) General Information

Hunting rites, which included singing, were performed throughout the
Bundjalung area in the past. In 1929 Radcliffe-Brown stated:

In all these tribes there are songs which have magical efficacy. Jack
Larrigo, Kumbaingeri [Gumbainggir], of Maclean, sang me songs,
such as one for making the mullet come into the shallow water, and
another for making a kangaroo stop still or move slowly when being
tracked by the hunter (Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 409).

Robinson has stated that one Bundjalung man, Bob Turnbull, stated:

The porpoises were the old people's friends. When the season
of the sea-mullet was in, the old people would go down to the river and
beat their spears on the water. The school of porpoises would come and
chase the schools of sea-mullet right into the shallow water, ankle deep,
where the old people used to get just enough for two or three meals
without wasting any. The old people used to tell us that when we went
fishing we should spear enough fish for our needs without wasting any

... The old people used to make a little net out of kurrajong bark.
They'd go down to the beach and beat the water. They'd call on the
porpoises [which involved singing out to the porpoises]. All the
porpoises would come and chase the fish into the bay. Then the old
people would shoot the net around the fish and catch them (Robinson

The porpoise and the sea mullet have also been described by Cook (Gordon CTI 1968
LA1176A and LA1219B). It is not clear if a specific song was sung, or if the people
only sang out to the porpoise. According to Cook, the people did not sing, but talked
to the porpoise to ask for help (Gordon CTI 1968 LA1176A). In 1986 Walker stated
that at Evans Head they talked to the porpoise and the pelican to help bring in the fish
(Gummow Bonalbo 1986 FT10A).

According to Donnelly at Baryulgil people sang to the fish at a fish djurbil, or
site. He stated:

DD: This fellow who owned all the fish. Put their nets in at Baryulgil.
They used to get the fish to come out by singing to them. There is a fish
djurbil at Baryulgil (Creamer Woodenbong 1973 BA).
b) Specific Texts From The Sample

In the sample of songs Text (81) is the only song which may be related to hunting. This text is also classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 149).

Text (81): Cobra - Wood Worm

According to Cowlan this song was sung to help catch the cobra or wood worm, a fresh water worm which was good to eat. It was then chopped up with a log and eaten. This text is also classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 149).

Healing Songs

a) General Information

Throughout the Bundjalung area there were several different rites performed for healing sickness. Healing was usually performed by a qualified senior male known as the "corradji", "wuyan-gali", "witch doctor" or "clever man". Oakes has described how these men became qualified and what healing rites involved:

THE CLEVER FELLA was an important man in each tribe ... They were the most intellectually gifted men, who used psychology, shrewdness, occult training, legerdemain, ventriloquism, and sheer force of personality, to keep a hold over the tribe, heal illnesses and ward off evil. Some well known ones here were the older and the younger Bob de Robin, Jack Kay, and Left-handed Ferguson from Grafton. They were reputed, (especially Ferguson) to have the gifts of levitation, disappearance and lycanthropy as well as being able to suck an offending bit of bone or quartz out of your body to cure a malady. Their training was severe. According to one informant still living (1972) it involved a period of celibacy, hunger and cold. "You had to camp near a spring and your own people would frighten you. You must bear this fright and then a magic string would come from the water into you. You mustn't flinch or it would go away. You can warm it and it will stay, and with its aid you can climb trees or even disappear". Apparently the mystic rope is part of the equipment of the Clever Fellas all over Australia.17 Their other property was a small bag of quartz and any other uncommon little stones. There are curing-men and harming-men and according to another informant, Coff's Harbour is "full of the

17 According to Berndt when curing with the aid of a rope or hair-cord, which was made of either human hair or opossum fur twine, the rope was made potent by being "sung" over. This was used extensively throughout the Wiradjuri, Wangadrypunwan, Ngiyampaa and Pakindji areas as well as along the upper and lower Murray River areas (Berndt 1947: 351).
bad ones, but to Aborigines, home is always safe and elsewhere is bad (Oakes 1972: 3).

The singer, Donnelly, has also described how these men received the power to heal people:

DD: We had our own doctors, you know. Yeah, well, you see the people, the Aborigine, all went off and sit on the mountain you see and he never come back for a long time. Whatever he done I don't know but he went there. But he never call a mate with him.
JS: Always go on his own.
DD: Always go on his own. Like Jesus said to Moses, the sermon on the mountain in the ten commandments. The Aborigines went on the mountain ... They worshipped the mountain more than the flat, the Aborigines. Wherever they went, well, they went on to the mountain to get the power, see (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

From the literature and other material available it is not clear how many Bundjalung healing rites involved singing. The following description by De Bertrodano, written in 1926, is typical of descriptions available of Bundjalung healing:

The corradji or doctor of the tribe (I am not sure how he became so but think it was probably through his pretending to know something of medicine) carried always with him a small bag with a few pieces of different coloured stone. No one would look into this bag, fearing they would die for so doing, but I was allowed to look into it. Now as far as disease or illness is concerned, they think that an enemy has managed to introduce into their system a poison in the form of a crystal, and that to cure the patient you must extract that poison in the form of a crystal. I have seen a black fellow nigh unto death brought out, lain flat in the ground and the 'Corradji' kneel down, begin kneading his stomach with his hands - while the patient's friends sit around, watching and singing a dirge. After doing this for a time, as soon as he gets an opportunity and as soon as he draws blood by sucking, the 'Corradji' introduces a crystal into his mouth unseen, and when he spits it out it is supposed to represent the poison has been abstracted, the apparent corpse sits up and recovers. For headaches they use a stick out of fire and apply it round the top of the forehead, evidently thinking that counterirritation would relieve their trouble (De Bertrodano in McBryde 1978: 282).

Although this description mentions the use of singing, similar descriptions do not often mention the use of song. It is not clear whether there were particular times when

18 This type of seclusion also occurred in other areas. McDougall has stated that in the Gumbainggir area:

The Ulun-garras leave camp and retire to the tops of the mountains at certain seasons of the year and subsist on a small portion of the bangalow palm with a little honey, in fact they almost starve themselves. They are believed to actually swallow the bingi-burra [quartz stone] given to them by Ul-tarra, who visits them in their retirement and teaches them how to use the stone and to chant the necessary songs or incantations or the part they are to play when curing a person who is suffering through being struck with one of these stones. The Ulun-garra can not only cure but also produce sickness and death by the Bingi-burra according to the way they use them (McDougall in Ryan 1964: 90).
singing was not appropriate. For example, Lena King from Woodenbong has described being healed by a Wiyan-gali, traditional medicine man in the olden days, but does not mention singing:

And one other time I got very, very sick and that's the time I got real thin ah, that was at Boomi. We used to live at Boomi out here, a bit further along from where I was telling you where we were reared up out there. And I got very, very sick and I was just skin and bone you know ... If that old man wouldn't have come to my aid I wouldn't have been here to tell you the story. I was so sick and my brothers, you know, you said what sort of brothers I had, and they used to do everything in their power to go out, you know, even as far as get a Porcupine thinking that oil or the flesh would make me better. That was Johnny. And that was my brother John. No, nothing made me better and I'd been in hospital with it and I came home and I suppose I would have came home to die at home if this old man wouldn't have come. So he came out in the bus, my cousin brought him, and that night, that night, and do you know what, may the Lord be listening to me, I was good the next morning. No more pains. He came there that night and whatever he done. And you know, he walked outside about four times that night. You know, he come and he'd sit with me and all that and, you know, just rub me where I was sick and he did that about four times that night (Riebe 1988: 35-37).

In 1977 Millie Boyd explained to Howard Creamer that a waterhole at Cawongla was used to heal people. According to Boyd this was a dreaming place and the old people sang it by song to give it back to the young people. Today the waterhole is drying up because all the Ngara-hgwal people are dying. Boyd visited this waterhole forty years ago with her husband and two-year-old son. They walked from Stony Gully to Cawongla for her husband to heal himself by washing and swimming in the water. Boyd does not mention the use of song in this healing process. According to Boyd this waterhole was also associated with initiation (Creamer Cawongla 1977 LA5041).

It is certain from the literature that throughout NSW songs were used as an important form of healing. One of the most detailed accounts of healing rites in

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19 One of the earliest descriptions of a healing song was documented by Hunter in 1793 from the Sydney area. He states:

Bannelong's wife one day complaining of a pain in the belly, went to the fire and sat down with her husband, who, notwithstanding his beating her occasionally, seemed to express great sorrow on seeing her ill, and after blowing on his hand, he warmed it, and then applied it to the part affected; beginning at the same time a song, which was probably calculated for the occasion: a piece of flannel being warmed and applied by a bye-stander, rendered the warming his hand unnecessary, but he continued his song, always keeping his mouth very near to the part affected, and frequently
NSW was written in 1947 by Berndt and concerns the Wiradjuri people. Although Berndt's account is extremely detailed, at the time of writing he stated that even then the Wiradjuri people could not remember all of the various forms of curative magic that had been practised by traditional doctors in the past. Berndt describes the importance of singing and its various functions:

"Singing" of the afflicted part of a patient's body was commonly carried out by most reputable doctors, and was considered to be the most successful form of treatment. The songs were nearly always hummed, or muttered inaudibly, to the accompaniment of some action on the part of the doctor, so that no unauthorized or lay person should learn the songs and use them for his own purposes. The potency of the magic, together with its curative qualities, was resident in the song, and could only be released by the native-doctor who himself possessed the "power" (derived from Baiami) to ignite that associate power within the words and rhythm of the song. Different songs were available for a variety of complaints and illnesses of natural growth and magical origin. Treatment carried out by "singing" and other actions was generally termed "kali:enman," getting rid of." One informant had as a youth run a stick into his foot; his father summoned a doctor, who sitting near the patient and singing the while passed his right hand over the entrance of the wound. The stick came out gradually, and was held up by the doctor at the conclusion of the song. The wound rapidly healed and the boy no longer limped. Open wounds were "sung" so that they magically closed (or healed) without leaving any scar; massage and rubbing were also accompanied by singing (Berndt 1947: 352).

Berndt also gives details of how a doctor would sing: to turn a child over when still unborn, so that it would be delivered head first; at a difficult childbirth; to cure an illness caused by eating emu meat which was tabu to all youths and men who had not stopping to blow on it, making a noise after blowing in imitation of the barking of a dog; but though he blew several times, he only made that noise once at every pause, and then continued his song, the woman always making short responses whenever he ceased to blow and bark. How long this ceremony would have continued was uncertain, for Governor Phillip sent for the doctor, and she was persuaded to take a little tincture of rubarb, which gave her relief, and so put an end to the business (Hunter 1793: 476).

20 The humming of a song was described by an informant as "singing the song inside you; the hum gets rid of the power in the song," so that it is focussed upon the patient.

21 Because of this it seems unnecessary for the native-doctor to have taken so much trouble in making his magical songs inaudible during the period he was treating the patient. Informants stressed, however, that this precaution was advisable, as many curative songs were handed down from father to son and would be said to be the "property" of a family. The possession of these by unauthorized persons would detract from their magical power. Informants did not themselves know any curative songs.

22 When in this case spoken of by informants, the singing was termed "humming."
undergone a specific rite; and to sing some foreign object out of a man, usually leaves and beetles.

The former came out in dozens, flying out from the afflicted part of the body into the hand of the doctor, who placed each one alongside him until he had a heap; when no more would come out with the magical song, the doctor told his patient that he would soon be quite well (Berndt 1947: 354).

In 1929, Radcliffe-Brown stated that in the Gumbainggir area there were two sites, or mirera, similar to djurbil, that were connected with two diseases. These sites were quite unique and connected with two diseases:

Gunandi, a form of diarrhoea, or perhaps colitis; and bilir, apparently dysentery. By performing rites at these spots, a man could send a visitation of the sickness upon an enemy. If a man were attacked with gunandi, he would try to think of some one of the horde to which it belonged whom he might have offended and who might therefore have sent the sickness, and he would then go and ask to be pardoned for his offence and cured of his illness. For a cure he would be taken to the mirera, and the man taking him would talk to the place, saying that the victim was now to get well. A little sand from the sacred spot would be rubbed on his body. After that, the natives say, the sickness would go. At the gunandi mirera it is said that you can always hear a noise like a bullroarer when you go by at dusk (Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 406-407).

In 1905, Mathews explained the importance of the spiritual aspects of the work of the medicine man:

Among the natives at Byrock, New South Wales, when anyone is dangerously ill, the old wizards proceed a little distance from the camp towards the setting sun and go through some incantations for the purpose of inviting the spirits of the sick person's friends to come and see him. One old man lies down on the ground and the others form a circle around him several yards distant, so that they can chase the spirits toward the man on the ground. The object of the ceremony is to intercept the shade or warrungun of the invalid when it is trying to run away towards the west. If the old man succeed [sic] in capturing the spirit in some green leaves which he holds in his hand, and take it to the sick man, he will recover; if he failed to catch the spirit, the patient will die. The spirit is called warrungun (Mathews 1905: 146).

23 In 1900 Maguire stated that in the Wiradjuri area the bullroarer was used for healing. A man may borrow turnamarralin [bullroarer] to cure his wife of some complaint, which he does in the following way: He takes his wife some distance away from the camp, and then goes a sufficient distance away from her to allow him to swing it round without touching her. After doing this for a short time he would bring it up to his wife and hang it over her until it ceased to move. This operation was repeated several times (Maguire 1900: 100).
b) Specific Texts From The Sample

The following texts are songs associated with healing: (8), 36 and (59). Text 36 has been identified by the performer as being a Healing Song. Text (8) has also been identified by one performer as a Healing Song, but has also been classified into three other categories (see below for details). Text (59) has not been identified by its performer as a Healing Song but has been included here due to its subject matter. It has also been classified it under Public Events Songs (see p. 148).

Text (8): Pigeon Call One Note/Island To Mainland/Song Sung To Babies

As stated above, this text has been sung by four different singers and has four different types of contextual information. [It has also been classified under Blessing For Babies, (see p. 112); Initiation Songs, (see p. 145); and Sites and Dreamings Songs, (see p. 151).] Songs 99 and 100 of Text (8) are discussed here. They were performed by Charlotte Williams who stated that they were "sung by two women over a sick man to put him to sleep until the clever man returned from a hunt, and would be available to heal the man" (Geytenbeek 1963-7: 83). It was witnessed by her when she was a young girl, about the year 1880. She stated that the women were singing and praying, calling out to the pigeon who had power like a god.

Text 36: Prayer For Healing

The composer of this song felt that he was being killed by a spirit being. A gloss of the text is: a shadow was tying him and he is praying to older brothers for help and asking them for the power to rub off the evil.
Taking Children To Doctor

This song was composed by Raymond Duncan and describes taking the children to the doctor in the early days. It is not clear whether this song was associated with healing. It has also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 148).24

Sorcery Songs

a) General Information

Throughout the Bundjalung area and NSW generally it was believed that the medicine men not only had the power to heal people, but also to cause illness and death. In 1988, Charlotte Page and Leena King of Woodenbong described how songs were used to cause death:

CP: Witchcraft. They'd didn't kill straight out, like shoot a man or cut his head off or something like that. They sang a song, sang a song or pointed something at him.
CP: Pointed a bone.
LK: Pointed a bone, that was the Aboriginal way, but there was another Aboriginal, another lot, tribe, I was told this by an old man. You know, Nadan, they used to call it, that means granddaugher. If I want to get somebody I get that grass, yes, I get that grass and cut the end off this end and hold it up like that and look at that person and sing a song. Sing a song to that person. That person don't know and you'll see that grass getting filled up with blood. That blood will go in that, that belong to that person and you just get hold of it and, you know, block it so that it wouldn't run out. And that person's caught. Or different other ways too. There's different other ways they used to get people. But what makes me think ... Why don't it work on a European, that evil spirit, that witchcraft business (Riebe 1988: 33-34).

Further south in Lismore, Lyle Roberts also mentioned the blood and the pointing of a leaf.

The custom of "Pointing the Bone" was not to my knowledge ever done here on the Richmond, neither have I heard of this custom being adhered to or even spoken of by the older men when I was a boy or

24 According to Dawson, during the nineteenth century in NSW a song was sung which described the smallpox epidemic. It is not clear if this song was connected with healing, or merely described a current event. He states:

Very often complimentary or descriptive songs are composed on the instant, and are sung to well-known airs, the whole company joining in the chorus. A lament called 'Mallac mallee', composed in New South Wales in commemoration of the ravages of small-pox, is known all over the Australian colonies, and is sung in a doleful strain, accompanied with groans and imitations of a dying person (Dawson 1981: 80).
when I passed from my boyhood to the youth stage and the Initiation. But there was another similar custom that I remember very vividly. It concerned a Pine tree at what is now known as Parrot's Nest (near Lismore). To us it was known as Goorambil and where the bushes that are to be seen now, this Pine tree was. Now no one could go near to this Pine tree, because the scrub was too dense. By that I mean too close to it. But the custom in connection with it was - If you had an enemy or had cause to resent any person, you plucked a leaf from the Pine tree, and pointed the leaf at what tribe you wanted to point it at, or person as the case might be, and blood would run out of their mouths. The name Goorambil to my certain knowledge means Pine tree (Roberts and Worledge 1960: 411).25

During the 1950s Calley collected a story which described another way of how songs were used to kill people:

Ngoiloigir determined to kill the young man for tampering with his woman. He told nobody about the incident but asked the boy's grandfather, whose duty it was to watch over him between and during the initiation ceremonies, to let his charge come looking for honey with him on the next day. Suspecting nothing, the grandfather agreed, and the two brothers duly went off together into the bush. A guubai (native bee) next was sighted in one of the lower limbs of a tree, and Ngoiloigir suggested that the younger man should climb for it as he himself was getting somewhat old and stiff in the joints for such strenuous work. When the lad reached the limb, Ngoiloigir started to sing a song of enchantment to make him fall asleep, so that the boy slid drowsily down the trunk and lay on the grass. Ngoiloigir prodded him with his spear to satisfy himself that his sleep was deep enough, and then taking a tiny njurum (charmed quartz crystal) he pushed it into the boy's belly, singing to it all the time, telling it not to kill immediately but to let his brother live until night.

The boy awoke unaware that anything had happened to him. He climbed the tree again, cut out the honey, and carried it back to the camp. In the evening he started to feel ill. The njurum, obedient to the command of the song, moved about inside him cutting his internal organs to shreds. By the time the moon rose, he was dead (Calley 1958: 212-213).26

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25 According to Reay rites similar to these in the Bundjalung area existed in other areas of NSW. Reay states:

There was no bone pointing at Coonamble, but at Walgett and Brewarrina a stick, gurin (rarely a bone), was used, when a medicine-man wished to inflict death upon another member of his tribe. He "sang" it and held it pointed towards the victim as he approached. When the victim came opposite the gurin it would turn in the medicine-man's hands, the medicine-man resisting. After the victim had passed by, the medicine-man warmed the stick by the fire, and as it grew warm the victim began to feel worry and pain, and eventually died. When the victim died the gurin was believed to be dead also and had to be revived by the medicine-man "singing" it before he could use it again (Reay 1944-45: 318).

26 According to McDougall, in the Gumbainggir area a quartz stone called bingi-burra, was believed to have the power to cause illness and death. McDougall states:

When it is intended to kill a person the ulun-garra [sic] makes it appear that he squeezes the bingi-burra out of his own stomach, he then places it in the end of a split stick and casts it gently towards the proposed victim.
Robinson has mentioned the use of songs to paralyse the victims to whom they were sung. For example, Aboriginal trackers employed to look for criminals would sing "their sacred songs to paralyse their victim" (Robinson 1977: 177). Robinson has also described the use of song in a massacre in about 1835 when Aboriginal people were shot by Ogilvie, who had started a grazing station at Baryulgil. Some of his sheep were killed and he blamed the Aboriginal people instead of the dingoes.

Robinson states:

He got aboriginal [sic] and white stockmen from Grafton and they gathered to attack the tribe at Tabulam. Through the night, they prepared to surround the camp of the Aborigines and to attack at dawn to get everybody unawares. So, when the Aborigines at Tabulam knew that they were going to be attacked, they were warned by their divine powers, they also prepared ...

Just at dawn the attackers had the camp surrounded. The Tabulam men were painted up, they were painted white, waiting for the attack. They were singing their sacred songs in order to paralyse the gun-power. At day-break the attackers sang out to the camp, 'Hoy! Hoy!' The white-painted Aborigines came out of the camp and the attackers had them surrounded with their guns. Then Ogilvie and his men said, 'Will you surrender?' The Tabulam Aborigines said, 'We won't surrender, but if any of us get shot in the legs or arms, we'll finish you. You'll pay the penalty.' But Ogilvie and his men pulled out their guns and started firing.

After being thrown, the stone travels like lightning (the aborigines' [sic] idea of great speed), it will go any distance to discover its victim, entering his or her body without causing pain or making a mark or wound. Shortly after the stone enters the body the victim becomes ill, the symptoms being that of poisoning, and eventually dies, unless cured by one of the Ulun-garra sucking the stone out of the person affected. While performing the operation the ulun-garra works himself up to a great pitch of enthusiasm and excitement, and throws himself into many contortions, so as to make it appear that it is a very difficult and exhausting task to extract the stone from the body or affected part. After many incantations and much exercise the stone is extracted and the patient gradually gets well again (McDougall in Ryan 1964: 90-91).

Reay has also described another type of song from the Walgett area which involves finger-nails and toe-nails:

If an individual cuts or bites his finger-nails or toe-nails, he must be careful not to leave the parings where a medicine-man may find them. If he does find them he can put them in a hole in the ground, putting hot coals in afterwards, and chanting a song as he does so. It is believed that before long the victim will take ill. There is one woman in Walgett who spits frequently on the ground and covers the saliva with earth. Also if she breaks off a piece of her finger-nail, or if a hair falls out of her head, she immediately places it carefully down the neck of her dress, to dispose of later when she is alone (Reay 1944-45: 318).
The Tabulam Aborigines never flinched. Their sacred songs had paralysed the guns. The bullets were deflected, and half the guns never went off (Robinson 1977: 179-181).

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

In the sample there are two texts which may have been Sorcery Songs: Text (42) and Text (61). The performers of these two texts did not specifically state that they were associated with sorcery, but they have been placed here due to their contextual information. They have also both been classified under other song categories, details of which are below.

Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree

Song 193 of Text (42) is discussed here. It was sung by Frank Roberts who stated that it was sung at a Northern Rivers corroboree and that the first section, or act, described blood drops. Roberts described this to Sommerlad:

JS: What would the first act be about then?
FR: Oh well, about the blood. Now the Bundjalung tribe at Wyrallah and Evans Head where our tribe - at their ancient ground and they had to go in once a year. Anyhow, I could show you, into a cave where the blood drip and now, lots want to know where that blood come from. But they take their little children and their wives and old men in [something spoken fast in Bundjalung].
[Robertssings the song.]
FR: ... Now that's a race or a tribe of Aboriginal in Australia that see the blood gumar. I'm a member of a gumar race. Me. In the mosaic law it was something similar to the Aboriginal laws, the blood. Moses said when you see the blood anywhere on the ground just put dirt over it. Nobody to walk across the blood (Sommerlad Woodenbong 1970 LA2142A).

From Robert's description it is not clear if the blood was connected with sorcery. As these details are similar to details described in part a) by Riebe (1988) and Roberts and Worledge (1960) I have placed this text here. It is also possible that this song was associated with initiation rites as in 1897 Mathews mentioned the use of human blood in the Wandarral initiation ceremony (Mathews 1897: 30). Due to the lack of contextual information concerning this song it is impossible to be certain if this is the case. This text has also been classified under Yawahr (see p. 92).
Text (61): Mr Ogilvie

This song was composed by King Bobby, one of the survivors of the above mentioned massacre of a group of Aboriginal people at Baryulgil. The song describes the massacre led by a European settler, Ogilvie, after Aboriginal people had killed some of his sheep. The singer described this as a very sad song. It describes how Ogilvie came with a rifle, and how some people wrapped themselves in a blanket, or kangaroo hide (presumably so they would not be seen and shot). It is not clear if this song merely describes the massacre or was used to paralyse the guns and bullets. This song is also discussed under Public Events Songs (see p. 148).

Mortuary Songs

a) General Information

One of the most detailed accounts of a funeral ceremony has been given by Smith, occurring during the late 1860s when a young mother died. Her body, along with her baby, was placed in the centre of a circle of fire and all night the men danced around the inside of the circle while the women wailed. Smith states:

Everytime they did the circle, the leader brought his spear in the throwing position, and all would do likewise, make a dreadful hissing sound and end up with a "Whoosch" that was to keep the devil outside the ring of fire. Next morning the funeral procession passed the Smith home. Two stalwarts on each end of a long pole with poor little Agra tied by hands and feet to the centre of the poles as they passed by the homestead, the chanting of the bucks and wailing of the gins was raised to the highest tempo. While Nungarie walked in front with the pickaninny (baby) in his arms and opening his mouth wide, he called in a deep basso "Oh Ho" and so they passed on to Pelican Creek (about 3 miles) where, securing a suitable tree in the dense bush they placed little Agra in the fork of the tree about 12 feet from the ground, then built a canopy of branches in the shape of an umbrella over her head. They formed a circle (this time no fire) and the same stamping and chanting by the men while the gins clapped their hands and sang in unison. After which Nungarie stood in the centre and said in effect "They had lost the most beautiful girl" ("Yowie" answered all) (Smith in Steele 1984: 15).

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

There are no songs in the sample that can be identified as being specifically Mortuary Songs. It is possible that Text 68 could be associated with mortuary rites;
due to the nature of the material, however, it is impossible to be certain. Text 68 has been classified as a Public Events Song (see p. 148), and for further contextual details see Appendix 3.

**Initiation Songs**

Due to the sensitive nature of initiation rites and songs they will not be discussed in detail. According to Calley in the Bundjalung area:

Males passed through two degrees of initiation before becoming full members of the tribe and being permitted to marry. The first ceremony, the *gibera*, was undergone between about eight and twelve years of age and the second ceremony, the *marugan*, in some cases, as late as twenty years of age. Between the two ceremonies, the youth was under the guardianship of his paternal grandfather who instructed him in social rules and the esoteric knowledge of the male cult. For a period of several years, the youth was expected to remain celibate, any infringement of this taboo being punishable by death at the hands of the fully initiated men or the *butheram* (spirits of the bush), or both (Calley in Ryan 1964: 101).

In 1959 Calley stated that the last *marugan* ceremony in the Tabulam district occurred around 1890 and at Kyogle a few years later. According to Calley, even as early as 1880, the year of Howitt's enquiry of Bundjalung initiation ceremonies, the number of men going through the *gibera* initiation ceremony was decreasing (Calley 1959: 10).

Calley states that during the 1950s in the Bundjalung area:

Of the five initiates still living all but one are over seventy years of age. Three of them live in the Tabulam district and two near Baryulgil; there are none at Woodenbong, Cubawee, Cabbage Tree Island or Coraki but on all these stations there are one or two men who have passed through the initiation ceremonies of tribes other than the Bandjalang (Calley 1959: 74).

Calley describes the breakdown of the traditional laws and initiation ceremonies in detail:

As their authority was challenged and undermined first by the white invaders and then by their own juniors, the initiates ceased recruiting new members and passing the religious and magical tradition to the oncoming generation. It is impossible to distinguish between the decay of the old religious life and the loss of authority of the old men in the disintegration of the clan, for they were and are one and the same process. Of yore the initiated men were at the centre of group life, now the few survivors are on its periphery, partly because they scorn the new ways and partly because they are feared as potential sorcerers. The
two initiated men in the Tabulam district do not live on the Station and seldom visit it. Informants recall that the visits of the last of the Clever Men to Woodenbong in 1953 frightened the inhabitants, and that although he effected some magical cures it was felt that he might as readily have worked sorcery (Calley 1959: 76-77).

As these attitudes were apparent during the 1950s it is not surprising that during the 1980s while I was in the Bundjalung area details of initiation songs and ceremonies were not discussed, and there are few Initiation Songs in the sample. Throughout the early literature, however, there are many descriptions of initiation ceremonies. One of the most detailed accounts is by R.H. Mathews who in 1897 documented the Wandarral initiation ceremony of the Bundjalung groups of the Richmond and Clarence River tribes (Mathews: 1897). For details of other accounts of initiation ceremonies in the Bundjalung and neighbouring areas see: Hodgkinson (1845), Rudder (1899b), Small (1898), Kelly (1944), Enright (1939 and 1940) and Maguire (1900). It must be noted that according to Steele, in initiation ceremonies strips of bark were used to decorate trees used in the ceremony which resembled a maypole dance (Steele 1984: 60). This description is very similar to Plates 21 and 22 (see pp. 169-170).

In 1845 Hodgkinson described and sketched a large corroboree that ended an initiation ceremony at Clybucca Creek in the Macleay River area (see Plate 19). He states:

The conclusion of this ceremony was a grand dance of a peculiar character, in which the boys join, and which the women are allowed to see. This dance is performed with much more solemnity than the ordinary corroborees [sic]. The Yarra - Hapinni tribe, which I saw execute this dance near the Clybucca creek, were so elaborately painted with white for the occasion, that even their very toes and fingers were carefully and regularly coloured with concentric rings, whilst their hair was drawn up in a close knot, and stuck all over with the snowy down of the white cockatoo, which gave them the appearance of being decorated with white wings. In this dance, the performers arranged themselves in the form of a semicircle, and grasping the ends of their boomerangs, which they also painted with great minuteness and regularity, they swayed their bodies rapidly from right to left, displaying a degree of flexibility in their limbs, which might have created the envy of many a pantomimic artist. Each movement of their bodies to and fro was accompanied by a loud hiss, whilst a number of other natives similarly painted, beat time with sticks, and kept up an incessant and obstreperous song. Every now and then the dancers would stop and rush, crowding together, into a circle, raising their weapons with outstretched arms, and joining with frantic energy in the song. They would then be more composed and walk backwards and forwards in couples, holding each other by the hand, until again roused by an
Plate 19. Corroboree after initiation ceremony. Sketch drawn by Hodgkinson. Reproduced from Hodgkinson (1845: on the page facing 233) by AIATSIS.
elderly native to resume the dance. It was not until midnight that the noise ceased, which, every evening, whilst the ceremonies lasted, might be heard at a distance of two or three miles (Hodgkinson 1845: 232 - 233).

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

Text (8) is the only text in the sample that has been identified by the performer as being an Initiation Song. It is possible that Text (42) was originally associated with initiation due to the use of human blood, but due to lack of contextual information it is not possible to be certain. For details of Text (42) see Sorcery Songs (see p. 140) and Appendix 3.

Text (8): Pigeon Call One Note/Island To Mainland/Song Sung To Babies

Text (8) has already been discussed in relation to Blessing For Babies (see p. 112), Healing Songs (see p. 136) and Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 151). It is song 8 of Text (8) that is discussed here. It was performed by Donnelly and described by Calley:

This song was sung by the women around the campfires while the young men were away in the bush undergoing the tests associated with the gibera degree of initiation. Wululun is the wonga pigeon. Bubimanyi means getting sick of it. In the spring the wonga pigeon calls incessantly on one note and the song refers to the monotony of its call. Mihnibilheh is the name of a place (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A).

Other

a) General Information

The following terms have been documented by linguists. I have not been able to match them with any songs in the sample, or find any other information in the literature concerning their use: "giribal" a noun meaning "one type of traditional song and corroboree" (Geytenbeek 1971: 60); "da:nswnge" a verb meaning "dance" (Crowley 1978: 182); "yarbi" a noun meaning "song" (presumably any type of song) (Crowley 1978: 189); "djagi" a noun meaning "any secret ceremony" (Crowley 1978: 193); and "nga:ri" a noun meaning "any kind of corroboree or dance" (Crowley 1978: 194).
Part 3. Other Song Categories In The Sample - (Decontextualised)

The following categories include songs in the sample that I have not been able to classify into Part 1 or Part 2 of this chapter. These categories have emerged by analogy with Aboriginal songs in other areas of Australia.

Public Events Songs

a) General Information

There are many songs in the sample that describe some type of public event or some aspect of everyday life. Some of these describe a type of unusual incident involving European people. In 1962 Morgan from Coraki described how these songs were made:

JM: We had a chap on the Richmond River here, oh I thought he was a genius in making songs and so forth. He sang about everything ... He went about everywhere and he was noted for songmaking. Whenever any incident at all happened while he was in the camp, whether there was a fight, lovemaking, anything at all, well he sang about these people (Gordon Lismore 1962 LA1177B).

Some of the songs which describe remarkable incidents are still talked about today. For example, in 1985 Douglas Cook of Cabbage Tree Island mentioned a song composed by Raymond Duncan describing when blue denim jeans first became fashionable. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware this song has not been recorded (Cook pers. comm. 1985). Charlotte Page and Leena King from Woodenbong mentioned another Raymond Duncan song describing the cars' shiny lights as they drove along at night near Grafton (Text 22), and Eileen Morgan of Coraki remembered another Raymond Duncan song concerning Amy Johnson, the first woman pilot (Text 55) (Page, King and Morgan pers. comm. 1985).

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27 The use of Europeans as subjects of songs is common throughout Australia. One of the earliest examples of these was documented by Hunter in 1793. He states: Governor Phillip began to suspect, though very unwillingly, that there was a great deal of art and cunning in Bannekong; he had lately been at Botany Bay, where, he said, they danced, and that one of the tribe had sung a song, the subject of which was, his house, the governor, and the white men at Sydney (Hunter 1793: 493).
It is probable that some of these songs were originally sung as Sing-You-Down songs; there is now insufficient evidence, however, to make this connection. It is also not clear if some of these songs belonged to another genre. According to Page of Woodenbong there was no generic term for these songs:

MG: So, you know how you told me how there were songs that weren't Kawehr - like those songs about sweethearts.
CP: Yeah.
MG: What were they called then - were they just songs about sweethearts or was there a special word.
CP: No I don't think there was a special word. Just a song to sing about these two people.
MG: Oh yeah (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

According to Page, these songs were not danced.

MG: There'd be lots of different sorts of songs ... I've been trying to work out which songs are Corroboree Songs and which songs are about sweethearts.
CP: Oh yeah, ordinary songs.
MG: Oh, they're just ordinary songs?
CP: Yeah.
MG: Is a sweetheart song just an ordinary song?
CP: Yeah.
MG: So you didn't dance to that one?
CP: No ... oh no. Just these other songs you know ... Corroboree Songs - they were the only ones we danced to (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

I have classified the following thirty-seven texts as Public Events Songs. Due to the large number of these songs they will not be discussed here. Details can be found in Appendix 3 under the relevant text numbers.

Text 12: Lost Man

Text (13): Going to New England  This text has also been discussed under Increase Songs (see p. 129).

Text 15: Old Man Not Shakes Hands With Girl

Text 16: Secret Love

Text 17: Complicated Relationships I

Text 18: Complicated Relationships II
Text (22): Light From Mountain This text has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 154).

Text 23: Casino Spree

Text 24: Tracking Friend

Text 25: Whistling At Girl

Text (35): Lonely Cousin This text has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 154).

Text 43: Guinea Fowl and Crocodile

Text 48: Farewell Song

Text 49: Yugilbar Song

Text 52: Amy Johnson

Text 56: Gumbaingga [Gumbainggir] Poor Man

Text 58: Girl Watcher

Text (59): Taking Children to Doctor This text has also been discussed under Healing Songs (see p. 137).

Text 60: Drinking Wine

Text (61): Mr Ogilvie This text has also been classified under Sorcery Songs (see p. 141).

Text (62): Gambling Song - Goverman Song This text has also been discussed under Sing-You-Down (see p. 112).

Text (63): Mt Lindsay This text has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 55).

Text 65: Rory Williams' Song

Text 67: Bill Parkins

Text 68: Lament

Text 76: Getting a Bride

Text 77: Horse And Its Rider

Text (78): Coming Home To Father's Country This text has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 158).
Text (79): Mentions The Cook Family At Cabbage Tree Island. This text has also been classified under Sites and Dreamings Songs (see p. 158).

Text 80: Song Sung About A Baby

Text (81): Cobra-Wood Worm. This text has also been classified under Hunting Songs (see p. 131).

Text 83: Song About Brother and Sister

Text 84: Tipperary

Text 85: Song Sung By Girl’s Father

Text 86: Mother and Father Fighting

Text 89: Belle of the Ball

Text 91: Manager At Cherbourg

Sites and Dreamings Songs

a) General Information

Throughout the Bundjalung area there are many myths and songs concerning specific sites and mythical beings from the Dreamtime. Some of these sites were associated with increase rites and have been discussed under Increase Songs (see p. 124). Significant sites were known as djurbil, or today they are often referred to as a holy place. Radcliffe-Brown has stated that the origin of these djurbil are explained by stories that relate to the mythical period before man appeared. In the Bundjalung area, these mythical stories are called budjeram. Each group had a number of djurbil in their own country. A djurbil was a dangerous place for all people, except members of the group to which it belonged. A man treated his group’s djurbil with respect and was forbidden to trespass onto a djurbil that belonged to another group.

From descriptions by Bundjalung people it is obvious that there were many different types of significant sites throughout the area. For example in 1977 Millie Boyd described a waterhole at Cawongla used to heal people (Creamer Cawongla 1977 LA5041A). (This is discussed under Healing Songs see p. 133.) Radcliffe-Brown described another healing site in the Gumbainggir area where the bullroarer could be
heard at dusk (Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 406-407). In 1978, Herbert Charles described a site at the Glassy Mountains where three sisters who were mythical beings sang every evening. He stated:

Now, in them mountains there was the three sisters, three sisters. And they're there in the mountain. I was comin' home one evening from my work, tired and I was watching my brother - he went to town to get some grocery, ... and I sat up on this big stump, where the timber fell, and the timber cutters cut. And there I was listening way down in the creek then, way down in the scrub and I could hear this beautiful music goin'. Beautiful, my word. Yes down in that mountain. Oh, the prettiest music I ever heard ... Well that's them sisters, Mum's telling me. They're down there in that mountain ... In the Glassy Mountain ... They sing there every evening ... You can't understand what they're saying, but they're speaking, just like music, you know ... They're singin' and just like talking just like to the music, with the music (Creamer Texas 1978 TA).

In 1976 Gordon Williams gave similar details to Ray Kelly of the NPWS concerning a mountain known as Duwehn by Aboriginal people in the area. It could possibly be the same site in the Glassy Mountains discussed above by Herbert Charles. Williams states:

GW: I've heard them myself. I've heard them ...
RK: What's the name of the mountain?
GW: Duwehn ... and that's where these women are. And er, in the night you might land there. Say, I was camping there and you might come along, want to, you know put in a night in there with me. And I'll tell you then. When you hear this wind blowin', wind blowin' you'll hear the voice after. As long as there's a strong wind blows oh, she blows and blows hard. That's the one over there. Oh, I don't know what the white people call it, but we call it Duwehn.
RK: And you heard them talkin' there?
GW: I heard them yeah, singin' out. Up on the mountain.
RK: Has anyone seen 'em?
GW: Oh, I don't know whether anybody ever seen 'em. I never seen any. But I heard them. Well Hardgraves, they lives up across the creek.
RK: Who are the people?
GW: Hardgraves, and he's the fella who told me about them first.
RK: He's a white fella?
GW: Yeah
RK: He heard it too?
GW: Oh yeah, he was reared there and he heard them. He used to hear them every night nearly. These women singing out. Well he was the first one to tell me about 'em. He said, "Now you goin' to sleep". There was ol' Joe Collum. He said, "You might hear them tonight". And by the jiggers he was right. I heard them.
RK: What, just talking in the lingo?
GW: Yeah, but you can't sort of ...
RK: Sort out what they're talkin' about.
GW: It's hard, so high up.
Unfortunately I have not been able to match these details with any songs in the sample.
The importance and power of djurbils and mythical beings are mentioned in songs listed below.

b) Specific Texts From The Sample

The following nineteen texts from the sample have been categorised as Sites and Dreamings Songs: (8), 9, 10, 11, (20), (22), (35), 37, 50, (63), (70), 71, (72), 73, 74, (78), (79), 82 and (88). Texts (70) and (88) have also been classified under Djingan (see p. 116). Text (8) has also been classified under four different categories, details of which are below. Text (20) has also been classified under Sing-You-Down (see p. 111). Texts (22), (35), (63), (78) and (79) have also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 148-149). Text (72) has also been classified under Corroboree Songs.

Text (8): Pigeon Call One Note/Island to Mainland/Song Sung To Babies

This text has already been discussed under Blessing For Babies (see p. 112); Healing Songs (see p. 136); and Initiation Songs (see p. 145). Songs 31-37 and 106 of Text (8) are discussed here. They were performed by Jim Morgan who associates them with a time when the Aboriginal people were travelling from island to island before they arrived on the mainland of Australia. It mentions a man who is travelling. He is a stranger on an island and as he goes into the undergrowth he disturbs the birds; they fly around him and twitter as they are all scared of him. According to Morgan, although this song mentions the time before the Aboriginal people arrived in Australia, the most important part of this song was associated with his grandmother and is discussed under Blessing For Babies (see p. 112).
Text 9: Pre-Contact Song

This song is described by Calley as referring "to Wollington's Lookout between Sandy Hill and Boono Boono. This mountain is known as Wulul wulul" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). This is the same mountain called Mt Wellington Lookout, which is near Tenterfield.

Text 10: Mt Wellington Lookout

This song is about a significant site or djurbil, Mt Wellington Lookout, Wulul wulul at Tenterfield. It was composed by Jimmy Biggle. Calley has described this song as follows: "on this mountain there is a djurbil, three stones piled on top of one another ... [The song] refers to an old man watching near this djurbil. He sees a pair of lovers and feeling ashamed moves away through the shadows" (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A). This djurbil belonged to Dick Donnelly's father who was a clever man.

According to Kenneth Gordon, this song describes how in the early days an Aboriginal man first saw a white man. He was so shocked at the pale colour that he ran all the way from Tabulam through the bush and he did not stop until he got to Mt Wellington Lookout at Tenterfield. When he got into a cave there he looked back.

According to John Sommerlad this song was sung at some stage for the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II in Australia (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

Text 11: Blind Man's Song

Calley described this song as follows:

Billy Nichol went to look for gold on a mountain near Baryulgil - Darmundjur. The djurbil [or site of significance] did not belong to him and as a result of his trespass he was haunted in his dreams by two golgun, [or supernatural women]. He finally went blind. He composed this song about this incident (Calley Woodenbong 1955 LA1178A).

According to Donnelly, Nichol went to the djurbil on the mountain where there was a grave. There was gold either in the grave or near it. He went there but should have taken someone with him who had been through the traditional laws. As soon as he
started to dig he heard a funny noise in the scrub which gave him a fright and something told him he was not to take the gold. Then he heard kangaroos coming from all over the place. He had a rifle with him and started shooting at the kangaroos, but he could not hit any of them. This gave him such a shock that he left the place and never went back. When he told his wife what had happened she said to him that he should not have gone there because all the old men knew about the *djurbil* and he must not interfere with someone else’s *djurbil*. He eventually went blind as a punishment for what he had done. He visited Donnelly and taught him this song that he had composed about the incident.

According to the journal *New Dawn*, the laws and powers of the *djurbil* were still known and respected in 1971 when two Bundjalung men were killed in a car accident just after they had taken a mining man from Newcastle to a site near Baryulgil believed to have gold. The journal stated that several Aborigines claimed that the site was of sacred significance and that the two men died because they took a white man to the site (*New Dawn* 1971: 12). It is possible that the site mentioned by the journal *New Dawn* is the mountain mentioned in Text 11.

**Text (20): Crow**

According to Donnelly, the crow was often feared because it may be an enemy in disguise. He stated:

> Now one time years ago the Aborigine warrior used to go huntin’. Well, every time they kill a possum, they kill enough, say they’d get about half a dozen, now they’d say well "I’ll cook these now". First thing they’d go to a big gum tree shade and they’d cook it there. Round the possum, they’d be laying down belly up waiting for the possum to cook. Well that’s where he seen this *wagan* flyin’ over him, see. He must have thought "Hello, what’s going to happen here?" You see they was very frightened of *wagan* one time ago. *Wuyun* [supernatural powers] might come in *wagan* or come in to something to catch him, you see. *Wuyun* [supernatural powers] *wayangali* [clever man or doctor] they’d go in, walk or catch somebody in some other way. Might be a possum or something you see. Anyhow, he must have been watching this crow and he must have thought it was a mean man and make a song about this fella you see. That’s how he made the song. He must have been flying around (Geytenbeek Woodenbong 1965 LA3392A).
On several occasions, particularly in the later recordings Donnelly did not mention the supernatural aspects of this song. This song was also described by the singer as a *Sing-You-Down* song (see p. 111).

**Text (22): Light From Mountain**

This song was composed by Raymond Duncan. According to the singer, Jim Morgan, Duncan made this song when he was on a road and wasn't sure where he was. He was wondering if it was the road to Grafton. It was in the days of gas lighting and Grafton seemed to be all lit up. Duncan saw some cables [presumably electricity cables] and he thought that these must go back to the mountains in his own country because there were so many legends connected to these mountains. In the song he mentions Crown Mountain, Edinburgh Castle and Mt Lindsay. According to Donnelly, however, Duncan made this song when he was in Grafton. He could see the lights of a motor car and didn't know what they were. The song describes the glittering, shiny lights that were moving and the mountains from Duncan's country. This text has also been classified under *Public Events Songs* (see p. 148).

**Text (35): Lonely Cousin**

According to Cecil Taylor, this song was composed by Jack Barron. When he left Woodenbong and went to Queensland to work he left his cousin on his own. As he crossed the NSW/Queensland border he looked back and felt sorry for his cousin. In the song he mentions the mountain, *Bungbung*. (The English name for this mountain is not given.) This text has also been classified under *Public Events Songs* (see p. 148).

**Text 37: Ownership Of Emus**

According to Charlotte Williams, this song describes how at Unumgar, east of Woodenbong, the older brother of Wayaw had two emus. When the older brother died Wayaw tried to catch the emus and keep them, but they escaped and headed west towards the Blue Sea, a waterhole owned by a spirit being called *Yahbirahny*. 
Ngadangkali, another spirit being, sang this song to Wayaw to explain to him that the emus really belonged to Yahbirahny. They had only been lent to the older brother to help him become "clever", in order to help heal and protect his people. Wayaw spent three days in the Blue Sea waterhole and then returned home.

Text 50: Cave Dwellers

According to Pastor Frank Roberts, this song was composed by his grandfather Dick McQuilty and concerns the area around Blue Knob and Uki. On several occasions McQuilty decided to go to Blue Knob prospecting for gold. Previously, white settlers near the mountains could hear the cave dwellers slam a door in the mountain. McQuilty was very curious about this and went to investigate. As he was going up the mountain he heard a whistle behind him and thought someone was following him to kill him and take his spirit. Although he could not see anyone he realised it was the cave dwellers. They whistled and coo-eeed at him because they wanted to know what he was doing on their land. McQuilty composed this song about his experience.

Other Aborigines have also heard the cave dwellers when they went to the mountains to shoot flying foxes with a musket gun. According to Roberts, they would often hear the cave dwellers call out "Have enough! You shoot enough! Leave them alone! They're our property!" (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

Text (63): Mt Lindsay

This song was composed by Alec Bond, a Bundjalung songman. According to the recordist, Gordon, the song concerns Mt Lindsay, but the singer, Donnelly, and Hill, whose grandfather composed the song, both mention Mt Barney. Both of these mountains are on the NSW/Queensland border. According to Hill, Bond took a mob of bullocks up to north Queensland. In those days they used to drive them on foot. When he had travelled about forty miles he looked back and saw the mountain and as a result, started to feel lonely. Then he made this song. This text has also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 148).
Text (70): Unyoke Bullocks

This song has been discussed under *Djiringan* (see p. 116). For more details see Appendix 3.

Text 71: *Keijnan* [Geynyan] Woman Song

According to Millie Boyd, this song was sung by Barbara Wickly just before she died. This song was recorded at Old Koreelah Station and Boyd described how Wickly died among the trees there. Her body was carried back to her own country by Boyd's great-grandparents and buried on a ridge in *Geynyan* country, neighbouring the *Gidabal* country. Wickly sang this song to her nephew, Boyd's father, just before she died. In the song she told her nephew, Euston Williams, that she was going away from his company and she described how her life was going down and fading away.

Text (72): Leo's Song

This song concerns Leo, a *Gidabal* warrior and ancestral being. It has already been discussed under *Corroboree Songs* (see p. 122). For more details see Appendix 3.

Text 73: Mt Waming Song

Boyd has described how this song was sung by her aunt after she died. She sang this song back to the songman Jack Barron, at Woodenbong. This song is discussed in detail under Song Creation (see p. 182) and in Appendix 3.

Text 74: *Gumur Buovanj*

This song is about going to the seaside. A young boy was making his grandmother wait because he was playing around. He was busy chewing red gum from the tree to clean his teeth. She looked back and could not see him so she sang this song to him to hurry. It was a long way to the seaside and she wanted him to hurry.
The boy did not see a nimbin, a powerful creature who lived in the mountain, come along. The nimbin turned the boy into a rock. Today you can see the rock on the mountain. Unfortunately the singer, Herbert Charles, did not name the mountain.

It is possible that this text matches with a story told by Gordon Williams concerning Glennies Chair:

RK: What's that little place called that you were going to tell me about?
GW: Glennies's Chair?
RK: Yeah, I just call it Glennies Chair. What do kooris call it?
GW: Gumur bubuyan ...
RK: And that means what?
GW: Cuttin' grubs out of the watyacall.
RK: Out of the tree?
GW: Out of the grass, grass trees.
RK: Oh yes. And can you tell me what happened there then?
GW: Well, the old lady that reared 'im she er, they were going down to Byron Bay or somewhere down there. It might have been to Murwillumbah or somewhere and er. Well she, she keeps singing out to him and he's answering her. "Wait a while" he said. "Wait till I do two more of these gumurs " you see [inaudible]. That's a grub. He wanted to get a few more because they're good eatin' you know.
RK: Oh yeah.
GW: And anyhow, she left him there. Left the boy there, lad, and she went on. I don't know where she went to, somewhere down there. So he camped, I don't know where he camped, somewhere down the Richmond River. Anyhow, whether this boy died or not, I wouldn't know. He must've. He'd starve, ey? Starve to death. He had nothing to eat. And that's all I know about that (Creamer Glennies Chair 1976 Tape AA Track A).

According to Williams this site is where the bullroarer was invented. It is not clear whether Text 74 is concerned with this or whether it concerns only the details above.

Gordon states:

RK: You told me another story once about the gumur bubuyani, used to cut the tree and the chips used to come open and come and go brrr across the -
GW: Yeah, well there's two rocks there. One [inaudible] so high you know. And he was cuttin' for something and everytime he took a chip out, you know and it would fly down the mountain. That's Glennies Mountain going towards Mt Lindsay, so, and he thought to himself "By golly. This is all right." And he started to make them, there. He was makin' em then. Doin' 'em up. They've got a [an] eye at the tail end of that bullroarer, and he put a string on that. String. Tied a string on it. And he used to swing it. He was swingin' it then and oh you just, then he'd let it go you know. Swing. He had plenty made. He'd let 'em go and they'd go way across to Mt Lindsay, then over to Mt Barney I s'pose. All them, see. And that's all I know about that (Creamer Glennies Chair 1976 Tape AA Track A).
Text (78): Coming Home To Father's Country

All performances of this text were sung by Mary Cowlan in 1985 when I took her to the Bundjalung National Park at Evans Head. This country belonged to her father and she had not been there for a while. It is probable that she was singing an old song in a new, or recent context. This song has also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 148).

Text (79): Mentions The Cook Family At Cabbage Tree Island

This song mentions the Cook family at Cabbage Tree Island who, according to Bundjalung people, are related to Captain Cook. This text has also been classified under Public Events Songs (see p. 149).

Text 82: Lost Kid

According to Cowlan, this song concerns a child who was taken away by the fairies, or spirits (Gummow Evans Head 1985 FT4A).

Text (88): Heavens Open

This song has been discussed under Diingan (see p. 117). For more details see Appendix 3.

Other

I have not been able to classify any of the following texts due to lack of information concerning their performance context. For any available details see Appendix 3.

Text 14: Gumbaingga [Gumbainggir]Song With Swear Words

Text 38: Unidentified II [Nah Wangka Libaw]

Text 40: Unidentified III [Nguruh Wandeheh Ngay]

Text 45: Unidentified IV

Text 47: Aboriginal Language Song - non-Aboriginal singer
Conclusion

In the previous sections I have classified all songs from the sample into several different categories. Table 2 summarises this information and gives both the total number of texts in each category and the total number of texts which have been classified as belonging to more than one category. Sixteen of the ninety-three texts in the sample have been classified into more than one category. It is impossible to know if song categories were clear cut and exclusive in the past. In Table 2 it appears that some categories, such as Shake-a-Leg, had only one performance context. Only one text, Text (8) has been classified into four different categories and from the contextual information available it appears certain that it was performed in four different contexts. All other bracketed texts appear in only two categories. These texts have usually been placed into two categories because of lack of evidence, or unclear evidence.
Table 2. Song categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Category</th>
<th>Text Nos.</th>
<th>Total No. of Texts</th>
<th>Total No. of Multi-Function Texts</th>
<th>Total No. of Songs</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Yawalju</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 28, 33a, 33b, 34, 39 and (42)</td>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>1a, 1b, 21, 29, 31, 32, 41, 46 and 92</td>
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<td>Sing-You-Down</td>
<td>6, 7, 19, (20), 30, 44, 51 and (62)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blessing For Babies</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lullaby</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djinjana</td>
<td>(70) and (88)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaw Breaker</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Song Categories Identified From The Literature</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corroboree Songs</td>
<td>26, 27, 53, 69, (72), 75, 90 and 93</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase Songs</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting Songs</td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing Songs</td>
<td>(8), 36 and (59)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorcery Songs</td>
<td>(42) and (61)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortuary Songs</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiation Songs</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Categories In The Sample</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Events Songs</td>
<td>12, (13), 15, 16, 17, 18, (22), 23, 24, 25, (35), 43, 48, 49, 52, 56, 58, (59), 60, (61), (62), (63), 65, 67, 68, 76, 77, (78), (79), 80, (81), 83, 84, 85, 86, 89 and 91</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sites and Dreamings Songs</td>
<td>(8), 9, 10, 11, (20), (22), (35), 37, 50, (63), (70), (71), (72), 73, 74, (78), (79), 82 and (88)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14, 38, 40, 45, 47, 54, 55, 66 and 87</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td>10</td>
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Part 4. Material Culture

Body Decoration

Many of the descriptions of songs and dances already cited have mentioned body decorations. It is evident that throughout the Bundjalung area there were many different types of body painting. The Geytenbeeks have documented the noun ma:gin (also ma:ginj) as the "pattern used on weapons, or on bodies as tribal identification at inter-tribal corroborees" (Geytenbeek 1971: 63). Donnelly has also explained that each man had a specific design that was determined by which area he was from:

DD: Oh, paint, yeah.
F: What colours do you use?
DD: Oh well, I only use the white, you see ... ah ...that's what I use ...
JS: The design you paint on yourself, is this the same all the time?
DD: Oh yes ... I have a different way of painting to others, you see. We don't all paint the same.
M: Did you always do it the same for yourself?
DD: Yeah ...
JS: Each man has his own design and you can tell what tribe that he's from, by his colours and design.
DD: ...Yeah, oh yeah (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

According to Lyle Roberts of Lismore, a man could change the design he used, but it was important that everyone was painted differently:

MO: Tell me about that painting. Was it always white?
LR: 'The white paint and we get them out there Puris Plain and then down Wyrrallah. That's what we call bomalegal ...'
MO: Did you put it on with your finger or a bit of rag, or what?
LR: 'Have a stick that long and a little rag like that, just like a brush to make a dot wherever they put them ... or you can put a snake, but that'll take a while when you're acting, but when you're training well, you've got plenty of time to train.'
MO: And these patterns that they put on them, did these patterns have a special meaning or could you just put any pattern you fancied?
LR: 'Well, when we put the paint on, the bomaleeni, we could put a different pattern on our body, from toe right to our head, to our hair, but each man and each women, the actors they paint a different way, not all one way, different way and the ngali yawahr djanggalbili look nice when the corroboree's on (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066B).

According to Oakes, when the group of three performers from Woodenbong performed the Shake-a-Leg on several occasions, they were not always painted the same way on each occasion. Oakes has described one occasion:
MO: That was a taping done by me Marjorie Oakes on Monday the 27th of October, 1968. The occasion was a meeting of the Casino Historical Society and the performers were the singer Cecil Taylor and the Aboriginal dancers Herbert Charles and Rory Close. These men came down from Woodenbong with a whole lot of their people and did this performance for the society. They have also done it earlier in the year on Aborigines' National Day, 10th July. The men were painted up. Two dancers were painted completely with white clay paint while the singer was painted only on the face. He had round his head a band and stuck into it little bits of plant. He beat time holding two boomerangs at an angle and clapping the two legs of a boomerang against the two legs of another (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066B).

From descriptions by Oakes it appears that the two photographs of these performers were probably taken during the performance on Aborigines' National Day (see Plates 15 p. 96 and 16 p. 100). Oakes has described the body painting:

MO: I think these men on Aborigines' National Day they painted differently that time and seemed to have just dots all down their body like leaves and sunlight (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066B).

It appears that several colours were used for body painting. Jim Morgan, from Coraki, stated that for Text 26: Bubumanyeh Buyeh, white clay and red ochre were used and all the boys were painted differently (Gibbons Coraki 1966 LA434B). Charlotte Page from Woodenbong also described how different colours were used:

CP: I suppose it [the corroboree] was meant for night because everyone was painted, like into corroboree.

MG: Oh yeah, and what were they painted with?

CP: Clay, along the road, they'd find it you know - red or white or black. Whatever the colour what gets out of the ground (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

There are few descriptions of headdress or other types of body decoration.

Oakes has described the headdress worn by the singer Taylor as "a band and stuck into it little bits of plant" (see Plate 16 p. 100) (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066B). Boyd, from Woodenbong, has mentioned the use of feathers for headdress when referring specifically to Text 72: Leo’s Song (Gummow Tooloom Falls 1985 FT7A).

Objects Carried in Performances

From descriptions of Text 90: Tribal Fight (see Appendix 3) and Shake-a-Leg performances (see p. 95), it is obvious that weapons such as shields, spears and boomerangs were used in dances. The use of spears and shields was also mentioned
under *Yawahr* (see p. 87) in a description of a performance in 1910 by the *Northern Star* newspaper. This is repeated below:

In one of these the men were armed with spears and shields, and went through all the mimic evolutions of a fight, with shouts of challenge and taunts to the foes. This was very well rendered, and was very interesting, and one could well imagine what a striking scene it was in old days, when 400 or 500 men were taking part in it (*Northern Star* 1910b: 2).

This description appears to be very similar to the details in a sketch drawn by Hodgkinson in 1845 of dancing in the Macleay Valley area (see Plate 20). It is possible that this sketch could represent a war dance.

A description by De Bertrodano of a war "corroboree" from the Yulgibar area appeared in 1926:

Every year or thereabouts they had a corroboree, when all the surrounding tribes met and they had dancing and hunting, friendly fighting, and generally enjoyed themselves and towards the end (this would go on for about two weeks) they would decide to fight some blacks, and immediately set to work to make war: this in the first instance consisted in a lot of filthy expressions against the tribe they wished to fight, sung in a kind of dirge. This challenge, as you may call it, was then sent by one of their own men to the camp of the tribe they were to fight: he was never molested and was allowed to return safely to his own camp. After the fight they made friends. They are very fond of their children, and in fact spoil them. Their rules of fighting, of which there are many at these corroborees, are wonderfully fair. The opponents each uses a yellaman or shield made out of a soft kind of wood: They commence by throwing their 'melons', which consist of very heavy sticks about 16 inches long, saturated with water to make them heavy. They can be thrown with great accuracy and are used in hunting. The opponents do not throw their weapons at the same time - two or three of these 'melons' are thrown, and then the opponent throws his; then they would throw three of their spears, one after the other and if none of these hit the mark - which they seldom do on account of the agility of the opponents - they seize the boomerang - also three - and when that is over they seize the 'barrung' which is made like a boomerang only more angular in the curve and is held in the right hand. After this they go in with their nulla nulla, or clubs (De Bertrodano in McBryde 1978: 285).

Another war "corroboree" which included the use of spears and feathers has been described by Mr Surveyor White:
Plate 20. War dance in the Macleay Valley area. Sketch drawn by Hodgkinson. Reproduced from Hodgkinson (1845: on the page inside the front cover) by AIATSIS.
I will give one more account of a corroboree of a different character that I witnessed in New England in November, 1850, two miles this side of Armidale. There were some 600 in all, including the Macleay and Clarence River blacks, as well as those of New England. The plot, for so I must call it, was a singular one, and very laughable in its dénouement. Picture to yourself this number of blacks massed in a body, all elaborately painted white and red before the large fires lighted for the occasion, forming a square within which you could not see. All at once, in time to their rude chant, opening out to the right and left into line with as much precision as soldiers on parade, an object coming into view which puzzled you to say what it was. At last you discover it to be a blackfellow all smeared over with honey, to which adhered the white down of birds, giving him a most grotesque appearance. According to them he represents the debil debil by hopping before them while they execute a war dance, their spears pointed towards him as if for throwing, and their feet coming to the ground together, in time to the beat of the gins. They are excellent time keepers - they never make a mistake - when going through their performances, which they generally finish off about twelve o'clock (White in Blomfield 1981: 97).

From the literature it is clear that war dances occurred in many areas of Australia. In 1899 Rudder published a detailed description of a war dance where weapons were used, performed by Aboriginal groups from the Fraser Island, Burrum River, and Maryborough areas of Queensland.

As I said, we observed a general movement on the part of the men on the enemies [sic] side (I shall call the hostile forces furthest from us the “enemy,” as they were the Frazer Island, Burrum River, and Coast blacks, and the forces near to us the Maryborough blacks)[sic]. These fellows came forward at a trot, and formed themselves into a pretty straight line, two or three deep, with plenty of room between the men. On this taking place the women on the enemy’s side stopped their wild and excited shouting, and sat down in groups, pretending indifferent to what was going on, while the men who were not to take part in the fight were hanging about in loose order. About 150 war-painted warriors came to the front, their only covering being their belt of twisted possum hair which held their boomerangs, paddymelons sticks, nulla nullas, and knife, and from which was suspended before and behind strips of opossum skin with the hair on. As soon as these warriors had formed into line, the women commenced to beat the war dance, which was responded to by the men keeping time on their shields with boomerangs, and at the same time dancing a wild fantastic war dance.

In the meantime the women of the Maryborough warriors were not silent, but on the contrary became more insolent in their language and more violent in their actions. Several of them went up and down the front line of the enemy, and by throwing leaves and dirt into the air, and by other most romantic and pointed actions indicated their contempt for the foe. These women could have been speared or struck down most easily, but they were treated with calm contempt. While this was going on a movement corresponding to what had taken place around the enemy’s forces had commenced among the Maryborough warriors. As soon as the jins observed the advance of the men they retired with a derisive cheer, or yell. At this time my friend and I had become deeply interested and much excited, as we conceived that the Maryborough
warriors were in the act of charging full hilt at the enemy, but not so, for they pulled up within about seventy yards of the enemy's line, spread themselves out as they had done, and commenced a war dance to the music of their women. The whole scene was remarkably romantic and picturesque. But it was difficult to tell whether a tragedy or a comedy was being enacted. The war dance on both sides was kept up for about twenty minutes, when a noble looking warrior from the enemy's line dashed about twenty paces to the front and stood gesticulating and shouting defiance to the Maryboroughites and ending by hurling a boomerang with great force fair at them, which was allowed to pass through their ranks with a contemptuous yell.

This act of defiance was followed by one of the Maryborough warriors hurling a similar challenge at the enemy, but this was not done till the warrior on the other side had retired within the lines. These challenges were repeated several times, but it is needless to say it was not expected they would be accepted. At this time the war dance became more exciting, and the weapons were beating together with more vigour, when all at once there was a cessation of noise, and a few words were spoken by one of the oldest warriors in a sharp, rapid tone, and repeated simultaneously by every man among the enemy, and a similar action was immediately followed by the Maryboroughites. A moment afterwards the first lines of both armies advanced about five paces towards each other, while the two rear lines fell back a similar distance. We could now see that business was meant, as all noise and clamour ceased and the men looked nervous and anxious (Rudder 1899a: 36).

Objects Otherwise Incorporated into Performances

The use of fire at performances has been described by several people. Morgan from Coraki stated that the "fires acted as 'stage lights' as well as for warmth in the winter or cold nights" (Norledge nd: 2). Lyle Roberts of Lismore mentioned to Oakes that when he was younger he attended performances where gaslights were used as well as fires (Oakes Lismore 1968 LA1066A). Page from Woodenbong has described how the camp fire was used at Christian meetings as well as corroborees:

Oh, it was marvellous how those old people could sing and yet they couldn't read or write. But they sang those hymns without a book and of course we just used to follow along. And then they used to have testimonies, you know, for whoever was a Christian. No, the outsiders, anybody who wasn't a Christian, they wasn't allowed to get up and testify. They had to be Christian. They had to accept the Lord into their heart. And it was lovely and if it was at night they'd have a big fire too, just like for the corroboree but have the big fire. And some of the European people used to come from up along the road here to listen to us, you know, to listen to us singing in the ministry and that. And they used to come and watch us corroboring [sic] (Riebe 1988: 10-11).
The use of effigies in performances of unrestricted songs and dances such as *Yawahr*, was documented by the *Northern Star*, in 1910. The quote below is a repeat of material quoted under *Yawahr* (see p. 87).

There was then disclosed a good representation of a man over life size and effigy of a kangaroo, also life size, and one of an emu. In yet another performance there was a representation by the leader of a man stalking game, and here the full [sic] effect of having the effigies of the kangaroo and emu on the scene was realised (*Northern Star* 1910b: 2).

The use of effigies has also been mentioned by Steele in the Numinbah Valley area in southern Queensland. He states:

A large goanna was fashioned out of wood and dragged into the corroboree ground by a man hiding inside it. Those who played the parts of hunters stalked the goanna and tried to lasso it; after many false attempts, the hunters at last pounced upon the goanna and killed it. The whole performance was accompanied by appropriate music (Steele 1984: 61).

In the literature it is not clear whether the use of carved logs was restricted to initiation ceremonies or whether they were also used at unrestricted performances. According to Steele, Flick has stated that the decorations at corroborees included:

Grotesquely carved logs to represent the figures of animals, which were relieved with bunches of fern, moss etc. These logs were stood on end and the dancers would wind in and out of them, maypole fashion (Steele 1984: 18 quoting Flick 1934).

It is not clear if this performance was unrestricted. Another similar description of a performance occurring at Tucki has been given by Currie. According to Steele, Currie lived in the area from 1868 and his descriptions are thought to be of ceremonies that occurred around 1875. Steele and Currie (in Steele) state:

The men and women sat on opposite sides of a huge fire in the centre of the large ring. A track one hundred metres long led to a small ring in the scrub, and in the centre of this ring was a tree turned upside down with its roots in the air. The tree was supported with vines, and decorated with vines stripped of their bark to reveal a red colour. An old man was stationed at the top of this tree, speaking to the initiates and throwing sacred pebbles to the ground. Currie continues:

Prior to the ceremony the blacks painted themselves. This was done with a soft red stone or clay. The face and breast were painted red

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28 I have been unable to locate the original reference William Flick, *Dying Race* Ballina, NSW Beacon Printery, 1934.
and the arms and limbs were decorated with white stripes. When all the preparations were completed the ceremony began. The chief took his place in the centre of the big ring and beat time with two boomerangs, while the multitude of blacks sang.

First of all the men lead off with sonorous tones. Then the women, with their shrill voices, joined in at intervals. The performers were then called on by the chief and they went through a number of muscular performances, resembling a person suffering from acute nerve trouble, twitching and twisting arms, legs, face and body into all shapes. After this they laid down on their backs and would measure a chain square. The chief sang next, keeping time with his boomerangs, while the company moved their bodies to and fro in tune to the music, giving the appearance of waves. The women sang and danced, beating time with dry kangaroo skins (Steele 1984: 13).29

Although Currie mentions that initiates were present, it is possible that this was an unrestricted performance as women were also present. It is not clear if the dancers included men and women, or if they were only initiates. Despite this problem, this description of dance appears to be similar to two photographs I located at Grafton in Schaeffer House, the Clarence River Historical Society Museum. They were taken by a local photographer, Mr Stevenson in the early 1880s, presumably somewhere in the Grafton area (see Plates 21 and 22).

Other objects incorporated into performances of Bundjalung songs and/or dances include: the magic string and quartz stones used to heal people (these have been discussed under Healing Songs see p. 131); and bones, grass, leaves and quartz stones (these have been discussed under Sorcery Songs see p. 137).

29 I have not located the reference John Currie, Reminiscences *Northern Star*, 21 February 1925.
Plate 21. Aboriginal dance resembling the maypole dance, Grafton area 1880s. Photograph by Stevenson. Reproduced by the Clarence River Historical Society.
Plate 22. Aboriginal dance resembling the maypole dance, Grafton area 1880s. Photograph by Stevenson. Reproduced by the Clarence River Historical Society.
Part 5. Musical Instruments

This section will briefly discuss musical instruments. Only some of the instruments mentioned below have been recorded. Hence, information for this section relies on literature, reports from Bundjalung people as well as the recordings. In 1978 Crowley documented the term "galgalimay" meaning "music" (Crowley 1978: 194). It is not clear if this term was used to describe instrumental music as opposed to "yarbil", which referred to any type of song (Crowley 1978: 194).

Clapsticks and Boomerang Clapsticks

Throughout the Bundjalung area, as in much of the rest of Aboriginal Australia, clapsticks and boomerang clapsticks were used, apparently only by men. The name for the clapsticks was documented by Crowley as "murunu sticks used for tapping in music" (Crowley 1978: 187). In 1988, Charlotte Page stated that the boomerang clapsticks were called bargan (Riebe 1988: 8). On another occasion, she used the term mundang to describe the clapsticks and stated:

MG: Jack Barron, he was a famous songman wasn't he?
CP: Oh he was - he could sing all the songs. He was a good singer he was for a old man. And he had two boomerangs and he'd be clapping these two boomerangs to make the noise.
MG: Oh I see.
CP: And another time he'd have the clapsticks, like little mundang we call them.
MG: They were just straight little sticks.
CP: Yeah, and they're very [inaudible] and they make the very loud noise.
MG: Oh, I see.
CP: Yeah, we call them, I just forget what we call them now. I'm forgettin' about these names. Yeah, but that's the little stick they used to clap and they used to make the lovely sound, beside the boomerang.
MG: And what were the sticks made of? A sort of wood?
CP: Yeah, I suppose it'll be mulga wood or fig wood perhaps. They'd go out in the bush and get these certain kind of wood (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2A).

It is not clear if there were specific occasions where only boomerangs or clapsticks were used, or whether they were interchangeable. From the recordings it is clear that other objects could be used in place of specific instruments. For example, in 1970 Sommerlad explained how hammer handles were used during a lecture tour:
JS: Mr Donnelly came down without his sticks. These are mine, there's a dead spot on one of them you have to be a bit careful. Mr Donnelly has a pair similar to that. But when Mr Donnelly did a tour some years ago he started off without his sticks and they decided in a hurry that they better get themselves a pair of sticks. So they went into a hardware store and a complete tour of schools and universities was done with two very finely sanded hammer handles and as a matter of fact most of my best recordings were done with these hammer handles. Mr Donnelly came down to see his relatives this time without bringing his song sticks. Not knowing this was going to be on (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

These hammer handles were so successful that they were used later when Donnelly was recorded by John Gordon (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A Songs 148-151). On another occasion when Donnelly was recorded by Creamer, it seems from the audio tape that he tapped some type of metallic object such as a tin can instead of clapsticks (Creamer Woodenbong 1973 Tape B A Song nos. 281-283). This is very common throughout Australia.

The Geytenbeeks and Crowley have documented several terms for percussive sounds. The following refer specifically to musical contexts: *daba:ng ba-y* (n) noise caused by percussion (Geytenbeek 1971: 55); *daba:ng ba-* (vb phr) to make noise by percussion (Geytenbeek 1971: 55); *dinggi:ng ba-y* (n) sound made by percussion, knock (Geytenbeek 1971: 56); *djalgay* (n) rhythmic sound (eg. of footsteps or boomerang-tapping) (Geytenbeek 1971: 56); and *dalga*: hit the stick to make noise, clap (Crowley 1978: 183). The following terms probably also refer to sounds made by these instruments: *daba:ng-, daba:ng-ba* make a noise by hitting two hard objects together (Crowley 1978: 182); *dalal-* knocking noise (n) (Crowley 1978: 182); *dalal-ba* knock (Crowley 1978: 182); *dalal-bay* knocking noise (n) (Crowley 1978: 182); *dalal ba-* (vb. phr) to clatter, to rattle (Geytenbeek 1971: 55); *dare:r-, dare:r-ba* rattle (Crowley 1978: 182); and *dare:r-bay* rattling noise (n) (Crowley 1978: 182).

**Drum/Pillow**

The linguists Crowley and the Geytenbeeks have documented the word *bulbing* as a noun meaning drum (Crowley 1978: 181 and Geytenbeek 1971: 73). In the past in
the Bundjalung area a possum skin pillow was played like a drum by women. Harry Cook from Cabbage Tree Island described how the pillow was used:

JG: Did you beat time when you sang these?
HC: Yes. Have a stick ... or have a pillow made outa possum skin like a pillow.
JG: It made a drum. Drumming noise?
HC: Yeah, they'll 'it that, see.
JG: Was the skin stretched at all?
HC: Yes. It was filled up with something.
JG: Oh. A pillow of possum skin. Is this a very old instrument?
HC: Yes. Out of a possum they used to make it. Then they hit that - the old people used to have that.
JG: And smack it with a stick or their hand?
HC: No, with their hand and old people have two boomerangs.
JG: The clapping of boomerangs together.
HC: Old fellows, but all the women just had that. The pillow thing (Gordon CTT 1968 LA1176A).

It is clear that the possum skin pillow was being used at least as early as 1869, when it was described by Dawson as an instrument used at a corroboree near Grafton. Dawson's description is quoted in full in Yawahr (see pp. 77-78). According to Eric Walker, the possum skin drum was still being used earlier this century and was played by women as an accompaniment to the Square Dance Song (Text 34, S 340, 350 and 351). By 1985 he was not aware of anyone who still played the possum pillow (Gummow Bonalbo 1985 FT8A).30

It is clear that after it became difficult to obtain possum skins a pillow made from material such as kapok was used. Charlotte Page described how it was made and played:

MG: Did the women use those clapsticks too?
CP: No. They used to play the pillow.
MG: What sort of a pillow?
CP: A pillow like what we have their head on.
MG: Yeah.
CP: They'd play it that way - you wouldn't think it was a pillow - the sound it used to make - the sound used to go a long way. You wouldn't

30 A skin drum was also found further west in the Murawari area. Mathews has stated that:
The onlookers produced a rhythmic beat by hitting a type of pillow made of kangaroo skin and stuffed with possum fur. In the early days this had been used as a drum; several people were able to beat it at the same time, using their hands (Mathews 1977: 37).

In 1970, Jimmie Barker recorded a performance of the skin drum. This is the only recording of a skin drum available in the AIATSIS archives (Barker Brewarrina 1970 LA1921B). For more details concerning the recording context of this performance see Gummow (1984: 15).
think it was a pillow, but they just knew how to do it. They clap that see - they held it like that and they hit it with their hand and it used to make some lovely noise. A real sound you know.

MG: And what was that made of, material?

CP: Yes.

MG: Just like this pillow here?

CP: Yes. Just like this pillow you use - kapok or something. Oh yeah, some of them were made out of grass - for our mattress. That was our mattress - bladey grass. You'll see some bladey grass, down here, it was our mattress. It was just as good as, you know, mattress today ... MG: Oh, I'm sure it was ... And it was just the women that played those.

CP: That played the pillow - yes. The men played those boomerang and those clapstick (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2A).

According to Lucy Daley of Baryulgil, sometimes a blanket or something similar was rolled up and used:

MG: Yeah, and what sort of a pillow was it?
LD: It's not a pillow, it's a blanket or something. They roll it up and have that just, you know, like a band and that stick.
MG: Oh, they tap it with a stick.
LD: They play it - same time as they're singin' (Gummow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2A).

**Bullroarer**

The use of the bullroarer has been discussed under Healing Songs (see p. 135). There are no recordings of the bullroarer in the AIATSIS NSW recordings. From the literature it appears that there were several different bullroarers used in different contexts. Initiation ceremonies being one context. Mathews has described and illustrated two different bullroarers which were used in the Clarence and Richmond River areas: the *dhooanbooka* or *yoolundry*, and the *dhalgungun*, a smaller bullroarer (Mathews 1907: 32). In the literature and the AIATSIS sound archive other names are given for bullroarers throughout the area. One singer, Pastor Frank Roberts, called the bullroarer a *djarangee* and explained how it was used in the camp to educate children about the traditional mythology:

FR: In the early days of Wyrallah, *Gorumbil*, which is the Aboriginal name for Wyrallah they would tell us around the campfire, their folklores and their story would go on for a week. They wouldn't finish off short and they would tell us about this bunyip that lived at the lagoon called *Widjegun*. There many men or women, or boys and girls, and even dogs were taken. We were forbidden to go near this place because we sure would be a victim to the bunyip. Well, we believed it, and of
course added to this scare, they'd use a bullroarer. Have you ever heard the bullroarer - And it scare them - Bullroarer is a djarangee - Oh and we cuddled up and get into the camp. Get scared about it. Now my dad and grandfather would say, "Look now you be very careful. There's a bunyip there. Get away and keep away. Don't go near this lagoon" (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

Gordon Williams explained to Howard Creamer how the bullroarer was invented:

GW: There was a young fella. His home was here at Unumgar. And he went up there [Glennies Chair] one day and he was flitting that for the gumur [grubs] - to get something to eat. And everytime he'd split a piece he'd fire away on a ... he thought to himself now, "This is something good". And so he started to make the bullroarer then. The bullroarer. You never ever seen one of them? I've only seen one. The bullroarer. And that's where he was making 'em, from that there. See, there was a couple of rocks on top where he was standin' where he used to stand and swing this bullroarer and er, oh they could be heard from a long way, and they didn't know what it was. That's where he made 'em. The bullroarer. And now I've seen them. They're just a piece of wood you know, er nothing flash about 'em. Just a piece of wood and er well the rope at the end. I don't know, but er the way it's carved out, I don't know what they carved it out with that made the marks you know. On this bullroarer. It wasn't a knife. I'm sure it wasn't a knife. I don't know what they carved it out with. And er, this young fella, when he used to slit the piece [inaudible] well he used to get that and dress it. Well by golly look, it was like that.
HC: Real smooth.
GW: Oh yes, and he didn't have sandpaper to do it with or [inaudible] either. Yes it's beautifully done.
HC: It's the way they carve it. Slight turn on it.
GW: By the jiggers it's marvellous. That gumur babuyan, that one ... Gumur is the little grub
HC: That you get in the grass trees?
GW: Yes, that's a little grub (Creamer Glennies Chair 1978 Tape UA).

Other Instruments

Although I stated in Chapter 1 that I would not deal with modern music in detail, the following description of modern instruments has been included to show continuity between Aboriginal and European musical traditions. From the beginning of the early twentieth century it was not uncommon for Bundjalung performers to be able to perform both Aboriginal and European songs and dances. During the early twentieth century European dance music such as reels and barn dances were very

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31 For more details concerning modern Aboriginal music of NSW see Sullivan 1988, which concerns old time dance musicians in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.
popular among Aboriginal communities. *Bundjalung* musicians performed this music on western instruments such as violins, piano accordions, mandolins, and mouth organs (see Plate 23). The gumleaf was also played, but according to Aboriginal people this was a traditional instrument. During the 1950s at Woodenbong dances were frequent and popular. Charlotte Page and her sister Leena King have described them and the musicians:

CP: This is over there, still in the settlement, we used to dance down here in this hollow here. This is Devil Hollow we used to call this place just over there, you know, before you get to Muli. And back over there, about where Terry's house, eh? Do you remember there used to be a dancing floor there too.

CP: Yes, that's where we used to live.

LK: You know, a big circle. A big circle.

CP: Just between them two houses.

LK: And, you know, you used to chip it. Chip the grass, water it, sweep it, then water it again. You know not water it, not wash it away but just sprinkle it, sweep it. You know, that floor would be lovely and smooth and hard to dance on. It was just lovely. And we'd had our own orchestras, you know, music players. My brother was one of them and my cousin. He's the last now left of these brothers over here. They are our first cousins, these Williams, and the last brother, or second last brother, was buried the other day, last week. So there's one brother left out of that now and he was one of the music players too and my brother.

CP: Gordon, our oldest brother, used to be the music player, the Closes, and Williams was. Andy too. Andy and Stan, both of them two brothers used to play for the dances. They were good players with accordians. One brother would play the mouth organ.

LK: And then some of the younger ones would play the leaf, the younger ones.

CP: Our brother, Rory, was the main one to play the gum leaf.

LK: And we had an uncle, Gordon Williams, he used to play the violin. So we used to have a lovely little band of our own, you know, and we'd be just enjoying the dancing. We used to love dancing, and we used to get our long dresses made (Riebe 1988: 11-12).

Dances similar to the above description also occurred in other communities such as Coraki and Cabbage Tree Island. During the early 1900s, one man from Cabbage Tree Island, Georgie Cook, made a violin out of wood from a gumtree, and played this instrument at bush dances (Henderson pers. comm. 1985).

Although the gumleaf was played at these dances, according to Donnelly it was also played in the early days at corroborees. Donnelly described this to Gordon:
Plate 23. Cecil Taylor often played the accordian and Andy Williams a mouth organ or gumleaf at dances in the old hall at Muli Muli, 1954-5. Photograph by M. Calley. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
JG: Have you ever seen the gumleaf played?
DD: Oh yeah.
JG: Is this a genuine Aboriginal instrument?
DD: A gumleaf, yeah, they used to play it, yeah in different times.
JG: In their tribal state or did they - 
DD: Oh, I never heard them. Oh I'd hear him blowin' it but they had their own, you know. They used to play these in their own dances - you know what I mean. Corroboree (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B).

Unfortunately in the AIATSIS collection there are no recordings of Bundjalung people playing the gumleaf.32

32 There are recordings of the gumleaf from other areas of NSW in the AIATSIS collection. One recording with a detailed description was of Albert Dennison in West Moree playing "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (Gordon West Moree 1968 LA1220B). According to Dennison, Aborigines began playing the leaf long before contact was made with Europeans, but many Europeans assume that leaf playing originated from contact with the missionaries. Dennison learnt to play the leaf from his father who often played to the cattle at night. This would keep them quiet. He used currajong or iron-bark leaves.

The leaf is folded along its centre and the lower half is pressed against the lower lip with the first and second fingers. The upper half of the leaf touches the top lip. It vibrates when a current of air is directed against the upper half of the leaf. This results in a high pitched sound. According to Kennedy, this differs from leaf techniques in Queensland (Kennedy 1933: 155). Other recordings of the gumleaf in the AIATSIS collection include "Roll Out The Barrel" and "Jacky-Jacky". For more details see Gummow 1984: 38.
There are many descriptions by Bundjalung people of how songs are created. It is believed that some songs are made by song makers living in the community, while other songs are learnt from ancestral beings or from the spirits of dead relatives. In 1968 Harry Cook from Cabbage Tree Island explained that there were two types of songs, those that were composed by living song makers, and those that were dreamt:

JG: Now, Mr Cook, you’re going to tell me something about how songs were composed. Dreams.
HC: They used to dream some songs. Corroboree songs or - song about another dark fella.
JG: Yes.
HC: You see they used to make it up then. And this man what can make it up, old people, you know. They can lay down anywhere in the sun and they can hear if people were walkin’ about, doing something. And - he can make a song about that thing.
JG: Yes, and would he make up the song then, or make it up - while he was lying down?
HC: Yeah - he'll have it in his head see, and he'll make it up that night then.
JG: Yes.
HC: On his own.
JG: Um, you mentioned that he was lying down and looking at people while he was lying down.
HC: Yeah, what they do is
JG: Is the lying down part important, is it?
HC: Yes. He'll be laying down and watching all the - what they're doin'
JG: Is he lying down so that other people won't see him?
HC: No. They can see him but he, they don't know that he's making them songs up.
JG: I see. He doesn't think about it standing up.
HC: No. Other people might think about - but he'll, they'll know that he sing the song then.
JG: But, the reason why he's lying down is he doesn't want other people to know that he's making up ... [the song]
HC: Yes. He - making a song about him them.
JG: And he'd - He would dream it that night, would he?
HC: No. Corroboree song they dream.
JG: Oh, only the corroboree songs are dream songs. The ordinary songs about ordinary people are just -
HC: They make it up themselves.
JG: Just lying down on the ground.
HC: Yeah, they make that song themself - I seen one old fella down in Stony Gully used to make any song. You could do something and he - next day, he'd be singing that song, about you, what you'd done (Gordon Cabbage Tree Island 1968 LA1219B).

Cook uses the term "ordinary songs" to refer to songs that were composed by song makers. It is possible that these "ordinary songs" included Sing-You-Down songs, Public Events Songs and possibly other types of songs in the sample, but at this stage it
is not possible to identify which categories this may have applied to in the past. One description by Cecil Taylor of how Raymond Duncan made Sing-You-Down songs is very similar to Cook's account above:

CT: So, this song is entitled Raymond Duncan himself.
JG: And, have you any idea what it means? ...
CT: That old chap - practically - he was starting to think - he was laying down on his stomach, from a place where no one couldn't hardly see him, you know.
JG: Yes.
CT: So he - sort of smart fella, and wicked fella, he announced that he was and so - clever old chap, making songs of course. Just like Slim Dusty and all these hillbilly fellas - practically make these songs up - put it together - so did this old chap. So, he sang about himself. He'd been a very great singer, and took note of the people and so that's how he sang the song about himself (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

It is clear that lying down was an important part of making a song and is mentioned in many different contexts relating to song creation. For example, Donnelly, when discussing Text 65, a song composed by Rory Williams, stated that when Williams won 800 pounds on the horses some time in the 1920s, he composed a song that stated he could now leave Sydney and go home to Queensland. He composed the song while he was lying in bed in Sydney (Sommerlad Heathcote State Park 1970 JS1B).

Lying down and dreaming was also important when being given a song from an ancestral being.33 Millie Boyd of Woodenbong explained how her grandfather,

33 Mathews has given an account of how the Wiradjuri received songs from the ancestral being, Wawi.

The Wawi is a serpent-like creature which lives in deep waterholes, and burrows into the bank, where he makes his den. He has a wife and children who camp close to him, but in a different place. A "doctor" or clever man can go and see the Wawi, but not go near his family. When a man is going on a visit to this monster he must paint his body all over with red ochre. He then follows after the rainbow some day when there is a thunder-shower; and the end of the rainbow rests over the waterhole in which is the Wawi's abode. The man then dives under the bank, where he finds the Wawi, who conducts him into his den and sings him a new song for the corroboree. The man repeats the song after the Wawi until he has learnt it sufficiently, and then starts back to his own people. When they see him returning, painted red and singing, they know he has been with the Wawi. The bard then takes a few of the other clever men with him into the bush and they strip pieces of bark off trees, and paint different devices upon them with coloured clays. The pieces of bark ornamented in this way are taken to the corroboree ground, and all the men dance, and sing the new song. This is how new songs and dances are obtained. The Wawi has the magic power of varying his size from a few inches up to prodigious proportions. The black streak in the Milky Way, towards the Southern Cross, is one of the ancestors of the Wawi. He encourages snakes and adders to bite the black people (Mathews 1905: 162).
Hughie Williams, was given a song by Leo, an ancestral being in the Tooloom Falls area. She described this to Creamer:

HC: Just to describe this reserve, it's on a natural spur which runs north-south and the fence portion is forty metres wide going down to the creek on the east side. On the west side there's a small gully and the fence line runs up it. The small corner peg and the rest is paddock and apparently there's a house approximately in the south west of here and a road leading to it. Now, this is where Hughie was when he was droving wasn't it?

MB: Yeah, he was mustering around here for the Tooloom Station and this is where my grandfather used to always have his lunch, dinner and that's where he boiled his billy over there and he was laying down here, having a rest, a few hours rest, while he was waiting and he heard this - somebody walking toward him. He couldn't open his eyes. He was too sleepy. I suppose Leo just powered his eyes, but his ears were open. He heard this man comin'. He listened, now you wait, he's bringing me something. My grandfather, that's what he said, now you started to sing that ... You see, it's just like these hymn what we sing in the book. In the hymn book, and it's just like the vision that Noah [had]. It was given to us by God because he gave the secret songs to the old people, but they didn't - some made it good and some made it evil way, you know, they brought it up evil way, with the evil men.

HC: Hughie Williams told you the story. Your grandfather told you the story.

MB: Yeah, told me the full story and everything. That's who I caught it off. My mother caught it off him. He used to sing for 'er. So did my father.

HC: And he, Hughie, knew the story of Leo and Levadown here all the time and he knew it and knew that he was close to that place so you could expect to see Leo around here.

MB: Yes (Creamer Old Koreelah Station 1977 LA5040AB).

In 1985, when Boyd was explaining this again she stated:

MB: My grandfather was laying down having a bit of a rest after he'd done all the mustering around the mountain. He had all the cattle back down this way and he said, "I'll lay down here. Leo might come down". He tied the horse up and made the fire. Put the tin can billy on. He went off to sleep. He wasn't really asleep. He was half awake and half asleep. He heard this man coming. He said, "Da", but this man never answered. He knew that Leo had something for him. He was thinking to himself. "I won't open my eyes". He sang out three times, "Leo da". But he never woke. Leo must have thought he was sound asleep. He sang this song then for my grandfather. He made a song up and gave it to my grandfather (Gummow Tooloom Falls 1985 FT7A).

This process of songs being passed from ancestral beings or from dead relatives to living people has been described further by Boyd:³⁴

³⁴ Reay has described how this was also important in north-western NSW. She states:
A child missing a relative to whom she was very attached is likely to be dreaming (or "day dreaming") about him and, encouraged in a firm belief in ghosts, is likely to see him while she is in a dreaming contemplative mood. By the time she has grown up, she has acquired (both through continual practice and through imitation) a habit of
MB: See, this ground should be secret for old Gordon Williams, me and me sister Mrs Myer - for their family too. This ground should be secret for us. This is our secret ground. See, my grandfather was alive when he caught that song - alive.

HC: So, when you say it should be secret, do you mean that if we protect this place and make it an Aboriginal place you wouldn't want anybody coming here.

MB: I wouldn't want anybody to destroy anything here ... Just keep it as it is ... We wasn't allowed to fish here. I don't come down here fishing. I keep my mother's word. She call that [inaudible]. That's that voice after the mouth given to the other human. That's why we call it [something fast in Bundjalung]. And even when our people die they'll come back and sing for us. We'll catch it by the air, you know, just like the TV. We catch things by the air. It's just like that. That's why today people sing corroboree after they're a dead man or a dead woman. Not only from the live one (Creamer Old Koreelah Station 1977 LA5040B).

Boyd has also described how one song was sung by her aunt after she died (Text 73).

Her aunt sang this song back to Jack Barron (see Plate 24), a songman at Woodenbong:

MB: And when he went back, they was already up at Unumgar Station - she only lived three days, she died and the song she sang - a sad song, about herself, about her own life - how it was taken by evil ways. You see, you dispel out the evil spirit, but we're not to do that. God give us holy spirit. When you're really Christian for the Lord, well, we used it to heal people. But this old [man] he knew the evil ways. He wanted to take the young human life, but that's not for him to use it that way.

Leila Williams, she was a beautiful woman.

MG: Yes, and so when did she sing the song?

MB: After she died. You know the Aborigine's spirit never die. They come back, they give you the news of themselves of their lives. They sing song of their own lives of what's happening to them and the elder people listen, in the tribe they listen and they understand who did this and who did that and who didn't do this. Yes that's in those times, but today the young people wouldn't believe it. You see young people these days, in my time, my people, they don't believe it. I believe it because it was given by God. All this business is given by God for them to use their spell and use it the holy way.

MG: And so she sang this song after she died.

MB: Yes, after she died, in four days she brought that song back to my grandfather, Jack Barron (Gummow Casino 1985 F17A).

contemplation and of seeing ghosts. The mood in which an Aborigine usually sees them is described by EB thus: 'I'm dreaming, then I feel fidgety. Something comes on me, and I know I'm going to see one'. During such meditation she remembers songs sung by the loved relation and even hears him singing them. On one occasion, EB's father appeared to her in a dream and sang a song which she had not heard before. When he had finished, she remembered it and sang it herself, told other members of her tribe about her experience, and it became a new Badjeri song. Other songs have originated in this way, including the Bullet-Song (Badjeri), which originated when soldiers killed in the 1914-18 war came back and told the old people about bullets in a dream (Reay 1944-45: 323).
Plate 24. Jack Barron (second from left) and Euston Williams (left). Reproduced by AIATSIS.
In 1978 Herbert Charles described further how the living learnt these songs from their dead relatives. He describes how Jack Barron visited the grave of Doc Williams, a knowledgeable man who had died. (He was called Doc as he was a medicine man.)

HC: I'll tell you. With that corroboree, when he died and - my grandfather died I was alive. That's Doc Williams. Brother-in-law was Jack Barron and he's always sayin' "Now come on boys" and I used to be awful when he said that because we'd get near the cemetery. Turned back, right there where the cemetery [is]. He'd be lying and I used to be sitting down, laying down watching this and I might sit down there and I could hear it. I could see his tongue going like, you know. Marvellous, I reckon it is. His spirit, his brother-in-law spirit, Doc William's spirit, he's singing back to him while they're laying down. Only, giving him the meaning and all everything in it, and yet the man is dead. And he's saying then ... That's how the corroboree comes to ... Then, how he got caught by the song, what he gave back to Jack Barron ... That's how we know, in the song, how he got caught. By the song ... By the song, and he ... I could see his tongue going like that and the next morning he might say a few words and a week after that, a month after that, he got all the songs in his mind now and he's singing them out to the people. That's how it is. I reckon that's marvellous (Creamer Woodenbong 1978 FT T/B).

The above accounts of song creation by Bundjalung people are similar to accounts from other areas of Australia. Marett, in relation to song creation in Barunga, northern Australia (see Map 3 p. xviii), has given a detailed account of how one singer received a song in a dream from a pair of spirits (Marett 1987). Receiving songs from spirit beings in dream is common throughout Australia and has also been documented by the following: Keogh in relation to Nurlu 35 songs from the Broome area in the western Kimberley district in the north of Western Australia (1990: 30); Moyle when discussing Alyawarra Women's ceremonies known as Awulya 36 in Central Australia (Moyle 1986); and Wild, in relation to Walbiri songs from Central Australia (Wild 1975: 49). Strehlow has also discussed the supernatural origin of song in Central Australia. He states:

35 Nurlu is the name of a genre of unrestricted songs and dances performed by men and women (Keogh 1990: 1).

36 Awulya may be regarded as private rather than secret. They are usually performed on the outskirts of the camp living areas, and are open to girls as well as married women. Young children of both sexes accompany their mothers and play near the area while the ceremony takes place (Moyle 1986: 52).
All native youths took an intense personal interest in the learning of the songs, because they believed that these magically potent charms had been composed either by themselves or by members of their own family in their previous existence as totemic ancestors. The doctrine of reincarnation gave to our native countrymen a zest for knowledge that most of us white Australians find it difficult even to visualize (Strehlow 1971: 244).
Part 7. Group Organisation In Performance

Song

As discussed in Chapter 1 (see p. 13), the majority of songs in the sample are solo performances due to the state of the tradition by the time the recordings were made. There are several descriptions by Bundjalung people stating that in the early days songs were performed by more than one singer. In 1988 Lucy Daley explained:

MG: You know we were listening to that Dick Donnelly singing on his own, but did he often sing with other people?
LD: Yeah - he sing with other people. Dick liked - when they used to have corroboree he sing with them too. He was only young then too. He sing with them and he'll corroboree with them.
MG: Oh yeah.
LD: He was only young then. And 'cause the old people wandered away (Gumow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2A).

Charlotte Page of Woodenbong has also described group performances at Woodenbong:

MG: ... so who would sing ... while you were doing the corroboree?
CP: This ol' grandfather, Jack Barron. Yeah, he was the main one to sing.
MG: But other ones sang too?
CP: A lot of people sang along, you know.
MG: So how many people would be singing then?
CP: Oh, about ... maybe half a dozen. Mostly men would sing.
MG: So, you know Jack Barron, did he ever sing with people like your father - like Tom Close or Dick Donnelly?
CP: Yes, but Dick Donnelly wasn't here at that time. Dick Donnelly was back down at Baryulgil, where they came from. It was just Jack Barron, the Closes and the Charles really. We used to do the corroboree.
MG: Was that old Herbert Charles?
CP: Yes. Herbert and 'is brother and Alex Williams. They were the main ones, yeah.
MG: And there'd be about six of them singing together.
CP: Oh yes.
MG: But there'd be a leader? Would there be a leader?
CP: Yes, the old fella would be the leader.
MG: And then, so how many people would be dancing? 'Cause you'd be dancing? Were [would] you be dancing?
CP: Yes, we'd be dancing. At the dancing time - there'd be just me and this other one. You know, dancing. But when there was the other corroboree there'd be about five old ladies with us ...
MG: How did you all know when to do the right things?
CP: Well, the main one would tell us "Oh, we're goin' to do this now". Yeah, see that main old singer he'd tell [us] which one to do (Gumow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).
From this it is clear that the lead singer co-ordinated the singers and dancers, and that there were several people singing with the lead singer. Page explained how the leader co-ordinated performances:

MG: ... they'd do one thing and then they'd change and do something else. Is that right?
CP: They'd change the song, you see.
MG: Oh, they'd change the song.
CP: They'd change the song, otherwise they wouldn't be able to do it.
MG: So, it would be a new song.
CP: Yeah. See, and then that old man, he'd know whereabouts - when to change the song when he's singing ... and so ... the corroboreeing ... he knew how to change, quickly.
MG: So, would he just sing a new song when he wanted to change.
CP: Yeah.
MG: Just a new song?
CP: Yeah, see and they'd know what dance to do - or what corroboree it was. It's just the way that they change the song and the action of the people see. Yeah - they used to change the song (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

It is probable that Page is referring to cueing by the lead singer between sections of the same song and between different songs. For more details see *Yawahr* (see p. 83) and Chapter 4. Although Page stated that in Woodenbong it was mainly men who sang, there are other descriptions stating that in some songs women also sang. For example, Dick Donnelly stated:

F: One singer?
DD: Oh yes, there's always a man and a woman singer. I always used to be muttering.
JS: How many musicians? How many make music?
DD: Oh, play. Yes oh there's some women and men you see. Pretty hard work this singin' and dancin' hey? (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

Unfortunately, Donnelly does not explain if the singers sang together, or alternate sections, as discussed under *Yawahr* (see p. 85).

In the past, there was a great diversity in performances throughout the Bundjalung area. Charlotte Page has described this:
CP: You see every different tribe [or group within the Bundjalung area] had different songs. See, we [from Woodenbong] wouldn't know them down Richmond [River] way.
MG: Down near Lismore?
CP: Near Richmond River or down Baryulgil way. See, it was all different.
MG: Yeah, so if you went there, would you see new corroborees, new songs?
CP: Yeah, new to us, oh yeah (Gummow Woodenbong 1988 FT88/2B).

As well as this diversity of songs within the Bundjalung area, Dick Donnelly, has described how songs from neighbouring areas were also part of most Bundjalung singers' repertoire. These songs were learnt when the group came into contact with neighbouring groups. Donnelly explains:

DD: Talk [to] a different tribe and move on again to some other tribe, you see ... always movin' around and they'd finish up then when they'd done their ground [like doing the rounds] they'd go back to the camp again ... back to the old tribe. Maybe at the time they might have a few new songs to sing ... We went over to listen to this man, see. "Where d'ya bring that song from?" "Gungari see?"
"Oh, it's Bundjalung [or] Gidabal song."
"Oh yeah. Let me hear him."
Well, we'd get round and camp underneath the tree or something and they'd make a big fire, and they'd lay belly up singing this song, you see. Somebody else'd get it. They'd take it away down there, somewhere, see? Well, some of these songs that was sung-what I used to sing down there [at Baryulgil] some of them come from way up here, [at Woodenbong] see. Then I found out where these songs come from, see, this way (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744A).

Donnelly's explanation makes it clear that songs were exchanged from one group to another, both within the Bundjalung area and with neighbouring groups. In the past, therefore, a singer's repertoire would have included songs that originated from various language groups. This variety of songs makes it difficult today to make generalisations about songs from particular language groups because in many cases details concerning the type of song and where it originated were not recorded. Presumably language difficulties of the performer also made translations difficult and often impossible.
Dance

It is clear that in the Bundjalung and neighbouring areas there were many different dances and that each dance had its own specific song. Donnelly explained this:

DD: Alright, meet a different tribe in different other places. Have this good ol' dancing, you see. Like you people have ... well you go to dances, anyway, we was the same. Anyway, very fond ... I am of a few of these dances I'd seen, and I learnt some of these songs belongin' to them ... I'll tell you, all right - different dance, different song. You might go to somebody ... might sing out, "Take you partner for the waltz."

Well, he must play that waltz dance, hey? (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

Donnelly has also described how dances from different areas were shown to different groups:

DD: Well, different tribe would show their corroboree you see, we finish ours first, tonight say. Oh, we'd show ours Bundjalung. Well, Gungari tomorrow night, see? Somebody else next night. They might be there a month putting all these dances through. That's the way it was (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

As stated earlier in Yawahr (see p. 83), although in the recordings there are many accounts of dancers performing different dance steps for different songs and sections within songs, there are few detailed descriptions of these steps. One detailed description of a dance has been given by Donnelly and Sommerlad at a lecture:

JS: How many dancers?
DD: Oh, there could be two dozen, according to, you know, who paints up ...
F: And each dance would have specific steps or specific themes?
JS: Yes there are different dances.
DD: Different dance, different song.
F: How long do dances last?
DD: Oh, don't last too long, no.
JS: Maybe ten minutes.
DD: Just like the same as you people, you dance. All right, you play the waltz, then you start again, another song, another dance you see (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A)

Another detailed description of a dance was given by Lucy Daley of Baryulgil.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to match this dance with any of the songs in the sample. Daley states:
LD: You know - wadyacall them - the beehives - when they're dancing and corroboreeing. And they'll sing this song and they'll go just like bees - you know - ... they'll sing this song all the time. They pretend to sleep like bees - then they'll put their arms out to fly. They'll dance like that then they'll you know, fly - put their hands out and fly. Then they'll go with their legs like that, you know, dancin' ... Do the beehive - then they'll open up ... like the beehive (Gummow Baryulgil 1988 FT88/2A).

Many descriptions of dances are reminiscences of how performances used to be in the past. Donnelly described this to Oakes and Willoughby:

MO: You're the songman, aren't you? You just do the song.
DD: I done a lot of corroboreeing in my time you know. Dancing, with other people see.
MO: You do the dance too, with the song?
DD: Oh I used to do the dance, yeah, paint up, while my mother and father sing the song.
AW: How long ago was the last corroboree that you were in?
DD: Oh, about 40 odd years ago since they knocked off corroboreeing here. I went up here to this place where I'm living now, there was people there. Jack Barron and different other one, you see. There was all of the leaders in these great dances that we had, see. But all our leaders dead now.
AW: And none of the young guys were interested?
DD: No no. They had no practise see. That's way they do it - somebody showed 'em.
They'll all got to be leaders see ... in these dance (Oakes and Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

Charlotte Page of Woodenbong also remembered the old corroborees and European dances at Woodenbong (see Plate 25):

IR: Who would decide when you would have a corroboree time?
CP: Oh, the old chap. Like there was one old fellow there - her husband's uncle, Alec Williams, he was the main one, he would decide. Or the singer, see when to have the corroboree. But corroboree nearly used to be only a Saturday night. Ah Lena? Mostly a Saturday night. It was just like the ordinary dance for us but they'd do it at night and then if it wasn't corroboree it was dancing then. And we'd dance on the ground floor. There was no floor then. And down in the hollow here where they chipped a great big patch, that's where we used to dance. And the men folks, they'd all get the fire wood and have it all ready and when it was time, for dancing time, then all the mothers, old ladies, they'd make the cakes and that, you know, they'd have a cup of tea in between dancing time. You know how they have half time, well like that. And somebody would get the big kerosene tin full of water and put that on and have it ready boiling and make tea and that and all the cakes and whatever the mothers made, would be all there and everybody getting served with this. And it was really great them times. Now, you never see them kind. Everything is so different. But I often think back to our younger days, it was good. And then after the dance and that, and of course we'd go home and go to sleep and next morning get ready for Sunday school, go to church (Riebe 1988: 9).
Plate 25. Herbert Charles (centre) with Carmel Herron (?) at a dance in the old hall at *Muli Muli*, 1954-5. Photograph by M. Calley. Reproduced by AIATSIS.
Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to give an introduction to the performance ethnography of the Bundjalung area using material from Bundjalung people, recordings and the literature. The following musical analysis chapter will concentrate on two song categories, Yawahr and Sing-You-Down, which have been discussed in "Part 1 - Song Categories Identified By Bundjalung People".
As stated in Chapter 1, up until 1984 virtually no musicological work had been undertaken in NSW. Apart from my own research, the most detailed research on NSW Aboriginal music has been conducted by a linguist, Tamsin Donaldson, who has worked on song texts from western NSW, particularly the *Nguyampaa* language area. In a paper entitled "Making a song (and dance) in South-Eastern Australia" (1987) Donaldson gave a detailed introduction to the state of the performing arts in NSW and demonstrated through variant analysis of seven performances of one song that the song had a very flexible structure. This flexible form allowed the performer to expand or contract the song as required. In the following discussion I will explain Donaldson's model and through analysis of a number of *Bundjalung* songs discuss the extent to which it applies to *Bundjalung* songs.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. In Part 1 - "Donaldson's Model" - the analysis by Donaldson of a song from the *Nguyampaa* language area of western NSW will be discussed. In Part 2 - "Song Categories Identified By Bundjalung People"- two song categories, *Kawahr* and *Sing-You-Down*, will be examined in the light of Donaldson's analysis with a view to answer the question: to what extent do particular musical structures coincide with song categories identified by Bundjalung people? Secondly, in the light of having made general statements concerning the musical structure of song genres which have been identified by Bundjalung people, the question will be asked: how does this help us when dealing with other songs in the sample that have not been classified according to Bundjalung people's categories?
Part 2 of the analysis will deal mainly with songs that have been musically transcribed and are in Appendix 4. The first three pages of Appendix 4 (see pp. 454-456) explains the order in which songs appear. This corresponds to the order in which they will be discussed in this chapter (except for one song - Text (13): Going to New England,) thus minimising the need for the reader to flip between musical transcriptions.

There are three numbering systems used in this chapter:

1. Musical transcription numbers, for example M1a, refer to musical transcriptions in Appendix 4. M = music.
2. Song numbers, for example S190, refer to song performances which have not been musically transcribed. Details of these songs can be found in Appendix 3 under the relevant text number. S = song.
3. Text numbers, for example Text 5, refers collectively to recordings of a particular subject, in Text 5's case, Mundala. T = text.

Thus, when a transcription of a song is available it will be referred to by the transcription number, for example, M1a. When a song does not have a musical transcription the song number will be used, for example S190. The text number is only used when referring collectively to recordings of a song subject, for example, Text 5: Mundala. Details of these songs are available in Appendix 3 under the relevant text number. All transcriptions made by people other than myself may be found at the end of Appendix 4. Where necessary, transcriptions of individual songs will be mentioned throughout the chapter. Throughout this chapter, therefore, the reader will need to continually refer to various texts in Appendix 3, as well as follow through Appendix 4. Appendix 5 comprises a list of examples of songs on the cassette tape available at the back of Volume Two.
Part 1. Donaldson's Model

Although cueing devices that allow performers to expand or contract musical forms are known from elsewhere in Australia, Donaldson's study of a song from the *Nginyampa* language area (see Map 8) was the first to discover such a device in NSW, and gives an important insight into the dynamics of oral performance in NSW in former times. Perhaps more importantly, this is the first evidence of cueing that refers only to the melody of the song, as opposed to other types of cueing to be discovered in Aboriginal music. (Cueing from other areas of Australia will be discussed later in this chapter.)

The song analysed by Donaldson concerns an episode which occurred in 1931 or 1932 in the middle of winter. A boy, Tommy Shields, was lost and he was only wearing a singlet. Aborigines and Europeans gathered to search for the boy who was finally tracked down and rescued. The well known *Nginyampa*, *Wangaaypuwan* songmaker, Fred Biggs (1882?-1962), composed this song about the incident. In order to explain Donaldson's hypothesis I will summarise her description of three of these performances.

The first performance we shall examine is the oldest recording of the song. It was made in 1956 by Beckett at Lake Cargelligo in western NSW (Beckett Lake Cargelligo 1956 LA627A). The singer of the song is also its composer, Fred Biggs. Donaldson has transcribed the text. The words consist of a series of more or less independent remarks which convey the emotional atmosphere of the search. Each sentence of the song text is labelled with a lower case letter. Each line of song text is represented in three ways: first, at the top by a transcription of the *Nginyampa* words; secondly, with a gloss analysis beneath each word; thirdly, at the bottom by a paraphrased translation into English. The text can be seen below:
Map 8. The Ngiyampaa area (copied from Donaldson 1984: 228).
a) *ngathi* pakaa *kuraarr* kayi *purraay* nungkal thirramakaanhthi
there but far was child your in hills
But your kid was a long way over there in the hills

b) *kuwayupu na yanawanha*
still he is going
He is still going

c) *mukarri paa na kurunhi*
into porcupine grass indeed he went in
He went into the porcupine grass

d) *kuraarr na nganaay*
far he yonder
He's away to blazes

e) *palunhipa yaama na*
died maybe he
He might have died (Donaldson 1987: 30).

Donaldson has stated that in the performance by Fred Biggs the textual repetition pattern is:

```
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
  abcde
  a
  a
  a
  a
  abcde
  a
  a
  a
  abcde
  a
  a
  a
  abcde
  a
  a
  a
```

The song finishes with a shout, yaa! (Donaldson 1987: 35).

In another performance of the song recorded in 1969 by Luise Hercus (Hercus Dareton 1969 LA\1064) and performed by Ernie King, who states that he is Fred Biggs' musical heir the performance lasts for 15 minutes and 17 seconds. According to Donaldson, King brings his performance to an end only because the reel of tape is nearly finished and that this is the longest performance recorded of a Ngiyampaa song. The textual repetition pattern is:
a b c d e
a b
a b c d e
a b
a b
a b c d e
a b
a b
a b c d e etc.

The song continues with repetitions of the lines ab, in between performances of the entire text. Donaldson has stated that throughout the song the number of repetitions of the lines ab vary between three and seven, except for one occasion where the singer repeats the lines ab twenty-four times before singing the entire text (Donaldson 1987: 34).

Another performance of the Lost Boy song was recorded in 1975 by Donaldson and performed by Sarah Johnson (Donaldson 1975 Murrin Bridge LA 3899). It has a much shorter form which comprises:

a b c d e
a b
a b c d e (Donaldson 1987: 34).

It can be seen that in all three performances the singers may sing the lines ab several times before proceeding to c d e. If the lines c d e are sung, the singer must either conclude the performance after line e, or return to the beginning of line a. By comparing the repetition pattern of these three performances of the song it was possible for Donaldson to hypothesize that the length of a performance might vary from performance to performance. If in the past this song was performed by a group, a system of cueing would have been required for singers to communicate to each other and to the dancers. The expandable form of the Lost Boy song depends on performers being able to signal their intentions to one another through a cueing system. Donaldson has stated that in the case of the Lost Boy song the signal is a melodic and textual cueing device. A "key word" of the song "thirramakaanathi" (appearing at the end of line a,) is sung with a descending melodic line if the performer is going to proceed directly from line b to line c. If, however, the singer is going to repeat the lines ab, the
word "thirramakaanhthi" will be sung with an upward leap in pitch. The form of the song may therefore vary, depending on how many repeats of the lines the singer chooses to perform. These principles discovered by Donaldson in western NSW are also evident in the Bundjalung area.
Part 2. Song Categories Identified By Bundjalung People

Only two of the eight song categories identified by Bundjalung people, established in Chapter 3, will be discussed here: Yawahr and Sing-You-Down.

Yawahr Songs

As already established in Chapter 3, in the past Yawahr songs were performed by one or more singers with a group of dancers. The following lists the two Yawahr texts that I have musically transcribed, namely T 5 and T 34, and the seven texts which have been transcribed and structured (ie. textually transcribed in relation to the musical structure), namely T 3, T 4, T 28, T 33a, T 33b, T (39) and T (42). Gordon has also musically transcribed one text, namely T 34.

Text 3: Juwa - Banharanyi TS1
Text 4: Barara Abanji TS
Text 5: Mundala M2
Text 28: Maringgu TS
Text 33a: Bindjila TS
Text 33b: Itch Corroboree TS
Text 34: Square Dance Song M (JG)
Text (39): Banjinah TS
Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree TS

The following discussion will focus on Text 5: Mundala, Text 28: Maringgu, Text 34: Square Dance Song and Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree.

Text 5: Mundala (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 5 and Appendix 4 p. 460)

In the sample of songs there are thirty songs3 that have been identified as Mundala, all sung by Donnelly (except for one performance S190, in which Donnelly

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1 TS = Text structured, that is, the textual transcription has been worked on in relation to the musical structure. For further details see the introduction of Appendix 3 (p. 289).

2 M = Musical transcription available in Appendix 4.

3 As stated in Chapter 1 (see p. 3) I have used the term “song” to describe a distinct burst of singing in the recordings; this includes short fragments, sections of songs, as well as complete performances. Although I have identified thirty songs, there are only ten complete performances of Text 5 in the sample as well as a teaching session which will be discussed in detail later. Many performances are interrupted by speech from the singer and hence in the AIATSIS sound archive have been counted as more than one song.
sings the first section of text and Sommerlad sings the second section of text; this will be discussed later in this section). It is not clear which language area this song is from. The singer usually stated that it was from the Gungari area near the New England region; on a few occasions, however, he stated that the song was from the Gamilaroi area. Calley and Donnelly have both described this song as a Gungari Yawahr which was brought into the Bundjalung area from the Gungari area by Bessie Comet. According to Eric Walker, Bessie Comet lived at Tabulam in the 1940s and 1950s (Walker pers. comm. 1985).

The first performance of Mundala that will be discussed is M1b (see p. 462), recorded at Woodenbong in 1955 by Calley. (M1a (see p. 460) will not be discussed first because the first half of the first phrase of this performance was not recorded.) The text of M1b is given below. Similar to the Lost Boy song from the Ngiyampaa, Wangaaypuwan language area (discussed above), the text consists of two sections which I have numbered 1 and 2.

1
mundalah mundalah bah mundangarala yinyubah
mundalah mundalah bah mundangarala yinyubah
mundalah mundalah bah mundangarala yinyubah
mundalah mundalah bah mundangarala ah
mundangarala yinyubah

2
gahmulayi iamu lahba wulul wulah layinyubah
gahmulayi iamu lahba bungah bungahnga ah
gahmulayi iamu lahba wulul wulah layinyubah
gahmulayi iamu lahba bungah bungah layinyubah
gahmulayi iamu lah bah wulul wulah layinyubah
gahmulayi iamu lahba bungah bungahnga ah
bungah bungah layinyubah

1
mundalah mundalahbah mundangarala yinyubah
mundalah mundalahyubahah mundangarala
The above text has been transcribed in association with Sharpe (1985b: 21) and with reference to an inventory of song words compiled by Geytenbeek (1963-7: 84). For variants of the text see Appendix 3. The singer was not able to give any translation of the text. The linguist Margaret Sharpe has suggested that the text may be words that do not have any semantic meaning in everyday speech (Sharpe pers. comm. 1985).

Section 1 consists of one line which occurs four times; on the fourth occurrence the last word is omitted. This is followed by a fifth line which is the second half of the other lines. Section 2 consists of a pair of lines which occur, with variants, three times, followed by "bungah bungah layinyubah ", the same as the second half of some of the variants of the second line. Each section contains a large amount of textual repetition; the rhythmic realisation of the text often changes, however, making it difficult to decide how to notate the rhythms of particular texts. Some are notated as triplets, others as dotted rhythms. Musical Example 1 shows three rhythmic realisations of the text phrase mundalah mundalahbah in M1b.

Musical Example 1. Three rhythmic realisations of the text phrase mundalah mundalahbah in M1b.

Turning now to the melody of M1b we can see that the text is set to a melody comprising only four melodic phrases (labelled with the lower case letters a, b, c and d), which are repeatedly rearranged throughout the song (one melodic phrase corresponds to one text line). In M1b the relationship between the textual repetition pattern and the melodic form is:
Section 1  a b a c d
Section 2  a c a b a c d
Section 1  a c

The musical phrases are distinct from each other. In section 1:

phrase a: begins on f and descends to e and d before returning to f via e and then ending on e. It must be noted that in some a phrases there are melodic variants, the significance of which is not yet clear. For example, in M1b, some a phrases begin on g or descend to, and end on, d.

phrase b: is a descending phrase which begins on c and lingers on g before descending to e.

phrase c: is intoned on the tonic, c, apart from the first note, d.

phrase d: begins with a slide from c (in phrase c) and leaps the interval of a major 7th, to b, before descending by step and terminating on e.

By examining the next example, M1c (see p. 464), it is possible to see that the way in which the text is articulated is different, and hence the length of the song could vary depending on the context of the performance. This performance was recorded at Woodenbong by the linguists Brian and Helen Geytenbeek in 1965. Donnelly sings this approximately one tone higher than M1b. The textual and melodic form of M1c is as follows:

Section 1  a b a c
Section 1  a b a c d
Section 2  a c a* b a c d
Section 1  a* c

* denotes phrase interrupted by speech, followed by a complete performance of the phrase

It can be seen that the initial section 1 is repeated. When the singer is not proceeding to Section 2, melodic phrase d (and its associated shortened text line) is not sung. Hence, it seems that there is flexibility in that the singer is free to repeat section 1 or not. It appears that the melodic phrases a b a and c of section 1 can be repeated at
least once before phrase d is sung. Once phrase d has been sung, however, it appears that the singer must proceed to the next section of the text. Phrase d appears to act as a musical cue, which in group singing would be essential to co-ordinate the performance. It could possibly be a cue to the dancers. During this performance, the singer stated "change step now" after the first occurrence of phrase d, and "change step again" after the second occurrence of phrase d. This is shown in M1c. Could this correspond to the principle of altering the melodic contour of the word "thirramakaankthi" in the Ngiyampaa Lost Boy song in order to inform the dancers of the singer's intentions?

The possibility that section 1 may be repeated is confirmed when we compare the textual repetition pattern of all nine performances of Mundala listed in Table 3. Table 3 includes all performances of Mundala in the sample except S175 which will be discussed later under Text 28: Maringgu and S257 - S276 which is a teaching session, of which S263 - S273 have been musically transcribed (M1e) and will be discussed in detail later in this section.

Table 3. Textual repetition pattern of nine performances of Mundala.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical Transcription/Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1a (S5)</td>
<td>1 1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1b (S9)</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1c (S42)</td>
<td>1 1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1d (S174)</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S146</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S190</td>
<td>1 1 2* 1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S199</td>
<td>1 1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S203</td>
<td>1 1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S288</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* the text for this section is unclear as the singer, Sommerlad, is uncertain of the text

It can be seen in Table 3 that the number of consecutive performances of section 1 is variable in each performance. For example, in M1b (see p. 462), M1d (see p. 466), S146 and S288 Section 1 is not repeated, but in M1a (see p. 460), M1c (see p. 464),
S190, S199 and S203 Section 1 is repeated once. Furthermore, it can be seen that Section 2 is never repeated and every performance ends with Section 1.

Table 4, which shows the textual repetition pattern and melodic form of four performances of *Mundala*, confirms that after phrase c of Section 1 the performer could either repeat section 1 from phrase a again, or sing phrase d which cued the dancers into the next dance step. Phrase d is quite distinct and usually begins with the interval of an ascending seventh. From this it is clear that it may be used as a cue which leads the singers to a change in the text. Furthermore, the singer's comments on dance steps after successive occurrences of phrase d in M1c (see above) suggest that phrase d may also be a cue to the dancers to change their step. Although the repetition of Section 1 appears to be flexible, the order of textual and musical phrases within each section appears to be fixed, except for the cue, phrase d. Every non-final Section 1 comprises musical phrases a, b, a, and c or, a, b, a, c and d. Every section 2 comprises musical phrases a, c, a, b, a, c and d. Every terminating section comprises phrases a and c.

Table 4. Textual repetition pattern and melodic form of four performances of *Mundala*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical Transcription No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern and Melodic Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1a</td>
<td>1 a b a c 1 a b a c d 2 a c a b a c d 1 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1b</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c a b a c d 1 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1c</td>
<td>1 a b a c 1 a b a c d 2 a c a* b a c d 1 a* c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1d</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c a b a c d 1 a c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes phrase interrupted by speech, followed by a complete performance of the phrase

Up to this point, the identification of the musical and textual forms and the suggestion that phrase d could be a possible musical cue has been accomplished through analysis. In the recordings, however, comments by the singer have also
confirmed these characteristics deduced by analysis. In 1968, after recording S146, Donnelly and Gordon discussed the cueing phrase:

JG: Did somebody tell them? Did somebody cry out to change step or
DD: Oh no, they just know - they listen to the song see. The end yeah.
And they watch the leader, see. It’s up to the leader - when they all
changed the step. Just the same as doin’ the waltz, we was the same,
you see (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1176B).

Donnelly further confirms the probability that the end of each section was used as a cue from the lead singer to the dancers to let them know when a change in the text was about to occur so they could prepare to change their dance steps.

The next performance of Mundala to be examined is M1e (see p. 468). This example is invaluable in that it is a teaching session - Donnelly is teaching the recordists Willoughby and Oakes. In this Donnelly confirms the formal divisions deduced by analysis and reinforces the possibility that phrase d acts as a melodic cue to the dancers. There are many stops and starts as Donnelly takes great pains to emphasise the important structural features of the performance of Mundala to his students. In the course of his explanation he makes it quite clear first, that there are two sections which he calls "Mundala" and "Gahmula" from the first words, and secondly, that the performers change sections only after phrase d. After almost every occurrence of d, he says either "now we go onto Gahmula" or "now we go back to Mundala". Thirdly, he states that sections 1 and 2 each correspond to different sections of the dance. For example he says just before the return to the second occurrence of Mundala "We on Gahmula now. We come back on to Mundala in a minute. This is the change in the step, see. Gahmula you dance down that way; Mundala, you change again, step see".

A summary of M1e can be seen in Table 5 below which comprises the structure of the performance and Donnelly’s comments. It must be noted that this is the only performance that ends with the text from section 2, but as the singer was teaching it is possible that he ended at a place that would not normally occur in a usual performance context.
Table 5. Summary of the musical and textual structure of M1e and Donnelly's comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Musical Phrase</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a b c d</td>
<td>Now we get onto Gahmula now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2 Gahmula</td>
<td>a c a c a a</td>
<td>We on Gahmula now, ay, ay. We come back on to Muntlala in a minute. This is the change in the step, see Gahmula you dance down that way; Muntlala you change again, step see. Now you listen. We start back on Muntlala. We start off like corroboree. [The singer starts the song again.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a b c d</td>
<td>We going to change step now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2 Gahmula</td>
<td>a c a b c a d</td>
<td>Now we on Gahmula now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a * b a c d</td>
<td>Now, we going to get back to Muntlala. Change step again. Now back on to Muntlala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a * b a</td>
<td>Good to see them. Lots of people dancing one way. They back onto Muntlala, change step again. Do it the other way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a b c d</td>
<td>Tape it. You can sing it when you're going back, ay. Well, you can say you caught something off Dick Donnelly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 Muntlala</td>
<td>a b c d</td>
<td>Now we going back onto Gahmula now. Changing step now. You gotta listen to the song. Back onto Gahmula now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2 Gahmula</td>
<td>a c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes phrase is interrupted by speech, followed by a complete performance of the phrase
Donnelly's explanations make it clear that the formal characteristics deduced through analysis, are formal characteristics which were also perceived by the Aboriginal performers of *Mundala*. From this evidence it is clear that when the singers and dancers knew what to listen for, the performance of *Mundala* relied on this particular cueing system.

The final performance to be discussed is S190. Details of its textual repetition pattern can be seen in Table 3. In 1968, Donnelly and Sommerlad performed S190 together at a lecture in Tenterfield. In the lecture, Sommerlad gave details of how S190 was performed:

JS: The song that Mr Donnelly sings now - I've sometimes sung this with him because it's in different verses and so that I'm probably singing a woman's part, but - someone sings one verse and that's one stage of the dance then someone else takes over and sings another stage and the dance changes and then the other person might come back and sing it again and it might change back to what was being sung in the first place (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A).

In S190 the first verse, *Mundala*, is sung by Donnelly and then the second verse, *Gahmula*, is sung by Sommerlad (who stated above that he was probably singing a woman's part). Then Donnelly returns with the first verse again. This is the only example available of two people actually singing alternate sections of the song.

According to Sommerlad's description a man sings the first verse, *Mundala*, and a woman sings the second verse, *Gahmula*. It is also clear from the discussion above that when the song is about to move on to the next section of text, the singers and dancers change their respective parts simultaneously. Although Sommerlad learnt this song and details from Donnelly and then explained these details and performed the song with Donnelly, there is no detailed description of this type of singing by a Bundjalung singer. When Donnelly described S190 he stated "there's always a man and a woman singer" but did not state if they sang together, or sang separate sections of the song, as described by Sommerlad (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A). Due to the nature of the material it is impossible to establish if this type of singing was widespread in the Bundjalung and neighbouring areas.
In the sample of songs there is one other text that is musically and structurally similar to Mundala, namely Text 28: Maringgu. Performances of this text are discussed below.

Text 28: Maringgu (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 28)

There are six performances of Text 28: Maringgu in the sample, all by Donnelly who stated that it was from the same place as Text 5: Mundala, that is, either from the Gungari area or the Gamilaroi area near the New England region. For the same reasons that a translation was not possible for Mundala (see p. 202), a translation of Maringgu is not possible. The text and melodic structure of Maringgu is very similar to Mundala. Below is a transcription of the text of Maringgu which has been done in association with Sharpe (1985b: 2 and 22). The text is in two sections and shows all the variants of the articulation of the text in the six performances in the recorded sample. Syllables in brackets may be omitted in a performance.

1 A (ah) maringgu(bah) yulbahnggubah gulgandunyah janah janah
   B maringgubah yulbahnggu(bah) jilinggu(nah)gah janah janah
   A maringgu(bah) yulbahngguh gulgandunyah janah janah
   Bt maringgubah yulbahnggubah jilinggu(nah)gah
   C (gahlah) jilinggungah janah janah
2 D  bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgaragandu

Dt  bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgara

[The song may end after the second line of section 2]

D  [gah/ah]bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgaragandu

D  bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgaragandu

D  bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgaragandu

Dt  bungahn bungahn dubah golgora golgara

E  ah golgora golgaragandu

[The singer may return to section 1 and finish the song on the second line of section 1]

[The last section of a performance always comprises only the first two lines of the section]

Upper case letters have been used to label each line or phrase of text. Section 1 consists of a pair of lines which occur twice in the pattern A B A Bt (Bt = a truncated form of phrase B); the fifth line, C "(gah/ah) jilinggungah janah janah" is the same as the second half of B. Section 2 consists of one line, D, which occurs six times followed by E, the last line of section 2. The second and sixth occurrence of D are truncated. The last line of section 2, E, is the same as the second half of D. As in Mundala, each section contains a large amount of textual repetition. The repetition pattern of each section of the text of five of the six performances (S175 is not discussed in this table but will be discussed later in this section) in the sample is set out in Table 6.

Table 6. Textual repetition pattern of five performances of Text 28: Maringgu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S43</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S44-46</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S151</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S209</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S210</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 6 it can be seen that the place where the song ends is variable. For example S43, S44-46, and S210 all end on the second line in the first occurrence of section 2. S151 and S209 both end on the second line in the second occurrence of section 1.

Turning now to melodic structure, a comparison of the transcription of *Maringgu* presented below as Musical Example 2 with M1b (see p. 462), a transcription of *Mundala*, reveals that the melodic phrases of *Maringgu* are virtually identical to those of *Mundala*. Musical phrases have been marked with the lower case letters a, b, c and d. The melodic structure of five performances of *Maringgu* can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Melodic structure of five performances of *Maringgu*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Section and Melodic Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S43</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S44-46</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S151</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c a b a c d 1 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S209</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c a b a c d 1 a c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S210</td>
<td>1 a b a c d 2 a c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes phrase is interrupted by speech, followed by a complete performance of the phrase

It can be seen from the above that the song may end after the second line of either section 1 or section 2. Also, similar to Text 5: *Mundala*, the melodic phrases a and c are used to end the song. After S43 Donnelly stated "They know when to change step. They know the song". During S44-46 Donnelly stated: "They might have half a dozen, might be more dancing around here"; and "There might be about four singing. I was one of them". In the light of these comments, and the fact that the melodic structure of *Maringgu* is very similar to *Mundala*, it seems that the flexible structure of *Maringgu* was used to co-ordinate performers in a group context.

The similarities between the structure of Text 5: *Mundala* and Text 28: *Maringgu* are even more apparent in S175. In this song the singer mixes the text of Text 28: *Maringgu* with Text 5: *Mundala*. He sings section 1 and then part of section 2. Just before the last line of section 2 he makes a comment, and then sings the last line of section 2 of Text 5: *Mundala*. Then he returns to the beginning of section 1 of Text 5: *Mundala* and finishes the performance. Details of S175 can be seen below in Table 8.
Table 8. Summary of the musical and textual structure of S175 and Donnelly’s comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Musical Phrase</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1</td>
<td>Maringgu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>This is a beautiful dance in this one. I danced in this one you know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2</td>
<td>Bungahn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2</td>
<td>Gahnula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1</td>
<td>Mundala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It is very nice when there’s about twelve dancing you know. They’s like a cat on hot bricks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I danced in that corroboree when I was a young man, but I’m no chicken now though. But I was in my prime when I done the dance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that the textual repetition patterns and melodic structures in performances of Text 5: **Mundala** and Text 28: **Maringgu** are so similar that in S175 the singer has confused them and changed from one text to the other in a single performance. It is not clear whether this would normally have occurred, but as he only does this once and does not comment on it, it is possible that after he made a comment in the song he lost his train of thought and began singing Text 5, which he performed more often than Text 28, and also acknowledged as being one of his favourite songs.

**Text 34: Square Dance Song** (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 34 and Appendix 4 p. 472)

There are six performances of **Text 34: Square Dance Song** in the sample. Three are by Cecil Taylor (two of these have been musically transcribed, see Appendix
4 p. 472) and three are by Eric Walker and have not been transcribed for reasons which are explained below. According to Taylor, this song was composed by Raymond Duncan some time in the early 1900s. Barn dances and reels were often performed by Aboriginal people in their own communities away from the European dance halls. It is not clear whether the dance performed to this song was based on a particular European barn dance or whether Raymond Duncan also composed the dance steps for this song. According to Walker, in the old days the dancers were all painted up and danced near the light from the camp fire. One singer, Howard Walker, sang while the women played the bulbi, possum skin drum (see p. 172).

This section will deal with the performances by Taylor. Performances by Walker, which were recorded in 1986 after Walker had listened to the recordings of Taylor and then remembered the song, will not be examined due to their recording context. He had not performed the song for many years and on all occasions stated that he could only remember part of the song. The text of M2b (see p. 474) is below and is in three sections.

1 A guwa nge wujal bula gandu mirung gabu ja ga  
   B na ma yun de nga ya ba ya gu ngeh ba bung ih ya  
   C we ya we ya we ya we ya we ya we (ya we)  
      [section 1 is repeated]

2 D ng ganggal beyalehn bangan beyalehn nama nama  
   E nama nama nama namalehn di-  
   F nin dinin dinin dinin dinin dinin dinin dinin dinin (dinin)  
      [section 2 is repeated]

3 G ng gadibu janibi gro gro ngadan  
   H [bo/mo]bura bura bura bura bura bura bura (bura) buralehn gu-  
   I bul gulbul gulbul gulbul gulbul gulbul gulbul gulbul (gubul)  
      [section 3 is repeated]
The transcription of the text is based on Gordon's text in his musical transcription (M11a in Appendix 4 p. 540). Text lines are determined on the basis of melodic structure and melodic descents as morphology of the text is not fully understood. A general gloss of the text is: section 1 states that everyone is about to start dancing; section 2 mentions something about partners in the dance cuddling; and the meaning of section 3 is unclear (Cook pers. comm. 1985). For further details of the translation of the song see Appendix 3. Text lines have been labelled with the capital letters A to I. The third text line in each section, namely C, F and I comprises the repetition of two syllables - "ya we" in C, "dinun" in F and "gubul" in I. Also in the second line of section 2, namely E, the syllables "nama" are repeated and in the second line of section 3, namely H, the syllables "bura" are repeated. These syllables were possibly imitating the different dance steps that were danced while they were being sung.

After the song Gordon asked Taylor to explain the repetition of the syllables at the end of each verse:

JG: What was that at the end? That noise, burung?
CT: That's the sound of the foots ... They call it the hands up in the old time square dance ... and the noise is the foot. The sound they make with their foot kicking the floor.
JG: Those noises at the end are not words they're just knock from the foot?
CT: Where they're goin' round and round and round. Each time you make a different sound ... Of course in the early days in those square dances, you will understand that they changed partners and so forth and so on like that ... and that's the noise that it makes ... Today they call it a grand chain waltz ... or a jolly miller (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

While not unequivocal, Taylor's comment suggests that different dance steps were performed to different parts of the text, but due to lack of information, it is impossible at this stage to establish the relationship between the dance and the text structure.

Turning to the patterns of sectional repetition, in M2b each section is repeated. The textual repetition pattern of all of Taylor's performances of the song can be seen in Table 9.
Table 9. Textual repetition pattern of three performances of Text 34: Square Dance Song.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S70-74</td>
<td>1 1*2 2 3 3 3 [tape off] 1 [tape off] 1 [tape off] 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2a</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2b</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 3 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The tape is turned off during this section and is turned on again halfway through the next section.

The form of S70-74 differs from the other performances in that section 3 is repeated a second time before the song returns to section 1, which is sung three times before ending. Due to the nature of the recording of S70-74, it is impossible to draw conclusions concerning the variability of textual repetition pattern; between each of the final section 1s, the tape recorder is turned off, perhaps for the purposes of text elicitation and the significance of the three final section 1s is therefore unclear. Since S70-74 is the only recording with a textual repetition pattern different from M2a and M2b, it is impossible to know if the textual repetition pattern of the Square Dance Song was indeed flexible.

It may be noted that in the repetition of some sections, texts are slightly different from the first occurrence of the section. These differences are noted in brackets ( ) in the text of the Square Dance Song presented above. In M2b there is one more "ya we" in line C of the repeat of section 1. In the repeat of section 2 there is one more "dinin" in line F. In the repeat of Section 3 there is one less "bura" in line H, and one less "gubul" in line I. Due to these textual differences the length of a section may vary slightly.

Each section of text has three melodic phrases which are labelled on M2b (see Appendix 4 p. 474) with the lower case letters a, b and c. In M2b Section 1: Phrase a has a melody with a range of a perfect 5th. It begins on a and gradually descends to the tonic d, and then rises to e.
Phrase b begins on a and eventually descends and ends on d. In section 1 of M2b its contour is very similar to phrase a.

Phrase c is intoned on the tonic, d.

As already stated, the length of the second and third lines of the text may differ from one performance to another. Therefore, the melodic phrases must also differ in length and must expand and contract as required. This flexibility may have arisen because the last line in each section, namely C, F and I was extended indefinitely until the dancers were ready to move on to the next section. Musical Example 3 compares two performances of phrase c of section 1 in M2b.

Musical Example 3. Two performances of melodic phrase c of section 1 in M2b.

The extension of phrases in this way has also been documented by Clunies Ross and Wild for clan songs (known as manikay) from north-central Arnhem Land (see Map 3 p. xviii). One feature of these performances is the extension of musical phrases to accommodate the dancers. This co-operation between the singers and dancers involves "the use of sustained melodic figures in which a lexeme is prolonged and its last syllable held. These sustained phrases ... almost certainly cue the beginnings of dance sequences" (Clunies Ross and Wild 1984: 220-222). From this it is apparent that the feature of extending phrases is a feature of traditional songs from Arnhem Land, as well as the Square Dance song from the Bundjalung area.
Let us turn now to the relationship between melody and text sections. The Square Dance Song is essentially strophic in that each section is set to the same melody, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text structure</td>
<td>A B C</td>
<td>D E F</td>
<td>G H I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodic structure</td>
<td>a b c</td>
<td>a b c</td>
<td>a b c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each phrase of the melody must therefore expand to accommodate at least three different text line structures. Musical Example 4 shows how the three melodic phrases a b c are adapted to different text line structures in different sections of M2b.

In Musical Example 4 there are three groups of three staves. The first group of three staves shows phrase a from section 1, section 2 and section 3 of M2b. It can be seen that phrase a from sections 1 and 2 are both eight bars in length and have similar melodic contours in that they both comprise two melodic descents. The first descent is from a to e with a leap back up to a in bar 3 beginning the second descent. Phrase a from section 3 appears to have a similar, but contracted melodic contour. It is seven bars in length and comprises only one melodic descent.

The second group of staves shows phrase b from section 1, section 2 and section 3 of M2b. Phrase b from section 1 is eight bars; section 2 is five bars; and section 3 is ten bars. It can be seen that phrase b from section 1 and section 3 are similar in that they both comprise two melodic descents. The first descent is from a to e before the leap back up to a in bar 4 begins the second descent. Phrase b from section 2 is contracted and comprises only one melodic descent similar to the second melodic descents in phrase b of section 1 and section 3.

The third group of staves shows phrase c from section 1, section 2 and section 3 of M2b. All three phrase c have level articulation on the tonic, d. Phrase c from section 1 is six bars in length; phrase c from section 2 is ten bars in length; and phrase c from section 3 is 12 bars in length.
Musical Example 4. Three melodic phrases from three sections of M2b.

From Musical Example 4 it appears that the melodic phrases expand and contract in different ways to accommodate texts of different length. It can be seen that although the details concerning the structure and cueing devices in the Square Dance Song are quite different from Text 5: Mundala, both these songs are based on the same
principles of having flexible performance structures for a group context. M11a (see p. 540) is a transcription and analysis by Gordon of the same performance of the Square Dance Song transcribed by me in M2b.

Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 42)

In Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree, the relationship between sections of text and different dance steps is similar to the three texts discussed above in that the dancers changed their dance steps at the same time the text of the song changes from one section of text to another. As in Text 5: Mundala, at the end of each section of text the singer signals to the dancers that a change is about to occur.

In the sample of songs there are ten songs that have been identified as Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree. In Chapter 3 Text (42) was classified as a Yawahr song and a Sorcery Song. This discussion will focus on only one performance, S140-143, by Pastor Frank Roberts Snr.4 For details of other performances see Appendix 3 under Text (42). In 1968, Roberts described S140-143:

FR: In the corroboree of course, there are 13 acts. There were 50 men and 40 women all painted up for corroboree - and [at the end of] each song the leader would just give a sort of drrr - just to give the sign to change their acts as he sang the other verse. And this continued on 'till the whole 13 acts was completed ... drrr means change. He couldn't whistle or give any indication with his hand, but just drrr ... (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

It is assumed here that the term "acts" refers to the actions of the dancers, that is, the different dance steps. Unfortunately there are no descriptions of the dance, except that it was slow and performed by both men and women. Roberts explained to Gordon that his performance would comprise four of the thirteen sections:

FR: I better sing it for you now.
JG: One of the thirteen?
FR: No, there will be three, four.
JG: Four of the thirteen. Okay.
FR: I could have sung you the lot if I well enough (Gordon Lismore 1968 LA1176B).

4 S140-143 is one performance of Text (42). In the AIATSIS archive it has been documented as four items, and hence has four song numbers in this thesis.
The text of S140-143 is set out below and has been transcribed in association with Sharpe (1985b: 30 and 1987: 9). A translation is not possible; an explanation of the text, however, appears in Appendix 3. Text phrases have been decided by breath marks and melodic descents and are marked with upper case letters.

1 A *Ngeh gu mahr junggalah*
   A *ngeh gu mahr junggalah*
   B *nyungmay nayuh ngayuh*
   B *nyungmay nayuh ngayuh*

[The above four lines are repeated before proceeding to drrr ]

   drrr

2 C *ngeh gir gir gir gir gir*
   D *na ngayah gir gir gir*
   E *gir gir gir nangayah wunah*
   C *ngeh gir gir gir ngir*
   E' *nangayah wunah*
   F *nangayah gayileh*
   G *nangayah gayileh babun*
   H *wewah lehla wiyawan*

   drrr

3 F *ngeh nayah gayileh*
   G *gangayah gayileh balun*
   H *wewah lehla wiyawan*
   C *ngeh gir gir ger ger ger*
   D *na ngayah gir gir gir*
   E *gir gir gir nangayah wunah*

   drrr
Table 10 summarises the textual sections and melodic structure of S140-143. It is apparent that leaving aside the drrr, a section of text may comprise eight lines of text as in section 1, 2 and 4 or it may comprise only six lines as in verse 3. Although the length of the text of each section varies in its number of lines, in this performance each section comprises two melodic descents. The beginning of each melodic descent is marked by * in Table 10. Section 1 comprises two pairs of lines which are repeated once before proceeding to the drrr - A A B B  A A B B  drrr. The melodic descent occurs over four lines, and then repeats. Section 2 consists of six lines of text, two of which are repeated, and then the drrr - C D E C E' F G H  drrr. The first melodic descent occurs over five lines, and the second descent occurs over three lines. Section 3 comprises six lines followed by drrr - F G H  C D E  drrr. The text of this section reverses the order of groups of lines in section 2: the last three lines of section 3 (C D E) is the same as the first three lines of section 2 and the first three lines of section 3 (F G H) is the same as the last three lines in section 2. In section 3 both descents occur over three lines. Section 4 comprises A A E' E' A A E' E"  drrr. The structure of section 4 is similar to section 1 in that first, the melodic descent occurs over four lines and is then repeated, and second, the pairs of text lines are repeated exactly, except that the word "nayuh" is added to the end of the last line of section 4. This may have been used to signal to the dancers that instead of changing to another dance step
the song was about to finish. Hence it is apparent that the singer could expand or contract the length of a section by changing the length of the text and the length of the melodic descent. At the end of each section "drrr" was sung by the singer to indicate to the dancers to change their dance steps.

Table 10. Textual repetition pattern and melodic structure of Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree S140-143.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Section</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern and Melodic Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*A   A   B   B                *A   A   B   B   drrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*C   D   E   C   E'            *F   G   H     drrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*F   G   H                   *C   D   E     drrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*A   A   E'   E'             *A   A   E'   E''  drrr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates the beginning of a melodic descent
E' and E'' indicates these text lines are similar to line E

General Conclusions

It is clear from the analysis of performances of the above four Yawahr texts that they have several features in common. First, each text may be divided into sections on the basis of internal text repetition. In Text 5: Mundala (see Table 3 p. 204) it is apparent that the text is divided into two sections and the way in which these sections are repeated is variable from performance to performance. Text 28: Maringgu (see Table 6 p. 210) is similar to Text 5: Mundala in that it has two sections and the place where the song ends may vary; hence the way in which the text is articulated is variable. Text 34: Square Dance Song (see Table 9 p. 216) comprises three sections of text which are all repeated, but from the information available it is not clear if the repetition pattern was flexible. The performance of Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree discussed above comprises four sections of text in which some text lines are repeated; it is impossible to know the overall repetition pattern of the song,
however, because only part of the song has been performed and recorded (see Table 10 p. 223).

Secondly, the way in which the musical structure relates to text structure is similar in all four *Yawahr* texts. Text 5: *Mundala*, comprises four distinct musical phrases and each section of text exhibits a specific melodic form; section 1 comprises melodic phrases $abac$, or $a b a c d$, and section 2 comprises $acab a c d$ (see Table 4 p. 205). From analysis it appears that phrase $d$ was used as a cue by the singer to the dancers. The musical structure of Text 28: *Maringgu* is the same as Text 5: *Mundala*. Again, phrase $d$ may have been used as a cue (see Musical Example 2 p. 211). In Text 34: Square Dance Song each section comprises three musical phrases which expand and contract in order to accommodate the length of the text, and the last phrase of each section is extended indefinitely to accommodate the dance (see Musical Example 4 p. 219). In Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree, each section comprises two melodic descents over six or eight text lines. Hence, similar to Text 34: Square Dance Song, the length of sections is flexible.

Thirdly, in all four songs there appear to be devices which were used to co-ordinate performances. In Text 5: *Mundala*, Text 28: *Maringgu* and Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree these appear to be cueing devices which were used by singers to signal to other performers that a change in the text was about to occur. In Text 5: *Mundala* it is apparent that phrase $d$, which occurs only at the end of a section and is textually and musically quite distinct from other phrases, was probably used as a cue by the singer to the dancers. This cueing device is also evident in Text 28: *Maringgu*. In Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree "drrr" is used as a cue by the singer to the dancers to signal a change at the end of each section. In Text 34: Square Dance Song the last phrase of each section is extended indefinitely by the singer to accommodate the dancers.

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5 According to the singer, Frank Roberts. Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree had thirteen sections. In Appendix 3 it can be seen that S193 is another performance of Text(42): Northern Rivers Corroboree by the same singer, Frank Roberts, but only part of the song is performed. There is not one complete performance of this song in the sample.
The above details concerning text structure, musical structure, and cueing devices have been deduced by analysis. They are further confirmed, however, when we examine performers' comments. In Text 5: *Mundala*, Donnelly makes it clear that there are two sections of text, and that performers change sections only after phrase d. He also makes it clear that the two sections of text correspond to different sections of dance (see in Table 5 p. 235). Although we do not have the same degree of detail for Text 28: *Maringgu* as we do for Text 5: *Mundala*, Donnelly's comments after S43 and S44-46 (both performances of Text 28: *Maringgu*) are very similar to comments made for Text 5: *Mundala*. In Text 34: Square Dance Song, Taylor's comment, concerning the last phrase of each section, (cited on p. 215), although not explicit, suggests that different dance steps were performed to different sections of the text. Roberts' comments in relation to Text (42): Northern Rivers Corroboree makes it clear that different "acts", which probably involved different dance steps, were performed to different sections of text and that "drrr" was used as a cue at the end of each section of text to signal to the dancers to change their dance steps. Unfortunately there are no descriptions of the dance, except that it was slow and performed by both men and women.

It is clear that the text structure, musical structure and cueing devices all deduced by analysis have been confirmed by performers' comments. This leads us to the question: what do these features deduced by analysis and confirmed by performers' comments tell us about the performance practice of *Yawahr* songs in the past? One feature that seems to have been crucial is the flexibility of form in order to expand or contract the performance. This was essential when songs were performed with dance. It is unfortunate therefore that in the sample of songs there are few songs that were danced at the time of recording. Donnelly has stated (see p. 189) that the dances were not long and Sommerlad has stated that they lasted for approximately ten minutes (Sommerlad Tenterfield 1970 LA1957A). The average length of a song in the sample, however, is about two minutes. Although Sommerlad is not a Bundjalung singer, his comment should be assessed in the light that he had learnt and performed songs with
Donnelly and made this comment at a lecture where Donnelly and he performed. Bearing in mind that very few songs in the sample were danced at the time of recording, it seems likely that when they were performed with dance they used the devices discussed in the above section to expand and contract them as required. Hence it appears that Sommerlad is correct in saying performances of dance were about ten minutes in length. Therefore we can assume that the songs would also have been approximately ten minutes in length.

Having established this much we must ask: how does this relate to what we already know about performance practice in other areas of NSW? Donaldson's analysis of the Lost Boy song from the Ngiyampaa area was the first detailed study of NSW songs to demonstrate through analysis of multiple performances that the song had a flexible structure that allowed the performer to expand or contract the song as required. Songs longer than ten minutes have been recorded by Donaldson in the Ngiyampaa area. In fact, one performance of the Lost Boy song is the longest recorded performance of a Ngiyampaa song, and is over fifteen minutes in length. It is performed by John King. Donaldson states:

His is the longest recorded performance of a Ngiyampaa song, lasting for just over fifteen minutes. Even then, he brings it to an end only because the reel of tape is nearly finished. (The only other recording of comparable length was made on the same occasion - John King singing another song of Fred Biggs's about a postmaster anxious to search a mailbag for news of the First World War.) (Donaldson 1984: 235).

From this it is clear that songs of fifteen minutes in length were performed in the Ngiyampaa, Wangaaypuwan language area. In this context we must acknowledge that Sommerlad's comment stating that Bundjalung dances were ten minutes in length is probably accurate.

From the analysis and performers' comments concerning the four Yawahr texts discussed above, it is clear that principles discovered by Donaldson in western NSW

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6 In 1987 Donaldson stated that these performances were actually by Ernie King (Donaldson 1987: 39). His performance of the Ngiyampaa Lost Boy song is discussed in detail in Part 1 of this chapter (see pp. 197-198).
were also used by Bundjalung singers. Furthermore, it is quite probable that devices which enabled songs (and dances) to expand and contract were widespread throughout south-eastern Australia. Further details concerning the use of flexible forms and cueing devices will be examined in the next section of this chapter concerning Sing-You-Down songs.
Sing-You-Down Songs

As already established in Chapter 3, Sing-You-Down songs were used to control social behaviour in communities. The songs are concerned with unacceptable behaviour by particular people and were sung and used as a warning to let the people know that their activities were being observed. There are eight Sing-You-Down songs in the sample. I have musically transcribed three Sing-You-Down texts, namely T 6, T 7 and T (20), and have transcribed and structured the text of two others, namely T 30 and T (62). Gordon has also musically transcribed two texts, namely T 30 and T 51. This is set out below.

Text 6: Two-Up M
Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls M
Text (20): Crow M
Text 30: Raymond Duncan TS M (JG)
Text (62): Gambling Song TS
Text 51: Two-headed Threepence M (JG)

The following three texts will be discussed: Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls; Text (13): Going to New England (a related song, not explicitly identified as Sing-You-Down see further below); and Text (20): Crow.

Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 7 and Appendix 4 p. 476)

There are five performances of Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls in the sample. Four are by Donnelly (M3a see p. 476, M3b see p. 478, M3c see p. 480 and S283) and one by Kenneth Gordon (M3d see p. 482). The text structure of Text 7 is similar to some texts discussed above in that it has two sections of text and a flexible repetition pattern. I have also found evidence of cueing devices. The song was composed by Jimmy Biggle. Donnelly described this as a Sing-You-Down song and knew the two women from Tabulam who are described in the song. He stated:
Now this song I'm goin' to sing you now - about these two women, two teenagers. They used to always trouble the old grandfather to go to different places, different town. Anyhow, ... he used to let 'em go sometime whenever they asked him a second time, a third time... but he said,
"Oh you got to yenah, you got to stop tonight" he said, 
"You can't go because I don't want you to go every night". Anyhow, kep' on asking him and he said 
"Alright, you can go ... you better go". And the next week he began singing this song about them (Gordon Woodenbong 1968 LA1177A).

The text of M3a (see p. 476) is set out below. It comprises two sections which I have numbered 1 and 2. Each section comprises two text lines (labelled A B C and D) which have been established according to melodic descents and breath intakes. The singer may leave out syllables in brackets ( ).

1 A  (galah) yagan gali wangah nganyah gali jinang girur gawandiyah
B  larigan larigan windindiyah yahndindiyah

2 C (galah) yanah ngali galah gaji ngali gimbaligah ngaygahliyah
D  gubil ngali giyalehn nganyah matengehrgan

The text and has been done in association with Sharpe (1987: 16-17) and with reference to an inventory of song words compiled by Geytenbeek (1963-7: 85). A gloss of the text is by Sharpe: "It's not your foot grandfather, it's mine. I can go wherever I want. Me and my mate go this way and we had a good talk." For more details concerning the translation see Appendix 3 under Text 7.

The textual repetition pattern of M3a is: 1 1 2 2 1 1. From examining the five performances of Text 7 it can be seen that the repetition pattern of sections of text is variable. Table 11 shows the textual repetition pattern of five performances of Grandfather and Two Girls.
Table 11. Textual repetition pattern of five performances of Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription No./Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3a</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3b</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3c</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3d</td>
<td>1 2 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S283</td>
<td>1 1 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in examples discussed earlier in this chapter the variable length of a performance may be accommodated by the flexible repetition pattern of the text. Donnelly stated that there was a dance to this song which was performed in the Two-Up ring, but nothing further is known about it.

Turning now to the melody of M3a, each section of text is set to one musical section. I have labelled musical sections with the lower case letters a and b. Section a comprises two musical phrases: the first phrase begins on a and descends by step to c before jumping to the higher octave and then finishing with a descent to a or b. (The leap does not always occur at the same place in all performances and is not always the interval of an octave. While in M3a (see p. 476), M3b (see p. 478), M3c (see p. 480) the leap in the initial section a is always the interval of an octave, in non-initial a-sections the leap is usually the interval of a major 7th, from f to e. On one occasion, that is the second occurrence of section a of M3b, the interval is a minor 7th from d to c. Also, in the second occurrence of section a of M3c the interval is only a major 6th, from f to d.) The second phrase of section a usually begins on or about b and then settles on a before ending on g. It must be noted that in the first occurrence of section a in M3a this phrase begins on a instead of the usual b.

Section b also comprises two musical phrases: the first begins on e and descends by step and finishes on a; and the second is similar to the second phrase in section a in that it begins on b and then oscillates around a, but unlike section a it ends...
on a. Textually, after section b "gah" is used as an anacrusis that leads to the next section of text.

It is possible that there are several features of the song that could have been used as cueing devices in a group context. In order to establish this it is necessary to examine the melodic form and textual repetition of several performances of the song. M3a, M3b and M3c are all performed by Donnelly and have been transcribed with the tonic based on g. Donnelly's melody uses the pitch structure: g, a, b flat, c, d, e and f. This is used throughout his performances of M3a, M3b and M3c (bearing in mind that for convenience M3a has been transcribed a minor 3rd higher than actual pitch). Table 12 shows the melodic form and textual repetition of Donnelly's three performances of Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls.

Table 12. Melodic form and textual repetition of Donnelly's three performances of Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription No.</th>
<th>Melodic Form and Textual Repetition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3a</td>
<td>1 a 1 b 2 a 2 a+ 2 b 1 a 1 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3b</td>
<td>1 a 1 b 2 a 2 b 1 a 1 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3c</td>
<td>1 a* 1 b* 2 a* 2 b 1 a 1 b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ denotes one phrase of this section is inaudible due to static on the tape

* denotes at least one phrase of this section is interrupted by speech and usually followed by a complete phrase

From Table 12 it can be seen that in all three performances Donnelly sings only either a b, or a a b. It thus seems that section a may be repeated once before proceeding to section b which is never repeated and always occurs at the end of every section of text. As stated earlier, section a ends by descending to g and section b always ends on a. The last note of section b, a, could therefore have acted as a signal to the dancers that a change was about to occur. This change could possibly have been reinforced by the use of the word "gahiah" which in Donnelly's three performances of Text 7 occurs as
an anacrusis to the beginning of the next section of text, that is, after every non-final section-b except for once in M3c, section 2. Gah/lah is also used as an anacrusis to begin performances M3b and M3c. It appears that its use at the beginning of a song is optional, but adds weight to the view that it could have been used as a cue to signal the beginning of a new section.

Turning now to Gordon's performance, M3d (see p. 482), which has been transcribed with the tonic g in order to facilitate comparison with Donnelly's performances. It exhibits several tonal irregularities in that in the first half of M3d Gordon uses a natural and b natural, but then in the second half, a flat and b flat. The significance of this type of melodic anomaly is not clear. It is apparent, however, that the melodic form of M3d differs from Donnelly's performances in that he uses a different melody. It is clear from examining M3d that the melody of Gordon's performance does not correspond to any of Donnelly's melodic phrases and the components have thus been labelled w, x, y and z. Gordon's use of melody can be seen in Table 13:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription No.</th>
<th>Melodic Form and Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3d</td>
<td>1 w 2 x 1 y 2 z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not clear if in the past different singers used different melodies, or if Gordon and Donnelly were both attempting to sing the same melody. One feature of Gordon's performance that is similar to Donnelly's is the use of the syllable gah/lah after every non-final section, whether it is w, x or y. Gordon's performance adds little to our knowledge of how this song may have been expanded and contracted in performances.

7 In this case, after the second occurrence of section b, the singer interrupts the song with speech. It is probable that "gah/lah" would have been sung if the singer had not stopped to speak.
Text (13): Going to New England (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 13 and Appendix 4 p. 520)

Text (13): Going to New England has not been identified as a Sing-You-Down song, but is discussed here due to its musical similarity with Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls. In Chapter 3, Text (13): Going to New England was not able to be categorised into a category identified by Bundjalung people. I have categorised it under two categories: Increase Song; Public Event Songs.

In the sample there are seven performances of Text (13): Going to New England, all by Donnelly (four of which have been musically transcribed - M7a (see p. 520), M7b (see p. 521), M7c (see p. 523) and M7d (see p. 525), and are in Appendix 4 under Part 2 - Songs Not Covered in the Categories Established by Bundjalung People). Like Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls, this song was composed by Jimmy Biggle; it concerns going to New England where there are many flying squirrels. Donnelly described the context:

Righto now. You travelled to Armidale through to Tamworth, eh? You went through there? You see they got written eh, Moonbi Range. It's not Moonbi, it's Moonbin see. You go up this way in the bush you see a lot of black quail fly out. That’s what they call Moonbin birabung. Birabung means - there's plenty up there see. Well, if you had to go and get plenty of quail you had to go up there - Moonbi, Moonbin see. Well, Jimmy Biggle made a song about that one (Willoughby Woodenbong 1977 LA4744B).

The text of M7a is below. It comprises two sections which I have numbered 1 and 2. Each section comprises two text lines which I have labelled A B C and D. The singer may leave out syllables in brackets ( ). Syllables in square brackets [ ] denotes that one option in these must be sung.

1 A [yanah ngali galah/galahyi ana ngali]main road dibaw jurah bulah wanah
   B wulbilehn wayi gayi ngali nganyah yirbung galangan

2 C (gah) gahrgu babargu New Engaland gujahn
   D Wajam Birabanggungiga Muhnbilihngagu
The transcription is from Geytenbeek (1963-7: 84). A gloss of the text by Sharpe is:
We, me and my cousin, go by the main road and are careful not to lose our way to New
England, to *Wajam Birabung* (the name of a place where there are many flying
squirrels) and *Muhnbilihn*, the Moonbi Range (Sharpe 1987: 4). For details of variants
of the text see Appendix 3 under Text (13).

The textual repetition pattern of M7a is: 1 1 2 2. From examining the seven
performances of Text (13): Going to New England it can be seen that the repetition
pattern is flexible. Table 14 shows the textual repetition pattern of seven performances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription No./Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M7a</td>
<td>1 1 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7b</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7c</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7d</td>
<td>1 2 2 1 1 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S25</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S67</td>
<td>almost inaudible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S201</td>
<td>1 1 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that similar to Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls (see Table 11 p. 230)
the length of a performance may vary.

The melodic structure of Text (13): Going to New England is also very similar
to Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls. Musical Example 5 compares the melodic
structure of M3a (see p. 476) (Text 7) and M7b (see p. 521) (Text (13)). The top
stave of each system shows the melodic contour of M3a while the second stave shows
the melodic contour of M7b. It can be seen that as in Text 7, the melody of Text (13)
may be divided into two sections a and b.

In the first system, the first phrase of section a, the first 4 bars descend the interval of a perfect 5th. A leap occurs in bar 5 in M7b (the interval of a minor 7th) and in bar 6 in M3a (the interval of an octave).

In the second system, the second phrase of section a, the melodic range is a minor 3rd in both M3a and M7b and both phrases have a similar contour and dwell mainly on a or e.
In the third system, the first phrase of section b, the melodic range is a perfect 5th in both M3a and M7b and both have similar melodic contours.

In the fourth system, the second phrase of section b, the melodic range is a minor 3rd in both M3a and M7b and both have similar melodic contours. They descend and end on a (M3a) or e (M7b).

It is clear from the above that the musical structure of Text (13): Going to New England is very similar to Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls. It must be noted that Musical Example 5 only compares textual section 1 of both texts. In textual section 2 the length of the text of Text (13) is shorter than the length of textual section 2 of Text 7. Hence the melody contracts for textual section 2 of Text (13).

While Text 7 has been identified by Bundjalung performers as a Sing-You-Down song, Text (13) has not been identified as belonging to a category established by Bundjalung people. Is it then possible to identify Text (13): Going to New England as a Sing-You-Down song on the basis of musical structure? To what extent do other aspects of the song determine its structure? Without further contextual information from the performer it is impossible to securely identify which category Text (13) may have belonged to in the past, even though its musical structure is very similar to Text 7. Other aspects which may influence the structure of the song include the composer and performer(s) of the song. As stated above, both Text (13) and Text 7 were composed by Jimmy Biggle. As far as I am aware these are the only two texts in the sample which have the melodic and textual structures described above. It is impossible to prove, however, the extent to which the musical structure is determined by the composer of the song without further more detailed investigations using a larger amount of the sample. Also, due to the limited number of performers represented in the sample, (see Chapter 1 p. 15), it is difficult to make any statements concerning the extent to which the performer may influence the structure of a song. One generalisation that can be made is that while Text 7 was performed with a dance, and that cueing devices appear to be present in the song, we do not know whether Text (13) was
danced. As the structure of Text (13): Going to New England is very similar to Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls it is quite likely that it was danced to in the past.

Text (20): Crow (see Appendix 3, Part 2, Text 20 and Appendix 4 p. 483)

There are eleven recordings of Wagan, Crow\(^8\) in the sample of songs, eight of which are performed by Donnelly, one by Gordon and two by Walker. Five performances have been musically transcribed and may be found in Appendix 4 (M4a see p. 483, M4b see p. 489, M4c see p. 492, M4d see p. 493 and M4e see p. 496). In chapter 3 it was noted that Crow was identified by a Bundjalung performer as a Sing-You-Down song. I have also categorised this song under Sites and Dreamings due to its supernatural aspects. According to Donnelly this was a very old song which he learnt from his mother when he was 6 or 7 years old. He stated that the crow was often feared because it may be an enemy disguised as a crow which had come to catch you.

On several occasions, particularly in the later recordings, Donnelly did not mention the supernatural aspects of this song, but only described the song as being about a crow who was annoying a man while he was cooking a possum. The available gloss of the text has been obtained with the assistance of Sharpe (1985d: 4-6; 1987: 2; and 1985b: 1-2 and 19). Section 1 describes a man out in the bush cooking a possum and the crow came to see where the smoke was coming from. The crow was making a lot of noise. The man watched the crow fly around and around and then fly away. Then he decided to make a song about the crow which described how loud the crow was. The second section of text mentions something about a plover and a tree being felled and smashing the pineapples. For more details see Appendix 3 under Text (20). A transcription of the text of M4a (see p. 483) is set out below:

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\(^8\) It must be noted that in the sample of songs Text 6: Two-Up is musically very similar to Text (20): Crow. In Appendix 4 there are seven musical transcriptions of Two-Up by me - M5a (see p. 497), M5b (see p. 499), M5c (see p. 502), M5d (see p. 505), M5e (see p. 508), M5f (see p. 510) and M5g (see p. 512). Gordon has also transcribed Two-Up and it is M12a (see p. 542) in Appendix 4. These transcriptions will not be discussed in detail in this thesis.
1A  (ah) wulbinibeh nganyi(gah) wulbinibeh nganyi(gah)
wagahndu ganggal gijujunyigah

B  gila nyula
waya wayuhng manegah
gila nyula
jinang nyarehng malehn
[jinang nyarehng/gila nyula]
[waya wayuhng manegah/waya wayuhng malehn]
gila nyula
jinang nyarehng malehn
waya wayuhng malehn

2A  (ah) jimbalbung bahgalehn(gah) jimbalbung bahgalehn(gah)
yilngihn yilngihn jabur jabur gardahghah

B  mungalah
deber debehru ngigah
mungalah(gah/guh)
deber debehru ngigah
mungalah
deber debehru ngigah
mungalah
bigibayu(yu)guh
deber debehru nging

The above text has been transcribed in association with Margaret Sharpe and with reference to an inventory of song words compiled by Geytenbeek (1963-7: 84). For details of variants of the text see Appendix 3 under Text (20). Syllables in brackets ( ) may be omitted, while [ ] denotes that one option in these brackets must be sung.

The text has been divided into two sections labelled 1 and 2. Each section of text may also be divided into two parts labelled A and B: Part A comprises a pair of
text lines which may be repeated once (1A or 2A), while part B comprises nine lines of text (1B or 2B). The division into text lines have been made by me with reference to musical phrases. Table 15 shows the textual repetition pattern of nine performances of Crow.9

Table 15. Textual repetition pattern of nine performances of Text (20): Crow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No.</th>
<th>Textual Repetition Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M4a</td>
<td>1 A B 1 A A B 2 A A B 2 A A B 1 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4b</td>
<td>1 B 1 A A B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4c</td>
<td>1 B 1 A A B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4d</td>
<td>1 B 1 A A B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S24</td>
<td>1 B 1 A A B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S195</td>
<td>1 A B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S205</td>
<td>1 B 2 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S243</td>
<td>1 B 1 A A B 2 A A B 1 A A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S66</td>
<td>Almost inaudible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 15 it can be seen that the song usually begins with section 1 of the text, see M4a, M4b, M4d, S24, S195, S205, and S243. Only in M4c does the song begin with section 2; in this case the song was performed by Gordon who knew only the second section. All other performances in Table 15 were performed by Donnelly. Table 15 shows that both section 1 and section 2 could be repeated though they need not be. Section 1 is repeated in M4a, M4b, M4d, S24 and S243. Section 2 is repeated in M4a. Table 15 also shows that part A could be repeated once before proceeding to part B. Part B is never repeated and always ends each textual section. Also, the song may begin at part A or part B of section 1.

Let us turn now to the melody of M4a. I have labelled each musical section with the lower case letters x, y and z. I will discuss section y first. Section y comprises two musical phrases the end of each of which has been defined by melodic

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9 Table 15 does not include M4e and S352 which were both performed by Walker. M4e will be discussed later. In S352 Walker speaks part of the text and then states that he can not remember any more of the song.
contour and/or breath; that is, the end of a musical phrase is either the end of a musical
descent, or a breath mark or both.

The essential feature of the first phrase of y is that it has a narrow melodic range
and a level melodic contour. The first occurrence of the first phrase of y (M4a, line 1)
begins on g and descends to g flat before rising to g natural and then ending on f. It
has the melodic range of a major second. The second occurrence of the first phrase of
y (M4a, line 14) oscillates between g and f and ends on g; similar to the first occurrence
of the first phrase of y, it has the melodic range of a major second. The third (line 27)
and fourth (line 40) occurrences of the first phrase of y have a wider melodic range of a
minor third. The fifth occurrence (line 53) of the first phrase of y is similar to the
second occurrence.

The essential feature of the second phrase of y is that it has a descending
melodic contour. Its first occurrence (line 2) begins with an ascending slide to g and
eventually descends by step and ends on e flat. It has the melodic range of a major
third. In M4a other occurrences of the second phrase of y have a wider melodic range:
the second occurrence (line 15) has the range of a perfect fifth and descends from b flat
to e flat; the third occurrence (line 28) has the range of a perfect fourth and descends
from b flat to f; the fourth occurrence (line 41) has the melodic range of a minor third
and descends from a flat to f; and the fifth occurrence (line 54) has the melodic range of
a perfect fourth and descends from a flat to e flat.

Section z comprises nine musical phrases which can be seen in M4a (lines 3­
11). In M4a there are five occurrences of section z. The first phrase of section z (lines
3, 16, 29, 42 and 55) begins on or around f and then descends and ends on e flat. The
second phrase of section z (lines 4, 17, 30, 43 and 56) begins on d and then descends
and ends on or around b flat. The third phrase of section z (lines 5, 18, 31, 44 and 57)
is intoned on b flat. The fourth phrase of section z (lines 6, 19, 32, 45 and 58) is
usually a descending phrase which begins on a flat and descends and ends on f. The
fifth phrase of section z (lines 7, 20, 33, 46 and 59) is usually pitched around g and a
flat. The sixth phrase of section z (lines 8, 21, 34, 47 and 60) usually oscillates around
b flat and a flat. The seventh phrase of section z (lines 9, 22, 35, 48 and 61) oscillates around a flat and b flat. The eighth phrase of section z (lines 10, 23, 36, 49 and 62) oscillates around g. The ninth phrase of section z (lines 11, 24, 37, 50 and 63) is usually intoned on the tonic g.

Section x comprises two musical phrases. The essential feature of the first phrase of x is that it has a descending melodic contour and begins with an anacrusis on c or d. The first occurrence of the first phrase of x (line 12) begins with an anacrusis on c to the syllable *gahlah* before rising to d and descending by step to g flat. It has the melodic range of a minor sixth. In every other occurrence of the first phrase of x in M4a (lines 25, 38 and 51) the anacrusis is on d. The third occurrence of the first phrase of x (line 38) has the melodic range of a major sixth as it descends to f, while the fourth occurrence (line 51) has the range of a perfect fifth as it only descends to g. The essential feature of the second phrase of x is that it has a level melodic contour. Its first occurrence (line 13) oscillates around g, while the second (line 26) and third occurrences (line 39) oscillate around a flat. Table 16 shows the textual repetition pattern and melodic form of M4a.

Table 16. Textual repetition pattern and melodic form of M4a - Text (20): Crow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of Text</th>
<th>Melodic Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* these occurrences of section z will be discussed later
In Table 16 it can be seen that in M4a both section 1 and section 2 have the same melodic structure in that all sections 1 and 2 comprise the melodic sections y z or x y z. When section A is not repeated the text is invariably sung to the melodic phrase y; whereas when it is going to be repeated the first occurrence is sung to x. As stated earlier, both sections x and y comprise two melodic phrases with different melodic contours. The melodic contours of the two phrases of section x are descending and level, whereas the melodic contours of the two phrases of section y are level and descending. Hence when part A is repeated the melodic contour of the text of part A changes. This can be seen below in Table 17:

Table 17. Melodic structure of part A of M4a - Crow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Text</th>
<th>Melodic Section and Melodic Contour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x  descending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y  level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>descending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this evidence we can propose the hypothesis that x signals that section A is going to be repeated and y signals that the singer may move on to section z. Could this altered melodic contour of part A be a cue corresponding to the altered melodic contour of the word "thirramakaanhthi" in Donaldson's example of the Ngiyampaa Lost Boy song discussed at the beginning of this chapter? This hypothesis can be tested by examining other performances of Crow. M4b (see p. 489) and M4d (see p. 493), are similar to M4a in that they are also performed by Donnelly.\textsuperscript{10} The melodic and textual form of M4b is set out below in Table 18.

\textsuperscript{10} M4b is transcribed with the tonic on d, a perfect fifth lower than M4a.
Table 18. Melodic and textual form of M4b - Crow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of Text</th>
<th>Melodic Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The melodic contour of the second phrase of this section is not strictly descending as the singer leaps the interval of a minor seventh from d to c, instead of descending to c.

From Table 18 it appears that in M4b, similar to M4a, x signals that section A is going to be repeated and y signals that the singer may move onto section z.

The melodic and textual form of M4d is set out below in Table 19. The form of M4d is the same as M4b shown above in Table 18.

Table 19. Melodic and textual form of M4d - Crow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of Text</th>
<th>Melodic Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>y*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The melodic contour of the second phrase of these sections are not strictly descending as the singer leaps the interval of an octave from d flat to d flat in the first occurrence of this phrase, and from c to c in the second occurrence of this phrase.

11 M4d is transcribed with the tonic on c, a perfect fifth lower than M4a.
From examining three performances by Donnelly, M4a, M4b and M4d it is clear that when section A is going to be repeated the first occurrence of section A is sung to the melodic section x, that is, the contour of the phrases are descending and level; whereas when section A is not repeated it is sung to section y and the contour of the phrases are level and descending. Hence when section A is repeated, the melodic contour of the text is different from when it is not. In the sample there are eight performances by Donnelly, only three of which have been musically transcribed; aural observation of the non-transcribed performances confirms that this altered melodic contour occurs consistently in all of Donnelly's performances of Crow.

On the basis of Donnelly's performances it could be expected that in performances of Crow by other singers there would be something equivalent to Donnelly's section x and section y. Let us turn to M4c, performed by Gordon. As stated earlier (see Table 15 p. 239) the textual repetition pattern in M4c is 2 A A B, but Gordon's use of melody is different from Donnelly's. The melodic contours of Gordon's phrases are different. When part A is repeated in Donnelly's performances the sections and their melodic contours are:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad x \text{ descending} \\
& \quad \text{level} \\
A & \quad y \text{ level descending}
\end{align*}
\]

In Gordon's performance (M4c see p. 492), however, both phrases in each repeat of part A have descending melodic contours thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad \text{descending} \\
& \quad \text{descending} \\
A & \quad \text{descending} \\
& \quad \text{descending}
\end{align*}
\]

It is clear that Gordon does not change the melodic contour according to whether it is the first A or second A that is being sung. Therefore Gordon could not signal a change because he did not change the melodic contour of A. In Donnelly's case we could test the hypothesis that section x signalled a repeat of A, while section y signalled that the

---

12 M4c has been transcribed with the tonic on c.
singer was about to proceed to $z$ because we had multiple performances of Donnelly. In Gordon's case, however, we do not have multiple performances and hence cannot make any conclusive statements. It must be noted, however, that Gordon, unlike Donnelly, is not a well practised songman and he does not mention that his performance is part of a song about a Crow.

The only information available concerning the dance to Crow is that there were two dancers: the crow, who was black; and the plover, who was white (Walker pers. comm. 1985). Any conclusions regarding dance must therefore remain speculative. Other evidence from the Bundjalung area suggests that melodic cueing devices were used to co-ordinate group performances that involved dance and this may have been the case for Crow. The suggestion that the musical structure of Crow responded to dance elements is strengthened further when we examine another device evident in Crow which was also evident in the Square Dance Song and discussed earlier in this chapter under *Yawahr* (see pp. 216-217), namely, the extension of certain text lines with additional melodic material. As stated earlier in this chapter, in the Square Dance song the last phrase of each section is extended indefinitely until the dancers are ready to move on to the next section. It is apparent that a similar device involving the extension of phrases is also evident in Crow.

In M4a (see p. 483) in the fourth and fifth occurrences of section $z$ the second last line is extended. In M4a it can be seen that in the fourth occurrence of section $z$ (lines 42-50) in the second last phrase (line 49) the last syllable of "bigibayuguh" is lengthened and extends over four bars, whereas in the previous section $z$ (lines 29-37) its duration is only one bar (line 36). Also in the fifth occurrence of section $z$ (lines 55-63) in the second last phrase (line 62) the last syllable of "malehn" is extended for four bars, whereas in the first (line 10) and second (line 23) occurrences of section $z$ it is only the duration of two bars. The extension of this phrase in section $z$ is marked in Table 16 with an asterisk.

The extension of phrases in this way has also been documented by Clunies Ross and Wild in relation to clan songs, *(manikay)* from Arnhem Land and was
discussed earlier in this chapter under *Yawahr* (see p. 217). They state that the 
co-operation between the singers and dancers involves "the use of sustained melodic 
figures in which a lexeme is prolonged and its last syllable held. These sustained 
phrases ... almost certainly cue the beginnings of dance sequences" (Clunies Ross and 
Wild 1984: 220-222). Marett and Page have also examined the relationship between 
music and dance in relation to *wangga* songs from the *Marrisyabin* language area in 
north-west Australia (see Map 3 p. xviii). They state that up until the final formula 
the stick beating which accompanies the dance can be extended indefinitely. They 
also mention the importance of visual cues such as singers lifting their sticks when 
co-ordinating the singing and dancing (Marett and Page 1991: 8).

On the basis of these examples from northern Australia, when examining Crow, 
we must ask the question: could this device have originally been used to accommodate 
the dancers and co-ordinate complex dance movements with the text of the song? After 
listening to all recordings of Crow it is apparent that this device occurs in M4a and in 
S24 in the second last section of z. It may also be significant that M4a (1964) and S24 
(1965) are the two earliest recordings of Crow. They were performed by Donnelly. 
The fact that he did not use this device in his later performances of Crow suggests as 
performances began to rely less on group situations, songs with flexible forms were no 
longer necessary and cueing devices were used less often. With this in mind we might 
ask whether the absence of cueing devices in some recordings existing today reflects 
the disintegrating state of the tradition.

The present day difficulties of performing and recording songs are apparent in 
M4e (see p. 496) which was performed by Eric Walker and recorded by me in 1985 at 
Bonalbo. This song was performed after Walker had listened to recordings from the 
AIATSIS archive. He was pleased to hear songs that had almost slipped from his 
mind. During the recording session he was very confident while singing songs that he 
could remember, but then when he was trying to think of another song I suggested he 
sing Crow after we had listened to a recording of Donnelly singing Crow. Although
Walker had not performed Crow for many years he stated that he knew the song but could not remember all of it.

In M4e (see p. 496) Walker sings 1 A A and then proceeds to 1B. He finishes in confusion in part B and says "something like that. I just don't know. I just lost that part there". Textually there is some confusion in part A as he sings "gijuhnyjunehgah" in the second phrase and "gijnuhjumu" in the second phrase of the repeat of part A in place of "gijujunyigah". Also, in both occurrences of part A he ends the second phrase with "wulbinibeh nganyi", which in Donnelly's performances only occurs in the first phrase of part A. It must also be noted that the first phrase of the repeat of part A has been truncated.

Turning now to the melody of M4e, the phrases in part A all have a descending melodic contour and do not correspond to section x or section y of Donnelly's performances. From Walker's performance we cannot make any conclusions concerning the structure of Crow, but it must be noted that the difficulties surrounding the performance of this song are typical of the state of the tradition today in the Bundjalung area.

General Conclusions

From the above analysis of Sing-You-Down songs it is apparent that they have several features in common. First, all three songs discussed comprise a text which may be divided into sections on the basis of internal repetition. In Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls (see Table 11 p. 230) it is apparent that the text is divided into two sections and the repetition pattern of these sections is variable from performance to performance. This also applies to Text 13: Going to New England (see Table 14 p. 234). In Text (20): Crow, the internal divisions are more complex and can be seen in Table 15 p. 239.

Secondly, in all three songs there appear to be features which may have been used in former times as cueing devices. In Text 7: Grandfather and Two Girls (as stated on p. 231), it appears that the last note of section b could have acted as a signal to
the dancers that a change was about to occur, and this could have been reinforced by the syllable "gahlah" which occurs after section b as an anacrusis to the beginning of the next section of text. These features are also found in Text (13): Going to New England (see Table 14 p. 234) which, as discussed earlier, is similar to Text 7. In Text (20): Crow there are similar devices. It appears that the melodic contour of phrases in part A of the text determines whether part A will be repeated or whether the singer will proceed to part B. This feature most clearly parallels with the melodic cueing device discovered by Donaldson in the Lost Boy song from the Ngiyampaa area in western New South Wales. Another device in Text (20): Crow which may have been used to accommodate the dancers and co-ordinate dance movements with the song is the extension of the last syllable of the end of a phrase. Although we do not have any detailed information concerning the dance to Crow, this device also occurs in north-central Amhern Land to accommodate the dancers.

It is clear that the above features of Sing-You-Down songs have all been deduced by analysis. It is also clear that some of these features also occur in Yawahr songs, such as a text which may be divided into sections on the basis of internal repetition. Also, from examining Text (13): Going to New England it can be seen that the features described for Sing-You-Down songs appear in this song and are therefore not exclusive to Sing-You-Down songs. Other aspects which may influence the musical structure of songs include the composer and performer(s) of the song. Another important issue is the use of melody and the differences between singers. Due to the limited nature of the material, it is impossible make any conclusions at this stage; it must be noted, however, that we must be aware of the state of the tradition and the recording context when we embark on the complex questions of musical structure, cueing devices and singers' use of melody.
Conclusion

In the above analysis Donaldson's model has been discussed with the view to shed light on songs from the Bundjalung area. As stated at the beginning of this chapter (see p. 193), Donaldson's analysis of the Lost Boy song from the Ngiyampaa area was the first detailed study of a song from NSW to demonstrate through analysis of multiple performances that the song had a flexible structure that allowed the performer to expand or contract the song as required. Having established this we must ask: how does this relate to songs from the Bundjalung area? In the above analysis of two song categories identified by Bundjalung people, Yawahr and Sing-You-Down, it is clear that principles discovered by Donaldson in western NSW were also used by Bundjalung singers; namely, the use of flexible structures which relied on cueing devices to expand or contract performances as required.

When examining Yawahr songs, features deduced by analysis were able to be confirmed by singers' comments concerning the co-ordination of the song with the dance. In the analysis of Sing-You-Down songs, however, we do not have any specific comments by singers. Conclusions concerning Sing-You-Down songs must remain speculative at this stage, but are made in the light of conclusions available for Yawahr songs and are further strengthened by Donaldson's research in western NSW and research from northern Australia.

Today throughout south-eastern Australia singers are not usually expert in group performance contexts, but comments made by singers from areas of NSW which, at this stage, have not been researched, often give us clues about the performance practice of songs in the past. For example, in 1985, Paul Behrendt recorded Fred Reece near Walgett singing a Yuwaaliyaay song from western NSW. Behrendt then asked Reece:

PB: When you sing the song, is the first part just one sentence and then it's sung three times ... [Do you] repeat the same thing over and over?
FR: Yes ... You sing it for a certain time and then you change it. That's how it goes (Behrendt 1985 FT85b).
Although a detailed transcription is yet to be done of Reece’s song, it appears from listening to the song and in the light of the above comment that a repetition pattern exists similar to that found in the Lost Boy song from the Ngiyampaa language area of western NSW and in songs from the Bundjalung area of the north coast of NSW. When Reece’s explanation of the song is placed into the context of Aboriginal performances of NSW, it is possible that this repetition pattern enabling songs (and dances) to expand or contract may be more widespread throughout south-eastern Australia.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The previous chapters give a detailed description of Bundjalung (including Gidabal) songs and their associated performing arts. Chapter 1 historically surveys the Bundjalung recordings, recordists and singers. It is observed that all recordings date from 1955-1986 and that the recordists are all non-Aboriginal. Since a recording session usually involved one singer who was the only person, or one of the few people left in the community who could still remember the songs, the majority of songs in the sample are solo performances. Singers are all at least one generation younger than the composers to whom they attribute the songs; recordings made by me in the 1980s are often of people speaking about performances of the past, rather than actually performing themselves. Chapter 1 also surveys previous musicological research in NSW. The anthropological and linguistic literature is also surveyed; due to the large amount of material available, however, the coverage of non-musicological material is not comprehensive and only material most relevant to the topic of this thesis has been included.

Chapter 2, "The Bundjalung (including Gidabal) Area" includes a brief ethnography that places the Bundjalung into a geographic, linguistic and historical context. The main part of Chapter 2, however, discusses various issues and problems I came across while I was in the Bundjalung area. These include: problems associated with asking people to sing; problems associated with listening to archival recordings of old Bundjalung songs; problems associated with translating or explaining the meaning of song texts; attitudes concerning the teaching of songs, dances, language and other aspects of the past. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the difficulties of recording songs today given the state of the tradition. The following questions are
considered: how are Bundjalung people making recordings and other material from their past relevant today? How can researchers make their work relevant to Bundjalung people today?

Chapter 3, "Performance Ethnography of the Bundjalung (including Gidabal)", is a response to a statement by Clunies Ross: "as yet there is no general historically based survey of Aboriginal song and the related performance arts of dance and visual displays" (1987: 3). Through the use of recordings, comments from Bundjalung people, anthropological, historical and linguistic literature and photographs I have attempted to demonstrate the extent to which material available today represents the earlier tradition. This type of detailed performance ethnography was necessary for three reasons: first, to place songs from the sample into a performance context; second, when this was not possible, to discuss the difficulties of working with songs that have been performed by singers who were unable to give any contextual information; and third, to discuss the problems of trying to match information from the literature with specific songs in the sample. As this is the first detailed musicological study of songs in south-eastern Australia, literature from other areas of south-eastern Australia, and in some cases other more fully researched areas of Australia, has been discussed in an attempt to place Bundjalung performing arts into a south-eastern Australian context and also to relate them to other areas of Australia.

In Chapter 4, "Musical Analysis", Donaldson’s research from western NSW of a song from the Ngiyampaa, Wangaaypuwan language area is discussed in order to assess the extent to which it provides an appropriate model for the study of Bundjalung songs. Donaldson demonstrates through analysis of multiple performances of a song from western NSW that the song had a flexible structure that allowed the performer to expand or contract the song as required. Two categories of Bundjalung song, namely Yawahr and Sing-You-Down are then examined in the light of Donaldson’s analysis. It is clear from this that principles discovered by Donaldson in western NSW are also evident in songs by Bundjalung singers. From an analysis of four Yawahr texts it is concluded that the four texts examined have several features in common: a text which
can be divided into sections on the basis of internal repetition; secondly, a relationship between the musical structure and the text structure which is similar in all four *Yawahr* texts; thirdly, devices which are used by singers in all four *Yawahr* texts to co-ordinate performances.

While the analysis of *Yawahr* songs confirms that principles discovered by Donaldson in western NSW were also used by Bundjalung singers, this study goes further in that the analytical structure has been confirmed by performers' comments concerning the co-ordination of the song with the dance. Particularly important in this regard are Dick Donnelly's comments on Text 5: *Mundala* (see p. 207). In the light of what was discovered about *Yawahr* songs, an analysis of *Sing-You-Down* songs has been made. It is clear from the analysis of *Sing-You-Down* songs that they have some features in common with *Yawahr* songs, such as a text which may be divided into sections on the basis of internal repetition, and the use of cueing devices. Unlike *Yawahr* texts, however, the analysis of *Sing-You-Down* cannot be further confirmed by singers' comments. Although they must remain speculative at this stage, the analyses are made in the light of conclusions drawn for *Yawahr* songs, and are further strengthened by Donaldson's research in western NSW as well as by research from northern Australia (see p. 217 and p. 245-246).

* * *

This is the first detailed musicological study of south-eastern Australia. In many ways research in this area is different from other areas of Australia due to the long history of European contact. Any musicological study in south-eastern Australia must take into consideration the problems Aboriginal people are facing when trying to make details of the past relevant today. This is one of the major underlying issues I encountered during the early stages of this project. In relation to this Geertz has stated:

If you want to understand what a science is you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do" (Geertz in Marcus 1986: 262).
In the Bundjalung area (and generally throughout south-eastern Australia) it is apparent that today "the memories of old people, anthropological writings, archaeological remains, documentary records, are all ransacked to give authenticity to competing constructions" of Aboriginality (Beckett 1988: 1). One of the resources to be "ransacked" is the AIATSIS archive of recordings. With this in mind I became familiar with the AIATSIS collection and in Chapter 3 attempted to organise a large sample of songs and related material. This enterprise was problematic, however, due to the lack of available contextual information. It is hoped, nevertheless, that Chapter 3 will provide information on specific performance-related details, as well as provide general information for the non-performance specialist.

During my early visits to the Bundjalung area I began returning recordings from the AIATSIS archive to Bundjalung people and communities. Chapter 2 discusses the diverse reactions I received to these recordings and observes that the situations and issues are not static, but in a permanent state of flux. As stated in Chapter 2, I realised that just by visiting Aboriginal people to ask them about their past, and by playing recordings from the past, I was changing their perceptions of their history. In relation to this Clifford has stated:

"Cultures" do not hold still for their portraits. Attempts to make them do so always involve simplification and exclusion (1986a: 10).

Two important reactions to the return of these recordings were: first, that as a result of hearing them, some of the older people agreed to sing and talk about performances of the past; and secondly, that one older man began using the recordings to help remember songs and teach dances to children. In this way, and others discussed in Chapter 2, people's reactions varied. It is clear, however, that many people were concerned to find ways of making this material relevant to Aboriginal people's lives today.

The issues and problems discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 are germane to the contents of Chapter 4, "Musical Analysis". In this regard it must be noted that the last song analysed in the Sing-You-Down category, S330 (M4e) of Text (20): Crow, was performed by Eric Walker and is the only song analysed in Chapter 4 that was recorded
by me. This song was performed in 1986 after Walker had listened to recordings from the AIATSIS archive of Donnelly singing Text (20): Crow. It is clear that from this performance alone we cannot make any conclusions concerning the earlier structure of Text (20): Crow; it may be observed, however, that the difficulties surrounding the performance of this song are typical of the state of the tradition today. While examination of the present day performance tradition and musical analysis of performances in the light of earlier recordings shows that something has been lost, what remains cannot be construed as either inauthentic performance or inauthentic culture. Although in this area of Australia the impact of European contact has caused rapid changes to the Aboriginal performance tradition, performances today, like performances in the past, are contingent on the state of the tradition, knowledge of performers, and other contextual elements including current events, political situations and so on. Today, as in the past, performances reflect current realities.

Turning now to directions for future research, the musical analysis presented here includes only a fraction of the material presented in Appendix 3 and 4. Further detailed analysis of this material would make it possible to relate these songs to other areas of south-eastern Australia. Although two Bundjalung song categories Yawahr and Sing-You-Down have been analysed, it is still impossible to make well founded generalisations concerning the musical characteristics of Bundjalung song categories. An important area for future research is singers' and composers' use of melody. Furthermore, the analysis in this thesis has been made without access to visual cueing material and any information relating to this must rely on singers' comments and research from other areas of Australia. In the near future an extensive search for films of Bundjalung dance should be undertaken. If material was located, it might enable visual cues and the relationship between music and dance to be studied in detail.

As stated above, this is the first detailed musicological study of south-eastern Australia. In the AIATSIS sound archive there are over 1,000 songs from NSW. In the sample of 352 Bundjalung songs, 314 are from the AIATSIS archive. In other words, there are approximately 700 songs in the AIATSIS sound archive from other
areas of NSW. These songs need to be examined in order to establish more details concerning Aboriginal performing arts of NSW.

In conclusion, this thesis examines a large sample of songs and related material, discusses issues and situations I found important in the Bundjalung area and analyses songs from the sample which I felt were most appropriate to discuss. In 1987 Donaldson asked the question: "To what extent can these recordings (and any others that may yet be made) be used to reconstruct a better understanding of south east Australia's musical past?" (Donaldson 1987: 19). This discussion of Bundjalung (including Gidabal) songs and their associated performing arts is my attempt to offer an answer to Donaldson's question as well as give some insights into the performance tradition today.
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