N.B. Some material not for publication
APPENDICES
TO
ASPECTS OF ABORIGINAL STATION MANAGEMENT
by
R.G. Hausfeld
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Appendix I.
NOTES AND REFERENCES.
Notes and References.

Introduction.

1. Section 3 of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909-1943, defines "Reserve" as an "area of land heretofore or hereafter reserved from sale or lease under any Act dealing with Crown lands, or given by or acquired from any private person, for the use of aborigines".

2. See, Report of the Aborigines Welfare Board, New South Wales, for the year ending 30th June, 1958, Sections IV and V. Section V, paragraph 1 states: "As in the case of Aboriginal Stations, Aborigines Reserves are areas set aside for the exclusive occupation and use by Aborigines. They differ to this extent, however, that they are without permanent supervision and do not possess the amenities and facilities available on Stations."

3. Authority for the appointment of Managers and Managers may be found in Section 5. (1) and Section 7. (1) (d) of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909-1943. Section 5, (1) also establishes that Officers of the Aborigines Welfare Board are "subject to the provisions of the Public Service Act, 1902, as amended."

4. The quotation is taken from the Report of the Aborigines Welfare Board, New South Wales, for the year ending 30th June, 1958, Section IV. page 5.
5. The extract given is a quotation, in part, from Section 7. (1) (a), of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909-1943.

6. The Pocket Oxford Dictionary (4th ed.) gives "assimilate" to mean "make or become like", "absorb, be absorbed into the system".

7. The Report of the Aborigines Welfare Board, New South Wales, for the year ending 30th June, 1958, Section VI, gives the number of full-blood aborigines in N.S.W. in 1956-57 as 235.

8. A similar usage of "aborigine" is given in The Report of the Aborigines Welfare Board, 1957, Section 1, as follows: "The Board's activities cover persons of aboriginal descent, either full-blood or with admixture of aboriginal and other races."


10. See reference note 9, pages 13-14.
Section 1.

1. Captain Rous discovered the Richmond River in the 1830's and the first settlement took place when Messrs. Clay and Stapleton occupied a squattage at Casino in late 1839 or early 1840. At about the same time Messrs. Pagan and Evans pegged a squattage at Tabulam, on the Clarence.

2. Official recognition of the squattages along the two Rivers was made in the "Supplement to the New South Wales Government Gazette" of June 2, 1848. Details of boundaries, estimated stocking capacity, areas and holders of leases was given.

3. In 1841, W.C. Bundock occupied Wyangarie Station, to the north of Kyogle on the Richmond River. He left a shepherd in charge while he returned to the south to get his family and supplies. In Bundock's absence the shepherd was killed by aborigines and a corroboree feast made of the flock of sheep. (Source: Wyangarie file, Richmond River Historical Society, Lismore).

4. At Tabulam, in 1839, Pagan was killed by aborigines whose camp he had attacked in retaliation for an alleged theft of his property. He was killed with a boomerang thrown by an aborigine at whom he had first fired two shots.

N.C. Hewitt, in a newspaper article dated 7/6/1947, stated: "After the Murder of Pagan ... the whites and border police rounded up blacks and shot them indiscriminately until the Government was forced to intervene." In the same article
he reported: "... on the Clarence... in the fifties the settlers, in retaliation for depredations by the blacks upon their flocks of sheep, put poison in the flour..." given or made available to the aborigines. (Source: Hewitt file, R.R.H.S.).

5. Concerning the Richmond River, Hewitt wrote: "There is no record murder by whites of blacks on the Richmond ... The unvarnished truth is that the Upper Richmond blacks were blood-thirsty savages and rarely got the punishment they deserved from whites." (Source: Hewitt file, R.R.H.S.).

6. D. McFarlane reported another incident of conflict as follows: "A severe punishment was inflicted on the blacks at Ramornie in 1841. Several huts had been robbed and murders committed on the upper part of the river. Commissioner McDonald was deputed to investigate the robbery of a shepherd's hut at Ramornie. A large party was organised by McDonald and his border police, for the purpose of dispensing justice to the darkies. They were found camped on the Orara in great numbers. A cordon was formed during the night hemming in the camp, with the river at the rear. At a given signal the camp was rushed, and men, women and children were shot down indiscriminately. Some took to the river and were shot as they were in the water. It was ascertained that the robbery attributed to the blacks was committed by a scamp of a hutkeeper. The blacks, strange to say, did not commit any robberies on the Ramornie run, except some petty thefts after
they used to come to the homestead. ...There is no doubt that Judge Lynch was invoked to punish aboriginals who were guilty of crimes against the white population." (Source: "History of the Clarence River" by Duncan McFarlane, m.s. R.R.H.S. No. 816-B)

Hewitt also mentions an incident which may be the same as that referred to above, though the location is apparently different. "...at Wogganjardie; Upper Kangaroo Creek, the blacks were driven over a precipice into the river and either shot or drowned. Twenty-eight bodies were counted floating past the settlement (now Grafton)." (Source: Hewitt file R.R.H.S.).

7. The Kumbaingeri tribe, which formerly occupied the coastal area southward of the Clarence River.

8. F. Tindal, writing from the area on February 12, 1852, stated: "Our boy Jacky has deserted altogether. The proper plan is to procure a black boy from a great distance. They are then afraid to go back through the country of hostile tribes." (Source: The Tindal Letters, No. 17, R.R.H.S.).

C.C. Tindal, writing from Koreelah on the north-western headwaters of the Clarence, on October 12, 1853 stated: "I have had another nine days hunt after blacks, cattle killers. The two ringleaders, for whom warrants had been issued, were shot." At that time Tindal had two aborigines in his employ, one at 8/- per week and one at 2/- per week.
with rations in each case. European workers, when available, could be secured at that time for rates varying from 6/- to 14/- per week in addition to rations. (Source: The Tindal Letters, No.23, R.R.H.S.).

9. A number of these cases were reported where the remains were found in rock crevasses and in caves. Some of these are discussed by T.C. Hewitt and his "New Mysteries of Early Times". (Manuscript, R.R.H.S.).

10. Informant (A) gave the following explanation: "A white man would come to a camp when all the men were away and bribe the women with tobacco or something like that. Later on the women would have a row when the men were around the camp and someone would let out about what had happened. The men would wait till they got the chance and then they'd kill the white man and hide his body in a cave. I saw some places like this myself." The fact that the missing white men were not found immediately was explained by (A) in the following words: "Well, the police trackers were from Casino way. They wouldn't find them. We're all one lot."

11. The Reverend John Dunmore Lang, though sympathetic in some respects, was of the opinion that the aborigines of the area were a debased and degenerate people. (Reference: Cooksland, by J.D. Lang, Longman, London 1847).

12. Several thousand Europeans and some hundreds of Chinese worked the field which was active and prosperous until 1875. After that time there was a marked falling off in population
and activity until the late 1880's when a revival of prosperity took place following the discovery of a rich mine known as "The Rise and Shine". This new activity was soon exhausted and the township of slab huts and shanties disappeared.

13. There were no towns and few Europeans in the area although the roads through the country to Queensland and the N.S.W. Tablelands were increasingly used by travellers. Kyogle township, in 1905, consisted of a general store, a hotel and a blacksmith's shop. Woodenbong was no more than a police station and an "outstation" of the Tooloom cattle station. Urbenville had only a store and was unnamed.

14. Aboriginal informants (notably A.B.C. and D) speak of these times, about 1900, as of a former golden age when station owners and managers did not interfere with them and the land was theirs to roam at will, with the exception only that they stay out of the fattening paddocks. Work was available as required; tobacco, flour, sugar, tea and meat were readily obtained as rations for workers, and bush food was plentiful.

15. The Tooloom-Woodenbong Estate sale was held at Casino on December 2, 1908 when 17,000 acres, subdivided into 54 farms with Torrens Title, were sold. The last of the big stations in the study area (Sandilands, to the South of Bonalbo) was subdivided and sold as small farms in 1921.

17. 126 acres were revoked by notification in the New South Wales Government Gazette No. 5 dated 15th January, 1937. The present area is reserve No. 66,508 as notified in the New South Wales Government Gazette of 15th January, 1937.

18. These stories tell of droving mobs of pigs to Kyogle, a job which took ten days of leisurely travel; of the days when every aborigine had his own horse and many had sulkies; of the times when a man could shoot a possum or a koala and not fear the law; of honey in abundance for any man prepared to climb a tree to collect it; of the times when "trespass" was an unknown word, supervision was slight and white attitudes friendly.

The history of European contact to the aborigines under study is a multitude of such stories; of incidents seen and recalled, of stories heard and retold; of nostalgia for the past; of pride in achievement and anger at injustice.

19. Informant B, discussing the early period of European settlement, frequently mentioned, over a period of months, how he could remember the time when groups of aborigines were found camped along the two rivers (the Clarence and Richmond) at points not more than a few miles apart. He would then ask: "Where are they now?" I ventured a number of possible explanations, e.g. that introduced diseases had killed many of them. No explanation seemed to satisfy him.
Finally he gave his own explanation as follows: "Now, I've never told you this before because I didn't think you'd believe it. But I'll tell you. They were caught!" That is, they died as the result of the sorcery of medicine men (local English expression: clever men).

When I expressed some surprise at his explanation he said: "I knew you wouldn't believe it. But that's the truth."

I explained to him that clever men, to my knowledge, acted in a responsible manner, and my surprise was because I found it hard to believe that they would have done otherwise in this area. He then said: "Well, that's grog for you. The white fellows filled them up with grog and they didn't know what they were doing."

This story will be further discussed in Section 13, iii. and sufficient here is to say that another informant (A) confirmed it and, in doing so, added: "They were getting too clever. So maybe it's just as well the white man did come, or there mightn't have been any of us left by now."

It may cause some surprise that the obvious logical extension of guilt was not carried to the white man's liquor and thence to the white man himself; but if we remember that the aboriginal man, once initiated, was held personally responsible for his actions despite outside influence, the seeming illogicality disappears.
20. When one aborigine (H) was asked why he believed what white missionaries had told him rather than what his forefathers had taught, he said: "We had to believe it. It's in the Book. The Bible. It's there in black and white. You can see it yourself." The questioner in this case was a student who greatly impressed his audience when he explained to them that he was a Jew and could read and understand Hebrew despite the long history of persecution his ancestors had suffered.

21. In two stories, (A) tells how the white man stopped corroborees. The last corroboree at Kyogle was held on the present site of Kyogle Park and was attended by a large number of aborigines. It broke up in confusion when a trooper approached and fired a shot over the heads of the dancers. (A) could not date the occurrence.

The last corroboree held on the Woodenbong Aboriginal Station took place about 15 to 20 years ago. On that occasion the resident manager is said to have gone to the corroboree and insisted that it be stopped because "he wouldn't have such heathen nonsense on his station".

22. (B), in telling of how a certain aboriginal family got its name, told the following story. "Old Bob was a great sportsman, at running and jumping and anything at all. At a sports meeting he was running in a race and the announcer wanted to call the names of the runners. There was a Mr. Smith and a Mr. Brown and so on. And there was Bob."
He didn't have any other name. The announcer called him Mr. Roberts and that's been their name ever since."

One can assume from this story that the announcer was a gentleman himself and was prepared to treat all contestants in the race as gentlemen also.

The same informant referred many times to a particular cattle station homestead where no-one, black or white, was ever turned away without first being served a meal. "She was a wonderful woman. Wonderful woman." (B) said. "But now? Why her grandchildren wouldn't give you a drink of water."

23. A man (E), born in 1908, can recall that when he was a boy he often saw an old man leave the Aboriginal Station to walk to Urbenville. The old man would leave carrying his trousers over his shoulder and only put them on when he got close to Urbenville.

A woman (F), aged 40, recalls that as a girl she habitually swam in the nude, as did her companions, who felt no shame at being seen without clothes. She says that all this has changed now and that her daughter (aged 9) is ashamed if anyone sees her naked.

However, I have observed mixed parties of boys and girls swimming together and some of each sex were naked. In no instance was F's daughter seen in such a party, and all nude swimmers were in the pre-puberty stage of development.
Informants (A) and (E), both men in their fifties, recall that as young men they were visited on the Aboriginal Station by young people from Urbenville who came to join their games, and also that they themselves both used to visit Woodenbong in the evenings to play "drop the hanky" and similar games with the white children of that town. (A) qualified his remarks with: "And yet we weren't allowed to go to school in town. And that was before we had our school here."

Informants (A) and (E) date the change in attitude of the whites as taking place after the first full-time Manager became resident on the Aboriginal Station about 1930. According to these informants the attitudes of whites progressively worsened from that time onward. They suggest a direct link between the two events but there is no established connection possible on the evidence available.

Among other factors involved, the onset of the economic depression may have had a significant influence on events.

(A) has spoken several times of a Manager who placed a sign at the liquor booth at a Woodenbong rodeo, which read "Aborigines Not Allowed". (A) explains that since that occasion most Woodenbong aborigines do not attend the Woodenbong rodeo, though they travel much greater distances to attend rodeos in other towns. (A) speaks bitterly when explaining: "There was no need to rub it in. We knew we weren't allowed to drink." (A) himself is a non-drinker.

This incident has been confirmed by (M), a white resident of Woodenbong.
28. Informants A and B have both spoken of picnics and cricket matches conducted by whites, in which aborigines took part and had liquor freely available to them. Such functions ceased with the commencement of closer official supervision.

29. See map, given as a frontispiece. The detailed information on which it is based was obtained from aboriginal informants A, B, C, I, K, and L who have agreed generally on its present form although there was some doubt as to the correctness of the names Minyungbul and Yugarabul and also some minor differences as to the exact locations of some of the tribal boundaries most remote from Woodenbong.
Section 2.

1. I have followed the spelling used by Emeritus Professor A.P. Elkin (in correspondence) and by M. Calley in "Mankind" of Feb., 1958, "Three Bandjalang Legends", for the purposes of uniformity in Tribal description. However, the Githebul dialect usage is Bunjalung not Bandjalang. This usage of "u" in Githebul instead of "a" as in Bandjalang is also noticeable in the feminine gender suffix: - "gun" in Githebul, "gan" in Bandjalang. Eg. the term for Mother's Mother's brother's son's daughter: - banidjeragan (Bandjalang), bunidjeragun (Githebul). With the exception of the Tribal name the usage throughout will be that recorded by me from the Githebul dialect.

2. Ten distinct dialect groups within the Bandjalang language are recognised by Woodenbong aborigines. Each dialect group formerly occupied a well defined country, the boundaries of which were streams and mountain ranges. The boundaries are shown on the map provided as a frontispiece to this study. The dialects are known as Githebul, Wurlavul, Gullyvul, Yugarabul, Yukumbear, Minyingbul, Nerangbul, Weabul (alternately Meravul, Bandjalang, and Weelabul.

Sanction for the boundaries is to be found in the mythology of the aborigines which is referred to in Sections 11 and 12.

3. (A), when speaking of an anthropologist who did fieldwork at Woodenbong some years ago, said: "Yeah! He could speak the lingo too. He talked to me when he came, but he talked the Tabulam lingo. I said to him: 'you're not at Tabulam now,
you know!' I didn't tell him much and the old man (A's father) didn't tell him anything."

A's rebuke in this case has wider than language implications and is discussed in connection with sorcery in Section 13.

A Wurlavul man (B) explained that he'd lived at Woodenbong a long time and spoke mostly Githebul now.

These and other comments indicate that Githebul is the accepted dialect on Woodenbong Aboriginal Station which lies within the Githebul country.

4. A discussion of this point may be found in Section 4.

5. Informant (B) many times complained that most aborigines now speak the aboriginal language "like children", but to determine whether or not B's complaints were justifiable would require a linguistic study. It seems probable, however, that facility and exactness in the aboriginal language have been lost by many who still speak it.

6. The answers given by informants are listed below:-

(A) said: "The old people often said: 'Duggai midi.' That means there are white people everywhere or, the country's full of white people. So what was the use?"

(B) said: "The young people are not worth bothering with."

(C) said: "Well, they started going to school, so I gave it up."
(F) explained that it was because the young people were ashamed of their own language, because white people laughed at anyone they heard speaking the aboriginal language. (F) mentioned a time when an uncle (mother's father's brother's son) told her to "shut up" when she spoke to him in Githebul in a Woodenbong street. "They (the white people) might think we're talking about them!" was the reason he gave F for his command.

(G) said it was because "the young people aren't interested any more. They call it silly talk."

7. Some early white settlers learned the aboriginal language and a few such people are still alive and well regarded by the aborigines who know them.

8. Recourse to the aboriginal language is sometimes taken when informants are at a loss for appropriate English words or examples.

Informants B and D were discussing various native foods with me and relating their flavours to those of European foods. When it came to carpet snake's liver both informants were at a loss to suggest a possible comparison. They then carried on a rapid and intense conversation in Githebul until, after some minutes, B finally shrugged and said: "Well, carpet snake's liver is like carpet snake's liver. It's beautiful."

9. This does not refer to B's claim (note 5), but to the use of English words and phrases mingled with a main flow of Githebul.
10. Examples of new words necessitated by white settlement are: - gunjebul (a corruption of constable) and gunyeeenee (translation given: "tie them up") are two Githebul words for policeman. Bullung is the Githebul word for beef or meat and bullar is Githebul for cattle (in both cases corruptions of the English word bull); but gunggurrfully (translation: "Big thick neck") is the Githebul word for bull. Doothigun (Githebul for cat) is an obvious adaption of "pussy".

Pingping (Githebul for pig) originally occurred in neither language and its derivation appears obscure until one imagines a farmer calling his pigs at feeding time, much as follows: - "Here, pig-pig-ping-ping....".

This suggested derivation of the Githebul pingping seems reasonable since the aborigines were not taught English by the first European settlers but learned it word by word as opportunity offered. (A) said that his grandfather used to learn a few words of English at a time and then he would teach his family when he returned to their camp.

11. This point is discussed more fully in Section 16.11, and some examples are given.

12. (F) was heard to call to her father: "Daddy. ..... (Several Githebul words) .... billycan." He replied: "All right."

13. In this instance a full-blood indigent aboriginal woman of about 60 requested free transport to consult a Kyogle Doctor. I tried to explain in many ways that I could
not grant her request unless she first consulted the local Doctor (Urbenville), and then, only if he considered it necessary, could I arrange her free transport to Kyogle. One series of words from me seemed to convey as little to her as any other. (P), who was present, intervened and spoke briefly to the woman in Githebul. Immediately the woman's face lit up with understanding as she smiled, nodded towards Urbenville and said: "Aw! I got to go down there first."

14. Some explain apologetically: "I'm not much of a scholar"; some claim: "my eyes aren't too good": while others again if handed a written document, will pretend to read and understand it before handing it back. This last type of behaviour is potentially the most dangerous to good relations between the people concerned and is dealt with more fully in Section 18.iii.

15. See Sections 6,16 and 18.

16. See Section 18. iii.

17. In situations where assertiveness or anger are provoked, for example where a man is defending what he regards as his "rights", or defending a previous statement against forceful challenge, much incorrect use is made of polysyllabic words and misunderstood phrases. Some examples noted in this category are: British race of peoples, apostolic (used as a noun), idolators, Queen's Council, under the Crown, citizenship rights, restitution.
The effect produced by combinations of such words and phrases wrongly used can be astounding, and meaningless. (K) once spoke for several minutes while I listened with complete concentration, and when he had concluded I had no idea what he had meant to say though every word was certainly English and reasonably pronounced.

(J) is another man prone to exhibit his power of oratory in a similar fashion when he feels the need to assert himself. However, in the carefully fostered atmosphere of an adult education group (see chapter 17.4), (J) explained his people's suspicions regarding co-operatives in the following words: "So often in the past we have been shown a rosy picture on a far distant wall, but always, when we got there, the picture retreated before us and faded away."

This example alone demonstrates J's ability to know his feelings and thoughts, marshal them logically and present them with simplicity and force. Such mental ability is clearly evidence that J's language limitations are not the result of inferior mentality.

(J) has several times used the phrase "mannerisms and behaviourisms" when he wished to mean "manners and behaviour" or simply "customs", showing a knowledge of the words but a lack of understanding of their meaning.

In many discussions with (B), a man of most alert and questing mind, it was found that his understanding of abstractions was extremely limited. Such concepts as
education, educated, government, mind, democracy, commonwealth, law, logic, were all lacking from his linguistic equipment in English. Questioning of (B) suggested that his opportunities to talk about such matters were rare indeed. With other informants, even the idea of such discussions seemed alien to them.

On one occasion I recall with relish, (B) detained my wife by saying: "I won't keep you a minute, Mrs. Now you're an educated woman, tell me: Just what is *the mind*?" The minute became somewhat extended and the searching for alternatives to such terms as relationship, function, mentality, reduced the discussion to an attempt to expound Psychology in one easy lesson. Certainly it left no impression of B's mental inferiority, but rather of the tragedy of a questing intellect of superior proportions struggling for understanding without the linguistic tools which could have made such understanding possible.

The same man asked for an explanation of the difference between "coma" and "trance".

As one would expect in any social group, few members of the study group demonstrate the mental vitality of B.

18. A few such words may be listed as follows: - darkie, blackfellow, boong, gin, board, boss, manager, policeman, police, duggai (translations given: white man, or stinking corpse, or spirit of the dead), white, black, Catholic, missionary, law, court, lie, Queen Victoria, government....
Section 3.

Note 1.

The figures are taken from the Reports of the Aborigines Welfare Board for the years ending 30th June, 1952/1959.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population at 30th June</th>
<th>Ration Recipients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table II.

* Figures derived from Register of Residents, Woodenbong Aboriginal Station.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Sub-totals</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aborigines on station June 30th, 1956.</td>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No. of Group I remaining on station 31st Dec. 1959.</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Births to Group 2.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Deaths to Group 2.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nett no. on station Dec., 1959 derived from Group 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total aborigines on station 31st December, 1959.</td>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>No. not derived from Group 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>No. aborigines returned home to Woodenbong Aboriginal Station:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Pensioners (males and females)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Males and families</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Females and children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>No. of aborigines taking up residence at Woodenbong Station:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Husband of female of Group 8 (c).</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) De-facto husband of female of Group 8 (c)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) De-facto husband of female of Group 5.</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) De-facto wife of man of Group 5. (Widow with 6 children).</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information derived from Register of Residents, Woodenbong Aboriginal Station; and also from information collected by author.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Details of arrivals and departures Woodenbong Station for period 1956/1959</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>W'bong</td>
<td>Dep. May '56 ... Arr. Sept. '56. Dep. March '58 ... Part family on station periodically since.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Families, A, C, D and E have conflict as to whether family should live in place of origin of wife or husband. Men of families A and B prefer not to live under supervision of Aborigines Welfare Board but women prefer to live on Woodenbong Station.
### Table IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>11-20</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>Over 51</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total males 0-40 years ... 72.
Total females 0-40 years ... 69.
% of population 0-20 years ... 53%
% of population 0-30 years ... 75.7%
% of population 31 and over ... 24.3%
*$\phi$ Figures derived from Register of Residents, Woodenbong Station.

### Table V.

Castes were established for 169 persons to nearest 1/32 caste. The total ancestry of the group can be represented as 5408/32, so that a hypothetical ancestry of 540.8/32 of a particular kind could be expressed as 10% of the total ancestry. Calculations of percentages of ancestry were made in this way.
24 cases of caste establishment have possible errors on one side of the parentage only. Plus or minus \( \frac{1}{4} \) caste was allowed in each case where the caste of an ancestor was not established beyond doubt.

This reduced to 3 cases with a possible error of \( \pm \frac{1}{6} \) caste

10 " " " " " " \( \pm \frac{1}{32} \) caste

11 " " " " " " \( \pm \frac{1}{16} \) caste.

The maximum possible errors in averages are as follows:

\( \pm \frac{1}{2} \) caste in fractional averages.

\( \pm \) 2\% of percentages.

Note 6. Table VI

Numbers and percentages of population at 31st December, 1959 in aboriginal caste groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under ( \frac{1}{4} ) caste</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \frac{1}{4} ) and under ( \frac{1}{2} )</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \frac{1}{2} ) to ( \frac{3}{4} ) caste</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over ( \frac{3}{4} ) caste</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 7.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Origin</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>Persons distributed in the following way.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal</td>
<td>3276 or 61%</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>1848 or 34%</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islands</td>
<td>144 or 3%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>100 or 2%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>40 or 1%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 8.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Castes</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10 years</td>
<td>18/32 caste.</td>
<td>18/32 caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 years</td>
<td>20/32 caste.</td>
<td>23/32 caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 years</td>
<td>21/32 caste.</td>
<td>over 50 yrs... 23/32 caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average 30 years and under</td>
<td>19/32 caste.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average 31 years and over</td>
<td>21/32 caste.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for whole group</td>
<td>19/32 caste.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 9.

**Table IX.**

Of the 169 persons on the Woodenbong Aboriginal Station at 31st December, 1959, only 17 had one non-aboriginal parent. The Table gives details of the caste proportions involved and the figure is the 1/32 of caste in each case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Caste fractions introduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-10 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 50 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In conjunction with Table VII we can see that these matings account for 284/5408 of the population's total ancestry. That is, only 5% of the non-aboriginal ancestry has been introduced by first-cross matings by the parents of those now living on the Station. Of that 5%, less than half is of European origin. This is substantial evidence that out-mating is extremely limited for this aboriginal group.
Section 4.


2. This could only have been avoided if a large number of small reserves had been created on the basis of one to each horde country.

3. See note 28, Section 1.

4. I have been able to record the exact boundaries of the horde countries of the major families constituting the December, 1959 population of the Station. Where streams and watersheds do not indicate the boundaries precisely, jurraveeel sites exist and serve as boundary markers. (See Section 11).


7. This applies to-day to the older members of the study group and may or may not apply to the younger generations. All aspects of "old law", whether formerly secret or not, have become secrets to be kept from the white man who is regarded as likely either to sneer or destroy. It has, therefore, been extremely difficult to establish the division line between the "old" and the "new", if, indeed such a division line does exist.

8. Butheram is used in Githebul to mean what is generally understood as "dreamtime". It also means "beings of" the dreamtime or "beginning", and also means one part of a person's spiritual self – his Butheram. Also, it may mean mythology
-- the stories, songs, dances and objects of the Putheram.

9. Dialect groups may be considered as exogamous social clans and the evidence for this is provided in Section 10.

10. The Kamilaroi man concerned was one of three brothers who had to flee their own country (Northern Tablelands) following a cattle-spear ing episode. One brother fled to Guyra and changed his name, marrying there. A second brother fled to the Woodenbong/Kyogle area and also changed his name. The third man reached Baryulgil and married there and was adopted into the Bandjalang clan. The son of this man with his children and their spouses and children constitute the group referred to under this note. The man (now living at Woodenbong) is regarded as being Bandjalang and speaks that dialect. He has a share in Bandjalang jurravel and songs. He is father-in-law to one old man of the study group, brother to a number of others, and so on. Relationships here mentioned are reckoned in terms of aboriginal kinship.

11. Adoptions in this category usually take place where there are children (usually illegitimate) of temporary relationships. In some cases the children are taken by a sister of the woman and become the children of that woman's husband. In other cases the mother of the children later marries and the children become the children of her husband and frequently take his name. In some cases the children are taken by the
mother's mother and are treated as though grandchildren in the male line. In all cases the actual parentage is remembered and reckoned on in marriage relationships, adoption giving social position only.

12. Examples may be found in Section 13.

13. Examples and discussion may be found in Section 13.
Section 5.

1. All the native foods listed below, with the exception of goanna, have been eaten by members of the group during the study period. I have heard reports of goanna being eaten recently but have no personal knowledge of this. Informant F said that she had eaten goanna when younger, but not recently. Circumstantial evidence exists for including one or more of the wallaby family in the list but confirmation could not be obtained...

Wallaby feet were observed on the station, close to cottages, on two occasions. Koala (Boorabba) and Rat Kangaroo, both of which are said to be delicious, are no longer eaten though available. Colonies of each species exist in the study area, but the rarity of these animals is known and they are not molested by the aborigines.

A note must be made of the forebearance exercised by adult aborigines of the area when seeking native foods. Many examples could be given, but the following should make attitudes sufficiently clear.

While hunting for spiny ant eaters (locally called porcupine) an aborigine, with the aid of a dog, caught seven within an hour. He retained the three largest males and released the other four. This instance is the more remarkable because an ant eater (huncon ... u as in nut) commands a price of £1 to £1.5.0 on the station.
Another aborigine, when he was brought a bunyip by a younger man, found it to be a female carrying a young one in its pouch. Even though the young one died as a result of handling, the older man returned the adult female to the bush. The same men mentioned on several occasions that when hunting kangaroos (kuruman) a young buck should always be shot in preference to a doe.

Informants A, B, C and E all spoke of seasons of the year when various species are not taken, either because their condition at that time is unsatisfactory for eating (i.e., they are not fat), or because they are known to be breeding at that time. (F) warned my children not to take small fish from the creek because "you've got to leave the little ones to grow up".

In addition to the native foods already mentioned above, the following items were noted as still being eaten by aborigines in the study area:

- The sap exuded from a species of wattle (mungurra),
- The fruit of the Lilly-pilly (googeemum),
- Opossum (goiverden),
- Carpet snake (numbar),
- Goanna (numarl or girong)
- The grubs found in wattle and gum trees (jubara),
- The grubs found in creek-bank oaks (jubum),
- The honey of the small black native bee (kubal).
It might also be added that a great deal of aboriginal lore is still known concerning the native flora and fauna of the area and includes information on the tracks, life cycles, and habits of a wide range of species (e.g. where to find a carpet snake in winter); and also lore dealing with signs which indicate the condition or availability of various foods (e.g. when small creamy-white butterflies (bundjalama) fly northward in great numbers, Bunya pine nuts are said to be available and abundant north of the N.S.W./Q’ld. border).

Some of the spellings and words given above for the Githebul are not those recorded by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown... Notes on Totemism in Eastern Australia (Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol.59... However, I have checked each word carefully and am satisfied that those given above are correct for this study period.

2. "Damper" is made from flour, water and salt and occasionally a little milk. No butter, yeast or shortening is used. This simple "bread" has therefore somewhat less nutritive value than purchased bread, or than the modern damper which uses shortening.

3. In a selling period of approximately 12 months, in a total period of 2 years, the station Progress Association had an income of $170 from the sale of soft drinks on the station. This, of course, takes no account of soft-drinks purchased by station residents from other sources.
4. Weaning takes place from the age of 9 months to 18 months. The advice given by the station matron regarding correct weaning procedure is ignored by many mothers. Some of the aboriginal mothers continue to breast-feed their babies long after the normal weaning period for white children and apparently do so because they believe they will not become pregnant again while they keep a baby breast feeding. This belief is held despite ample station evidence which refutes it.

Loss of weight of a child following weaning is usually due to a belief that a gravy and damper diet is adequate to such a child and is often further complicated by the fact that the mother is either carrying or nursing the succeeding child. Once the older child reaches an age where it can move about freely and demand food it is assured of adequate diet. Faulty diet is not due to ignorance on the mother's part. The station matron reported a case where a child was brought to her obviously underweight. She asked the child's mother to tell her what the child had eaten in the previous 24 hours. The child's mother then gave her that ideal list which starts with "Farox" in the morning and runs through coddled egg, orange juice, milk etc. as set out in the book "Our Babies". Since it was obvious that the knowledge was good, but the application poor, the matron pressed for truth and the
child's mother admitted that the child had had "damper dipped in tea" for the previous meal. In cases of this sort it is clear that the mothers have no motivation to break with the time-honoured procedures of the past. When told that modern methods of child care are better for the child than the old way, a mother commonly replies "Well, I'm healthy. I grew up all right".

It is emphasised that many mothers in the study group rear sturdy children and that the above information applies to a minority.

5. Lack of choice of cottage location resulted from a general shortage of vacant houses over the greater part of the study period. Where choice was available families tended to prefer the cottage closest to some member of their own family.

6. In the case mentioned an "outside" family was moved into one of two houses standing some distance from the main groups of cottages. The other isolated house was occupied by the other members of the same "outside" family. The group in question was a major cause of station disturbances, was not wanted by other residents who considered that the "outsiders" (they were Minynugbul through the mother, but the father came from northern Queensland) had no right to live at Woodenbong. This group has moved (1956) to Queensland permanently. This
case has not been quoted to me as one involving unjustified interference with tenancy rights.

7. See Section 14.

8. Trips to Baryulgil, Tabulam, Lismore, Brisbane, Southport, Beaudesert and Cabbage Tree Island were noted, with Lismore, Tabulam and Baryulgil being the most popular spots. At one period, immediately following the arrival of new Missionaries on the station, trips were made away from the station each weekend for several weeks (see Section 14, vi). Trip costs as high as £60 were noted.

9. An example of this "in-group" feeling operating productively was noted in 1959. A group of station residents decided that the station school children would have new uniforms for the Combined Schools Sports held at Woodenbong. The necessary money (about £30.) was raised by the group, the materials were purchased and all work (with the exception of the cutting-out) was done by aboriginal women. The children's parents supplied new sandshoes and socks in every case.

Their effort was so effective, and the children dressed so well, that the Woodenbong Aboriginal School won the "best dressed" award on the day of the Sports. Residents were intensely proud of the achievement.

10. See Section 15.
Section 6. Employment.

1. An example of contractual cheating is as follows:-

A farmer wanted a section of land "brushed" (cleared of scrub). An aborigine offered to do it for $3.0.0 per acre. The farmer claimed the price was too high but told the aborigine to inspect the land and return for discussions. When the aborigine returned and said that the area was heavily brushed and worth at least $3.0.0 per acre to clear, the farmer then said: "All right, I won't argue -- there's about five acres there and I'll give you $15.0.0 to do the piece". The aborigine agreed.

When he found the work was taking him longer than it should and that the farmer insisted that the felling of small trees with an axe was part of the contract, the aborigine went to the station manager. The aborigine claimed, at first, that he had agreed to do brushing at $3.0.0 per acre and that that meant he was only required to remove anything which could reasonably be cut with a brush-hook. Closer questioning showed that he had (as above) agreed to do the job for $15.0.0. The manager of the Aboriginal Station asked the aborigine to get the measurements of the land and from them calculated the area at slightly more than 7 acres.

There was no action that could be taken against the farmer, since he had told the aborigine to inspect the land and only after the inspection had he offered him
£15.0.0 to clear the piece of ground. At no time did he agree to pay £3.0.0 per acre for the job.

Other cases have been noted where an aborigine's lack of education has been used against him in a similar way.

No doubt the former believed he had conducted a piece of smart business. The aborigine, on the other hand, believed he had been cheated.

2. The system known as "subbing" (i.e. the drawing, by a contractor or employee from an employer, of money for work partly completed or not commenced) is in common use by the aborigines of the study group. The Aboriginal Station Manager has done what has been possible to discourage the use of the system by aborigines and their employers. There has been no noticeable change during the study period in the frequency to which this system is resorted to by aborigines.

It is certain that some initial hardship for aborigines would occur if the system was abandoned. It is also certain that eventual advantages would be gained by the aborigines if the system was no longer used.

With "subbing" possible it is common for an aborigine to wait until his funds are exhausted before he accepts a contract job. He then "subs" his employer for foodstuffs so that he can commence work. Within a few days, having commenced work, he then "subs" again for cash, returns to
the Aboriginal Station, takes his family to town and buys supplies for them. Usually he will remain at the Station for a day or two before returning to his job and "subs" again for his own camp supplies. The pattern continues until the work is finally completed. It is not uncommon that when the final reckoning is made the aborigine has little or nothing still owing to him. For this reason the final reckoning is commonly a time for hard words and dissatisfaction for both the employer and the employee. This is the case when the most honest employer is involved.

When an unscrupulous employer has "subbed" an aborigine during employment over a period of weeks he has a golden opportunity to cheat the aborigine at the final accounting. While many cases of this latter sort have been reported to the Aboriginal Station manager, not one case was noted where an aborigine had any written record of his "subbing" transactions during the course of employment. No case arose where the manager could do more than advise the aborigine to avoid "subbing" in the future. As already stated, advice to avoid "subbing" had been ignored by both the aborigines and the white employers.
The action taken by the Aboriginal Station manager which informant A blames for curtailing social dances in the station recreation hall are as follows:— Shortly after assuming management of Woodenbong Station the manager was approached on a Friday or Saturday afternoon for permission to hold a dance in the station hall. The manager gave permission, handed the key of the hall to the aboriginal applicant and agreed to run the generating plant to provide electricity until mid-night.

At about 9.0 p.m. considerable noise was heard by the manager from his residence which is about 100 yards from the hall. On going outside his house he was convinced that the disturbance was taking place at the dance.

When he reached the hall a number of figures hurriedly disappeared into the darkness. He met first two men who had been drinking and who, while not drunk, were affected by liquor. He reprimanded both men, warned them for drinking on the station and entered the hall. He was confronted by several strangers in addition to residents of the station.

The manager questioned the visitors, none of whom had reported on entering the station as required by Regulation (Regulation 6. Aborigines Protection Act). Some of the visitors were apologetic and some were abusive. Tempers
were not cool, especially after one of the men spoken to outside the hall entered and joined loudly in the discussion.

The manager instructed those who had entered the station without reporting to him to leave the station, first telling them that he had no objection to dancing, or visitors providing good conduct was assured and providing that visitors reported their presence as required by law. Much heated discussion then took place during which such phrases as "you're like all the rest", "you're always picking on the blacks", and "you're only bludging on the blacks, anyway" were used by various aboriginals present. Finally someone announced that if the visitors had to go, everyone would go and the dance ceased. The manager did not call the police to the station, nor did he take legal action against any person present. Following the occurrence the manager explained his attitude to several of the station residents under less emotional circumstances.

Further dances were held throughout 1956 and part of 1957. The manager assisted in the preparation for, and attended and acted as doorman at a successful Aboriginal Ball subsequently run in the public hall at Woodenbong.

Other factors operated to curtail dancing. Among them were, importantly, the growing strength of membership of the station Church (which forbids its members to dance), the presence on the station of two female resident
missionaries who both disapproved of dancing, and a reduction and change in the composition of the station population.

By 1959 the missionaries had departed, the membership of the Church had fallen off, and the station population contained a greater number of teen-aged aborigines with little to occupy their time. The manager felt that dances might assist in keeping the young group out of mischief. He urged that dances be held. It was during these discussions that A informed him that it was the manager's fault that there were no dances and referred back to the incident outlined above. The whole matter was talked over with A who agreed to try to organise dances. No dances took place during the following two months.

I have quoted the case in detail as it provides an interesting example of how "the other fellow" can become the scapegoat for the group which reduces an incident until the group is absolved from blame. It shows most pointedly the strength of "in-group" feelings and hatred of supervision.

It should be added that excellent relations had been established with A by the time he told the manager where blame lay. It was clear that he was informing the manager of the "facts" for the manager's own good.

2. Three informants (A, E and Q) independently claimed that a past manager of the station had used the tennis court as a horse-yard at a time when residents of the station
N. frequently used the court for tennis. It was not possible to check this report by reference to outside sources.

3. Excessive time spent playing cards by the women mentioned was not regarded as the cause of neglect of home duties, but as another symptom of a cause which would have manifested itself in neglect of home duties whether or not card-playing was also involved.

4. See Section 9, Aborigines Protection Act, 1909-1943; Act No. 25 of 1909 in New South Wales.

5. See Section 18, vii.

6. The game is played by a group of young males competing with a group of young females for possession of a ball which is thrown about from one player to another. The ball may be intercepted in flight or knocked from the hand of a player in possession of it. No wrestling or tackling is allowed.

This game, according to Informant A, derives from a traditional aboriginal game called booroogin which was played to the same rules. The "ball" used formerly was the scrotum and testicles of a kangaroo, the severed end of which was tied with a vine to retain the contents.

(a) explained that booroogin was played in the evening, preceding a corroboree, and that from observing the game the old men could gauge the mutual affections of the players. A female who particularly liked a certain male
would stay close to him during the movement and excitement of the game.

The sexual content of the game is clear both in the symbolic nature of the "ball" formerly used and in the division of the players into two groups according to sex.

The social importance of the knowledge gained by the old men's observation is also apparent.

7. In 1956 a Police and Citizens' Youth Club was formed in Woodenbong. Pressing invitations were received, from the Officer-in-Charge of Police, Woodenbong and from another member of the Youth Club Committee, for the aboriginal children to become members of the Club.

The Aboriginal Station manager, being aware of strong anti-aboriginal prejudices in the district, resisted the invitations for some weeks until they became so pressing that he believed the invitation was genuine and general.

He selected a group of aboriginal children of suitable age and behaviour, explained very carefully what would be required of them and warned that he would not take anyone not coming up to the standard he demanded.

When the children reported at the Manager's office on the first occasion, each was inspected carefully and many sent home to improve their appearance in one way or another. Some few were sent home a second time and at a final inspection the manager added a little extra shine to
one boy's shoes. Every child was personally clean and dressed in clean, neat clothing which included shoes and socks; and every child had a handkerchief and his hair neatly combed.

The children were transported to Woodenbong in the Board's truck and left at the Club. When the manager returned to pick up the children the Police-Officer in charge of the club reported that the evening had gone well, that some of the aboriginal children had been very shy at first. He also reported that the behaviour of all had been good, but added that two of the aboriginal children (of a group of about 12) had been tardy in using their handkerchiefs during the evening. Altogether it seemed that things had gone well.

When the local white parents heard what had happened at the Club they immediately arranged an emergency meeting of the Youth Club Committee and that meeting decided to ban aborigines from membership of the Club. The Police Officer was shocked by the decision of the Committee and apologised to the manager. More care by both the manager and other persons involved could have avoided the placing of the aboriginal children in the position where they had been publicly insulted as a group on the grounds of colour alone.
Section 8.
1. For detailed description of a bora, see The Bora Ground, William Gill in "The Australian Engineer" of 7th December, 1944.

2. The Richmond River type of bungun was made of an interwoven framework of small saplings which was overlaid with vertically placed "bladey" grass which was in turn covered by Tea-tree bark. An old half-caste aboriginal woman (R) made such a bungun for me. This stood in the manager's yard and remained intact and kept out the heaviest storms for over a year. It was a favoured shelter for the manager's cat in both summer and winter so that it was not only weatherproof but also warm in winter and cool in summer. Some members of R's family were born in such shelters.

3. Chiefly informants A, B, I and L.


5. This matter is more fully discussed in Section 9.

6. (A) claimed that this man was told to leave the study group, but he was vague as to who had issued the instruction.

7. This type of statement came when discussing girls with children resulting from temporary unions. This should not be interpreted as general approval of legal marriage, but rather as a condemnation of temporary unions from which children had resulted.

8. A previous manager of the Station is said (by informants B, A, F, G and others) to have allowed tenancy of Station cottages only to legally married couples. The policy resulted
in many marriages.

9. An example of this procedure is as follows: - A's sister's daughter complained to the manager that two of her mother's sisters were causing trouble. They were saying they intended to take some of their deceased sister's goods and use them. Knowing that the dead woman's sisters were trouble-makers and happy to row with the manager, I told the girl to see her uncle (A). She did so and (A) took action through his family. No further trouble ensued.

10. For example, general destructiveness of property: stone and mud throwing, petty theft (particularly from local whites, not including the manager of the Station) and use of bad language are all treated as unimportant by members of the group.


12. That is, The Aborigines Protection Board which is, to my informant, synonymous with The Aborigines Welfare Board.
Section 9.

1. The results given were formulated from the study of genealogies and discussions with informant (A). (A) supplied further information in those cases where genealogies were not extensive enough, or where classified relationships not apparent in the genealogies were involved.


3. It was not clear whether this case was considered to be wrong because of the relationship itself or because of another union linking the two groups in a different way.

4. This information from informant A was checked against genealogies.

5. One man (Q) mentioned being welcomed as a kinsman at Cowra some few years ago.

6. This is further discussed in Section 17.

7. It is not proposed to attempt a full and comprehensive study of all the material available, but only to give an outline which, in conjunction with the selected genealogies to be found in Appendix III, establishes the kinship system now operating at Woodenbong.

The first thing to note is that it is not strictly an Aluridja system as outlined by A.P. Elkin (The Australian
Marriage is allowable both with m.m.b.s's.d and m.m.b.d.d. In fact one informant, (A), said that a man normally gives his daughter's daughter to his sister's daughter's son. If the man has no daughters, then he gives his son's daughter to his sister's daughter's son. This means, as the terms suggest, that a man may marry his mumbi's wife if his mumbi dies. This, in fact, has happened on a number of occasions and has been considered quite correct by the oldest of the study group members.

The importance of mother's mother and mother's brother's wife is emphasised by distinguishing between them (Barbun) and female grandparents on the father's side (Gumi...i.e. f.m & f.f.sr.).

In the parent's generation it first seemed that there were only four terms in use, but this only applies in the shortened usage of the words (e.g. Mother's brother is Kawong, but Mother's mother's Brother's Son is Kawongjera). While both these men may be referred to as Kawong, or in English "uncle", there is a clear distinction in the minds of the aborigines, Kawong being "close" and "Kawongjera" being further away. This type of distinction is held throughout all the terminology and the main terms will be set out below.

This usage appears to emphasise the fact that no "own cousins" are in line for marriage. Only one case of actual cousins marrying was noted and the union led to the exile of the couple from the group. While the shortened forms of the terms suggest that it is possible for m.b.d. (ilboo) to be ego's wife, since MMBson's daughter is also ilboo, this is not the case as the lengthened forms of the terms convey. Mother's brother's daughter stands in a close ("sort of sister") relationship to ego, i.e. an avoidance relationship.

So that in tracing a marriage link it is never the actual relationship that is traced but the two lines are linked through what may be called a "might have been" relationship. For example, to trace from ego through m.m.b.d. to wife, it is only necessary to go to Mother's Father, take the brother of the woman he could have
N. 49. (b)

married but didn't (providing he didn't marry her actual sister) and that man's daughter's daughter is the woman we seek.

There are many kinship relationships which apply to special circumstances but these require separate treatment and further study. As an example may be mentioned the relationship between the children of a man and the children of the woman he was "given" but refused... the children are said to be in a waybunam relationship.

It needs also to be noted that a woman calls her daughter's children Barbn and they reply in kind, but that she calls her son's children Gumi and they also reply in kind.

The terms set out below ignore the in-law terms which also vary to indicate the closeness of the relationship involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grandparents' Generation</th>
<th>Children's Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.M.B. ... nuthung</td>
<td>son ... moothum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.f.sr. .. gumi</td>
<td>m.b.d.d. .. newordenjeragun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.F. ...... Nuthung</td>
<td>D.H. .. neworden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.m. ... gumi</td>
<td>daughter .. moothumjeragun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.F. ... nuthung</td>
<td>M.B.S.son .. moothum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.m. ... Barbn</td>
<td>sr's. d. .. newordenjera(gun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.B. .. nuthung</td>
<td>M.B.S.dr. .. moothumjeragun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.f.sr... Barbn</td>
<td>sr's. son .. neworden.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parents' Generation.
M.B. ... Kawong
f. sr. ... nuringe
F. ... mamung
m. ... wothong
M.M.B. son ... Kawongjera
f.f. sr's d. ... nuringejera
F.M.B. son ... mamungjera
m.m.b. d. ... wothongjera

Grandchildren's Generation.
Son's son ... nuthung
son's daughter ... nuthung
sr's son's d. ... nuthung
sr's son's son ... nuthung
daughter's d. ... nuthungjeragun
sr's d. son ... nuthungjera
sr's d. daughter ... nuthungjeragun

Ego's Generation.
F.M.Br's sons' son ... bunamjera
m.b.d. ... ilboo(gun)
M.B. son ... mumbai, ilboo
m.m.br's dr's. d. ... nunangjera
husband ... bunithurr
wife ... bunithurrgan
M.M.B. son's d. ... ilboojeragun
M.M.B. son's son ... ilboo
sister ... nunang
(brother) ... bunam (younger)
      kawar (elder)
Section 10.

1. Notably A, B and I.

2. Names mentioned included Bunda and Bunjura.


4. Admissions by informants A and B who belong to the families involved.

5. It is of interest to note that the three in-clan marriages involved two sons of informant B and B's sister's son (informant A). (A) has said there was a special reason for the marriages but did not discuss it further. Examination of the genealogies shows that the kinship affiliation was correct in each case and only the clan affiliation wrong. Further, that B's two sons married two sisters, that another sister married a white man and yet a fourth sister married a man from Taree. The daughter of the brother (H) of the four sisters has since also married a white man.

This information suggests that the in-clan marriages may have been deliberately arranged to overcome a kinship difficulty involving the family into which B's sons married. H's mother was a woman from the north of Queensland thus offering no available local kin, and H's father's father was a white man. The first wife of H and also the first wife of A died. A then had first right to another woman whom he declined (on family instruction) and the woman is the present wife of H. A and one of B's sons involved have both since made second marriages which were clan exogamous.
The case is fascinating and worthy of further investigation and fuller treatment as the family involved accounts for two of the only three marriages between aboriginal women and white men. It has already been noted that the third such marriage involved a daughter of a "wrong" marriage. If it was established that all three white/aborigine marriages had resulted from kinship difficulties, a most interesting point could be made.

6. This information from informant (A).

7. Not one marriage between any member of the study group or their ancestors in the male line has been traced to the Weelabul clan. The Weelabul clan is feared as a group controlling powerful sorcery. Also, various informants have mentioned "bad blood" and an old feud between the Wurlavul and Weelabul clans, but no specific information has been recorded.

8. By both station residents and Officers of the Board.

9. See note 9, Section 8.

10. See Section 16.

11. See Section 17.
N. 53.

Section 11.

1. (a) This Ruheram was recorded from (L), an aged 3/4 caste aborigine of the Yukumbear clan. It relates to a jurraveel of the wild dog at Lamington Plateau on the N.S.W. -- Queensland border. The name of the jurraveel is Gundelboonber. The jurraveel site marks the meeting of the Yukumbear, Gullyvul and Nerangbul clan countries according to (L). The version given below appears to be a shorthand treatment of one of a cycle of related myths. The jurraveel is situated on Wigee Creek at the top of a waterfall at Wigee Mountain.

"Two men Nymbin and Balugan had two dogs. The he-dog was called Burrajen and the she-dog was called Minerung. The dogs chased a kangaroo from Wigee Mountain to Ilbogan (Beaudesert race-course). The kangaroo jumped into the waterhole at Ilbogan which is one mile long. The kangaroo turned into a "bunyip" (Wurrajum). The Wurrajum looks like anything. He can turn himself into a dog or cow or pig or anything at all. He's very big. You can't shoot him.

"The two dogs started to go back to Wigee Mountain. The Mibum (wild men) set nets for the dogs who got through a lot of nets but were finally caught. The Mibum started to cook the dogs about half a mile from Ilbogan.

"Nymbin and Balugan came looking for their dogs and saw the smoke. They sent a cyclone to kill the Mibum and killed them all except two young women. Balugan and Nymbin found them.

"The dogs were half-cooked. They got them and put them in bark to carry them home. Pieces dropped off along the way.
Wherever a piece dropped off, they called that place, that mountain by the name of the piece which dropped off. Where the paws dropped off they called the place Mumumbar.

"They took them to Wigee waterfall and the dogs turned into stone, one facing East and one facing West. Every night they change into dogs about a big as a calf. They don't bark or make any noise. Strangers always see them. Local people only see them sometimes.

"As long as you don't muck about with stones and plants they won't hurt you, but if you do they make you sick. Burrajan and Ninerung have been seen as far away as the Tweed River.

"Yetini, a very old man, lives up there under the mountain at Gundelboonber. He can talk English. He can talk any lingo. He comes out at night and asks for tobacco. Men have seen him but he won't ever stop. They say he is like a monkey now.

"Yetini knew a lot but he went silly and wanted to know more. They (his family?) tried to stop him but he wouldn't take any notice. He made his home under Gundelboonber. He has a cave there and he's the boss there. There are big caves and there is honey and there are bones in there.

"At night the young fellows come out first and then the older men and last of all Yetini comes out".

(b) The following myth was told by (I), an aged full blood aborigine who is a "clever man". It concerns the goana jurraveel located on a ridge to the south-east of Bonalbo in Wurlavul clan country.
"In the Butheram there was a man and his nephew. He sent Balugan to get the biggest goana he could get. He went and got some big ones but his uncle wasn't satisfied. His uncle said: "Still I can see that big one". Balugan said: "Don't go there. You don't want that one. He's a jurraveel". The old man said: "That's the one we want". Balugan said: "No. He's too big to eat". The old man said: "That's the one we want. The main one. The one that's got jurraveel". Balugan said: "You'd better go yourself". So Kawong (uncle) went himself. "If you're frightened, I'll go!"

"He went and looked for numal. He found him. The goana was waiting for him. He could see the Kawong was after him. When Kawong got close Numal rushed him and killed the old fellow and bit him up into pieces.

"Balugan waited for Kawong but there was no sign of him. Balugan went and looked for Kawong the next day and found him dead. Kawong was half eaten. His goana turned into stone and Balugan saw him".

(c) The third example is fragmentary and is included as it relates to a species of snake which is not found naturally. This snake, said to be a brilliant red in colour, is only seen (according to A) at the jurraveel site (Gibbumnye) in the Richmond River where it marks the most eastern extension of the Githebul country.

(A) who gave the information recorded, was not anxious to go into detail as the jurraveel was shared with the adjoining Gullywul country and also because he was disturbed that his father might resent his revealing too much.
The jurraveel is a large block of stone in the bed of the River and carries what appear to be natural marks which suggest a carved figure in abstract. It is called Gibbum after the moon.

"Once a man went to the moon. While there he got that stone and brought it back and this is where he landed. He was very weak. The moon was old. When the moon got full he got strong and full of life. But when the moon got old and died the man got very weak. After a time the moon got old and died again and the man died too. I was told he's still here. There's a real red snake lives here. You wouldn't see him anywhere else".

(d) A very much more detailed myth was also recorded from the Gullyvul clan area. Because of length and detail it is not recorded in these notes. Nor is any further material noted here since it seems unnecessary to labour the point with excessive detail.

2. Professor A.R. Radcliffe-Brown in "Notes on Totemism in Eastern Australia" (J. and Proc. of Royal Anthropol. Inst. Vol. 59, p.399 and following) gives details on totems for the horde country of informant (A) of this study. It is of interest that the Kubai (small black, stingless native bee) is one of the totems of A's country. I felt honoured when (A) and his cousin presented me with a nest of such bees in a limb of a tree which they had brought in from the bush. The bees now work from their new home in the garden of the manager's residence.
As already noted my material contradicts that of Radcliffe-Brown concerning the existence of a 4 Section System in Githebul country. (See Section 10 of this thesis and page 399 of Radcliffe-Brown's paper). The error made by Radcliffe-Brown is understandable when it is remembered that informants claimed to me that the Section System had formerly operated, and that it was only through the study of genealogies that the explanation of informant's claims was realised.

Radcliffe-Brown explains balugan as "a good-looking man". Balugan has been described to me in this way also and also the word "handsome" was recorded. (△), however, provides a more meaningful interpretation. (△) said Balugan was not only good looking but was also a "good" young man.

The sharing of jurraveel appears in all cases recorded by me to be associated with sites on the boundary between two horde countries (either of the same or differing clans).

Radcliffe-Brown also refers to the apparent situation that the mythical characters have no individual names. I have recorded at least one case where this is not the case and I judge from this, and the manner of informants, that it is possible that individual characters are hidden behind type names such as Balugan and Nymbin and that the names of the individuals are not mentioned because of a taboo on names. Such a taboo is apparent in the life of the study group and it would not be surprising if the taboo was more strictly enforced in connection with Butheram beings.
The fact that not all *jurraveel* are covered by a taboo on eating the totem flesh is explained apparently by (A)'s information that only "special" *jurraveel* are not eaten. Of the totems mentioned by Radcliffe-Brown the taboo on eating applies only to *namal* (the goana) which is the horde's "meat". (A) also does not eat carpet snake (*jurraveel* at Brown Mountain). It is not clear whether this particular totem is a "locality" or "cult" totem. *Jurraveel* of cult-magic importance have been noted for such diverse items as stone, stringy-bark, fire, sleep and coal.

*Jurraveel*, according to (A), can be stolen. His horde is said to have acquired the perch (*moogime*) totem in this way. The horde is said to have also lost a totem by theft and the man who sought to recover it failed, but found another (a bull's head -- at Balarns (Edinborough Castle Mountain).

Informants A and E claim that all things (including lions, monkeys, elephants etc) existed here before the white man came. They belonged to the Butheram and could only be seen by men at certain times in certain places. 4. It is significant that the *jurraveel*, according to A, had not been used in increase ritual since 1932 when (A) assisted. He said: "They knew we didn't need the perch anymore". "They" referring to the totemic spirits of the *jurraveel* which still, nonetheless, remained a sacred place and a life-giving force.
1. See Note 8, Section 4.

2. It is not clear whether or not women are able to exercise magical power through jurraveel. They are able to "talk" to increase a natural species. For example, (T) said: "If my Granny (mother's mother) goes to unumgar and "talks", the next time she goes there she can catch a great big perch." I conclude, that since the reference is to "next time", that this is a reference to "increase" rather than to magical assistance in fishing. (A) also, stated that his sisters, as well as his brothers, could "talk" at a jurraveel.

3. For example, (A) claims he is able to put everyone in a house into a sound sleep except the woman he desires to visit. (A) is an owner of the Ywuram jurraveel referred to by Radcliffe-Brown (J.R.A.I. Vol. 59)

4. The "little hairy man" or "the little red man" or the "little man out of the hills" are frequently mentioned as having been seen and are beings from the Butheram.

5. According to A, B, E, and R, such was the case.

6. One such person, a woman, in my presence asked the following questions of a small group of men. "Now tell me, when and where did the last initiation take place, and do these legends have any religious significance?" I called the men aside and disassociated
myself from the woman who had, in two brief questions, not only revealed her ignorance, but meddled in affairs which were no part of a woman's sphere. The men had been cautious previously, but thereafter enjoyed themselves by telling her some "real" fairy stories.

7. The present manager has stated his position to informants in the following way:—"Belief is what is important. If you believe something is true, then for you it is true and I will respect it accordingly, as I am prepared to respect the belief of any man. When you "talk" at a jurraveel it seems to me that you are doing something very like the Christian does when he goes to Church and prays. Who am I to say that your Nuthunggully (God - Grandfather who is very fond of children (B) is not the same as the Christian God, or that the Christian way is true and that your way is false? I have no special knowledge not given to other men".

It seems to me that the material on which this thesis is based was made available because the aborigines accepted my attitude and were prepared to trust me not to abuse the knowledge given.

8. The Butheram given here was recorded from (K), a Gullyvul man, and is that referred to in the previous Section. (K) is a quarter-caste man aged 65 plus.
"I'm Gullyvul - that means "here it is". The main centre was at Doorigan Gap, 10 miles from Kyogle on the Woodenbong Road. The main tribe was at Grady's Creek Junction, called Walung (cunjevoi). There lived a tribe called Walung. The people were called Walung because their bread was cunjevoi. When they baked the cunjevoi and extracted the poison from it, it became a bread second to no bread made by wheat at the present time. They called the Gullyvul Walungmira because they knew how to extract the bread from cunjevoi. ... (Reference then made to the origin myth given by L.E. Threlkeld, in Appendix by Rev. H. Livingstone in his "An Australian Language", Gov. Printer, Sydney, 1892) ... In the tribe was an old man who was recognised as a notable person. He was very clever -- a divine person. He was much feared and recognised by his tribe because of his divine power. He was a man of great hospitality. While some people gathered the cunjevoi and heaped it, others took all the skin off and pounded it into a fine dough. Others poured water onto the dough and mixed it. Still others baked it. They kept tasting it until it turned very tasty without any trace of bitterness. Then they knew it was free from poison and dried it on bark. While the people were in the shade baking the bread, the old man
would stand about on one leg with his other foot resting on his knee. He would be watching everything.

"A family from Casino or some other place would think of coming. The old man would tell the tribe they were coming. He would know immediately. He would tell the tribe to have everything ready because there was a family coming for a feed of Walung. He would say: 'Your friend is coming'. The tribe would prepare Walung, fish, possum, honey and other foods. The old man would tell the tribe on what day and at what time the visitors would arrive. Whenever visitors left another tribe to go to the Gullyvul, the old man would tell, by name and number, who was coming. He was a person highly noted amongst the aborigines for his "television senses" and wonderful wisdom of discernment.

"He had a grandson about 16 years of age. His wife had passed away. He was so clever he camped away from the tribe in single quarters and lived alone with his grandson. No-one was allowed to walk straight up to his camp. They had to walk backwards. They would stand about 15 yards away and when he called them they would turn round and face the camp. Inside his camp was decorated with magic rope. Aborigines got this magic rope when they prospected for divine power in mountains and springs. There are living magic ropes.
"The old man agreed to let this grandson go to a tribal battle at Warwick where the Walungmira were to fight the Girlille. He said his grandson could go to watch, but they had to look after him. He handed the boy into the keeping of his (the old man's) brother, and they went over. When they came to the battlefield they went into camp opposite each other. They were all strong and vigorous men who were well-trained. The first fight started about three o'clock in the afternoon and there were armour-bearers there to make provision when need arose for new weapons. The elders (the men) and the women were at sides, singing sacred songs to protect the people from harm. When the evening battle is finished they'll sing out "Deerg" and hit the shield, then turn back to camp to prepare for the main battle the next day. They corroboreed together that night. They danced Jungara (shakey-leg). There was always a Biarbung (clown) who was a very good dancer. He danced in front on his own, making fun of the other dances.

"After the corroboree was finished the elders will then tell the people each side must give a song to see who can sing best, and after that they return to sleep.

"The next day is a full day of battle and then all is finished. The following day is for single combat championship with ten or twenty single handed fights on each side. After that there is corroboree for three
nights, and hunting, and then they part.

"The day after the battle the young fellow told his grandfather's brother that he was going hunting which was quite in order as he had taken part in the championship fight and had become a notable person. He went hunting possum on his own. He went to the foot of a mountain and found native bee honey and he cut the honey and filled a gula (a waterproof bag made out of Bangalow). It was good honey and he filled the bag with about four quarts. When he had collected nearly all the honey a man from the mountain (Nymbin) attacked him and overpowered him and put him in the heart of the mountain. In the evening when all the tribe returned the lad was missing and his grandfather was concerned. He said: "I'll have to see what's happened to him."

"He was also 'clever' and was transformed and his 'cleverness' took him right to the mountain where Nymbin had taken the boy. He was attacked and sent back to the camp. He told them Nymbin had taken the boy. The clevermen formed a group to attack Nymbin but they failed to set the boy free. They tried all night and used all their wisdom but Nymbin was too clever. So his grandfather way back at Walungmira was notified about it.

"He was transformed and taken to the mountain.
When he knew that Nymbin had taken the boy he made straight for Nymbin and attacked him instantly. He destroyed Nymbin and took the boy straight out of the mountain and right back to his camp at Walungmira.

"Then, when they knew the Nymbin was killed and the boy was gone they notified the tribe that his grandfather had killed Nymbin and liberated the boy. They told all the people to leave and return to their tribal lands on the Upper Richmond.

"When the Gurlille found out that their Nymbin was killed, they sent two messengers to challenge the Walungmira to fight for having killed their Butheram. The Gullyvul said the fight could be held at The Risk at the junction of Grady's Creek and the Richmond River. So the tribes came together and had a battle and after it was over they made friends and Walungmira explained why he had killed the Nymbin in order to liberate his grandson. They made friends and danced and ate together and the Gurlille returned to their own country.

"Walungmira gathered his tribes at Doorigan's Range and opened the earth on the corner of the Richmond River and closed the tribe into the heart of the earth which they now call Walungmira. This is a most noteable place for cunjevoi and is the jurraveel for cunjevoi.
"Walungmira and his tribe now live in Mount Lion as eternal beings which will be resurrected on the return of Jesus Christ to Earth."

"That's why I'm hospitable. They tell me I'm forward, but I'm not. I've got to show hospitality, for that is my Butheram."

9. (A) told me of a place where there was plenty of gold. I said: "Why don't you peg a claim?" He said: "It's a jurraveel." I said: "Wouldn't the Butheram understand. If you don't get it, a white man will sooner or later. It's a wonder they haven't found it already." (A) then said: "One went prospecting there once. The point flew off his picl and went into his eye and blinded him. He had to be taken all the way to Killarney on horseback to the nearest Doctor. If that happened to a duggai (white man), think what would happen to a baigel (aborigine)!"

(A) sings a song which tells of a man (the composer of the song) who went blind after he had tried to steal the gold from a jurraveel near Baryulgil.

(A) tells a story of a relative of his who worked as a stockman on Tooloom Station. He had a white mate who was also a stockman. A's relative found a gold lead. His white mate said if he was shown it he would peg the claim and they would share it together. A's relative showed his white mate the
gold and the white man cheated the aborigine and kept all the gold for himself. When he finished, (L) asked: "If he was his mate, and he would do that, what would an ordinary white fellow do?"

(L) also tells a story to demonstrate that all Police are unfair and unjust to aborigines. Once he got a job on the railways at Warwick, but he had to report to the Line Inspector before he could start. He had to go to Goondiwindi to report. He was given a pass and went there. When he got there the Line Inspector wasn't there so he went for a walk around the town. Two policemen stopped him, asked him his name, where he was from and what he was doing in the town? He told them. They asked him where he was going to camp that night. He said he might get a bed in a boarding house if he could, as he had the money. They told him he had best camp out at the black's camp six miles out from town. He asked them how he was to get there. When he went back to the station he found the Inspector had gone still further out and he had to go on out after him the following morning by an early train. The Station Master said he could sleep in the waiting room till the train came. About nine that night the same two policemen pulled down the blanket he had over his head and woke him up and asked him why he wasn't out at the camp and what he was doing there.
He told them and they went away.

"While he had been walking around the street after the police had stopped him, two white men had accosted (A) and asked for money. (A) told them he didn't have any. He was looking for work himself. After finishing this story (A) said: "Well that shows it, doesn't it?" I said I thought what the police had done was pretty normal procedure for any stranger in a country town no matter what his colour. (A) then said: "Well why didn't they arrest those two white fellows for begging for money in the street instead of following me about?" I asked him if he knew whether the police had arrested the two white men or not, and whether or not he had reported the begging to the police. (A) said: "No I don't, but they were white men weren't they?"

(B) said that Gympie (Queensland) got its name from _gymea_ (a stinging tree) and that a white man realised an old aborigine always bought liquor with gold. The white man bribed the aborigine with six bottles of rum to show where the gold was. It was at the foot of a _gymea_ from which Gympie got its name. The white man got rich.
N.

Section 13.
1. Baryulgil is about 30 miles south of Tabulan in the Bandjalang clan country. The bora may lie to the west in very rugged and isolated country.
2. The fact that two men are marked, and that one of the men is now only 27, is clearly indicative of ritual initiation at a most recent date. If one can conceive of such markings being made for other than a ritual purpose (e.g. for ostentation), it then becomes incomprehensible why secrecy is maintained. If the marked men were showpieces to enhance the prestige of the group one might expect to find informants willing to give rather full and detailed accounts of the supposed ritual. Too, if the marks are other than genuine cicatrices, it is difficult to understand what it is that enable the two men to remain celibate in a group where they are unique in this respect.

The evidence on which I assert the continuance of ritual initiation is set out briefly as follows:-
(a) I believe the two marked men are genuinely marked ritually. The younger man, of whom a photograph is included in Appendix V, agreed to allow me to take the photograph but insisted that I take it at a spot where no station resident could see it taken despite the fact that station residents frequently see the man wearing no shirt and sometimes only shorts.
(b) Informant (C), an aged fullblood, stated that the young man had "been through", named one man involved in the ceremony and the area where it took place. He then declined to discuss the matter further. (A) said: "We can't talk about it. It wasn't done in our country.

(c) (U's) statement that "They still put them 'through' down that way." (indicating the south). This after a previous statement "I don't know what those marks are. They must've just grown on him.", to which I replied: "I'm not a woman".

(d) (J's) statement that as a lad he was "tested". One such "test" he mentioned was that he was sent to swim with a group of girls. All were naked. The old men watched his behaviour, secretly.

(e) The information given by a Kumbaingeri man (S) that the younger man was marked at a ceremony near Baryulgil in late 1955, together with unrelated information from the young man's mother that her brother (i.e. the young man's mother's brother), now deceased a little more than a year, had lived at Baryulgil. (S) said that he, himself, had not been "through the rule", but later (A) unsolicited said: "Of course, he's been 'through the rule' you know."

(f) (A's) information that the men carrying cicatrices are called Boorumyunboon, and that they were marked
"to show the law is being carried".

(g) (A's) statement that sacred bullroarers (wobblegun) are in the possession of some old men who keep them wrapped up and hidden. That he himself has seen such wobblegun which are carved on both sides, are 18 inches to 2 feet long, and when used are swung in a wide circle from a cord attached to the end of a stick. When asked why, since they had to do solely with men's business, they were called by a female name (gun - female ending in Githebul), (A) replied "Well, they came before everything else. You understand?" I said I thought I did. (A) then said "A sort of mother".

(h) (E's) and (A's) information that the old men can tell if a young man will make a good man after he is initiated. When a young man comes back from the bora he is taken to a creek on a still clear day. A small fire is lit beside the water. An old man takes a stick from the fire and throws it on the water. If the smoke goes straight up the young man will make a "good" man. If the smoke drifts along the surface of the water the young man won't be much good.

Another test mentioned for the same circumstances involved the young man walking across a stream (location not defined) at a point where the rock bottom is smooth and treacherous. If the young man walks straight across without slipping he will
make a good man. If he slips on the way across, he won't be much good.

(i) The information from various sources that the chest markings were called *gumbin* and the arm markings *morangurra* and on other occasions giving the names of initiation markings as the same words.

(j) The statement by the mother of the younger Boorumyunboon that she didn't know how the marks got there, that he hadn't had them when he was a boy, and that they were like the marks the "old men used to have". Also, the further statement from the same woman that "His grandfather must have done it. Old .... (a woman) said they do it by burning the young fellow's wrist (indicating the inner part of the wrist) and then after a while the marks come out on his chest".

Such a diverse collection of information all pointing to the continuance of initiation is difficult to explain as a deliberate attempt by informants to "put one over" on the present investigator. Particularly is this so when it is noted that the information outlined above was acquired over a period of more than a year, as opportunity offered to ask a question casually. Also, all other evidence during the study period has indicated that the group's energies were directed
towards concealing such information -- not
revealing it. The information is considered *juggi*
(secret & sacred).

3. (A) presented me with a small *wobblegun*
(6" x 1½" x ¼" at thickest part). The *wobblegun*
tapers to a point at one end and all edges are
bevelled. There is a hole for a cord at the broader
and thicker end. The wood is smooth and, according
to A, greased with possum fat. The *wobblegun* is
swung late at night away from *jarraveel* and springs
at a place where there is "bladey" grass. The ritual
includes a "dance" and a "song" (both short, and not
recorded). The name of the woman or women is included
in the song. The *wobblegun* is swung in the vertical
plane, by a cord attached at its other end to a
"green" stick (stick and cord each about 18" long)
held horizontally. It is a good sign (omen) if
the *wobblegun* cuts off a blade of bladey grass.
The ritual is carried out perhaps twice a week
towards the approach of a new moon "when women
have their periods" (A's statement). When not in
use the *wobblegun* is kept wrapped up and hidden.
It is placed under the user's head (pillow) at
night. Around the new moon the woman's menstrual
blood will show on the wood of the *wobblegun* if
she has been "caught." If the woman is "caught"
she will come to the man's bed at night. (A) said
that no indication of any sort was given to the woman that the ritual had been carried out. The particular wobblegun given to me was used effectively to "draw" two women, according to (A).

It is interesting to note that both women were widows of A's cousins (mumbi) and therefore "in line" for (A) as wives.

According to (A) he owns the ritual but must lend it to his cousins (mumbi) if asked. His brothers cannot ask him directly, but a request from a brother if addressed through a mumbi cannot be refused.

Briefly, other types of magic may be mentioned as follows:-
(a) Numerous instances where aborigines have claimed advance knowledge of deaths and illnesses because of omens (storms of a particular sort, visits from totemic (?) species of birds, "feelings" & dreams).
(b) Men avoid food cooked by girls who have not borne at least one child. It is said to be safer if the girl has had two children. Before bearing children a girl is thought to have harmful "power". It is not clear to what extent this affects the differing age-groups amongst the men. (Informants A and F).
(c) Women stay apart during menstruation, use own separate blankets and eating utensils. Don't touch
food to be eaten by the men.

4. It was reported to the Station Matron (1960) that a 19 year old boy was ill. The woman reporting was advised that he should be taken to the Doctor. No more was heard of the case officially. Later the following information was revealed by several informants.

(I), a "clever" man, himself discussed the case with me. The boy was going into a fever in the late afternoon and at dusk he complained of seeing a white hawk sitting on the verandah rail. An adult woman and a boy aged about 10 are also supposed to have seen the hawk. (I's) daughter asked him to go and see the boy. When he went to see him he "knew" what was wrong. They (members of the Station Church) told (I) not to "put a hand" on the boy. "They" said they were praying for the boy.

(I) went off to a place some miles away that night. (He sometimes does a little work at the place). All night he was worried about the boy. He couldn't sleep. The next day he telephoned to the Aboriginal Station and spoke to an aborigine. He asked how the boy was and was told he was just the same. (I) said: "all right, I'll fix him up". That night his Butheram "familiars" visited him and he told them what to do. The Butheram sisters went to a water-hole near Cawongla
(east of Kyogle) and got back "what he lost there!"
They returned it to the boy and the following day
he was better. Informants were certain that (I)
affected the cure, as was (I) himself. All that is
known to the author of his own knowledge is that the
boy was reported ill, apparently delerious, did not
receive medical treatment, but recovered rapidly from
one day to the next.

5. Two cases of death attributed to sorcery have
been noted. One case involved an aged woman who is
said to have died as the result of sorcery following
a visit to the Station of a messenger from a "clever"
man living at Chorbourg in Queensland. The method
used was reported as "he brought something which was
put in her food". The medical opinion in this case
attributed death to age and general bodily failure.

In the other case the man was aged and had been under
treatment for a heart condition for some time. He was
finally admitted to hospital where his medical condition
improved but his mental condition deteriorated. After
a visit from (I) his mental condition improved and it
appeared he would recover. Quite unexpectedly he
collapsed and died. He was said to have been caught
by "clever stuff" planted where he would come under
its influence while he was visiting the Tabulam area.

Aboriginal children have reported that (I) can
"make you sick" by spitting at you, and also numerous
cases of (I) curing illnesses including the extraction of a "devil's fingernail" from one child. Needless to say the above information cannot be established as fact. The present manager has officially ignored such reports as nothing whatsoever could be gained by giving publicity to them. No deaths have occurred where no medical treatment was given.
Section 14.

1. See M.A. thesis of M. Calley (1955-56), Sydney. A copy of the first draft of this thesis was read by the present writer in 1957. The thesis has not since been available and the material presented here is based on original information. However, I wish to acknowledge any unconscious debt may be owed this previous fieldworker should such debt be detected in the present study.

In addition, at about the same period I read two published papers by the same author: "Economic Life . . .", Oceania XXVI,3, and "Race Relations on the North Coast", Oceania XXVII,3. I have not had these papers available during preparation of the present thesis and I regret that I am not able to make detailed acknowledgements in cases where his findings agree with and predate my own.

2. The most obvious link with "old law" is in the ritual death and rebirth associated with both "old law" initiation and christian conversion. The old life is finished and the new life begins. In the one case the sacred blood of the members is used symbolically in initiation, and in the other salvation is obtained through "the blood of Our Lord, Jesus Christ". One man (K, who related the Butheram given in the notes to Section 12) was heard preaching on the station. He was exhorting his listeners to
join the Church, to be "saved" through "His precious blood", to be "washed in the blood of the Lamb" and to have their souls "made white as snow". He spoke at some length and with fervour. The refrain running through the whole oration was "you've got to be washed in the blood of the Lamb".

The text Psalms 121,1 "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help" is a favourite text of (H) who leads the Church. While there may be other reasons for his choice, it is clearly a Biblical text which fits nicely with the "old law" emphasis on hills and mountains as holy places.

Other texts which appear to be of special significance for the Station Church are Acts 4, Verses 13 and 14 and Mark 16, verses 16, 17 and 18. These texts promise to the Christian very much the powers obtained through the "old law" by a "clever man". The instance referred to in Note 4 of Section 13 is therefore significant. It would appear that as yet the Church does not exercise the emotional force which "clever men" control.

3. By "freedom" is implied a whole complex of ideas which hinge on the idea that no interference of any sort is permissible in any behaviour which is
directly or indirectly to do with the Church. "We're Christians. You can't do anything to us." was an expression commonly heard at the time referred to in the text.

This meant that they felt no need to notify the manager that visitors would be arriving on the Station. On many occasions the manager's life was personally involved. Sunday was, and still is the day most convenient for the manager to take his day "off duty" with his wife, "providing it doesn't interfere with the administration of the station" (Official instruction). On one occasion the present manager had promised his children to take them for a picnic. The children were excited and the whole family happy at the prospect of "getting away" and spending an undisturbed day together. As lunches etc. were about to be stowed in the boot of the car a busload of cheering visitors arrived to have "fellowship" with members of the Station Church. Their arrival meant that the manager was required to break his promise to his children (a serious crime in his family) and remain "on call" for the day. This caused a serious family disturbance for the manager and didn't encourage a calm or balanced outlook. (Official instruction since that time removed from the manager, in such circumstances, the
obligation to remain on the Station).

One other example is worth mentioning in this respect: At the same period there was a concerted effort by the Station Church to have white preachers of their own choice allowed to visit the Station. Although it had been explained to members of the Church on many occasions that the giving of permission in these cases was the sole prerogative of the Aborigines Welfare Board, the manager was frequently placed in the position of refusing entry to a white person who had not obtained the necessary permission. The explanation of the Station Church members was always the same. "We didn't know he had to get permission from the Board. We'll know next time. Now he's here, couldn't you let him/them come on just for a few hours to hold service and have fellowship with us?" The answer had always to be "No" and once the answer was given, the circle of argument was completed and it would immediately go round a second and sometimes a third time. The memory of those hours and days spent in fruitless answering of endless questions, and of the effort involved to keep personally calm in the face of provocation, is not a happy one. This situation no longer arises and one wonders how much of it was organised to match white man against white man so that Church members could feel persecuted and harried.
Section 15.

1. The first point which needs to be made is that the members of the study group feel very strongly that their dead should be buried in "their own country". Quite large sums of money have been paid to bring bodies from as far away as Brisbane.

One example which includes all the features noted concerning burial ritual will be given below. This man's father was a powerful "clever man" and his son is a Doorumyungboon. The dead man's status in the group has not been established clearly, but his treatment on death makes it very clear that he was a person of considerable consequence.

Other funerals have had some of the features noted in this case, but no other funeral was observed where anything approaching the same amount of care and respect was apparent.

The man died in hospital at Kyogle. When the news was taken to his wife and family his sister commenced wailing and continued on through the night, the eerie rise and fall of the dirge drifting over the Station.

The following morning it was the dead man's sister and his brother-in-law who came to me to make arrangements about the funeral. When I asked if the man's wife had been consulted about the arrangements the brother-in-law replied: "What's
it got to do with her?"

When the body arrived on the Station the wailing commenced again and continued at intervals until the funeral. The grave was dug in the "old cemetery" (long disused) which is "over the hill and facing the east".

The actual funeral service was conducted by a Church of England minister who is of the "High Church". The dead man's sister sat behind the Church, barefooted and cross-legged on the ground, until the Minister arrived. She was led away slowly by another woman who was her classified "sister" (father's brother's wife's sister's daughter).

Only the most sophisticated of the Station women entered the Church at all and some who habitually wear shoes were bare-footed. Only one girl (aged 16 years) entered the Church. No young boys went into the Church. One boy, aged 9, who usually does very much as he pleases, laughed very softly outside the church. A man (classified elder brother) moved quickly across and spoke with surprising sternness to the boy. The lad shrank back against the wall and thereafter kept his mouth tightly shut.

Following the service a group of about twenty men carried the coffin or walked closely around it so that the coffin was not visible from fifty feet
away. Behind the first group was a marked gap before the next group which consisted of older boys and a few men. There was another gap and then more boys with the more sophisticated women leading the dead man's wife. The barefooted women and the children trailed well back at the tail of the procession. This grouping was in marked contrast to other funeral processions where children have often run happily around the coffin or even ahead of it.

At dusk a fire was lit near the grave. The wife, sister and sister's sons all left the station that night to stay at Ununger about twenty miles away. A fire was lit on the grave again the following night. Another fire was noted about three weeks after the funeral but the connection in this case is not definite.

The method of "talking" as observed on two occasions consists of placing the open hand on the forehead of the corpse, thumb pointing toward the face, and speaking quietly as if the person was still alive. (The spirit is believed to remain with the body for some time after death ... possibly for two weeks).

2. On one occasion the daughter of a woman who had died away from the Station was heard to greet
her mother's return, in the traditional rising and falling notes but using English words.

The words used were much as follows: "What did you do it to me for? What did you want to come home to me like this for? We wanted you to come home but you wouldn't. Now you've come home like this. Why did you come home in the wrong way?"
Examples of this type of behaviour have been mentioned in Sections 5 & 6 dealing with the group's material culture and employment.

The assertion of social superiority is indicated in such things as segregation in hospitals, not including the Bonalbo Hospital which is unsegregated aborigines being banned from the Woodenbong Youth Club, and segregation in the Woodenbong picture theatre. In the last mentioned instance there is an economic advantage to be gained by not banning them completely, so they are allowed to attend, are charged a cheaper rate and compelled to occupy the worst position in the theatre.

There is also some feeling against aborigines attending the Central School at Woodenbong though many children do now do so. A white girl, aged about twenty said that when she was told to sit next to a "black gin" she cried and went home (she was in high school). Her mother wrote a note to her teacher end she did not have to sit alongside the aborigine.

In this respect it must be noted that there is one clearcut exception to this rule. One station girl was accepted to a surprising degree. She was alone in her class of white girls. Now that more
station children attend the Central School, there is evidence to suggest that white and coloured children are operating as voluntarily segregated groups within the school population.

The white community asserts "all boongs are dirty, lazy, bad payers of accounts, diseased (by implication with venereal complaints), and stupid".

2. However, in a town which is small, the aborigines represent a significant fraction of the total spending power so that they eat at the same cafes as whites, use the same taxi, hire the same buses and generally are welcomed in most businesses. The owners of many of these shops will report unpaid account yet continue to trade with the same aborigine.

3. The aborigines are all inclusive in their attitudes to "whites". No white man is any good, though perhaps in the same conversation they will refer to some particular white person who treated them "well". For example:- "She was a lovely person. Why she even sat at the same table as me!"

The aborigines of the study group believe that any white man would give false evidence, or lie and cheat in any other way to protect another white man no matter how wrong he was.

There is an envy of material possessions and a widespread belief that any white person can buy
anything they wish. "You could buy it easy, if you wanted to. You're white".

Aboriginal women appear to fear that white men will take sexual advantage of them if given the right circumstances of isolation.

4. A common expression during the early part of the study period was for the manager to be told "You're only bludging on the blacks." Drunken aborigines him referred to the manager as a "white bastard" and cruder (anatomically derived) words have been used in association with "white". "Why don't you shut up? You're just a Gubby (Governmc. man."

Such expressions were not heard on the station during the latter part of the study period. There appear to be two reasons for this. Firstly, the present manager can ignore such abuse. Secondly, that relations between the manager and the aborigines improved to such an extent that situations seldom arise where such expressions might be invoked. 5. See Note 1, Section 14.
Section 17.

1. Contact was established on one occasion with a Senior Guidance Officer who carried out some special testing of aboriginal children at the Aboriginal School, following an indirect request from the present manager that the tests be made.

2. This paper has been published in "The Proceedings of Conference on N.S.W. Aborigines", Armidale 1959 by Adult Education Department, University of New England.

3. The Table below shows the figures for "grade reached" on which the figures used in the text are based.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>Grade attained, last year at school.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Mr. J.W. Warburton and Mr. M. Praed are both Senior Lecturers, Adult Education Department, University of New England, Armidale, N.S.W.

5. One member of the study group, when discussing "Dawn" said: "We know the Board says one thing in "Dawn" and does something else."
Section 18.


2. This situation has been remedied to a great extent during the study period. The Aborigines Welfare Board has spent more than £1,000 on painting, fly-screening and repair work.


4. (See following page)

5. The figures given below were kindly supplied by the Secretary, Kyogle Memorial Hospital, Kyogle. Most residents of the Woodenbong Aboriginal Station receive necessary in-patient treatment at Kyogle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Aborigines admitted as in-patients.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. The figures given were kindly supplied by Mr. K. Heard, Ambulance Officer, Urbenville (Kyogle District Ambulance).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Maternity cases</th>
<th>Total transports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. "Blackjack" is the slang for Icthyol ointment.


Note 4.

The Table gives all convictions recorded at Urbenville Court which concern aborigines who belong to the study group. These are divided into those offences committed on the Station and those committed off the Station. In the latter group the Station manager played no part whatsoever.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of offence and/or Section or Regulation number.</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 9, Act 25, 1909</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulation 6 (a), &quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 7, &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 8, &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 10, &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 11, &quot;</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 13, &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 14, &quot;</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful assault</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other offences</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other offences</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Totals</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 19.


2. The Aborigines Protection Act of N.S.W. 1939-43.

3. The three women who married white men are the only cases in 30 years.
Section 20.

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 3rd December, 1959 and wish to advise that a plant that would efficiently saw up to 2 million a year would cost almost £10,000.

It would include a Carriage and Twin Saw Frame with a 100 H.P. Motor and Starter, a 50 H.P. Motor and Starter on the frame and a 10 H.P. Motor on the Feedworks. The approximate cost is £4170 - 0 - 0.

The latest type No. 1 Breast Bench with a 60 H.P. Motor and Starter with Hydraulic reversing feed pulleys and belts cost £1325 - 0 - 0.

A No. 2 Radial Arm Saw Bench fitted complete with 40 H.P. Motor, Pulleys and Belts is £1400 - 0 - 0.

2 Docking Saws with 5 H.P. Motor with belts and pulleys cost £130 each is £260.

1 Gulleting Machine with 1 H.P. Motor is £95.

1 - 5 H.P. Geared Motor for sawdust and waste disposal cost is £130.

1 - 3 H.P. Geared Motor for sawdust and waste disposal cost is £100.

2 Circular Saws 60" Diameter is £300.

2 " 48" Diameter is £100.

2 " 42" Diameter is £60.

2 " 30" Diameter is £20.

£ 510.

2 Winches for log hauling and turning - one fitted with a 1½ H.P. Motor and one fitted with a 7½ H.P. Motor is £980.

Total Plant is £8,950.

All of the above plant listed is new except the log breaking down Carriage. The Carriage at present working at Hancock & Gore's Mill at Jimna is suggested as being suitable. It having only been working on Pine logs and would be put in as new condition.
This carriage is being replaced by our latest automatic Carriage for faster operation on Pine.

A Building 80' x 50' including all posts in concrete, iron roof, concrete foundations for all Sawbenches.....£1260. Installation of plant including electrical wiring etc.....£6,000.

Working Capital

Some £1500 working capital should be sufficient as it would be desirable to sign a Contract to sell the timber off the saws to someone like Hancock & Gore Limited of Brisbane. They pay the middle of the month after delivery. This for a start would save a search for market, money, accounts and possibly bad debts. Contracts for crossarms and other avenues could be investigated.

The minimum Forestry quota required to start a Sawmill would be one million feet logs per year. One and a half million would be desirable and 2 million would be a good quota, allowing for some degree of mechanization and therefore a good deal greater profit.

Falling

The fallers should be in the co-operative working with one man chain saws doing all of the falling. Outlay for each saw approx.£250 each. Two would be required ...£500

Hauling

This portion of the operation can absorb a very large amount of capital. Tractors of the H.D. 11 Allis, D6 Caterpillar or TDI4 International fitted with a Winch blade and log arch would cost approx. .......£13000. Of course they can be bought on terms of up to 5 years.

Trucks hauling from the Tractor dumps to the Mill would also cost a lot of money so until the Mill was established and showing returns it may be desirable to get the whole logging operation done by contract.
Staff Required

1 Bookkeeper - Manager
1 Mill Foreman
2 men on the breaking down Carriage
3 men on the No. 1 breast Bench
2 men on the Radial arm Bench
2 men on the docking Saws
2 men on the grading, packing and wiring into slings for despatch.
1 man assisting with logs and general clean up man.

The Mill Foreman should be skilled in all departments of production. He should be able to sharpen the saws and take the place of any man in the Mill while training Replacements.

The No. 1 Bench Sawyer is the key man of the Mill and output generally revolves around him.

The Saw Sharpener is about next in importance being able to keep well sharpened saws always ready as required.

The man in charge of the breaking down Carriage ranks next. Followed by the man on the No. 2 or Radial arm Saw Bench. All of the others could be sufficiently trained in a few days. The fallers would work in the Mill during bad weather.

Approximate operating costs per year based on one and a quarter log input. Profits would increase considerably as quota was increased.

Wages per year ...................... £15,000
Insurance - Workers Compensation...£ 1,500
- Fire ......................... £ 500

£17,000
Repairs should be very low with good equipment, but hold ups with waste and conveyor systems which always give some trouble. Unfavourable weather conditions, lack of logs and unsuitable logs, absence and sickness of key workers would be approximately £1,500.

Royalty €6,000

Haulage. €5,000

Cutting Fallers at maximum 3/- per hundred €1,500

£14,000.

Counting on 1½ million logs the first year (if Forestry quota is 1 Million) private property 1 million additional. This would yield approximately 700,000 sawn allowing for nearly 60 per cent recovery. This at £5 a hundred less say 15/- for freight to Brisbane less average of 5/- per hundred for defects gives nett £5 per hundred. This nets £35,000 turnover a year. A profit of £5,000 after all possible expenses should be attainable.

The above allows for an all electric Mill but a diesel engine of approx. 200 H.P. would be quite satisfactory. It would drive the main components by belts with an alternator for the docking saws, winches, waste elevators etc. Installation costs would be greater but engine cost compared with electric motors would not be much different.

Yours faithfully,

D.J. McKee
APPENDIX II.

BRIEF DETAILS OF INFORMANTS.
A.II.

Brief details of informants.

A. A 3/4 caste aborigine, aged 59, with whom a very good relationship was established. All material received from (A) which was cross-checked through another informant, was found to be correct. (A) declined to give any information rather than give false material.

B. This informant had one of the best minds I have met. He was over 70 years of age and a half-caste aborigine. He died during the study period. He was what one might call the group's "front" man. He, it was who met white visitors and summed them up and decided what to tell them. Usually he told the story he thought most likely to please and was accordingly very popular. He proved an excellent informant on historical matters, but of very doubtful value on any matter concerning aboriginal culture, past or present. I gained the impression that he was the guardian of secrets.

C. An aged full-blood of sound knowledge who gave little direct information, but what was given was reliable.

D. A 3/4 caste man of advanced years who died early during the period of study. A man of obvious importance, but who gave little information in the few conversations I had with him.

E. A half-caste man of about 50 who gave many reliable hints as to where to obtain information, but who himself gave little.

F. A half-caste woman of about 40 years who gave much valuable information on kinship relationships, details concerning women's life and proved an intelligent means of relaying information throughout the group. A member of the Church.

G. A 3/4 caste woman deeply based on "old law", who gave reliable information. Has an extensive knowledge of genealogies and many other matters.

H. A poor and unreliable informant on all matters except the Church.

I. A good informant, aged, and full-blood aborigine. Has much information which is probably available but not recorded.

J. A 3/4 caste man of about 40 who gave little information on any subject and may be the man most likely to take the "front man's" job after the death of (E).
K. A good informant when inclined to talk, but sometimes difficult to keep to any subject. Has great drive for a man beyond 60. A good source for Butheram.

L. An old man of 3/4 caste who carries a store of genealogies and other material, some of which has been recorded.

M. A white storekeeper who is on friendly terms with some aborigines but generally carries the prejudices of the local white community. Proved a useful source of information on the Station's history.

O. A 3/4 caste man of about 60 who sings the old songs and knows a whole body of folklore and probably Butheram. Little material recorded from this man.

P. A 7/8 caste man in his 20's. Little information recorded— a young man with Bandjalang songs.

Q. A half-caste man in his 40's. Excellent information on foods, cooking, weapons and kinship. Little material recorded.

R. An aged half-caste woman— last known woman able to make bunguns, and other bard and grass objects. A valuable informant but difficult to understand.

S. An aged full-blood Kumbaingeri man. Friendly and willing informant— one conversation only. Information which could be cross-checked was reliable.

T. A lad in his early teens of 1/2 caste aboriginal ancestry. Intelligent by I.Q. rating well above the average for the group.

U. A full-blood man of 60 plus, but difficult to draw in conversation. Knows Kumbaingeri country.

V. A difficult and prickly half-caste man over 40. A good man to stay clear of as he becomes involved in feuds readily and is probably heading for a breakdown.
APPENDIX IV.

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL.
Additional Material.

The material recorded during the study period suggests that aboriginal culture has been far more tenacious than has formerly been revealed.

Working from meagre official material I was able to record genealogies for all members of the study group. Some are incomplete and require further work elsewhere, Tweed district, Cabbage Tree, Tabulam/Grafton area and across the Northern Tablelands as far west as Moree. One, lad, aged a little more than 20 was able to rattle off his family tree back three generations and extend it right and left until I called a halt. There is obviously room for the recording of a lot more material over a much wider area than I have covered for this study. It is possible to record and establish castes with accuracy. Officially, aborigines know nothing about their families, but in recording genealogies I found that official information was repeatedly being corrected to reveal family skeletons where one child of a woman did not belong to the same father etc.

Rutheram are available in quantity and one man is thinking over the suggestion that the whole Rutheram for his horde country be recorded in full detail with map and photographs, on the understanding that a copy be given to him.

There is good material available on the linking of the Christian Church of this area with the "old law". I have recorded a few brief examples.

Probably the most interesting additional material is from (S) who said that the Woodenbong people were all talking too much English. According to (S) the Locksville, Bowraville and Nambucca areas, and from there right back to Bellbrook is still operating the "old law." In answer to questions he said that the jurraveel were kept "right up to the nines", that the kinship marriage rule was strictly adhered to, and that initiations were still being carried out. Since a number of other informants have vaguely hinted about "down that way"... to the south of Woodenbong... it seems to be an area worth checking. (S) was the man who gave definite information about the 1955 initiation at Bayulgil and (S) was the man (C) had named some months previously, as the man who could tell me about it.

At least two aborigines from Woodenbong have had treatment at Goodna Mental Hospital. One of these cases was during the early part of the study period. If the psychiatric material could be obtained for scientific use it could prove most informative as the case just mentioned had religious delusions.
Attitude testing with batteries of psychological tests relying on emotional response and interpretation suggest themselves as a means of understanding the "refusal to learn" attitude adopted by children of the study group.
APPENDIX V.

PHOTOGRAPHS.
(not for publication)

Photograph 1. A 27 year old, 3/4 caste aborigine of the Githebul clan of the Bandjalang tribe, showing the cicatrices on his chest and right arm. Photograph taken in February, 1960.

Photograph 2. This photograph shows the neat arrangement of small saplings and interwoven twigs which form the framework of a bungun. The bungun shown was made for the author by an old half-caste aboriginal woman.

Photograph 3. Reading from left to right the girls have 5/16, 3/8, 1/2, and 5/8 of aboriginal ancestry. It is apparent that the two girls of less than 1/2 of aboriginal ancestry have a darker skin colouring than the two with 1/2 or more of aboriginal ancestry.

Photograph 4. This Photograph gives an indication of the wide variety of head shape and facial profile. The boys are arranged in ascending order of aboriginal ancestry reading from left to right. The boy second from the right did not have his caste established beyond question.