The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits

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The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 19 (1890), 297-440.

Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0959-5295%281890%2919%3C297%3ATEOTWT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G

The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is currently published by Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

From the ACADÉMIE ROYALE DES SCIENCES, Amsterdam —Jaarboek voor 1888.
—— Verslagen en Mededeelingen. Afdeeling Natuurkunde. 3de Reeks, Deel v.
From the SOCIETÀ DI SCIENZE NATURALI ED ECONOMICHE DI PALERMO. —Giornale di Scienze Naturali ed Economiche. Vols. xviii, xix.
From the MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA.—Almanach, 1889;
Nyelvtudományi Értekezések, xiv, 8–10;
Nyelyvtudományi közlemények, xxi, 1, 2;
Történettudományi Értekezések, xiii, 9–12; xiv, 1–4;
Társadalmi Értekezések, ix, 8–10; x, 1, 2, 4;
Bölcsészeti Értekezések, iii, 1. sz.;
Dr. Pistóry Mór. A nemzetgazdaságtan haladása és iránya az utolsó tizenöt év alatt;
Rentmeister Antal. Lex falcidia és quarta falcidia;
Ungarische Revue, 1888, 7–10; 1889, 1–3;
Naturwissenschaftliche Berichte, Band vi;
Supplément au Nr. 2[illegible], 1889, de "La Revue de l'Orient."
From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Society of Arts. Nos. 1930, 1931.
From the EDITOR.—Nature. Nos. 1046, 1047.
—— Science. No. 352.
—— Revue Scientifique. Tom. xliv. Nos. 20, 21.

Prof. A. C. HADDON exhibited a large collection of objects of ethnological interest which he had brought from Torres Straits, and read the following Paper:—

The ETHNOGRAPHY *of the* WESTERN TRIBE *of* TORRES STRAITS.

By ALFRED C. HADDON, M.A., Professor of Zoology, Royal College of Science, Dublin.

[WITH PLATES VII, VIII, IX, AND X.]

INTRODUCTION.

IN the summer of 1888 I went to Torres Straits to investigate the structure and fauna of the coral reefs of that district. Very soon after my arrival in the Straits I found that the natives of the islands had of late years been greatly reduced in number, and that, with the exception of but one or two individuals, none of the white residents knew anything about the customs of the natives, and not a single person cared about them personally. When I began to question the natives I discovered that the

young men had a very imperfect acquaintance with the old habits and beliefs, and that only from the older men was reliable information to be obtained. So it was made clear to me that if I neglected to avail myself of the present opportunity of collecting information on the ethnography of the islanders, it was extremely probable that that knowledge would never be gleaned—for if no one interested himself in the matter meanwhile, it was almost certain that no trustworthy information could be collected in, say, ten years' time. This being my opinion, I felt it my duty to fill up all the time not actually employed in my zoological researches in anthropological studies, and the following is a portion of the result of my enquiries amongst the Western Tribe of Torres Straits. The legends and myths I collected are presented to the Folk-Lore Society. Their art and ornament will be dealt with elsewhere, and the MS. vocabularies I have compiled are available for anyone who wishes to study them.

I would remind anthropologists that I had not previously made a study of that subject, and before I left home I had no intention of seriously studying the natives, or I would have endeavoured to prepare myself for the work. This will, to a certain extent, account for vagueness and deficiency on points which I now perceive to be of ethnological interest and importance. On the other hand, one benefit resulting from my imperfect knowledge was that I was not prejudiced in favour of any one particular theory, and therefore did not ask such leading questions which, unconsciously on either side, might have resulted in erroneous information. But, further, I do not claim that my ignorance of ethnology was a gain for accuracy; none but those who have undertaken similar enquiries can have any idea of the great difficulty there is in acquiring reliable information concerning past events. Even among ourselves there are comparatively few educated people who can give a trustworthy account of sights they have seen long ago, mentioning the events in their proper sequence, or who can repeat fairy stories correctly, or give an intelligible and logical account of their religious belief and of their sacred legends. What wonder then if I have been led into error when it is remembered that much of what I have gathered is now passed away, that I laboured under the great difficulty of translating the thoughts and beliefs of men, practically in the stone age, into terms of the complex civilization of the nineteenth century, and that, too, with the very imperfect medium of the jargon-English spoken in the Straits. That error has crept into my accounts I do not doubt. I have done my best to keep it out, but one is necessarily at the mercy of one's informants. Whenever possible I, of

course, checked the information by asking other men on the same or on a different island.

The following paper deals with the Western Tribe, and only occasional reference has been made to the Eastern Tribe, or to the neighbouring peoples of New Guinea and Queensland. The account has already assumed such proportions that I have purposely refrained from extending it by comparisons with allied nationalities. My friend, the Rev. A. E. Hunt, the resident missionary at the Murray Islands, has promised to investigate the ethnography of the island of Mer, and so for the present I refrain from publishing the information I have collected about the Eastern Tribe.

It will be observed that I have quoted largely from J. Beete Jukes' "Voyage of the Fly" (1847), and from J. Macgillivray's "Voyage of the Rattlesnake" (1852). Extracts will also be found from W. Wyatt Gill's "Life in the Southern Isles," and from other sources, all of which are acknowledged. I have in almost every case given the exact words, and I believe I have recorded every fact of any importance concerning the Western Tribe of Torres Straits which has been mentioned by these authors. Even when I have observed the same fact I have invariably given the older account, instead of repeating it in my own words, in order that the older travellers might have all the credit of their observations, and which were often made under difficulty. My own interpolations are placed within square brackets [ ].

It affords me great pleasure to add my testimony, superfluous though it may be, to the accuracy of my distinguished predecessors, Jukes and Macgillivray. While I am on this subject I may mention that though forty-five years have passed since Jukes visited Erub and the Murray Islands, the geniality of his nature was such that he is still held in remembrance by the natives, and I was astonished to find that the interchange of names between him and a young Erubian named Dudegab was remembered to this day, for when I mentioned Jukes' name, that fact was immediately related to me, and the old anchorage of the "Fly" was pointed out.

The following communication consists of two parts, the first of which is a general account of the manners and customs of the Western Tribe, and the second describes particular customs of certain islands or groups of islands. My imperfect knowledge in some cases prevents me from stating definitely how far many of the latter are confined to that island from which I obtained the information, or how far they are common to the whole tribe. Rather than generalize from insufficient data, I have preferred to deal with them as being insular in character. In some cases, at all events, the proximity to New Guinea on the one hand or to

Australia on the other has had its effect on the customs of the people.

In the first or general part I have followed the order of the sections in Part II, Culture, of that invaluable little book, "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," compiled by a Committee of the British Association. When I have presented my account of the Eastern Tribe I propose to consider the physical characteristics of the islanders as a whole. I am also indebted for many hints to the excellent list of "Questions on the Manners, Customs, Religion, &c.," drawn up by my friend J. G. Frazer (see this Journal, XVIII, 1889, p. 431), also published separately.

I have adopted the following vowel pronunciations:—*a*, as in "father"; *ă*, as in "at"; *e*, as a in "date"; *ĕ*, as in "debt"; *i*, as ee in "feet"; *ĭ*, as in "it"; *o*, as in "own"; *ŏ*, as in "on"; *u*, as oo in "soon"; *ŭ*, as in "up"; *ai*, as in "aisle"; *au*, as ow in "cow." The value of the vowels is always given on the first occasion when the word is used, but not necessarily afterwards.

Finally, I would like here to express my gratitude to the Queensland Government for facilities granted to me, and to the Government Residents at Thursday Island, Hugh Milman, Esq., and subsequently the Hon. John Douglas, C.M.G., who with the other officials carried out the kind intention of their Government. To other friends I am also much indebted, notably to the hospitality of the Revs. E. B. Savage and A. E. Hunt, and of Mrs. Hunt, of the London Missionary Society.

I.—General Account of the Culture of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits.

History.—As the art of writing was entirely unknown, oral tradition was the only means of preserving the memory of past events, and as a matter of fact, still is. The people often sit and "yarn." The repetitions are not in the form of songs or chants, neither have those I collected any religious character that I am aware of; such, probably, do exist, as I understand that the lads were instructed in the Legend of Malu during the initiation ceremonies in Mer (one of the Murray Islands). No special class relates the legends. There is no picture writing, nor did I learn that the memory of events was kept alive by any form of *quipu*, but I believe a record of dugong harpooned, or of turtle caught, was commonly made by tying on to a string a piece of wood or the point of an arrow for every capture. I saw such a bundle at Mer kept to record the number of dugong killed by the man's brother, and I obtained from the same island three old bundles ("*kupe*") which recorded the

amatory successes of various men. There was a friendly rivalry between these men, "all same as race," as they expressed it. (See Pl. IX, fig. 5.)

There is no system of chronology, and the natives have no idea of their own age or even of that of their young children. When I asked a father how old his son was, a little boy of four or five, trotting by his side, he replied, "I no savvy, he ten? he hundred?" And he would cheerfully accept any numerical statement suggested as being the correct age. Their old limited range of numerals (see subsequent Section on Arithmetic, p. 303) is probably answerable for this. The Muralug natives keep up the remembrance of Gi'om, the white woman (Mrs. Thomson), who lived there over four years, forty years previously (see Macgillivray I, p. 301). Jukes is still remembered at Erub and at the Murray Islands, as well as the fact that he changed names with Dudĕgab (Jukes I, p. 178). This was in March, 1845. No date beyond the lifetime of a living man can be relied upon, and even that only relatively. Thus, an old man would point to a boy and say he was as big as that when a certain event happened. They have no idea whatever of time, and all count is lost of a previous generation.

I know of no tradition concerning their origin or their connexion with other tribes, except a hint in certain legends, "Gelam," "Malu," and "Yawar," of the carrying of a higher culture to the Eastern Tribe, but this I shall refer to on another occasion.

There are two distinct tribes in Torres Straits, the longitude of 143° 30′ E. dividing them. As there is no native name for them I propose to term them the Western and the Eastern Tribes. The Western Tribe is variously sub-divided. Macgillivray records seven "tribes," but it is my belief that he has exaggerated the number on account of the custom of the natives to call the people of an island by the name of that island or of a district in it. He says, "The Kowraregas inhabit the Prince of Wales' group; the Muralegas and Italegas divide between between them Banks Island; the Badulegas possess Mulgrave Island, and the Gumulegas the islands between the last and New Guinea; the Kulkalegas have Mount Ernest and the Three Sisters; the Massilegas reside on the York Isles, and others adjacent." I found that the natives of all the islands recognised the inhabitants of each of the following groups of islands as being distinctly allied: (1) The Prince of Wales' group and Moa; (2) Badu and Mabuiag; (3) Boigu, Dauan and Saibai; and (4) The remaining islands (Nagir, Tud, Masig, &c.). If it be considered desirable that distinct names should be given to those groups, they might be severally called (1)

Kauralaig; (2) Gumulaig; (3) Saibarumle; (4) Kulkalaig.[1] As is to be expected in an archipelago there are slight differences in speech and customs in the different islands, but they all have the same language. So far as I know they do not know of their own origin, nor do they trace their descent in any way. As mentioned above they name the people of a place from that place, as, for example, the Badulaig inhabit Badu, while the inhabitants of Mabuaig are called Gumulaig, from the name of an old village in that island.

I have never heard any suggestion of former migrations.

It is well known to all that their numbers are decreasing, They rightly believe that their forefathers were more renowned than themselves, but I should hardly consider that they thought them wiser, except in such matters as sorcery and power over the elements. All this is "finished" now. I believe that none doubt that their "old men" really possessed the powers they professed. The knowledge of all the old ceremonies is fast passing away; much of it has irrevocably gone, and also the art of making certain articles used in some of the ceremonies, or even some of those used as toys: the *bigu* and *pădătröng* (see Turtle Customs at Mabuiag) are examples of the former, and jew's harps (*darubi*) of the latter. Cat's cradle (*womer*), too, will soon be a lost art as, practically, it already is in the Eastern Islands of the Straits.

The name, it is impossible to say whether real or mythical, of the introducers of several customs and arts ("culture heroes"), is still handed down in legend, as, for example, Yawar, who first taught an improved method of cultivating yams; Sesere, who first constructed a *neĕt* (or platform from which dugong are speared), and introduced the dugong as an article of food; Tiai, who introduced certain funeral customs, and so on. The prowess of their national heroes is handed down, as in the legend of Kwoiam; in these, I believe, there is a distinct historical base with mythical additions. Several spots are pointed out in Mabuiag as relics of Kwoiam, such as his grave, his water hole, his shell-trumpet, and the ruins of his house. Similar monuments are to be found on other islands. They appear to have legends connected with a very large number of noticeable stones and rocks, and even for the origin of certain islands, as will be seen on reference to the legends of Gelam, Kwoiam, the Six Blind Brothers of Moa, &c. I did not hear of any tradition of a flood.

[1] It will be noticed that I have adopted the termination "laig" instead of "leg," for the term "man" or "people," as I found it the more generally so pronounced. I obtained the word Saibarumle at Mer for the Saibai people, so it naturally has the termination "*le*" instead of "*laig*."

Archæology.—Unfortunately, I was unable to discover anything concerning the archæology of the Torres Straits Islands. I did not see any shell mounds, although I looked for such. I consider it improbable that much will ever be found to illustrate the former condition of the people. The spears and arrows are tipped with bone or hard wood, not with stone or metal; in fact, the only stone implements I know of were fighting clubs. It is unlikely that any of the latter will be found, as they were of great value, and were not likely to be lost or thrown away. All articles made of vegetable products rapidly disappear in such climates, owing to the depredations of insects and the rotting action of moulds. There never has been any pottery. Shells, too, rapidly decay in the tropics, especially so after they have been baked in the fire; this being the method of cooking shell-fish by the natives.

Etymology.—No information.

Astronomy.—There are names for many of the stars, and they are largely grouped into constellations. The year is divided into the two seasons *Aibu* (?) the "South-east," and *Kuki*, the "North-west." The seasonal appearances of certain stars or constellations were noted, and their rising regulated particular dances and, I believe, the planting of yams and sweet-potatoes. There was no division of the year into months or days, and the years were never counted. Time was usually reckoned by suns or days, and by moons, or months. Natives who have learnt time by the clock can usually tell the time very accurately by noting the height of the sun. Sun-rise is now usually called "small daylight" or "little fellow daylight." There is no artificial method of measuring time either by sun-dial, pipes, or by any other way.

Arithmetic.—Throughout Torres Straits there were practically but two numerals, *urapun* and *ōkŏsā*, which are respectively one and two in the western language. Three is *okosa urapun*, four is *okosa okosa*, five is *okosa okosa urapun*, six is *okosa okosa okosa*, beyond that they usually say *ras* or "a lot."[1]

[1] *Nĕtat* and *neis* are the equivalents of the Eastern Tribe, three being *neis-i-netat*, four is *neis-i-neis*, and so on. Jukes says (II, p. 302), "They rarely count beyond six, but for higher numbers collect bits of stick in bundles, and 'nAesa' [*sic*] repeated three or four times rapidly, means an indefinite large number; twice only means 'a few,' as we should say, 'three or four' (see also Vol. I, p. 194). In a MS. memorandum Dr. S. MacFarlane says, "They have only words for one and two, except they count the fingers on one hand, then the wrist joint above and below; the same with the elbow, shoulder, across the breast, and the other arm, beginning and ending with the little finger. In this way they count up to twenty-five. For anything beyond that they use bundles of small sticks about the thickness of a match." I have already referred to these bundles of sticks. At Erub I saw an old man count as follows, beginning with the little finger of the left hand:—5th digit, *kebike*

I have noticed a decided tendency to count by twos or couples.

As an example of the differences in the vocabularies of the same language taken by various travellers from different islands, I will give all the variations I have collected of the two numerals.

1. wārăpúne	Macgillivray (II, p. 301), for the Kowrarega [*sic*] tribe.
2. quassur	
3. úquassur-wārăpune ..	
1. warabon	Wyatt Gill (p. 225), for the Western Tribe as a whole.
2. augosa	
3. warabon-augosa	
1. warapon	D'Albertis (II, p. 387), for Masig (Yorke Island).
2. ukesar	
3. ukesar-warapon	
1. wara, urapon	Sharon *MS.* for Saibai.
2. uka	
1. ūrāpūni or ōrāpuni ..	Muralug (A.C.H.).
2. ukŏsā or ōkŏsā	
3. bādāgĭli	
1. ŏrŏpun, orapuni, urapun .. or .	Moa, Badu, Mabuiag, Nagir, and Tud (A.C.H.).
2. ōkŏsā	
3. ōkŏsā ŏrŏpun	

I believe one hand, *urapuni-gĕtāl*, stood for five objects, and two hands, *okosa getal*, for ten, but I do not think they would recognize ten as being composed of five twos, *i.e.*, *okosa, okosa, okosa, okosa, okosa.* I had "*wāgetāl wāgĕtāl*" given me for ten by a Badu and by a Moa man.

It appears that in Muralug they originally counted up to three. If so, it was the only island where this occurred, and it is suggestive of Australian influence. I also obtained at Muralug

(little one); 4th and 3rd digits, *epke* (middle ones); index finger, *bauke* (spear one); thumb, *auke* (big one); wrist, *kĕbĕkokĕne*; elbow joint, *aukokĕne* (*owkokni*, MacFarlane MS.): armpit, *kĕnani*; shoulder, *tuga*; pit above clavicle, *gĕlid*; pit of neck, *nĕrkĕp*; and then passing in the reverse order on to the right side, ending with the little finger, with the same names. This gives a total of twenty-one.

In the Daudai language there are also only the two numerals, *nau* (1), and *netau* or *netoa* (2); plenty, or a lot, is *auua* or *awua*.

According to Macgillivray (II, p. 301), the Gudang tribe at Cape York can count up to three—*epĭămana, elābaiu, dāma*; but he is "inclined to think that the Gudang blacks have no words to express definite numbers beyond three. 'Dama' is generally used for higher numbers, and occasionally 'unora.'" Wyatt Gill says (p. 225), "The numerals used by the aboriginals of Cape York are slightly better [than those of the Torres Straits islanders].—Pirman = 1, Labai = 2, Ilanamina = 3, Ungatua = 'the whole (hand),' *i.e.*, five."

ina nabīgĕt, or *nabīget*, for five, *nabiget nabiget* for ten, *nabikoku* for fifteen, and *nabikoku nabikoku* for twenty (*gĕt*=hand, and *koko*=foot). *Nabiget* can hardly be said to be the name of the number five, but that there were as many of the objects referred to as there are fingers on one hand. I further had from the same island *maura* for 100 and *kai gasa* for 1,000 (this is probably *kai ras*, "a great lot,") but these and several other numbers I do not believe in.

Ino is sometimes used in connexion with one, *ipāl* with two, and *ita* with three, but I do not know in exactly what way. Thus one Muralug informant gave me 1=*ino urapuni*, 2=*ipal ukosa*, 3=*ita badagili*, 4=*ipal ukosa ukosa*, 5=*ipal ukosa ukosa ino urapuni*, and 6=*ipal ukosa ukosa*, *ukosa* or *warabadagili*.

They usually count by their fingers, and as a rule begin with the little finger of the left hand. I believe this was the original method. There was another system of counting by commencing at the little finger of the left hand, *kotodimura*, then following on with the fourth finger, *kotodimura gorngozinga* (or *guruzinger*); middle finger, *il get*; index finger, *klak-nĕtoi-gĕt*; thumb, *kabaget*; wrist, *perta* or *tiap*; elbow joint, *kudu*; shoulder, *zugukwoik*; left nipple, *susu madu*; sternum, *kosa*, *dadir*; right nipple, *susu madu*, and ending with the little finger of the right hand. (These names were obtained at Mabuiag, those used in Tud and Muralug are somewhat different.) This gives nineteen enumerations, of which eleven to nineteen are merely inverse repetitions of one to nine. The names are simply those of the parts of the body themselves, and are not numerals. In my opinion this system could only have been used as an aid to counting, like using a knotted string, and not as a series of actual numbers. The elbow joint, *kudu*, might be either seven or thirteen, and I could not discover that *kudu* really stood for either of those numbers, but in a question of trade a man would remember how far along his person a former number of articles extended, and by beginning again on the left little finger he could recover the actual number. Only the old men are acquainted with this method, and, in fact, few of the younger men have any idea of their own mode of counting, our system now being used everywhere. I have experienced a surprising amount of difficulty in getting any reliable information on this apparently simple subject.

Dr. W. Wyatt Gill says (p. 225), "Anything above ten the Torres Straits Islanders count *visibly*, thus: touch each finger, then the wrist, elbow, and shoulder joint on the *right* side of the body; next touch the sternum and proceed to the joints of the *left*, not forgetting the fingers of the left hand. This will give seventeen. If this suffice not, count the toes, the ankle, knee, and hip joints

(right and left). This will give sixteen more, the entire process yielding thirty-three. Anything beyond can be enumerated only by help of a bundle of sticks."

All the numerals now in use are borrowed from the English. Simple arithmetic is taught in the Mission Schools, and the ciphers are all introduced.

Medicine.—Disease and death were always supposed to be the result of sorcery, and cures were also credited to the skill of the "*maidĕlaig*," sorcery or medicine man. Certain vegetable products are still used for some specific complaints, for example, the bark of the root of a particular bush was chewed at Tud for diarrhœa. Some of these bush remedies are known to all, but it is probable that the Maidelaig were acquainted with several medicinal and poisonous plants.

The following appear to be the usual diseases to which the people are subject:—catarrh, cough, weak eyes, consumption or some form of lung disease, elephantiasis, boils, ulcerated sores. Small-pox, measles, and syphilis have been introduced; the two former have caused the death of a large number of people. Malarial fever occurs on some islands, such as Muralug; in the north-west time, or rainy season, it probably always, more or less, hangs about the mangrove swamps. Macgillivray (II, p. 31) describes how he saw a man under treatment for "ague." "He was laid upon the ground while several men in succession took his head between their knees and kneaded it with their hands. After this they placed him close to a fire and sprinkled water over him until a copious perspiration broke out, denoting the third and last stage of the attack." He also says the fever "is not much dreaded, as it is supposed to remove former complaints, such as the sores prevalent among children." White people also practise tight compression of the head during the first stage of the fever to alleviate the pain.

As Macgillivray states (II, p. 31), "scarification of the affected part is a common mode of treating local inflammatory complaints." I also found that it was employed for almost every kind of ache or pain. In some cases the body is so scarred that one might readily mistake the cicatrices for tattoo marks. Magillivray continues—"Ligatures are also used, as for example, one across the forehead to remove head-ache." This I have also seen.

According to MacFarlane, "The treatment of the sick is most inhumane; they are mostly left to their own resources in the Straits (Darnley and Murray), cared for at Saibai, &c., and carried from place to place. A needle made from a cassowary bone is always taken to battle in a small bamboo with fine cocoa-nut fibre thread for sewing up wounds." (MS.)

"Boils on various parts of the body, even on the head, are prevalent, especially during the rainy season, when the food is of a poorer description than at other times. Children are most subject to them, and I have more than once seen them so covered with offensive sores as to be rendered most disgusting objects" (Macgillivray, II, p. 31).

I believe the natives rarely carried about with them the bones of their deceased relatives, although they often kept the skull of a relation in the house in a basket, and that of an enemy outside the house or in some public place. An exception to this general statement is recorded by Macgillivray for the island of Muralug (II, p. 32). Some time after death, the head of a husband "is removed and handed over to the custody of the eldest wife. She carries it about with her in a bag during her widowhood, accompanying the party of the tribe to which she belongs from place to place." I gathered that the custom of keeping the skulls of relatives was mainly on account of affection, but such skulls were also used for divination (see the Myths of Sesere and of Upi). Again, on first removing the skull from the body it was often used to divine the Maidĕlaig who caused the death of the deceased (see funeral customs in Tud). I procured a dugong-charm, the efficiency of which was enhanced by the addition of the fibulæ of the Maidĕlaig who originally made it. I never heard of human bones being used as amulets to avert sickness or other evils, or as remedies for sickness. In the legend of Tiai, we find that his mother carried with her, slung round her neck, the bones of her baby boy, for what purpose I do not know.

The houses and enclosures round them are always kept scrupulously clean and tidy.

Food. Articles of Food.—The chief food substances are fruit, yams, and sweet potatoes, sugar cane, "*biiu*," the larvæ and pupæ of a large Longicorn beetle, crustacea, shell-fish, numerous fishes, turtle, monitor ("iguana"), birds, and dugong.

Several varieties of yam are cultivated. Macgillivray gives the names of half-a-dozen kinds, and wild yams are also eaten. On p. 49, Vol. II, Macgillivray says: "Not less than nine different kinds of yams and yam-like tubers—including the sweet potato—are cultivated in Torres Straits, and are specially distinguished by name." Yams and sweet potatoes form the staple farinaceous food of the people. Sugar cane is only met with in a few islands. Macgillivray (II, p. 26) thus describes the preparation of *biiu*, "When the rains set in the *biiu* becomes the principal support of the Cape York and Múralug people. This is a grey slimy paste procured from a species of mangrove (*Candelia ?*), the sprouts of which, three or four inches

long, are first made to undergo a process of baking and steaming —a large heap being laid upon heated stones, and covered over with bark, wet leaves, and sand—after which they are beaten between two stones, and the pulp is scraped out fit for use. It does not seem to be a favourite food, and is probably eaten from sheer necessity. Mixed up with the *biyu* to render it more palatable they sometimes add large quantities of a leguminous seed, the size of a chestnut, which has previously been soaked for a night in water, and the husk removed, or the tuber of a wild yam (*Dioscorea bulbifera*) cut into small pieces, and well steeped in water to remove its bitter taste." Biiu is referred to in the story of Gōbā; it was eaten throughout the Straits.

The banana is cultivated in some of the islands, but it nowhere forms such an important article of food as in the Eastern Islands. Many islands are also devoid of the cocoa palm; in the islands where they do occur every tree is owned, and most of the inhabitants of an island appear to know the owner of every palm in that island.

"Among the edible fruits of Cape York I may mention the *leăra*, a species of *Anacardium* or cashew nut, which after being well roasted to destroy its acridity, has somewhat the taste of a filbert—the *elāri* (a species of *Wallrothia*), the size of an apricot, soft and mealy, with a nearly insipid but slightly mawkish taste—*wobar*, the small, red, mealy fruit of *Mimusops Kaukii*—[*ubur*] and the *apīga* (a species of *Eugenia*), a red, apple-like fruit, the pericarp of which has a pleasantly acid taste. The fruit of two species of pandanus yields a sweet mucilage when sucked, and imparts it to water in which it has been soaked, after which it is broken up between two stones, and the kernels are extracted and eaten" (Macgillivray, II, p. 27). Beans (*Kălapi*), "the produce of a vine-like creeper with legumes a foot in length, were eaten with *biyu*" (*l.c.*, p. 289). The seeds of the pandanus are usually roasted before being eaten.

There are several varieties of banana: at least one kind has been introduced, I was told, by South Sea men. The green banana roasted on the embers of a wood fire forms a very satisfying meal; it is often eaten with the kernel of old cocoa-nuts.

No cereal was known.

Sago (*bisi*) was occasionally imported from Daudai, and I have heard that an inferior kind of sago was occasionally made from the pith of a local cycad. The sago palm "is occasionally carried by the winds and currents [from the Fly River district] as far south as the Prince of Wales Islands, when the natives scoop out the soft spongy inner wood, wash it well with fresh water, beat it up into a pulp, separate the farinaceous substance

which falls to the bottom of the vessel, and bake it as bread" (Macgillivray, II, p. 62).

The edible roots are yams, sweet potatoes. and according to Macgillivray (II, pp. 288, 290), those of the *Hellenia cœrulea* (eaten raw), of a kind of rush, and of a convolvulus, *chawŭr*.

As there were no indigenous land mammals, milk and ordinary flesh food were unknown. The dingo was formerly domesticated in some islands, but I never heard of its being eaten. I think it is doubtful if the pig was introduced into the islands, or at all events it was not general.

I could not say for what class of food there is a marked preference unless it be the flesh of the turtle and dugong, as these were very eagerly sought for, as well as the eggs of the former. The larvæ of a Longicorn beetle are considered delicacies. Marrow is unknown, as neither the turtle nor the dugong have it in their bones. The porpoise is not eaten in some of the islands; a Muralug man informed me, "Me fellow no eat him, he too fat; Măsig, Pourma (Părema) and mainland (Australia) man eat him, because he no savvy spear *dŭngal* (dugong)." The blood of the turtle is eaten.

I have no information concerning any prohibition from eating special kinds of food during certain seasons, except in the case of lads during initiation. Thus in Muralug I was told the lads had to abstain from all animal food, including mollusca and crustacea. At Nagir I was informed that the Kerngē lads were not allowed to eat certain fish, *Paza* and *Takam*, nor "the red one inside craw fish" (*i.e.*, stomach, &c.). Flesh and fat may be eaten, but not "guts" (*soroi*). I doubt if my Nagir informant was quite correct. Members of a clan might not eat the totem of their clan, with the exception of the dugong and turtle clans.

Macgillivray says (II, p. 10): "As a further proof of the low condition of the (Muralug) women, I may state that it is upon them that the only restrictions in eating particular sorts of food are imposed. Many kinds of fish, including some of the best, are forbidden on the pretence of their causing disease in women, although not injurious to the men. The hawksbill turtle and its eggs are forbidden to women suckling, and no female, until beyond child-bearing, is permitted to eat of the Torres Strait pigeon." In the story of Gelam it is stated that his mother ate Torres Straits pigeons. I do not know whether she was supposed to be past child-bearing, or whether this custom was confined to Muralug, and thus possibly due to Australian influence.

There are no storehouses for food. I never heard of unusual substances being used as food, such as bark or clay, in times of scarcity, nor of any invigorating substance being eaten before undertaking any arduous labour. I do not know that salt,

spices, or any condiment are mixed with their food. Honey is eaten when obtainable, but I do not know whether it is used to sweeten other food; the same holds good for the sugar cane. No whets to the appetite are in use, and there is no difference in the food of various individuals.

Fire.—Fire was obtained by means of the simplest form of hand fire-drill; now wax matches are invariably used. (This subject is dealt with more fully later on.)

Mode of Cooking.—I believe fruit is the only article of food which is eaten raw. Fish, after being gutted, were dried in the sun or sometimes smoked. Strips of dugong meat, with the bladder and skin attached, are also smoked, making according to some white people a very good bacon. I have seen such strips hanging on a line out of doors, which was prepared in the dry season for use during the north-west season. According to Macgillivray (II, p. 25), "the blubber is esteemed the most delicate part; but even the skin is eaten, although it requires much cooking in the oven." Concerning the turtle he says (II, p. 23): "The Torres Strait Islanders are accustomed to dry the flesh to supply them with food during their voyages. The meat is cut into thin slices, boiled in a melon shell, stuck upon skewers, and dried in the sun. Prepared in this manner it will keep for several weeks, but requires a second cooking before being used, on account of its hardness and toughness. The fat which rises to the surface during the boiling is skimmed off and kept in joints of bamboo and turtles' bladders, being much prized for food; I have even seen the natives drink it off in its hot fluid state with as much gusto as ever alderman enjoyed his elaborately prepared turtle soup." Meat is not salted.

Pieces of dugong and turtle meat are roasted over the fire, and small pieces are often eaten half raw. Unripe bananas are also roasted on the ashes of a fire. No forks, spoons, or other culinary utensils were in use: a kind of clam called "*akul*" was used as a spoon or ladle; blood, grease, &c., is collected in shells. Meat was formerly cut with the bamboo knife; Dr. Macfarlane has seen dugong so cut up (see also Story of Sesere), and Macgillivray says the Muralug people used a sharp shell for this purpose. At the present time steel knives are alone used.

Meat, tubers and roots were formerly boiled in the *alup* (melon or scoop shell, *Cymbium*), or in the *bu* (a trumpet conch, *Fusus proboscidiferus*); now iron pots are used.

The native oven, *amai*, was described to me as being a hole in the ground, in which hot stones and leaves are placed along with the meat, the whole being covered over with earth (*see* Story of Sesere). Macgillivray thus describes it (II, p. 25): "This oven

is of simple construction; a number of stones, the size of the fist, are laid on the ground, and a fire is continued above them until they are sufficiently hot. The meat is then laid upon the bottom layer with some of the heated stones above it, a rim of tea-tree bark banked up with sand or earth is put up all round, with a quantity of bark, leaves, or grass on the top to retain the steam, and the process of baking goes on. This is the favourite mode of cooking turtle and dugong throughout Torres Strait, and on the east coast of the mainland I have seen similar fire-places as far south as Sandy Cape." Hollow trees, ant-hills, or such like are not used as ovens. Hot stones are not used for boiling.

I do not think that rings of clay or other material are employed to keep the cooking vessels upright. There is in almost every house a circular wire framework suspended from a rafter, on which fish and dugong and turtle meat are smoked, and which may also support some shell vessels. Probably something of the same sort was formerly used, for we find that according to the legend, Tiai's mother erected a light framework (*noi*) over the fire on which to dry and smoke her fish.

Cooking is carried on either inside or outside the house, more generally the former, but the oven was always outside. I know of no kitchens. So far as I have seen the cooking is done by the women only, excepting in the bachelor's quarters, and when the men go expeditions in their canoes. I have never heard of any cooking ceremonies or superstitions. The food for the men and women is cooked together. Fruit and vegetables are never preserved with sugar or by pickling. I never heard any tradition as to the origin of the art of cooking. Kitchen middens are not formed now, nor did I come across traces of ancient refuse-heaps. Dugong and turtle skulls and bones were formerly and often still are, massed in heaps or put out in rows. I believe this was merely to keep count of the number of animals caught in any one season. They were subsequently distributed, and soon crumbled away.

Drinks.—The only drinks formerly used were water and the liquid of the coco-nut. No fermented liquor or spirit was known. Possibly Kava[1] may have been made, but I never heard of it, nor is it made now.

Meals.—The whole family eat together without any distinction as to age or sex. Usually several families live in one

[1] Kava is drunk on certain occasions on the coast of Daudai, as at the initiation feast of the lads (see Anthropological Notes from Daudai, by Beardmore, which will be published in the next number of this Journal). Macfarlane found that this custom exists amongst the natives near the Fly River, "Here it is the boys who chew the root" (p. 126).

house, in which case there may be one or more fireplaces. I cannot say whether two families eat together round the same fire, I believe they would, but each eating their own food. The meals are very simple and unceremonious. Feasts were made at initiation, marriage, and death (*q. v.*). Owing to the absence of intoxicating liquors there were no drinking festivals.

Dietary.—I should say that on the whole the food was sufficiently varied. Yams and sweet potatoes are fairly abundant on many of the islands; some fruit or other is nearly always obtainable. Fish or shell-fish is eaten nearly every day with occasional meals of turtle and dugong; the two latter are especially "rich" or oily. No dirt is eaten or other apparent perversion of appetite prevails. Salt is not used. As to the quantity of food eaten, I should say that it is on the whole less than that of an average Englishman.

Tobacco inhalation by means of the bamboo pipe was the only narcotic. A kind of exhilarated madness or frenzy was undoubtedly induced in the sorcery men by partaking of the decomposing flesh and oil of human corpses. I shall have more to say on this spurious intoxication, if I may so term it, on another occasion.

Cannibalism.—Cannibalism certainly does not exist now, and if the term signifies making a regular meal of a man, it never did occur. A man would tear out the tongue, or other parts, of a man he had slain in battle, and eat it raw or partially cooked, merely as a charm for bravery (see accounts of different islands). They would drink the sweat of warriors on their return from fighting for the same reason. In the "Narrative of the melancholy shipwreck of the ship, 'Charles Eaton,'" by T. Wemyss, 1837, p. 45, the following passage occurs: "John Ireland [one of the two survivors] states that the savages on Boydany Island ate the eyes and cheeks of the shipwrecked people belonging to the 'Charles Eaton.' This they were induced to do from a peculiar notion which they entertain, that such conduct will increase their desire after the blood of white men." The shipwrecked crew were brained in August, 1834, by a party of Aurid men who were fishing at Boydany (this latter island is not named on the latest Admiralty Chart); whether the motive here given is correct, I cannot say. There were women and children with the murdered crew.

Narcotics.—Tobacco is the only narcotic used, and it was invariably used for inhalation from the characteristic bamboo pipe. At the present time the use of the bamboo pipe is being supplanted by short European wooden and clay pipes, and by the use of cigarettes. The latter are made from trade tobacco cut as required, crumbled in the hand, and then rolled up in a

piece of paper (newspaper preferably) or in a fragment of a banana leaf. The native pipe is made from a piece of bamboo from over a foot to between two and three or even four feet in length. The natural partition at one end and the intermediate one, if such occurs, is perforated. At one end of the pipe there is always a complete partition, and near this a small hole is bored. Into the latter a small wooden or bamboo tube, a few inches in length, is inserted. The tobacco is put in this and the open end of the pipe applied to the mouth, and by suction the pipe is filled with tobacco smoke; often they will even put their mouth to the bowl and blow down through it. As soon as the pipe is filled with smoke, the right hand is applied to the open end and the bowl is removed. The small hole is applied to the mouth and the smoke sucked through it, after the withdrawal of the hand from the open end. The length of the pipe causes such a draught that the smoke is violently inhaled. When a man has had a suck he will put his hand to the open end, to prevent the escape of the smoke, and pass it on to another, who receives, and may be transmits it to another in the same manner. The women usually prepare the pipe and pass it on to their men.

The effect of this kind of smoking appears to be very severe. The men always seem quite dazed for a second or two—sometimes longer—but they enjoy it greatly, and value tobacco very highly; they will usually sell anything they possess for some. I have seen an old man reel and stagger from the effects of one pull at the pipe, and I have heard of men even dropping down on the ground from its effects. Jukes says of the Erub people (I, p. 187):—"In smoking their own tobacco [which is of a light-brown colour], they break off a piece from the plait into which the leaves are twisted, and wrap it in a green leaf to prevent its setting fire to the wooden bowl. A woman is then deputed to fill the bamboo with smoke, as before described, and on its being passed round, each person takes a long draught of smoke, which *he swallows*, apparently with considerable effort, and stands motionless a few seconds, as if convulsed, with the tears in his eyes; he then respires deeply and seems to recover. They call it 'eree oora' [*are ur* or *ur are*], (to drink heat or fire) and, patting their stomachs, seem much comforted after it. I tried their tobacco, but found it intolerably hot and strong."[1]

[1] A friend of mine, who at one time took to smoking the Papuan pipe, gave me the following account of his experiences. The inhaled smoke is retained for as long as possible and let out through the mouth and nose. There is a very great draught through the pipe, which drives the smoke right into the lungs. At the first time this nearly chokes a person, and this experience generally satisfies all curiosity. After a single inhalation the confirmed smoker feels happy and sleepy; the effect is much the same as with opium, but with none of

Macgillivray also offers similar testimony: "On several occasions at Cape York, I have seen a native so affected by a single inhalation as to be rendered nearly senseless, with the perspiration bursting out at every pore, and require a draught of water to restore him; and, although myself a smoker, yet on the only occasion when I tried this mode of using tobacco, the sensations of nausea and faintness were produced" (I, p. 126).

Tobacco is very little grown now in the islands, as the natives much prefer the ordinary trade tobacco. It is cultivated in Daudai and all round the Papuan Gulf.

Crimes.—As there was no recognised government or state, nor any system of religion, all crimes were of a purely personal nature, and were individually revenged.

There is no reason for believing that homicide was *à priori* reprehensible, it only became so when a man's own friend or relative was murdered by another. No one, however, had a right to grumble at a man killing his own wife or children, as they were regarded as his own property. Infanticide was a general practice. The assistance of a sorcery-man was often sought to encompass the sickness or death of a person against whom a grudge was held. No stigma rested upon either party in this contract.

On the other hand, it was a meritorious deed to kill foreigners either in fair fight or by treachery, and honour and glory was attached to the bringing home of the skulls of the inhabitants of other islands slain in battle. The men of Tud were notorious warriors, and, I was told, often used to make a raid on another island in order that their young men might have trophies, and so find favour with the women. Such raids were, as often as not, made upon weak islands, and not necessarily against those people with whom there was any enmity or ill-feeling.

I never heard of a case of suicide.

What we term sexual crimes were very differently regarded amongst these people. Owing to the fact that the women proposed marriage to the men, the girls held a very independent position, and, rightly or wrongly, they and the married women were considered as the seducers. Thus more than once I was told, "Woman steal man." The wrong done in such cases throughout the Straits was considered as a theft, but in these islands, where the women took the initiative in marriage, it was

the illusions. This smoking deadens all the senses. After a whiff or two, the smoker goes off into a deep, heavy, but not refreshing, sleep. The smoke is quite cool. My informant smoked in this manner for about six months, but had to leave it off as his heart became affected. The heart's action was weakened, and he had a dry barking cough. It made him generally lazy and indolent, but extremely nervous. He always took a pull when the effect of the last wore off, and had a great hankering after it. In his case the lungs were not affected.

a convenient legal fiction to attribute to the women the active part, and therefore what wrong there might be in unrecognized sexual connections. "Woman he steal man, how man he help it?" is an excuse which is not confined to Torres Straits. I was told in Mabuiag that a girl who was notoriously free in her favours was branded; to the man less disgrace was attached. (For further details see separate accounts of the islands.)

After marriage, as the wife was the property of her husband, the latter was the aggrieved party in rape or adultery, and he had to be reckoned with. If the husband was very "wild," the death of both parties would alone satisfy him, but more mercenary considerations might occur to him, and he would let the man off with a fine.

I never heard of any unnatural offences in the Straits, though sodomy is largely practised at Mowat in Daudai.

Morals.—During the initiation of the lads in Tud a code of morals was taught which indicates a really high feeling for morality. Theft and borrowing without leave were prohibited. The hungry and thirsty were to be satisfied. Parents were to be honoured and provided with food, even to the extent of self-denial on the part of the son and his wife. Marriage was forbidden to cousins and also, with a remarkable delicacy of feeling, to the sister of a man's particular friend. A man must not propose marriage to a girl or even follow her when she walks about. A man must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brother when fighting, and not shirk his duty. Probably similar precepts were inculcated in the other islands, and it is also very probable that the people, as a whole, acted up to their system of morality as well as, or better than, the most Christianised peoples of Europe live up to their professions.

The popular legends do not set up heroic ideals of virtue, as we now understand that term. Kwoiam killed his mother for cursing him, and then went fighting in Boigu and Daudai to kill men "to pay for mother," whatever that may mean. Gelam behaved meanly to his mother in giving her lean pigeons to eat; she played a practical joke upon him and frightened him, on discovering which he retaliated, and then he went to another island. Goba, however, was killed after he had duped two villages by continually eating up the food which they had entrusted to him for mutual barter. In the story of Sesere the men who stole his meat were amply punished with death. Poor Yawar was brutally treated by the men, who continually forgot his instructions concerning the best method of cultivating yams. The infant Upi was cruelly and wantonly speared by some men in play.

I believe that public opinion as to what was good or bad

was not much cared for one way or another. The people are great talkers, and are always ready to sit down and "yarn." Doubtless formerly the "big men" looked after the morals of the community in a general sort of way, but I suspect that any man who could take care of himself could do pretty well what he liked, but no one was free from the supposed effects of sorcery.

Parents are very fond of their children, and I have never heard of a man ill-treating his wife or children, nor do I believe that the wives had much to complain of in the past. According to Macgillivray the Muralug women were not particularly well-treated, but I cannot help thinking that in this, as in many other cases, the Kauralaig were more debased than the other islanders. When a man was "wild" from the effects of his being in training for sorcery (this appears to have been particularly the case after he had partaken of putrid human corpses), he might on the slightest provocation murder his wife and children and no punishment would follow.

No religious influence was brought to bear on moral conduct nor was there any reward or punishment for deeds or conduct, in this world or the next.

There must have been a strong sense of commercial morality, or the custom of purchasing canoes on the three-year-hire system could never have originated or have been kept up. This moral feeling had clearly a utilitarian foundation, for I particularly enquired whether cheating occurred, and pointed out the difficulty there would be in detection. The continuance of the custom proved that dishonesty was, at least, very rare. There was a good chance for cheating to be found out, as friends of the creditor would inform. Should partial or entire repudiation of debt take place, the supply of canoes would cease, then "how we get fish or turtle or dugong, we hungry all the time, that no good," and furthermore there would be a fight.

I gathered the impression that chastity before marriage was unknown, free intercourse not being considered wrong; it was merely "fashion along we folk." On the other hand, I do not believe that unbridled license was indulged in. Decorum was observed—thus I was told in Tud a girl, before going to sleep, would tie a string round her foot and pass it under the thatched wall of the house. In the middle of the night her lover would come, pull the string, and so awaken the girl, who would then join him. As the chief of Mabuiag said, "What can the father do; if she wants the man how can he stop her?"

During actual courtship and the probation period before marriage, I do not think that sexual intercourse took place between the contracting parties, except in the case of the

Muralug people. Possibly neither were celibate during this period, almost certainly not the men.

Marriage certainly implied the personal and sole rights of the man over the woman. Adultery, on the woman's part, constituted an act of theft, and therefore was a personal injury. I am doubtful whether it was really an offence against morals.

The Rev. Dr. MacFarlane, however, informs me that he believes that the natives maintained a fair standard of sexual morality before any intercourse with other nationalities.

Bravery, ferocity, endurance of pain and hardship, and other warlike qualities, were undoubtedly regarded as great virtues.

Covenants, oaths, ordeals.—I never heard of any of these.

Religion, Fetishes, &c.

Souls.—I never heard anything which led me to believe that the natives recognized that they had a soul when living, or anything analogous to it, but they certainly did believe that after death their "*mari*" left the corpse. *Mari* may be variously translated as shadow, reflection, spirit, ghost. If it were required to preserve the skull of a deceased person, a number of men would, several days after death, very quietly approach the raised platform or temporary grave, as the case might be, and then simultaneously stamp the ground with one foot and make a grunt to frighten away the remaining *mari* of the deceased, otherwise the head would not come off easily. I gathered that there was a belief that part of the *mari* left at death and part remained until frightened away. I also heard something about watching at the graves for a few nights to see if anything would happen. I could not get a satisfactory account of this custom, but the impression I gathered was that the *mari* haunted the body for several days after death, and the relatives probably kept their vigil in order that the *mari* might in some way or another give them information which would lead to the detection of the individual who had caused the death, for, as I have elsewhere stated, they do not believe that either disease or death are due to natural causes.

I never heard of any belief in apparitions of men seen at a distance at the time of their death, nor in the appearing of a *mari* to a person.

I have no information of any past practice of human beings or animals being put to death at the burial of a person. The only exception to this is in the legend of Kwoiam. That hero, after he had murdered his mother for cursing him, cut off her head with his bamboo knife, and said to the corpse, "I'm going to kill everybody in the other islands to pay for you." I could not quite understand what was meant, but took it to be a

form of blood-price. If some one else had killed his mother, it would have been Kwoiam's duty to be revenged upon the murderer's people; having done it himself he could hardly avenge her death on his neighbours, and so strangers paid the price. I heard no hint of people being put to death to serve as spirit companions for any one else.

I do not know whether there was a belief as to animals or plants possessing *mari* like those of men. At all events, the smaller articles or utensils belonging to the deceased were often buried with them or hung round their graves. I have seen bodies wrapped in their own mats, and the unfinished food of their last meal left by the side of the corpse. A bamboo pipe would often be hung on the grave posts or placed on the grave, together with food and a cocoanut water-vessel. I expect this was partly for the delectation of the *mari* of the deceased, and partly on account of a feeling against using the more personal effects of a dead relative which had been in use immediately before death. Valuable property, such as shell ornaments or stone clubs, would not be buried with the dead. I do not know that they believed that the *mari* of the deceased person fed on or utilised the *mari* of the objects placed on the grave. The belief in their *mari* is a perfectly indigenous one, and exhibits no sign of having been borrowed or adapted from any outside source.

Future Life.—I do not believe that there is any doctrine of transmigration of souls. According to the legends, Mutuk and his friends, when murdered, turned into flying-foxes, and were retransformed into men when their heads were bitten off. Several birds were supposed to have been human beings long ago, *e.g.*, Sesere. The dog-fish, known as "*Itar*," was once a man. The hero Kwoiam temporarily transformed himself into a frog when he wanted to go up and down hill quickly.

The *mari* of the deceased go to *Kibu* or *Kibuka*, a mythical island situated to "leeward;" this is equivalent to saying to westward, as the south-east trade wind blows continuously for about eight months in the year. It is quite possible that the leeward is the dominant idea and not westward, or in the direction of the setting sun. To a voyaging people like these islanders, it is far more natural that their spirits should be carried by the prevailing wind rather than that they should beat to windward.

I gained no information about the condition of the *mari* in Kibuka, and I certainly did not gather that their condition there bore any relation to their behaviour when alive. MacFarlane informs me that he learnt that the *mari* were supposed to sit twittering on the tree-tops at Kibuka, and that the best men

here, *i.e.*, the greatest warriors, the biggest skull-hunters, and so forth, were in some way or another better off there; how, did not quite appear. Neither of us gathered that morality or religion had anything to do with it.

Manes—Worship.—I do not think it can be said that the souls of the dead were regarded either as demons or divinities, nor do I think it can be correctly said that they were worshipped.

Relatives might be invoked for divining purposes by means of their skulls, as in the legend of Sesere; or, as in the case of Upi, one might divine through the good offices of the skulls of strangers. Thus anyone might do it, no priests being necessary. The skulls would be cleaned, repainted, and anointed with or placed upon certain "leaves along bush;" usually, if not invariably, these had a distinct scent. The inquirer would then enjoin the skull to speak the truth, and putting it on his pillow at night-time, would go to sleep. The skulls were supposed to speak to the sleeper with a chattering noise (described as being like the noise made by knocking the teeth together). The dreams were the messages upon which action would be taken. Wyatt Gill (p. 217), says, "They delight to worship the *Manes* of their deceased ancestors, as represented by male and female skulls. These are carefully treasured up in their huts, and carried with them on their voyages." Personally, I do not think this was a form of worship, but merely one method of divining. The carrying the skulls in canoes, as mentioned by Gill, was probably partly for affection and partly for divining purposes.

When going to war, or in times of peril, men would invoke certain dead heroes, such as Kwoiam or Sigai, so that they might gain courage and strength. I did not discover how the help was rendered, but I believe the idea was that they might be indued with the fighting virtues of the old heroes, and not that they believed that the *mari* of the heroes could do anything.

Their ancestors, so far as I could learn, were never really deified. Personally I could never discover any satisfactory evidence in the belief of a god or gods.

Waus.—It appears to have been the custom in the Western Islands, or at all events in some of them, to have places set apart as sacred to the memory of the dead.

The following are the only two accounts which we possess of these memorials. Unfortunately, neither observers had the good fortune to witness any ceremony connected therewith.

Dr. J. Macgillivray (II, p. 37) gives the following description of what he saw in the Island of Nagir, in the year 1849(?):—

"In a beautiful opening among the trees behind the village we saw an extraordinary screen, named *wows*, the purpose of which, so far as we could understand, had some connection with the memory of the dead. It extended fifty-six feet in length, with a slight outward curvature, and measured five and a half feet in height. It was formed of a row of poles stuck in the ground, crossed in front by three horizontal strips of bamboo, and covered with cross lattice work. The bars of the screen were daubed over with red paint and hung with rows of spider shells, also painted red. Some poles, projecting above the others two to four feet, had painted jaws of the dugong and large conch shells (*Fusus proboscidiferus*) fixed to the top, and numerous other dugong bones and shells were scattered along the front. On the ground along the foot of the screen was a row of stones painted with black and red in imitation of grotesque faces, and to several of these the old man who acted as cicerone attached names of persons who were dead. In some the painting was comparatively recent, and the stones appeared to have been placed there singly at different periods to commemorate the death of the heads of the families of the tribe. We saw another of these curious funeral screens. Like the first one it was situated in a little glade in the forest, but unlike it the front was covered or thatched with cocoanut leaves, and it had a small door-like opening in the centre."

The former of the two screens is illustrated by a plate in Macgillivray's work.

The second account is that by the Rev. Dr. W. Wyatt Gill (p. 220), who, in the course of a visit to Torres Straits and the mainland of New Guinea, landed on Parem, or, as he terms it, Bāramā (Bampton Island). Dr. Gill writes: "A hundred yards farther on were two funereal screens, so arranged as to give one the idea of a passage between them. They were five feet six inches in height, and consisted of a number of stakes driven into the ground, covered with lattice-work. At intervals along the top were hung wooden images of turtle, sharks, alligators (teeth much exaggerated), dingoes, and cassowaries, all painted red, to the number of about thirty. At the base were placed in a row some round stones, *i.e.*, gods, and until recently, human skulls."

Although the inhabitants of Parem are a Daudai tribe, and not Torres Straits Islanders in the restricted sense of the term, they evidently have in this respect, at least, a similar custom, and Dr. Gill's observations support those of Dr. Macgillivray.

At the present time there is no "Waus" still standing in any of the Islands of Torres Straits. In Nagir, the places where they formerly stood, are still to be recognised in the confused lines of bleached and often broken shells of the large *Fusus*, *Cassis* and

Giant Clam, but the old clear spaces are now overgrown with scrub, and a native's guidance is necessary for their discovery.

I am unfortunately unable to give much precise information respecting the ceremonies connected with the Waus. That the Waus was associated with the memory of the dead admits of little doubt. My informant stated that the flat stones on which faces were painted were prepared by the men, and the women would say, "That is my boy or girl," as the case might be, and give the name of her child to the stone, or "*kūla*," as it was termed. The islands of Nagir and Yam only had this custom (?).

I gathered that certain functions were carried out in the clear space in front of the Waus. In fact, we may reasonably regard this as being an area set apart for these ceremonies. It was here that the death-dance or "*Merkai*" was held, and the "*kernge*" or initiation ceremonies, and also a ceremony called "*Maiwa*," of which I was only able to collect fragmentary information, during the fruiting season of the *Wangai* (popularly known as the "Wild Plum"). The men and women would assemble in front of the Waus. Then a man, whose body and head were entirely hidden beneath a covering of leaves, would emerge from behind the Waus and (probably after some preliminary dancing) would chase away all the spectators. I was informed that the kula, or painted stone faces, were placed by the Waus only for Maiwa.

I am inclined to believe that the Maiwa was the real ceremony for the memory of the dead, and that the man, who was so covered with leaves that his identity was visually undeterminable, represented a *Mari*, or spirit; probably not the spirit of any one deceased individual, but a representative spirit of all the kula. The wooden images of animals seen by Dr. Gill may possibly be representations of the totems (*augŭd*) of that tribe.

The Kernge and Maiwa ceremonies might occur at the same time or at different times, but they were transacted in the same place.

Judging from a dance that I saw in Thursday Island performed by Muralug and Nagir men, I imagine that the Waus itself was primarily a screen to serve as a background for the dancers, and at the same time to hide the preparations of the performers who were to come on next, and the *déshabillé* of those who had already taken their part.

Obsession and Possession.—All diseases, ailments, and accidents were supposed to be the result of sorcery. I never heard them attributed to demoniacal influence or of spirits "possessing" people, either nocturnally, as in nightmare, or more or less constantly, as in mania or delirium.

Spiritualism.—I know of no practices akin to modern

spiritualism, unless the divination above referred to be reckoned as such, but, according to the story of the Six Blind Brothers of Badu, lice might be employed as divining mediums, and each brother had two feathers on his head, the spontaneous movements of which informed them whither to steer or where to spear fish. If they asked a definite question the feathers would remain motionless for a negative, and vibrate in affirmation. Kwoiam once used his throwing-stick as a divining-rod. These three latter instances weaken the view that there was any spiritualistic significance in skull-divination.

Fetishism.—Many of the religious instincts of these people found expression in certain forms of fetishism, especially if we include the use of charms within that term. Certain natural carved stones were regarded as having definite powers, whether intrinsically or as vehicles of supernatural influence, I cannot tell. A good example of this occurs in MacFarlane's MS.

A virgin of Sumaiut (a village in the Island of Kiwai, at the mouth of the Fly River, New Guinea) gave birth to a stone, the moon being its father. This miraculous stone was at once adopted as a fetish, and its power was proved by the success of a foray upon the village of Kiwai, also on the same island. Eventually it was stolen by the Saibai men, by whom it was given up to the Lifu teacher (Jakobo) in 1882.

Wooden or stone charms were used to ensure good fortune in dugong and turtle fishing. These were images carved in the shape of either a dugong or a turtle, painted and anointed with various substances, as is detailed in an account of these fisheries.

Wyatt Gill says (p. 217), "The Torres Strait Islanders worship round painted stones, to give success in fishing, to change the wind, &c." And again (pp. 267, 268), quotes from a letter from the Rev. A. W. Murray, the first missionary who visited these islands, "While sitting among the Jervis [Mabuiag] Islanders in their gipsy-looking camp, a little ugly idol was produced, which is affirmed to be the principal god of the Mulgrave (Badu) and Jervis Islanders. It is in the shape of an old man, rudely carved and ornamented, and wearing rather a dolorous expression of countenance. Whatever may have been the estimation in which the said god was held in former times, it is evident that he is at a discount now, as his owner parted with him for a knife. His name is Madusa." This was in 1872 or 1873. I believe this specimen is now in the British Museum; if it be that one, it is precisely similar to the rain-charms used at Mer.

Idolatry.—No images, so far as I know, were made to represent ancestors, demons or deities, for ordinary worship. It is

to my mind an open question how far worship was connected with the "*Waus*," or funeral screen, and the stones with faces painted on them which lay there. I consider the latter as memorials of the dead, not as idols.

Spirits and Demons.—I have no positive information on the subject of a belief in spiritual beings. I believe the natives have an idea that such exist. There was a widely-spread belief in a supernatural being or bogey termed "Dorgai," who was generally on the look-out to do some mischief, but who was easily outwitted and often killed. A dorgai was always female, clothed with the usual *gagi* or woman's petticoat, and her hair made up into long string-like curls (*yalai*) and plastered with mud; her limbs were long and skinny, and her features hideous and awe-inspiring in some cases, or the dorgai could put on a more seductive appearance, and personate the form and features of a woman, so as even to deceive her husband, as happened in the story of Bŭkari, the mother of Kusa Kap. One description of the appearance of a dorgai was that she was an ugly big-bodied woman with long legs but small feet, and ears so large that she could sleep on the one while the other covered her, just like a man sleeping between two mats. According to the myths I have collected, a dorgai might steal and kill a child, capture a man for a husband, get rid of a wife, and so personify her as to be accepted by the husband as his true wife. One dorgai smothered a number of boys and then cooked them in an earth oven with a turtle, and devoured them, another played a practical joke on six blind fishermen and stole their fish. Almost invariably the dorgai were killed by those whom they had wronged, and strangely enough their slayers themselves died. Sometimes the dorgai became constellations, as did also one executioner, "Bu" by name; more frequently the dorgai were transformed into stones or rocks, as well as the men who compassed their destruction.

Nature-Spirits. Worship of Plants and Animals.—I do not think there are any spirits especially attached to natural objects, such as springs, water holes, or spirits of trees, with the possible exception of the above-mentioned dorgai. The totem animals of a clan are sacred only to the members of that clan; but the idea of sacredness is very partial, merely, so far as I could learn, implying a family connection and its immunity from being killed by a member of that clan, no worship or reverence being paid to it.

Polytheism and Monotheism.—As I have more than once stated, I did not discover a belief in gods in the ordinarily accepted meaning of that term, neither in a supreme deity; consequently there were no priests nor temples.

Festivals.—The great festivals were those at the completion of the initiation and funeral ceremonies. Those of smaller import were the wedding feasts, and, I believe, there were sometimes birth feasts, possibly at the naming of a child. There were occasional seasonal festivals, more particularly at the planting of the yams and yam harvest. These latter always consisted of dancing and feasting. On the more important of these occasions characteristic masks of these islanders would be worn, and at these only, thus giving to them a kind of religious significance.

Prayer.—No formal prayers were offered either in private or in public. Warriors when going to fight or when hard pressed would call on the name of some more or less mythical hero for strength. This may be regarded as a form of prayer. Gill records an instance of a native praying to a dugong charm or idol. It appears to me that it is in such cases that a transition can easily be effected between charms and idols. The anointing and putting "medicine bush" on a figure to complete efficacy of the charm is one thing, and I believe this was all that was usually done, but if the man at the same time said, "You send me plenty dugong," or "turtle," or whatever the charm was for, the act might be construed into one of worship; the injunction would be called a prayer, and the charm an idol. So far as I can gather, these islanders are, or rather were, just at this critical point.

Sacrifice.—According to the observations of d'Albertis, turtle viscera were hung up in the shrine of the turtle-charm or idol in Dauan. We do not know what was the significance of this offering. Possibly this was not an uncommon practice, but information is lacking on this point. The idea of sacrifice is unknown.

Austerities.—The only austerities are those connected with initiation into manhood or into sorcery. There was no penance or performance of austerities to induce visions or religious exaltation.

Purification.—The only purification I heard of was the shutting up of a house for several days with a lighted fire inside after the occurrence of a death within it.

Superstitions.—I know of few general superstitions; there were certainly some local ones, for example: At Mabuiag a stream of water rises from a spring on the side of Kwoiam's hill, one of the clefts from which the water emerges is reputed to have been produced by a spear-thrust of Kwoiam's. No young man, on the penalty of premature greyness, may drink from this fountain, though they may drink from a rock-pool a foot or two below, and into which it flows. A few other superstitions will be found in the separate account of various islands.

I did not hear of any lucky or unlucky objects or acts, or of any prejudices connected with yawning, sneezing, or like actions. Although on the look-out, I did not notice that any phrase or word was uttered, or any action or gesture performed after one of these actions; it is different, however, in the Eastern tribe. See also special account of Muralug.

The only curious fancies as to animals I heard of were that a man was formerly supposed to have some affinity for the totem of his clan; for example, an Umai man was credited with understanding the habits of dogs, and with ability to exercise special control over them. Animals are not treated as rational or talked to more than with us, perhaps not so much so. The sucker-fish, *gapu*, used in catching turtle, is supposed to possess miraculous powers, as is mentioned in the section relating to turtle fishing.

One wide-spread superstition is, that concurrent or even future misfortunes injuriously affect the success of any enterprise. In the story of Upi, his mother left him when an infant slung up in a basket inside the house while she went to make her garden. A strong gust of wind blew the basket out of the house, and the infant Upi rolled out on to the grass, and was ultimately carried away by some strangers. As the mother was working in the garden her digging stick broke, and she at once thought something was amiss. "Inside along her said, 'I leave my boy, good, I go look, perhaps some one he take him,'" and she returned home to find it was as she anticipated. According to another legend, a party of Badu men when out on a turtling excursion, left their boys on the island of Matu to take care of some turtle they had captured. One day they had bad luck, and caught no turtle; wondering at this, the men determined to return to Matu, where they found that a Dorgai of the neighbouring island of Karapar had murdered all the boys but two.

A somewhat similar experience to the last occurred when I was at Mabuiag. The chief of Mabuiag has perhaps killed more dugong than any man alive or dead, and one day he boasted to me that he was invariably successful. Very shortly after this he went out to harpoon dugong, and had the misfortune not only to fail in his attempts, but also to break the dart of his dugong harpoon. I am not quite sure that he did not try the following day with the same result. Within three or four days, first a baby died in the village, and then two women. The chief then came and told me that this accounted for his bad luck, and he was quite happy in the belief that it was not his fault that he had missed his dugong.

Here also may be mentioned the former belief in failure to

catch turtle, if certain processional movements were reversed or if prohibited sexual intercourse was indulged in.

Houses are certainly temporarily and may be permanently abandoned after sickness or death.

The natives were, and still are, very frightened of spirits; so much so that they dislike going about at night, and almost invariably carry some kind of torch; but this, I believe, is as much for showing the road and avoiding danger as for any other cause. Spirits are, I understand, supposed to frequent certain spots, and these are passed with great trepidation, though I do not know what evil a spirit is supposed to be able to do.

I never heard of any superstition or customs relating to cutting hair and nails, leaving personal belongings about, &c.

"A man anxious to know whether his friend is well at a distance, goes to the sorcerer, who swallows a crocodile's tooth, which passes along the arm and comes out at the hand. He then throws it in the direction of the place of battle, or wherever the man may be; after a time it returns; if it smells badly the person is dead, if it returns with some human hair he is well" (MacFarlane MS.).

Magic and Divination.—There was no question of lawfulness or of right or wrong in the practice of sorcery and divination. There were properly instructed maidelaig or sorcery-men, and in addition there were some wise men who understood rain and wind charms. Divination by means of skulls was practised by anyone. So far as I could discover the maidelaig did not differ from ordinary men, save in their extraordinary powers; they fished or worked in the gardens and so forth. They were paid by those who used them, but I did not hear of any public remuneration. I also did not hear that they were ever mobbed or violently put to death; they themselves were as subject to the effects of another man's sorcery as anyone else.

Only the spirits of the dead, usually of relatives, were called on (by skull-divination) to give information. Other spirits or supernatural beings were not invoked. In the story of the Six Blind Brothers of Moa, lice (*ari*) were used for divining purposes.

In this story, as well as in the story of Sesere, both of which were narrated to me by the same man, after the lice or the skulls had finished speaking, they were respectively pushed away by the enquirer with the words, "Go away you two, you are not telling me the truth," then bringing them back he said, "Now speak the truth," but nothing further transpired, and the oracle was accredited with having spoken truly. Before being used for divining, the skulls were freshly painted and anointed with fragrant leaves. It would appear from the story of Kwoiam that the selection of the direction of a journey might be deter-

mined by the fall in that direction of a throwing-stick (or other object) held vertically

I do not believe that drums or rattles or particular songs or charms were ever used in divination.

Dreams were undoubtedly regarded as the answer to an appeal to divining skulls, lice, or other possible oracle. Whether ordinary dreams had any significance attached to them I do not know. Dreams were never induced, so far as I know, by fasting or narcotics. I know of no cases of ecstasy or of second sight, either past or present. I have previously alluded to the peculiar mental condition induced by feeding on corpses; this may have, to a certain extent, served the purpose of ecstacy, in so far as the maidelaig were, for the time being, irresponsible agents; but the frenzy thus obtained was probably regarded as an element of power.

I know not of any superstition allied to the evil-eye. I have no information whether the maidelaig ever operated through objects belonging to the victim or intimately belonging to him, such as hair, nails, clothing, or the like. In some cases the maidelaig would give the victim's name to an image before performing on the latter.

Symbolic arts of magic were common; indeed, this appears to have been the basis of most of the sorcery: see, for instance, the modes of raising the wind and producing rain in Mabuiag and other islands. In the special section will also be found a detailed account of sorcery as formerly practised in Mabuiag, and notes on that of other islands.

I never heard of omens being drawn from living animals, birds, the entrails of animals, or from accidents such as stumbling, &c. I do not know that lots were ever drawn, certainly dice were never cast. Astrology and the mysticism of names were unpractised.

Mythology.—The myths and legends I have collected will be found in Vol. VIII of the "Folk-Lore Journal" (1890).

The people are very fond of "yarning," and doubtless the tales are told round the fire as with us. There is no special class of bards or others, the stories are common property; but the "old men" are the recognised depositories of this and other learning, and are appealed to in case of doubt. Some men naturally excel in narration; I found, as a rule, that the Badu men surpassed the Mabuiag men in this art, and Malakula, in particular, is a splendid story-teller.

The legends appear to be firmly believed in, although I was often told they were only "storia." Owing to missionary and European influence many were ashamed of the old stories, or pretended they were. I believe that as with us so with them,

there are many people whose reason forbids them to believe in the miraculous, but who still secretly hug the old traditions and myths, feeling that they were true even if they are not now. Of course, I always spoke of these myths as if I believed in them, and I never cast any doubt upon them or laughed at them; in fact, I discouraged any disparagement of them on their part, and, as a consequence, I believe they told me more than they otherwise might have done. I regarded their belief in their myths as sacred a thing as the belief of civilised peoples in the miraculous in their cults. I had to recognise that it was "all finished now," but that does not diminish faith in the past. On several occasions I urged upon them to preserve the old relics, and not to "chuck away" legendary stones and the like. The entire absence of sympathy for the natives on the part of the white population, whether missionary or trader, has had the effect of causing them to despise their own past.

Some of the heroes of the narratives are manifestly largely or entirely apocryphal, others again have the appearance of being historical personages, Kwoiam, to wit; perhaps the difference is purely one of antiquity.

Certain of their stories come under the heading of nature-myths, as in the case of the Dorgai-constellation myths. I never heard any myths about the sun or moon or elements. I do not know whether the Dorgai-constellations are imagined to be actually living beings: my impression is that the myths arose from an endeavour to account for the appearance of the constellations. The same also applies to those numerous legends in which the characters of the story are transformed into stones, rocks, or even islands. A remarkably upright stone gave rise to wonder at its form and speculation as to its origin; in time it became woven into a legend, and thenceforth stood as a proof of the truth of the same.

Some stories undoubtedly account for the invention or discovery of useful arts or of religious ceremonies. Sesere introduced dugong fishing; Yawar discovered an improved method of planting yams; Tiai inaugurated funeral customs, and so forth. I did not hear a deluge myth nor any account of the origin or descent of man. Men may be transformed into animals, but not *vice versâ*, except as a retransformation, as in the case of Kwoiam and Sesere. Mutuk and his followers were temporarily transformed into flying-foxes, and Bia permanently turned Itar into a dog-fish. I never heard any beast fables. None of the stories appear to possess any moral significance.

There is no episode in any of the stories which has the least appearance of having a foreign origin, or of having been suggested by reminiscences of exotic stories, mythology, or religion.

Mutuk being swallowed by a shark and remaining alive inside the fish for some time can have no connection with the Jonah myth. The non-sexual conception of Kusa Kap by Bŭkari, and Aukwŭm and the Dorgai of Bōpu walking on the sea are also independent of Biblical narrative.

Government.—All the islands of any size now have a chief or *Mamus* ("Mamoose"), as he is called, who is recognised by the Queensland Government (to which colony these Torres Straits Islands belong). The Mamus was in most cases elected by popular vote by the natives themselves, at the instigation of the Government Resident at Thursday Island. His main function is to act as a kind of police magistrate, and with the assistance of the policemen and old men, to pass judgment upon cases brought up for trial.

Formerly every island had one or more head men, who gained their position by personal influence. Great warriors, bullies, or men with extra mental ability became the recognised leaders, but they possessed no real power or authority; it appears they could be deposed, or rather not recognized as important; probably there was a sort of election, formal or informal, during the yarns of the old men. The position was not hereditary. Naturally an important man would be in the way of acquiring more wealth than other men, and this would tend to increase his power and his influence. Any village might have its own head man. The islanders, I should imagine, were distinctly democratic in tendency. The island of Yam was associated with that of Tud, and may be regarded as the garden of the latter island. Thus the chief of Tud was also the chief of Yam; when residing in Tud he put in a *locum tenens* in Yam, but when he visited Yam he at once exercised his own power. This is, I believe, quite an exceptional case. Further notice of the chief of Tud will be found in my special account of that island. There was no system of government except by the oral traditions of the old men, their precedents would constitute a court which was beyond appeal, and which would probably mould or restrain public opinion.

The action of the Queensland Government in causing chiefs to be elected, and in giving them official recognition and certain state duties to perform, appears to me to be a very wise one, and one which acts admirably.

MacFarlane says (p. 28), "There are no real chiefs, but simply head men, who are leaders in time of war, but have little influence or power in times of peace beyond their own families. So that in landing amongst these people you are exposed to the anger, jealousy, or cupidity of any man who may wish to enrich himself, or to spite his enemies by taking your life."

Macgillivray states (II, p. 27), "Throughout Australia and Torres Strait, the existence of chieftainship, either hereditary or acquired, has in no instance of which I am aware been clearly proved; yet in each community there are certain individuals who exercise an influence over the others which Europeans are apt to mistake for real authority. These so-called chiefs are generally elderly men, who from prowess in war, force of character, or acknowledged sagacity, are allowed to take the lead in everything relating to the tribe. In Torres Strait such people are generally the owners of large canoes and several wives; and in the northern islands, of groves of cocoa-nut trees, yam grounds, and other wealth. Among the Kowraregas there are, according to Gi'om, three principal people, Manu, Piaquai, and Baki, all old men."

Weapons.—The weapons used by the Torres Straits Islanders are the bow and arrow, javelin and throwing stick, stone and wooden clubs.

Bow and Arrow.—The use of the bow and arrow extends all through the Torres Straits Islands, but not on to the mainland of Australia. Bows and arrows are of universal occurrence in Daudai and in the land round the Papuan Gulf, and some distance down the South Eastern peninsula of New Guinea.

The bows are usually of large size and very powerful. "The bows are made of the upper part of a stout bamboo, partly split in half, flattened and bent over the fire. The string is a broad strip of the tough outer rind of a bamboo [rattan], and the fastenings are very ingeniously and firmly made" (Jukes I, p. 179). They vary in size from about five to six feet in length, and average about two inches in the broadest part. Jukes saw some at Erub "more than seven feet long, and in the centre more than three inches wide, and an inch thick" (*l.c.*, I, 179). The bows are made by the inhabitants of those islands where the bamboo grows.

In all the Islands of the Straits the bow is held vertically, that end of the bow being held uppermost which in the living bamboo grew nearer to the ground. Jukes (I, p. 209) gathered at Erub that the opposite was the case, but his informant could give no reason for the custom. In stringing and unstringing the bow the same end is placed against the ground, as it is the stronger.

The arrow is held between the thumb and bent forefinger of the right hand, the string being drawn either by the second and third fingers or by the three remaining fingers. The arrow is steadied and shot between the forefinger and remaining fingers of the hand, holding the bow, and to the left side of the latter. (See Pl. IX, fig. 2.)

This is the "secondary release" of Morse (E. S. Morse, "Ancient and Modern methods of arrow-release," *Bull. Essex Institute*, XVII, 1885), but that author does not record the use of the little finger in assisting to pull the string back. I know from several observations that the secondary release is the universal method in the Straits.[1]

Extra arrows are held in the bow-hand. There is no quiver.

I intend elsewhere to describe, with some detail, the various kind of arrows used in the Straits. They were all obtained from Daudai, and those with bone tips are reputed to be poisoned; the natives always take great care when handling the latter. None of the arrows are notched or feathered.

An arm-guard (*kadig*) is invariably worn on the bow arm. It is usually from six to seven and a half inches in length, and is made of obliquely woven split cane or rattan. I obtained a very old specimen at Tud, which was made of longitudinal strips connected and interwoven with regular, parallel circular bands of cane, very similar to that figured by d'Albertis (Vol. II, p. 378, fig. 9). I believe this specimen came from the Fly River.

Javelin and Throwing-stick.—I found that the use of javelins and the throwing-stick had been introduced by the Western Tribe from Cape York. So far as I know this is the only instance in which the Papuans have borrowed from the Australians; the innovation was a wise one, as there is a general concensus of opinion that it is a more formidable weapon. I was informed that it generally took three or four arrows to render a combatant *hors de combat*, whereas one javelin usually had that desirable effect, and besides, a better aim could be made than with bow and arrows; again at Muralug I heard that in fighting the white man javelins were found to be more efficacious than arrows. [According to d'Albertis (I, p. 417), the natives of Yule Island, New Guinea, "prefer the spear to the bow and arrow, which is becoming obsolete among them."] These weapons are found in the westernmost islands from Muralug to Mabuaig, but I do not believe their use extended northward to Dauan, Saibai, and Boigu, or eastward to Tud and Nagir. It is possible that they were used on the two

[1] Judging from a photograph in my possession, taken, I believe, at Motu Motu by a member of Mr. T. F. Bevan's expedition, the same release obtains in New Guinea towards the eastern limit of Papuan archery. But this latter constitutes a distinct variety, as the string is held by the second and third fingers, while the index finger, instead of being bent on the right side of the arrow, is bent and put on the arrow to steady it; otherwise the bow is held as by the Torres Straits Islanders. The archer in this photograph has no arm-guard on; this appears to be also wanting in the north of New Guinea (Dutch territory). (See Pl. IX, fig. 2.)

latter islands, but I have no evidence of it, certainly they did not find their way further to the east.

These were the favourite weapons of the legendary Kwoiam, and when I was at Mabuiag (Kwoiam's Island) a large number of Badu men came for some "Sports," the chief feature of the friendly contests being a match of javelin hurling. The mark was a tree trunk, five inches in diameter, and the distance was about forty paces (say thirty yards). I reckon that about ten per cent. of the javelins struck the stump, some being hurled with such force that the points projected through on the other side of the post. The greatest distance thrown was about a hundred paces (over eighty yards).

It is interesting to note that the javelin and throwing-stick are characteristic Australian weapons, but the bow and arrow are not used, even at Cape York. The bow and arrow is very characteristic of the Papuans, and is the only missile of the black Papuans of Daudai and the country lying to the north of the Papuan Gulf.

The Eastern Tribe of Torres Straits also only use the bow and arrow, but some of the Western Islanders use both projectiles. An analogous overlapping of arrows and spears occurs on the south-east peninsula of New Guinea. The heavy spears of South-East New Guinea are hurled by a throwing-stick, which differs from any Australian implement. That of the latter country is always provided with a hook which fits into a concavity at the end of the javelin, whereas the New Guinea javelins have a pointed extremity which fits into a cup-like receptacle in the throwing-stick. I may here mention that my friend Maino, the chief of Tud, distinguished between "Daudai" (the neighbouring coasts of New Guinea) and "Bru Daudai" to the eastward; the latter, he explained, meant "Spear Daudai," and he made a sketch of a spear sufficiently like the well-known barbed type, common in our Museums, to be quite recognisable and quite distinct from any local spear or javelin; so far as I am aware the word "*bru*," too, is not a local term; so there is evidence that he seized upon a distinguishing feature between the black and the lighter coloured Papuans. How he obtained the knowledge I do not know. He told me of one old Tud warrior, Sigai by name, who was supposed to have once wandered to the eastward in his canoe as far as New Guinea. He was certainly a great and travelled warrior, and if the circumstance related of him is true, he was possibly the only Torres Straits Islander who had accomplished that feat.

"The Kowraregas [Prince of Wales islanders] obtain bows and arrows from their northern neighbours, and occasionally use them in warfare, but prefer the spears which are made by the

blacks of the mainland. We saw three kinds of spear [*kalak* general name] at Cape York; one [*rada*] is merely a sharpened stick used for striking fish, the two others, tipped and barbed with bone, are used in war. The principal spear (*kalak* or *alka*) [*tuna*] measures about nine feet in length, two-thirds of which are made of she-oak or casuarina, hard and heavy, and the remaining third of a very soft and light wood; one end has a small hollow to receive the knob of the throwing-stick, and to the other the leg-bone of a kangaroo, six inches long, sharpened at each end, is secured in such a manner as to furnish a sharp point to the spear and a long barb besides. Another spear [*taku*], occasionally used in fighting, has three or four heads of wood, each of which is tipped and barbed with a smaller bone than is used for the *kalak*."

[The names for spears in square brackets [ ] are taken from the vocabulary at the end of Macgillivray's work, p. 293.]

"The throwing-stick in use at Cape York extends down the north-east coast (of Queensland) at least as far as Lizard Island; it differs from those in use in other parts of Australia in having the projecting knob for fitting into the end of the spear parallel with the plane of the stick, and not at right angles. It is made of casuarina wood, and is generally three feet in length, an inch and a quarter broad, and half an inch thick. At the end a double slip of melon shell, three and a half inches long, crossing diagonally, serves as a handle, and, when used, the end rests against the palm of the right hand, the three last fingers grasp the stick, and the forefinger and thumb loosely retain the spear. With the aid of the powerful leverage of the throwing-stick a spear can be thrown to a distance varying according to its weight from thirty to eighty yards, and with considerable precision; still, if observed coming, it may easily be avoided" (Macgillivray II, pp. 18, 19).

My Muralug informant gave me to understand that there were several varieties of javelin or *kalak:* the *rud,* or small form with a simple wooden point; the *tun,* or large barbed variety; the *taku,* or pronged javelin with barbed points; and the *waki,* similar to the last, but armed with the serrated spines of the sting ray (*waki*) He also said that the *taku* was mainly aimed at the side of the neck, the *tun* at the back, and the *waki* at the front of a foe. When embedded in the body of a victim the gum which surrounds the barb of the barbed javelins dissolves, and in time the barb may come out from the wound, but the string which lashed it remains behind. The latter was said to be poisoned, and to compass the death of a man (this is probably incorrect). The javelins, I was informed, can be thrown with precision: the small ones fly straight and can be easily seen while traversing

the air, but the large ones vibrate too much to be readily seen. The throwing-stick is also used to ward off javelins.

The javelins and throwing-sticks I obtained at Mabuiag from the Badu men above mentioned, were of precisely the same pattern as those I procured in North Queensland. Many were doubtless of local manufacture, but I believe some of the throwing-sticks were imported. The name of the throwing-stick is *kobai*, the peg of the *kobai* is called *naur*, and its shell-handle *tal* (or "finger-nail)."

Stone Clubs.—The usual form is that with the common disc-shaped head: it is known as *gŭba gŭba*. The spiked or knobbed form is very rarely met with. These clubs are, I believe, imported from Daudai. I have seen one or two flat irregular stone heads to clubs which, I suspect, were of local manufacture.

Wooden Clubs.—I procured two clubs, each of which was cut out of a single piece of wood. The head of the club was carved in imitation of the ordinary stone club. At Saibai I obtained a couple of clubs which had the end swollen and shaped like half a cone, with the apex terminal; the handle too, had a shoulder resembling, in this respect, clubs from New Caledonia and the Loyalty Group. I am aware that a native teacher from the latter group has been stationed on Saibai for about fifteen years, and it is possible that this form of club may have been introduced by him or by some of his compatriots; for the present this must remain an open question, but I believe it can be shown that the shoulder at the handle end was an occasional feature in truly indigenous staves.

Laws—(*a*) *Land.*—I have no precise information as to land laws, but I believe that the whole of the land is divided up into properties, certainly the arable land is, the chief sharing like anyone else. There is no one person or class of landowners who possess land to the total exclusion of anyone else. Title to land is derived from inheritance, gift or purchase. I never heard of any means of conveyance. Females may hold land; as a matter of fact, I believe all do. The only remedy I know of for encroachment on rights of property in former times was by personal punishment, provided that the party aggrieved was stronger than the aggressor. Sorcery would probably be called into play if the injured party could afford to pay the maidĕlaig.

(*b*) *Game.*—There is no game.

(*c*) *Inheritance.*—So far as I could gather, all children irrespective of age or sex share alike on the father's decease. I have no information how far and in what degrees relationships are traced.

(*d*) *Administration of Justice.*—There was none. Doubtless the old men of the island frequently met and yarned, and formu-

lated public opinion, but there was no legal machinery for bringing offenders to book, or for dispensing justice or adjudicating in disputes. Now, however, the Queensland Government has had a court-house built in every island having a fair number of inhabitants, where cases are tried by the chief with the assistance of those men who care to attend the court. In these islands there are two or three policemen, appointed by the Resident Magistrate at Thursday Island, who look after the peace of the community, and who bring criminals to justice, and keep them in custody when committed. In Mabuiag, for example, there are four policemen, one of whom is a "sergeant." The chief is supplied with a small list of offences with which he is empowered to deal, and the punishment is also indicated; for graver cases the prisoner has to be sent to Thursday Island for trial. I believe that justice is dispensed with fairness; the democratic character of the people (in the past) would counteract any tendency that might arise towards partiality of judgment. Owing to missionary influence the technical error is made of confusing moral and legal crimes.

(*e*) *Punishments.*—Punishment could only be inflicted by personal retaliation. Death even might be inflicted for anything, provided the man was powerful enough to defy consequences. A husband had life and death powers over his wife. Death was the penalty for infringing the rules connected with the initiation period, *i.e.*, for sacrilege. According to the legend, when Mutuk returned to his own island of Badu, after he had been given up for dead, and his funeral dance had been held, he and his friends from Boigu were murdered. I have, in my own mind, no doubt that the crime in this case also was sacrilege. One of the two most sacred native ceremonies had been rendered null and void by his return. The only way to restore its lost *prestige* was to kill Mutuk on his return, and thereby render the solemn function anticipatory instead of retrospective of his demise. In such cases death was usually inflicted by braining with a stone club. I have no information whether retaliation was acted upon. I heard of no punishments of mutilation or flogging. Mulcts or fines were undoubtedly paid to the party injured; in the case of adultery the fine would be paid to the husband as a ransom, for death was a recognised penalty. Formerly there was no imprisonment. Private revenge in the old days was practically the only method of correction or of redress.

Customs.—The old salutation custom was to partially bend the fingers of the right hand, and to hook them with those of the individual saluted, and then to rapidly draw the hands away. This was repeated several times. This practice was common to all the Islanders, and I believe it also extends to

Daudai—now our manner of shaking hands has replaced their own. On going to a new island I always adopted the lapsed indigenous custom, to the hilarious delight and astonishment of the natives, for scarcely any white men knew of the custom, and certainly none ever practised it. In fact, I rarely shook hands with natives; I "scraped." Jukes refers to the gentle scratching of the palms of the hands at Waier—Murray Islands. As I had always found the action a somewhat violent one, I made enquiries on this point, and was informed that the gentleness was due to timidity.

I believe kissing to be indigenous; this salutation, combined with embracing the head, would only be performed after a long separation, especially if the man had been supposed to be dead; in the case of relatives, at all events, this might be accompanied with shouting and weeping. So far as I know there were no distinctions in the mode of salutation between different individuals. I am not aware of any rules of politeness, but I should, on the whole, consider them as a polite people. A greeting is almost invariably passed when two people meet, and again when they separate. There was a difference in the word of farewell according to whether the party speaking remained and the other went, or *vice versâ*, or whether both went different ways, and each of the three words had its singular and plural form. I noticed many little gratuitous acts of courtesy to myself which indicated a kindly disposition; for example, pointing out any little impediment in the track, such as a loose stone or fallen trunk, or holding bushes on one side to facilitate my progress, instant obedience when I requested hats to be removed when visiting me in the house, exhibition of sorrow and self-condemnation when damage was done by thoughtlessly touching anything with dirty fingers or by rough handling. I have frequently noticed real gentlemanly feeling in conversation and manner. The women occupy a very good position so far as I could judge, and are not contemptuously shunned by the men. The aged are well treated, and neither they nor the hopelessly infirm were abandoned or put an end to, so far as I am aware.

The rules of hospitality are given in the code of morals taught at Tud. I am afraid that the general rule for strangers and enemies was specious hospitality—treachery and death; at times even the first was dispensed with. As a general rule the young of both sexes are very diffident and shy, the boys are always quiet and silent in the presence of the men, and the young men in that of the old men; the few exceptions of bumptiousness and insolence among the young men are probably to be accounted for by the influence for bad of certain white and South Sea men.

The men were formerly nude, and the women wore only a leaf

petticoat, but I gather that they were a decent people; now both sexes are prudish. A man would never go nude before me—only once or twice has it happened to me, and then only when they were diving. The women, according to my experience, would never voluntarily expose their breasts to white man's gaze; if caught exposed she would immediately cover her chest or turn round; this also applies to quite young girls, less so to old women. Amongst themselves they are of course much less particular, but I believe they are becoming more so, and I have been gravely assured that a man "can't" (*i.e.*, must not, should not) see a woman's breasts. The men often go with nothing but their "calico" on, but more frequently they are completely covered. It is very rare to see completely nude children of any age. I have not noticed any reticence in their speaking about sexual matters before the young, but missionary influence has modified this a great deal; formerly, I imagine, there was no restraint in speech, now there is a great deal of prudery; for example, the men were always much ashamed when I asked for the name of the sexual parts of a woman, even when alone or in the presence of one or two men only, and I had the greatest possible difficulty in getting the little information I did about the former relationships between the sexes. All this, I suspect, is not really due to a sense of decency *per se*, but rather to a desire on their part not to appear barbaric to strangers; in other words, the hesitancy is between them and the white man, not as between themselves. Formerly I should say that great licence prevailed among the unmarried, at present there is very much less, but more than the white missionaries are aware of; still, I should call them a fairly moral people now, as an educated public opinion is making itself felt in this matter. I am here referring to what occurs amongst themselves, not with the relations of the girls to men of other nationalities when tempted by gain. I have already said that I do not consider that pre-nuptial sexual license was regarded as morally wrong. Marriage altered the point of view; probably the husbands had not much to complain of. There is no drunkenness, and before the advent of the white man there was none either. A few years ago the natives would do anything for liquor, and doubtless many would still, but the Queensland Government has prohibited the sale of alcohol to natives, a most wise measure. There was no native intoxicant.

All the ceremonial customs concerning which I have been able to gather any information are described in their appropriate sections or in the special accounts of the different islands Practically the old customs have died out, though a few doubtless linger in more or less debased form in some of the smaller

or less visited islands. It is generally admitted by the natives themselves that they are "all finished now."

Taboo—Food restrictions.—No one was permitted to eat the totem animal of his own clan, with the partial exception of the dugong and turtle (see clans and their totems at Mabuiag). During initiation into manhood I believe that a little restriction as to diet was enforced, especially with regard to animal food. The only prohibition for women is that recorded by Macgillivray for the Muralug women. The totem, *augŭd*, is certainly regarded as related to its clan. The men and the augud belong to the same "family." There is no spiritual or symbolical meaning attached to any kind of food either as regards the eating of it or abstinence from it, with the exceptions above noted. I never heard of fasting being practised. So far as I know there were no rules or caste prejudices to prevent any man from eating with any other man. Men and women ate together as a rule.

Speech restrictions.—In Muralug and Nagir married people might not mention the names of their parents-in-law, and I believe they might not even speak to them in the former island. I am not sure how far this custom extended throughout the other islands. At Muralug, according to Macgillivray, the name of the dead was never mentioned without great reluctance, for example, after the death of a man named Us, or quartz, that stone had its name temporarily changed into *natam ure*, or the thing which is a namesake. I know of no words which were formerly considered improper or indecent, but the men I interrogated always manifested great shamefacedness when asked their word for *vulva*. I rather suspect this to be a recently acquired modesty.

Place restrictions.—The place where the boys were being initiated was forbidden to the women under penalty of death by violence. So far as I know the place itself was not sacred; the prohibition was simply to prevent the women from witnessing the ceremonies. I know of no tabooed spot in the sacred sense of the term. Only the sorcery men could enter the houses where they kept their charms. I believe that gardens and plantations were usually made taboo by tying up a leaf, a branch, or possibly, as in the eastern islands, by placing some image or stone on the spot. Infraction of this taboo would be punished by magical vengeance. The object of this taboo is simply the reservation of the rights of property.

Property.—Land is regarded as personal property, and is equally divided at death among all the children, or failing these, immediate relatives, as are also all the possessions of the deceased. Women do not lose personal or real estate on marriage.

Trade.—Trade was formerly necessarily confined to barter: it

may conveniently be treated under three headings of (1) Intra insular trade; (2) Trade with Daudai; and (3) Trade with Cape York.

1. *Intra-insular Trade.*—Certain villages and islands, from their geographical position, would possess greater facilities for fishing, agriculture, or the manufacture of particular objects than others, and therefore would naturally exchange their surplus for a deficiency, or their specialities for the products of other places. The story of Goba illustrates this, in which we are told that the people at Wakaid on the windward or south-eastern side of Badu exchanged *biiu*, or prepared mangrove, for the turtle caught by the Ergan, men who lived on the opposite side of the island.

If the people of an island have been very successful in turtling or in spearing dugong, they would take some of them to another island for barter. The turtle would usually be carried alive, and possibly a lately killed dugong might be conveyed entire, for it could hardly stand a voyage as fresh meat. Smoke-dried turtle and dugong meat and fish were used as food on voyages, and might be bartered, for though the dugong is generally distributed throughout the Straits, it is only abundant in a few spots.

The island of Muralug is the chief manufactory for dugong-harpoons (*wap*), but I believe they are occasionally made in Moa, Badu, and Mabuiag. The Mabuiag people pride themselves on their dugong-harpoons. Personally I thought that those of Muralug were finer, being beautifully finished and with a natural polish of oil; the butt-end too was larger and well-shaped. But the Mabuiag men say that the Muralug wap is too heavy, so that when jumping into the water with it, the spear has a tendency to fall vertically, and so to miss the dugong altogether; therefore when they purchase a Muralug wap they pare off some of the superfluous wood.

Canoes are traded about between the islands: I shall recur to these immediately.

The *dibi-dibi*, or round white shell ornament worn on the breast, and the *waiwi*, or white shell armlet, are both made from the large spotted cone (*Conus millepunctatus*). The former is the cut-off, polished end of the shell, and the latter is made by cutting the shell transversely at the thick end so as to form a wide ring, which is then polished so as to eliminate all the spots. The largest specimens of the cone are found on the Warrior Reefs and the reefs to the east, consequently the finest of these ornaments are a speciality of Tud, the Murray Islands, &c. (See Pl. VIII, figs. 2 and 3.)

The pearl shell (*mai* or *mari*) being everywhere obtainable, the ornaments made from it, such as the crescentic breast ornament, *danga-mari* (or *mai*), would usually be of local manufacture.

The word *danga-mai* literally means "tooth of pearl-shell." May not this signify that the ornament was derived from two boar's tusks fastened together, with their points away from each other? Breast ornaments of boars' tusks are common all over New Guinea. When the ancestors of the present islanders migrated from Daudai they probably found that the pearl shell lent itself more readily to artistic purposes than the tusks, and was far more easily procured. The old name would naturally be retained. (See Pl. VIII, fig. 4.)

The necklaces made from olive shells (*uradzi* or *waraz*) were valuable objects for barter.

Objects made from special vegetable productions would only be made in those islands where the plants naturally grew or were cultivated. For example, the leglets, *mak-a-mak*, which I believe are made from the roots of the coco palm, are only made where the coco palm grows, and therefore the Muralug people would have to import them. The latter, however, so I understand, made arm guards, *kadig;* these the Tud warriors would have to import. The men of Muralug, Tud, and of all the coral islands would have to get their bows from Moa, Yam, Nagir and other islands where the bamboo grows. Leaf tobacco was also an article of intra-insular trade.

The large dance masks made of wood and turtle shell, and decorated with feathers, shells and rattles, were occasionally traded. I bought one at Nagir and another at Yam, both of which I learnt had been made by Tud men.

The large constricted drums (*warup*) are, I believe, all obtained from Saibai, but whether they are all made there is another question.

Feathers, shells, ornaments of all descriptions, weapons, and in fact any of their goods and chattels, were continually being bartered and exchanged throughout the islands of the Straits.

2. *Trade with Daudai—Imports.*—All the arrows in the Straits came from Daudai, as the reeds from which the shafts for the arrows are cut do not grow in any of the islands. Bows, too, doubtless occasionally accompanied the arrows. There was also a large trade in feathers of the cassowary, *sam*, and in the plumes of the bird of paradise (*dăgam*); this is the orange-red plumed species (*P. raggiana*). I only saw one or two head-dresses of the yellow-plumed species; these were obtained at Mabuiag. I was informed that these originally came from the Tugeri pirates, *viâ* Saibai. The Tugeri men apparently live some distance up the Wai Kŭsar River. Drums, I believe, were usually imported from Daudai. The small cylindrical kind (*buruburu*) certainly was, and I believe that most of the large ones with gaping mouths (*warup*) were also of New

Guinea make. I could not for certain make out where the stone clubs came from; I suspect that many of them, at least, came from Daudai. Canoes were also imported. It is probable, judging from what occurred in the Eastern Islands, that manufactured sago was imported.

Exports.— All the products of the sea which were negociable, were sent to Daudai in exchange for the natural and manufactured articles of that country. The main "trade" was *dibidibi*, *waiwi uradzi*, *kirkup* (nose ornament), *wap*, turtle shell, probably *makamak*, and possibly dried dugong and turtle meat, fish, and so forth.

Trade with Cape York.—As a rule only the Muralug people had any dealings with the Cape York natives, and that probably with only one or two tribes. Macgillivray found that only the Gudang Tribe was friendly with the Kauralaig. The miserable condition of the Australians precluded them from having much to offer to the Torres Straits islanders in the way of exchange. Probably the only imports were throwing-sticks and javelins or spears. The Muralug men obtained these from the mainland, according to Macgillivray, and they may have found their way to Mabuiag, though it is probable that the more northern islanders would usually make their own weapons.

Canoes.—The large canoes in the Straits all come from Daudai, about the neighbourhood of the Fly River. I was told the logs were cut and hollowed out at Wabad (Wabuda?) and fitted with a single small outrigger. Thence they passed through the hands of the Kiwai and Mowat people on the mainland of New Guinea, and across to the island of Saibai. Here they are re-rigged with two outriggers, and a gunwale is fitted and the canoe decorated with a figure-head, bow ornament, and otherwise ornamented with feathers and shells. From Sabai the canoes found their way to the other islands of the western division of the Straits.

If a Muralug man wanted a canoe he would communicate with a friend at Moa, who would speak to a friend of his at Badu; possibly the Muralug man might himself go to Badu, or treat with a friend there. The Badu man would cross to Mabuiag to make arrangements, and a Mabuiag man would proceed to Saibai. If there was no canoe available at the latter place, word would be sent on, along the coast, that a canoe was to be cut out and sent down. The canoe would then retrace the course of the verbal order, and ultimately find its way to Muralug. If a man in any of the intermediate places had a new canoe to spare, he would sell it to the friend of the ultimate purchaser. If a canoe had to be made to order it would be a very long time before it arrived, as the message

itself would only be transmitted when there happened to be a canoe going to the next stage, and the same applied to the delivery of the canoe. Another channel of the canoe trade was from Mowat direct to Tud, and from thence to the central islands, and *viâ* Nagir to Muralug.

Payment was usually made annually until the canoe got a little broken; generally three instalments were paid. When a piece came off the canoe it was forwarded together with the final payment as a proof of the statement as to the condition of the canoe. The annual payment was, say three *dibi-dibi*, or goods of about equal value. Should a man be "hard up" when the annual payment became due, a certain amount of credit would be given, if the man honestly payed all he could afford. If the man could afford it he might make a single and final payment, say of a dugong harpoon (*wap*), or a shell armlet (*waiwi*).

The intermediaries are paid for their services by "charging on" the amount depending upon individual cupidity, or they may be recompensed for their trouble by presents from the purchaser.

There would appear to be considerable opportunities for cheating, but this is guarded against by the vigilance of the intermediary traders, who are themselves looked after by the Daudai men. If cheating occurred, the supply of canoes would cease, thus putting a stop to all fishing and commercial operations. In addition there would be war, and the canoe confiscated.

Labour.—Each household is practically self-sufficient. So far as I could gather there was no division of labour as between man and man; every man made his garden, fished and fought. The sorcery men formed a partial exception, but only in so far as their reputed magical powers were in addition to their ordinary avocations.

Occupations differ for men and women; the men fished, fought, built houses, did a little gardening, made fish lines, fish-hooks, spears and other implements, constructed dance-masks, head-dresses, and all the paraphernalia for the various ceremonies and dances. They performed all the rites and dances, and in addition did a good deal of strutting up and down, loafing, and "yarning."

The women cooked and prepared the food, did most of the gardening, collected shell-fish and speared fish on the reefs, made petticoats, baskets, and mats. The men consider it derogatory to do woman's work and when I purposely asked whether the men made mats, they rather scornfully referred to that as "woman's work."

It often happened that one man would evince peculiar aptitude for a certain kind of work, and he would naturally do it in preference to other work; for instance, a man would gain a reputation as a maker of masks, and he would make them for other people. I never heard of any pre-eminence being assigned to skill in handicraft as opposed to unskilled labour. No occupation is prohibited and there is no system of training or apprenticeship; the young men carefully watch the old men in their work, and learn by imitation. I noticed that the son of a specialist was more likely to follow in his father's footsteps than another man.

There were no class of traders or places set apart for trade. Credit was only given in the case of canoes.

Trade Marks.—I was very careful to make inquiries about trade marks. There are certain marks in red paint on the inside of canoes. So far as I could gather the islanders do not recognise these as trade marks, but consider them merely as ornament. I do not know whether they really are a kind of sign manual or not, and if so, whether the Saibai men understand them. A trade mark which is not understood by the purchasers can have no value at all, and the marks in question may very well have a decorative intent. The other objects of trade do not admit of a trade mark, certainly none is put on the dugong harpoon.

Money and Exchangable Values.—There was no money in the Straits; but certain articles have acquired a generally recognised exchange value, a value which is intrinsic, and not irrespective of the rarity of the material or the workmanship put into it. Thus, these objects cannot be regarded as money; they are the round shell ornament *dibi-dibi*, shell armlet *waiwi*, dugong harpoon *wap*, and canoe.

Taking the most valuable articles first, a good waiwi, one which could be worn on the arm of a man, was the most valuable possession possible. The exchange value of a waiwi was a canoe or a dugong harpoon.

I gathered that ten or twelve dibi-dibi were considered of equal value to any of the above. These ornaments varied much in size and finish, and have a corresponding value, thus no table of equable exchange can be drawn up. Three or four dibi-dibi would constitute an annual instalment for a canoe.

Small olive shells, *uradzi* or *waraz*, are also of value, especially when made up into necklaces. When fresh it is of a grey colour, but "cook him and he come white."

A wife was usually rated at the highest unit of exchange, being valued at the price of a canoe, or wap, or waiwi.

In Macgillivray's time (1849) a knife or a glass bottle were

considered as a sufficient price for a wife at Muralug. Now, the natives usually give trade articles to their prospective parents-in-law. My friend Maino, the Chief of Tud, informed me that he paid for his wife a camphor-wood chest full of trade, including 7 bolts (*i.e.*, pieces) of calico, 1 dozen shirts, 1 dozen singlets, 1 dozen trousers, 1 dozen handkerchiefs, 2 dozen tomahawks, 1 lb. tobacco, 1 long fish spear, 2 fish lines, 1 dozen hooks, and 2 pearl shells, and he finished by saying, "By golly, he too dear!" If the above price was really paid, there was some foundation for his exclamation. His wife was a Mowat woman, and I may add that once when I gave him a tomahawk in exchange for something he immediately said he would give it to his mother-in-law, and he did too.

Measures and Weights.—There are no standard weights and measures in the Straits. Articles are counted by number (*see* Arithmetic), or by length, as the case may be; the only unit of length is the fathom. I could not get the name for this, only "one, two," &c. The same applies to the Eastern Tribe; their name for fathom was *kaz*.

War.—All the adult males, after initiation, are fighting men; so far as I know there is no exception to this rule. There is no enlistment or conscription; it is a matter of course. In real war or when attacked by a foray, and in all engagements or doubtful intercourse with white men, the women at once hid themselves in the bush; but in scrimmages such as the marriage-fight, or when a small quarrel was to be settled by a fight, the women would stand a short distance behind their men and supply them with arrows or javelins. I never heard of any permanent organization for war during peace, nor do I believe it existed; it is far more probable that it was extemporised on the outbreak of hostilities. Men never went far from home without carrying weapons of some kind or another, and the blowing of a shell-trumpet or a smoke signal would at once cause them to congregate, should an attack be imminent. There was no distinct class of heralds.

I do not know whether leaders were ever formally appointed, but the ordinary men would naturally group themselves round a recognised warrior, or the crew of a canoe would naturally hold together. The captain ("forehead man") of a canoe usually stood in the bow or on the platform, the man of next importance was the steersman ("mate"). The leaders had no distinctive dress, the only exception I am aware of is a double, forward and downward bending coronet of cassowary feathers (which is now in the British Museum), worn by Kabagi, the late chief of Tud; but I do not think that this was a badge of office, it was merely his distinctive head-dress.

According to the legends of Sesere and the two Dorgai of Karapar, when there was a blood-feud some red paint (red-ochre) would be placed in the centre of the *kwod*, or men's quarters, and a couple of warriors would step forth and daub themselves with the paint, thus volunteering to be the champions of the quarrel. The other men usually followed their example, and would put themselves under the leadership of the former.

Judging from a war-dance which I saw at Muralug, the men advanced to fight in a column three or four deep, one can hardly term it marching, as the movements were too stealthy and tripping for that term, then they deployed into a semicircle and advanced in that form. As soon as a warrior had killed a man he proceeded to cut off his head with the bamboo knife, and strung it on the sling with an exultant "*wahū*," unless, of course, he had to fight someone else. I rather fancy that in ordinary engagements the combatants were fairly equally matched, and that each man would practically have but one enemy to encounter.

In the story of Kwoiam, when that hero had to fight single-handed against the combined forces of the Moa and Badu men, the Moa men suggested to their comrades that they should form an ambuscade behind a fence, and so draw Kwoiam to fight that his back would be turned towards it; then when the remaining men were engaging him in front those in ambush were to spring out from behind Kwoiam, and to kill him; but the Badu men said it was useless, as Kwoiam had two eyes behind his head in addition to those on his face. They then agreed to keep close together in attacking him. Even then the men were afraid of the legendary warrior, and some said, "Very good those men whose brother Kwoiam killed go first," but one and all held back, some saying, "He did not kill my brother, you go first." Eventually the battle was joined.

The same Kwoiam more than once attacked a village single-handed. His method of procedure was to steal up to the place soon after midnight, to pile up combustible material before the small entrances to the village fence or stockade; then setting fire to them he placed himself at the largest entrance, and awakened the sleepers with his yells. In a dazed and bewildered condition they naturally escaped through the non-ignited gateway, where they were impaled by Kwoiam's javelins.

The favourite mode of attack of the Tud warriors was very similar to this. They would travel by night in their canoes, and so time it as to arrive shortly before sunrise. Having stealthily approached the doomed house or village, the greater number of the men would remain outside the fence to cut off the fugitives who endeavoured to escape from the body of picked men who

entered the house or houses. The two reasons given for choosing this time for the attack were that they were dazed by being awakened suddenly in the dark, and they were further incommoded by having to fight before they had time to relieve themselves. To these a third argument might be added, namely, that at that time of the day the vitality of the body is at its lowest, a fact which is known practically to our doctors and generals; this, combined with the other two factors, and the well-known advantage which active attack has over passive defence, would give additional advantage to the aggressors.

According to the legend of Sesere, the Badu men who went to attack him followed in single file behind the volunteer champions. On one occasion there were two of these columns and in another there were four.

I believe a distinction was drawn between different kinds of fights. The blood feud or reprisal for injury done would result in a fight in which no quarter would be granted, and the stronger party would despoil the weaker, and probably either capture the women or first abuse and then murder them. In head-hunting forays the men simply made a raid on a village in order to possess themselves of the skulls of the slain, and thus to gain glory and the approbation of their women. On such occasions I heard that they did not take women prisoners or violate them. If a man was caught in the act of doing the latter he would be told, "We came out to fight, not to do that," and he would be killed. Lastly there would be the more or less ceremonial fights. Macgillivray witnessed and described such a one between two parties of Cape York natives (I, pp. 313–316); and Jukes (I, pp. 255, 256) had a similar experience at Erub. In both these cases there was a great deal of noise and much interchange of missiles, but as soon as one person had received a blow with a tomahawk, the fighting immediately ceased, and friendship was apparently restored. In neither of these two cases was the cause for the skirmish ascertained; possibly, as Macgillivray suggests, "It was one of those smaller fights, or usual modes of settling a quarrel when more than two people are concerned, and assumed quite the character of a duel upon a large scale." A marriage-fight would have a very similar character, probably with even less serious results. I have also heard of a ceremonial fight at Saibai before a ship's party could open negociations with those upon the shore. This happened some years ago, and I was told that the vessel, a small schooner or a lugger, was boarded by the chief; then the arrows began to fly, and the chief hid himself for protection; very shortly it all ceased, and there were no casualties. The chief had previously explained that it had to be gone through, and then barter com-

menced in a friendly manner. I cannot vouch for the truth of this "yarn."

Hunting and Fishing.—There was no true hunting in the islands, owing to the absence of land mammals. The pig has been introduced, and has run wild in one or two islands, where it is hunted every now and again. I do not know whether this pig is the New Guinea hog (*Sus papuensis*), or the more destructive, recently introduced European hog. The former one, I was informed, does not root up garden produce like the latter. The arrow, named *sŭkŏri* or *skŭri*, the head of which is made of a narrow split bamboo, is used for shooting wild pigs, and it is still used for that purpose in Daudai. I was informed that the same arrow was employed in warfare, always being so aimed as to rip open the abdomen. Now, the natives employ guns in hunting wild pigs; this is the only exciting amusement left to the Murray Islanders.

Birds were shot with bows and arrows. The archers would carefully conceal themselves behind trees, rocks, and stones, and often would make a booth of branches and leaves within which to hide themselves. With the exception of the Torres Straits pigeon (*Carpophaga luctuosa*), there are very few birds of any size in the Torres Straits Islands. These handsome white and black pigeons migrate from Daudai towards the close of the south-east monsoon, to breed in certain of the western islands of the Straits and in North Queensland. As the pigeons feed exclusively on nutmegs they only stay in those localities, such as the island of Dauan, where the wild nutmeg-tree abounds. The birds return to New Guinea as soon as the north-west monsoon breaks. Gill says (p. 208), "The natives of Tut go out to sea, and kill numbers of these birds with sticks and stones, while flying over the Straits on their way to Australia. Even birds learn from experience, for of late years these pigeons, having become wary, avoid crossing that island." Wild duck are plentiful in the marshes of Saibai, and various shore birds occur on the less frequented beaches and sand-banks. The pelican and sea-eagle (?) were occasionally shot for the sake of their long feathers, but of all indigenous birds the white egret, or *Karbai*, was the most valued for its plumage, as the brilliant white feathers were used in making the effective "*dri*" head-dress as well as for other decorative purposes. Birds are now mostly shot with guns.

"Shell-fish and fish are alone obtainable all the year round; collecting the former is exclusively a female occupation, but fishing is chiefly practised by the men. Fish are either killed with a plain pointed spear, often merely a stick sharpened at the end, or are taken in deep water with the hook and line. Their

hooks are made of a strip of tortoise-shell so much curved as to form three-fourths of a circle, but from their shape and the absence of a barb they cannot be so effective as those of European make; indeed these last were at Cape York preferred by the natives themselves" (Macgillivray II, p. 20).

Line fishing was practised from canoes and off rocks. The bait was tied on to the large, barbless, turtle-shell hooks. I could not obtain any of these old hooks from the Western Islanders, but I bought several at Mer. The recurved portion of the hook varies in my specimens from two to three inches in length, and the loop has an average breadth of an inch and a half; the breadth of the flat hooks averages $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an inch. This will give some idea as to how clumsy the native hook is. This is never used now, the natives employing European hooks when they can get them; failing these they make neat barbless hooks out of wire nails or anything else that will suit. Those I have are tied two on to one line, and with a small piece of thin twine fastened on to each hook for the purpose of tying on the bait.

Spearing fish is and was commonly practised, either while walking on the reef at low tide or from canoes. The spears employed are the simple pointed spear (*rad*) and the pronged-spear (*taku*). This is usually made by lashing several wires to the end of a long spear, so that they slightly diverge from one another—formerly splints of wood were employed. At Somerset (Cape York) I procured one fitted with three barbed spines of the sting-ray, and I believe these were occasionally used in the Straits.

The legendary discoverer of the art of catching dugong, Sesere of Badu, was in the habit, according to the story, of shooting fish in the pools in the reef at low-water, with a bow and arrows. This is the only instance I ever heard of. Guppy mentions that the bow and arrow is often similarly used by the natives of Bougainville Straits ("The Solomon Islands and their Natives," 1887, p. 153).

Poison is occasionally used in catching fish. I cannot tell whether it is a native custom, or was introduced by South Seamen.

There is at least one fish-weir on the reef at Mabuiag, but I do not remember to have noticed one on any of the other Western islands. The enclosure of large areas of the reef by low stone walls is very characteristic of the Eastern islands: some of those in Mer must be acres in extent. No fish nets or traps are employed.

Turtle-fishing.—In the Straits there are two periods for turtle-fishing, the one during October and November, which is the pairing season, and when turtle are easily speared owing to

their floating on the surface of the water, the dugong spear being used for this purpose, or captured by a man, as will be shortly described. The other turtle-season extends through the remaining months of the year, when the turtle frequent the deeper water and the channels between the reefs. It is then that the sucker-fish or *gapu* is utilised.

When going on a turtling excursion a gapu is caught, and the more experienced natives have no great difficulty in procuring one when required. A hole is made at the base of the tail-fin, by means of a turtle-bone, and the end of a very long piece of string inserted through the hole and made fast to the tail. A short piece of string is also passed through the mouth and out at the gills, thus securing the head by one end. By means of these two strings the fish is retained, while slung over the sides of the canoe, in the water. When a turtle is sighted deep down in the water, the front piece of string is withdrawn, plenty of slack being allowed for the hind string. The sucker-fish on perceiving the turtle immediately swims towards it, and attaches itself to the reptile's carapace. A man, with a long rope attached to the right upper arm, dives into the water, and is guided to the turtle by the line fastened to the gapu's tail. On reaching the turtle, the man gets on to its back, and passes his arms behind and below the fore-flappers, and his legs in front of and below the hind-flappers. The man is then rapidly drawn up to the surface of the water bearing the turtle with him. On the arrival of the diver the sucker-fish usually shifts its position from the upper to the under surface of the turtle. At the end of the day's fishing the gapu is eaten.

The natives have a great respect for the gapu, and firmly believe it to possess supernatural powers. For example, when there is something the matter with the bow of the canoe, the gapu is said to attach itself to the neck or to the anterior shield-plate of the turtle; when the lashings of the float of the outrigger to the thwart-poles are insecure, the gapu is believed not to stick fast to the turtle, but to continually shift its position; if the strengthening crossties in the centre of the canoe are faulty, the gapu is stated to attach itself to the turtle and then to swim away. More than once I was told, "Gapu savvy all same as man, I think him half devil." The sucker-fish is not used to haul in the large green turtle. I was repeatedly assured that it would be pulled off, as the turtle was too heavy. The above information was gathered from several sources, and checked by means of much questioning.

Macgillivray states that Gi'om informed him that the natives of Muralug catch a small form of turtle, which he never saw, in the following manner:—"A live sucking-fish (*Echeneis*

Remora) [the only sucker-fish I saw was *E. naucrates*, A.C.H.] having previously been secured by a line passed round the tail, is thrown into the water in certain places known to be suitable for the purpose; the fish while swimming about makes fast by its sucker to any turtle of this small kind which it may chance to encounter, and both are hauled in together" (II, p. 21).

"The green turtle is of such consequence to the natives that they have distinguished by a special name taken from the animal itself (*súlangi* from *súlur*), the season of the year when it is most plentiful. [I have a note to the effect that '*surlal*' means fast, and '*sūrlangi*' the season when the turtle is 'fast.' This I obtained before I read Macgillivray's book]; this, at Cape York, usually extends from about the middle of October until the end of November, but the limits are not constant. During the season they are to be seen floating about on the surface of the water, often in pairs, male and female together. A few are caught at night on the sandy beaches, but the greater number are captured in the water. The canoes engaged in turtling, besides going about in the day, are often sent out on calm moonlight nights. When a turtle is perceived, it is approached from behind as noiselessly as possible; when within reach, a man in the bow, carrying the end of a small rope, jumps out, and, getting upon the animal's back with a hand on each shoulder, generally contrives to turn it before it has got far, and secure it with the rope. This operation requires considerable strength and courage, in addition to the remarkable dexterity in diving and swimming possessed by all the blacks of the north-east coast and Torres Strait. There are some favourite look-out stations for turtle where the tide runs strongly off a high rocky point. At many such places, distinguished by large cairns of stones, bones of turtle, dugongs, &c., watch is kept during the season, and when a turtle is perceived drifting past with the tide, the canoe is manned and sent in chase.

"The hawksbill turtle (*Caretta imbricata*), that chiefly producing the tortoise shell of commerce, resorts to the shores in the neighbourhood of Cape York later in the season than the green species, and is comparatively scarce. It is only taken at night when depositing its eggs in the sand, as the sharpness of the margin of its shell renders it dangerous to attempt to turn it in the water—indeed even the green turtle, with a comparatively rounded margin to the carapace, occasionally, in struggling to escape, inflicts deep cuts on the inner side of the leg of its captor, of which I myself have seen an instance" (Macgillivray II, pp. 21–23).

Dugong-fishing.—The dugong (*Halicore Australis*) is a very favourite article of food in the Straits, and its capture is an

extremely exciting occupation. This bulky marine mammal attains a length of eight or nine feet, and is a perfectly harmless vegetable feeder, its food consisting of one or two species of submarine flowering plants, allied to our common zostera or eel grass. Although it is found all over the Straits it is only abundant on Orman's Reef and over the unsurveyed expanse of reefs between Mabuiag and New Guinea. The former island is the head-quarters of the fishery of this sirenian.

Dugong were speared either from a canoe or from a bamboo platform, the *nad* or *neĕt*. The implement employed is the dugong spear or *wap*. This is a slender pole from twelve to fifteen feet or so in length, with a heavy, somewhat club-shaped butt. The opposite extremity is usually perforated by a long, slit-like hole and ornamented with cassowary feathers, and sometimes with white shells and the seeds used as rattles. A barbed peg or dart (*kwoiŏrō* or *kwiuro*) is loosely inserted in a terminal hole at the butt end of the wap. Macgillivray states that this peg was made "of bone, four inches long barbed all round," (II, p. 24). The specimen collected by the "Rattlesnake," now in the British Museum, is of a pale brown, close-grained wood. The old-fashioned darts I obtained at Mer were made of hard wood, and with two or three series of barbs; they were about seven inches in length. At the present time the kwoioro is invariably made from a file which has been softened and cut with another file, and then re-tempered. The kwoioro is lashed on to a long rope, nearly an inch in thickness, and some forty or fifty fathoms in length. The native-made rope is preferred for this purpose to European rope on, account of its greater buoyancy. The other end of the rope is made fast to the canoe or to the *neĕt*. (See Pl. VIII, fig. 1.)

When close enough the man bearing the wap jumps into the water, at the same time harpooning the dugong as it is in the act of breathing. The latter immediately dives down, and runs out the rope which is fastened to the dart, the man having to be careful not to get his head entangled in the loops of rope, as deaths have occurred through this accident. The man returns with the wap to the canoe. Other men immediately dive into the water, and when the dugong once more rises to breathe they tie a second rope round its tail, and then, whenever it attempts to rise, the men, by diving at the same time, pull it down with the rope, and in a very short time suffocate the unwieldy animal. So far as I know death always occurs through asphyxia. Owing to the thickness of the skin and blubber, and the shortness of its point, the kwoioro can never penetrate to a vital organ, unless it should happen to pierce the spinal cord. At the present time the dugong is almost invari-

ably speared from luggers, as these vessels are so much more convenient to handle than canoes.

The *neĕt* was only employed on moonlight nights. A man would walk on the reef at low tide in the daytime to watch for traces of the dugong. When he found a patch of "dugong grass" which had been partially browsed, he would erect the staging there, knowing that the dugong would repair nightly to the same spot until the fodder was exhausted. The *neĕt* was constructed of six bamboo poles lashed together, surmounted by the steering board of a canoe; on this the rope was coiled, and the wap put in readiness, and all night the man would perch on this board, awaiting the arrival of the dugong. When it approached sufficiently near it was speared as above. Usually a wooden or stone image of a dugong would be slung on to the *neĕt* to serve as a charm to ensure the approach of the animal. (See Pl. VIII, fig. 1.)

The *neĕt* was always erected with its long axis in the direction of the wind, and the wap was held in the same manner. If the *neĕt* was built across the wind, the latter, blowing through it, would make a noise which alarmed the dugong.

I was informed at Mabuiag that when a man on a *neĕt* speared a dugong, he called out the name of his son, or if he had none, that of his brother. The men in the canoe to which he belonged, and which was stationed some distance off, by this means knew who it was that had speared the dugong. When asked the reason for this, and why he did not call out his own name or that of some one in the canoe, the only answer I could get was "Fashion along we fellow."

Sorcery connected with the dugong.—The following was told to me in Mabuiag, but the custom was probably not confined to that island. Supposing, in former days, a man who had speared a dugong did not give any of its meat to a maidelaig, the latter would say, "Next time you make a *neĕt* I will give you something." The sorcery man takes a stone model of a dugong. This has a cavity, into which he puts "poison medicine, or any bad stuff and thing along reef and sea water, he stir up and poison done." One day the fisherman takes his canoe to a reef and erects a *neĕt*, and the man sits on the top of it. "By-and-bye something inside him talk, 'I like dugong come quick so I go home.'" When the dugong comes, the man springs on to it with his wap, but when in the water his neck gets fouled in the coils of the rope, and he is drowned.

A man who "savvy lokof along dugong," would make a wooden figure of a dugong and paint it red, mixing the red ochre pigment with dugong oil. He then gathered certain bushes, which he chewed and mixed with dugong grass, dugong

fat, and red paint. The mixture, *köiza* (lit. *köi*, many, *zā*, things), was put inside the cavity of the model, and the charm was complete. The one I procured at Badu was further fortified by the addition of the fibulæ of the maidelaig who had originally made the charm; when he died these leg-bones were secured, and when painted red and affixed to the wooden image, greatly increased its efficacy.

Nomadic Life.—The Western Tribe of the Straits is essentially a settled tribe, but in certain islands more or less nomadic habits have been induced. The Muralug people had their head-quarters at Port Lihou, but wandered about the island in communities in quest of food; this they still do. As they can scarcely be said to have cultivated the soil, they were more dependent upon wild fruit for food than the other islanders. The Island of Yam being the garden of Tud, there would necessarily be a good deal of inter-migration, especially at the planting seasons and harvests of the various crops. There was also a good deal of "flitting" of the population of the smaller islands in the central region of the Straits; for example, Macgillivray found most of the Nagir people temporarily settled at Waraber, and often the whole of the population, or nearly so, of such islands as Aurid, Masig, &c., would be located on some outlying sand-bank for weeks together, mainly for the purpose of catching turtle and feeding on them and their eggs. The unexhausted reefs would supply any amount of shell-fish and other food. Wyatt Gill (pp. 200, 201) says of the Badu people in 1872, that they, "like the aborigines of Australia, build no houses, and have no fixed place of abode. The cause of this bird-like mode of existence seems to be that the Bātu [*sic.*] people never cultivate anything, living on fruits and roots growing spontaneously; so, like tramps, they are compelled to be continually on the move." I suspect this was not so much a characteristic of the Badu as of the Moa people, for, according to the legend, Yawar, a culture hero of Badu, initiated an improved method of cultivating yams, which the Moa people never could remember, although personally instructed by Yawar. Further, the Badu folk were intimately connected with the Mabuiag natives, and the latter certainly cultivated the ground. The Moa people, on the other hand, had close relations with the inhabitants of Muralug. Within the last few years the natives of Boigu have migrated to and settled down on Dauan, on account of the ravages caused by the periodical descent of the Tugeri pirates on their island. As the Tugeri men only come down during the north-west monsoon, the Boigu people, in part, pay occasional visits to their old home to make their gardens and to bring away the produce.

Domestic Animals.—The only domesticated animal was the dog, or rather the dingo, from New Guinea. At the present time dogs are kept on a few islands, for use as watch-dogs, if for any purpose at all. The breed is thoroughly mongrel. There were and are no cats. Poultry is now kept by a few natives in one or two islands, but only, so far as I know, where there are South Sea men. The fowls are of no particular breed.

Pastoral Life.—Owing to the absence of any kind of cattle, there was necessarily no pastoral life.

Agriculture.—"Although on Murray and Darnley, and other thickly peopled and fertile islands, a considerable extent of land in small patches has been brought under cultivation, at the Prince of Wales Islands the cleared spots are few in number, and of small extent, nor does the latter group naturally produce either the cocoa-nut or bamboo, nor is the culture of the banana attempted. On the main land, again, I never saw the slightest attempt at gardening.

"The principal yam, or that known by the names of *kútai* and *ketai*, is the most important article of vegetable food, as it lasts nearly throughout the dry season. Forming a yam garden is a very simple operation. No fencing is required, the patch of ground is strewed with branches and wood, which when thoroughly dry are set on fire to clear the surface, the ground is loosely turned up with a sharpened stick, and the cut pieces of yam are planted at irregular intervals, each with a small pole for the plant to climb up. These operations are completed just before the commencement of the wet season, or in the month of October" (Macgillivray II, pp. 25, 26).

In the preceding section allusion has been made to the state of agriculture in some of the islands. The islands of Boigu, Dauan, Saibai, and Mabuiag, of the larger islands, were perhaps those most under cultivation. Several varieties of the yam and the sweet-potato were, and are, the only root-crops. Tobacco was grown to a small extent in a few islands. Coco-nut palms are, or at all events were, not abundant on most islands. They were absent from all of the Prince of Wales' group, probably few occurred in Moa or Badu, rather more grew in Mabuiag. They are plentiful at Saibai. As a rule they are absent on the small islands; some grow in Nagir. The distribution of the banana was very similar to that of the coco-nut. The only agricultural implement was the pointed stick, used in planting and digging yams.

I never heard of any ceremonies or superstitions at clearing land for cultivation, clearing of land, or digging of wells. Each man has his own land, of which he cultivates as much or as

little as he thinks proper; there is no land cultivated by all the people in common. The land is absolute private property, and it is not periodically redistributed. Land is occasionally allowed to lie fallow. Every man has a sole right to the produce of his own gardens; there is no approach towards communism. I do not know that what we term a "year" is recognized by these people, and thus there can hardly be said to be New Year festivals. The recurrent seasons were doubtless marked by appropriate feasts and dances, but I am not aware that there was any distinct period of a general license or lawlessness.

Gelam, of Moa, is fabled to have introduced several useful food-plants to Mer, and Yawar, of Badu, was the agricultural "culture hero."

Boundary marks are of the simplest character, such as a branch or two, should any artificial delimiting mark be necessary.

Training and domestication of animals and relations of animals to man.—Originally the dingo was occasionally kept, I believe; now there is a mongrel breed of dogs, but these fortunately are not common. No birds are kept in captivity. Birds, dugong, turtle, and fish are caught. There are no indigenous land mammals, and very few birds, except during the annual migrations of the Torres Straits pigeon. The totem animals of the respective clans are sacred, but to that clan only. In some of their dances the natives represent the characteristic movements of certain animals, such as the pelican dance and the crab dance. Occasionally men are called after animals, as, for example, Baidam (shark).

The only mythical animal I heard of was "Kusa Kap," the gigantic bird, born of a woman.

Lice are, I believe, the only vermin; lime is rubbed over the hairy portions of the body to destroy them.

Slavery.—I never heard of slavery being practised.

Social relations.—See *Marriage*, &c.

Relationships.—My information under this heading is very meagre. Relationship is, I believe, traced in the male line. Property is evenly divided. No genealogies are preserved. Friends are addressed by name, not by title of relationship; in the islands of Nagir (and Muralug?), parents-in-law were never addressed by name, only as "*ira*" (*i.e.*, parent-in-law). I suspect this custom was more widely distributed than I could ascertain, as I found it especially difficult to get information on the point.

It would appear that the Western Tribe of Torres Straits is in the intermediate condition between a matriarchal and a patriarchal system. The proposal of marriage on the part of the

girls, the tendency for the man to live mainly with his wife's people, and possibly the fair position of the women, may be regarded as matriarchal conditions—on the other hand, relationship is from the father, and the life of the wife is at her husband's disposal. Among the Eastern Tribe the partriarchal system is more pronounced.

Marriage.—I never heard of any tribal or other restriction as to marriage. After repeated and careful enquiries I could get no trace of even clan (*i.e.*, totem) restrictions. The forbidden degrees of consanguinity in relation to marriage are mother, sister, aunt, mother-in-law, and, at all events in some islands (see section on Tud), cousin, and the sister of the man's particular friend (*Kaimi*). There may be other restrictions, but I am not aware of them.

It was undoubtedly the usual, if not the invariable custom for the women to propose marriage to the men. The general method of procedure was as follows:—The girl gave a string armlet to a mutual friend, who conveyed it to the man, and who acted as a go-between. An appointment was made in the bush, during which no impropriety occurred. For a typical conversation which then ensued see account of Tud. In Mabuiag and probably elsewhere there was a period of probation, during which the man tested the constancy of his intended, she all the while sending him food, which he never ate, but gave to his relations. In due time, and with his parents' sanction, the man took the girl. An exchange of presents and food was made between the families of the contracting parties, but the bridegroom's friends had to give the larger amount, and the bridegroom had to pay the parents for his wife, the usual price being a canoe, or dugong harpoon, or shell armlet, or goods to equal value. A man might give his sister in exchange for a wife, and thus save the purchase price. A poor man who had no sister, might perforce remain unmarried, unless an uncle took pity on him and gave him a cousin to exchange for a wife. At Tud the girl's people fought, but not very seriously, the bridegroom's relations.

At Mabuiag the husband left his people and went to live with his wife's folk. This was probably, within certain limits, a very general custom. I found a Muralug man living with his wife at Moa, and Mabuiag men living with Badu wives in the latter island, and *vice versâ*. In the case of the last two islands a proportion of each year is also usually spent by the husband in his own island. On the other hand, Maino of Tud has a Mowat (New Guinea) wife, and in the same island resides an old cranky widow named Wagud, who is a native of Mabuiag, but who married a Tud man. I expect the custom is for a man

to reside with his wife's people when both live on the same island, or to divide his time between his own and his wife's islands when the islands are close together (as Mabuiag and Badu), or when there are intimate relations between the two islands, (as exist between Muralug and Moa), the preponderance of time being spent on the wife's island. When, however, the islands are far apart and the intercourse between them unfrequent, then, I fancy, the wife casts in her lot with her husband's people.

The method of courtship sketched above was not observed in Muralug to the same extent as in the other islands. In a future communication I propose to describe the former marriage customs of the Eastern Islanders, and then I hope to discuss this question in all its bearings.

Polygamy was practised, but polyandry was unknown. The first married wife was the head wife, and had control over the others. The wives lived together. There was no system of concubinage.

Marriage has no religious significance. There was no proper marriage ceremony, nor special customs or ceremonies before or after marriage on either side. I did not gather that there was any particular kind of dress or ornament worn either before or during marriage. The marital rights were enjoyed after marriage without any delay or hindrance. I know of no occasions on which men refrain from cohabiting with their wives, though it appears that at Mabuiag unmarried men refrain from sexual intercourse during the turtling season. I never heard of men exchanging wives.

I believe the wife enters into the family of the husband, but I am not sure that she joins his (totem) clan, supposing her to belong to a different one.

The right of the husband is might, that of the wife obedience! The women appear to have had a good deal to say on most questions, and were by no means down-trodden or ill-used. The women of the Prince of Wales group were the worst off in this respect. At the present time much affection exists between husband and wife, and the men make devoted fathers. One often sees fathers accompanied by a little one, who not unfrequently is perched on the shoulder. There is no reason to believe that this was different in the past.

My impression is that chastity before marriage was practically unknown, and that only flagrant cases of promiscuous intercourse were regarded with displeasure. There is no reason for supposing that it was a question of morality at all. Naturally, I found considerable difficulty in getting reliable information on this and other matters concerning the relations

between men and women. Undoubtedly, adultery was strongly condemned, and I am inclined to believe that the women were fairly virtuous after marriage. Dr. S. MacFarlane, the pioneer missionary in this district, informs me that he considers that the women were, as a whole, virtuous both before and after marriage, and that a certain sense of wrong was attached to breaches of chastity.

Divorce was permissible; incompatibility of temper would form a valid reason. A divorced woman might remarry, could her new husband afford to pay the old one for her.

Certainly in the islands of Nagir and Muralug neither husband nor wife could speak directly to their respective parents-in-law, and would have as little to do with them as possible. I am unable to say whether this custom obtained in the other islands. I made definite enquiries on this point in Mabuiag, and was told that speaking was permitted; whether it is so I cannot tell.

"Polygamy is practised both on the mainland and throughout the Islands of Torres Strait. Five is the greatest number of wives which I was credibly informed had been possessed by one man—but this was an extraordinary instance—one, two, or three being the usual complement, leaving of course many men who are never provided with wives. The possession of several wives ensures to the husband a certain amount of influence in his tribe as the owner of so much valuable property, also from the nature and extent of his connections by marriage. In most cases the females are betrothed in infancy, according to the will of the father, and without regard to disparity of age; thus the future husband may be, and often is, an old man with several wives. [I do not think this was very common in the Straits; doubtless Macgillivray was referring more particularly to Muralug.] When the man thinks proper he takes his wife to live with him without any further ceremony, but before this she has probably had promiscuous intercourse with the young men; such, if conducted with a moderate degree of secrecy, not being considered as an offence, although if continued after marriage it would be visited by the husband (if powerful enough) upon both the offending parties with the severest punishment.

"Occasionally there are instances of strong mutual attachment and courtship, when, if the damsel is not betrothed, a small present made to the father is sufficient to procure his consent" (Macgillivray II, p. 8).

Treatment of Widows.—Widows, I was informed, were perfectly free and could remarry or not as they chose, hence, if this were so, the Levirate, or passing on of the widow to one of the deceased husband's relations, was not in force.

Causes that limit Population. 1. *Conditions of Marriage.*—They marry as young men, not as boys, probably about twenty years of age, and the girls a year or two younger. Now polygamy is abolished there are very few unmarried men.

2. *Separation of husband and wife.*—I know of no customs prohibiting sexual intercourse at any time.

3. *Influences restrictive of fertility.*—Mothers suckle their children till they are two or three years' old—and another child is rarely born until the previous one is three or four years' old. Parents rarely had more than three children—but it is not uncommon to find families of four children at the present time.

4. *Abortion.*—Abortion was very frequently procured; for this they had several methods. There were two or three medicinal plants used for this purpose, or when a woman was big with child, she would lie on her belly and bump it up and down on some stones—or lying on her back she, or her friends, would pound her abdomen with smooth stones. Again the mother might press upon the head of the fœtus, through the wall of the abdomen, with a hot stone. (In Daudai compression by means of a cord was used to destroy the fœtus.)

5. *Infanticide.*—Infanticide was undoubtedly a common practice. At birth the father would decide whether the child was to be permitted to live; if he decreed its death it was simply buried in the sand. As a rule, female children were less likely to be permitted to live than boys. "Too hard work" was the reason assigned for not rearing their offspring. So far as is known this practice is not continued at the present time.

The small size of the islands and the difficulty in procuring food, especially of a vegetable character, were very strong reasons for limiting the population.

Education.—Without there being any specially recognised system in the education of children, their training was, on the whole, a very fair one.

Very early in life the children were expected to collect shellfish and the other edible animals found on the reefs at low tide, and, according to Macgillivray, as soon as they could manipulate the digging stick the Muralug children were supposed to be able to cater for themselves. The boys used to have small bows and arrows with which they shot birds, and small, many-pronged spears for transfixing fish. The boys and girls played together until the former reached the age of puberty.

The instruction of the girls was not a very arduous task; practically the whole of their skilled work consisted in the making of mats, baskets, and woven belts.

The initiation ceremonies for the lads as carried out at Tud and Nagir, and probably in many of the other islands, formed a

very good discipline. The self-restraint acquired during the period of complete isolation was of great value, and being cut off from all the interests of the outer world, the lads had an opportunity for quiet meditation which must have tended to mature their minds, especially as they were at the same time instructed in a good code of morals. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual means for a rapid training.

The castigation the young men received at Tud and Mabuiag, although given as a test for bravery, was in itself a lesson of endurance.

The men who elected to practise sorcery further underwent a severe course of instruction and of disregard for personal comfort and well-being.

Initiatory ceremonies.—Ceremonies attending the initiating of lads into manhood were practised, but I could only get details in Tud, Nagir, and Muralug (which see). I did not hear of any ceremonies performed at puberty of girls.

Games and Amusements.—The men sometimes have trials of skill of shooting with the bow and hurling the javelin. On one occasion a large number of the Badu men came over to Mabuiag with javelins and throwing sticks, and for days afterwards there were "sports" in the afternoon. The usual mark was the stump of a tree about four or five feet in height and five inches in diameter. I judged that about ten per cent. hit the stump from a distance of about thirty-five yards; in some cases the points of the javelins protruded through the stump, with such violence were they thrown. The greatest distance I saw a javelin hurled was over eighty yards.

Sometimes a few Mabuiag men will throw a light kind of club (or stick with an enlarged end) along the hard sand beach at low tide; this slides along for a great distance, the object being to throw the farthest. They play at this walking along the beach and not from any one fixed spot.

The Mabuiag men are very fond of racing toy sailing canoes, which go along at a great pace. They only sail them parallel with the shore, and quite close to it. The canoes are rigged in the same manner as their own canoes, with mainsail, foresail and jib. I have seen—I think it was at Badu—a small light toy canoe with a leaf for a sail; these sail very well too.

A kind of hockey is played at Saibai and some other islands. MacFarlane tells me that it is an aboriginal game. In his manuscript notes I also find, "Play fights with blunt arrows—Game with balls, keeping them up—Merry Andrews (*i.e.*, dressing up with masks and so forth, and running after and frightening the women and young people)—Wrestling and Guessing Names." In the latter the last syllable or two

syllables of a name of a person would be given, and the preceding syllables had to be guessed—as "*ia*" ?—"*Sauia* : *Waria*."

Womar, or *Womer*, a string game allied to our "Cat's Cradle," is played by children and sometimes by adults. I have seen it played at Muralug, Tud, and Mabuiag. The game was universally played throughout the Straits, but it is now dying out; its disappearance, like so many other native customs, appears to be coincident with the spread of "civilised" habits. For a large number of figures they start with the first one of our system of play, but I did not discover that they make any of our other patterns. Usually one person plays it alone, in some cases using the toes as well as the fingers, and often bringing the mouth into requisition.

The patterns are very varied, and many are extremely complicated in manipulation, although the final result may be simple. They are all intended to be realistic; in some cases the object represented is obvious, in others the imagination must be called into play, but other natives invariably recognise them, and different islanders make the same patterns. The following are some of the representations :—*umai* (dog), *korkor* (crow), *kaier* (spiny lobster or cray-fish), *gobai* (larva of the ant-lion), *pearku* (a kind of fish), *ger* (water snake), *gud* (mouth), *urap* (coco-palm), *ngal ngal* (liana, or some other forest rope-like climber), others represent a family of "two picaninny" or "one picaninny," a simple dug-out canoe or one with an outrigger, etc. Various movements appropriate to the object represented are also made—thus, swinging movements are given to the limbs of the spiny lobster; or, by drawing the hands apart, a sinuous motion is given to the snake.

I do not know whether there was any gambling game. I do not think there is much gambling now.

A Malay game of cards, Jaro they called it, was very popular at Muralug when I was there. It was very amusing to hear interpolations of English card-playing expressions in the native conversation during the progress of the game.

There are no animals used or kept for fighting.

There are no dramatic performances or juggling tricks. A certain amount of legerdemain was probably practised by the sorcery men.

Children play with toy bows and arrows, with which they often shoot small birds, and amuse themselves in the water with small fish spears trying to catch fish.

Dances.—The *kap*, or dance, was the great amusement of the Straits. It should be clearly understood that there were several distinct occasions in the social life of the natives when what we term "dances" were engaged in. There was the sacred

Dance of Death, and probably there were equally sacred Initiation Dances. Certain dances which only occurred on definite occasions, such as the musical peregrinations round the turtle-platforms at Mabuiag and elsewhere, or the seasonal dances, such as the *Waiitutu Kap*, may be regarded as having a distinctly religious character, using this term in a broad sense. Lastly there was what I may term the "secular dance," or ordinary kap, which might be indulged in any day, and in which the women might also engage. The war-dance may be considered as a variety of the last group. In consonance with this classification I shall begin with the secular dances.

Secular Dances.—It is very difficult to describe such a dance as the ordinary kap. Like all semi-realistic dances it is composed of numerous figures which are in fact so many separate dances. I gather that there is no set order, and the performance may continue for an indefinite time. The following are a few of the movements:—

The whole company circles round and round the open space, two deep, with all sorts of gestures, cringing, swaying, tripping, leaping; the circling may be from left to right, or *vice versâ*. This figure is called *gagai*, or "bow and arrow." Those weapons were carried by the dancers, and the dance probably represents men on the war path.

A man advances singly and dances in a stamping-like manner. At Muralug this was called *moi i asimŭs*, and *moi i usimi* at Mabuiag, and was said to mean "put the fire out." Macgillivray (II, p. 279) gives *mue utsimem* and its contraction, *mue utsem*, as meaning "the fire has gone out."

In one dance the men continually stand on one leg and rapidly move the other up and down. This is called *dri gĭrer*, or *dri grer*.

A similar one to the foregoing is called *gnar-a-puzik;* in this one leg is raised after the other.

In the *gnar-a-taiermin* there is jumping with both legs.

One dance, *karum-atapi*, represents the large lizard (*Varanus*, wrongly known as "iguana") in a swimming attitude.

In the *tadu kap* (crab dance) a man dances in a crouching attitude with the upper arms horizontal and the fore arms vertical.

I have the names of a few other dances. So far as my experience goes, the *auwai* (Muralug), or *awai* (Mabuiag) *kap* (or "pelican dance"), concludes a performance. The general body of the dancers stand together in the background; from these two men step forward (sometimes only a single man) and dance vertically on the tips of their toes on the same spot; as the drum-beats become more rapid, their jumping is accelerated, their legs keeping time, till, with the quickened music, their

feet become almost invisible from the rapidity of their movement; it almost seems as if they are boring a hole in the ground, the dust rising in clouds. Naturally, this cannot last long, and when tired, the pair retire, their places being taken by another two, and so on, until all have displayed their terpsichorean skill, and a splendid exhibition of activity and *verve* it is. The spirit of emulation is largely evoked in this figure, and the onlookers admire and applaud the most vigorous and staying dancer of this particularly fatiguing step.

At Mowat, in Daudai, amongst other figures I saw the following. The men danced in a circle in single file either from left to right or from right to left; there was a pause after each evolution: during each circumrotation the men would perform some definite movement which illustrates an action in real life, such as agricultural, nautical, or fishing employments; for example, a man would crouch and move his hands about as if he were planting yams—or seeking for pearl shell at the bottom of the sea. These movements are well known to the spectators, though the foreign observer may not catch the allusion. I rather suspect that most of these movements have become conventionalised during innumerable dance representations, just as some of the adjuncts to the dance are degenerate representations of objects used in every-day life. In illustration of the latter point I may mention that I have seen weak painted bamboo-bows carried in the dance which were functionally useless, and at Mer I procured two bamboo knives and slings of a similar character; slender useless clubs or miniature dugong harpoons may be flourished; elsewhere in this paper I have described the ornamented degenerate spare bow-string worn in the arm-guard when dancing. These descriptive movements were the commonest of the figures danced in the Straits, and I have seen them danced by Nagir and other islanders. As a matter of fact I believe that all the dances were originally imitative, but that some have become conventionalised beyond recognition by the uninstructed.

Another more complicated figure I saw at Mowat consisted in the men advancing in a line up each side of the dancing ground; the first pair who met retreated a little in the middle line, still facing the spectators; when the next two arrived the first pair separated to allow them to pass between, and the new-comers took up their position behind the former, and so on, until the last pair passed between the gradually extending avenue of standing men.

In the war dance I saw executed at Muralug the party formed a line two or three deep, and at various times marched, skipped, or stealthily stole along; ever and again they all leapt

into the air, raising one leg, and shouted "*Wahu*" two or three times (with an emphasis on the last syllable), or they made this manœuvre when arranged in a semicircle. Finally there is a rapid movement with exultant cries and with waving right hands.

The significance of this dance, or rather series of dances, is sufficiently obvious. It illustrates a band of warriors proceeding to attack a hostile party. The "wahu" is the cry they made when, having slain and decapitated their enemy, they wave the head on their cane slings, the refrain of the final measure being, "I don't fear anyone—I have slain a thousand men."

Religious dances.—Those of probably less importance are the processional dances connected with turtle ceremonies. The little I have to say about these will be found in their appropriate sections. I have definite information of but one seasonal religious dance. This I witnessed in Thursday Island early in November, 1888, and it evidently inaugurated the fishing season, which commenced with the approaching north-west monsoon.

Some time before the ceremony took place, the Nagir and Muralug natives who were living in Thursday Island made their preparations and practised their chant. I used to go and see the elaborate masks made and decorated. They were all of the same pattern, and consisted of the usual conventional crocodile's head surmounted by a human face; above this was fixed a representation of a saw-fish five feet in length; towering above its centre was a long, narrow, erect triangle covered with turkey-red and flanked with white feathers. Five different kinds of birds, from a bird of paradise to a pigeon, supplied feathers to adorn the remarkable structure, which attained a height of four feet six inches. The mask was painted with black, red, white, and a little blue pigment. In olden time such masks would be made of turtle-shell—these were constructed out of odd pieces of boxes and kerosine tins.

The dancing ground was in front of a small screen (*waus*), behind which the performers retired in rotation for rest and refreshment. As the dances were usually at night, a fire served to illuminate the proceedings. There was great sameness in the dancing, which was practically confined to a man appearing from behind the waus on each side; the two men advance forwards with a sedately capering step and crossed over to the opposite side, and ultimately retired to the ends of the screen; then they crouched down and slowly waved their heads; as soon as the two couplets of the chant were finished they disappeared behind the waus—when their places were taken by two other performers. Only two men danced at the same time. The

dance commenced on a Sunday afternoon, and was continued every evening and at intervals during the nights till the Thursday following.

The men wore the *tu*, or men's petticoat, made from the shredded shooting-leaf of the coco-palm; bands of the same leaf encircled the ankles and the leg below the knee (*duna kukur*), maybe together with the *makamak*, some wore the crossed shoulder belt (*kamadi*), also formed of the palm leaf. Armlets (*musur*) adorned the upper arms; in these leaves were inserted. In the right hand strips of the palm leaf were held, and the large mask covered the head; it was held solely by the teeth, not even resting upon the shoulders.

The song chanted on this occasion, together with the air, is given in full in the section dealing with *Music* (p. 374.)

I have a note of a dance called *kap garig*, which was held in Tud when fruit was ripe. The time was regulated by the position of a star named *Kerherki*. They danced for only one night, but kept it on till daylight. This would probably be a mask-dance.

It is probable that there were several other occasions when dances with masks would take place, and although I have no information on this point, I suspect that certain masks were reserved for particular occasions.

The most sacred of the religious dances were those connected with the initiation ceremonies of the lads and the funeral dances. Of the former I have unfortunately no account from the Western Tribe, though I have some details of that function among the Eastern Tribe, which I propose to publish on another occasion. What I have to say respecting the funeral ceremonies will be found in the sections relating to the different islands.

Communications.—There are only foot-ways, which are not made or preserved save by the actual walking along them. There are no rivers to cross, or beasts of burden.

Painting and Scarification. Painting.—The custom of painting the body on various occasions was universal. The pigments used were red (red ochre), white (lime), and black (charcoal). During initiation the bodies of the lads were coated with charcoal, but so far as I could learn this was for cleansing the skin, not for any ornamental purpose. When going to fight, the men painted their bodies red, either entirely so or partially, perhaps only the upper portion of the body and the legs below the knees, or the head and upper part of the body only. The body was painted black all over by those who were actually engaged in the death-dance. In the ordinary kap the face, body, and limbs would be variously painted with red, white, and black, according to caprice or fancy; in a war dance the painting was much the same as if engaged in an actual conflict. I have seen boys and

lads put a spot or streak of red paint on their face for "flash," *i.e.*, ornament. Plastering the body with grey mud was a sign of mourning.

There is no eyewash or nail stain. The natives often rub oil in on their skins; sometimes they smear themselves over with lime, especially their scalps, to kill lice. The effect of this is to temporarily turn the hair red; it is probably this circumstance which has given rise to the statement of red hair being occasionally met with among the Papuans; at all events I never saw or heard of a truly red-haired Papuan. Wood ashes are also sometimes rubbed into the hair.

Cicatrices.—Tattooing in unknown; but the body used to be ornamented with raised cicatrices. According to Macgillivray (II, p. 13), these were formed by cutting the skin with a piece of glass, then a chewed leaf of a certain plant was introduced into the wound to prevent the edges from uniting, and a daub of wet clay was placed over all, and kept there until the necessary effect had been produced.

"The Torres Strait Islanders are distinguished by a large complicated oval scar, only slightly raised, and of neat construction. This, which I have been told has some connection with a turtle, occupies the right shoulder, and is occasionally repeated on the left" (Macgillivray II, p. 13). I suspect that a young man was not allowed to bear a cicatrice until he had killed his first turtle or dugong.

This cicatrice has been noticed by all voyagers to the Straits. Jukes gives figures of three men, in which it is very indistinctly seen; these are "Mamus" of Masig (I, p. 159), old "Duppa" of Mer (II, p. 236), and "Manu" of Erub (II, p. 237). These are also reproduced in "Sketches in Australia and the adjacent Islands" (Pls. XVI and XX) by Harden S. Melville, the artist who was on board the "Fly." Gill also gives a sketch (p. 241), and states that "a symmetrical scar is made on the shoulder of all males in Mauat [Daudai] and in the Straits." Dr. Gill's sketch is very similar to fig. 8, Pl. VII. In a small book by W. E. Brockett, entitled, "Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits," five sketches of "marks cut on the natives' shoulders," are given on his Pl. II. As all the illustrations in the pamphlet are very rough, too much stress must not be laid on their accuracy, but as the work is rare I reproduce the figures here. It will be seen that figs. 1, 3, Pl. VII, conform to other patterns here given; the crossing over of the lines in fig. 2 I take to be an error of observation. I suspect that the same also applies to the rings in fig. 4, Pl. VII. Fig. 5 I cannot understand at all. It is only fair to add that it is often extremely difficult to make out the exact pattern of a scarification, especially when it has been made for a very long

time. This is, so far as I am aware, practically the whole of the existing information on the subject.

The *koimai* (*koima* of the Eastern Tribe), as this scar is called, was cut either on one or on both shoulders. Its presence, either single or double, or its absence appears to have had no real significance. I was informed if a man had a fine shoulder and wanted to look "flash," he would have it cut on one or on both. Some said it was cut on "big men." So far as I could learn the pattern of the *koimai* represents the coils of the intestines of the fish "*karmiu*" (Macgillivray gives "*karmoi*" as the Kowrarega name for *Scatophagus multifasciatus*); but I am doubtful as to this.

Not a single man of the Western Tribe, so far as I could learn, has a *koimai*, although I made repeated enquiries after it on every possible occasion, and of the Eastern Tribe only three old men residing on Mer possess it. These I have sketched. In the same island I saw and sketched a coco-nut water-bottle with a complicated *koima* engraved upon it, and lastly I procured a mask at Nagir, now in the British Museum, on which one was carved (fig. 8, Pl. VII). I have also seen very imperfect copies of it on the shoulders of two natives of Somerset, Cape York. Lastly there is a bamboo pipe from "Cape York" in the British Museum (fig. 7), on which two small *koimai* are roughly sketched. This pipe most certainly was ornamented by a native of Torres Straits, probably a Nagir man, as two large dance masks are also represented, and a couple of snakes very similar to snakes cut on the backs of the women of the *Tabu* clan.

I was told by the chief of Mabuiag that men would often cut a long feather-like mark on the calf of the leg for the purpose of drawing the attention of the women to their fine legs and their activity in dancing.

I was also informed by the chief of Mabuiag and Tud that women might have three kinds of cicatrices.

1. The *Baga mina*, or *Mausa usal*, a curved line of minute cuts extending from the corners of the mouth, up the cheek, and round the cheek-bone. There is no previous record of this, nor have I seen a woman so marked.

2. *Susu mina* ("breast mark"). I saw only three women with this scar, and two of them were natives of Daudai; unfortunately, I have no information about the third. Melville figures two women, one from Erub, and the other from Daudai, in his "Sketches" (Pl. XVIII), but not in his illustrations to Jukes' "Fly." The scar there depicted is similar to that on two wooden images or love charms (*neur madub*), one of which (fig. 16, Pl. VII) came from Masig, though I bought it at Erub; the other (fig. 17) I obtained at Mer. Both of these are now in the British Museum.

3. The *Kibu mina* ("back mark"). This I have already referred to when dealing with Totems. I believe this was usually a totem "crest." So far as I am aware, no other author has alluded to this mark. The Masig love-charm has a *Kibu mina* (fig. 19, Pl. VII) of which I do not know the meaning.

Although none of my informants mentioned the fact, it appears that occasionally, at all events in the Eastern Tribe, women might wear a *koima*. Melville ("Sketches," Pl. XVIII) has a Daudai woman with what appears to be a lizard on her shoulder, and a Mer love-charm has a simple *koima* of an ordinary pattern (fig. 17). The only woman I saw with such a mark was a widow residing in Mer, but who came from Parem, in Daudai.

My informants told me that the first three cicatrices were cut when the girl first menstruated, and consequently they would indicate marriageableness.

If a girl was too free in her favours to the men, the other women cut a mark down her back, to make her feel ashamed; she subsequently married without difficulty. A man in a corresponding delinquency would only have a charcoal mark painted on him, for it must be remembered that "woman he steal man." This is on the authority of the chief of Mabuiag.

The scars of numerous cuts and scratches, which are still made on any part of the body when ill or in pain, must not be mistaken for definite scarifications; the latter have now entirely ceased.

Clothing.—The men went entirely naked: when fighting they usually wore a cod-piece (*lorda*), a shield-shaped portion of the shell of the cymbium, and in some dances the men wore a petticoat made from coco-palm leaves (*tu*). The women only wore a petticoat; of these there were two or three varieties, different fashions probably occurring on different islands. Their mourning dress, *soger* or *sogerl*, consisted in most islands of a long pendant of frayed leaves, usually of the sago palm (*bisi*), which was tied round the neck, and half of it hung down in front and half down the back. I think this was additional to the petticoat, but of this I am not sure. *Bisuab*, or fringe-like armlets and leglets, of a similar material, were also worn.

No cloaks were worn, or any protection for the head from the sun or rain, or any covering for hands or feet.

Personal Ornaments.—No ornaments were worn as symbols of rank or to denote virginity.

Head.—The hair was, I believe, never allowed to grow indefinitely; formerly it was usually worn long by the men, but short by the women. When the men's hair was cut short or shortish, they would occasionally comb it; now, at all events, it is often

cut in various styles, one of which is apparently on the lines of the antero-posterior cranial deformation formerly practised. A favourite fashion, now quite obsolete, was to form long ringlets by rolling the hair between the hands and saturating it with mud; this was termed *yalai*. The ringlets were twisted, never plaited. I believe that women very rarely wore their hair long; still we read in the story of Gelam that his mother dressed her hair as *yalai* when she wanted to personate a Dorgai. Wigs were made in all the islands, the hair of which was human and done in *yalai*. The hair is and was often reddened by the use of lime, but I never heard that lime was used for dyeing purposes, but only to get rid of lice. Feathers, flowers, and leaves are now, and were very frequently stuck in the hair, but I do not think that combs were used for ornamental purposes; it is true they are sometimes ornamented with a carved pattern, especially those from the Eastern Tribe, and Jukes figures an Erub man with a comb in his hair, but I have no recollection of ever having seen one so worn; they are always kept in a basket. There is a fair amount of hair on the face, but I never saw or heard of any luxuriant growth of hair, and it is certainly trimmed.

When cut short the hair has, owing to its frizzly nature, the appearance of growing in little tufts, a circumstance which has occasionally led observers into the error of believing that the hair actually grows in patches.

"The characteristic mode of dressing the hair among the Torres Strait Islanders is to have it twisted up into long pipe-like ringlets, and wigs in imitation of this are also worn. Sometimes the head is shaved, leaving a transverse crest—a practice seldom seen among the men, but not uncommon among women and children from Darnley Island down to Cape York. At the last place and Muralug the hair is almost always kept short; still caprice or fashion have their sway, for at Cape York I have at times for a week together seen all the men and lads with the hair twisted into little strands well daubed over with red ochre and turtle fat" (Macgillivray II, p. 13).

The effective head-dress of cassowary (*sam*) feathers is usually known as *dagori, dagoi* or *dagoisam*, the corresponding one made of the plumes of the bird of paradise (*dăgam*) is also called *dăgam*. The former sometimes has a central tuft of *dăgam*. I obtained a head-dress of a fish's teeth at Mabuiag, it was called *pikuri*. Dogs' teeth coronets (*umaidang*) were also worn. The finest head-dress is the *dri*, which consists of a fan-shaped arrangement of the white feathers of the egret (*karbai*). (Fig. 8, Pl. VIII.)

Ear ornaments and pendants were of frequent occurrence, but I have never seen or heard of actual ear rings. The lobe of the ear was pierced and the hole gradually enlarged until the greatly

distended lobe was reduced to a ring of flesh. On certain occasions the lobe would be cut on the side nearer the face, if it had not previously "carried away;" thus a long pendulous fleshy cord would be formed, which even at the present time is a very remarkable feature in these natives. The outer margin of the ear was usually pierced in a continuous series of small holes, and I believe these were sometimes continued down the pendulous lobe. Small pieces of grass, or small flowers, or seeds, or bits of worsted, or what not, are occasionally even now inserted in these marginal orifices. The fully decorated ear of an ancient native must have presented a striking appearance. This was known as *muti*, a name which also applies to ear pendants of seeds and other objects. It is this which is alluded to in the myth of the birth of Kusa Kap. Wooden dumb-bell-shaped ornaments were worn in the ears, but I have never seen them in use; all those I obtained came from the Eastern Tribe, but specimens from the Western Tribe occur in the British Museum. The punctured and lacerated ears of the majority of the natives are the reverse of handsome to European eyes; at the present time, however, most of the young men and women leave their ears alone.

The septum of the nose is pierced in all the old and in most of the middle-aged people, but, like ear-piercing, this custom is falling into desuetude. The long nose ornaments (*gigu* or *gigub*) were probably only worn on festal occasions, but the short form was possibly in more general use; now none are ever worn. The nasal septum was pierced with a turtle-shell needle. Neither the *alæ nasi*, the lips, nor the cheeks were pierced.

Body.—Necklaces were commonly worn; they were usually made of plaited grass or leaves; seeds and shells were strung for necklaces, and on certain occasions dogs' teeth necklaces (*umaidang*) were worn, woven belts with seeds applied (*kusa*), or plain, *wakau*, or *wakawal*, were sometimes worn, and also crossed shoulder belts, *naga* or *kamadi*. When specially dressed up, a pair of armlets, *musur*, either narrow or broad, would be worn on the upper arm, and the bow-string guard, *kadig*, on the left forearm. All were readily removable. Women only wore the *musur* when dancing, never the *kadig*. Necklaces were common to both sexes. The *waiwi* or shell armlet was the most valuable ornament of the islanders. The breast pendants were *dibidibi* and *danga-mai* or *dang-a-mari*; the former are the round, white, polished top of the large conus (*C. millepunctatus*), and the latter are crescentic ornaments cut from pearl shell. Although I obtained finger rings (*tag makamak*) at Mer, I never saw any in the western islands. A belt was frequently worn by both sexes, but nothing was attached to it, though leaves (*nadur*, *nadual*)

or a tuft of cassowary feathers (*sameral, samira*) was inserted behind when dancing.

Legs.—The *makamak* was the universal leg ornament. This was worn in bundles above the calf and below the knee; a leglet is a thin cord-like ring made of the roots of the coco palm. Anklets and leglets, *dunakukur* or *brua*, were made for temporary use in the dance or when fighting (see legend of Kwoiam), from the sprouting leaf of the coco palm, and more or less elaborate frontlets, *kokata* or *kwokata*, were made from the same leaf for similar occasions. For many of the ornaments here mentioned see fig. 2, Pl. IX.

Leaves and flowers were inserted in the *musur* and even in the *kadig* for dances, or the latter might have a long tuft of cassowary feathers projecting a good way past the elbow (*paupusa*).

A remarkable ornament, called *kadig tang* or *kadig tam*, and also, I believe, *paupusa*, is inserted in the arm-guard for the war and other dances. It consists of a single or a double loop of split cane or ratan, the free ends of which are tied together and bound round with string or strips of calico, thus forming a handle or shaft, which is inserted in the guard, the loops projecting far beyond the elbow of the wearer. Two strips also, usually, are associated with the loops, the ends of which are often bent round and twisted round themselves and then back again so that the free ends are once more terminal, the double twist forming a fairly regular series of overcrossings on the central strip of ratan. The loops are usually ornamented with feathers (cassowary, Torres Straits pigeon, etc.) or shreds of calico; not unfrequently the ends of the strips are tipped with a bunch of cassowary feathers. (Pl. IX, figs. 2 and 3.)

I was for several months much puzzled as to what this ornament could signify till one day, on re-reading d'Albertis book on New Guinea, I came on the following passage relating to the bushmen of the Mowat district on the mainland of New Guinea. "I remarked no ornaments, except the bracelet worn to protect the arm from the bow-string. They use this also as a bag or purse, and put tobacco or a spare string for their bow and other little things in it" (d'Albertis II, p. 173). On re-examining the specimens after this clue I have come to the conclusion that the *kadig tang* represents a spare bow-string.

I have elsewhere stated that the figures of the dances indicate various occupations treated in a free manner, and the ornaments then worn can in some instances be shown to be degenerate copies of the real object. For example, I obtained two bamboo knives and slings from Mer which were used in the dance, but

which, from their slight construction, are utterly useless as actual weapons. Light bows were similarly used in the dance only. There is, therefore, nothing remarkable in the fact that a false spare bow-string should be inserted in the arm-guard, nor in the degeneracy which it exhibits. The adorning it with feathers and streamers, and the twisting of the free ends, are the natural result of a desire for ornamentation.

Burials.—For burial customs see the special accounts for the different islands. The bodies were never cremated, but always buried sooner or later.

Deformations. Cranial Deformation.—"A peculiar form of head, which both the Kowrarega [Kauralaig=Prince of Wales Group] and Gudang [Cape York] blacks consider as the beau ideal of beauty, is produced by artificial compression during infancy. Pressure is made by the mother with her hands—as I have seen practised on more than one occasion at Cape York—one being applied to the forehead and the other to the occiput, both of which are thereby flattened, while the skull is rendered proportionately broader and longer than it would naturally have been" (Macgillivray II, p. 12).[1]

In a paper entitled "Cranial Deformation of new-born children at the Island of Mabiak and other Islands of Torres Straits, and of women of the S.E. Peninsula of New Guinea"[2] ("Proc. Linn. Soc.," New South Wales, VI, 1882, p. 627), Baron N. de Miklouho-Maclay writes:—

"In April, 1880, visiting the islands of Torres Straits, I had the opportunity of seeing, at Mabiak, an interesting operation performed on the heads of new-born children. During the first weeks after the birth of the child the mothers are accustomed to spend many hours of the day compressing the heads of their infants in a certain direction, with the object of giving them a quite conical shape. I have seen it performed daily and on many children, and have convinced myself that the deformation, which is perceivable in the adults, is the result of this *manual* deformation only. This observation was especially interesting to me, remembering having read, many years before,

[1] In a footnote Macgillivray says:—"Precisely the same form of skull as that alluded to at p. 189, Vol. I; hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that the latter might have been artificially produced." This reference is also in a footnote and relates to a native Pig Island, Sud Est, Louisiade Archipelago. "The forehead was narrow and receding, appearing as if artificially flattened, thereby giving great prominence and width to the hinder part of the skull."

[2] The latter part of this short paper refers to a transverse depression, a little behind the sutura coronalis, in the skulls of the women, which is due to the practice of carrying heavy burdens in large bags, the handles of which are suspended from the crown of the head. D'Albertis noticed something similar amongst the women of Daudai.

the opinion of the celebrated biologist and anthropologist, K. E. de Baer, Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, who would not believe that manual pressure could have such an effect on the skull (*Vide* K. E. de Baer, 'Ueber Papuas und Alfuren,' 'Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersbourg,' 6 série, t. VIII, 1859, p. 331). K. E. de Baer expresses this opinion, analysing the information given by J. Macgillivray [see above]: he thinks that the observations of Macgillivray, who has seen the same above-mentioned manual deformation performed on children at Cape York, are not exact enough. Remembering this contradiction, I was careful to decide the contested point, and now, after careful examination, measurements, and inquiries, I believe the question may be regarded as settled, and that the information given by Macgillivray about the head deformation at Cape York was not too hasty, and was correct. As far as I know, it will be the only well-authenticated example of cranial deformation by means of *manual* pressure."

A. B. Meyer, in his admirable monograph entitled, "Ueber künstlich deformirte Schädel von Bórneo und Mindanáo im köngl. Anthrop. Mus. zu Dresden nebst Bemerkungen über die Verbreitung der Sitte der künstlichen Schädel-deformirung" ("Gratulationsschift an Rudolf Virchow," 1881), refers to cranial deformation being common in New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, the Woodlarks, and Ruk. It is also very common in New Guinea (Geelvink Bay, Waigeü, Rawak and Boni). Deformed skulls have also come from Tenimber, Timorlaut, and Timor. Reference is also made to "Crania Ethnica" (1877, p. 207), where Quatrefages and Hamy describe a deformed skull of a woman from Tud (Toud *sic*), which is figured in figs. 221 and 222. The same authors give a wood-cut (fig. 222) of the profile of a cast of the head of a native of Tud, in which the antero-posterior flattening is well shown. This deformation appears to occur to a variable extent in the skulls from that island examined by the illustrious French savants.

I have myself observed a mother stroking the forehead of an infant in the manner described above, and I have frequently noticed the hair of men, especially of the young men, so cut in front as to carry on, as it were, the slant of the forehead, and trimmed behind as to form a fairly straight vertical line, thus emphasising the local conception of a good-shaped head. When my collection of skulls has been studied further information on this subject will doubtless be forthcoming.

I have already referred to the piercing of the nose and ears. No other deformation is or was practised; front teeth were not knocked out as is so commonly done in North Queensland.

Circumcision.—Neither circumcision nor any other mutilation of the sexual organs was practised.

Tribal marks.—So far as I know there were no marks which served to distinguish a member of the Western from that of the Eastern Tribe of Torres Straits, nor were there any party badges other than those relating to clan totems.

Totems.—All the information I have gathered on this subject will be found in the special account of the island of Mabuiag.

Dyeing. Dyes.—Some of the fringes of bast and vegetable fibre, of which the petticoats, *gagi*, were made, were dyed a deep dull yellow (turmeric), a chestnut brown, and a deep dull brown. The string-like constituents of the mourning costume, *soger*, were also similarly dyed. I do not know how the colours were produced.

Painting.—The pigments used in painting were white or lime obtained from burnt shells, etc.; black, the burnt shell of the coco-nut; yellow, yellow-ochre, said to be obtained from Saibai; red or burnt ochre; a hæmatite was also rarely used; and a bluish grey stone, possibly obtained from Moa and Mabuiag. This last was very rare and greatly prized; it was their nearest approach to a blue. This latter colour is now often obtained from white men, and is valued as being an impossible colour for them to obtain from their own resources. Yellow was very rarely used, so that practically red, white, and black were the only pigments in general use. The colours were mixed with water, rarely, if ever, with oil. There is no varnish lacquer. All suitable objects serve as brushes. Those in most common use are the frayed husk of the coco-nut, and the dried fruit of the Pandanus, one end of which weathers off into a dense tuft of fibres.

There was no sacred colour, but red was their favourite, and their sacred objects were usually more or less painted with that colour.

Music.—The natives generally sing with a rhythmic beating of the drum as an accompaniment, but may not necessarily do so. I believe all songs are sung by men and women alike, except those chants used by the former only during the initiation ceremonies.

The only chant I have taken down is in six-eight time, and is sung in unison; this is invariably the case, I believe. The songs themselves seem to be of a very uninteresting character, and sometimes consist of merely a couple of words repeated *ad nauseam*. Drums and a primitive kind of rattle are their only orchestral instruments; two sticks may also be beaten together so to increase the staccato effect of the drums, but they are never used by themselves as is the case in Australia. Drums are of

two kinds, the large one of hour glass form and with a slit-like mouth (*warup*), and the smaller cylindrical variety (*buruburu*). Empty seeds (*goa*) or shells are often attached to masks or drums to serve as rattles. When dancing the rattle seeds may also be attached to a stick held in the hand or slung on a belt and hung in a bunch behind, or rattles may be tied on to the arms or ankles.

The drums have but one tympanum, which is beaten by the fingers of the extended hand only. They have no definite "tone," and have no contrivance by which the skin can be tightened or slackened as required; when the tympanum, consisting always of a lizard's skin, becomes too slack, it is heated; lumps of wild beeswax, "sugar bag," are usually stuck on the skin to increase its resonance.

There are no manufactured wind instruments, but a large Fusus ("*bu*") is used as a trumpet; so far as I have seen the mouth hole is always lateral. I made special enquiries, but never heard of any nose-flutes or wind or stringed instruments of any kind, but a bamboo Jew's harp was common.

The "*bu*" is used for conveying signals, but now at all events is most frequently blown when the natives are sailing, especially when going fast or racing.

Of a similar use to the above were the small shrill (*wainis*) and the lower toned (*bigu*) bull-roarers. So far as I could learn, after repeated enquiries, it was only in Muralug that the bull-roarer (*wanĕs*) had a sacred significance, as will be seen in the account of the initiation ceremony, the women of that island only were not allowed to see it (this is an Australian feature). (Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. VIII.)

There was a remarkable form of rattle (*pădătrong*), so far as I know unique, which was said to be employed in Mabuiag during the turtle ceremonies.

The *pădătrong*, according to my Mabuiag informant, was a musical instrument consisting of a split bamboo, in which was inserted a bundle of long thin sticks; the sticks were tied round with a piece of string, which, when pulled violently, made a loud noise. I have never seen one of them, nor did anyone in Mabuiag profess to know how to make one. The above description was arrived at by verbal information. (The foregoing is an extract from my notes, and it was with great pleasure that I found the same instrument at Mer, where it is known as *lolo*. The *lolo* is not in use now, but I had several of them made for me. I was informed it was only employed by the young men as a rattle at night time to frighten the women. Fig. 7, Pl. IX, represents the one now in British Museum. The form of the split bamboo varied somewhat and was ornamented according to pleasure.)

A Jew's harp, *darubi* (*darobĕri* of the Eastern Tribe), was in use in the Straits; it was larger in size than the ordinary New Guinea instrument, but like it there was a string with which to vibrate its tongue. It is not made now, though I got a couple made for me as specimens; these did not play properly. English made metal Jew's harps are much appreciated.

The drums all came from Daudai, the other instruments were of local manufacture.

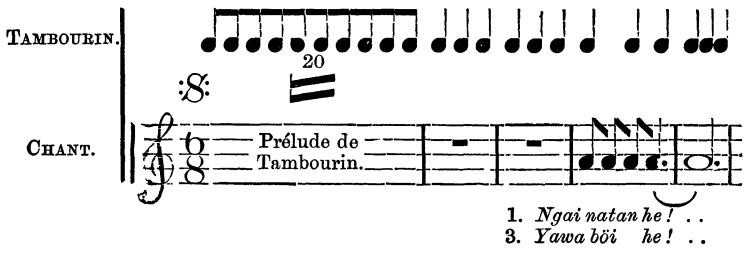
Singing with a drum accompaniment is an almost invariable feature of all ceremonies and dances, but the Nagir men (possibly others too) have a very effective figure in a *kap* in which the drum only is beaten. Singing and drums may be heard when there is no *kap*, especially if the natives are practising up for one.

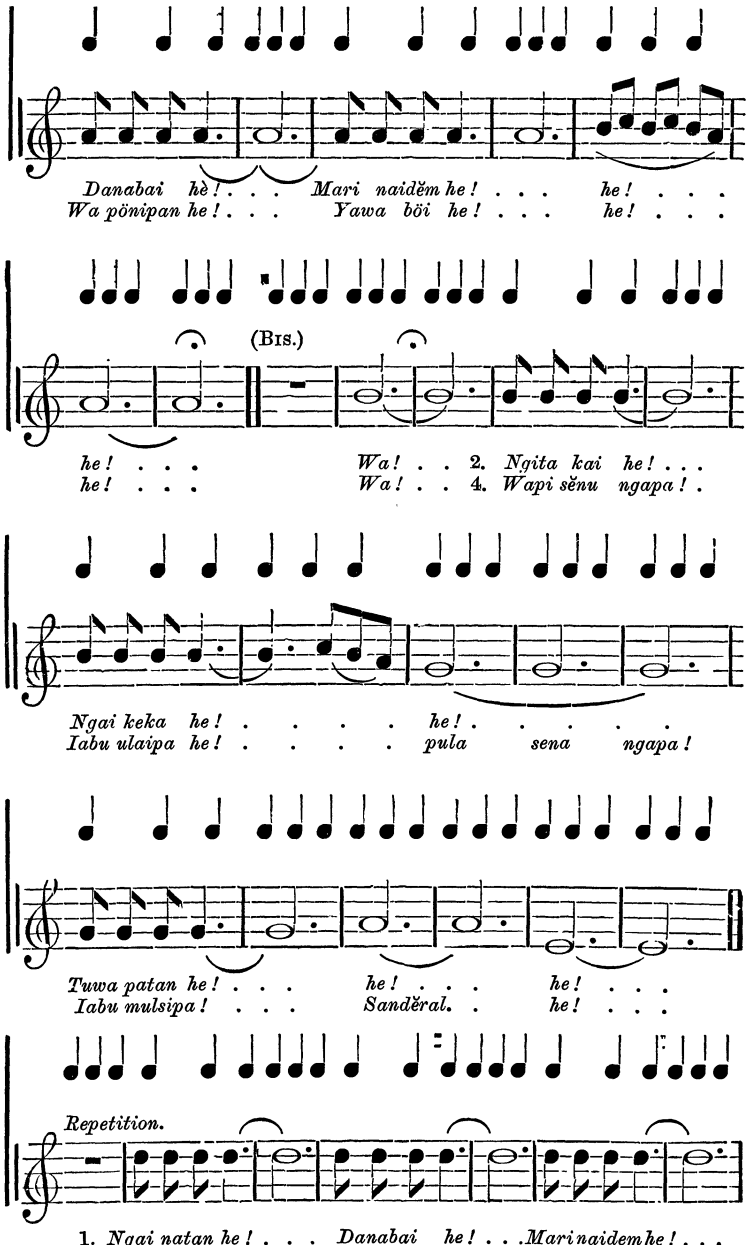
In the example of a song here given it will be noticed that each verse or couplet is repeated one note higher than the preceding one; this, I believe, is usual; the couplets are repeated indefinitely, and the *Wa's* are opportunities for fresh starts, the natives describing them as "another wind."

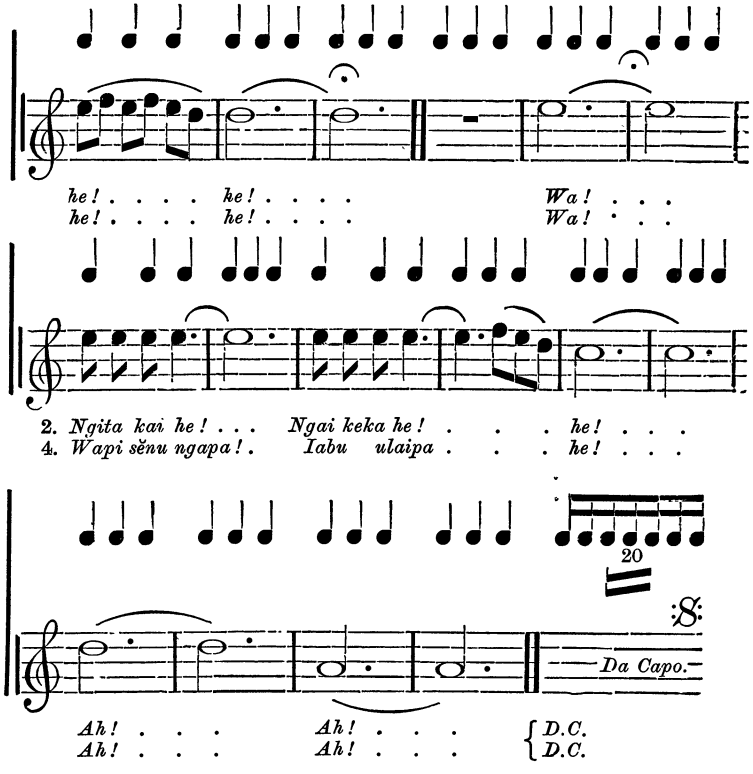
The following chant was sung at the religious dance inaugurating the commencement of the North-west Monsoon. The ceremony took place at Waiben (Thursday Island) early in November, 1888, and was performed by Nagir and Muralug natives. It represents the joint labours of my friend, Father St. H. Verjus, of the Sacred Heart Mission, and of myself, my reverend colleague being responsible for the music.

WAIITUTU KAP KUDU.

(As rendered by Kuduma of Nagir,
and Marudĕn and Zagăra of Muralug.)




Danabai hè! . . . Mari naidĕm he! . . . he! . . .
Wa pönipan he! . . . Yawa böi he! . . . he! . . .
(Bis.)
he! . . . Wa! . . 2. Ngita kai he! . . .
he! . . . Wa! . . 4. Wapi sĕnu ngapa! .
Ngai keka he! . . . . he! . . . . .
Iabu ulaipa he! . . . . pula sena ngapa!
Tuwa patan he! . . . he! . . . he! . . .
Iabu mulsipa! . . . Sandĕral. . he! . . .
Repetition.
1. Ngai natan he! . . . Danabai he! . . . Marinaidemhe! . . .
3. Yawa böi he! . . Wa pönipan he! . . . Yawa böi he! . .



After a very considerable amount of trouble I have arrived at what I believe to be the correct words and their interpretation. A free translation is as follows :—

COUPLETS OF THE SAW-FISH DANCE, OR SONG OF THE NORTH-WEST MONSOON.

1. Now I can see myself reflected in the pools on the reef as in a mirror.
2. You cut the shoot of the coco palm for me.
3. Farewell dead coco palm leaves. Ho! there's the lightning.
4. Fish now approach the shore, and we must build fish-weirs in their route.

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1. Refers to the glassy surface of the sea during the calms of the "North-West Monsoon."

2. The shooting leaves of the coco palm are largely used in decorating the person during this and other dances.
3. The dead leaves fall off the palms at this season, and the lightning at night is a very characteristic feature of the "North-west Monsoon," and only occurs at that season.
4. Fish are very plentiful, and come in to shore; on the reefs of several of the islands there are built ridges or low walls of blocks of dead coral (stones), enclosing large areas; the fish that come in to the shore at high tide get caught in these fish weirs when the tide recedes.

Although this song is sung by the Muralag men, I believe it is not indigenous, because the coco palm does not grow in Maralug, and the natives do not construct fish-weirs. Coco palms are to be found in Nagir, and possibly they may have occasionally made a fish-weir as in Mabuiag; both features, however, are very characteristic of the Eastern Islands.

There are skilled musicians, but only in a very limited sense of the term, and I believe these are more or less restricted to one or certain clans. I do not know whether they teach their songs systematically to their children, probably the latter pick them up as they best can. I do not know either if they have good musical memories, or quick ears for fresh tunes, but I have often been surprised by hearing natives who had mixed much with white men, or who had been to Sydney, whistling or humming tunes which even my unmusical ear recognized as popular European airs, but whether they were at all correctly rendered I cannot say.

Language.—I must reserve my notes on, and vocabulary of, the language for some other occasion when they can be more fully considered than space here admits of.

Signals.—"When a large fire is made by one tribe it is often intended as a signal of defiance to some neighbouring one—an invitation to fight—and may be continued daily for weeks before hostilities commence; it is answered by a similar one. Many other signals by smoke are in use: for example, the presence of an enemy upon the coast—a wish to communicate with another party at a distance—or the want of assistance—may be denoted by making a small fire, which, as soon as it has given out a little column of smoke, is suddenly extinguished by heaping sand upon it. If not answered immediately it is repeated; if still unanswered, a large fire is got up and allowed to burn until an answer is returned" (Macgillivray II, pp. 7, 8).

Smoke is still constantly used for signalling. For example,

when I was at Muralug word had been previously sent that the men were to come from the other side of the island to Aiginisan to dance before me; whilst we were waiting my companions sighted a column of smoke which informed them that the men were on their way to join us.

Gesture Language.—The natives use gestures which have definite significations, and I regret that I did not put any of them on record. At present I can only recall one or two very obvious gestures. I did, however, pay attention to this subject in Mer, and will recur to it when I deal with the ethnography of the Eastern Tribe. Doubtless this language is common to the two tribes.

Poetry.—Poetical compositions are common, but I do not know how old they are, and cannot tell whether they are always rendered in the precise ancient form. They appear to be generally known. I fancy there are certain clans whose more especial function it was to sing the chants at the dances, etc., but I do not believe the singing was confined to them. Definite songs were sung on particular occasions, such as religious festivals, others, I believe, might be sung at odd times. The four following are examples of the latter class; of these the first two were taken down at Mabuiag, and the last two at Muralug.

1. "*Zana nia dri widema sika dria.*" A free translation of which is, "The spray breaks on Zana (Passage Islet) like the white feather head-dress (*dri*)."

2. "*Bau idi laga uzipa uhoha baua idi laga waia.*" So far as I could understand this means, "There is plenty of sea near this village of Bau" (the village at Mabuiag).

3. "I can't pull the canoe round the point, the wind is too strong. I will have to stay here twelve months, for I can't get round the point. I don't yet know when it will be fine weather, so when I get fine weather I will go round the point. I want to see how the people are getting on there, then I come back again."

4. "I got one fish on line, the one fish I got I lost, then I heave the sinker; every sinker I got I lost. I got ten sinkers and lost all besides my hooks; every hook I got I lost all the time, I could not get any more hooks than that."

My informant for the last two was a native tracker who spoke English fairly well. I took down his words verbatim.

I have, in the last section, given a song which was chanted at a religious festival.

Writing.—The art of any kind of writing was unknown, nor could I discover that message sticks were employed. Pictures were not made as records. As previously mentioned, tallies were kept, at all events in the Murray Islands, of connections

with women, and of dugong harpooned, and possibly of other facts, but there were no signs by means of which anyone could interpret the object of the tally. The notches cut in the blades of the bamboo knives indicated the number of heads which had been decapitated by that knife, and I believe that notches were sometimes cut in the handle of a stone club to record the number of people slain with that weapon.

Drawing and Ornamentation.—I intend elsewhere to describe the art and ornament of the Torres Straits Islanders.

Machinery.—There is no machinery, even of the simplest description.

Navigation.—Canoes of large size were formerly used for fishing and fighting. There were no special war-canoes. Small canoes were and are used by the women to go fishing on neighbouring reefs. The large canoes are still used, but a few natives own or have a share in the ordinary fishing lugger. These they employ in pearl fishing and dugong harpooning. Sailing by night is very rarely attempted, but the natives have definite ideas of steering by the stars, should it be necessary.

The large canoes of the Torres Straits Islanders of former times must have been very imposing objects when painted with red, white, and black, and decorated with white shells, black feathers, and flying streamers; and not less so when manned by noisy, gesticulating, naked savages adorned with cassowary coronets and shell ornaments, actively paddling or swiftly sailing, scudding before the wind with mat sails.

The body of the canoe is cut out of a single log, the ends gradually sloping up and coming to a blunt point. The sides are generally heightened by a gunwale board about four inches in height. The smoothed lower edge of this is laid on to the straight edge of the hollowed trunk. A split bamboo is placed, rind outermost, against the joint, and the gunwale is lashed on to the trunk by string, which passes through holes previously bored opposite one another in the gunwale and through the upper edge of the trunk; a long triangular weather board is similarly added to the gunwale at the bow. A vertical flat end-board is inserted in the bow and at the stern. The central platform and outriggers are next added. Four bamboo poles, twelve or fifteen feet long, constitute the thwart poles of the outrigger, and, at the same time, form the framework of the platform. Two of the poles, about six feet apart, project a foot or two on one side of the canoe and stretch out some ten feet on the other, and the other two are similarly placed on the opposite side. A double-pointed float, about eight feet long and made of light wood, is fastened on to the end of each pair of thwart poles. Two pairs of sticks spring like a V from each near end of the float and

embrace the pole, and to which they are securely fastened with string. The platform is made of lengths of bamboo, which run transversely to the length of the canoe. Each side of the platform is bounded by a peculiar kind of crate or wattled basket, built on to the platform. It consists of two rows of short vertical sticks and an outermost row of long ones, occasionally four or five feet in height (usually they run much shorter now than formerly). Long sticks were woven between the uprights, and the ends were also enclosed. Thus two long narrow receptacles were formed along the outer edge of each side of the platform in which were placed their fishing-gear, water-bottles, bows and arrows, and other belongings.

A pair of cross-ties strengthens the middle of the canoe. The paddles are about five feet long with a rounded oblong blade, and are very clumsily made, and without any ornamentation. A large flat board is used as a rudder at the stern on the windward side when sailing. The anchor is a large stone attached to a hawser and kept in the bow. Bamboo poles for masts and for punting the canoe in shallow water are tied to the sides of the canoe.

The sails are two in number, and are oblong erections of matting some twelve feet in height and about five feet wide. They are placed in the bows. The mats are skewered on to two long bamboos, which support them along their length; a bamboo stay also serves to keep the sail upright.

The following description by Macgillivray is better than any I could write:—"When desirous of making sail, the first process is to set up in the bow two poles as masts, and on the weather side a longer and stouter one is laid across the gunwales, and projects outwards and backwards as an outrigger. These are further supported by stays and guys, and, together with another long pole forked at the end, serve to support the pressure of the sails, which are usually two in number, made of matting of pandanus leaves, and average four and a half feet in width and twelve in height. The sails have a slender pole on each side, to which the matting is secured by small pegs. When set they are put up on end side by side, travelling along the backstay by means of a cane gromet. When blowing fresh it is usual to keep a man standing on the temporary outrigger to counteract by his weight the inclination of the canoe to leeward. From the sail being placed in the bow these canoes make much leeway, but when going free may obtain a maximum speed of seven or eight knots an hour. Except in smooth water they are very wet, and the bailer (a melon shell) is in constant requisition" (II, p. 17).

Macgillivray also says: "The largest canoes which I have seen

are those of the Murray and Darnley Islanders, occasionally as much as sixty feet long; those of the Australians are small, varying at Cape York between fifteen and thirty feet in length. Even the Kowraregas have much finer canoes than their neighbours on the mainland; one which I measured alongside the ship was forty-five feet long and three and a half in greatest width, and could carry with ease twenty-five people. The construction of a canoe in the neighbourhood of Cape York is still looked upon as a great undertaking, although the labour has been much lessened by the introduction of iron axes, which have completely superseded those of stone formerly in use. A tree of sufficient size free from limbs—usually a species of *Bombax* (silk-cotton tree) or *Erythrina*—is selected in the scrub, cut down, hollowed out where it falls, and dragged to the beach by means of long climbers used as ropes. The remaining requisites are now added" (II, pp. 15–16).

One canoe I measured at Mabuiag was just upon fifty feet long; the hollowed trunk was eight feet six inches in circumference, with an opening one foot wide. The platform was six feet ten inches across and seven feet three inches long. The inner side of the platform-basket was one foot in height, and the outermost, two feet five inches. The inner and outer receptacles were respectively six and a half and three and a half inches wide. The thwart poles of the outrigger were five feet five inches apart, and projected twelve feet five inches beyond the gunwale, or nine feet seven inches beyond the platform. The float was twelve feet long. One old canoe at Tud was sixty-seven feet nine inches long, the trunk was three feet six inches across in the widest part, and two feet seven inches deep.

Although canoes may be locally made in the Cape York district and in the Prince of Wales group and at Nagir, as Macgillivray informs us, and I too have seen a small canoe which was made by a Muralug native; this is only occasionally done, and those there made are probably all of small size. There is no doubt that all the large canoes in the Straits are and were obtained from Daudai. I describe the details of this trade in the section on Trade. The trunks were hollowed out in the vicinity of the Fly River, and fitted with only a single outrigger, as their's is only river navigation. At Saibai, I was informed, the canoe was refitted, this time with two outriggers, and an attempt at decoration was made. The figure-head or "dorgai" was fastened on as well as other bow ornaments, together with white shells and cassowary feathers. The canoes were further ornamented by the later purchasers, as they used to pride themselves on their fine canoes, and the Saibai

decorations, having a purely commercial significance, were rather scant.

The possession of two outriggers is characteristic of the Torres Straits canoe. The same kind of canoe, though of inferior size and construction, occurs at Cape York and according to Macgillivray it extends "from Cape York along the Eastern coast as far south as Fitzroy Island, a distance of 500 miles. At the latter place we found a small canoe with two outriggers concealed on shore among some bushes" (II, p. 15). These latter are evidently first or second-hand imitations of the Straits canoes.

The Daudai natives have canoes with but a single outrigger; up the rivers the canoes appear to be simple hollowed-out trunks; also right down the South-East Peninsula and among the islands off that end of New Guinea the canoes have only a single outrigger.

I was much puzzled when I first went to Torres Straits by occasionally seeing a canoe with a single outrigger. I afterwards found that it belonged to a Kanaker, from Ware, one of the New Hebrides, residing at Mabuiag, and that he had re-outrigged a native canoe according to the fashion of his own people. When I was staying at Mabuiag some natives of that island were fitting up a canoe in imitation of this one, and with a single outrigger. Here a foreign custom is being imitated; how far it will spread it is impossible to say; but strangely enough, the Eastern Tribe has entirely adopted the introduced fashion, and I did not see a solitary canoe with a single outrigger. At the Murray Islands, according to travellers, the canoes formerly had two outriggers, and there is a most excellent engraving of one at Erub in Jukes' Narrative (I, facing p. 169). Melville, the artist on the "Fly," in his "Sketches in Australia," has given two good figures of Erub canoes: that on Pl. XVII has a hut-like erection on the platform, that depicted on Pl. XIX is highly ornamented, and is a very valuable record of an obsolete craft. On being questioned, the old men admitted that the fashion had changed in imitation of the South Sea men. These outriggers support an almost continuous platform from near the float to about an equal distance on the other side of the canoe; the latter is what Lane Fox (Pitt Rivers) terms a "weather platform," and refers to it as being a South Sea rig ("Journ. Anth. Inst.," IV, 1875, p. 430). This weather platform was not built on to the Mabuiag canoe, but in both cases there are several sets of the connecting sticks which attach the float to the outrigger proper, instead of only two, as in the local canoes, and further, the basket-like erection is absent from the platform. In these Eastern islands European sails are also in universal use; they usually have a

mainsail, foresail, and jib; there is no bowsprit. Among the Western Tribe, European sails have not yet quite supplanted the original mat sails. Throughout the Straits the canoes are not decorated in the old style; in Mabuiag I found two canoes which were more or less decorated, but utilitarian ideas are now too widely spread for the æsthetic faculty to be indulged in.

Habitations.—In Part II, I give short descriptions of the old habitations since they varied somewhat in different islands; at present a modified form of the ordinary quadrangular South Sea house is of universal occurrence, having almost entirely supplanted the old forms of huts.

Fire.—Fire was produced by simply twirling between both hands a vertical on a horizontal stick; in other words, the most primitive form of fire-drill. In revolving the upright stick the hands travel downwards, and on reaching the lower end are rapidly carried upwards. Wax matches are now in universal use amongst the natives, and it is only as a very last resource that they will revert to the tedious fire-drill. As a matter of fact the house fire is always kept burning, and from these fire brands are conveyed into the bush when they go to make their gardens or into their canoes when fishing. There is nothing sacred or mystical about fire.

The vertical stick is called *ini* (penis) in Muralug, and the horizontal stick *sagai* (I do not know the meaning of this word; *mad* is their name for vulva). Macgillivray calls the fire-sticks collectively "*salgai*;" in Mabuiag the name given me was *guiguri*.[1]

String.—I am not aware of any animal substance being used or of ever having been used for the manufacture of rope, string, or thread. Macgillivray describes fishline as being "neatly made from the tough fibres of the rattan, which are first scraped to the requisite degree of fineness with a sharp-edged cyrena shell, then twisted and laid up in three strands" (II, p. 20).

String is often twisted or plaited from coco-nut husk fibre, and rope for hawsers of canoes or for dugong fishing is made from some climber, and is either twisted or made into a kind of plait; the latter is known as *am*, the former as *kwodai* (?). Macgillivray says that cables are made of twisted climbers of the *Flagellaria indica* (II, p. 16). No spindle whorls are used; all string is purely finger work, but a pointed stick is used in making the *am*. The skin of the large common orchid is used to

[1] The Somerset (Cape York) names are respectively *enchania* (penis) and *madä* (vulva), or, as Macgillivray spells them for the Gudang Tribe, *achanya* and *mon-na*. In the Eastern Islands the fire sticks are called *werĕm* (son), and *apu* (mother), or collectively, *goigoi*; the revolving movement is called *drim*.

bind objects; it is of a bright yellow colour when dry. Bow strings are invariably made of split ratan.

Weaving.—There are no woven fabrics. Mats and baskets are plaited.

Pottery.—The art of making pottery is unknown. The melon-shell, *alup* (Cymbium), and large conches, *bu* (Fusus and Triton), were their cooking vessels. Most of the shell fish are cooked in their own shells. Iron saucepans now largely replace shells.

Leather Work.—There is no leather.

Basket Work.—Several different kinds of baskets are made. I shall describe these when, on another occasion, I treat of the manufactures of these people.

Stone Implements.—I could not obtain any reliable information on the mode of manufacture of the stone clubs. I am inclined to believe that the best examples were imported from Daudai.

Metallurgy.—No metals were known to the natives, and none are worked now.

Memorial Structures.—I believe there were no memorial structures, unless the *Waus* comes under this heading. There are not any now.

Engineering.—There are no engineering works of any description.

Topography.—Boundaries are of a very shadowy character, but the bounds are well known to all, natural objects usually constituting delimiting marks; a felled tree, a branch cast down or something of that nature, are all the artificial boundary marks I saw.

The natives have a good knowledge of local topography, marine as well as insular. Not only has every geographical feature its name, but the land is divided into named districts, and the coral reefs are all named. Their knowledge of the position of reefs over large areas of the Straits is very remarkable.

I have not collected any geographical legends with the exception of the mythical origin of various prominent rocks and stones. The only geographical representation of which I am aware is a rough sketch of some hills, etched on a bamboo pipe which I obtained in Mabuiag, and which is now in the Pitt Rivers Collection at Oxford.

Swimming.—The natives are excellent swimmers and divers, but I did not take notes nor make any observations on their mode of swimming or diving, nor the length of time they can remain under water, though the latter struck me as being considerable.

Natural Forms.—I shall deal with this subject in my proposed study on the Art of these people.

Conservatism.—Like all savages the islanders are undoubtedly conservative by nature, but a great change has come over them in this respect during the last fifteen years. I have already mentioned the alteration which has taken place in the rig of canoes and the style of house, both of which are imitated from South Sea men (Kanakers). The missionaries have introduced the universal calico gown worn by the women. As a matter of fact surprisingly little exists of their old habits, customs, and even beliefs. This can, I think, be accounted for in two ways: (1) The smallness of the population, even in the most populated islands, and the consequent direct influence of foreigners on every individual member of the community, which precludes a reserve population which might tend to counteract innovation; (2) The new civilization would appear to the natives to be so incomparably superior to their own that they would lose faith in all the past and accept the new *en masse.* When a new civilization is but little superior to the indigenous one, the process of adaptation will be but gradual, and "survivals" of the old will long persist; but when the contrast is great the change will be correspondingly rapid, provided that the two races are brought into contact and that the lower one is not eliminated. It often saddened me to see the sudden *volte face* which these people had made, and to hear their unconsciously pathetic references to the past. A few really seemed to feel regret for what was gone, especially my friend Maino, the chief of Tud. But the general indifference to legendary monuments or relics, the ready way in which they would usually part with things belonging to former times, the absence of artistic feeling in the decoration of their canoes or in wood carving, and so forth, plainly illustrated the sad degradation which accompanies the partial acceptance of another civilization.

Variation.—I have incidentally mentioned variations in implements, customs and so forth, and will allude to this again in Part II.

Invention.—I am unable at present to say what may be regarded as the inventions of the Torres Straits Islanders; probably they may lay just claim to the dugong harpoon and the dugong platform, and also to the peculiar rattle, the *padatrŏng* or *lolo.*

PART II.

INTRODUCTORY.

This section deals with a number of customs which are recorded either from a single island or from a group of islands and some of which therefore may be local, and not common to the Western Tribe as a whole; for this reason I have deemed it advisable not to incorporate them in the previous section.

I have prefaced the account of the customs of the inhabitants of each island with a brief sketch of the physical features of that island, as these have, in some cases, naturally determined the conditions of existence.

The Islanders are true Papuans, but they have developed certain customs along special lines, and it is interesting to trace out the insular varieties, which are here recorded. A wider experience would doubtless show that most of the customs are common to the whole tribe, but that every island or group of islands has definite variations from the common type. As might be expected, Daudai influence is marked in the islands of Saibai and Dauan, while the natives of Muralug have been modified by contact with the inhabitants of the Cape York Peninsula. I shall reserve a consideration of the physical characters of the people till another occasion.

I have dealt with the Western Tribe according to the groups or affinities laid down at the beginning of Part I. Commencing from the North I pass across the Straits and end with the least characteristic of the islanders. Several islands are not alluded to in this part, as I have made no observations on their anthropology, nor is there any account of the same by the authors I have so frequently quoted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PART II.

Tud :—The island and its inhabitants; Initiation into manhood (with code of morals); Courtship and marriage; Customs relating to fighting; Funeral customs.
Yam :—The island and its inhabitants.
Nagir :—The island and its inhabitants; Houses; Gardens; Trophy of skulls; Etiquette to parents-in-law; Infanticide; Adultery; Charm for bravery; Funeral customs; Funeral ceremonies for Magau.
Waraber :—The island and its inhabitants.
Masig :—The island and its inhabitants; Round house; Mask.
Damut :—The island and its inhabitants; Houses; House on piles; Water-holes and gardens.

Moa :—The island and its inhabitants; Funeral customs; Magic.
Muralug :—The island and its inhabitants; Courtship and marriage; Etiquette to parents-in-law; Parturition; Infanticide; Naming infants; Childhood; Nose piercing and scarification; Dress; Textile fabrics; Land tenure; Initiation into manhood; Warfare; Various superstitions; Magic; Funeral customs; Future state.

Saibai.

Saibai is one of the largest islands in the Straits. It is roughly ellipsoidal in shape, with a length of twelve miles, and an average breadth of three miles. The island is low, mainly consisting of a large swamp, surrounded by a narrow sand beach. I believe the ground to the east is somewhat higher. The channel between Saibai and Daudai is about two miles wide at its narrowest part, and it is scarcely navigable owing to numerous shoals.

The old style of house was, I believe, invariably built on piles, now the South Sea type of house is supplanting the other; still, I saw a pile dwelling in course of erection.

The natives of Saibai were the "middle men" between the Western Tribe and the population of Daudai; hence the island was important and well known. This did not, however, prevent them from doing a little head-hunting on their own account, but they evidently "collected" from the bushmen of New Guinea, and not from the coast-folk with whom they traded. The morals of the people of Saibai and Dauan were said to be very loose.

War charm.—Dr. MacFarlane has the following among his MS. notes: "Saibai god from Sumaiut—a stone given birth to by a virgin of Sumaiut [a village in the island of Kiwai, Fly River delta], the moon being father. Its power was first tried by the Sumaiut men upon the village of Kiwai [also in Kiwai Island], the raid being successful. It was afterwards stolen from Sumaiut by some Saibai men, and ultimately given up to the teacher in Saibai in 1882."

Birth customs.—Dr. MacFarlane has kindly permitted me to copy the following from his notes: "When a woman is pregnant all the women assemble. The husband's sister makes the image

of a male child, which is placed on a mat before the pregnant woman, and afterwards nursed till the birth of the child, in order to obtain a male child. Women assemble in the bush and sit in a circle, the husband's sister gets a fruit resembling the penis, gives it to the pregnant woman, who presses it to her abdomen, and then hands it to a woman who has always borne male children, and she passes it to the other women. This ceremony is also to procure male children.

"A woman about to be delivered tells her husband's mother and relatives to follow her to the bush. She selects a good fruit-bearing tree (which must not have *short* leaves, lest the child should be a girl), and is attended by the husband's family only. The men are assembled at the *kwod*; if they hear rejoicing, they know that a male child is born, if there is no noise they conclude it is a female. They object to girls because they will ultimately get married and work for other men.

"The navel cord of a male infant is preserved, and worn suspended from the neck by the mother till the child is about five years of age, then carefully put away till the boy becomes a young man. He is then called to witness its burial beneath his bed, with the injunction that he is always to live there."

DAUAN.

Dauan or Tauan is a small very hilly island, seventy-five miles due north of Cape York, about five miles from the coast of Daudai, and two and a half from Saibai. It is triangular in outline, each side being about a mile and a half in length; the highest hill, Mt. Cornwallis, is 795 feet in height. Owing to the weathering of the granitic rocks the hills have a very rugged appearance, the rocks being much fissured, and look as if boulders had been fantastically heaped one upon another. The island is consequently but moderately fertile. There are, however, some plantations, mainly on the leeward side. The bamboo is common.

Mr. Murray says (p. 456): "Even on Saibai and Tauan they [the houses] are built on stakes eight or ten feet high. . . All the houses we saw, both on the islands and on the mainland [Daudai], are built chiefly of the bamboo. The roofs are thatched and the sides are enclosed with the pandanus leaf." This was in July, 1871.

Turtle charm.—D'Albertis (Vol. II) gives the following account of what he saw at Dauan on December 1st, 1875 (p. 7): "During my visit to the village my curiosity was strongly excited by what the teachers called 'the devil's house,' of which the following description will give some idea. Two puppets

representing men, made of straw, are placed at about eight paces from the front of a sort of hut, made of branches and leaves. In the interior and outside near the entrance, hang strange ornaments in the shape of the eggs and entrails of turtles, which it is needless to say emit a horrible stench.

"On one side near the entrance there is a wide platform, supported on stakes driven into the ground; this is covered with the bleeding heads of turtles, which are no less offensive than the entrails and the eggs.

"The interior surface of the hut was covered with the bones and skulls of the same animal. On the roof are putrid heads, and all around eggs and entrails hang in festoons. I also observed inside the hut two human heads, partly painted red and half covered with the skin of a large sea bird with white plumage. I was told that [p. 8] these were the skulls of two famous turtle hunters held in great veneration by the natives, who present them from time to time with offerings of food, and also by smoking near them, enable them to enjoy the fumes of the tobacco, which they esteemed so much during their lives.

"To complete the description of this devil's house, I must add that all the shells of the turtles killed in the place are placed in one long row extending from the little temple to the beach. Perhaps by this the natives intend to signify that the turtle is sent by a sea-god to their island, to benefit the dwellers in it, and also wish to pay homage to the great hunters deceased."

On November 4th, 1876, he records (p. 208), "None of the men are entirely naked, all wear a piece of calico round the waist. The women frequently wear a kind of full chemise; they do not wear it for the sake of decency, but from luxury and pride; for I often saw a woman take off her garment and content herself with a tuft of grass before and behind. Some of the children were perfectly naked at seven or eight years' old, while at Katow they are clothed from their earliest infancy." At the time of this visit there were only five shells of the turtle, whereas on the previous year there were sixty-five, and there were no human skulls.

Boigu.

Boigu (Talbot Island) is a low, swampy island, five and a half miles long by two in width, near the mouth of the Mai Kŭsa River, and about twelve miles north-west from Dauan. When I visited the latter island I found the natives of Boigu had fled thither owing to their fear of the Tugeri pirates, a tribe of raiders about whom we have no reliable information at the present time.

MABUIAG.

Mabuiag (Jervis Island) is a small island situated mid-way in the narrowest part of Torres Straits. It is triangular in outline, each side measuring about a couple of miles. The island is very hilly, and only moderately fertile.

The inhabitants were fairly numerous and were intelligent and energetic; dugong fishing is their speciality. Their houses appear to have been wretched erections as a rule, resembling those of most of the other members of the Western Tribe: now substantial grass houses are built. The *kwod*, or bachelors' quarters, so often referred to previously, is common to most of the Western Islands; it is a lightly-built shed with one side open and with a flat roof.

Clans and their Totems.—The people were formerly divided up into a number of clans, but there was no real distinction between the various clans in the life of the community. There was complete intermarriage both within and without the clan. Members of different clans lived together in the same house. A man belonging to one clan could not wear the badge of the totem of another clan. The children belonged to their father's totem (*augŭd*).

All the totems appear to have been animals. The following are all the totems which my informants could remember, viz.: *kodal* (crocodile), *tabu* (snake), *waru* (turtle), *dungal* (dugong), *umai* (dog), *sam* (cassowary), *baidam* (shark), *kaigas*, *tapimula* (sting-ray), *dabu* (king-fish), *wad* (a fish with blue spots), *maiwa* (great clam).

Kodal.—For a badge the men wore a piece of the skin of a crocodile or the totem cut on the right shoulder. The women had the totem cut on the small of the back (*kibumina*). The piece of skin was worn in front, attached to a string, tied round the neck. It was never taken off.

If a kodal-man killed a crocodile the other kodal-men killed him, but a member of any other clan might kill one with impunity.

Tabu.—The men had a coiled snake tattooed on the calf of each leg. The women had two snakes as kibumina (see fig. 15, Pl. VII).

Waru.—The men wore no badge, but the women cut a representation of the totem as above.

Waru-men might catch turtle, but were not allowed to eat the first one they caught on a turtling expedition, the second and following ones they could keep. If only one turtle was caught on one day by a member of the clan, he could not eat it, but might keep the first obtained on the following day.

Dungal.—The men tattooed the totem on their right shoulders, the women as kibumina (see figs. 12, 13, Pl. VII).

The regulations as to eating dugong were the same as those for the turtle.

Umai.—The men wore no badge, but would brand their bamboo tobacco-pipes with the effigy of a dog. Women also were not tattooed.

If an Umai man killed a dog, his clansmen would "fight" him, but they would not do anything if an outsider killed one. A member of this clan was supposed to have great sympathy with dogs, and to understand them better than other men.

Sam.—The men had no mark. The women either tattooed the totem as kibumina or else tattooed a cassowary's leg on the calf of each leg.

No Sam man would kill a cassowary; if one was seen doing so his clansmen would fight him, as they felt sorry. "Sam he all same as relation, he belong same family." The members of the Sam clan were supposed to be especially good runners. If there was going to be a fight, a Sam man would say to himself, "My leg is long and thin, I can run and not feel tired; my legs will go quickly and the grass will not entangle them."

Baidam.—The men did not tattoo themselves. The women had the mouth of the shark as kibumina.

Kaigas.—The men tattooed totem on right shoulder. The women had it as kibumina.

Tapimula.—The men had no badge. The women tattooed a sting-ray as kibumina (see fig. 14, Pl. VII).

Dabu.—Neither the men nor women had a badge, but they would brand their pipes with the totem.

Wad.—The men had nothing. The women had totem as kibumina.

Maiwa.—Both men and women would hang a very small clam-shell (*Tridacna*) round their necks.

No member of any clan might kill or eat totem of that clan. This prohibition did not apply to the totem of any clan other than that to which the person belonged.

There was a partial exception to this rule in the case of the Waru and Dungal clans, which is readily explained by the importance of the turtle and dugong as articles of food. In these islands flesh food is very scarce—and it would be too much to expect the unfortunate members of the turtle and dugong clans to abstain entirely from eating their respective totems.

The above information respecting the tattoo marks is given as I received it, but I do not feel quite sure that it is uniformly correct. I have sketches and photographs to show that the

dungal, tabu, and tapimula totems were cut into the small of the back of certain women, and there is little reason to doubt that this was a general and perhaps universal custom, although, strangely enough, no traveller makes any mention of it. I myself have only seen four of these markings; they were on old women and not very distinct. Owing to the present custom of wearing calico gowns the marks are not ordinarily visible, but in former days they would readily be seen above the petticoat. Pătăgam of Mabuiag belongs to the tabu clan, Adö of Badu to the dungal, as does also Wagud of Tud, who I believe originally came from Mabuiag, and lastly Mĕke of Tud has a mark which I understand represents two sting-ray tails, and thus she belongs to the tapimula clan. Although I made repeated inquiries I could not discover that any other women in Torres Straits had totem marks.

Although the men of several of the clans are stated to have had their totem cut on the right shoulder, I am not satisfied that this was really the case. A complicated mark was certainly very frequently cut on that place (see my remarks on the *koimai*); there is no evidence that it ever represented an animal. Still it is quite possible that the men had distinguishing clan-marks; in fact, I think it very probable, only at present there is no proof of it.

Courtship and Marriage.—If a man danced well, he found favour in the sight of the women, or as the chief of Mabuiag put it, "In England if a man has plenty of money, women want to marry him; so here, if a man dances well they want him too."

When a man is fancied by a girl she makes a string armlet, *tiāpurūrū*, and gives it to the man's sister, or uncle, or friend, or at all events to a confidential person. On an opportunity occurring, the confidant says to the young man, "I've got some string for you." Knowing what is meant, he replies, "Show it to me." He then learns the girl's name and receives her message. If the man is favourably inclined he accepts and wears the *tiapururu*, and sends the girl two leglets, *māk ā māk*.

Next the girl sends some food to the young man of her choice; but he does not eat it, he gives it to his relations to eat, for, as he says, "Perhaps woman he gammon." His parents also advise him not to eat the food, and his mother warns him, "You look after that *tiapururu* good; suppose you lose it, girl he wild."

The girl again sends food; possibly the man may want to eat it, but the mother says, "Not so, or by-and-bye you will get an eruption over your face and body." At all events the relatives preach caution so as to make sure that the girl is not playing false. The result is that the young man waits a month or even two months before precipitating affairs. He also informs his

parents that he is in no hurry to leave the old home, and that he does not wish to make them sorry by his absence.

While the young man is thus "lying low," the food is coming in all the time, and the man gives it to his mother. After a time the mother says, "When will you go and take her?" The young man then consults his immediate relatives and says, "Suppose you tell me to take her—I take her." All being agreeable, the "big men" of the village are consulted, and then the man takes the woman.

An exchange of presents and food takes place between the relatives of the two parties concerned, but the bridegroom's relations give a great deal more than the bride's. The bridegroom stands on the mat, and all the presents from his side of the house are heaped upon it. The bride does not stand on a mat, but takes the presents which her husband's relatives bring, and hands them over to her people. The bridegroom gives his wife's father some presents, say a canoe or dugong harpoon, or something of equal value. This is a final transaction. [I have in my notes that this is the price of a virgin; if she is otherwise her value is impaired, but I am inclined to believe that virginity was practically unknown. My informant (the chief of the island) not unnaturally wished me to have as good an impression as possible of the former morality of his people. Still it is quite possible that a girl who notoriously went with men would have an inferior money value.]

If a man already had a wife or wives, the young woman who admired him, with a view to matrimony, did not make advances through any of his wives. There would, in that case, be trouble, and the latter would probably put a stop to it. Approaches were made in the usual manner.

The men never made the first advance towards matrimony.

As an example of the strength of this old custom I may mention that when I was staying in Mabuiag the cook of the chief fell in love with a Loyalty islander who loafed on the mission premises. It so happens that this Charley Lifu was a brother of the teacher's wife. Now Charley did not want to marry a native woman, as that would settle him on the island, and he wanted to return home. More than once the cook wanted to marry him, but he refused. At length, on account of her persistence, he agreed to meet her in the bush and talk it out, and this time he finally refused. On her return to the village she accused him of attempting to "steal" her; this he denied, and it formed the subject of a big palaver before the chief, the South Sea teacher, and the old men. Charley Lifu was held blameless, as it was the general opinion that the girl had trumped up the charge in order to force the marriage, a ruse

which signally failed. From my knowledge of Charley I quite believe him to be entirely innocent.

The missionaries, I was informed, discountenance the native custom of the women proposing to the men, although there is not the least objection to it from a moral or a social point of view; quite the reverse, as it gives the women a decided standing. So the white man's fashion is being introduced. As an illustration of the present mixed condition of affairs, I found that a girl who wants a certain man, writes him a letter, often on a slate, and he replies in a similar manner.

Polygamy, though previously indulged in, if the man was rich enough, has now entirely ceased.

Marital Relations.—After marriage the husband leaves his people and goes to live with those of his wife, even if it is in a different island, so long as they both speak the same language; if not, the man stays in his own island and the woman learns his "talk." There is considerable intermarriage between the inhabitants of Badu and Mabuiag; in such cases, the man will divide his time between the two islands. It must be remembered that both the husband and the wife own land in their respective islands, and both properties require to be cultivated and looked after; still this is not an entire explanation of the custom.

The husband has complete control over the wife; she is his property, as he had paid for her. If a wife caused trouble in the house, the husband could kill her without any penal consequences to himself. If her sister came to remonstrate with him he might kill her too. The payment of the husband to his wife's father gave him all rights over her, and at the same time annulled those of her father or of her family. If two wives quarrelled he could kill both.

The wife first married was chief; she was "master" of the others, and issued orders to the last married wife, who conveyed the same to the intermediate wives. If the wives refused work or were inattentive to the commands of the first wife, the husband was laughed at by his friends, and told he should not have so many wives. The wives all lived together; husband and wife always live together, even during the turtle season.

If a wife committed adultery both parties were liable to be killed by the injured husband. There was a possibility of compounding for the offence on the part of the man if he could afford to pay a heavy fine, if not he died. When the husband was informed of the adultery by a friend, he awaited a suitable opportunity to call his virtuous wives apart and to inform them of his intention. First he speared or clubbed the adulterer, then he killed his wife. If the co-respondent was a married man the aggrieved man took all his wives.

A man might divorce his wife, in which case she returned to her parents. Incompatibility of temper would be the usual cause for such a step. The husband had no control over a divorced wife. She might marry again, but the new husband would have to pay the old one, who would share the purchase goods with the woman's parents. I am under the impression that the price of a divorced woman was usually too high for her to readily find another husband. In the case of divorce, the father kept the children; but he might allow the mother temporarily to retain one or more, especially if they were very young.

Widows may marry again, and the children, if any, go with her.

Relations between unmarried men and women.—If an unmarried woman desires a man she accosted him, but the man did not ask the woman (at least, so I was informed), for if she refused him he would feel ashamed, and may be would brain her with a stone club, and so "he would kill her for nothing."

If it was notorious that a woman went with a man, both were branded with a small mark between the shoulders or elsewhere on the back. In the case of the man the mark was merely painted with charcoal; but the woman's skin was cut. The mark was an inverted feather pattern; the discrepancy in the branding of the man and woman being due to the fact that it was the woman's fault—she asked the man. When the man returned to the kwod, he was laughed at by the men, and asked when the marriage was to take place, for there appeared to be an honourable understanding in the community that they would make themselves honest folk. Possibly they might not care to marry, and then nothing could be done. If it was the man who was unwilling, the girl's father told the men of the place, and they give him a sound thrashing.

When a girl was fully grown and desired the pleasures without the restraints of married life—as my informant said, "What can the father do? If she wants the men, how can he stop her?"

Supposing an engaged woman went wrong with another man, the man who was "gammoned" might go to the woman, and while he was scolding her, strike her on the head with a stone club. If he killed the other man too he would be exonerated from blame.

Unmarried men do not go along with unmarried women during the turtle-season ("when turtle he fast"), that is during parts of October and November. If they do, they believe they would catch no turtle, as when the canoe came, the male turtle would separate from the female, and both would dive down in different directions.

Sorcery or Magic, Instruction and Practice.—Apparently anyone might be initiated into the mysteries of sorcery, but, as a matter of fact, very few were, owing to the unpleasantness and rigour of the process. I believe the word *lokof* is analogous to the vague term "medicine," and *maid* really means magic or sorcery. A *maidelaig* is a man who understands magic and medicine lore. For example, a maidelaig can cause disease and death, or can cure illness. He can lure dugong, turtle, and fish by charms, or he can strike and kill animals with unerring aim, and he knows the virtues of animal and vegetable products, and so forth. At all events such was his reputation.

A lad who elects to this knowledge is inducted by a maidelaig, who only instructs one aspirant at a time. He is taken into the bush by the instructor, and the first operation consists in the old man defæcating into an *alup* shell (cymbium) filled with water; when well stirred the novice has to drink up all the mixture, and in order that he may have the full benefit of it, he is enjoined to keep his eyes open whilst drinking. I was informed that fæces were not drunk in Muralug or Nagir. It is said that if the eyes water during the process of training the novice will not make a good maidelaig, but if his eyes are red and dry he is all right.

Then he has to eat the raw fruit of the *kara* tree, which makes his eyes red and "inside bad," and also to chew "rope along bush," *gawai;* this makes the skin itch. Lastly, he has to eat some decomposing flesh of a dead man; the effect of this is to make his throat bad. Altogether he is in a very uncomfortable condition, with blood-shot eyes, feeling wretchedly ill all over, and in a semi-frantic state.

Sometimes a man will show the white feather after proceeding a certain distance with the discipline, and give it up altogether. It is believed that if a man is frightened, the medicines may have some disastrous effect upon him. Occasionally a man succumbs to the rigour of the initiation, and dies. The course extends for about one month.

Maidelaig make a practice, both during the course of instruction and afterwards, when about to practice sorcery, of eating anything that is disgusting and revolting in character, or poisonous or medicinal in nature. For instance, they continually eat *merkai* (or flesh of corpses); one effect of this diet is to make them "wild," so that they care for nobody, and all affection temporarily ceases for relatives, wife, and children, and on being angered by any of them they would not hesitate to commit murder.

When he considers the young man is sufficiently instructed, the maidelaig tells him to take a stone and hit a fish; if he hits

and kills it "then he savvy," or to throw a stone at a lizard, which should be struck at the first attempt.

In order to demonstrate his own powers the new maidelaig takes a *kumar* plant in the bush and divides it into portions, at the same time naming some part of the body; these he puts all together in one place. When some men "talk no good" to him; he retires in the bush, takes a certain *kumar*, saying, "That *kumar* bone of man," and throws it behind him. The man forthwith gets sick and is visited by the new maidelaig, who innocently enquires as to his condition. He is asked by the patient to kill the enemy who has wrought the mischief. This he promises to do, and taking up a stone pretends to throw it. If a maidelaig throws a stone into space, saying whom it is intended for, the projectile is quite as efficacious as if it had actually hit him, but in this case the maidelaig only humbugged, as he would not employ his charms against himself. The sick man gets worse, and he tells his father that he is very bad now, "Bone along me slew (creaked) last night." The father vainly tries to make his son better by cutting him (the universal panacea for all ailments in the Straits), and suggests that they should get some bush remedies. By this time the sick man is "all bone got no meat," and he asks the maidelaig to get him some *lokof*. He agrees, but takes a "bad one," and rubs it on the skin of the sufferer, the effect of which, of course, is to make the man worse, and at length he dies. The young man is satisfied that he "savvy *lokof*."

The maidelaig had a large house (*merkai mud*, "dead man's house") with a high, steep roof and low walls. Here were kept their *lokof* and the various appliances of their profession, and it was here that they performed some at least of their sorcery. If an unauthorised man or any woman entered a *merkai mud* they would die, but the sons of the maidelaig might go in.

Among the implements of sorcery were stone-clubs, spears, both of which were said to have poison inside, or to have been poisoned, and a stone called *uruwain*, of a pointed ellipsoidal shape, which was stated to be hollow and filled with *lokof*. Besides these were figures of men and women in stone or wood, which were made very thin, "These all bone, no meat." A hole was bored in the mouth of each. (A number of rough wooden figures have very recently been presented to the British Museum by Mr. Veitch, which are probably of this nature.)

The sexes of the figures corresponded with that of the individual to be injured. The stone images were used for rapid effects, the wooden ones for lingering illnesses. For example, if a man wanted another man to be killed outright, he went to a maidelaig and paid him well for the job. The maidelaig pretended to hit a male stone image with the *uruwain* and put some poison

in its mouth, and the man who was represented by the figure would die. If a man wished to punish a woman he made arrangements with a maidelaig, who put poison into a female wooden image, to which the name of the real woman had been given. The next day the woman was chilly, then became very ill and wasted away, and ultimately died, unless some counter charm was employed; but this must come through the instrumentality of the same maidelaig who caused the malady. One maidelaig could not counteract the work of another.

On showing the wood-cut of an upright wooden figure of a female on p. 185 of Jukes' "Voyage of the Fly," Vol. I, to the chief of Mabuaig, I was assured that it was an image for *maid*. He said the Maidelaig "kissed" the post and besought it to "Help me to kill (so and so) to-day," and he would put *lokof* into the orifices in the figure.

Sorcery with a crocodile's tooth.—A maidelaig, whether belonging to the *kodal* (crocodile) clan or not, might exorcise with a crocodile's tooth. He would take a large tooth of a crocodile, paint it red, and fill in the hollow base of the tooth with various kinds of "bad bushes," and finally rub the tooth all over with the fat of a corrupt human corpse. He would then take a long rope and tie one end to a young and slender tree, and put the anointed tooth in the fork of the first branch. The maidelaig would say to the tooth, "You go into that man (naming some individual); do not go all over his body; you go into his heart. Are you ready? Stand by!" The man then pulled the free end of the rope so hard that "it come thin" (the rope was a plaited one) as if it would break. Suddenly letting it go the rope sprang back, and the recoil of the bent tree caused the tooth to shoot forward—and the man died.

A crocodile's tooth was also used for incendiary purposes, in which case it was instructed by the maidelaig in this wise: "Don't be lazy, you look very smart, you go and burn down that house."

Sorcery in connection with dugong fishing.—A maidelaig took a stone carved into the image of a dugong, in which there was a cavity; into this he put "poison medicine, or any bad stuff and thing along reef and sea-water, he stir up and poison done." Supposing a man who had harpooned a dugong did not give some meat to the maidelaig, the latter might say, "Next time you make a neĕt (dugong platform) I will give you something." One day the man would take his canoe to a reef and there erect a neĕt, and sitting on the top would wait for the dugong to return to its feeding-ground. "By-and-bye something inside him talk, 'I like dugong come quick, so I go home.'" When the dugong came he would plunge into the water to harpoon it, but

when in the water his neck might get fouled in the rope, and so he would be drowned. Thus would the charm work and the maidelaig be revenged.

Sorcery with the head of a flying-fox.—There was also some magic connected with the head of a flying-fox (*sapura*) which I could not quite understand. The head was stuck on the end of a stick, and then shot like an arrow into the roof of a house. The people of the house would then give food (presumably to appease the maidelaig, and to avert any evil).

The Aripuilaig, or Rain-man.—If a man wanted rain he went to the *aripuilaig*, and asked him to make it rain. The latter would reply, "You go and put some more thatch on your house and on my house." This was to keep out the forthcoming rain. The *aripuilaig* took some plant or bush, and painted himself black and white, "All along same as clouds, black behind, white he go first." He further put on a large woman's petticoat, or *gagi*, to signify raining clouds. Having performed the requisite ceremony the rain fell.

After a good deal of rain had fallen everybody was hungry, as they could not go out to get food, and the ground was all wet; so the instigator of the rain requested the *aripuilaig* to stop it. To which request the following answer might be given: "To-morrow rain small, next day sun he shine." To stop the rain the *aripuilaig* put red paint on the crown of his head (possibly to represent the shining sun), and inserted a small ball of red paint in his anus. By-and-bye he expelled the latter, "Like breaking a cloud so that sun he may shine." He then took some "bushes" and leaves of the pandanus, mixed them together and put the compound into the sea; next he took them out and dried them, and finally burnt them so that the smoke went up, thereby typifying, as I was informed, the evaporation and dispersal of the clouds.

The *aripuilaig* was paid by the man who asked for the rain.

The Gubaupuilaig, or Wind-man.—A man who wished for wind in order that he might sail his canoe to go and spear dugong, went to a *gubaupuilaig* to proffer his request. Pre-payment is necessary. The reply would be in some such manner as this, "To-morrow the wind will come in puffs, that means a big blow on the following day; so you all go and make fast your canoes with three or four ropes." The *gubaupuilaig* painted himself black behind and red on his face and chest. The red in front typified the red morning cloud, the black indicated the dark blue sky of night. He took some "bushes," and firmly fixed them at low tide at the edge of the reef, the flowing tide causing them to sway backwards and forwards. If only a little wind was required, the "bushes" were fixed nearer to the shore

In due time the wind came with a steady blow, and the men went out and obtained their dugong. Should none of the meat be given to the wind-maker, he causes the wind to continue blowing so strongly that no canoes can venture out to sea. After a few days he strolled round to the *kwod*, or bachelors' quarters, and jeered at them. "Why don't you go out and get some dugong? You will be hungry!" Then they knew why the wind was so strong, and they gave him a present to stop the excess of wind, for only he who raised the wind could allay it.

To stop the wind the *gubaupuilaig* painted himself red and black, the latter to represent the clear blue sky, and taking the "bushes" from the reef he dried and burnt them, "Smoke he go up and him clear up on top."

All the "correspondences," as Swedenborg would call them, with the exception of the one in brackets, were explained to me by my informant.

Funeral Ceremonies.—When a man died the thumbs and the big toes were tied together and the body was wrapped up in a mat, which was either sewn with string or skewered; the head was not tied up fast. The corpse was carried out feet first, as otherwise they imagined the *mari* (spirit) would return to the camp. None of the immediate relatives carried the body; they remained behind.

The body was placed upon a framework supported on four posts (*sara*), and a roof of coco-palm leaves built over it, the relatives standing round and weeping. A fire was lit on the ground at the feet of the corpse for the *mari* to warm itself, for "dead man he cold." Some of the belongings of the deceased were hung on the *sara*, and food was also placed there. If the latter was found scattered the next morning they said, "*Mari* he wild, he chuck all food about." *Marigĕta* (the spirit's hand) was, I believe, the name given to the man who watched the corpse during the first night to see if anything happened, and to report thereon, for he might discover by some sign or another who it was that had practised sorcery upon the deceased. He also made passes over the body to feel the *mari*.

After several days the relatives returned to the body and mourned, one of them (brother-in-law?) beat the roof with a stick, and all shouted "*ū, ū, ū,*" to drive away the spirit which remains ("to drive rest of devil out"). (One informant said that no noise was made.) If they did not perform this ceremony they could not take the skull, as it stuck to the body and was too heavy. The "brother-in-law" removed the head with the lower jaw, and placed it in a termite nest ("white-ant" hill) to

clean it. By this time the body was somewhat decayed, and the grease ran down the posts. The body was then covered with grass, and ultimately buried.

The mourning costume consisted in covering the body with (coral ?) mud or ashes, and wearing a reddish *sogerl* (see section on Dress, Part I). They did not dance when in mourning; when the mourning was over the *sogerl* was thrown away. The mourning was said to last for two or three months, but no reliance can be placed upon the natives' idea of time.

When the day was fixed for the funeral feast, the women "make mangrove," *i.e.*, *biiu*, while the men went to catch turtle.

The "brother-in-law" took the skull (*padakwik*), which was by that time clean, and painted it red all over and placed it in a basket (*yĕna*). The mouth of the basket in front of the head was skewered by the nose ornament (*gubu*) of the deceased, his *dibidibi* was hung in front, and ear-pendants (*muti*) attached to the sides of the basket, and feathers of the egret were stuck round the open part of the mouth of the basket. Sometimes the skull itself was decorated, pearl-shell eyes were inserted in the orbits, and the nose and face were made of turtle-shell (?).

At sundown of the appointed day the feast commenced, and by the right-hand corner of a mat the food of the "brother-in-law" was placed, that of the father of the deceased being deposited at the left-hand corner. The "brother-in-law" painted himself all over, including his hair, with black (?) paint. The male relatives, but not the father, provided themselves with bows and arrows, and wore the *kadig*. The "brother-in-law" advanced with the basket containing the skull in his hand, and presenting it to the father, deposited it on the mat, the friends who surrounded the father crying all the time. "Some big man, he talk, all stop cry—go and make *aii purutan* (feast)." The head in its basket was put in the father's house. The principal ceremony appears to have been that the skull was taken and prepared by a near relation—brother-in-law or uncle—and given by him to the nearest blood relation—father or brother.

After the feast came the funeral dance ("make him devil-devil"); this appears to have consisted of three main episodes.

In the first figure there were three performers, who were all men, though the central man was dressed up as a woman (*Ipikamerkai*). the other two were termed *Merkai*. Each *Merkai* was painted black, on his head was a head-dress (*Merkai kwik*) which completely covered the upper portion of the head and the face. A red band extended across the forehead; from this four long red filaments projected vertically; they were ornamented at intervals with white feathers. Three others projected

inferiorly, one central, two lateral. A kind of breast plate (*der*) was made of cocoa-palm leaf, which formed a sort of yoke round the neck and extended down the chest, being tucked beneath the belt (*wakawal*); a petticoat (*tu*), made of the shredded pinnules of a sprouting coco-palm leaf, was worn. A *sameral*, or long tuft made of cassowary feathers was inserted behind. *Musur*, *kadig*, *kadig tang* were worn on the arms, and *brua* and *makamak* ornamented the legs in the ordinary manner. Bow (*gagai*) and arrows (*taiĕk*) were carried. (I obtained at Moa a flat crescentic piece of wood with a projecting portion; this was held in the mouth of a Merkai, when dancing, in such a way that the convexity was presented forwards. This mouth ornament (*gud*) was painted red and white, and decorated with cassowary feathers).

The *Ipikamerkai* was also painted black, and wore the *Merkai kwik*, but the woman's petticoat (*gagi*) took the place of the men's *tu*, *musur* only encircled the arms, and *brua* the ankles. The body was ornamented with a *dibidibi* and two *yaparal*, or bands of alternate red, black, and white, which extended from the shoulders to the waist. In the hands were held brooms (*piwul*, the dance name being *kusu* or *kusulaig*).

The three performers advanced from the bush, and coming into the light of the fire, for the dance took place at night, they ceased their sedate marching abreast, and began to dance. The *Ipikamerkai* put his hands together in front of his chest, holding the brooms outwards and upwards, while he danced.

When the figure was finished the three retired, and the two *Merkai* re-emerged from the gloom; this was, I believe, repeated two or three times.

Lastly, one *Merkai* came forth, and behind him was a *Dănilkau*. The latter was painted black, with a head-dress containing a single plume (*waipat*). He was ornamented with *dang-a-mari*, *kamadi*, *musur*, and *brua*; round his waist was a *wakawal*, from which was suspended in front a coco-nut water vessel (*gud*) [probably a pair of vessels], and behind there was a *nadu*, or grass tail. A *lorda*, the triangular shell armour, was carried on the side of the thigh. Leafy twigs (*zarzar*) were carried in the hands. The *Danilkau* skipped and jumped about behind the *Merkai*, but it was a point of honour to keep exactly behind the latter, so that the *Danilkau* was not (or was not supposed to be) seen.

Friends, not relatives, dressed up as above. The relatives were supposed to be too sorry to dance—"They cry." Women were allowed to witness the dance, but a long way off. They might not know who the dancers were; if they found out they died that night.

After an interval of some time (? a week or a month) another

feast was held. The basket was again put on the mat, and the "brother-in-law" took off the trappings of the basket and sewed up its mouth. The father took the basket containing the skull, and kept it in his house. After this feast they had a secular dance, or *kap*.

It is right to add a reminder that I have not seen one of these funeral ceremonies, and that the above account is derived solely from descriptions by natives, but I have done my best to gain a true conception of what did transpire. With regard to the costumes of the dancers I followed my usual practice of making sketches of men and their clothing, and decorating them according to description; with the costume thus visualised before them my informants recalled fresh facts, and pointed out where alterations were required. I could not get the natives to make me the head-dresses in the old style, though I repeatedly asked them to do so, and they often made promises.

Kaukwik.—When the lads begin to grow a small moustache, but before the beard had grown, they were taken to the *kwod* by the old men, and a fire was lit. The young men lay face downwards, at full length on the ground, a short distance from the fire, their heads resting upon their arms. The old men put leaves of the coco-palm on the fire, and when they were alight whipped the backs of the lads with them. If one of the latter got up and ran away, he was "no good," and they laughed at him. The skin of the lads was much burnt, and when the castigation was finished fresh water was poured over them.

I could not discover that there was any other ceremony than the foregoing when lads arrived at puberty; this is evidently a test of the bravery of the young men, and has nothing to do with initiation into manhood. *Kaukwik* simply means "young man." A similar but less rigorous custom obtained in Tud.

Sabi.—Anything could be tabooed by tying a piece of wood, bunch of grass, or what not on to it. If a man took anything with a *sabi* he would die.

Natam.—The old custom of changing names, *natam*, is still maintained. About the time I was resident in Mabuiag a large number of the men of that island changed names with their friends from Badu, who were over on a visit. For example, the chief of Mabuiag, a man well advanced in years, exchanged names with the young Badu man who was married to a Mabuiag widow with one child, during my visit; thus the chief of Mabuiag is no longer "Nomor" by name, but "Mauga." This custom has a purely friendly significance, I believe. I was told that a name was never changed more than once.

There was some old custom of "big names" and "small names" which I could never unravel. I think the "big name"

was given at birth and the "small name" later on. Possibly the latter was in reality a kind of "pet" or "family name." I heard the word *akir* used in connection with the "small name."

Nose and ear piercing.—The *piti terti*, or hole in the septum of the nose, was bored with a needle made of turtle-shell, because the septum was soft. This was done a few weeks after birth.

The holes in the ear were bored with fish-bones, turtle-shell not being strong enough; the hole in the ear was continually enlarged, and eventually the skin usually carried away on the inner side, or was purposely so cut, leaving a long dangling lobe of flesh.

Customs relating to turtle-fishing.—Formerly the shells of turtle were placed on a long platform (*agu*), each man or crew of a canoe putting their turtle in a heap by themselves; those having the greatest heap at the end of the season acquired the greatest glory. The *agu* was made of bamboo, the bamboo staging being covered with coco-palm leaves; on these were placed the turtle trophies. Hanging all round the sides of the *agu* were numbers of *bigu* (the *bigu* was a large "bull-roarer," carved and painted, which was in a state of constant rotation when the wind blew, and as the S.E. trade wind blows continuously for about eight months in the year, the *bigu* was practically perpetually vibrating). (One of these was made for me by the chief of Mabuiag, and it is now in the British Museum.) On the top were placed numerous *pădătrong* (I have already fully described this peculiar rattle). A small kind of "bull-roarer," the *wainis*, was also associated with this rite, but they were kept in the bush. The use of the *wainis* was learnt in a clear space, not in the bush. Men and women could alike see it, "It was half play."

When the men went out to catch the floating turtle, they took a *bigu* from the *agu* and swung it over the canoe preparatory to starting. When the canoes were expected to return, a man would station himself on a hill to look out. In due time he would see the under sides of the captured turtle gleaming in the successful canoes while yet a long way off; then he whirled a *wainis*, and the women knew that the fishers had been lucky. This was not done if the men fished with the sucker-fish (*gapu*).

On the arrival of the canoes the men first went to the *agu* before cutting up the turtle. They marched round the *agu* twirling *bigu* and *wainis*, and pulling the *padatrong*, always circling from left to right; if they marched in the counter direction, the turtle would go away from the shore. The *agu* was common to Daudai and the Western Islands.

Unmarried men were prohibited from going along with unmarried women when the turtle were "fast," otherwise the turtle could not be caught.

Badu.

Bădu (Mulgrave Island) lies five miles south of Mabuiag. It is an irregularly shaped island about six miles in diameter, and hilly in the centre. There is a good deal of low-lying wooded land.

As previously mentioned, the inhabitants are very closely allied in speech and by marriage with the Mabuiag people, but they have very little communication with the natives of Moa—though the latter island is separated from Badu by a shallow channel which averages only a mile and a half across.

I saw three types of houses here: (1) huts, consisting of little more than two sloping walls meeting like a roof, evidently an indigenous structure; (2) a small house on piles, of the New Guinea pattern; (3) a large, well-built grass house with neatly thatched sides, and a long verandah raised from the ground—this was erected and inhabited by South Sea men.

Treachery forty years ago.—"In the beginning of 1849 a party of Badúlegas, who had spent two months on a friendly visit to the natives of Muralug, treacherously killed an old Italega woman, married to one of their hosts. Two of her brothers from Banks Island [Moa or It] were staying with her at the time, and one was killed, but the other managed to escape. The heads were carried off to Badu as trophies. This treacherous violation of the laws of hospitality was in revenge for some petty injury which one of the Badu men received from an Ita black several years before" (Macgillivray II, p. 7).

Tud.

Tud (Warrior Island) is a small island less than a mile long, and about a quarter of a mile wide. It is situated on a small reef, which is separated by a narrow channel from the south-west extremity of the very extensive Warrior Reefs.

The island is merely a sand-bank, probably nowhere more than twelve or fifteen feet in height, heaped up by wave and wind action. The whole of the interior of the island is covered with rolled pebbles of pumice. At the northern end is a sandpit, which appears to be increasing in size. At the south-east corner there is a large bay or lagoon, which is only filled at the highest tides. The shore on the eastern side is gently shelving; that on the south and western sides is so cut by the sea as to present low cliffs, three or four feet in height, flanked towards the sea by a narrow sand beach.

The interior of the island is flat, and supports a vegetation of bushes and coarse grass. In one spot only, about one-third from the northern end, are there a few trees of any size. There are only a few coco-palms, and these are young.

There are one or two water-holes in the centre of the island, but these yield brackish water fit only for cooking and washing purposes. Drinking water has to be brought from Yam, a distance of over twelve miles. It is conveyed in long pieces of bamboo, as well as in the usual coco-nut water bottles.

Owing doubtless to the barrenness of their island and the necessity for fishing on the neighbouring reefs, the inhabitants of Tud were noted seamen and warriors. I believe they were greatly feared throughout the Straits on account of their ferocity and their continual raids on various islands. This warlike tendency has left its impress on the social condition of the people; for example, so far as I could learn, this is the only island in which a distinct chief was recognized. Fighting men require a leader, and apparently in Tud only was this position hereditary; in fact, I do not believe that real chiefs existed elsewhere.

The Rev. A. W. Murray (p. 453) says of these islanders: "They are said to have been a fierce people in the days of heathenism; they, like their neighbours, have suffered from their intercourse with the white man, and with strangers from other lands; but there is a considerable degree of character and stamina about them; so that I trust they will not be quite swept away, as has been the case with so many others." This refers to about the year 1871, when Mr. Murray estimated the population at about 200. I expect 50 would be nearer the mark now.

The island of Yam was really the garden of Tud, and the chief of the latter island held sway over the former. In his absence from Yam he appointed a deputy, but at once resumed his authority on his return—at least so I was informed by Maino.

Maino, the present chief of Tud, is the son of the late "King Kabagi," a person of some consideration in his day. The fighting head-dress and mouth ornament of boars' tusks of the latter are now in the British Museum, for it was on this understanding that Maino parted with them. Maino is a very intelligent young man, and he and I became great friends, indeed, I have a sincere regard for him. It is owing to his intelligence and readiness to give me information that I have been enabled to rescue from oblivion so many of the past customs of his countrymen.

Initiation into Manhood (informant, Maino, chief of Tud).—The fathers of growing lads some day come to the conclusion, as the *nadulza* (hair on pubes) and *yatu* (beard) are growing on their boys, that it is undesirable for them to remain among all the

women and girls, so they agree to initiate the lads into manhood.

The lads are handed over by their fathers to their uncles, who thenceforth take full charge of them until the rite is completed. They are conveyed to the *Taiokwŏd*, or sacred meeting-place for men, which is located in the bush.

During initiation a lad is termed *karingi*, and the instructor *mauwaigerko*. At Nagir, I was informed, a lad (*zungri*), during initiation is termed *kĕrnge* and afterwards *kaukwik*; the instructor is called *mauwaigĕrk*. A man usually initiates the sons of the man who instructed him.

At the present time (1888) the *Taiokwod* is more or less overgrown with grass and bushes. In one corner (about S.W.) are three ancient "*Piner*" trees. One of these is recumbent with age, and another is transfixed in several places with bones of the turtle, which were stuck into the tree by men long since dead. The bark of the tree has curiously grown round and imbedded these relics. I was told that a considerable fragment of a turtle's plastron had been put there by a man named Rosir, and a very tall man, Wĕdi by name, had thrust into the trunk, far above the others, the dart of a dugong harpoon. Round about are bushes and trees of various ages.

The central area is about forty feet long by thirty feet wide, and was formerly nearly covered by four large mats, each of which probably measured twenty feet by ten feet. These were ranged transversely along the area. About the middle line at the southerly end of the area a fireplace is still to be seen, and at the opposite extremity are the remains of two other fireplaces, separated from each other by a narrow passage some two feet wide. A fourth fireplace, now overgrown by bushes, is situated about half-way up on the westerly side. On the opposite side of the large mats to the latter was a small mat, say six or eight feet square. The mats, of course, have long since been removed, but Maino pointed out to me where they had been. Low, circular heaps of ashes still mark the spots where the old fires burned. On the site where the small mat formerly lay are two stones, one marking the seat of the old chiefs of the island, the other, an irregular, oval, flattened stone some twenty-two inches in length by fourteen inches in width, had a dire significance, as will presently be stated.

The four mats with the four fireplaces belonged to four separate clans. The single fireplace at one end with its mat belonged to the *Sam* (cassowary) clan. The next mat and the fireplace on the right hand side were allocated to the *Umai* (dog) clan. The third mat was that of the *Kodal* (crocodile) clan, and the last belonged to *Baidam* (shark) clan. These two

last clans were "like brothers," and so had their fireplaces close together, that of the *Kodal* clan being on the right and that of the *Baidam* clan being on the left of the median line. Maino, the present chief of Tud, like his father, the noted chief Kăbăgi, belongs to the *Kodal* clan.

The elder men sat on the mats belonging to their respective clans. If a man sat by the fire or upon the mat of a clan other than his own, he was painted black, and thenceforth belonged to that clan. The young men who had been last initiated sat round and tended to the fires. Those men who did not want to sit on the mats, or for whom there was not room, stationed themselves by the encircling bushes and trees. The youths in process of initiation were grouped at each end of the *Taiokwod*. The *Kodal* and *Baidam* lads sat beyond the fire-place of the *Sam* clan, and the youths of the *Umai* and *Sam* clans were placed beyond the twin fires at the other end. Thus the boys, during initiation, were allocated to that end of the open space farthest away from the mats of their paternal clans. The small mat belonged to the chief of the island. During certain ceremonies the large drums were grouped at the common centre of the mats, and a large mask (*krar*) was placed in the middle of the left hand side of each mat. (In this description I have assumed the spectator as standing at the *Sam* end of the *Taiokwod*, and looking along its length in a northerly direction.) On each side of the *krar* were situated the leafy masks (*mari-o-kwik*) which were used in funeral ceremonies. The trees and bushes surrounding the enclosure were laden with all kinds of food during the period of initiation; on its conclusion, the remaining food was taken back to the houses.

The lads to be initiated were painted all over with charcoal (*kobi kobi*, the charred shell of the coco-nut). Every day the lads were washed and fresh charcoal rubbed on. The avowed object of painting the body with charcoal was to render the skin paler in colour. They say that the skin of the body assumed that paler and almost European tint which characterises the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet of the natives. If at the end of the period a boy came out "white," the father was delighted. If the colour did not satisfy him he considered that the uncle, or whoever the *Mauwaigerko* was, had not done well by him.

The lads were covered with a kind of mat-tent or covering (*sobera*), which completely enveloped them when sitting down. When walking only the legs were visible. I was told that the mats used at Tud came from Daudai. They were made of strips of banana leaf sewn together by means of a vegetable fibre. Each covering was like a high-pitched roof with vertical ends.

For a month the youths were incarcerated in their peri-

patetic prisons, spending all the day in silent darkness, squatting down at their appropriate ends of the *Taiokwod*. After nightfall they were marched off to a house at the outskirts of the village, and before sunrise—when "the wild fowl called out"—they had to retrace their steps to the bush. Not only may they not be seen by any girl or woman, but even their own fathers are not allowed to visit them. Infringement of these rules is punished with death. Once, four youths, tired of the irksomeness of the discipline, broke away from the *Taiokwod*, and seeing their mothers with some yams and sweet-potatoes, shouted out to them, and, holding up the left arm to attract attention, asked for some food. They were immediately killed with the stone previously mentioned.

I made special enquiries as to the diet of the lads during initiation, and was assured that any kind of food might be eaten, except fat, as this would cause an eruption of pimples (*moiid*).

Kūdūma, of Nagir, informed me that at his island the lads to be initiated were covered with a mat (*sobera*), as in Tud. Charcoal was washed off and put on afresh every day. During initiation the lads (*kernge*) were not allowed to eat certain fish, such as *paza* (said to be a flat fish, with poison stings, not the sting ray), and *takam*, a small kind of "rock fish," nor the "red one inside craw-fish" (*i.e.*, the thoracic viscera of the spiny lobster), but they might eat its flesh. Fat might be eaten, but not any viscera (*soroi*). They were not allowed to see any woman or their fathers. They might not play or talk, but had to keep quiet all the time, sitting still and looking down. The *mauwaigerk* watched them the whole time to see that these rules were obeyed. The lads slept at the *kwod* all the time. The period of seclusion is said to have lasted for two months.

I was informed that during the period of seclusion the *mauwaigerk* instructed the youths in the lore and customs of the tribe; nor was moral instruction forgotten. The following is, as far as possible, a literal transcript of the moral axioms as given by Maino: "You no steal. You no take anything without leave; if you see a fish-spear and take it without leave, suppose you break it and have not one of your own—how you pay man? Suppose you see a dugong harpoon in a canoe and take it, and man he no savvy, you lose it or break it, how you pay him, you no got dugong harpoon? You no play with boy and girl now; you a man now and no boy. You no play with small play-canoe or spear; that all finish now. You no like girl first, if you do, girl laugh and call you a woman. [That is, the lad must not propose marriage to a girl, but wait for her to ask first.] You no marry your cousin, she all same as sister. If two boys are mates they may not marry each other's sisters, or by-and-bye

they ashamed; they like brothers, they may marry two sisters along another man. If man ask for food or water or anything else, you give, if you have a little you give little, suppose you got plenty you give half. Look after mother and father, never mind if you and your wife have to go without. Give half of all your fish to your parents; don't be mean. Don't speak bad word to mother. Father and mother all along same as food in belly; when they die you feel hungry and empty. Mind your uncles too and cousins. If your brother go to fight, you help him, go together; don't let him go first."

In addition to some of the foregoing, Kuduma of Nagir gave the following as part of the instruction as given in his island: "You no take thing belong to other man. If you see food belonging to another man you no take or you dead [evidently referring to the efficacy of sorcery as a punishment for crime]. If woman walk along, you no follow, by-and-bye man look, he call you bad name. If a canoe is going to another place, you go in canoe, no stop behind to steal woman."

At last the month's probation was finished and the lads were thoroughly washed and rubbed with "bushes," and when quite clean, were oiled all over. They were next decorated with a head-dress of cassowary feathers and the various belts, armlets, and leglets which constitute native finery. A shell skewer-like ornament was inserted through the septum of the nose. Thus they "made him flash—flash like hell that boy." Two large seeds were put inside the cheeks to make them bulge out, and a large valve of a kind of white clam was inserted in the mouth, which, distending the latter, showed between the lips as a round white disc. Lastly the youths were anointed all over the body with "girl medicine," a pungent scented substance, which was credited with the property of exciting the girls.

At Nagir they "made boy flash" with a coronet of cassowary feathers or of plumes of the bird of paradise, and a frontlet made from the young leaf of the coco-palm. The hair was made into ringlets with mud. A *gub* was passed through the nasal septum. The face was ornamented with lines of red paint. Seeds, bits of grass, &c., were inserted in the holes which perforated the border of the ear, "*musur*" armlets adorned the arms and "*makamak*" rings the legs. A seed necklace was placed round the neck. The body was anointed with coco-nut oil and "smell medicine." A potent "medicine" was put in a small basket, which was slung over the shoulder and suspended under the arm.

At nightfall the youths of Tud were led by the *mauwaigerk* behind a large mat, which was held vertically. So they marched until they arrived at an open space near the village, where a mat

had been spread out before a semicircle of the relatives and friends of the youths. When the approaching party reached this mat the lads sat themselves down upon it, and the screening mat was lowered. Suddenly, for the first time for a month, the fathers and female relatives saw their lads, and great was the crying; but the boys sat still looking downwards, and never moved. The mothers and aunts ran up to the youths and fondled and caressed them, crying all the time; but the boys showed no emotion.

The boys sat in pairs, "two mates" (*kaimi*) sitting together. The chief boys were put in the middle. Food was placed in front of and behind each boy; that in front belonged to the father and that behind to the *mauwaigerk*. The mothers surreptitiously hid dainty morsels under the boys for them to eat. Then all feasted, and the boy was a man.

The young man stopped with his uncle or brother-in-law, the *mauwaigerk*, not with his father, for three months more. After the expiration of that time a feast was made; the *mauwaigerk* exchanged presents with the father, and handed the youth over to the latter, who kissed him.

It often happened that the girl who was first enamoured of a youth at his initiation, and who first asked him in marriage, was one who "like too many men." The lad, being on his guard, might not take her, but might make a bogus appointment with her in the bush, of which he would inform the elder men. These would repair to the trysting place, to the youth's amusement, the old men's pleasure, and the girl's mortification. It appears that the character of the various girls was made known to the youths during their initiation, so that they might be forewarned.

If a desirable girl proposed before the three months had expired, the order of procedure was as follows: She gave a ring of string to the young man's sister, who handed it on to the mother, the latter told the father, who, in his turn, informed the *mauwaigerk*. A feast was made and the bridegroom's people gave him "big things to pay for girl." The *mauwaigerk* handed the lad over to his father, who kissed him on the forehead and chest, and rubbed noses with him.

At Nagir the father and mother prepared food for the first feast, on which occasion the lad was stripped of all his finery except the two *musur*. The youth stayed with the *mauwaigerk* until the second feast. At the latter the father and mother place food in front of the lad, and the *mauwaigerk* puts some behind. The two *musur* were taken off the youth's arms, and he was then styled a "*kaukwik*."

Courtship and Marriage.—When a girl likes a man she informs his sister of the fact, and gives her a ring of string. On the first

suitable opportunity the sister says to her brother, "Brother, I have some good news for you. A woman likes you." He asks who it is, and after some conversation, if he is willing to go on with the affair, he tells his sister to ask the girl to keep an appointment with him in some spot in the bush.

When the message is delivered the enamoured damsel informs her parents that she is going into the bush to get some wood, or food, or some such excuse. In due course the man meets the girl, and they sit down and yarn. The man does not take any liberties with the girl or even fondle her, but they sit and talk discreetly. (The following conversation is given in the actual words which Maino used.)

Opening the conversation the man says, "You like me proper?"

"Yes," she replies, "I like you proper with my heart inside. Eye along my heart see you—you my man."

Unwilling to rashly give himself away, he asks, "How you like me?"

"I like your fine leg—you got fine body—your skin good——I like you altogether!" replies the girl.

After matters have proceeded satisfactorily the girl, anxious to clench the matter, asks when they are to be married. The man says, "To-morrow if you like."

They both go home and tell their respective relatives. Then the girl's people fight the man's folk, "For girl more big (*i.e.*, of more consequence) than boy."

If the girl has a brother he takes the man's sister, and then all is settled. The fighting does not appear to be a very serious business.

"Swapping" sisters was the usual method of getting a wife. If a man had no sister he might remain unmarried, unless he was rich enough to pay for a wife with a shell armlet (*waiwi*) or a canoe, or something of equal value. If a youth was "hard up," an uncle might take compassion on him and give one of his own daughters in exchange for a wife for his nephew. This exchange of girls—a sister for a sister or female cousin for another man's sister, was an economical method of getting a wife, as one was a set off against the other. The usual feasting occurred, but the presents were dispensed with, or at all events the purchase money was saved, and probably there would be no fighting.

I believe also that the usual presents from the married pair, or rather from the husband, to the wife's parents, on the birth of children, would be dispensed with.

Customs relating to Fighting.—When old enough to join the fighting men, the lads were beaten with the leaves of the coco-

palm during a dance. "Medicine" would be given to cause them not to care for anybody. Men would also drink the sweat of renowned warriors, and eat the scrapings from their finger nails which had become coated and sodden with human blood. This was mixed with their food in order "to make strong and like stone; no afraid."

Before going to fight the men would stand round the *kupai* of Sigai, and dig their bows and arrows into the ground there, so that virtue might pass into them.

According to MacFarlane the *kupai* or *kupor* (or umbilical cord) of a boy was preserved at Saibai until he had grown up into a young man; it was then buried as a sign that this was his native place, and from which he must not depart. Sigai, who was a noted warrior, had buried his *kupor* a short distance to one side of the *Taiokwod*.[1] The spot, still strewn with giant clams, trumpet conchs, and other shells, was pointed out to me by Maino. They would also take a coco-nut and break it, repeating twice, "Sĕrăsĕră birgesera." If the coco-nut broke evenly into two halves, they would have a successful foray. If it should not break straight, they would only kill a few men. If a piece of the coco-nut shell broke off, an immediate relative of the man who broke it would die soon. All the men ate a small piece of the kernel of the broken coco-nut, and they took up the two halves of the shell and put "medicine" inside. ("Serasera" was, I was informed, a white sea-bird or shore-bird, which hops about when it catches fish. I wonder if this is the same as Sĕsĕrĕ, the hero of Badu.)

The Tud Warriors usually so arranged their forays that they could fall upon the enemy immediately at or before sunrise, attacking them while still heavy with sleep, and before they had time to relieve themselves. Being taken at a disadvantage, the attacked would be more easily vanquished. The tactics usually employed were for a few men to enter a doomed house or enclosure, while the majority remained outside, to cut off the fugitives. During a foray they would not take women prisoners or violate them. If a man was caught doing the latter he would be told, "We come out to fight, not to do that," and he would be killed.

[1] Sigai was probably the same as the hero Siga I heard of at Mēr, who with his three brothers, Mālū, Sēō, and Kūlkā, left their native island of Muralug, each in his own canoe. Siga was blown away to Yam. Kulka remained at Aurid. Seo was killed at Masig by Malu. The latter proceeded to Mer, and was their culture-hero. If this be the case, it would appear that Siga (or Singai) carried his *kupor* with him, and his burial of it in Tud was a sign that he had, so to speak, planted himself there. Yam, as I have previously stated, is the garden of Tud. Kulka was evidently the eponymous hero of the Kulkalaig, or that section of the Western Tribe which ranged over the small islands in the central area of the Straits.

A warrior who had killed a man would tear out his tongue and eat it on the spot. The penis was usually also cut off. Before a fight they would blow in the direction they were going through a dried penis.

Whilst fighting they would call on the names of past warriors of renown, such as Sigai (of Tud), Kwoiam (of Mabuiag), and Yădzebub (of Yam). The name for a warrior was *Kaigerkital gaka.*

Funeral Customs.—When a man dies, the people are sorry. If they want to take the head, they bury the body for four days: "Second day, body swell up, stuff run down; third day, belly break; fourth day all wet." A noise is made at the grave (see account of Magau's burial). The earth is removed; one man takes the head and another the jaw, they turn over the ground with their hands, "never mind the stink." If any teeth have tumbled out, they look about for them. The head is taken to the sea; if, when first put into the water, it sinks at once, it shows that the man met his death through the charms of a local sorcery-man. If the head floats, it proves that the sorcery-man resided at a distance, and the face points to the direction where the man resides. Then the head sinks with a bubbling noise. It is washed clean and put in the ground for two or three days, then it is again washed, painted, and adorned. The head is given to the relatives; a feast is held, when food is given to the brother-in-law, and there is a big dance.

I understood from Maino that only a "brother-in-law" could take a man's skull; if there was no brother-in-law the body could not be touched. If a woman dies the brother takes the skull, or if a married woman, the husband's brothers, not her brothers, "because they cry, they sorry," nor her husband, because "he make kaikai (*i.e.*, prepare food), he cry."

If old people die they bury them, and put a fence round, and do not prepare their skulls, but if "young fellow die, all sorry."

For mourning the women covered their bodies all over with mud, *bud* (*i.e.*, white coral mud): a long fringe of frayed sago-palm leaves was tied round the neck so that it fell down in front and behind. This was the *soger.* Armlets, bracelets, leglets, and anklets, made of the same material and collectively known as *bisuab,* were worn. I was informed that no other garment was worn by the women, who, during the day-time, stayed within their houses. Mourning for a near relative lasted a year, "Sister can't forget her brother, she cry one year."

Yam.

Yam (Turtle-backed Island) is an irregularly shaped island about a mile in length and averaging half-á-mile or more in width, and lies about twelve miles south-west by west of Tud. There is a low dome-shaped hill at one end, and at the eastern side is a swampy lagoon that fills at high tides.

Jukes gives the following account of his visit (I, p. 155): "On Turtle-backed Island we found a few small groves of cocoa-nut trees near a group of huts with a little thicket of bamboo, and near the centre of the island, following a little path through a matted wood, rendered impervious by creepers, we came one day on the first symptoms of cultivation of the ground we had ever seen among the aborigines of this part of the world [Cape York and Muralug only had so far been visited by Jukes]. This was a little circular plot of ground, not more than four or five yards in diameter; but it had evidently been dug, though in a rude manner, and in it were set several young plantain trees, one or two other plants, and two trailing plants somewhat like French beans in appearance, which we afterwards found were a kind of yam. The huts on this island had the appearance of a first attempt at a house, having side walls about two feet high, and a gable-shaped roof rising four feet from the ground. They were about ten feet long and six feet wide, made principally of bamboo, and thatched with grass and leaves. They stood in a picturesque little spot backed by some huge blocks of sienite, on which some large shells were arranged. About fifty yards from them, under some widely-spreading, thick-leaved trees, with gnarled trunks and twisted boughs, were some great blocks of sienite resting fantastically one upon the other.

"In all the wood that spread over the island there did not appear to be a single gum-tree. The trees were widely branched, low, and umbrageous, and matted with underwood and creepers. The whole aspect of the vegetation was totally different from that of Australia."

Coxwain Crispin informed me that at the time of my visit to this island, there was on the windward side of the island an old house on high piles. The only indigenous natives on the island were an old man and two young boys; all the rest had left or died.

Nagir.

Năgir or Năgi (Mount Ernest) is situated twenty-six miles north of Cape York, and has, roughly speaking, the form of an equilateral triangle, of which one angle points in a southerly

direction. The north-easterly angle is somewhat thrust out into a rocky promontory. The southerly portion of the island rises steeply from the sea and culminates in a peak 751 feet in height. (This is the height given in the Admiralty Charts; Jukes gives it as "807 feet high," I, p. 155.) On the northern aspect some of the spurs of the hill are cultivated, and there is a moderate amount of level ground at its base which is only partially cultivated. Except on the really precipitous portions the whole island is well wooded.

The rock is of igneous origin and weathers into remarkable blocks and pinnacles, the forms assumed by the rock in the north-east angle being particularly fantastic. The low-lying land on the northern aspect of the island is derived partly from the detritus of the hill and partly from shore deposits. The island is a little more than a mile in its greatest length.

"Among the natural productions of the island [Nagir] I may first allude to the large thickets of bamboo scattered along the base of the hill as the first new feature in the vegetation, and secondly, to the small *Eucalypti* growing between the hill and the brushes, as this is the most northerly limit of that Australian genus known to me. Among the trees of the brushes I may mention the *Anacardium*, or cashew nut, with large red acrid fruit, *Mimusops Kauiki*, often attaining a great size, and a species of *Bombax*, or silk cotton tree, from the trunk of one of which the canoe we saw upon the beach was being constructed" (p. 39).

Of birds, the Australian quail, Torres Strait pigeon, and brown dove were plentiful. The gaudy, thrush-like *Pitta strepitans* was heard calling in every thicket, and several large lizards were seen; one of these (*Monitor Gouldii*) was about four feet in length. "It is much esteemed as food, and the skin is used for covering the *warúp*, or New Guinea drum" (Macgillivray II, p. 39).

According to Jukes (I, p. 155), "Captain Blackwood landed upon Mount Ernest, and found a group of huts much superior to any we ever saw in Australia, a small grove of cocoa-nuts, and another of large bamboos. In the huts were found parcels of human bones, ornamented with red ochre, a mask or hideous face made of wood and ornamented with the feathers of some struthious bird [cassowary], and one or two bundles of small wooden tubes, eight inches long and half an inch in diameter, the use of which we never could discover."

Macgillivray (II) says:—"Nearly the whole tribe, she [Gi'om] was informed, are now upon Sue Island (which they called Wărăber), although their head-quarters are, as mentioned before, at Mount Ernest. The men in the canoe [off Waiaber] differed

in no material respect from the natives of the Prince of Wales' Islands on the one hand, and those of Darnley Island on the other. Many had the characteristic faint oval scar on the shoulder, some wore the hair in moderately long pipe-like ringlets, while others had it cut close. All were perfectly naked, and the only ornaments worn were the large round pearl-shell on the breast. . . . We saw several bamboo bows and bundles of arrows stowed away under the platform" [of the canoe] (p. 40). The men of Nagir had spears and a throwing stick, "both of which were precisely similar to those of Cape York, from which place they had probably been procured" (p. 34). "The women whom we saw wore loose petticoats of leaves reaching to below the knees" (p. 42).

Houses.—"Mount Ernest is the head-quarters of the Kulkalega Tribe of Torres Strait Islanders who are now absent on one of their periodical migrations, leaving in possession only an old man and his family. The village consists of a single line of huts, which would furnish accommodation for, probably, 150 people. It is situated on the north-west or leeward side of the island, immediately behind the beach and in front of a belt of jungle. The huts are long and low, with an arched roof, and vary in length from ten to twenty feet, with an average height of five feet, and a width of six. They consist of a neat framework of strips of bamboo, thatched with long coarse grass. Each hut is usually situated in a small well-fenced enclosure, and opposite to it on the beach is the cooking place, consisting of a small shed, under which the fire is made. We saw indications of many turtle having lately been cooked here upon a framework of sticks over a small fire" (*l.c.*, pp. 35, 36).

Gardens.—"The strip of forest behind the village is traversed in every direction by well-beaten paths, chiefly leading to the back part of the island, where, on the slope of the hill in good soil, we found many patches of rude cultivation. The chief plant is a broad-leaved species of yam, trained upon tall poles kept in position by cross bamboos, forming a framework divided into little squares, each of which contains a plant. A species of *Calladium* with an esculent root is also much cultivated; it is planted in regular rows with the earth heaped up in ridges. I noticed some small plots of ground prepared with more than usual care for the growth of what Gi'om told me was an herb used as tobacco; the young plants were protected from the sun by pieces of matting" (*l.c.*, p. 36).

Trophy of skulls.—"Not far from the village, under the shade of an aged mimusops tree on the outskirts of the wood, we observed a cleared oval space, where ten human skulls—of former members of the tribe, as we were informed—were arranged

upon a plank raised on stones a foot or so from the ground. The skulls were mostly old and weather-worn, and some of them had pandanus seeds stuck in the orbits by way of eyes. In front was a large smooth stone painted red and black, and partially embedded in the earth, and beside it were some painted human leg and arm bones, shells, and other ornaments. Behind, some thirty or forty skulls of turtle were arranged on the ground in several rows, forming a triangle" (*l.c.*, pp. 36, 37).

Etiquette to Parents-in-law.—Mrs. F. L. Jardine gave me the following information. Husband and wife never speak to their respective parents-in-law by name, but always address them as "*ira*" (*i.e.*, "mother-" or "father-in-law"); otherwise, intercourse is not restricted, except that the wife does not give food directly to the father-in-law but through the mother-in-law, and the husband gives food designed for his mother-in-law to his father-in-law. Kuduma, whose English name is "Look-here!" said, "No come close to father- and mother-in-law, never speak, ashamed."

Infanticide.—Parents used to kill their infants when they considered the family was large enough—more especially the girl children—as it was "too hard work" to provide for them. The custom was to bury the newly-born baby in the sand. Sometimes parents would exchange their children. If a married couple had no children they might be accommodated by another more fortunate pair, and presents would be given in exchange. In such cases, the original parents had no claim whatever on the child afterwards. These transactions would usually take place when the child was about eight months' old (Mrs. Jardine)

Adultery.—If a married woman likes another man, they go into the bush, and she gives him a present. If they are found out, the woman is not punished, but they "row" (probably a mild kind of fight), the man, "when finish shake hands"—"Woman he steal man" (Kuduma).

Charm for Bravery.—In order to infuse courage into boys, a warrior, *Kĕrketegerkai*, would take the eye and tongue of a dead man (probably of a slain enemy), and after mincing them and mixing with his urine, would administer the compound in the following manner. He would tell the boy to shut his eyes and not look, adding, "I give you proper kaikai" ("kaikai" is an introduced word, being the jargon-English for food). The warrior then stood up behind the sitting youth, and putting the latter's head between his (the man's) legs, would feed him. After this dose "heart along boy no fright" (Kuduma).

Funeral Customs.—The dead were either placed on a framework supported by posts, or buried. Food, a coco-nut full of water, and possibly a bamboo pipe, would be hung on to the

posts in the former case, or placed upon the grave if buried. There was always a fire (Mrs. Jardine).

The corpse was placed on a framework (*kak*), and either surrounded with a mat, or a mat might be placed beneath the body and coco-palm leaves above it. When decomposition had set in, the skull was removed and put into "hard ground, so that smell he go." All the relatives looked for food. The skull was made "flash," and put into a basket. The body might be buried immediately after death, if the skull was not required, as for instance, in the case of old people; but if young people died, the skull would be preserved as a memento. In addition to preserving the skull, the Muralug men take some or all of the bones; but this is not the Nagir fashion (Kuduma).

Funeral Ceremonies for Magau.—Magau ("Billy") of Nagir was a young unmarried man who died about the end of 1887. His death was firmly believed to have been caused by the telepathic sorcery of a *maidelaig*, or sorcery man, residing at Cape York.

When Magau died, Kuduma, his uncle, and Aina (Harry Nagir), his foster brother, yarned and said, "Very good, we make him same as man long time fashion, we will take him head, but leave him body in ground." So they buried him. "First day, he stop in ground: next day, stuff him run down; next day, belly he go in." On the following day all the *mariget*, or people belonging to the dead man, such as his father and brother-in-law, went very quietly in a crouching manner to the grave. When they arrived there, they all suddenly and simultaneously stamped on the ground, clapped their hands, and said, "*Ah!*" Then the mari, or spirit, departed from Magau, and his skull would come off easily. The earth was removed from the body, and one man took hold of the cranium and another of the jaw. The brother-in-law kept the skull; he washed it in the sea, and when cleaned and "no stink," he painted a blue mark over the eyes, inserted pearl shell eyes, moulded a nose out of wood and bees-wax, which he painted red, supplied the deficiency of teeth with half-a-dozen pieces of wood, lashed the jaw on to the cranium, and attached seed and calico ear pendants. So it was made "flash."

After about three months a death-dance was held ("made him *merkai*"), during which a central "*ipikamerkai*" danced with a "*turkiam* merkai" on each side (see account of funeral ceremonies at Mabuiag). After this figure had been twice performed, a single dancer, the "*mari*," appeared. He had loose pieces of wood attached to his legs, which clattered as he jumped about.

At the same time a big feast was made, but in addition to the

yams, sweet potatoes, coco-nuts, bananas, and so forth of the old-fashioned feasts, this one was re-enforced with four bags of flour, one case of gin and one of schnapps. The adorned skull of Magau was placed on a mat in the middle. The father and brother prepared food for the other *mariget*, and put it in front of the skull; the *mariget* also made food ready for the father and brother of the deceased, and placed it likewise before the skull. Then "all got damned drunk all night; if woman sleep, wake him up—no make row."

Before the feasting commenced, the skull was handed over to the father, and at night time it was covered over with a mat, and the family slept around it in memory of old times. After three nights the father kept the skull in its basket close by his pillow.

Magau's skull was sold to me by another foster-brother, Aiwŏli by name, on the 13th of August, 1888, for one tomahawk and three fathoms of calico-print.

WARABER.

"Sue, although the largest of the 'Three Sisters,' is not more than the third of a mile in length. . (it) is of the coral sand formation, low and thickly wooded. Some cocoa-nut trees grow at the west end of the island, where there is a native village. It consisted of several long huts, thatched with grass, which apparently are not much used in the day time, as we saw no one entering or coming out of them. Many of the people, both men and women, ran down to the beach, waving green branches to induce us to land; others were sitting down under temporary sheds made by stretching large mats—the sails of their canoes—over a framework of sticks. The inside of one large enclosure was concealed by a fence six feet high, and an adjacent shed, under which some cooking was going on, was completely covered with some recent shells of turtle, apparently about thirty in number. Three very large canoes were hauled up on the beach, protected from the sun by matting, and two smaller ones were kept afloat" (Macgillivray II, p. 41).

AURID.

This island is merely a vegetated sand-bank. Brockett (p. 53) says: "There were no natives on it at the time we landed. During our search we saw some native dogs. After we had been on the island about half an hour, we discovered a kind of avenue, lined on both sides with shells painted red, at the top of which there was a hut rather in a dilapidated condition. On entering the hut, we found, to our great astonishment, several skulls

fastened to a large tortoise-shell figure in the manner represented in the Plate. [This is a large face with a triangular erection projecting beyond the forehead; at the junction of these two is a semicircular piece which projects at right angles to them; it is carved and ornamented with feathers, the whole being surrounded with skulls.] The boy said that the natives held a corrobery over the figure on feast days. Some of the skulls have marks of violence on them, and they are lashed to the figure with a piece of European rope."

"The body of the figure, it seems, was composed of tortoise-shell and smeared over with a red colour, and measured between four to five feet by about two and a half. A semicircular projection stands out from the forehead, made also of tortoise-shell fancifully cut, and when taken from the island was ornamented with feathers. In the centre of the figure, from the projection upwards, is a small bundle of broken arrows bound together. The eyes are detached and formed with a silvery shell, something like what is called the mutton fish, and the face is surrounded with shells arranged with method" (Wemyss, p. 31). The bundle of arrows here referred to may be a tally of the number of people murdered.

Masig.

The only account we have of Măsig or Măsid (Yorke Island) is that by Jukes, in March, 1845 (I, pp. 167–169): "We found in the centre of the island two water-holes like those of Damood, to which Masseed had indeed a precise resemblance, except that it was rather larger. . . We found several women and children waiting for us at a group of huts, exactly resembling those of Damood. . . The women were no great beauties, being middle-aged, with closely cropped hair, and breasts flat, skinny, and pendulous. They were, however, decently clothed, with a sort of petticoat of leaves, reaching from the waist to the knee. They carried their younger children, like the Malays, astride across the hip, and seemed still to be suckling several, who appeared three or four years' old. . . . They had their frizzled hair closely cropped all over, except a ridge about half an inch high, running from one ear to the other, over the crown of the head.

"Only one canoe came to us, in which were three men and three boys. They approached us, unarmed, with the utmost confidence, one man holding a cocoa-nut in one hand and a green bough in the other. They all shouted 'Poud, poud, poud, Masseed!' meaning 'Peace! peace with Masseed!' They were a well-made, fine looking people, of a different type from the

Australians, with muscular limbs and frizzled hair. They had the oval epaulet-like mark on their shoulders, but no other scars. Their hair was dressed into long, narrow, pipe-like curls, smeared with red ochre and grease, and they wore a band round the forehead. One old man, who informed us his name was Garia, had a black wig dressed like their hair, but his beard and whiskers were nearly all grey. They seemed fond of smoking. Their canoes resembled those we had seen in Endeavour Strait, but larger and more ornamented.

Round house.—"We then went for a walk along the south side of the island, old Garia accompanying us. About half-a-mile from the village we came to a single hut, of a different shape from any we had yet seen. It was just like a great beehive, ten or twelve feet in diameter at the base, and the same in height, having a thick thatch of grass. A pole protruded from the summit, on which was a large shell (fusus), and a small hole or door at one side, partly covered by a board of wood. We thought at first it might be the receptacle of the dead, but at Darnley and Murray Islands almost all the houses are of this form, so that this had either been erected in imitation of them, or by some people of those places when on a visit to Masseed."

Mask.—A large mask consisting "of two rudely carved figures of fish, about two feet long, connected together by cross pieces, about one foot long, over which frame was a large figure of a bird (a hornbill) with an immense toothed bill, the eyes and some other parts cut out of mother-of-pearl, neatly inlaid. It was altogether two and a half feet high, and by no means badly designed or executed."

Brockett says (p. 32), "As soon as we arrived within a short distance of the island, the natives came down to the beach with branches and leaves in their hands. They offered us cocoa-nuts, shells, &c., and refused to take anything in return. They appeared to be very much alarmed."

DAMUT.

Damut or Damud (Dalrymple Island) is a flat, sandy, wooded island about a mile in length and over a quarter of a mile in breadth. It is situated about twenty-two miles north-east of Tud.

The following is the only account we have of the people: "March 21 (1845)—We anchored near Dalrymple Island, which the natives call Damood. On exchanging shouts of 'poud! poud!' and waving green boughs, we immediately became good friends. Ten men waited to receive us, two or three elderly women crawling off into the bush, where the

younger women and children had previously hidden themselves. The men received us most cordially, though with much clamour and gesticulation, and the others having landed from the canoe, led us between the huts to a clear open space at the back of them, shaded by cocoa-nuts and other trees, and which seemed the place of public meeting of the village.

Houses.—"The huts were by far the best and neatest erections of the kind we had yet seen. Each one occupied a quadrangular space, six to eight feet wide, and from ten to fifteen feet long. They had gable-shaped roofs, eight feet high in the centre, and sloping on each side nearly to the ground. The frame of the house was made of bamboo, and thickly covered or thatched with grass and palm-leaves; the front and back walls were also made of small bamboo sticks, upright and fastened close together, the front wall having a small triangular opening for a door, over which hung loose strips of palm leaf. The door looked into a little courtyard of about ten feet square, in front of the house, strongly fenced with stout posts and stakes, interlaced with palm leaves and young bamboos, and accessible only by a very narrow opening between two of the strongest posts. In this courtyard was the cooking fire. The different huts and fences were rather irregularly disposed, but placed closely together, so as to leave only narrow winding passages between them. They occupied a space fifty or sixty yards long, by ten or fifteen broad. Behind them was the open place of meeting, on the other side of which, against an old tree, was a semicircular pile or wall of dugongs' skulls about three feet high, many of which were quite fresh, but others rotting with age; in the middle of this was a conical heap of turtles' skulls in a similar state. There must altogether have been some hundreds of skulls of each kind of animal.

"When they had conducted us into this open space, several of them seated themselves on small well-made mats, like those used by the Malay nations; and two or three went and brought a large roll of matting, at least twelve feet by six, which they spread for us to sit down on. These really well-made fabrics greatly surprised us after being accustomed to the non-manufacturing Australians. They then brought us young cocoa-nuts, tortoise shell, and ornaments, and a great barter commenced. They gave us cocoa-nut water, without waiting to receive anything for it, but for the other things they would only accept tobacco and iron implements, paying no regard to our beads and gaudy handkerchiefs. They brought us two small bananas or plantains, but we could not see the trees on which they grew. They suffered Captain Blackwood and myself to stroll about the huts unattended, while they bartered with the boat's crew.

House on piles.—"At the south end of the huts we came to a building much superior to, and different from any of the rest. It was like a Malay house, unfinished, or one of their own smaller huts raised on posts to a height of six or seven feet. The point of the gable was at least fifteen feet from the ground, the roof being supported at each end by two stout posts, about a yard apart, having their tops ornamented by carved grotesque faces, painted red, white and black, with much carving and painting below. The lower part, or ground floor of this building, was open all round, except at one end, where a broad, rudely-constructed staircase led to a platform, from which went the entrance to the upper storey; this was floored with stout sticks, and at this end covered with mats; this part was also partitioned off from the other by a bamboo screen. Under the roof hung old cocoa-nuts, green boughs, and other similar things, but nothing to give a decided clue to the object of the building. Whether this was their temple, their place for depositing the dead, or a chief's house, we could not make out. We, however, saw no appearance of any chief, or of one man exercising authority among them, neither could we discover any traces of religious belief or observance.[1]

Water-holes and Gardens.—"We now struck off for a walk across the island, one of the natives coming with us as a guide. Many narrow paths crossed in all directions, among shrubs and bushes, some of which resembled laurels and myrtles, in their leaves and mode of growth. Groves of lofty forest trees occurred here and there, with matted creepers and thick jungle. Several trailing briars, with thorns like the European bramble, were observed; and, in short, the whole vegetation had a totally different aspect from that of Australia, and a much greater resemblance to that of Europe or Asia. Our native conducted us to some water-holes, which he seemed to think were the object of our search. . . These water-holes were large irregular excavations in the sand, fully ten feet deep, and near the middle of the island. At the bottom of each excavation was a little hole containing a few inches of fresh water, carefully covered from the sun by sticks and lumps of wood. We passed several spots which seemed to have been partially cleared and undergone some cultivation, in which were long kidney bean-like plants climbing up sticks. We afterwards discovered these were 'ketai' plants, a kind of yam" (Jukes I, pp. 160–165).

[1] "This house resembled the smaller houses we afterwards saw in New Guinea, and it may have been erected merely in imitation of those the islanders have seen in that country." [I suspect this house was the *mərkai mud*, or sorcerers' house.—A.C.H.] (Footnote on p. 164.)

It was here that Jukes first saw the bamboo pipe; his description has already been given.

Moa or It.

The Island and its Inhabitants.—The island known on the charts as Banks Island is situated twenty miles north of Thursday Island and north of the Torres Reefs; it is comparatively large and fine, the eastern side is very hilly, the highest eminence being 1,310 feet in height. This hill and the district immediately around it is known by the natives as Moa, the western low-lying portion of the island, including the village on the north shore, being called It. As the former name is in more general use I shall always refer to the island as Moa, and not attempt to distinguish between the two districts.

I should imagine that parts of the island are fairly fertile, and bamboos of large size grow in parts of the island.

There is a good deal of communication between Muralug and Moa. The dialect is the same in both islands, as the people trade and intermarry with each other. I found a Muralug man living at Moa "as his mother came from there." We may therefore regard Moa as being the most northerly of that group of islands which the Kauralaig inhabit.

The marriage customs were the same as in Muralug.

Funeral Customs.—Dead bodies were placed on a light framework supported on four posts (*sara*); the head was removed and also the scapulæ (*kolab*) and fibulæ (*ngaraupŭla*). These are said to have been put into a basket (*yĕna*). The rest of the body was buried.

For mourning (*bud*) I was told the men painted themselves red for five days for a friend, then painted themselves black and had a dance and feast.

Magic.—A "big man" would raise the wind by painting himself black all over and whirling a leaf (?). (This must be a kind of bull-roarer.) He could also kill the wind, "*usimaipa gub.*"

It was here I obtained the fine model of a dugong, now in the British Museum, which was formerly used as a charm to attract dugong to their destruction.

Muralug.

Muralŭg or Morĭlŭg (Prince of Wales' Island), the largest island in Torres Straits, is situated fifteen miles due west from Cape York. It is irregularly quadrangular in outline, the

longest diagonal, *i.e.*, from Heath Point to Cape Cornwall, runs approximately from north to south and is nearly eleven nautical miles in length. The island is extremely hilly, the hills rising up more or less directly from the shore except in the north-east corner, where there is a flat mangrove swamp over two miles long and half a mile or so broad. The interior of the island is entirely hilly; the highest of the hills is only 761 feet in height, and all of them are covered with trees. There is one north and south valley, extending from the mangrove swamp to Port Lihou, which forms a natural highway across the island.

Formerly the natives lived almost exclusively on the south side of the island at Port Lihou, but two or three years ago the authorities at Thursday Island induced a permanent settlement to be made at Aigĭnĭsăn, a bay at the northern extremity of the mangrove swamp. The inhabitants travel about a great deal during certain seasons in search of wild fruit; for instance, in the middle of September, 1888, there were only two families resident at Aigĭnĭsăn, whereas there were twenty-seven men stopping at Port Lihou.

The only houses I saw which had the appearance of being original were some which looked like a high pitched roof resting on the ground, one end being more or less open. There were also two small "sketchy" huts on piles, which I believe were not intended for serious residences; probably they were merely sun-shelters. Brockett says of Wednesday Island (one of this group), "Their houses were not so neatly made as the huts in other parts of the Straits, and they were built in a different shape, somewhat resembling that of a tent" (p. 37).

Courtship and Marriage.—Advances towards matrimony may be made by either sex. If a man likes a girl and she him, they do not run away into the bush together, "That not good;" but the man goes to the girl's father and the latter says, "All right, you may have her." So he takes her. Next day the friends of each side meet opposite one another and arrange what price has to be paid. A feast and dance then take place.

"If a girl likes a man and gets no chance," she makes a ring of string or grass large enough to go on the arm and gives it to a mutual friend to transmit to the favoured one. The friend seizes the first opportunity and privately gives the ring to the man, who asks whom it is from and where the appointment is to be made. If he is willing to proceed in the matter he goes to the rendezvous in the bush and, not unnaturally, takes every advantage of the situation. Every night afterwards he goes to the girl's house and steals away before daybreak. At length someone informs the girl's father that a man is sleeping with his daughter. The father communicates with the girl, and she tells her lover

that her father wants to see him—"To see what sort of man he is." The father then says, "You like my daughter, she like you, you may have her." The details are then arranged.

The price of a girl varies, and payment is made annually for several years, if the bridegroom cannot pay up at first. Some time after the purchase is concluded, perhaps two or three years afterwards, the father has to return presents to the value of the original amount, or the return presents may be made at the same time, and are divided by the bridegroom among his people. Failure to do this was a not uncommon cause for quarrels, and a man has even been known to kill his father-in-law.

The purchase money for a bride is here evidently modified into an exchange of presents. The man has often to borrow to give to his father-in law; the return presents go to repay the bridegroom's creditors. The return of presents on the father's part appears to be the result of a feeling that a wife costs too much, and that the husband should not be impoverished. The sanction to the marriage has to be given by the father of the bride, but the bride's brother arranges what presents are to be made and other details. If an exchange of sisters is made between two men no presents are given, as it is a reciprocal transaction.

The price of wives varies according to circumstances, say, for example, two or three dibidibi—up to about ten, or a dugong spear, or something of equal exchange value.

Macgillivray (II, pp. 8–11) says, "Occasionally there are instances of strong mutual attachment and courtship, when, if the damsel is not betrothed, a small present made to the father is sufficient to procure his consent; at the Prince of Wales' Islands a knife or glass bottle are considered as a sufficient price for the hand of a 'lady fair,' and are the articles mostly used for that purpose."

"The life of a married woman among the Kowrarega [Prince of Wales' group] and Gúdang [Cape York] blacks, is a hard one. She has to procure nearly all the food for herself and husband, except during the turtling season, and on other occasions when the men are astir. If she fails to return with a sufficiency of food, she is probably severely beaten—indeed the most savage acts of cruelty are often inflicted upon the women for the most trivial offence. Considering the degraded position assigned by the Australian savages to their women, it is not surprising that the Prince of Wales' Islanders should, by imitating their neighbours in this respect, afford a strong contrast to the inhabitants of Darnley and other islands of the N.E. part of Torres Strait, who always appeared to me to treat their females with much consideration and kindness. Several

instances of this kind of barbarity came under my own notiice. Piaquai, when spoken to about his wife, whom he had killed a fortnight before in a fit of passion, seemed much amused at the idea of having got rid of her unborn child at the same time. One morning at Cape York, Paida [of the Gúdang tribe] did not keep his appointment with me as usual; on making enquiry, I found that he had been squabbling with one of his wives a few minutes before, about some trifle, and had speared her through the hip and groin. On expressing my disapproval of what he had done, adding that white men never acted in that manner, he turned it off by jocularly observing that although *I* had only one wife, *he* had two, and could easily spare one of them. As a further proof of the low condition of the women, I may state that it is upon them that the only restrictions in eating particular sorts of food are imposed."

Etiquette to Parents-in-law.—"Among other pieces of etiquette to be practised after marriage among both the Kowraregas and the Gúdangs, a man must carefully avoid speaking to or even mentioning the name of his mother-in-law, and his wife acts similarly with regard to her father-in-law. Thus the mother of a person called Núki—which means water—is obliged to call water by another name" (p. 11).

Parturition.—"According to Gi'om puberty in girls takes place from the tenth to the twelfth year, but few become mothers at a very early age. When parturition is about to take place, the woman retires to a little distance in the bush, and is attended by an experienced matron. Delivery is usually very easy, and the mother is almost always able on the following day to attend to her usual occupations. The infant is laid upon a small soft mat which the mother has taken care to prepare beforehand, and which is used for no other purpose" (p. 9).

Infanticide.—"The population of Muralug is kept always about the same numerical standard by the small number of births, and the occasional practice of infanticide. Few women rear more than three children, and besides, most of those born before marriage are doomed to be killed immediately after birth, unless the father—which is seldom the case—is desirous of saving the child—if not, he gives the order *marăma teio* (throw it into the hole), and it is buried alive accordingly. Even of other infants some, especially females, are made away with in a similar manner when the mother is disinclined to support it" (p. 11).

Naming infants.—"An infant is named immediately after birth: and, on Muralug, these names for the last few years have been chosen by a very old man named Guigwi. Many of

these names have a meaning attached to them: thus, two people are named respectively Wapada and Passei, signifying particular trees, one woman is called Kúki, or the rainy season, and her son Ras, or the driving cloud. Most people have several names; for instance, old Guigwi was also called Salgai, or the firesticks, and Mrs. Thomson was addressed as Kēsăgu, or Taōmai, by her (adopted) relatives, but as Gi(a)om by all others" (pp. 11, 12).

Childhood.—"Children are usually suckled for about two years, but are soon able, in a great measure, to procure their own food, especially shell fish, and when strong enough to use the stick employed in digging up roots, they are supposed to be able to shift for themselves" (p. 12).

Nose piercing and Scarification.—"When the child is about a fortnight old, the perforation in the septum of the nose is made by drilling it with a sharp pointed piece of tortoise-shell, but the raised artificial scars, regarded as personal ornaments by the Australians and Torres Strait Islanders, are not made until long afterwards. According to Gi'om, who states that among the Kowraregas this scarification is purely voluntary; the patient is laid upon the ground and held there, while the incisions are made with a piece of glass by some old man famous for his skill in performing the operation. The chewed leaf of a certain plant is introduced into the wound to prevent the edges from uniting, and a daub of wet clay is then placed over all, and kept there until the necessary effect has been produced. The principal scarifications among the women at Cape York and Muralug are in the form of long lines across the hips. Among the men, however, there is considerable variety" (pp. 12, 13).

Dress.—"Not only at Cape York but throughout Torres Strait the males use no clothing or covering of any kind. At Cape York and the Prince of Wales' Islands grown up females usually wear a covering in front, consisting of a tuft of long grass or flag (*Philydrum lanuginosum*), or split pandanus leaves, either hanging loosely or passed between the legs and tied to another behind; over this a short petticoat of fine shreds of pandanus leaf, the ends worked into a waistband, is sometimes put on, especially by the young girls, and when about to engage in dancing. This petticoat, varying only in the materials from which it is made, is in general use among the females of all the Torres Straits tribes, except the Kowrarega, and much labour is often expended upon its construction."

Textile fabrics.—"The large mats used as sails, also for sleeping under in wet weather, are made by the women from the fallen leaves of the pandanus, the common basket from the rush-like leaves of *Xerotes Banksii* (?), and the water-basket from

the sheath of the leaf of the Seaforthia palm (pp. 19, 20). [I never saw a "water-basket" myself.—A. C. H.]

"The huts which the Kowraregas and Cape York people put up when the rains commence are usually dome-shaped, four to six feet high, constructed of an arched framework of flexible sticks, one end of each of which is stuck firmly in the ground, and over this sheets of tea-tree (*Melaleuca*) bark—and sometimes an additional thatch of grass—are placed until it is rendered perfectly water-tight" (p. 19).

Land tenure.—"It seems curious to find at Cape York and the Prince of Wales' Islands a recognised division and ownership of land, seeing that none of it by cultivation has been rendered fit for the permanent support of man. According to Gi'om, there are laws regulating the ownership of every inch of ground on Muralug and the neighbouring possessions of the Kowraregas, and I am led to believe such is likewise the case at Cape York. Among these laws are the following: A person has a claim upon the ground where both himself and his parents were born, although situated in different localities. On the death of parents their land is divided among the children, when both sexes share alike, with this exception, that the youngest of the family receives the largest share. Marriage does not affect the permanency of the right of a woman to any landed property which may have come into her possession. Lastly, an old man occasionally so disposes of his property that a favourite child may obtain a larger proportion than he could afterwards claim as his inheritance" (p. 28).

Initiation into Manhood.—Unfortunately I was unable to learn much about the initiation of the lads, or, as I had to put it, "time they make him boy man." The lads went into the bush for five weeks accompanied by an old man, who might eat anything, but the former might eat vegetable food only. They had to keep entirely in the bush, and might not see, or be seen by, any woman. At the conclusion of the required period of seclusion the lads were initiated. So far as I could gather this mainly consisted in showing them the *wanĕs*, or bull-roarer, and in hearing it whirr. This was the ordinary ellipsoidal, thin, flat piece of wood with bevelled edges, and a haft at one end to enable it to be tied to a piece of string. The string was about a yard in length, and was fastened to the end of a stick. This was whirled round and round over the head. I was informed that the *wanĕs* was ornamented with a central white band, a red band being painted a short distance off on each side. It was only by taking "Georgie" and his father, the chief of the island, on one side, and speaking very softly, that I could induce them to speak about the *wanĕs* at all, and even

then it was only when they saw that I knew something about the initiation rites of other tribes, that the chief would tell me the little he did, and I had to promise not to tell the women or to show them the model of the *wanĕs* which he had made for me (this is now in the British Museum). After initiation the men, as the lads had then attained to the dignity of manhood, might associate with the women, and, so far as I could make out, they might have intercourse with any woman they liked, unmarried or married (?) until they themselves were married; after that they were supposed to keep to their own wives.

Macgillivray (II, p. 14) gives the following account: "This initiation is not at Cape York and Muralug accompanied by the performance either of circumcision or the knocking out of a tooth, as in many parts of Australia. The boys, usually three or four in number, are chased about in the bush during the day by some of the men decked out with feathers and other ornaments, and at night retire to the men's camp, for, during the whole time of their novitiate—or about a month—they must on no account be seen by a woman; in fact, as Gi'om informed me, a woman coming upon these *kernēle*—as they are called—no matter how accidentally, would be immediately put to death. When all is over the lads return to their parents, decorated with a profusion of ornaments, which are worn until they drop off, and wearing in front a small triangular piece of shell as a distinguishing mark."

Warfare.—"Occasionally hostilities, frequently caused by the most trivial circumstances, arise between two neighbouring tribes; when incursions are made into each other's territories, reprisals follow. Although timely notice is usually given prior to an aggression being made by one tribe upon another, yet the most profound secrecy is afterwards practised by the invaders. As an illustration of their mode of warfare, in which treachery is considered meritorious in proportion to its success, and no prisoners are made, except occasionally, when a woman is carried off—consisting chiefly in a sudden and unexpected attack, a short encounter, the flight of one party, and the triumphant rejoicings of the other on their return—I may state the following on the authority of Gi'om:—

"About the end of 1848, an old Kowrarega man went by himself in a small canoe to the neighbourhood of Cape Cornwall [the southernmost point of Muralug], while the men of the tribe were absent turtling at the eastern end of Endeavour Strait. He was watched by a party of Gomokudin blacks, or Yigeiles, who, guided by his fire, surprised and speared him. Immediately returning to the mainland, the perpetrators of this savage deed made a great fire by way of exultation. Meanwhile the turtling

party returned, and when it became known that the old man had been missing for several days, they were induced by his two sons to search for him, and found the body horribly mutilated, with many spears stuck into it to show who had been the murderers. This explained the fire, so another was lit in reply to the challenge, and at night a party of Kowraregas in six canoes, containing all the men and lads of the tribe, crossed over to the main [Endeavour Strait is here about nine miles wide]. They came upon a small camp of Yigeiles who had not been at all concerned in the murder, and enticed one of them to come out of the thicket, where he had concealed himself, by the offer of a fillet of a cassowary feathers for information regarding the real murderers. As soon as the man stepped out, he was shot down with an arrow, his head cut off, and pursuit made after the rest. Towards morning their second camping place was discovered and surrounded, when three men, one woman, and a girl were butchered. The heads of the victims were cut off with the *húpi*, or bamboo knife, and secured by the *sringi*, or cane loop, both of which are carried slung on the back by the Torres Strait islanders and the New Guinea men of the adjacent shores, when on a marauding excursion; these Papuans preserve the skulls of their enemies as trophies, while the Australian tribes merely mutilate the bodies of the slain, and leave them where they fall. The Kowraregas returned to their island with much exultation, announcing their approach by great shouting and blowing on conchs. The heads were placed on an oven and partially cooked, when the eyes were scooped out and eaten with portions of flesh cut from the cheek; only those, however, who had been present at the murder were allowed to partake of this; the morsel was supposed to make them more brave. A dance was then commenced, during which the heads were kicked along the ground, and the savage excitement of the dancers almost amounted to frenzy. The skulls were ultimately hung up on two cross sticks near the camp, and allowed to remain there undisturbed" (Macgillivray II, pp. 4–7).

In Part I, I have given an account of a war-dance I saw performed in Muralug.

Various Superstitions.—"Among many superstitions held by the Prince of Wales' Islanders, they are much afraid of shooting stars, believing them to be ghosts which in breaking up produce young ones of their own kind. After sneezing, they make violent gestures with the hands and arms; if a joint cracks, they imagine that someone is speaking of them or wishing them well in the direction in which the arm is pointing" (Macgillivray II, p. 30).

"A singular mode of treating various complaints consists in

attaching one end of a string to the patient, while the other is held in the mouth of a second person, who scarifies his own gums at the same time until they bleed, which is supposed to indicate that the 'bad blood' has passed from the sick to the sound person" (Macgillivray II, p. 31).

"In like manner [to the custom of changing the name of an object, should a parent-in-law have the same name], as the names of the dead are never mentioned without great reluctance so, after the death of a man named Us, or quartz, that stone had its name changed into *nattam úre*, or the thing which is a namesake, although the original will gradually return to common use" (*l.c.*, II, p. 11).

Magic.—A sorcery-man, or "big man who savvy," who wanted to raise a wind would cut out a piece of wood shaped like a *wanes*, but made very thin, "like a leaf;" this was attached to a long piece of string and whirled round. The vibrations together with the revolutions were so rapid that the instrument was invisible. If more wind was required the man climbed to the top of a tree and performed there.

The same man could also make the sea advance upon the land by taking a block of coral from the edge of the reef and putting it under a tree. The water would then in due time come up to that tree: he could also cause it to retire to its normal level.

Funeral Customs.—Jukes and Macgillivray have given us the following accounts of a Muralug grave:—

"Near the beach, in the centre of the bight [of Port Lihou], we found a singular native tomb, apparently quite recent. Round a central mound of sand there had been a broad ditch or hollow scooped out, and swept quite clean for several yards in width. The mound was of a quadrangular form, eight feet long, four feet wide, and three feet high. A stout post stood upright at each corner, and the sides were ornamented by rows of the ribs of the dugong placed regularly along them. Between the two posts near the sea a long stick had been inserted, ornamented with feathers and streamers of grass, and fastened to the post by other cross sticks similarly ornamented. On each post was either a large shell or the skull of a dugong, and on the grave were several other dugongs' skulls and shells of the Nautilus pompilius. All these, as well as the posts, were smeared with red ochre. We were careful not to disturb or leave any other trace of our presence than our foot-prints in the sand around, which it would have given us too much trouble to erase" (Jukes I, p. 149).

"When the head of a family dies at Muralug, the body is laid out upon a framework of sticks raised a foot from the ground, and is there allowed to rot. A small hut is raised close by, and

the nearest relative of the deceased lives there, supplied with food by his friends, until the head of the corpse becomes nearly detached by the process of putrefaction, when it is removed and handed over to the custody of the eldest wife. She carries it about with her in a bag during her widowhood, accompanying the party of the tribe to which she belongs from place to place. The body, or rather the headless skeleton, is then interred in a shallow grave, over which a mound is raised, ornamented by wooden posts at the corners painted red, with sometimes shells and other decorations attached to them, precisely such a one as that figured in the 'Voyage of the Fly,' Vol. I, p. 149. On the occasion of our visiting the grave in question (at Port Lihou, on Muralug), Gi'om told me that we were closely watched by a party of natives, who were greatly pleased that we did not attempt to deface the tomb; had we done so—and the temptation was great to some of us, for several fine nautilus shells were hanging up, and some good dugong skulls were lying upon the top—one or more of the party would probably have been speared" (Macgillivray II, p. 32).

I obtained very little information on this subject. A man when dead was placed on a wooden framework and raised above the ground; sometimes a platform of branches was made on a tree for the corpse to rest upon. The body remained in this position until quite dry and non-odorous, then the bones were picked up and put in a basket and kept in the house, or the body or bones might be buried after desiccation.

The mourners painted themselves red (?), the period of mourning (*daumā*) lasting one year for a relative and a week for a friend. On the conclusion of mourning the relatives painted themselves black and had a dance. A widow or widower might not marry again for several years. (This information does not appear to me to be very reliable.)

Future State.—"Neither at Cape York, nor in any of the Islands of Torres Strait, so far as I am aware, do the aborigines appear to have formed an idea of the existence of a Supreme Being; the absence of this belief may appear questionable, but my informant, Gi'om, spoke quite decidedly on this point, having frequently made it the subject of conversation with the Kowrarega blacks. The singular belief in the transmigration of souls, which is general among the whole of the Australian Tribes, so far as is known, also extends to Torres Strait. The people holding it imagine that, immediately after death, they are changed into white people or Europeans, and as such pass the second and final period of their existence; nor is it any part of this creed that future rewards and punishments are awarded . . . At Darnley Island, the Prince of Wales' Islands, and

Cape York, the word used at each place to signify a white man also means a ghost. Frequently when the children were teasing Gi'om they would be gravely reproved by some elderly person telling them to leave her, as "Poor thing! she is *nothing*, only a ghost! *(igur ! uri longa, mata markai)*" [p. 29].

Macgillivray was slightly misinformed; *merkai* (or *markai*) signifies a dead man or corpse: the shadow of anything or a spirit or ghost is *mari*. The *mari* of dead men went to Kibupa, an island to leeward, *i.e.*, to westward.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

PLATE VII.

Figs. 1 to 11. Shoulder marks (*koimai* or *koima*) of men.
Figs. 1–5. From natives of Mer, after Brockett (they are respectively Figs. 7, 8, 6, 9 and 2 of his Pl. II.).
Fig. 6. Right shoulder of Bauba of Mer.
Fig. 7. Etched representation on a bamboo tobacco pipe in the British Museum from Cape York.
Fig. 8. Carving on a dance mask from Nagir.
Fig. 9. Incised pattern on a coco-nut water-bottle in Mer.
Figs. 10, 11. From two natives of Mer.
Figs. 12 to 15. *Kibumina*, totem marks cut on the backs of women.
Fig. 12. Adö of Badu. Fig. 13. Wagud of Mabuiag, now living in Tud, both belonging to the dugong clan. Fig. 14. Měke of Tud (?sting-ray clan). Fig. 15. Pătăgam of Mabuiag (snake clan).
Fig. 16. Love charm from Masig with shoulder and breast marks and abdominal scars. Fig. 17. *Koimai* of same.
Fig. 19. Love-charm from Mer with breast mark. Fig. 20. Back marks of same.

PLATE VIII.

Fig. 1. Dugong platform (*neĕt*) with a man holding the harpoon in readiness to strike; a dugong charm (Pl. IX, fig. 4) is suspended beneath the platform (from a photograph at Mabuiag taken by the author). Fig. 1*a*. Old wooden dart of harpoon.
Fig. 2. *Dibidibi.*
Fig. 3. *Waiwi.*
Fig. 4. *Danga mai.*
Fig. 5. *Waněs*, model of bull-roarer used to initiate the lads in Muralug.
Fig. 6. *Bigu*, model of bull-roarer used in turtle ceremonies in Mabuiag.
Fig. 7. *Dri*, feather head-dress worn in the dance, sketched by the author from a specimen in the possession of Mr. Frank Summers of Torres Straits. Fig. 7*a*, a feather from the same.

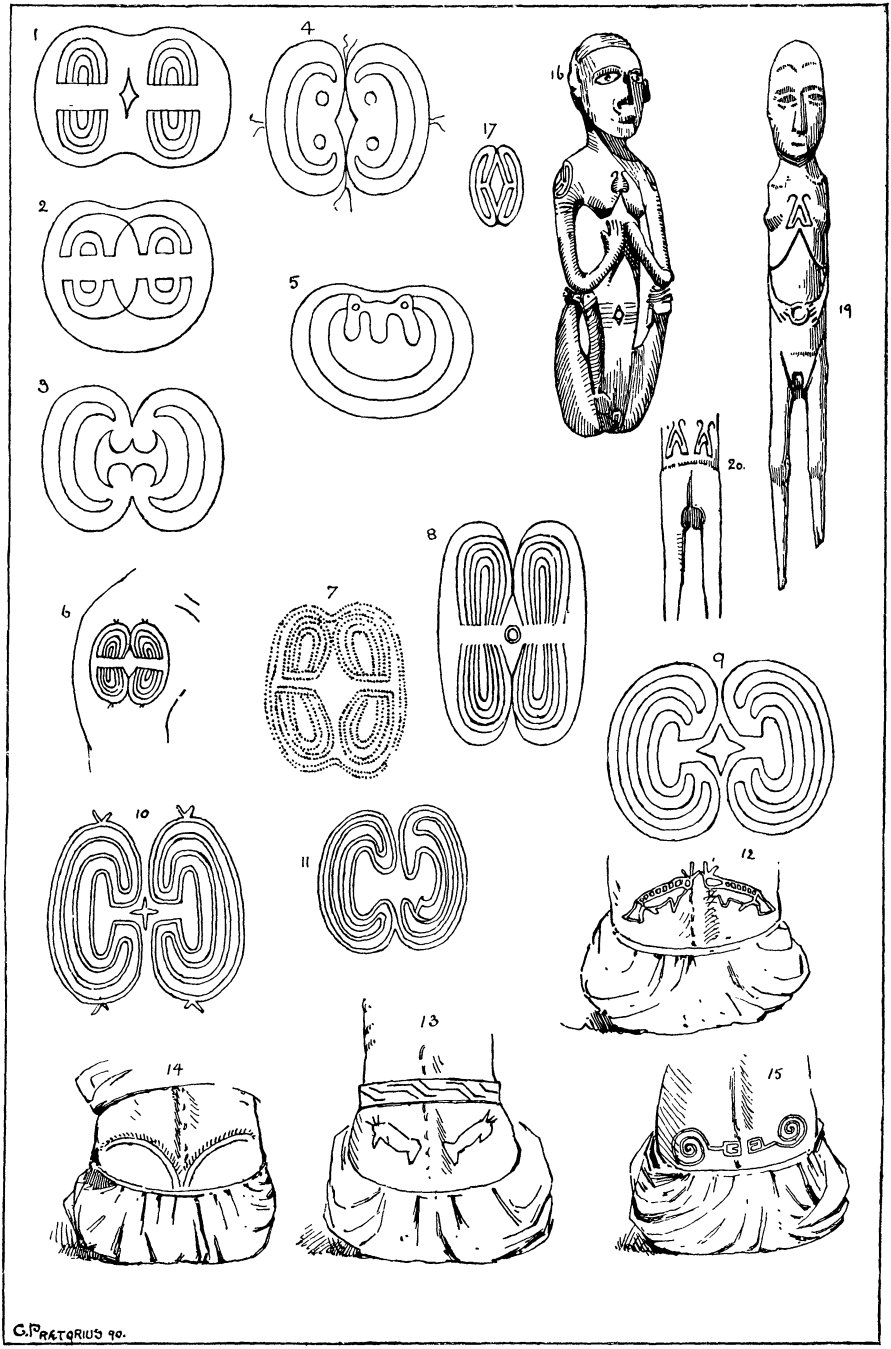
PLATE IX.

Fig. 1. Sketch of a Motu Motu (?) native, illustrating a method of arrow release in the Eastern Gulf district of British New Guinea (from a photograph).
Fig. 2. Muralug native holding bow and arrows and ornamented with *kwokata*, *kamadi*, *kadig*, *kadig-tang*, *samera*, *makamaka*, and *dunakukur* (from a photograph by the author).
Fig. 3. Two specimens of *kadig-tang* from Muralug.
Fig. 4. Dugong charm from Badu.
Fig. 5. *Kupe* (adultery tally) from Mer.
Fig. 6. Decorated skull of Magau of Nagir, used for divining purposes.
Fig. 7. Rattle (*lolo* or *padatrong*) from Mer.

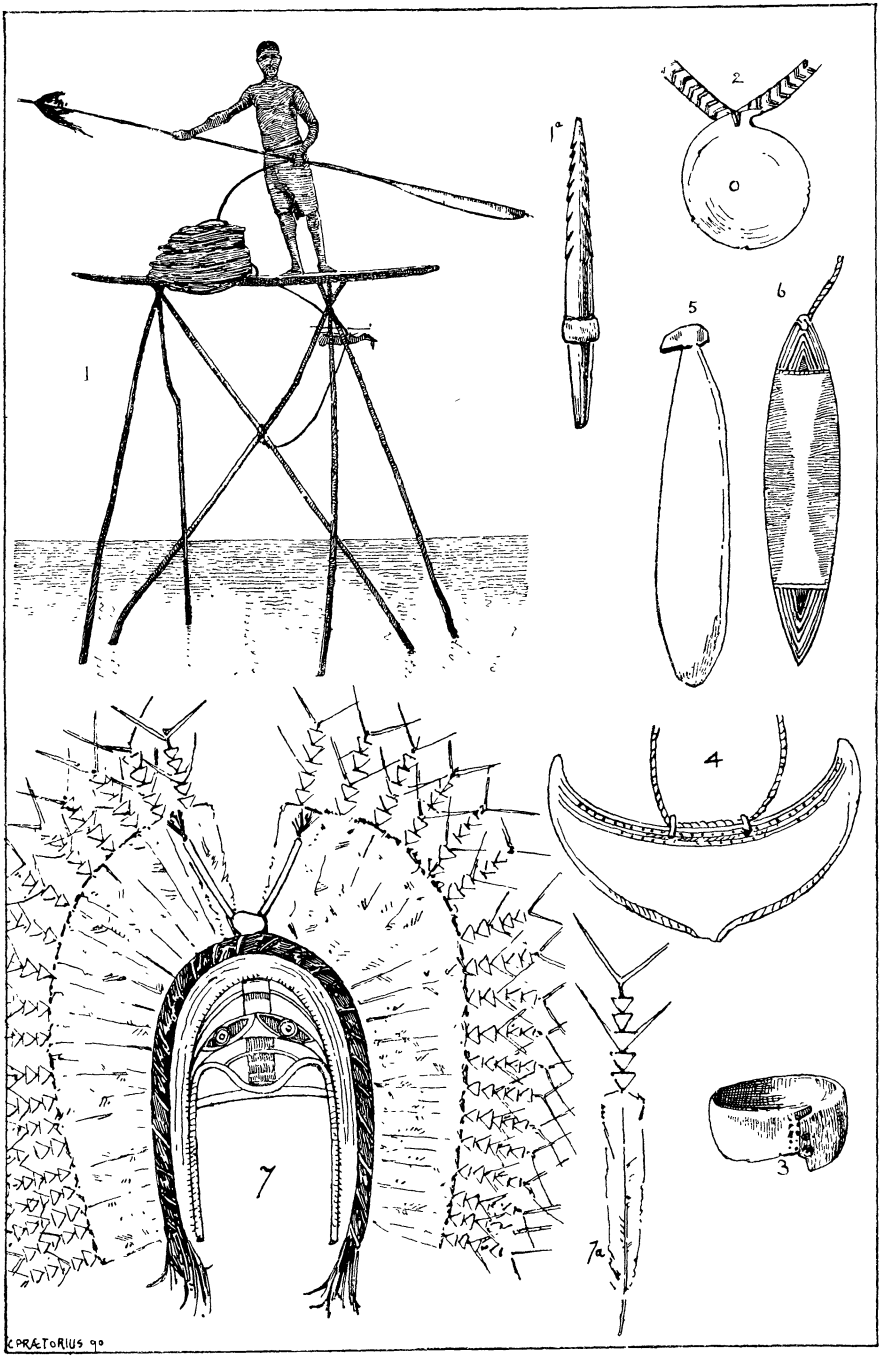
PLATE X.

Sketch Map of Torres Straits and Dudai, New Guinea. The native names for places are given, so far as known, but the English names (for islands which have them) are here added to facilitate reference.

Bădu (Mulgrave I.).
Bobo (Bristow I.).
Boigu (Talbot I.).
Burar (Bet I.).
Buru (Turnagain I.).
Damut (Dalrymple I.).
Dauan (Mount Cornwallis).
Ĕrub (Darnley I.).
Găba (Two Brothers I.).
Garboi (Anchor Cay).
Gĕtulai (Pole I.).
Giaka (Dungeness I.).
Gialŭg (Friday I.).
Kergĕt (East Cay).
Keriri (Hammond I.),
Mabuiăg (Jervis I.).
Mai Kŭsa (Baxter R.).
Masaramkoer (Bamble Cay, Jukes calls this Caeda [Keda]).
Măsig (Yorke I.).
Maurŭra (Wednesday I.).
Mer (Murray I., this name strictly applies to the group of three islands).
Moa (Banks I.).
Mowar (Rennel I.).
Mukwa (Cap I.).
Muralŭg (Prince of Wales I.).
Muri (Mount Adolphus I.).
Năgir (Mount Ernest).
Nălgi (Double I.).
Nărupai (Horn I.).
Pabaju (Albany I.).
Pălilŭg (Goode I.).
Parĕm (Bampton I.).
Paremar (Coco-nut I.).
Săsi (Long I.).
Suărăgi (Burke I.).
Tud (Warrior I.).
Waiběn (Thursday I.).
Wai Kŭsa (or *Wasu Kŭsa*, Chester R.).
Wara (Hawkesbury I.).
Waraber (Sue I.).
Yăm (Turtlebacked I.).
Uga (Stephens I.).
Umaga (Keats I.).

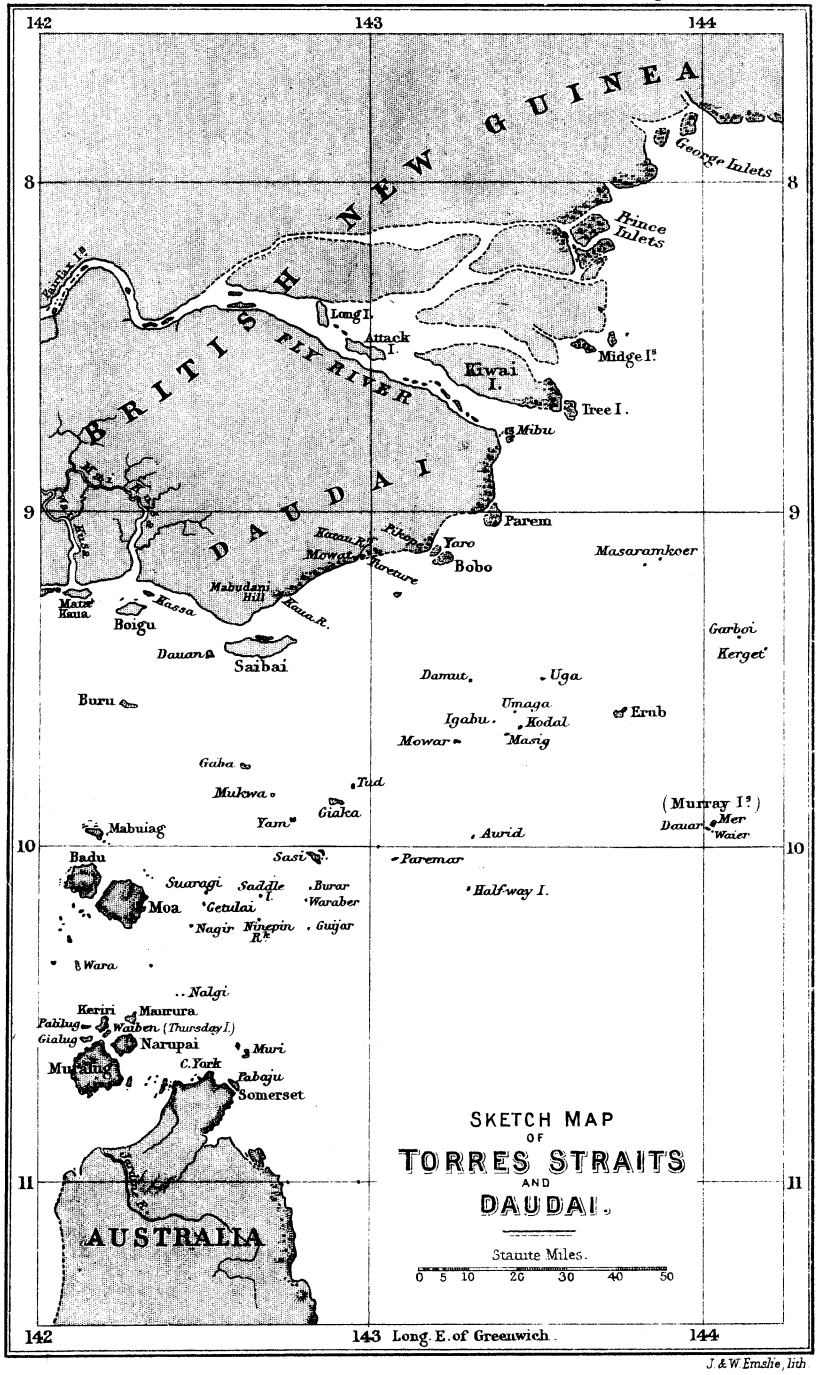


MARKS ON NATIVES OF TORRES STRAITS.



DUGONG PLATFORM, HEAD DRESS, &c., TORRES STRAITS.

ARROW-RELEASE, NEW GUINEA; NATIVE OF MURALUG, TORRES STRAITS; &c., &c.



J. & W. Emslie, lith