

NORTHERN LAND COUNCIL



KENBI (COX PENINSULA) LAND CLAIM

SUBMISSION ON BEHALF OF
SOME MEMBERS OF THE DANGGALABA

ROBERT GRAHAM

APRIL, 1997

KENBI (COX PENINSULA) LAND CLAIM

SUBMISSION ON BEHALF OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE DANGGALABA

Robert Graham

April 1997



This document has been prepared in consultation
with the claimants' legal advisers.

© Copyright, April 1997, Northern Land Council

All rights reserved.

Northern Land Council

9 Rowling Street, Casuarina NT 0810

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Larrakia and Wadjikan	2
History	2
LARRAKIA COUNTRY	3
KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION	4
LAND TENURE SYSTEM	9
LOCAL DESCENT GROUP	11
DREAMINGS	15
<i>Danggalaba (also discussion of frog dreaming).</i>	16
<i>"Sea-eagle"</i>	24
<i>Grey hair/Old people</i>	25
COX PENINSULA LAND USE BY THE CLAIMANTS	25
PERSONS TO BENEFIT FROM A GRANT	27
APPENDICES	
<i>Amy Yirra - biographical details</i>	28
<i>Crab Billy - biographical details</i>	30
<i>Nelson Blake - auto-biographical details</i>	31
<i>Sam Gurndulk/Batcho - biographical details</i>	32
<i>Victor Williams - biographical details</i>	34
BIBLIOGRAPHY	35
AUTHOR'S CURRICULUM VITAE	37

INTRODUCTION

This submission is made on behalf of members of the Danggalaba group, claimants to the Cox Peninsula (Kenbi Land Claim).

The Kenbi claim is to unalienated Crown Land on the Cox Peninsula, along with a number of islands and reefs to the west. A number of blocks on the peninsula are not included in the claim, including the Delissaville/Wagait/Larrakia Aboriginal Land Trust, and freehold areas.

Mr Kevin Quall ("Tibby"), has argued for several years now that a number of Kenbi claimants were unable to agree with the manner in which the claim was being presented. For much of this period the group has been seeking resources to advance a separate argument. Funding became available in late 1996 for both anthropological research and legal representation.

While this group's argument has a number of complexities, one issue is particularly significant. Claimants¹ consider that several of the submitted genealogies are seriously flawed. Mistakes have been made, they maintain, which divide the land owning group in this claim into two, the Tommy Lyons Group, and the present claimants. Because of this they fell automatically within the claim of the wider "Larrakia" group. This situation was considered by the claimants to be unacceptable and has finally resulted in the group acquiring separate representation.

Two contentious points stand out in particular with regard to the family tree.

- the place of the woman Blanchie and the man Pat Lawrie, and this couples genealogical connection to King George, and other Danggalaba

¹In this document claimants refers to the group being represented here being, Rona Alley, Roseina Alley, Lucy May, Alfie May, Mary Raymond, Tina Raymond, Yula Williams, Tanya Panuel, Kathy Williams, Tibby Quall, Phillip Quall, Dianne Quall, Billy Danks, Anabelle Benton, Audrey Tilmouth, Ratchell Roman, Susan Roman.

members. In particular it is the relationship of the descendants of Deeja to these two which required investigation.

- the relationship of Tommy Lyons to the woman named Amy Yirra.

The present claimants assert that the group called the Danggalaba are the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land under claim. The purpose of this submission is to present a 'corrected' genealogy and to put forward a 'model' based upon the 'Danggalaba' as the traditional owner group.

Larrakia and Wadjikan

The claimants maintain that there are no Wadjikan interests which equate with traditional ownership within the claim area. The land claim material produced by the other groups, is seen as essentially Wadjikan. The names of dreamings and sites should have been presented with their alternative Larrakia names.

History

Darwin was initially settled in 1869. This event has had an enormous effect on local people. Historical sources indicate that introduced disease in particular caused a severe decrease in the number of local Aboriginal people². While initial population numbers were never recorded, that a major decline occurred is undoubted³. Little ethnographic work was carried out last century, the major sources being, Foelsche (1881), and Basedow (1906). Professor Elkin visited the area during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

The Kenbi land claim book (1979) chapters one and four, provide a summary of regional history and anthropology. I will refer to this document as Kenbi.

²Police Inspector Foelsche for example on the effect of smallpox; "It makes great havoc among the tribes that get infected" killing so many people "so that they could not bury them all." (p.7,8)

³Tindale (1974) is the usually quoted authority on the likely size of precontact language groups, his 'tribes'. His estimate is that groups such as the Larrakia had an average of five hundred members.

The establishment of Darwin drew Aboriginal people into the area from other parts of the Territory. Darwin became a centre, drawing people from the Cox Peninsula to the Darwin side of the harbour. Small scale settlements on the peninsula attracted some Aboriginal people, including local Larrakia, but also others from country to the west, the present day Wadjikan/Wagait groups. This population was moved several times during the early war years before being sent to the new reserve set up at Delissaville. Delissaville was to have a major influence on the distribution of the Aboriginal population in the region. In the 1950's it was thought of as a Larrakia/Wagaitj settlement. Through time a situation has developed where Larrakia people have tended to reside on the Darwin side of the harbour, though not exclusively. Many of the claimants have resided for some periods on the Cox Peninsula, including at Belyuen. Some Danggalaba still live there. For the Danggalaba this has resulted in a "dual view" of ceremonial arrangements. On the one hand with Wagaitj people strongly linked to western groups, on the other there is a marriage and ritual alliance with western Arnhem Land to the east. These present day links have preserved traditional ones, expressed by a major dreaming track which passes along the coast between (at least) the Perron islands and Oenpelli.

LARRAKIA COUNTRY

The Cox Peninsula is within the area occupied at the time of settlement by Aboriginal people speaking the language known now as Larrakia⁴. The claimants assert that Larrakia land extends beyond this peninsula to include Darwin and areas to the south. All sources agree that the Cox Peninsula is Larrakia.

"Larrakia country? Big! Really big. Darwin and right around Darwin. And that Cox Peninsula, right around all of it." Yula Williams, 13/2/97

⁴Larrakiya is considered by the claimants to be in origin a non Aboriginal word. This group know their peoples initial language as Karampirinjin. Elkin's unpublished mss (1953, p.19) also notes "Larakia (or Bilira, or Mungguruk -- the Wadjigan name for them, or Kulumbirikin, their name for themselves; Larakia is the white man's name for them."

"..from the Finnis River mouth at Fog Bay and around the coast to Cape Hotham. Then it came back to Adelaide River. Follow it up and cut across. Follow the river to Marraki Crossing then across, take in Manton Dam, take in Darwin Reservoir. Then across to the mouth of the Finnis River." Tibby Quall 12/2/97

The Larrakia language is considered as one of the three within the Larrakiyan Family, the other two being Wulna and Manidja (Oates, 1975). As such it is quite distinct from those spoken to the west, and to the east. The most detailed account of the Language published to date is that of A. Capell (1982).

Capell's introduction tells us he worked with Larrakia speaking informants at various times between 1949 and 1952. By 1950 he found that "...there were no children speaking it, and most of the older people who spoke it in 1952 (when the bulk of these [published] notes were gathered) were found on the Delissaville Reserve (now Belyuen)." (1982, p.55) Capell further noted that by "1968, reports of only two speakers could be gained, and these far away from Darwin." The latter would have been either Larrakia people who had moved away, or were non-Larrakia who had resided in Darwin and learned the language before returning to their own country. This will be referred to again later.

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Although the language is distinct it would seem that the Larrakia traditionally shared other cultural features with neighbouring people. Elkin (1950) considered that the Larrakia were part of a larger cultural block which included the Daly region and western Arnhem Land. From a consideration of kinship terminology Warner (1933) drew a distinction between the Larrakia and Wulna, and their neighbours. The kinship system of the former he called the Larrakia system as opposed to that of the people from the mouth of the Victoria River into Arnhem Land, excluding the north-east. The form of kinship found in this much wider area Warner referred to as the Gunwinggu system. The other

noticeable difference between Larrakia and their neighbours is the absence of circumcision as a requirement for male initiation.

Warner provided the following summary of his findings regarding traditional Larrakia social organisation.

"I was fortunate enough to obtain a number of informants (six in all), from whom I ascertained that the two tribes possessed a kinship structure very similar to the Murngin, but a more simple and undeveloped type. The memories of the old men were such that it was impossible to work out the total kinship structure...a man marries his mother's brother's daughter but not his father's sister's daughter, and that a woman marries her father's sister's son but not her mother's brother's son. They are like the Murngin in this respect. There were no moieties or sections connected with this system. The fragmentary evidence seemed to verify Spencer's conclusion that they had patrilineal groupings and that a man inherited his group from his father. One of my informants belonged to the Frog group. His father was a Frog, his mother a Crocodile. A man, by force of his totem, if for no other reason, had to marry into another group. My informant said, "Frog cannot marry Frog." There was a strong mother-in-law tabu. The Larakia and Worgaits (the latter tribe had symmetrical cross-cousin marriage) frequently intermarried.." (1933, p.73)

Warner provided a chart (Chart VII, p.72) which illustrated Larrakia use of kin terms. Spencer (1912, pp. 65-7) outlined Larrakia kin terms and also those of the "Worgait". (Capell's article has a wordlist providing a number of kin-terms.)

Spencer also described some Larrakia, "Worgait" and western Arnhem Land initiation ceremonies. Those of the former he did not observe. Instead,

"The following account was given to me by an old man who was well acquainted with what formerly took place and, ... I was able to watch a representation of the performance of a part of the

ceremony during which the bull-roarers, called Bidu-bidu by the Larrakia, are shown to the initiates."

The available accounts including those of Warner and Spencer quoted above indicate that the Larrakia society was similar to that of other Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory with language, ceremonial life, and clan organisation.

The capital of the Northern Territory came to be sited within Larrakia country. As has been shown in several works (and summarised in the Kenbi claim book), the Larrakia people have suffered the negative effects of white settlement to an extent much greater than has effected other N.T. Aboriginal groups. This phase of N.T. history and its consequences have been discussed at length in the Kenbi claim book. Here I will refer to this and add a comment by one of Yula William's children,

"I don't know the Larrakia ceremony, never been to one. Darwin being such a progressive area, like Sydney or Melbourne, so urbanised. A lot natural to the area was knocked down. Then everything was dug up and removed. If you go on to someone's property, - there is even signs, 'keep out or you'll be shot'. I've seen 'em out near Litchfield. Not like New Zealand where native people are allowed to cross anyone's land to hunt and fish. It wasn't the same here."

In summary the Larrakia experienced considerable loss of traditional land to settlement, population decline from introduced disease and frontier violence, along with institutionalisation. They have seen part of their country, Darwin, become a centre attracting large numbers of Aboriginal people from all parts of the "Top End", and white people from all the other states of Australia.

Considering the above, it is not surprising that Larrakia traditional life has been considerably disrupted, resulting in enormous social change. The claimants consider that despite this, much that is Larrakia has been transmitted to them from their ancestors. This includes, an essentially Aboriginal view of kinship, with extended

families and an emphasis on "classificatory" relatives. One's father's brothers' for example are also referred to as "father", mother's sisters' as "mother", and so on. In addition, while English terms are usually used some limited use of Aboriginal ones has continued. Nayi and nim are used for "son", alapi for "grandmother". Some words also used are likely to have been derived from neighbouring groups, bapa for "father" (on Spencer's Worgait list, p.67), and wiyiwiyi, "grand-uncle" (ie mother's mother's brother) being derived from languages to the east. This reflects the long and intense contact between the groups brought together because of the location of Darwin. It possibly also reflects at least some traditional patterns of interaction.

Claimants also consider that they have maintained a corporate identity as Danggalaba through from settlement to the present. The many Larrakia people whose relationships are illustrated on the Kenbi genealogies are shown by Walsh to be descended from several very restricted sets of ancestors. These ancestors, and the relationships between them are shown on the upper generation charts also prepared by Walsh. Adding up the ancestors shown there (top line of the "Blanchie family" chart, top line of the "Cubillo Family" chart, third line of the "Djalamin and King Tommy Families" chart, and the top line of the "Frith Family" chart) shows seventeen adult Larrakia at approximately the turn of the century from whom all present Larrakia are descended⁵. It is asserted by claimants that these charts mis-represent Danggalaba family history. They suggest that much of the "Blanchie" chart be merged with some of the "Djalamin and King Tommy Families" chart. This would then be a Danggalaba genealogy. This view sees five of the seventeen ancestors as the Danggalaba and not simply Larrakia.

The attached genealogy is a modified "upper generations chart" illustrating the claimants' view of the Danggalaba.

The claimants call the Danggalaba a "clan". In this usage they are not conforming to any anthropologist's definition of the term but to a

⁵This is consistent with Warner's note that he worked with six informants during the late 1920's. His paper suggests that these six were the Larrakiya, "old men". If one accepts for a working hypothesis that each language group ("tribe") consisted of approximately 500 members before settlement (Tindale's estimate) then the extent of Larrakiya population decline is apparent. It also shows the Larrakiya recovery since Warner's visit.

colloquial one. The present group which they see as constituting the Danggalaba are the descendants, an extended family; of the patrilineal clan from earlier days.⁶ It is accepted that at contact and for some time after the Danggalaba were a clan of patrilineally related kinsmen of the type described by Berndt and Berndt for the neighbouring region of Western Arnhem Land. They acknowledge that in such areas, where they have close relations, this situation has largely continued to the present.

"My mum was Danggalaba. We're all Danggalaba. A lot of these [Darwin] people they're Aboriginal, Larrakia but they don't understand that every tribe, just like the Scotch people they all have different clans. Look at me. My husband came from Arnhem Land. He's Yiwaidja. My children are Yiwaidja. They too have different clans."

But for the unfortunate consequences of Darwin's settlement and development Larrakia clans, they suggest, may have survived in much the same way. However one result of this has been broader criteria for Danggalaba membership. The decline in numbers was undoubtedly the major factor influencing this.

It would not be accurate to say that this group of claimants see the Danggalaba as a cognatic descent-group. They see the "clan" as a group of close relations who are the descendants of several men who were brothers, King George, Tommy Lyons, Frank Secretary, Crab Billy and Pat Lawrie. Deeja Batcho was Pat Lawrie's adoptive daughter, - Deeja's biological father was a Malay fisherman⁷. Deeja had a number of children from several fathers the identity of some now being lost. These children grew up and lived in Darwin and had little or no contact with the families and country of their fathers. Their identity is Larrakiya and Danggalaba. This was strongly asserted by people of Yula William's generation who say that their close ties, and membership of the Danggalaba was accepted by all in the homes where

⁶Possibly even the Crocodile group mentioned by Warner, as, Danggalaba can be translated as "crocodile".

⁷The position of Deeja Batcho will be discussed further in a later section of this submission.

they grew up. They were always taught that men like Crab Billy and King George were their countrymen. They grew up with them.

"My family should go one way, Danggalaba. From my Mum. The Williams's. I know who I am and where my blood line flows."

"Tommy Lyons mob? They're part of us, and the Romans are. They are related to my Mum. Prince of Wales has been related to us since I was a little girl. And Topsy Secretary too and her brother." Yula Williams, 13/2/97

The traditional ownership of the Cox Peninsula, claimants assert, is not concerned with Language, with 'the Larrakia'. Succession and not language is the key concept. The response to the decline of the patrilineal Danggalaba clan has not been the emergence of a "new tribe" but a modified Danggalaba. Recruitment was always through descent, and it has been through a broadening of criteria to include the children of several female members that numbers have been maintained at a level which has kept the group viable, enabling it to maintain a distinct identity. In time it may be more firmly reestablished as a patrilineal clan, or it may develop into a fully cognatic one. At present this is still part of an ongoing process, the outcome of which is uncertain.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM

It is argued by claimants that the Danggalaba have maintained their relationship with the Cox Peninsula through descent from their ancestors and through maintaining contact with the sites and dreamings, and ongoing visitation and use.

The Peninsula was the country of the Danggalaba in earlier days, and as the descendants of these owners, the present Danggalaba have inherited the land.

At the time of contact, claimants have noted, Larrakia country consisted of a number of discrete areas, each of which was the

immediate country of a group of related families. Such groups are referred to in anthropological literature as clans. (Stanner 1965 is a "classic" reference to Aboriginal social organisation. Strehlow 1964 is also a good account of Aboriginal clan organisation, though a Centralian example.)

Larrakia clan organisation as described by the claimants conforms to this Australian pattern. The admittedly sparse data found within the historical sources suggests that this was the case at the time of contact (as would be expected).

Aboriginal clans are a group related by common descent from earlier generations of males. (ie they are "patrilineal" clans, as opposed to those which are organised by descent through females, or through ancestors of both sexes.) The groups exist through time by genealogical links and across the country through their bonds with a number of specific named localities, (sites), the combination of which defines the clan's area.

This model of social organisation was initially described by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown in 1930, who suggested that it has an Australia wide application.

Radcliffe-Brown's "model" had four essential elements. Several were mentioned above, people (the clan), and country (the sites). What was called the "totemic species" was another. This is what the land claim literature would now call the dreaming, or dreamings. The clans are descended from initial supernatural creative ancestors. Each clans area may be associated now with several dreamings, though initially it was founded by one. This gives rise to, for example, the kangaroo group, the bandicoot group, and of relevance to this land claim, the crocodile clan.

It is asserted that Larrakia country would have once been divided between many such clans. This is the conclusion also of the authors of the 1979 claim book, (chapter 6). Events following European settlement have resulted in the massive disruption of the traditional situation. Of particular relevance was the severe population drop, and a frequent

dislocation of clans from their land. With time many clans appear to have become extinct, others lost this intimate connection to specific areas of land. This, the claimants assert is the present situation. Only one group has retained clear notions of a linkage between the clan; between its members themselves, to its earlier members and crocodile founder, and to their land.

This clan is the Danggalaba. Its territory centres on the crocodile dreaming sites of the Cox Peninsula and also including country on the eastern side of Darwin harbour, (along the coast and defined by the sites of their Danggalaba dreaming).

LOCAL DESCENT GROUP

Claimants consider this clan to essentially be the one outlined as the Danggalaba in the 1979 Land Claim Book, especially as illustrated by the genealogy on p. 26. In the present land claim this group's genealogy is set out on several charts. Its central feature is shown on the "upper generation chart" (prepared by M. Walsh, dated 1995) labelled "Djalamin and King Tommy Families." This is the five generations of fathers and sons from the un-named Larrakia man to Prince of Wales. Other clan details are found by referring to the various sub-genealogies indicated.

The claimants maintain that this material only partially illustrates the Danggalaba clan, the traditional owners of the Cox Peninsula.

The upper generations chart referred to above has several other descent groups attached to it by dotted lines, indicating (presumably) adoption or "tribal brotherhood". According to claimants the men at the head of these attached descent lines were Danggalaba clan members, "brothers" of the Prince of Wales ancestors. (These men being the unnamed Larrakia man who was Crab Billy's father, and the men named Djalamin and Madjalimba.) By using the term brothers it is held that these men had common fathers or grandfathers. They accept that the Danggalaba are a clan and these men were members. They also maintain that other men should appear on the chart. The descendants of the

woman named Deeja's adoptive father Pat Lawrie should appear here instead of on the "upper generation chart" labelled as the Blanchie family. Pat Lawrie they contend belongs at the generation above where he has been placed. They see him as a direct ancestor.

The 'Batcho family' genealogy, KG 11 shows the offspring of a Larrakia woman identified only as Blanchie. A number of Aboriginal women from the Darwin area also had this name and the claimants feel that this has led to confusion. KG 11 shows Blanchie as having had children to three men, an un-named 'Yiwaidja' man, a Wulna man named Pinititi and Batcho the Malay diver/fisherman who worked in Darwin for some time before returning home. The Yiwaidja man is said to have been the father of Sam Gurndulk (Sam Batcho), Dolly Garinyi and Pat Lawrie. This is not considered by the claimants to be correct. Blanchie is said to have been the wife of Pat Lawrie, not his mother. Older claimants learnt this from Blanchie's daughters' Deeja Batcho and Dolly Garinyi, and from her son Sam Gurndulk. Younger family members heard this from Deeja's children, in particular from her eldest son Victor Williams (see KG 12).

The present claimants are somewhat perplexed by the appearance of an Yiwaidja man as their ancestor. Not only were they never told this⁸, their older people explained their family instead as having close links to the Larrakia Tommy Lyons Group. They were told that both are members of the Danggalaba. Pat Lawrie was said to have been a 'brother' to King George making Deeja a direct patrilineal descendant of earlier Danggalaba ancestors⁹.

Sam Gurndulk is said to have been born in 1890 and his sister Dolly in 1905. (From an Aboriginal Population Record card.) This dates the marriage of Blanchie and Pat Lawrie to 1890 or before. Looking back

⁸"We can't be Yiwaidja or else my mother would have told us." Mary Raymond, 10/3/97.

⁹The Yiwaidja man's position within this genealogy (if indeed he had one) has been subject to some debate. On this point only Nelson Blake has a consistent picture. He recalls the woman shown on the genealogies - Blanchie - as being a sister to King George. (He could not recall her name but remembers her as the mother of Sam Gundurk, Dolly and Deeja.) He knew Deeja and says she called King George, uncle. ("Full uncle" he says though this may have only meant a 'close' uncle.) He heard that this woman was initially married to Pat Lawrie's half brother whose father was a Yintuwi Yiwaidja man. This possibly explains the Yiwaidja ancestor shown on KG 11.

from today it is difficult to recover information relying upon oral traditions. Unfortunately very little documentary material of relevance has emerged.

The Walsh upper generation chart named 'Djalamin and King Tommy families' has a man called 'King Miranda' as King George's father. King George, Prince of Wales's father is the man remembered by older claimants as George King. They have no recollection of King George's father nor of his grand-father said to have been called King Tommy. Nelson Blake recalls Prince of Wales's father, 'George King', as having been alive when he first came to work and live in Darwin. This was during the latter days of the "old compound", referring to Kahlin Compound which was closed in 1940 and its residents transferred to the new Bagot reserve. King George was still living in 1936 when he was reported in a local newspaper as being opposed to the relocation of the compound. (Quoted in Kenbi, pp. 269-70.) Nelson also became acquainted with this man's son King George¹⁰. From these men he learned of the relationship between King George and Deeja's children, one of whom, Yula Williams, was to become his sister-in-law in the early/mid 1950's.

"Auntie Topsy [Secretary] all this mobs family, belong to Auntie Topsy family. That old lady, Topsy Secretary, old Frank Secretary, family for all this mob. Secretary and George King - that's his brother. Old Frank Secretary that George King brother. Old Topsy grandfather was Mirringka." "George King I know [= knew] him. Living here¹¹, living compound." Ben White been there and Chinnery. Mayimayi, uncle, I call him. This lady [= Yula Williams] call him grandpa. Full grandpa."¹².

The claimants' corrected upper generations chart presented here shows a number of things; the relationships between the members of the

¹⁰Father and son seem to have died quite close to each other, certainly within a decade. King George's father appears to have lived a long life if he is the Miranda described in 1875 as "the king or chief of the Port Darwin natives". (Quoted in Kenbi, P.27 from Wildey, 1875. Kenbi also gives other references to Miranda from 1886, and 1895.

¹¹ie, in Darwin.

¹²pers comm. Nelson Blake, 15/2/97.

Danggalaba, and Danggalaba links to other groups. Several considered especially significant in the present context are discussed below.

Tommy Lyons - Margaret Moy

Tommy Lyons was said to have married several times. His first wife was a western Arnhem Land (Gunwinggu) woman, Margaret Moy. (See KG 3.)

Sam Gurndulk - Silver Matabin

Sam Gurndulk was the son of Pat Lawrie and Deeja Batcho. Custodians consider him to be a 'full' Larrakia and Dungalaba man. Silver (Surname given in APR is Matabin) was a woman from western Arnhem Land, "Murgarella Creek country¹³".

Sam was an important figure in the transmission of knowledge between the generations. Born in 1900 he knew the older generations of Larrakia men and passed knowledge on to the younger. He was said to have been a "song man" and to have taken an interest in his nephew, Victor Williams Snr. Victor in turn is remembered for his efforts to pass knowledge and an understanding of Aboriginal traditions to the present generation¹⁴.

Dolly Garinyi - Henry

Dolly was also the child of Pat Lawrie and Deeja. She had several husbands, one was an Yiwaidja man from Croker Island, another was said

¹³pers comm. Nelson Blake, 15/2/97.

¹⁴Middle aged and older claimants and other older people such as Nelson Blake who knew him have spoken of Victor Williams knowledge and interest in instructing younger people. Restricted Exhibit 35A from 1990 is a copy of notes in his hand writing prepared for a pre-1976 Act Land Claim, (Emery Point.) This note reinforces the importance of the site at the Larrakia Barracks, the Old Man Rock site (site 111). Material in Spencer's and Elkin's works should be referred to in considering this note. In these they talk of initiation and the named stages of initiation. (Being, 'baliyah', Spencer's 'belier' and Elkin's 'belier', and 'molinginah', Spencer's, 'mullinyu', Elkin's, 'malinya'. (Spencer, 1912, p.153; Elkin, 1953, pp.156-7.) Initiation ceremonies are not usually linked to a single site, but rather to dreamings. In this case it would be to the dreaming Danggalaba, the "dominant personage in the mythology of the area". The note illustrates both knowledge of and interest in Danggalaba traditions. I would argue that this documents its authors spiritual affiliation to the area. An affiliation shared by all Danggalaba. Kenbi, pp.175-99 provides an overview of Larrakia ceremonies.

to have been George Munggululu who has been mentioned in evidence as a source of traditional knowledge.

A photograph in a local Darwin newspaper shows an "80 year old Dolly Gurinjee being comforted by her nephew Victor Williams [Snr.]" while visiting the sacred site at the Larrakia Army Barracks in 1973. This site, (site 109) was described at the time as "their most sacred ceremonial ground". It is held by claimants to have been part of the journey of the travelling Danggalaba discussed above.

Victor Williams Snr. - Delsie Rotumah

Victor Williams, Deeja's eldest son, in turn married an Yiwaidja woman.

Yula Williams - Johnny Williams

Yula, the eldest daughter of Deeja married a western Arnhem Land man. This man's brothers have had a long and close association with Larrakia people and are now a repository of knowledge on sites, site names, songs and other traditional matters. Nelson Blake is Johnny Williams brother.

This knowledge is considered as being held on behalf of the Danggalaba. These holders, "managers" include in some cases their own children, people whose mothers, (in Yula's case for example) were Danggalaba, or their fathers, (as in Victor Williams Snr.'s case).

Knowledge has descended through the generations from un-named ancestors through Pat Lawrie, and Blanchie, Sam Gurndulk and Deeja, to Yula and her siblings, and their children and now grandchildren.

DREAMINGS

Larrakia country possesses a number of dreamings. Several of these travel from distant peoples country and pass into that of others. Many are localised. Although there are references to dreamings in the

literature, the only detailed accounts available are those prepared as part of this land claim's documentation. The site map and site register are concise summaries.

The principle travelling dreamings include Kenbikenbi, Kenbi, Bailer shell, and Wutwut. Among the many non-travelling dreamings special mention should be made of the sea-eagle dreaming. These are discussed in the various submissions and the Kenbi claim book.

The claimants view the areas dreamings much as has been presented though with certain special emphases. This will be discussed below.

"Danggalaba" (the frog dreaming is discussed here as well)

In this area it is not always easy to summarise the nature of some of the dreamings, that is to make statements such as, 'this is a kangaroo dreaming'.

One of the major Danggalaba sites is Milik (site 52). Another is Daramanggamaning, or rather a series of sites, an area of wide renown simply referred to frequently as 'Two-Fella Creek'. Milik is unquestionably associated with a dreaming character called "crocodile"; in Larrakia, Danggalaba¹⁵. It is not so clear what other forms of dreaming it is connected with. The same comment can be made of Two-Fella Creek. Some accounts state that a dreaming, Danggalaba, which is translated directly to crocodile, travels the area. (In fact all along the coast.) This is sometimes also referred to as Kenbikenbi, (again said to mean crocodile). While the Milik area dreaming is unquestionably considered as crocodile the other is not.

This other, travelling, dreaming is considered to be the most important one for the Larrakia area, particularly for sites on the Cox Peninsula, and several in the Darwin area. As such it is, Danggalaba, for the claimants, though not necessarily in the manner of danggalaba = crocodile. Rather it is Danggalaba = "us", the major mythic character of the claimants and group symbol. The following accounts

¹⁵Capell's word list has, danggalaba = salt water crocodile.

illustrate the variety of interpretations which have been placed on this dreaming.

"The dominant personage in the mythology of the claim area is a large sea creature, durlg¹⁶ or dirula, sometimes translated to us as sea monster or whale, who travelled from as far south as Badjalarr (or Peron Island as non-Aborigines call it) stopping at such places as Djirrbul (on Finnis River) and many other named localities which have no European name before reaching the island chain in the claim area and then via the island chain to Daramanggamaning on the north coast of the Cox Peninsula and across the harbour to Old Man Rock off Casuarina Beach and beyond at least as far east as Shoal Bay.

Referring to Old Man Rock (or Dariba Nunggalinya) a well-known Arnhem Lander, Silas Roberts, has said (Bunji 1975) the Larrakia are not the only ones with an interest in Old Man Rock as a dreaming place. "Mr. Joshua says that Daribah Nunggalinya is also a dreaming place for the Oenpelli people." This is undoubtedly a reference to Lumaluma, the Whale, about which Berndt and Berndt say (1970:121):

Lumaluma the whale is also a dominant maraiin personage. He, too, came from the east, travelling overland, while accompanying him from beneath the ground (some women say) came Ngalgod the Rainbow; and his mythology has many direct parallels with the eastern Arnhem Land Djanggawul.

The whale, in Gunwinygu country, is said to have instituted sacred ritual, just as he did in the claim area. Details of this are still secret-sacred to our informants and will not be reproduced here.

However, another link may be highlighted in the Berndts' statement. The Gunwinygu personage called Lumaluma was said to be accompanied underground by the Rainbow. One of the principle

¹⁶Probably best translated as The Great Spirit, since durlg is also the name for the patrilineal local descent group, as in ngadja durlg, my "totem" ("or dreaming") or spirit. [Original footnote from Kenbi, p.69]

dreaming tracks through the claim area is an underground one, after which the claim is named, Kenbi. Kenbi refers to a tunnel, or underground river. It also denotes a type of long-snouted crocodile, the didgeridu and the plant bamboo (from which didgeridu were once made in this area). Elkin (1950b:68) says that the cult-hero, Waran, "made" the "dreamings" for the Wagaidj and "second to him in Wagaitj thought is the Rainbow Serpent, which is the 'shade' of all water 'dreamings'". (Kenbi, pp.69-71)

The path or "track" of this dreaming was mapped by the authors of the original land claim book on page 70. Here it was noted that the, "Track heads eastwards to East Alligator".

Tibby Quall and other members of his family consider this claim book to be superior to much of the other documentation, noting that, "this was the work of old people". The account of this dreaming and its journey has a clearly western orientation, details of the dreamings path outside the claim area were given and it follows a west to east direction. There is also an eastern perspective. (Or perhaps this should be called a western Arnhem Land view.)

This has been indirectly documented in the Alligator Rivers Stage Two land claim. Here Felix Holmes, a western Arnhem Land man, discussed sites of what he called the Kulida ceremony. A number of stone rings (stone arrangements) atop hills from Darwin to Oenpelli are sites which are part of the dreaming and ceremony¹⁷. In this account the dreaming and one of the dreaming's sites are referred to by the same name, Daramanamandji. It commences by describing aspects of the ceremony, and then goes on to consider the dreamings travel.

"The ceremony ground came from Daramanamandji¹⁸. He came from Marrkanala to Oenpelli, where there is another ceremony ground, right round to Beruk and Lalikili where he made other ceremony

¹⁷Pers. comm. from Ian McIntosh, 17/2/97

¹⁸Mr. Holmes' pronunciation of the Dreaming came half-way between the Larrakiya Daramangkamaning and the Kunwinjku/Kundjey'mi Warramurrungundji - logically since he was stressing connections between groups. [Original footnote]

grounds. From Beruk he went to little Banyan and Muruk where he set up the Minidja Djambarl ceremony.

Daramanamandji came from Tor Rock to Oenpelli, to the Kulida ground, on to Lalikili, Bilyingki jungle, Shoal Bay, Larrakia barracks, and Daramanamandji (Daramangkamaning) at Delissaville. He finished up at Twofella Creek, and from there to the Penis dreaming, where Daramanamandji cut the penis and it pissed out. They circumcise on the other side of that place (southwest) but not here (east of Darwin).

In this account the dreaming's path appears to be initially (roughly) west to east but from Oenpelli it returns towards the west, to the Cox Peninsula. Dreamtime events here have been discussed in evidence before the Land Commissioner. (See Restricted transcript, Nguranyani.)

The path from west to east, as per the Kenbi book I would suggest is an essentially western view, the east to west, a western Arnhem Land view. The present claimants see it as west to east with the described events taking place as the dreaming travelled without the need, necessarily, for it to return to the Cox Peninsula for the final events.

The name Warramurrungundji appears in a number of works as a Dreamtime ancestress of considerable importance. (See Berndt 1970, Berndt and Berndt, 1970.) She is the central figure for the Kunapipi ritual which has been well documented¹⁹.

The term kulida used by Felix Holmes refers to a ceremony. The same is found in the 1990 restricted exhibit 35A. It is the same as Murak (or Morak). Murak is one of two ceremonies said by Nelson Blake, another western Arnhem Land man, to have been the major Larrakia ceremonies from traditional times. The other was said to be called, Guwarrk. Nelson moved into Darwin over 50 years ago where he met many of the people now deceased whose names appear on the upper levels of the various genealogies. (Biographical details are attached here as

¹⁹Foelsche has, "a big woman called Warahmoorungee, in a state of pregnancy". (1882, p.17)

appendix three.) He has been closely associated with Larrakia people, especially with the present claimants ever since²⁰. Over these years he has never participated in, nor heard of a performance of the Murak/Kulida ceremony. He heard of a Guwarrk held, probably in the 1940's following the War, and a Lorgun ceremony performed at Two-Fella Creek.

Nelson has led an active ritual life, naming Kunapipi, Lorgun and Marian ceremonies among those he has participated in. He notes that these are ceremonies which have been adopted into western Arnhem Land, probably this century, supplanting the Murak/Guwarrk group which were shared between Larrakia and his country in earlier years. He is familiar with the link between Western Arnhem Land and the Cox Peninsula, knowing the significance of the dreaming track outlined by Felix Holmes.

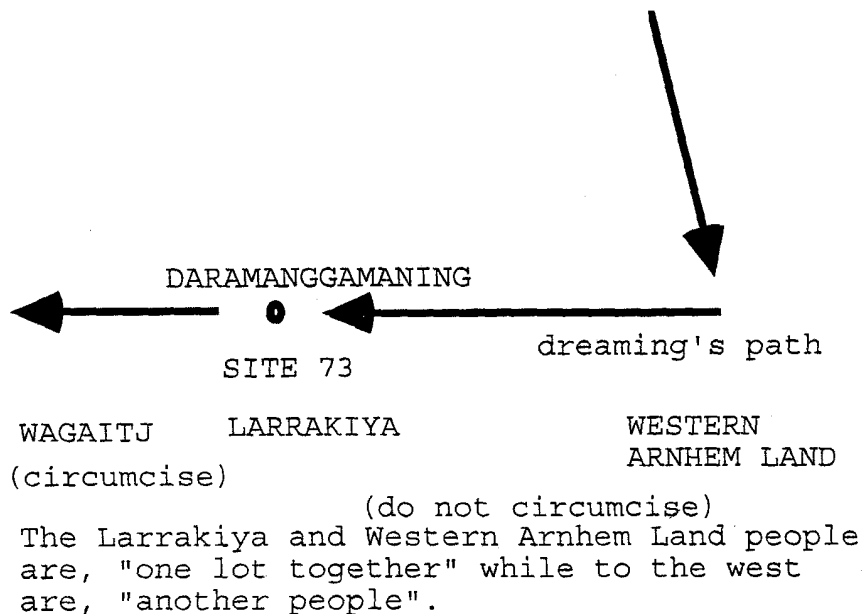
It was said that traditionally these two areas shared ceremonies, and in particular the Guwarrk and Murak (Morak) rituals. The latter has not been done within living memory.

"Murak for us, [Western Arnhem Land and Larrakia] but no one make him. We'll have to show 'em Kunapipi. Not any old people can run it now. You got to get the right people who can run it." "Murak. Old people can run that one. I never saw it. Silly fools they ought to have bring it up so we can see it. But no. Murak and Guwarrk really for us."

The Kunapipi ceremony has achieved a dominant position throughout this region and was said to be where local dreamings are sang of and celebrated and youths initiated.

The absence of circumcision as an element in male initiation was pointed out as being significant. This was said to show the traditionally strong Larrakia - Western Arnhem Land link. It was outlined with the following diagram.

²⁰His brother, Johnny, was married to Yula Williams and is the father of the nine children as shown on genealogy KG 16.



The site, "the penis dreaming", mentioned by Felix (and referred to above) is the site numbered 77 in this land claim. Nguranyani, called by some claimants, Dubara²¹. Felix and the present claimants stress the importance of this area to Danggalaba people. Interestingly "Bill" Harney (1961, p.viii) called Daramanggamaning, "the place of the charcoal covered Earth - Mother". Harney was at one time the Superintendent of Delissaville and camped in the area providing a local name which is still used, 'Harney's Beach'. His 'translation' of the Aboriginal name suggests that he was aware of the significance.

"Yes, a secret place. I used to go there since I was a baby, with Victor [Williams Snr.] that way. I just knew. Might be through our youth. What places we're not allowed to go to. Called it Harney's Beach and Two Fella Creek. Two Fella Creek, allowed to go there fishing." Tibby Quall 19/2/97.

The restricted men's evidence given at this site clearly identifies it with the one discussed by Felix Holmes. The dreaming track associated with this site, is part of the on going ceremonial life. The site is

²¹It is maintained that ngura, from Ngura-nyini translates as penis, the original Larrakiya word for which is Dubara. (Capell's word list has dubora = penis.)

Larrikia but the ceremonies presently associated with it are of a wider significance. For the claimants the relevant factor are their Arnhem Land "in-laws". Some males from the family participate in these rituals, as seen in the restricted evidence from 1989 by young Victor Williams, one of Yula's sons.

"Marriage joins them up. The two ceremonies join 'em up. These two groups we called parikipariki²², Larrakia and Gagaju people. Had very hard Law." Nelson Blake, 15/2/97.

In the absence of a similar Larrakia ceremonial organisation these people have become vital. Consider the frog dreaming. A song said to be relevant to this was sang in restricted men's evidence on 20/11/95.

Claimants are familiar with this dreaming and have discussed it on a number of occasions, as have other Danggalaba members. They know a song verse which refers to it. This song, said to be a wangga, has the nick name, 'brak-brak' after the accompaniment to the main verse which mimics the croaking of a frog. This song was sung by Nelson on 15/2/97 while he was outlining some of his knowledge of the sites and mythology of the Cox Peninsula. He said that he had learned this song from Henry who was also the husband of Dolly. He recalled that King George used to sing this song, along with Sam Gurndulk, (Deeja's brother), Frank Secretary and "Fat Jack" (or as he is sometimes referred to Pat Jack/Jack Pat). Claimants assert that this song is not restricted, "not really ceremony" was how Nelson described it. Tibby Quall added that "we all know it. I've got it on tape somewhere²³."

"Frog dreaming for that side [to the west across the harbour]. That old George King been sing. Different song, different dancing. We call kujakajak [= frog species]. Don't know what Larrakia call him. I forget too much Larrakia. Yiwaidja name I know, kujakajak. I know that song." "George King said that's the Larrakia song. That's the Larrakia language. I don't understand much what it

²²I am unsure of this words meaning. Nelson later described it as having a meaning "like tribe" except that it refers to the two groups.

²³The verse is referred to in Kenbi, p.196. "Once when we asked Topsy Secretary about the frog dreaming, she burst spontaneously into a song called Ngadbangadba [= "frog"], about the frog dreaming at Wudud, which is linked with Dariba Nunggalinya at Casuarina."

means. Poor bugger old people singing that one. Old Ben White, government man, and Chinnery, Bill Harney, Freddy Morris. That time [ie just before and during WW 2]. They been looking after Aboriginal people. [Nelson sings the verse several times.] Big mob been dancing. Mirringka ["Topsy Secretary's grandfather], Billy Crab, big mob. They been dancing, Secretary. Pat Jack they been dancing. They been youngfella but all dead now.²⁴"

The song was said to have been originally performed in the wangga style. (Which has a characteristic 'beat', a wailing style 'tune' and a didgeridoo accompaniment.) Of the 'words' to wangga verses Elkin, (1953, p.150) noted, "It is difficult to get a literal translation of the Wongga." Elkin found that the purpose of a Wangga was to "express and strengthen the bond between individuals and group on the one hand, and with their country on the other hand. It does this through recalling and representing in word and thought, places in the latter, together with their historical and mythological associations." (p. 150) The background 'chorus' of the dancers leaves little doubt as to this verses dreaming affiliation. ("bawuk - bawuk - bawuk") The song is Larrakia by its reference to a dreaming and sites within Larrakia country. It may not be able to identify it as Larrakia by virtue of also being in the Larrakia language. Nelson was unable to identify any words in it.

This frog dreaming is one considered by claimants to have been particularly associated with the Danggalaba and their ancestors²⁵.

According to claimants there are a number of other dreamings which originated on or crossed the claim area.

"I know there are a lot of dreamings. All our dreamings. My Mum and Auntie and Uncle used to tell us. And my brother knew. All around the coast is our place." Yula Williams, 13/2/97.

²⁴pers comm Nelson Blake, 26/2/97.

²⁵See the evidence of claimant Sue Roman, 26/10/95. p.3972, 25-40. "Yes, that's fairly important to us as a family. That same frog dreaming there at Wutut, Wutut, was told to me by my mother and Auntie Maudie and Olga and quite a few people, you know, Sheila White, Yula White, every time we go camping there, how it was a dreaming there from my grandmother, yes. And it sort of like comes right across to Yirra [island]."

Several are of special importance to the claimants. These include the Danggalaba, as discussed above including the associated sites listed; the sea-eagle, site Garngarnnyini; and "Old-man"/"grey hair, site Djibung.

Sea Eagle - Garngarn

(Called sea eagle by claimants and listed as such on the site map. The relevant species is likely to be another large coastal predator, the Brahminy Kite, *Haliastur indus*.)

This dreaming is known to have originated on Indian Island, off the west coast of the Peninsula. It is believed to have flown around the general area and is the original ancestor for all existing sea eagles. This bird is considered especially significant to the claimants, who maintain that this is the same for all Danggalaba clan members.

"I know our Danggalaba clan. Our tribe is Larrakia. Our totem is the sea-eagle. It's brown with white around the neck. Our clan is crocodile. My totem is sea-eagle. For me and my sisters and my children. We know that from uncle and auntie. Uncle always said that that was my totem. Uncle Sam Gurndulk, my mother's brother. He taught us a lot of things, he was a champion. Sea-eagles, very seldom you see 'em. I went to Murgarella for three weeks. We went out getting crabs. It was different country to me. I was a bit worried, didn't know the country. I was there waiting for the Toyota to come back. Then I heard a whistling sort of a sound and I saw two sea-eagles. I looked up then and two sea-eagles was flying around as if to say, 'don't be frightened'. They come out only once in a while. They said it is like a spirit that totem of ours. One time our uncle was very sick. I asked him about what had happened to him. 'I was trying to sleep' he said, 'and I saw this big eagle sitting on me chirping. I'll be allright now [he said]. It must have come to tell me I'll soon be better'. Us Aboriginal people believe in this, and my Mum and brother did too." Yula Williams, 13/2/97.

Grey Hair/"Old People"

This is associated with the waterhole named Djibung. While not considered a dangerous place swimming in the creek is not necessarily without certain consequences.

"Grey hair, in our family there is a lot of grey hair. You'll notice it. My mother too, you should have seen her hair. At school I was really embarrassed, my mother would come. Always she would come. She understood the two worlds so she would rock up to look at my books and everything. Champion old lady. But lots of white hair. It's a story. Story that we got. There's a creek, Djibung there, and you got to keep your head up when you swim or you'll get white hair. It takes me back to my family. They all got white hair. My nanna, my grandfather. They all got white hair. My crowd stand out. Me I started going grey at thirty two or thirty four." Tibby Quall, 12/2/97.

This dreaming and site is one to which the claimant group asserts special attachment.

COX PENINSULA LAND USE BY CLAIMANTS

Danggalaba members have used, and continue to use the Cox Peninsula for a variety of purposes, including resource exploitation, recreation and residence.

Although there have been numerous attempts to develop the Cox Peninsula, few have lasted. Aboriginal people and in particular the claimants have maintained an association with it. It is an area close to Darwin which can be visited and used for traditional purposes without the need to seek permission from a non-Aboriginal land holder.

Mention has already been made of the late Victor Williams's lifelong attachment to it and of his visits to the area in company with younger family members. He used these occasions to interest and instruct these children in traditional Aboriginal matters associated with it.

Tibby Quall who was one of these children has continued to visit the area, to camp there, hunt, and fish.

"Many times. Half the time I never see anyone there. If I do people never question as if I was interfering. No way in the world. I used to go over when I was a small kid. Get the ferry or get a lift." Tibby Quall, 12/2/97.

Other claimants have spoken of the area, their visits there, and its exploitable resources. Didi Quall notes that,

"We go there everytime. We go to Bombi. We tell Johnny Singh we are coming over. We tell him and the last time he sent young boys to cut the grass where we camp. Johnny knows we go there, go fishing, go looking for plums. We never go there without ringing him. We know we shouldn't but respect, we let him know. He's looking after the place for us. Every Easter we go over there too."

"All my family have been all over that place. Two Fella, Bombi, One Fella, where the Mandorah Inn is, Talc Head, - fishing. From Rankin Point all around. This Easter I'm going camping at Bombi again. I always go to Bombi because I feel that's my place. Bombi, it's on the coast in between Rankin Point and Bakamanadjing."

Didi described the various bush foods which the family know and exploit from the area. Such as, turtle, turtle eggs, fish, longbum, shell-fish. From Bombi claimants cross over to Indian Island.

"For turtle eggs go across to Indian Island, get eggs there. You can get turtles too, harpoon them, dive in and grab them before they dive, and chuck them in the boat.

Johnny Singh showed us that fresh water well at Indian Island. It's damp there, that's how you know. When you go there call out

to that Old Man. You know that water came across from the Cox Peninsula." Didi Quall, 13/2/97

Didi is one of the younger claimants and has spent much of her life in responsible jobs which required her to spend her working hours in Darwin. She spent over a decade with the N.T. Police, some of it stationed on the Cox Peninsula, and has worked in alcohol rehabilitation and with the Northern Land Council. Older people have had a different set of experiences in relation to the land. Yula Williams recalls memories from age five or six, of being there.

PERSONS TO BENEFIT FROM A GRANT

Apart from the immediate claimant group many others would benefit from the granting of the area claimed to an Aboriginal Land Trust. These people fall into three groups; the Danggalaba, their wider Larrakia relatives, and the Belyuen community.

As the landowners the Danggalaba would enjoy unfettered access and control of the land. Benefits would be both spiritual and economic. Much of what would be generated by this would flow to other Larrakia.

Aboriginal people have secure tenure in relation to the Belyuen part of the Delissaville, Wagait, Larrakia Land Trust area. It is apparent from the evidence given during this land claim that Belyuen residents use a wider area of land. This is outside of the land trust and land which is subject to the Kenbi land claim. At present no one is secure in using this land. The present the legal status of any claimant groups use of this land is unclear. If found to be traditional owners claimants are willing to negotiate with Belyuen residents with a view to granting a lease, or lease like agreement covering their use of the claim area.

APPENDIX ONE

AMY YIRRA - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

"I knew her when she was working for Alan Ford. She was a domestic there. She had to do domestic work so that she could come to the Mission and bring us lollies and drinks. She used to visit us on weekends. Used to take us fishing sometimes behind Bagot. At, what's the creek there? Racehorse Creek. Yes come to Racehorse Creek there from Rhetta Dixon home. Her and Brownie used to get permission to take me out for the day. Fishing and crabbing with them. Also to Rapid Creek. She used to walk the seven miles to Bagot. And she used to come up to the school at recess time to give us salty plums and things. She used to buy us things at the store and other people used to tell us, your grandmother was there. She got permission from the superintendent one time, permission and her and Brownie took me. Took me to where the hotel is now. A man asked her what she was doing. She said she had permission to take her grandchild. I was about eight then. He took me back and was told he had done the wrong thing. From Rhetta Dixon I always used to run away to Bagot because uncle Victor [Williams] was there and hid there. And so was auntie Delcie. I used to sometimes spend weekends with nanna Deeja. At Police Paddock. That's what it was then, now it's Stuart Park. Mother used to be there. Bertie, Keith, Lindy, Yula, Lucy, Mary, Rona. You see I knew all of them even before the boys died. I was close to them but closer to uncle Victor. Bertie and Keithie used to go out working. At Katherine and Belyuen. I used to see my grandmother [Yirra] doing ceremony at Bagot. I watched her and asked, "what is that red skirt she is wearing?" She had all the tribal marks. All of us kids at Rhetta Dixon used to watch the corroborees through the fence. We had no radio in those days. Only had the fence dividing us. [ie the Rhetta Dixon Home and Bagot reserve.] They were playing didgeridoo and all. Most of all it used to be scary when someone died. All the crying and all! I saw Prince of Wales there at Bagot. I used to run away and be with family - auntie Margaret too, married to Tommy Lyons and had Paula or Rachel. [Paula aka Rachel Thomson] Peggy and auntie Josephine Rankine. Brian and Henda, my mum's adopted brothers. They used to go to school there at Bagot. Mr. Tambling was one of the teachers, Grant's father.

Rhetta Dixon girls had a basketball team that used to play a team from Bagot. They had a boys' and a girls' team in each. We saw Bagot people all the time. And on Sunday afternoon they used to have a free period and we used to go hunting. In bush and all, it's gone now.

Amy used to go over to Belyuen a lot for ceremonies and to visit her brother. Amy spent a lot of time with her daughter [Lindy Roman] and grandchildren.

My mother [Lindy Roman] was born on Mindil Beach and taken from there and put into the compound. Its like a lot of kids they were separated from their brothers and sisters. They went to other places. Robert [Roman, Lindy's brother] went to Adelaide. She reckons she was young. About seven, her first language was Larrakia not English. Auntie Topsy was in there too. Them old people say her mother used to sit outside the compound wailing for her kids. She used to give us bush tucker and things through the fence too.

Growing up I just knew were like, Larrakia. Mum used to say it was crocodile. I always knew we were Larrakia in the home. We always knew who were our countrymen. Countrymen used to call out to us through the fence. Predominantly in Bagot they used to be Larrakia. Once we ran away from the home and sat up with them eating snake all night. Amy Yirra died when I was about ten. In the 50's now - that's forty years ago. She is buried at the old cemetery, Garden cemetery. Nakara school has a picture of Amy, and there was a story in The News. Amy had a little shack out in the bush. It was about 1956 when she died.

Topsy Secretary did corroboree when my mother died. She was really sorry. Hitting herself. She was screaming out. I got a plaque that said, "a true Larrakia woman." Olga [Singh] said we call her mum when our own mother died. She said we were countrymen. Used to come and visit me when I was working at N.L.C. Used to visit Tommy Lyons in hospital. Mum used to visit him all the time but wouldn't let us go up, she went up herself."

"At Rhetta Dixon we had a lot to do with our people living there at Bagot. Only separated by a fence."

(Anabelle Benton 11/3/97)

APPENDIX TWO

CRAB BILLY - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

"I called him, like son. Nayi, our way that means son. Crab Billy was living in Darwin at Bagot. He used to go out and get crabs for us. I remember him from when I was about 7 or 8. He died during the War I think. All the older people had things to do with men. That's where our culture comes from. I reckon he used to call my mother grandmother, I think. I called him son. Nayi or nimp. He used to come to our place, and they used to speak to Mum. She said, 'that's all our people'. We never called them name. We respected the old people - called them uncle, or grandmother. Always had respect. A real champion for crab, he was that old man.

We was only in Bagot for a couple of months. When we moved away he used to bring us crabs where ever we would hang."

(Yula Williams, 13/2/97.)

APPENDIX THREE

NELSON BLAKE - AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

"I born Port Essington. But I not belong to there, just look after the land because my mother died. I from Majikarrat. My place [ie residence in Gurig National Park] belong to mother. Western Arnhem Land. I been working for Roy Edwards in the pearling lugger. I come to Darwin as a young fella. When I come here? before Bagot - old compound. Here was Chinnery, Freddy Morris, Bill Harney. That Larrakia been alive, Big mob! Old Woman Yirra. Rodger been big man. That war not been finish before I come here. Japanese War, then I been join the army and come in from Cape Don.

I been live here for long time, many years. All right, I turn around and learn that language [ie Larrakia]. If I go there Kalaluk that old lady turn around and talk language, Larrakia.

I forget [a lot of Larrakia] because no one to talk it to me the Larrakia language.

[I] live on boat working lugger, this one here [ie Tibby Quall] his mother there, ^{he} never been born. Lot of people been working for Roy Edwards. Victor [Williams senior, dcd] too. Sam, Billy Williams, Mickey and old man Henry. Working, cleaning shell. Had to wear gloves. But working, tender, open him that shell. Find em pearl. We carn't open em. Clean em that's all. Tender take em pearl into Roy Edwards. Gregory and old Jolly Rodger, lugger boat. Other people worked for em. Lotta people we been working, go round out on the sea. My uncle died from the boat. Marrurd. Roy, hes dead, him a millionaire."

(15/2/97)

APPENDIX FOUR

SAM GURNDULK - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

"[I was] only a kid then. I used to live at Bagot with my Auntie. Delcie and Uncle Victor. People used to come there and record them. They were recording. I was looking out the window. We weren't allowed to go outside. Kids had to stay indoors then. My uncle had to show people around. He was like an overseer and everything my uncle. garage, market garden. Peoples problems. In charge of the whole lot. A lotta recordings done at Bagot. There was a men's ceremony ground there out the back of Kulaluk. There is two there. They used to start of at Bagot. Congregate there and go off, what ever. There was a lot of recording. I reckon my grandfather was there for sure. He was a singer man. Long time ago I asked, when I was a kid, 'How come he's always there with the corroboree mob', 'Oh, he's a singer man.' Today we say he's a bamboo man because he played the didgeridoo too. I remember my auntie saying my uncle was taking people out there to tape them."

(Tibby Quall, 22/2/97)

"Sam Gurndulk and Dolly lived at Lee Point. Many people lived out there with him after the war. Then Victor got a house for us. Sam used to take us through the bush looking for tucker, hunting. Used to go to Buffalo Creek, ... Dripstone. Out getting crabs, crab claws. He was a singer and a business man along with some other people. He walked around by foot and even for ceremonies too. He's the one that taught Victor all the things a young man should know. He [Victor] used to write a lot of it down. When he died and she moved to Croker Island a lot of it got lost. He used to write down about the Larrakia people. He and Dolly did the negotiations with the Government over land. Here at Kululuk now. Old Sam used to tell us all about things, about things that can make you get lost in the bush²⁶."

(Mary Raymond 10/3/97)

²⁶Berndt and Berndt (1989, pp.270-2) discuss a Larrakia myth of "sirens who lure men, not to their doom but to separation from their own kind.", The Berndt's note that this is "a rare motif in Aboriginal mythology."

"People over in western Arnhem Land they remember old man Sam. They still talk of when old man Sam and Dolly went to Arlaih beach [opposite Field Island] for that [Guwarrk] business."

(Nelson Blake 25/2/97)

APPENDIX FIVE

VICTOR WILLIAMS - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

"Victor was born at Vestys or at Kahlin Compound. I think at Kahlin Compound. My mother was in there when all the mob came in from the bush. Vic used to go to school there. And then Vic was working for Roy Edwards on the pearling lugger. Then he was 17 or 21 when he joined the Army. That was in 40 or 41. He was in home defence, didn't go overseas. He was in till the War ended. Then he worked for Administration, Administration as it was called then, Council now I suppose. Then he worked in Welfare, Native Welfare Branch. He lived at Bagot Reserve for a while. They gave him a house there. Then he moved to Ludmilla, near the school. Got married and had all the kids there. He was still working when he died in 76 or 77. Sixty something when he died. Roughly I reckon.

When he was a young boy growing up my Mum used to come and get him and take him down to Lameroo Beach. My brothers, my other two brothers also, they used to take them there and teach them things. Vic was really clever. A jack-of-all trades. When he was growing up he never seen us with nothing. He used to go into town and see Roy Edwards. We never went without things. Everything for my Mum he got. He made furniture and everything. He was a corporal in the Army and he used to dismantle bombs. A couple of times they didn't go off and he had to take two blokes and go and dismantle them."

"He had a lot to do with the Cox Peninsula, used to write it down in a book. He kept it shut. Never let us look in it. My brother used to say 'these things might be really handy Mum'. And he used to take us over to Two Fella Creek. All the time. I asked my mother, 'Why does he do this?' Mum said to me, 'be quiet, he really likes this place. He used to be here when he was little. With all his uncles, grandpas' and grand-uncles.' He told us there were places to keep away from there. Used to take all the boys, Tibby and all, and tell them, 'there are places here where you can't go'. "

(Yula Williams, 13/2/97.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Basedow, H. 1907 Anthropological Notes on the Western Coastal Tribes of the Northern Territory. Trans. Proc. & Reports of the Royal Soc. of South Aust. Vol. XXXI, pp. 1-62.
- Berndt, R.M. 1970 The Sacred Site, a Western Arnhem Land Example, A.I.A.S. Canberra.
- Brandl, M., Harritos, A, & Walsh, M. 1979 Kenbi Land Claim, NLC, Darwin.
- Berndt, R.M. & C.H. 1970 Man, Land and Myth, the Gunwinggu People, Ure Smith, Sydney.
- 1988 The Speaking Land, Myth and Story in Aboriginal australia. Penguin Books.
- Elkin, A.P. 1953 Tribes of the Northern Territory: their approximate locations, 1953. typescript, Native Affairs Branch, statistics, 53/487.
- 1953 Arnhem Land Music, Oceania Monograph No.9, Oceania Publications, Sydney.
- 1950 The Complexity of Social Organisation in Arnhem Land, in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 6 No. 1.
- Foelsche, P. 1882 Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia. Trans. Proc. & Reports of the Royal Soc. of South Aust. Vol. V, p. 1-18.
- Harney, W. 1961 Grief, Gaiety and Aborigines. Robert Hale Ltd.
- Keen, I. 1980 Alligator Rivers Stage Two Land Claim. N.L.C. Darwin.
- Oates, L.F. 1975, 1973 Supplement to a Revised Linguistic Survey, Armidale Christian Book Centre.

Spencer, W.B. 1912 The Native Tribes of the Northern Territory,
MacMillan, London.

Strehlow, T.G.H. 1964 Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic
Community, republished as, Central Australian Religion, Special
Studies in Religions 2. [1978]

Stanner, W.E.H. 1965 Aboriginal Territorial Organisation, Estate,
Range, Domain and Regime, in Oceania, Vol. XXXVI, (1).

Tindale, N.B. 1974 Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, A.N.U. Press,
Canberra.

Warner, L. 1933, Australian Kinship, American Anthropologist,
N.S. Vol. 35.

AUTHOR'S CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Details:

Name: Robert Graham

Date of Birth: 24th. August 1954

Place of birth: Longreach, Qld.

Nationality: Australian

Current Residential Address: 14 High Street, Highgate Hill, QLD. 4101

Current Postal Address: c/- P.O. Box 108, St. Lucia, QLD. 4067

Telephone, (07) 3844 0774.

Education:

1971 South Australian Matriculation

1982 B.A. Honours (First Class), University of Adelaide.
Thesis title: *Myth and Symbolism in Aboriginal Art: a structural perspective on the Wandjinas of North West Australia.*

1987 Eastern Arrernte language course: Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, NT.

1990 Warlpiri language course: Institute for Aboriginal Development, Yuendumu, NT.

1991 Pintupi/Luritja language course: Institute for Aboriginal Development, Papunya, NT.

1992 Advanced Warlpiri language course: Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, NT.

Scholarships and Prizes:

1982

Mountford Award for work in Aboriginal Studies, University of Adelaide.

1982-5

Commonwealth Postgraduate Research Award: to research aspects of traditional Aboriginal culture in the Kimberley region W.A.

Professional Experience:

1982-1985

Conducted field research for a Ph.D. in the region around Halls Creek in Western Australia. This primarily involved residence on several small communities located on pastoral leases. The focus of this research was religious and social structural innovation within the pastoral context, including changes in Aboriginal land tenure concepts and patterns as Aboriginal communities formed on cattle properties. Research included work with Jaru and Kitja speaking people of the Southern Kimberley and Kukatja, Ngardi and other people resident at Balgo.

Since this time I have been able to return to Halls Creek and Ringers Soak at regular intervals, visiting several times most years. In 1987, 1994 and 1995 more extensive field work was carried out.

1985

Consultant to Central Land Council involved in clearance and protection measures necessitated by the construction of the present Granites gold mine and road-upgrading between the Granites mine and Tanami.

1986-1991

Employed by the Central Land Council based in Alice Springs. In my first two years with the CLC I was employed as the Sites Protection Officer in the Mining and Cultural Protection Section. Major projects during this period involved the monitoring of the construction of the Amadeus to Darwin gas pipe-line within CLC's area of responsibility; negotiations with Pintupi people over the Bureau of Mineral Resources Amadeus Basin survey, and organising an appropriate site protection strategy during it; the engagement of a consultant for a large mineral exploration program in the Tanami and the supervision of this project; conducting several surveys on the traditional ownership of remote areas of the Lake Mackay Land Trust; and assisting with land claim research requiring field trips. During this period I was able to work on most Aboriginal communities within the CLC's region of responsibility, including Papunya, Mt. Liebig, Kintore, Yuendumu, Nyirrpri, Hermannsburg, and Lajamanu.

Late in 1987 I transferred to what is now called the Associations Management Unit of CLC. This section was set up to implement the CLC's financial management policy. The work proved to be challenging and taxing, revolving around the forming of "Royalty" receiving associations and their investment of sizeable percentages of their mining derived income. A lot of this work involved the identification of traditional Aboriginal owners of areas where mining projects were under way and subsequently consultations with Aboriginal people over the implementation of financial management policies for monies due to them under sections of the NT Aboriginal Land Rights act. From mid 1989 until 1991 I was the coordinator of CLC's Associations Management Unit.

1989

Visiting Scholar in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. January-June. During this time I wrote a first draft of my Doctoral thesis and gave several seminar presentations.

1991-1995

Research Officer - Anthropologist, Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority, Alice Springs.

The Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority is a Northern Territory government statutory authority with responsibility for the protection and registration of Aboriginal sacred sites and other areas of land significant to Aboriginal people. The bulk of this work involves the implementation of relevant legislation. For this, the Authority employs suitably qualified anthropologists who prepare reports and document sites. This includes preparing site plans, photographing site features and researching background historical and ethnographic material. The identification of custodians and traditional owners of the sites is considered very important and usually occupies a large section of any site documentation reports.

From August 1993 to August 1994 I was acting Regional Officer in charge of the Alice Springs office of the Authority.

1995- May 1996. Senior Project Officer, Native Title, with the Northern Land Council's Darwin office. During this time I was able to become familiar with the Native Title Act and the needs of native title research. During this time field trips were made to the Perron Islands, Crocker Island, Ngukurr, Timber Creek and Gregory National Park, Newcastle Waters and Yirrkala. Duties included the engagement and supervision of staff and consultants documenting native title claims and related matters, as well as carrying out some research.

August - December, 1996. Research with Warlpiri and Pintupi people in Central Australia at Alice Springs and Yuendumu, N.T.

Publications:

- 1995 'Bell, Diane *Daughters of the Dreaming* (second edition)', review article in *Australian Aboriginal Studies*.
- 1996 (with Peter Thorley). Central Australian Aboriginal Stone Knives: their cultural significance, manufacture and trade. In Morton, S.R. and Mulvaney D.J. (Eds.) *Exploring Central Australia: Society, the Environment and the 1894 Horn Expedition*. Surrey Beatty and Sons, Chipping Norton.

Talks:

- 1986 Introduction to sacred site protection. A talk prepared on behalf of the Central Land Council for workers in the three Palm Valley to Darwin gas pipeline camps.
- 1987 About sacred site protection. A talk prepared on behalf of the Central Land Council for workers at the Tanami gold mine.
- 1989 Changes in Australian government policies towards Aboriginal people, especially in northern Australia. Department of Anthropology and Archaeology Seminar, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Religious innovations by Australian Aboriginal people of the Kimberley during and since World War II. Talk to staff from both the Anthropology and Archaeology Dept. and the Linguistics and Philosophy Dept., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- 1994 Recent Australian Aboriginal Religious 'cults' and their adoption across northern Australia. Talk to staff of Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority and other NT Government Departments' personnel.
- (with Peter Thorley). Central Australian Aboriginal Stone Knives: their cultural significance, manufacture and trade. Paper delivered at the Horn Expedition Commemorative Symposium, Alice Springs.
- 1996 The Western Desert, an overview. A talk to the 1996 Australian Linguistic Institute, Australian National University, Canberra.
- , The Western and Central Deserts, Two deserts - one culture? Two deserts - two cultures? A talk to the 1996 Australian Linguistic Institute, Australian National University, Canberra.