

NO PUKAMANI

ASPECTS OF THE ECOLOGY OF THE
HUMAN SETTLEMENT AT NGUIU,
BATHURST ISLAND
NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

TOM KEAN B ARCH (UNSW)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES IN THE
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

DECEMBER 1973

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B. ARCH. UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

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DECLARATION

EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE INDICATED, THIS DISSERTATION IS MY
OWN WORK,

THOMAS BRENDAN KEAN

DECEMBER 1978

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I WISH TO THANK THE FOLLOWING

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NGUIU SHIRE COUNCIL

THE ORDER OF O.L.S.H.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS

CATHOLIC MISSIONS DARWIN

DEPARTMENT OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

AND MOST OF ALL,

THE TIWI PEOPLE.

NO PUKAMANI - FOOTNOTE

The Pukamani ceremony is traditionally performed by members of Tiwi society some time after the death of an individual tribal member. The ceremony is based on the death of the mythical man, Purukupali and is by far the most important Tiwi ceremonial event. This ceremony allows the Tiwi to fully express their grief for the departed and at the same time is a cultural outlet for their philosophical beliefs, music art and dancing. The most notable feature of these ceremonies is the erection of elaborately carved 'pukamani' poles.

NO PUKAMANI : ABSTRACT

'Summit, who died about 1970, had about a dozen wives. He was the last to have more than two. He was the last great pagan leader or put more diplomatically "leader of the old ways". He died a Christian; his final words were there was to be "no Pukamani" adding that, if there was, he would come back and haunt them'. (Brother Pye M.S.C.: The Tiwi Islands, 1977).

Bathurst (2072 KM²) and Melville Islands (5098 KM²) form a geological and cultural unit and are located off the north coast of Australia about sixty kilometers from Darwin. The topography is generally flat with maximum elevation being about 100 meters. The islands have many tidal rivers lined with mangroves and are separated by Apsley Strait.

Prior to contact with external cultural influences the Tiwi, a name which has been adopted to collectively describe the people of these islands, were organised into about nine or ten main bands based on land holding (country). Every Tiwi man and woman was a "landowner" inheriting rights to a tract of country through his or her father.

All Tiwis were also born into a matrilineal descent group or 'sibs' (pukwi) which acknowledged a common ancestry to the extent that marriage was prohibited between members of the same 'sib'. 'Pukwis' are also aligned into groups (arampi) or phratries which were considered to be exogamous. Marriage of

NO PUKAMANI : ABSTRACT

women was by way of contract between men as was often arranged to expand social prestige and power. No Tiwi female could remain unmarried.

The Tiwis regarded themselves as 'the people' and their islands as 'the world' and appear to have had little knowledge of societies beyond, with the possible exception of Portugese and Macassans who both exploited the islands over a considerable period of time, the former for slaves and the latter for 'trepan'. The Tiwi knowledge of mainland tribes prior to about 1800 was negligible and there are considerable cultural differences between the Tiwis and the mainlanders. Women have roles in the Tiwi ceremonies of Kulama and Pukamani. Initiation of men and women is by the plucking of pubic hair (rather than circumcision or subincision). The Tiwis did not possess the woomera, boomerang or dug-out canoe. There appears to have been little contact between the Tiwi and the neighbouring mainland tribes of Iwaidja (Cobourg Peninsula) and Larrakia (Port Darwin) prior to the nineteenth century.

The Dutch explored the region extensively between sixteen and eighteen hundred but did not consider any value in colonial annexation. The British however after founding Port Jackson and spurred by Napoleon Bonaparte took an active interest in the region from the beginning of the nineteenth century, eventually starting the first British settlement in North Australia on Melville Island. Fort Dundas, as it was named, was

NO PUKAMANI : ABSTRACT

to survive five years (1824-29) before the Tiwis and disease drove the invaders out.

This hostility towards outsiders, which was probably spurred by earlier experiences with Portugese slavers or 'blackbirders', remained up to 1900. With the founding of Palmerston (Darwin) in 1869 contact with the outside world increased, with ships being often wrecked on the coast and South Australian Government activities increasing.

Joe Cooper, a buffalo hunter came to the islands in 1900 and with the help of mainland Iwaidja tribesmen and guns managed to make the Tiwi more accommodating to the European. Japanese pearlery arrived and bought the favours of Tiwi women (the men got the goods). Finally Father Francis Xavier Gsell arrived, set up a mission on Bathurst Island (at Nguiu) and went into the 'wife buying' business in direct competition to the Japanese.

Gsell succeeded in buying with flour and tobacco the right to educate the young girls at the mission and thereby delay their marriage to their contracted party. So successful was Gsell's wife buying that by 1938 when he was made Bishop of Darwin he had 150 Tiwi wives all of whom were educated in their formative years in Judao-Christian ethic. Most of these girls grew up at the Mission, their husbands came to live at the mission and polygomy was broken down as the normal marital practice. A new life style began for the Tiwis, one of dependence.

NO PUKAMANI : ABSTRACT

By the end of World War Two the nomadic hunter gatherer lifestyle of the community had been broken. Most of the younger people regardless of band looked upon Nguiu as their home. They had grown up at Nguiu and were rapidly losing independence and relying on imported food, shelter and culture for survival.

The society remained static and to a large extent self dependent in the immediate post war era having extensive gardens and a small european population. Money was introduced to the community for the first time in 1953. The Tiwi population began to rise through the fifties reaching about 1000 before levelling off and even declining in the sixties.

This stagnation in population growth was largely due to the migration of people who were originally west Melville islanders back to their home country. This was particularly so with the migration of families from Bathurst Island mission to Garden Point after it became a government settlement in 1968.

The seventies brought a influx of federal government money, advisors administrators and a rapidly expanding non-Tiwi population (1968:20, 1974:45, 1976:65, 1978:100). So too, came European style housing for the Tiwis, ninety seven such dwellings being erected between 1974 and 1978. Organisations based on western concepts of democracy were introduced to give the people 'self determination'.

NO PUKAMANI : ABSTRACT

This sudden external economic influence resulted in an influx of external technical advisors, managers and workers into involvement in the everyday affairs of the Tiwi community at Nguiu. This situation has resulted in a further decline in the ability of the society to independently cope with the environment within which it is now living.

Introduced technology, housing, political and social structures which now exist are making it extremely difficult for the Tiwi to lead anything but a lifestyle which is almost totally dependent for survival on the wider Australian society at large.

The invasion is complete. There will be 'no pukamani' for Tiwi society.

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SECTION 1 :: TRADITIONAL TIWI (HUNTER GATHERER) CULTURE AND LIFESTYLE.

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1.1 The Land - Physical.

The Tiwi Islands, Bathurst (2072 KM²) and Melville (5098 KM²) are located off the north coast of the Northern Territory of Australia and are surrounded by the Arafura and Timor Seas and Beagle and Van Diemen Gulfs. The islands are separated from the mainland of Australia by Clarence and Dundas Straits with the settlement of Nguiu (formerly Bathurst Island Mission) being located about sixty kilometres due north of the City of Darwin on the south easterly corner of Bathurst Island at the head of the Apsley Straits which separate the two islands (see fig. one).

Melville Island is separated from the Australian mainland by the Dundas Strait at its nearest point (Cape Gambia) by a distance of only twenty three kilometers. The actual maximum water crossing distance in this location is further reduced to about twelve kilometers by the existence of the low lying mangrove covered Vernon Islands group (see fig. one).

Both Bathurst and Melville Islands are generally flat with the maximum elevation being approximately one hundred meters above sea level. A range of low hills runs across Melville Island from east to west with smaller isolated groups of hills in areas of Bathurst Island. The coastlines are lined with cliffs, sandy beaches, rock outcrops and mangroves. The centre of Bathurst Island consists of a flat area with ground cover

vegetation known as the Spiral Plain.

Most of the landed areas of both islands are forested to a reasonable density with various species of eucalyptus, ironwood, stringy-bark, woolly-butt and paper bark trees. Cypress Pine (northern, cabbage palms, cycad, pandanus, wild plum and apple trees are also fairly generally distributed. Mangroves line much of the coastline and the multitude of salt water tidal rivers and estuaries with which the islands particularly Melville abound.

Native fauna consists of wallaby, opossums, bandicoots, rats of various types, and gliders. Many varieties of snake (most highly poisonous with the exception of the carpet snake) abound. Lizards are common, the most prevalent being iguana, blanked and blue-tongued species. Native bees (sugarbag) and more noticeably mosquitoes and sandflies are often very numerous. White ants and flying foxes are also very prevalent. The bird life is represented by numerous species most particularly, jabirus, brolgas, various parrots, parakeets, bower birds, swamp pheasant, hawks, geese, ducks, and cockatoos, are all very common. The mangrove lined rivers and estuaries abound with oysters, snails, cockles, crabs, turtles (greenback, loggerhead and hawksbill). Fish of many species including barramundi, rock cod, stingray, dugong and shark are common. Pearl shell and trepang were also present in commercial quantities in the past. The saltwater crocodile is present in the waters around the

islands and has on occasion taken Tiwi people.

Introduced fauna consist of the dingo, buffalo, horses, goats and most recently pigs. The dingo was used extensively as a hunting dog by the Tiwis, the buffalo introduced by the British at Fort Dundas (1825) have been largely depleted by hunting, but in recent times domestic pigs released in the early sixties are spreading rapidly over areas of Bathurst Island and causing considerable damage to flora.

Internationally the islands are located approximately five hundred kilometers south east of Timor with the nearest Indonesian controlled islands being within one hundred kilometers of the coastline (see fig. two).

The climate is tropical with seasons consisting of 'the wet' from November to May and 'the dry' from June to October. The islands are subject to possible effects from tropical cyclones during the wet seasons and experience some degree of 'tremors' or seismic activity from time to time due to the proximity of the earthquake zone in the Arafura Sea off the Indonesian Archipelago and West Irian (Irian Jaya).

1.2 The Land - Mythological and Spiritual.

Prior to the interference of external cultural influences the Tiwi people believed, in common with many other Australian aboriginal tribal groups in a 'World-Dawn' (after Radcliffe-Brown 1952) and the existence at a time in the past of 'Dawn Beings'. The activities of the 'Dawn Beings' and the events of the 'World-Dawn' provide mythological explanation of the formation of the topographical features of the inhabited region, of natural species and their characteristics and the social laws, customs and usages traditional to society.

The Tiwi people traditionally believed in an 'Earth Mother' concept of creation in which an old blind woman (Mudargkala) created the Tiwi cosmos, before moving on to the unknown, leaving her three children (Wurinpranala, Murupiangkala and Purukupali) to inhabit the new world. The following extract of the cosmology of the Tiwi world (Hiatt 1978 (ed.), after Sims M., Tiwi Cosmology P.164) describes the 'World-Dawn', the 'Dawn Beings' and basic Tiwi traditional concepts of creation.

'They were the people. As they sat, talked and viewed the structure of the world, they came to believe that the land they lived on was flat. There were no hills, no valleys, no trees, no billabongs. Then one day an old blind woman, named Mudargkala, appeared miraculously out of the ground carrying in her arms three babies, two females named Wurinpranala and Murupiangkala, and a male

named Purukupali. As Mudangkala crawled along, fresh water followed her imprints. The flow of water continued to increase and today it is known as Clarence Strait. She continued to move over the land (now known as Bathurst Island) till finally water flowed on to form what is now known as Apsley Strait. Before Mudangkala disappeared she declared that the featureless land she had moved about on should have vegetation and be inhabited with living creatures for the benefit of her children, and the many more to be born of Tiwi families.

The Tiwi underworld is conceived as some kind of a spiritual void. It was thought that the earth had a limited thickness and if one dug sufficiently deep the underworld could be reached. It was conceived as a place of complete darkness. It contained two high stoney ridges with a valley in between. Along this valley Wurinpranala, who grew up to be known as the sun woman, guided by the light of a glowing torch of bark travelled each day from the western to the eastern horizon. Things did not grow in the underworld and so celestial beings could not obtain food as they went underground. The beings received water from a stream that flowed from the top of one of the high mountains.

During the darkness period the Tiwi people hunted. Purukupali considered to be the first man in the world, sat with Taporra, the moon-man, rubbing two sticks together. By chance they discovered fire. They found

that fire gave heat.

Tapora and Wurinpranala travelled at different times across the sky. Each carried a torch of blazing bark. As they approached the western horizon they extinguished the flames and used the smouldering ends to light up the way as they continued their journey towards the eastern horizon through the darkness of the underground world. The first light of dawn was due to Wurinpranala lighting fire for the bark. The clouds of sunrise were reddened by the dust from the powdered ochre she used to decorate her body. Tokumpiri, the honey-eater would then wake the people for another day of life. At sunset Wurinpranala reached the western horizon. But before she could return by an underground passage she would decorate herself with red ochre. This caused the brilliant colours of sunset. With the advent of Wurinpranala the light of the sun gave people time to hunt for food. At night Taporra gave light to the stars above the earth.' (Hiatt 1978 (ed.) after Sims M. Tiwi Cosmology P.164).

It is significant that in Tiwi mythology the role of creation fell to a woman (Mudangkala), as did the role of providing life giving sun light (Wurinpranala), for as we shall consider further women in Tiwi society had a different status than women in most mainland tribes.

The myths and stories from the 'World Dawn' or creation period of the Tiwi world were maintained in the names of

totemic places on the two islands. An array of totemic mythical beings who played some part in the creation period are institutionalised in ceremony (kulama and pukamani), art and lifestyle.

The Tiwi further believed that a number of 'spirits' or spirit people lived on the islands. These spirit people can be summarised:-

- Mopaditis : spirits of the dead whose homes were in various totemic localities.
 - Ningawis :: living in the mangrove swamps of south-western Bathurst Island
 - Maratjis :: rainbow people living in the swamps (particularly lake at Moantu)
 - Pitipituis :: spirit children, who later become aboriginal children after having been dreamed by their fathers.
 - Wankuis :: sea-dogs of the shallow sandbars.
 - Papinjuwaris :: the meteor-men who lived in a place in the sky far away to the west.
 - Paramanuas :: who often befriended aborigines (leprechaun like little people with big heads and little bodies.
- (Note :: see also Mountford 1958 : 144 - 159)

The Tiwi regarded Tibambinumi (the dimly visible coastline of mainland Australia) as the home of the dead (Hart and Pilling 1960 : 9) and that coast Pukamani (taboo). They regarded their islands as the inhabited world and themselves as 'the people'.

1.3 Cultural Isolation
(Cultural differences from neighbouring aboriginal mainland tribes)

Anthropologists and ethnologists have claimed that Tiwi traditional society exhibited indications that it had enjoyed a considerable degree of cultural isolation from the mainland of Australia (Hart and Pilling 1960 : 9; Mountford 1958 : 16). To support this argument they cite the existence of the water barrier between the islands and the mainland of Australia and the considerable cultural differences between the Tiwis and Australian aboriginal tribes generally.

The existence of a water barrier between the Tiwis and the mainland as a basic argument to support cultural isolation would appear at the outset to be a tenuous one. As we have discussed the maximum water crossing distance involved is significantly reduced by the presence in Dundas Strait of the Vernon Islands. Further, for much of the year these waters are relatively calm, with the necessity to allow for strong current flows in the region being the major obstacle to crossing. If the Tiwi traditional bark canoe which consisted of little more than a folded sheet of eucalyptus bark sewn together at the ends with vine, caulked with mud, and with saplings strengthening the gunwales was incapable of making the crossing (Mountford 1958 : 16) there is little doubt that the dug-out canoe possessed by neighbouring mainland tribes was quite capable of making the journey in the opposite direction. This contention is supported by the crossings made by Joel Cooper's group in the early years

of this century.

Another theory in support of a concept of total isolation first mooted by Hart in (1930 : 170) was:-

'It was impossible, in fact, quite unnecessary, for them (the tiwis) to visit the mainland in their bark canoes, Until the advent of white men, the Melville Islanders were not aware that any other people existed but themselves.'

This theory which is supported by Mountford (1958 : 16) and Hart and Pilling (1960 : 9) would appear to fly in the face of the considerable evidence of social contacts between the Tiwis and outsiders for which there is documentary evidence commencing at the latest in the seventeenth century and most likely from a much earlier period (see appendix A - 'Historical Review of External Cultural Influences on the Bathurst and Melville Island Tiwi People'). Contacts with Portuguese slavers, Macassan trepangers, shipwrecks, Dutch, British and French explorers are well documented.

Hart and Pilling (1960 : 9) state:-

'....., Tiwi tradition is firm and certain that before the white mans arrival there was no contact between the islands and the mainland. To them the dimly seen coastline of Australia was Tibambinumi, the home of the dead, to which all Tiwi souls went after death. It follows that they regarded the inhabited world as composed of their own two islands, and on those islands they lived

a self contained and exclusive existence.'

It would appear inappropriate in this situation to equate known and documented hostility by the Tiwis towards all outsiders as representing a lack of any cultural contact with societies beyond their own. Captain Philip Parker King in his record of his first contact with the Tiwis in 1818 (See Appendix A) recorded that:-

'After a short parley with them, in which they repeatedly asked for axes by imitating the action of chopping,.....' and further:-

'On pulling towards the woman, who, by the way, could not have been selected by them either for her youth or beauty, she frequently repeated the words "Ven aca, Ven aca", accompanied by an invitation to land:'

It is significant that the use of Portugese words by the Tiwi woman in the above situation indicates a degree of cultural contact with the Portugese (based in Timor) prior to the arrival of the British and further that the 'imitation of chopping' represents a reasonable knowledge by the Tiwis of technology available from cultures beyond their own.

The concept that the Tiwis were completely unaware of other peoples and other cultures is simply not tenable. What should be accepted was that the Tiwis were implacably hostile to all outsiders within recorded history usually killing them upon their trespass on the islands (see Appendix A).

Accurate detail of any relationships between the Tiwis and the neighbouring mainland tribes of aborigines, the Larrakiya (Port Darwin) and Iwaidja (Port Essington - Coburg Peninsular) is little documented prior to the founding of Palmerston (now Darwin) in 1869, but what is however significant is the considerable cultural differences between the Tiwis and mainland aboriginal tribes generally. Generally Tiwi artefacts were very simple, their art forms and ceremonial life were not like any other Australian tribal group, they had no secret rituals as such and most particularly the social status of women in Tiwi society was on a much higher level than in any other aboriginal society.

Major differences between traditional Tiwi tribal society and that of mainland tribal groups can be summarised:-

*Tools:

- The Tiwis did not possess either the spear thrower or the curved (return) bommerang. To compensate for this their spears were developed to a much higher degree than those of mainland tribes being multi-barbed and having a considerable degree of decoration. They also possessed a much wider range of throwing sticks than any of the mainland tribes (Hart and Pilling 1960:10)
- The Tiwis lacked any small mounted stone tools. The only cutting tools used being crude stone axes and cockle shells (ie. prior to the importation of metal axes) (Spencer 1912; Bremer 1824: H.R.A./53/U5/1922:769-780; Mountford 1958:109;)
- The Tiwis possessed only the bark canoe (no dugout canoes).

*Ceremonial Objects:-

- the Tiwis used "message sticks" extensively as the means for notification of death. (Mountford 1958: 98-102)
- the use of elaborately carved Pukamani burial poles was unique among Australian tribes (Mountford 1958: 107-118)
- the allowance that a women might carve a ceremonial object like a Pukamani pole in the absence of her husband (Goodale 1971).
- the extent of decoration and carving used on sacred objects.

*Ceremonies

- the complete lack of existence of any secret rituals or 'life' within the society is a very unusual aspect of Tiwi culture (Goodale 1971; Mountford 1958:17) relative to mainland tribal groups.
- the limit of ceremonial activity to only two major

- ceremonies the Kulama (initiation/clam fertility) and Pukamani (death and burial) is unusual among Australian aboriginal tribal groups with most societies having a much greater diversity of ceremonial activity.
- elaborately carved and painted ceremonial spears were used.
 - the full and active participation of women in both the Kulama and Pukamani ceremonies alongside the men is a most significant departure from usual Australian tribal practice placing the women in a position of much higher social standing than the norm.
 - initiation ceremonies on the mainland were focused on circumcision or subincision, the Tiwis instead, forcibly plucked pubic and facial hair.
- Marriage:-
- the extent of polygamy (plural marriages) achieved under Tiwi marriage rules in the traditional society was far greater than the mainland experience.
 - the requirement that no Tiwi female, regardless of age be without a husband was unknown elsewhere in Australia. (Hart and Pilling 1960:10)
 - certain features of the local kinship system did not comply with Australian norms. (Hart and Pilling 1960:10)

Looking at most aspects of Tiwi culture the impression obtained is of an Australian tribal group which has been able to develop within the general parameters of the general Australian aboriginal type of culture but having a considerable number of distinct and unusual aspects while at the same time lacking some features of Australian tribal society which were very common among mainland groups.

The isolation of the islands from the mainland of Australia while undoubtedly a contributing factor cannot fully explain these cultural differences. Consideration must be given to other aspects of their environment. An abundant, constant, varied and relatively easily obtained food supply (see section 1.6) allowed considerable leisure time in which to indulge in for example, the carving of elaborate Pukamani poles. Such leisure time was unavailable in many societies forced to survive in harsher

mainland environments. The cultural unity of the islands enabled the Tiwis to more readily deal with invasions, interference and other activities of outside cultures. The detail and extent of Tiwi involvement with the exotic cultures (in the Australian context) of Malays, Macassans, Chinese and finally Portugese is little known. Although the records which do exist (figure 3) suggest that the Tiwis were implacably hostile to these outsiders this does not preclude them having had some degree of influence on Tiwi culture (see also section 2).

1.4 The Countries

(The tribal bands - patrilineal inheritance - concepts of 'country' and 'land holding')

The relative isolation of the Tiwi people from external cultural influences on a day to day basis meant that there was no need for their societies to develop any concept of a unified tribal group. Defensive mechanisms within their society had only to contend with occasional intrusions from beyond the shores of their islands and these invariably consisted of small parties of explorers, shipwrecked or trepangers all of whom were fairly easy to deal with.

The concept of a total 'Tiwi tribe' as such did not exist for the inhabitants of Bathurst, Melville and Buchanan* Islands. Although they regarded themselves as the people, all spoke the same language and practiced the same customs, any activity beyond such which might have indicated the existence of a total tribal unit was absent. There were, no tribal 'officials', universal law enforcement or tribal government, nor any occasions when whole of the population of the islands would assemble together as a collective entity (Hart and Pilling 1960:11).

The significant cultural and social unit for the purposes of daily lifestyle was the territorial band. These bands appeared to vary in size from between 100 to 300 people approximately (Hart and Pilling 1960:11) and occupied areas of up to a maximum of 1000 square kilometers each. Areas occupied by bands and the quality of the country did not appear to have any relationship to the size of the

group. (Hart and Pilling 1960:11). The band was the territorial unit with which each individual person most readily identified.

Although the people of the islands had no collective name for the overall population or tribe (the terminology 'Tiwi' was first used by the anthropologist Hart, 1930: 169-70;) they did have names for the territorial divisions or band countries into which they split the islands. They used these names to identify themselves as members of a particular land holding group or band (see Appendix B for details)

Every Tiwi man and woman was a 'landowner' as such inheriting a right to a segment of land through his or her father. This concept of land ownership should not be confused with the concept of actual possession which prevails in the wider Australian contemporary society. The Tiwi 'belonged to' his land or 'country' rather than the country belonging to him, a concept of the individual being part of the land, an intergral element of that particular environment.

The collective 'land belonging' groups were divided into two sections the individual having membership of both. The Tiwi called the overall territorial area of the group 'tunarima', which means 'country' and the smaller geographic location more closely related to the individual 'tabuda' meaning 'sub-country' or 'camping spot'. (Goodale 1971:14) Countries, sub-countries and camps all had names which were usually associated with a feature of the particular land

involved whether it be topographical, fauna, flora etc. The Tiwis used these names to identify themselves as members of a geographical group.

The tribal bands while fixed in definite geographical locations were not fixed in members. Being born a member of a certain band did not necessarily require permanent residence within the group. Women particularly might change their band residence several times within a lifetime depending on the dictates of marriage custom. Although Goodale (1971:18) suggests that before the interference of the European, marriage generally occurred within a 'country.'

Although the territorial boundaries between bands were clear and known to all they were by no means physical in the accepted sense of a European concept of a land boundary. All parts of the land had names and while one part, say a forest, might belong to one band, the adjacent plain could belong to another, and the mangrove swamp to another and so on.

Killings, murders, feuds, disputes and warfare were traditionally common between countries but were considered wrong if occurring within ones own country. So that while the people of the islands may be considered a linguistic and cultural unit there was nothing collective about their existence with the various bands being dispersed throughout their countries and occupying the entire area of both

Bathurst and Melville Islands (also Buchanan Island*).

Figure ten (10) indicates the geographical 'countries' occupied by the nine generally accepted major bands.

Details of the bands and their respective locations are given in Appendix B.

(It should be noted that Appendix B lists ten (10) main tribal 'countries' or bands while only nine (9) are indicated on figure ten (10). The tenth country not indicated is that of the Palauwiuna whose traditional territory existed between those of the Wilrangwila and Turupula in central north Melville Island, occupying the country east of Curtis Haven across to the Goose Creek Swamps. While Goodale (1971:15) accepts this grouping as a country in its own right Hart and Pilling (1960:f.1) include it as part of Turupula country.)

*Note:: Buchanan Island is a small island off the coast of Bathurst Island near the southern entrance to Apsley Strait.

1.5 The Skin Groups and Totems
(Matrilineal Phraties (Arampi) and Sibs (Pukwi))

All Tiwi, regardless of band or 'country' affiliation were born into a matrilineal descent group or 'skin' group called pukwi (after Goodale 1971:18). Some anthropologists have referred to these groups as 'totemic groups' or 'clans'. Each 'skin' or 'pukwi' is identified by a name taken from the animal, vegetable or mineral environment of the islands. According to Goodale (1971:18) there appears to be no direct connection between any one individual's line of descent and that of the 'skin' group namesake. Further there appears to be little ritual or mythological connection. Goodale chose to call these 'skin' groupings matrilineal sibs.

Among the Tiwi these matrilineal 'sibs' (pukwi) acknowledged a common ancestry to the extent that marriage between members of the same 'sib' was strictly prohibited. The various 'sib' or pukwi groupings also aligned themselves into phraties or arampi which were also considered to be exogamous.

Currently operational matrilineal sib groupings (Pukwi) and Phraties (Arampi) are listed in Appendix C. It should be noted that the extent of sib groupings and their division into phraties (Arampi) appears variable on information provided by documented research, and appears to alter with the passage of time. Whether this change is due to a gradual deterioration in the structure of traditional society or a natural mechanism of social adjustment to varying circumstances is not known at this time.

1.6 Marriage

Traditional Tiwi society demanded that all females, regardless of age, health, physical condition or personal inclination, must be married. This concept is almost unique among human society. In Tiwi ideology the concept of an unmarried female does not exist. There is not word in Tiwi language to describe such a person (Hart and Pilling 1960:14). The Tiwi traditionally believed that a woman became pregnant after the spirit of her child (Pitipituis) had entered her body, having first been dreamed of by the child's father. To overcome the 'impredictability' of spirits and to ensure that all children had fathers, Tiwi babies were betrothed before or as soon as they were born; in other words, they became wives to their betrothed husbands from the moment of birth. Similarly, widows were required to remarry at the gravesides of their late husbands. The two social mechanisms of female infant betrothal and widow remarriage effectively eliminated all possibility of an unmarried female in traditional Tiwi society.

1.7 The Family or Household Group
The traditional economic unit of production.

At the time of their initial contact with outside cultural influences the Tiwis were leading an essentially 'hunter-gatherer' lifestyle. Grouped in 'bands' based on the land holding or more correctly 'belonging' affiliation, they roamed over their respective 'countries', moving from area to area according to the dictates of food and the relative ease of gathering supplies. The relative balance or optimum level at which these food supplies were maintained weighed between the effort required to obtain supplies in the vicinity of a particular camp against the effort needed to move to a new location where food might be more abundant. The demands of weather, myth and social contacts with other bands, or for that matter, members of the same band, also influenced patterns of movement.

The polygamous structure of the family group, with the old or 'head' man and his many wives, created the basic economic unit of production. Traditionally, the staple diet of the group was maintained by women who obtained food on a daily basis.

Foods usually hunted exclusively by men were obtained more occasionally and were not relied upon for everyday subsistence. The following summary of the food gathering structure of traditional Tiwi society is after Goodale J.C. 1971. P.152-153:-

Foods hunted or gathered by women::

'bandicoot, blanket lizard, blue-tongued lizard, carpet snake, cockles, crab, honey, iguana, mangrove snake,

mangrove worms, opossum, oyster, snails, tree rat, water rat, white-tailed rate, turtle eggs, cabbage palm, cyclad nut, fan palm, sweet root, white clay, yams;'

Foods hunted by men only::

(brolga, cockatoo, crocodile, dugong, fish (all kinds), flying fox, geese, turtle (loggerhead and greenback), wallaby (the one land game animal), and whistle duck;'

The abundance and relative ease of access to these foods meant that under a traditional aboriginal lifestyle, the Tiwi lived at a general food-consumption level far removed from a near starvation diet (Hart and Pilling 1960: 34-35). Hunting for the Tiwi was a fairly simple affair, there being no land animal available on the islands, with the possible exception of the wallaby, which could not be killed needing more than a minimum use of physical strength, skill and equipment. The women accordingly were in a position to provide most of the daily food supply to the camp: the foods supplied by the men were occasional luxuries (Goodale 1971:169). Children and younger adults were quickly able to develop food gathering skills because of the general abundance of food and ease of hunting.

The development of the large multiple wife family grouping by the Tiwis can be considered as institutionalising the most economically efficient unit of food production. Even the smallest of traditional Tiwi households contained at least one older female (if not a wife, often a widow living with her brother's or father's family) who was well

experienced in the quest for food and able to instruct the younger women and children in food gathering skills (Hart and Pilling 1960:35)

Traditionally a man's standing and 'wealth' depended on the number and age of his wives. The polygamous marital structure enabled a man and his non-producing dependants to survive on a balanced staple diet of meat and vegetables provided by the women without the necessity of any activity on his part.

Therefore we see that it was not the band consisting of up to three hundred people which as a group provided the basic economic unit of survival, but the Tiwi family group.

Almost all hunter gatherer societies throughout the world have required that for survival, the human population must distribute itself as evenly and thinly as possible over the available country to ensure an optimum level of food for each individual.

Accordingly the Tiwi bands lived on a day-to-day basis, not in nine or ten concentrated groupings, but in small family groups spread out over the entire country. These extended family groups or 'households' (after Hart and Pilling: 1960:13) lived together on a daily basis, gathered and hunted food as a unit, ate and slept together, and, when the occasion required, gave allegiance to their 'band' based on the geographic 'country' to which they belonged.

1.8 Tiwi Traditional Lifestyle - Summary

The individual Tiwi was born into a traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle and was at once located in his or her life space with a firmly fixed set of co-ordinates within which to proceed through life. Kin relationships, the totemic or sibling group, 'country' or 'band' affiliation, obligations to others, expectations of activities and possibilities of marriage were all relatively firmly fixed.

The individual was born to fulfil a multi-faceted role structure within a firmly organised society. The individual had specific relationships to the skin group (arampi), the phratry (pukwi), the family and household group, his or her betrothed party (or wife(s)/husband), relatives and to the band and 'country' (tunarima). The social and ceremonial systems into which the individual had been born were dependent on all individuals accepting their positions within the framework of the society and fulfilling their respective roles correctly. The individual was secure in the knowledge of his exact relationship to the overall society.

Tiwi society (consisting of the nine or ten more or less individual bands who each belonged to their own country and which were in turn broken up into family groups and households each occupying their 'sub-country'), was ideally structured to maximise the economic returns available to a basic hunter gatherer existence operating as an autonomous and independent cultural unit confined to the islands. The

population was distributed as thinly and evenly as possible across the available landscape allowing for the most efficient operation of the hunter-gathering process.

The marriage rules of female infant betrothal and widow remarriage coupled with a polygamous system ensured the maximum use of the basic Tiwi mechanism of subsistence food production - the hunter-gatherer woman. The Tiwi wife formed the basis of the economic unit of production, the Tiwi extended family group or household. Mens hunting was on a far more casual basis and provided supplementary or 'luxury' items of diet only.

As we have seen the 'band' as such was are fairly loose and fluid unit. Women changed bands readily in accordance with marriage requirements. Younger men too, would often change bands if their mother was remarried within another band or the opportunity arose to acquire a wife in another country. With band membership continually altering, the basic unit of Tiwi territorial organisation was the extended family/household group. As we have seen this group was also the basic economic unit of production. The Tiwi households operating within a sub-country were primary autonomous food production and consumption units. On a day to day basis the household took all its own decisions, camped where it liked (within country limitations) and moved on to a new location when the economics of food production, myth, ceremony or warfare demanded.

All evidence suggests that the environment provided the

Tiwi with abundant and consistent food supply the year round (Hart and Pilling 1960: 34-35). Having developed a very efficient social mechanism to facilitate the gathering of such supplies the Tiwis were generally left with a lifestyle in which they were able to make reasonable trade offs between work and leisure. It would appear that most Tiwis living a traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle would have worked (at hunter/gathering) no more than about five (5) hours a day. Further, they followed a poly-phasic sleeping pattern with day time rest periods and sleep on most days (McCarthy and McArthur 1960*). The individual was generally relatively secure in his or her relationships to the overall society and was comparatively free of material pressure (especially if he happened to be an old man).

*Note: McCarthy F.D. and McArthur M. 1960: 'The Food Quest and the Time Factor in Aboriginal Economic Life' in Mountford C.P. (ed.). Records of the Australian-American Scientific expedition to Arnhem Land, vol 2: Anthropology and Nutrition. Melbourne University Press. 92, 150, 148, 192)

SECTION 2 :: THE TIWI - EXTERNAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES

- 2.1. Contact (1600-1900) a period during which outside cultural contact occurred, however traditional Tiwi society remained basically intact.
- 2.2. Persuasion (1900-1939) external cultural influence was intensified and major modifications to the structure of traditional Tiwi society occurred.
- 2.3. Invasion (1940-1978) traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle was abandoned completely and external cultural influences began to permeate all aspects of Tiwi society

2 The Tiwi - External Cultural Influences.

The Tiwi people no longer belong to the traditional hunter gatherer society described in the previous section, with vast changes having occurred to the culture and lifestyle of the peoples of Bathurst and Melville Islands during the past one hundred years. The seeds for changes which have eventuated within the Tiwi social system were planted over the passage of time by a series of contacts with cultures beyond their own.

To have some understanding of the nature and aspirations of the peoples who inhabit the various human settlements now located on the two islands it is at first necessary to examine the extent and effects of external cultural influences on traditional society.

This examination has been divided into three historic periods:-

Contact: (1600-1900) a period during which outside cultural contact occurred, however traditional Tiwi society remained basically intact.

Persuasion: (1900-1939) external cultural influence was intensified and major modifications to the structure of traditional Tiwi society occurred.

Invasion: (1940-1978) traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle was abandoned completely and external cultural influences began to permeate all aspects of Tiwi society.

Note: for further detail of the historic aspects of external cultural influences on Tiwi society see Appendix A: 'Historical Review of External Cultural Influences on the Bathurst and Melville Island Tiwi People'. Refer also to figure three in the Appendix for details of external influences on Tiwi society.

- 2.1 Contact - (1600-1900) a period during which outside cultural contact occurred, however traditional Tiwi society remained basically intact.

The earliest recorded European exploration of the region in the vicinity of Bathurst and Melville Islands was Dutch. Pieter Pieterzoon in command of the ships 'Cleen Amsterdam' and 'Wesel' sailed along part of the north coast of Melville Island in 1636 naming the region Diemensland. Eight years later Abel Tasman (1644) in the ship 'Limmen' chartered Melville Island indicating it to be part of the mainland. He name Cape Van Diemen (on Melville Island) and Van Diemen Gulf (which separates Melville Island from the mainland).

The first recorded contact between Europeans and the Tiwi people was made by three ships under the command of Maarten von Delft (Dutch ex Timor) in 1705 when they spent two weeks surveying the north coast of Melville Island, the northern part of Apsley Strait between the islands, and the west coast of Bathurst Island. They recorded that they met the indigenous people several times and even allowed them aboard their ships.

Even before and during these times however there is a limited amount of evidence which suggests that Portugese slave traders based in northern Timor were carrying out extensive 'blackbirding' or slaving operations against the peoples of the two islands:-

'According to the older inhabitants of Timor,

Melville Island was only less a source of slavery than New Guinea in proportion to its smaller extent of surface.....' (Earl 1853:210)

Hart and Pilling (1960: 99-100) suggest that this Portugese slaving of the islands may have been responsible for the unusual marriage structure of Tiwi society with its dominance of the old men in the culture through their near monopoly on Tiwi wives. They suggest that extensive slaving of younger men from the society over an extended time may have left their ranks seriously depleted, allowing the older men to adopt their ultimately dominating position. It appears that the Portugese ceased slaving the islands around 1800 just prior to the arrival of French and British exploration ships (Hart and Pilling 1960:98)

Captain Nicholas Baudin of the French navy explored the west coast of Australia and the coasts of Bathurst and Melville Islands in 1804. Although his chart work was fairly vague and sketchy his maps published in Europe around the time of the Battle of Waterloo contained such names for features of the Australian continent as 'Terra Napoleon' and 'Joseph Bonaparte Gulf' left the British who had commenced their colony at Port Jackson in 1788 very suspicious of French aspirations in the region.

Experiences with the Portugese slavers resulted in the Tiwi adopting a fairly hostile attitude towards outsiders. Unfortunately for the British who chose to establish their

first settlement in North Australia at Fort Dundas on Melville Island (in Apsley Strait near the present site of Garden Point settlement) (see also Plate 1) they were to feel the brunt of this hostility. The settlement established in 1825 was abandoned in 1829. Tiwi hostility and spears coupled with the harsh climate and disease drove the British out.

The British however during their period of exploration and settlement of the islands did make several interesting recorded observations. Captain Philip Parker King who explored the region extensively in 1818 recorded that on contact the Tiwis had made chopping actions with their hands indicating they wanted axes (some prior knowledge of the bounties of European technology). He further recorded that an old woman had used the Portugese words 'Ven Aca, Ven Aca' and beckoned them ashore indicating a definite degree of prior contact and possible infiltration by Portugese culture (see also Appendix A 1818-1824). The most tangible legacy the British left on Melville Island was the buffalo which they had introduced from Timor. This animal multiplied to significant numbers as time passed and was to be significant in that later it introduced a chain of events leading to the gradual erosion of the traditional Tiwi culture.

Both Mathew Flinders (1802), the British explorer, and Baudin (1804) the French explorer reported contact with Malay Proas off the north coast of Australia in considerable numbers (see Appendix A - 1800-1804). The presence of Macassan trepangers (sea slug/sea cucumber)

along the northern coast of Australia was continuous during the late eighteenth and the entire nineteenth century is certain, but how much earlier than these times they started visited those coasts is not known.

Knowledge of the extent of influence of the Macassans on traditional Tiwi culture is not known. Hostility between the Macassans and the Tiwis existed throughout most of the nineteenth century with crews from Macassan boats being killed when shipwrecked on the islands (see Appendix A - 1882, 1886, 1888, 1907)

Stokes (British) in command of the H.M.S. Beagle discovered Port Darwin in 1839. Palmerston (now Darwin) was selected as a town site in 1869. From this time sea traffic around the Tiwi Islands became a more or less daily occurrence with many ships wrecked along the coasts (See Appendix A). The Tiwis however remained implacably hostile to outsiders.

- 2.2 Persuasion :: (1900-1939) external cultural influence was intensified and major modifications to the structure of traditional Tiwi society occurred.

The buffalo, introduced by the British at Fort Dundas in 1825 were well suited to conditions on Melville Island and continued to multiply throughout the 19th century. The presence of buffalo in considerable numbers led one Joel Cooper and his brother to come to Melville Island to attempt to make a living from hunting. He arrived on Melville Island from Darwin in about 1897. The Tiwi, as was usual, did not take kindly to the presence of these white men on the island and Joel Cooper was wounded and left for dead and his brother killed. Cooper retreated to the mainland in a canoe with the help of two aboriginal women.

Cooper returned to Melville Island in 1900 bringing with him an armed party equipped with horses and guns. The party consisted mainly of Iwaidja (an aboriginal tribe from the nearby Cobourg Peninsular on the mainland) tribesmen who had learnt the Tiwi language from the two women with whom Cooper had escaped from Melville Island three years earlier.

Tiwi spears could not cope with the arms of Cooper's group although it is said that Cooper never went un-armed during his fifteen year stay on the island which followed.

The Iwaidja accompanying Cooper captured Tiwi women and took them as wives. This was often accomplished at the

suggestion of young Tiwi men who after a time began to frequent Cooper's camp. Hart and Pilling (1960:101) suggest that the young men were in this case performing their customary role as agents in the widow remarriage process, 'but in this case for foreign clients.' It appears that through their contacts with the Iwaidja tribesmen the Tiwi people gained their first extensive knowledge of the wider world beyond their islands.

Cooper and his group had pacified the Tiwi, making the islands and the Tiwi more accommodating to the European. Father Francis Xavier Gsell M.S.C. visited Coopers camp on Melville Island in 1910 and although the buffalo hunter had tried to discourage him, returned the following year to establish a mission on Bathurst Island on the site where the Nguiu township stands today.

Prior to Cooper's arrival on Melville Island, Japanese divers operating off luggers reached the vicinity of the islands in search of pearl shell after the beds around Darwin harbour had been exhausted. The Japanese set up a shore based camp on the south coast and later on the north-west coast (in Apsley Strait) of Melville Island and commenced temporary sexual liaisons with Tiwi women in exchange for goods. After a time some Tiwis came to work on the pearling luggers as crew. Initially the Mandimbula people and later the Yeimpi were involved with the Japanese. This involvement in fact was to result in the wholesale deporting of most of the Yeimpi to Darwin by authorities in 1938. Relations between various groups

of Tiwi and the Japanese were to continue as an integral feature of their lifestyle until the outbreak of World War Two, despite many attempts by the Australian authorities to discourage such activities. (Goodale 1971: 11; Hart and Pilling 1960:100)

The mission established by Father Gsell on Bathurst Island consolidated its position with catholic nuns joining the settlement shortly after its commencement. The Tiwis however put little trust in the missionaries until the arrival of the nuns for they could not reconcile that a man, Father Gsell, who did not have any wives should have any standing.

The Tiwi from the time of the arrival of the British in the early nineteenth century had shown considerable interest in European goods and technology. Their requests for axes ('Paaco - Paaco' - see Appendix A - 1818, 1824) was to very much set the style of the approach that they were to consistently take in the future. The wrecks of any vessels, or for example the channel markers erected by the South Australian government in 1886 (see Appendix A - 1886) were all stripped, particularly for iron and steel implements. Tobacco, flower, tea, rice, sugar, salt and iron were to become the consumer items from European culture for which the Tiwis would trade firstly their women and later, significant aspects of their culture and lifestyle.

As we have seen the Japanese pearl-ers had begun to trade provisions such as those above for the sexual favours of the Tiwi women. This trade was arranged by the Tiwi men and they received the goods while the women provided the service.

Father Gsell gradually became concerned about the position of women in Tiwi society and set about to implement some changes. To do this he went into direct competition with the Japanese. Whenever the young daughter of a Tiwi became a widow he would buy up the right to bring the young girl to the mission where she would be educated by the Catholic sisters. A similar process was adopted when young girls were the wives of men who perhaps had a surplus. Gsell would buy the right to educate the girl at the mission away from her household and band and perhaps, most significantly, 'country'.

To Gsell and his missionaries, polygamy was sinful further, accepted European custom was that marriage should be between agemates (more or less) and that such marriages be solely the province of the participants to arrange. The zeal to convert the Tiwi to Christianity was also foremost in their minds. The missionary's program of 'wife-purchase' was successful with the Tiwi men being unable to resist the temptation of the consumer items and exotic (non-Tiwi) foods offered in return. So successful in fact, that by 1938 when Gsell was made Bishop of Darwin he had purchased 150 wives. All these young girls

were to receive a mission education away from their respective countries, bands and family groups in their formative years and grew up to regard the Bathurst Island Mission (now Nguiu township) as their home. (see also Hart and Pilling 1960:101)

Gsell had successfully delayed for these girls the consumation of their roles as Tiwi wives in a polygamous system. The girls lived a sheltered life under the protection of the nuns till they reached sixteen or seventeen years of age at which time they were asked to choose a husband. Usually in the early days the choice was often the person to which the girl had been tribally betrothed, but as time passed, more frequently a completely free choice was made within the limitations of skin groupings (pukwi) and phratries (arampi) which are rarely transgressed even today.

Conditions however were placed on the male partners to these marriage arrangements. The young single man in return for the excellent deal (by tribal standards) of obtaining a wife much sooner than he could have otherwise expected, had only to promise that he would only have the one wife. The girls on their part, feeling the security of the mission compound and not really knowing any other life, entreated their husbands to settle down at the mission. Gradually Tiwi nuclear type families began to live more or less permanently in close proximity to the mission. The bulk of the Tiwi population consisted still

of nomadic hunter gatherers in life style and remained so up to the time of the departure of the Japanese pearlers and the declaration of World War Two. At that time most of the Tiwi population came into the mission settlement or alternatively the army/air force base which was established at Snake Bay or the Garden Point settlement, the latter two being on Melville Island.

The polygamous marriage structure, band 'countries', and hunter gatherer lifestyle of the people had been broken. The structure of society moved from a stance of independence and self sufficiency to one of dependence for survival upon an external culture and the goods and services which it had to offer.

- 2.3 Invasion :: (1940-1978) traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle was abandoned completely and external cultural influences began to permeate all aspects of Tiwi society.

By the end of the second world war three permanent human settlements had been established on the islands. The Bathurst Island Mission in 1912 (now Nguiu township), Snake Bay (Milikapiti) settlement as a military base (1940) and Garden Point as a half caste mission in 1940/41. Father McGrath who was stationed at Bathurst Island mission throughout the war years maintains that after the war the Tiwi people who had come into the settlement did not return to a band based hunter gatherer lifestyle in their own countries but settled in the proximity of the mission in seven or eight camps.

Goodale (1971 : 12-13) reports that on her first visit to the Snake Bay settlement (Milikapiti) in 1954 there were approximately 180-200 Tiwi resident there, although they spent most of their time in the bush preferring the varied diet that could be obtained there to the more monotonous rice, flour and corn-beef diet available in the settlement. The Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration (federal) became responsible for the settlement in 1954 and soon after Forestry was introduced to that region of Melville Island with extensive areas being planted with the indigenous northern cyprus pine prized for its termite resistance. A ban on the use of fire in hunting came hand in hand with the introduction of forestry so that by the time of Goodale's return to the settlement in 1962, 'there

was almost no hunting' and the Tiwis had adopted a more town-based lifestyle. So that at both major human settlements, we see the gradual abandonment of the traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle.

Up to the mid nineteen sixties Bathurst Island Mission was reasonably self sufficient on a day to day basis. Little imported energy was used and the mission possessed extensive gardens which provided the staple diet of the community, occasionally even exporting produce to Darwin. The decline in self sufficiency of the mission settlement has been gradual and while technical and skilled labour support for the settlement has increased substantially, self sufficiency has shown a continually decline from the fully independent and self sufficient society of nine tribal bands, to the partially self-sufficient mission station, to the almost totally dependent township of Nguiu.

Money, and a 'cash' economy was first introduced to the islands in 1953; to that time all trade and payment being made in kind. Money and attendant concepts of 'materialism' have been making gradual inroads into the fabric of society ever since.

The granting of citizens rights to aborigines (1962) and the right to drink alcohol (1964) have also changed Tiwi society considerably. These matters will be discussed in greater detail in section four of this dissertation.

Health care, introduced by the mission from the earliest only began to have effective results on traditional problems such as yaws, leprosy and infant mortality towards the mid to late fifties. The lack of money and funds kept the society suspended and stable until about 1970 when massive (relative to the past) influxes of external capital, labor technology and equipment began. Most of the effects of this sudden impulse of external goods and services on the established Nguiu society is not yet known and we shall consider them in later sections.

What we can however establish conclusively is that by the early 1970's the people who lived at Nguiu and now called themselves 'Tiwis' regarded the human settlement as their home. They had grown up there as had their parents before them. Many of them had not even visited their band 'countries' and the concept of the 'band' as such had become fairly vague in most of their minds. Concepts of skin groups (pukwi) and phraties (arampi) were still relatively strong and although the old polygamous marriage system was long gone very few people married 'wrongly'. They had come to depend on the culture they had imported from the mainland for their survival and had adopted a lifestyle of total dependence. This reliance on external technology had brought with it an influx of outsiders into their community. The invasion was complete.

SECTION 3 - THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
HUMAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE TIWI ISLANDS.

- 3.1 Nguiu township (formerly Bathurst Island Mission)
- 3.2 Milikapiti (formerly Snake Bay Settlement)
- 3.3 Garden Point.
- 3.4 Pickataramoor.
- 3.5 Paru Village.
- 3.6 Migration Patterns between Settlements.

3. The Establishment of and Relationships between Human Settlements on the Tiwi Islands.

There are five human settlements located on the two Tiwi islands (see figure 13 Appendix D), Nguiu (Bathurst Island Mission) on Bathurst Island and Milikapiti (Snake Bay Settlement), Garden Point, Pickertaramoor and Paru on Melville Island.

3.1 Nguiu township began its existence as a Society of the Sacred Heart mission under the initiation of Father Francis Xavier Gsell as discussed in the preceding section. Within five years the non-Tiwi establishment of the mission consisted of two priests, two nuns and four or five Filipino workmen (total 9) and a lugger which was used to bring supplies from Darwin on a monthly basis. By the mid sixties the non-Tiwi population had risen to about twenty and by 1978 to approximately one hundred including wives and children. The vast proportion of the increase in non-Tiwi population at Nguiu has occurred in the last ten years.

The Tiwi population of the settlement has risen from two old men before the arrival of the nuns to 647 in 1951; to 948 in 1961; to 923 in 1971. Table three (3) Appendix D clearly indicates that according to official population figures compiled by the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration the population of the Nguiu settlement rose substantially during the decade 1950-60 but became static even declining slightly during the decade

1960-70. We shall discuss the reasons for this further below.

- 3.2 The second largest human settlement on the islands is Milikapiti (formerly Snake Bay Settlement) and began as military (army, navy, and Tiwi coast watchers) during World War Two. The Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration took up responsibility for the management of this community in 1954. When the ethnologist Goodale was there in that year she recorded the population as being approximately 180-200 Tiwi. Table one (1) Appendix D indicates that the official population figure (Tiwi) in 1961 was 189 and in 1971 was 236 showing a modest increase over the ten year period.
- 3.3 Garden Point on Melville Island has had a long but broken history as a human settlement of various types. Beginning in 1824 when it was established as the Garden or 'farm' for the ill fated British settlement of Fort Dundas which was abandoned in 1829. Prior to the outbreak of World War Two a Government Control Officer was stationed there (1937) in an attempt to discourage the liason between Tiwi women and Japanese trawler and lugger crews which was still continuing at that time. A half-caste mission was established by the Catholic Church in 1941 which was evacuated from 1942-1945 and then continued in operation to 1967 when it closed. Garden Point became a settlement controlled by the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration having an official population of 52 (Tiwi) in

1968 rising rapidly to 179 (Tiwi) in 1973.

- 3.4 Pickataramoor was established in 1964 when a re-forestation scheme was commenced in the area. Several Tiwi families moved from the Bathurst Island mission in the late nineteen sixties with substantial houses being provided for them at that location. Its existence is specifically related to the forestry enterprise.
- 3.5 Paru Village is the smallest of the permanent human settlements on the islands. It consists of a fluctuating population of mainly older people (20-30 people) lead by Mathias Kerinaiaua who although the township of Nguiu stands on their traditional band country (Mandimbula) they prefer to live on the opposite side of Apsley Strait at Paru on Melville Island where the bulk of their traditional lands are located. Mathias started this settlement in 1953 and as such represents the only significant homeland movement to date with the possible exception of the circumstances discussed below.
- 3.6 The fact that the population of Nguiu has virtually become stable over the last ten to fifteen years even showing some evidence of decline (see table 3. Appendix D) in the face of a fairly consistent growth rate of around twenty (per thousand population) (see table 4. Appendix D) is partly explained by the rapid increase in the population of the Garden Point settlement which has shown an exceptionally rapid increase in population over the past

ten years since its establishment (see table 1. Appendix D). The relative population performance of the three major settlements is indicated in figure 21 (Appendix D). While Nguiu population has remained fairly static the populations of both Milikapiti (Snake Bay) and Garden Point have both increased, the latter exceptionally.

It is obvious that Nguiu has been losing people to the other human settlements over the past ten to fifteen years. This migration from Nguiu could have two main explanations. Milikapiti (Snake Bay) and Pickertaramoor established substantial aboriginal housing in the mid to late 1960s long before any such facilities were available at Nguiu and this circumstance may have attracted a degree of migration. Secondly migration from Nguiu to all three settlements may simply be explained by the membership of the various traditional bands returning to their home countries after having lived out of their territory at the Bathurst Island Mission since World War Two. The migration pattern of Tiwi between settlements is indicated in figure 12 (Appendix D)

It should be noted that the five human settlements are all located within the traditional territories of only three of the old bands (Nguiu, Paru, Pickertaramoor - Mandimbula; Milikapiti (Snake Bay) - Wilrongwila; Garden Point - Munupula. The other bands the Malauila, Mingwila, Rangwila, Tiklauila, Yeimpi, Turupula (Yananti), and Palauwiuna do not have traditional territories with existing

human settlements in them. Accordingly members of these bands if any concept or affiliation with 'bands' or 'country' still exists are not living in their own countries for very few Tiwis live outside the five existing human settlements at this time.

SECTION FOUR - ASPECTS OF THE HUMAN ECOLOGY OF THE HUMAN
SETTLEMENT AT NGUIU

- 4.1 Location
- 4.2 The People of Nguiu
 - 4.2.1 The Traditional Tribal Band Structure and Nguiu
 - 4.2.2 The Changing Role of Women in Nguiu Society
 - 4.2.3 Lifestyle at Nguiu
- 4.3 Changes in the Nguiu Population Structure
- 4.4 Development of the built environment of Nguiu
- 4.5 Relationships between Tiwi Lifestyle and the Built
Nguiu Environment
- 4.6 Political Structures and Nguiu Society
- 4.7 Conclusion

4. Aspects of the Human Ecology of the Human Settlement at Nguiu, Bathurst Island, Northern Territory of Australia.

4.1 Location

The land on which the township of Nguiu now stands was originally a portion of the country of the Mandimbula tribal band. The Country of this band extended along the south western coast of Melville Island and across Apsley Strait to that area of Bathurst Island on which the township (and the Catholic Mission before it) is now located.

Traditionally although part of their country this land was seldom actually occupied by the Mandimbula band. Historically it was this tribal band who first became involved with Joel Cooper the buffalo hunter and together with the Yeimpi band became involved with the Japanese pearl lugger crews. Father Gsell set up his mission in 1911 on that area of land which at the time was not occupied by the inhospitable tribal bands. The Mandimbula were fully occupied with Cooper and the Japanese on the other side of Apsley Strait and let the priest go his way.

The land itself in the area of the township is flat and relatively sparsely vegetated. Nguiu is surrounded by water on the north east, east and southern sides (Apsley Strait) and saltwater mangrove lined estuaries to the north, north-west and south-west. There is a narrow corridor of high ground connecting the township with the rest of Bathurst Island to the west (see also figure 14).

The area had little surface fresh water when established, however this difficulty has since been eliminated by the establishment of

permanent artesian bores. The original Mission settlement consisted of a series of primitive buildings generally located in the beach area (see top of figure 14). Over the years the settlement has grown to generally encompass the area indicated in figure 14. As well as the areas indicated in this figure the settlement currently encompasses a recently established new air strip, a garden (producing some products), a powerhouse and a recently established new housing subdivision (in which construction is just commencing) all being located to the south-west of the area indicated.

4.2. The People of Nguiu

As we have discussed in the preceding section the current Tiwi inhabitants of Nguiu town are no longer members of a traditional hunter gatherer society based on tribal bands. All but a few of the town dwellers were born at Nguiu, grew up in Nguiu and regard the human settlement as their permanent domicile. To use an analogy most of the Tiwi inhabitants of Nguiu have a similar relationship to their traditional ancestral hunter gatherer life-style as say the average Australian urban dweller has to the farming ancestry of his family who may have lived in the 'country' two generations ago. Or again the relationship that an urban dwelling European migrant family in Australia may have to a peasant existence in Southern Europe after the family has been established in Australia for several generations. It is essential to realise that in any consideration of the people of Nguiu by the wider Australian society that they are town dwellers and have been for some considerable time. The people are no longer wandering hunter gathering nomads but have their roots firmly established in human settlement of a permanent form.

Having accepted that the bulk of the Tiwi people living at Nguiu are town dwellers and like and know no other form of existence, several important aspects of their hunter gatherer background should not be overlooked and can be considered as follows:-

4.2.1 The Traditional Tribal band structure and Nguiu.

The first of these is the traditional tribal hunter gathering structure of the 'band'. As discussed in previous sections there were originally nine and possibly ten tribal bands (see Goodale 1971:15; Hart and Pilling 1960:f.1) located over the two islands (see also figure 10). We have further seen that most of the Tiwi inhabitants of the islands over time have come to consider the Bathurst Island Mission (Nguiu) as their domicile regardless of the location of their band 'country'. With the possible exception of the migration patterns from Nguiu to both Garden Point and Snake Bay (Milikapiti) which may to some degree be explained by the movement of people whose traditional 'country' lay on Melville Island back to their homelands (see section 3.6), there has been little indication from the inhabitants of Nguiu that they are unhappy with the location of their domicile and wish to live elsewhere.

Some exceptions to this situation however do exist. A small group (20-30) of mainly elderly people have established an outstation at Paru on Melville Island directly opposite Nguiu on the other side of Apsley Strait. This small village was originally established by Mathias Kerinaiua in 1953 after having been finally abandoned by the original hunter gatherer Mandimbula 'band' during the early years of World War Two. The site was also the location of Joel Cooper's original buffalo hunting camp and garden at the turn of the century.

Some consideration of the development of this small outstation movement is necessary. As mentioned previously the land on which Nguiu township now stands was traditionally part of the 'country' of the Mandimbula band. The land occupied by this tribal group extended along the south

western coast of Melville Island and across the Apsley Strait to that area now occupied by Nguiu, a settlement which is now inhabited by peoples whose traditional 'country' lay all over the two islands and whose traditional background is based on most of the nine or ten original bands.

Discussions with the people of Paru reveal that they dislike the lifestyle which the township of Nguiu now offers them and wish for a more peaceful existence more in keeping with their memories and traditions. There appears also to be some degree of dissatisfaction among these people with living in close proximity to people with whom they clearly identify as not 'belonging' to Nguiu but to other locations on the two islands. This view is often expressed along the line of 'those people from (referring to a particular tribal band location or country) are troublemakers, or noisy, or drink too much etc.' Whether this form of expression represents true traditional 'band' rivalries or jealousies is difficult to establish. They also express considerable concern with the lifestyle at Nguiu; with noise, drinking problems, general 'humbugs' and the constant worry and stress of being involved in a wider and more pluralistic society. The other significant consideration related to these people is that the bulk of their traditional 'country' was located on Melville and not Bathurst Island and the establishment of Paru may represent a movement back to one's 'homelands' or country just as the development of the Snake Bay (Milikapiti) and Garden Point settlements may also be considered in this light.

Attitudes to the concept of 'country' vary considerably among the inhabitants of Nguiu and certainly strong evidence of identification with the traditional tribal bands is not evident on the surface of

daily activity. The older people however tend to consider other people within the society and label them in terms of country e.g. 'He's from such and such etc.'. These days the terminology used for expression of country is more usually by the name of the geographical location of the 'country' rather than the name of the traditional tribal band.

Physically the township of Nguiu exhibits little evidence that the people who are today its inhabitants ancestrally come from up to ten different tribal bands. This was not so however in the past. When the tribal bands eventually came and established their domicile at Father Gsell's Mission they did so arranging themselves into up to eight individual camps surrounding the Mission. These camps roughly corresponded to the original hunter gatherer tribal bands. Evidence of these individual camps at the Mission persisted to the late sixties and early seventies. This situation however was to change with the 'housing boom' of the mid 1970's. The effects of the physical changes to the social layout of the Nguiu settlement brought about by the material developments of these years will be discussed in greater detail later in this section.

4.2.2 The changing role of women in Nguiu Tiwi society.

As we discussed in section one the polygamous structure of the traditional hunter gatherer family group, with the old or 'head' man with his many wives created the basic economic unit of production. Traditionally the staple diet of the society was maintained by the women who obtained the daily food supply. When Father Gsell enticed Tiwi society to allow him to educate the young girls at the mission and as a result broke down the traditional polygamous marriage structure he achieved two things. Firstly he educated the young women in the ways of the wider pluralist society and they grew up regarding the mission as their home and to a degree fearing the unknown of the tribal society that surrounded them. Secondly he brought the base of the whole Tiwi economy in the traditional society within the ambit of the Mission. The centre of the traditional hunter gatherer society was the 'working woman' and over time most of the women came to be based at the Mission. For its very survival the whole of the society was forced to follow them.

The change in the role of the Tiwi woman with the move from polygamous to monogamous marriages and her education in European rather than Tiwi values, attitudes, knowledge and skills lead to the complete collapse of the traditional hunter gatherer lifestyle and its replacement by a lifestyle of dependence.

Today the women of Nguiu are generally regarded as 'stronger' and more influential than most of the men. Particularly when they act in a collective manner. Although as we have seen the traditional hunter gatherer Tiwi society afforded women a much higher status than that of most mainland Australian aboriginal tribes their position and influence in contemporary Nguiu society is a complete reversal of the traditional hunter gatherer pattern.

4.2.3 Lifestyle at Nguiu.

We considered the lifestyle of the traditional hunter gatherer Tiwi society in section 1.8. of the dissertation and we shall now re-assert several vital aspects relating to that lifestyle:-

- a) The individual Tiwi was born into a society in which his or her social relationships, obligations to others, expectations of activities and possibilities for marriage were all relatively firmly fixed. The individual was secure in the knowledge of his exact relationship to the overall society.
- b) The economic basis of traditional society was the hunter gathering woman. The band or household was the production unit and on a day to day basis took all its own decisions, camped where it liked (within country limitations) and moved on to a new location when the economies of food production, myth, ceremony or warfare demanded.
- c) Having an efficient social mechanism to facilitate the gathering of food supplies which were relatively abundant the hunter gathering Tiwis were generally left with a lifestyle in which they were able to make a reasonable trade off between work and leisure.
- d) The traditional hunter gatherer society was totally independent and self sufficient relying on no external support for the maintenance of its lifestyle.

By comparison the contemporary lifestyle of the people at Nguiu has vastly changed. Social relationships between members of Tiwi society are no longer as clearly defined as in the days of the Tribal bands. While understanding and knowledge of the Matrilineal Phraties (Arampi) and Sibs (Pukwi) or 'skin groups' and 'totems' as discussed in section 1.5 remain fairly clearly defined, knowledge of 'country' or

band ancestry have become somewhat blurred. This is understandable considering by far the majority of living Tiwis grew up at the Mission (Nguiu) and not in their traditional 'country'. To this day even with the advent of four wheel drive vehicles some Tiwis living at Nguiu have never visited their own 'country' even though the most distant country is no more than about one hundred kilometres away. Further, traditional relationships have been blurred by the demands of the law of the wider pluralist Australian society, by influences of Religion (Catholic), the introduction of alcohol, money, and the pursuit of the work ethic. Concepts of ownership of material goods, cars, houses, money have further introduced instability to relationships between people. Relationships with and attitudes of non-Tiwi residents of Nguiu have also served to increase the degree of uncertainty involved in human relationships.

The Tiwi woman who was the economic base of the traditional society no longer has the detailed knowledge to fulfill that role on a day to day basis. The old women no longer teach the young to hunt and gather. Hunting as such has been reduced to a rather leisurely 'Saturday' afternoon occupation with expeditions rarely involving trips greater than ten to fifteen kilometres from Nguiu. These outings being taken in vehicles rather than by foot.

The town store and its attendant barges from Darwin are the basis of the food supply in contemporary Nguiu society. Money is now the basis of all economic activity. As a result the town dwellers of Nguiu have had to trade off much of their leisure for work. Such is the penalty of a lifestyle of dependence.

This dependence lies at the essence of the changes which have occurred

in Tiwi lifestyle over the years. As discussed in section 2.3. the Bathurst Island Mission was reasonably self sufficient up to the mid nineteen sixties. The society of that time imported little energy and the settlement possessed an extensive garden which provided the staple diet of the entire community. Since that time however the self sufficiency and independence of the township has decreased substantially, while there has been a continual increase in the technical and skilled labour support (with the attendant increase in non-Tiwi population).

The lifestyle of the Tiwi people at Nguiu has become increasingly sedentary. Townspeople hail down passing cars to take them fifty yards up the road for they are often disinclined to walk. School-children now often rely on school teachers to take them 'bush' on holidays and at weekends, their parents lacking interest in such activities. Performance of the traditional Kulama and Pukamani ceremonies are becoming less frequent and lack the interest and detail of the past. The major daily event is the 'drinking' or 'social' hour at the Nguiu Club when the men of the town are able to purchase a prescribed (fixed) number of cans of beer (i.e. when the indulgence in alcohol has not been banned by the town council after some alcohol related incident). Alcohol related fighting and disease is becoming increasingly prevalent among the men of Nguiu. The Tiwi women of Nguiu remain totally opposed to alcohol with few if any indulging in the drug.

If one is to stroll down the streets of Nguiu on a Saturday afternoon you will hear the alternate staccato of Darwin Television and Radio Programmes with the occasional Country and Western song blarring from a stereo set, echoing from the houses. Few people but children move in the streets as the noise of modern technology pounds on. Such

is the dependence of Tiwi society, that like the wider pluralist Australian society they too are having difficulty maintaining the ability to entertain themselves.

4.3. Structural Changes to the Nguiu Population.

The traditional society of the tribal bands like most hunter gathering societies was distributed as evenly and thinly as possible over the available country on the two islands (see also section 1.8). The mechanism of population distribution was accomplished by the existence of the tribal 'bands' or 'households'. The population of the two islands has been variously estimated at about 1000 people around the turn of the century at the arrival of Joel Cooper and then Father Gsell. For the islands Father Gsell estimated the population at 1000 aboriginals for each (total 2000) which appears too high (Gsell 1956:40-41). The anthropologist Basedow who visited the Islands estimated the population of Bathurst Island in 1911 to be 500 persons (Lancaster-Jones 1963:23). A medical doctor Fry who visited Bathurst Island in 1913 to investigate reports of an epidemic, estimated the population of the two islands as about 650 persons. The anthropologist Hart estimated that in 1929 the Tiwi numbered 1062 persons. This estimate was based on genealogies and not in fact on a census count and is possibly high (see also Lancaster-Jones 1963:23).

After about 1929 the number of Tiwi who were resident on the two Islands appears to have decreased. The reason for this decrease in population during the 1930's appears to have been primarily due in part to the reproductive activity of a considerable number of Tiwi females being directed towards the production of Japanese half-castes (Lancaster-Jones 1963:23). It was estimated that in 1954 some thirty (30) such half-castes were surviving with many others being killed at birth (Pilling: 1961:4). From the early 1930's Tiwi people began to migrate to the mainland. This movement

began with the wholesale deportation of the bulk of the Yeimpi and Mandimbula tribal bands to Darwin in an attempt to limit their involvement with the Japanese pearling crews. About this time free migration to the mainland began and has continued ever since. Harvey mentions the ease with which the younger Tiwi entered Darwin where they encountered an environment which all too often was "...the beginning of the end of the native" (Harvey and Elkin 1943:234). Such migration continues to this day for various reasons ranging from alcohol, education, health care, work and football. With the advent of charter aircraft and regular airline services (scheduled three (3) times per day to Darwin) the mobility of the population has increased markedly with most Tiwis travelling to Darwin on a fairly regular basis. Visits to Darwin appear to be of a much more temporary nature than in the past with most individuals returning to the Islands after a relatively short time.

As discussed in section 3.1. the Tiwi population of the Nguui settlement has risen from two (2) old men before the arrival of the nuns in 1912 to 647 in 1951; to 948 in 1961 and 923 in 1972 and dropping to 895 in 1976 (including non aboriginals). Table three (3) Appendix D clearly indicates that according to official population figures compiled by the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory the Tiwi population of the Nguui settlement rose substantially during the decade 1950-1960 but became static even declining slightly during the decade to 1960-1970 and then falling further during the early 1970's.

Causes for the rather static state of the overall Nguui population have been discussed in detail in section 3.6. with migration to the

other Island settlements and Darwin being considered the major explanation for this situation. A cautionary warning should be issued however in relation to the official population figures for the settlement. The accuracy of any figures with such a small overall sample population which is highly mobile and difficult to trace is to a degree suspect.

Beyond the static state of the Tiwi population at Nguiu the structural changes that have occurred within that population over the years demand some attention here. Table four (4) Appendix D indicates crude birth and death rates respectively for the periods 1952-56 (B-41/D-19); 1957-61 (B-45/D-20); 1973-77 (B-34/D-17) with corresponding rates of natural increase for the periods being 22, 25 and 17 respectively. In spite of this the overall population (Tiwi) of the settlement has remained relatively static and lately declined.

The age structure of the population has been changing over the last thirty years in quite a dramatic manner. Table two (2) Appendix D clearly indicates that the average age of the population at Nguiu has been falling quite dramatically. Figure 23 indicates the percentage ratios of Adults (over 16 years) to children (under 16 years) for the period 1951-1973 and the changes which have occurred in that ratio over time. Part of this dramatic change in age structure over the period may be explained by Lancaster-Jones' suggestion that the figures for the earlier years on which these assumptions of age structure are based may be inaccurate (Lancaster-Jones 1963:30). Figure 22, Appendix D (after Lancaster-Jones 1963:33) tends to confirm a general trend towards a younger overall population since the early 1950's.

The more significant aspect of the alteration in structures to the overall Nguiu society is the relative increase in the numbers of non-Tiwi people living in the community. After five years of establishment, in 1916 the non-Tiwi establishment of the mission consisted of a total of nine (9) persons. By the mid sixties the non-Tiwi population had risen to about twenty (20) and by 1978 had reached approximately one hundred (100) persons, or over 10% of the overall population of the settlement.

This staggering increase in the non-Tiwi population of the community has had a marked effect on the lifestyle of the Tiwi community at Nguiu. Rapidly increasing over a relatively short period of time this influx of non-Tiwi people which might be more aptly titled 'an invasion', has brought along with it the foreign values of the wider Australian Pluralist society with its attendant reliance on and aspiration after material possessions. The increase in the non-Tiwi population can be directly related to the vast material changes which have occurred to the fabric and structure of the Nguiu environment in recent years. The attitudes and ideals of these new migrants to Nguiu society have demanded the establishment of the lifestyle and level of 'comfort' to which they have been accustomed in the wider pluralist Australian society. Consequently the form of the Nguiu settlement has been rapidly turned into a mini version of the archetypal Australian 'suburbia'. Coupled with an increasingly younger and hence less traditionally orientated Tiwi population this has resulted in a total abandoning of any form of traditional lifestyle by the bulk of the community and an acceptance of the 'possession' based importation.

4.4. Physical Development of Nguiu Township 1974-1978.

Attitudes too and requirement for personal physical comfort by the non-Tiwi migrants to the Nguiu community over recent years has been largely responsible for a total 'explosion' in the extent and fabric of the man made material environment. Figure 14 Appendix D indicates the basic plan form of the Nguiu physical environment at this time with the exception of a newly created subdivision and other facilities mentioned previously which are located out of town in a south-westerly direction. Figure 15 by contrast indicates the extent to which the built environment has been constructed during the period 1974-78. The following is a summary of the extent of this development during this period:-

Description	Constructed	Usage	Controlled	Estimated Cost
Hospital Extensions	1975-76	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$650,000.00
Pre-School	1975-76	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$150,000.00
Girls-School	1975-76	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$120,000.00
School-Library	1975-76	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$100,000.00
Convent	1975-76	Mission Staff	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$160,000.00
Presbetry	1977	Mission Staff	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$210,000.00
Nurses Accommodation	1978	Mission Staff	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$115,000.00
Visitors Quarters	1977	Visitors	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$ 90,000.00
Christian Brothers House	1977	Church	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$100,000.00
Manual Training School	1978-79	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$300,000.00

Description	Constructed	Usage	Controlled	Estimated Cost
Administrative Building (initially mission controlled and handed over to Tiwi control)	1976	ALL	TIWI/NON-TIWI	\$ 60,000.00
Boys School Extensions	1978	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$ 50,000.00
Sporting Complex	1978-79	ALL	NON-TIWI (Mission)	\$100,000.00
Kitchen/Dining Room (initially mission controlled and handed over to Tiwi control)	1978-79	ALL	TIWI	\$200,000.00
New Air Strip	1978	ALL	NON-TIWI	\$500,000.00
Sewerage Scheme	1974	ALL	TIWI (Council)	\$350,000.00
Water Reticulation	1974	ALL	TIWI (Council)	\$200,000.00
Staff Accommodation (Female)	1974	Mission Staff	NON-TIWI	\$120,000.00
Staff Accommodation	1974	Mission Staff	NON-TIWI	\$120,000.00
Staff Housing (seven houses)	1974-78	Education	NON-TIWI	\$200,000.00
Housing (114 total)	1974-78	TIWI	TIWI	\$2,000,000.00

The above construction development may be summarised as follows:-

Estimated expenditure on mission controlled and used (exclusively) buildings (1974-78)	\$915,000.00
Estimated expenditure on mission controlled facilities used by the entire community (1974-78)	\$1,470,000.00
Estimated expenditure on non-tiwi housing (1974-78)	\$200,000.00
Estimated expenditure on Tiwi controlled and occupied housing (1974-78)	\$2,000,000.00
Estimated expenditure on Tiwi controlled facilities for entire community	\$810,000.00

The fact that the 'explosion' in the development in the physical (built) environment of the Nguiu township has occurred in parallel with considerable increases in the size of the non-Tiwi population is not incidental. These people have brought with them to the community the attitude and attendant physical lifestyle of the wider Australian Society. As this migrant population at Nguiu becomes larger and more extended so to do the values and ideals of that broader pluralist society.

The cultural influence of this increasing non-Tiwi population is far more pervasive now than ever in the recent past. As we have seen the non-Tiwi population of Nguiu was never more than about twenty (20) people, with this level of mission staff not being exceeded from the time of the arrival of Father Gsell to establish the mission in 1911 until the late 1960's. The non-Tiwi mission workers of the first fifty years of this settlement were vastly different people in their lifestyle, attitudes and aspirations to those who today form the bulk of the non-Tiwi population of Nguiu. The early missionaries were by and large dedicated members of various Catholic Religious orders with what they felt was a 'mission' either to religiously influence the Tiwi people and/or help them 'improve' their lifestyle. Most of them were unmarried and members of various religious orders and as such had little interest in 'material' possessions and an affluent physical lifestyle. Generally these people lived in fairly primitive buildings (see plates 2, 3, 4) not far removed from the dwellings and general human environment of Tiwi people by whom they were surrounded (see plates 5, 6, 7). Consequently their lifestyle was very close that of the people they sought to minister. They enjoyed very low salaries with any concept of money remaining remote to the community until its introduction in 1953.

By contrast the contemporary non-Tiwi worker at Nguiu is often married with a family has come to the settlement to do a well paid job (many of which are scarce in the broader Australian community) and demands to be accommodated at the level of 'comfort' to which he or she is accustomed. The bulk of these people be they school teachers, nurses, town clerks, store keepers or mission workers arrive in Darwin from Southern Australian Cities by plane, travel to Nguiu by plane and move into residential accommodation little removed from that of the cities they have left. They turn on their conveniently provided air-conditioning and continue with accustomed lifestyle and aspirations oblivious to the culture of the community to which they have migrated. The Nguiu society of which they are now a part in the meantime struggles to retain any vestige of 'identity' or direction.

As the number of non-Tiwis living in the community has increased so has the built fabric and facilities within the human settlement. As we have seen earlier in this section the extent of physical development for the sole use of non-Tiwi mission and other workers within the community has been quite considerable with an estimated \$1,115,000 being spent on the construction of dwellings and other domiciles for the one hundred (estimated) non-Tiwis within the community compared to \$2,000,000 on the construction of houses and other dwellings for the indigenous people who at this time number around nine hundred and fifty people. The ratio of this expenditure is obviously vastly disproportionate to the favour of the non-Tiwi community. When some individual items of expenditure on non-Tiwi dwellings are examined this lack of reasonable proportion becomes even more exaggerated. The 'Presbetry' at Nguiu built to accommodate six (6) missionaries was constructed (1977) on a grant provided by

the Department of 'Aboriginal' Affairs at a cost of \$210,000 (see plate 18). The Nurses Accommodation building (funded by the Department of Health) constructed (1978) to house three (3) nurses cost an estimated \$110,000 (see plate 19). The 'Convent' constructed (1975) for approximately \$160,000 (funded by Department of Aboriginal Affairs) houses eight (8) mission workers (see plate 17). There are other examples of such expenditure within the community such as, mission staff accommodation (both male and female) visitors quarters and various staff and education worker houses which all indicated a disproportionate amount of money on accommodation for non-Tiwi migrants to the community. During this same period (1974-78) the average cost of dwellings constructed for the occupation of Tiwi families was fifteen to twenty thousand dollars (\$15,000-\$20,000) depending on house type.

The major social change that the construction of the above accommodation within the community has brought is that it encourages the non-Tiwi migrants to Nguiu to maintain and foster the type of lifestyle to which they are accustomed. The provision of relatively sophisticated residential accommodation coupled with rapidly increasing numbers of migrant workers encourages the development of isolation of these people from the general Tiwi society to which they have come to live. The isolation and lack of understanding through lack of involvement is further tending to encourage the development of a community within a community with the non-Tiwi migrants mixing less among the general Tiwi community and more within their own imported social enclave. While workers in the community in the past were forced by their very isolation from the wider Australian society to live a lifestyle in tune with and in contact with the Tiwi people this is no longer the case. As a result under-

standing of the attitudes and aspirations of the Tiwi people by the migrant workers from the mainland of Australia is rapidly dwindling. As their numbers increase so does their intransigence in influencing the Tiwi society to follow the lifestyle to which they are accustomed and have never been forced to question. Little wonder that the form of the built environment constructed over the past few years so closely echoes that of average 'suburbia' of Australia (see plates 11, 12, 13).

Figure fifteen (15) Appendix D gives a general indication of the extent of the development of the physical fabric of the Nguiu settlement over the period 1974-78. Buildings constructed during this period are indicated in black with the pre-existing built environment indicated in outline only. The very extent of this physical development over this short four year period has placed extreme pressure on the lifestyle of the Tiwi community. Over this short period of time the human environment has changed from one in which most of the Tiwi people were housed in rough huts (see plates 5, 6, 7) to an environment in which the large bulk of the community are housed in substantial houses more akin to those of the average Australian.(see plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13). At the same time buildings providing general services to the community (health, education, administration, see plates 14, 15, 16) have also been constructed together with a new airstrip, sewerage scheme, electrical reticulation and powerhouse (oil powered) and water supply. These vast changes to the physical (built) environment at Nguiu have not been achieved without considerable stress and anxiety to the society. As well as the permanent non-Tiwi workforce in the community over this period there has been an influx of temporary workers involved with construction, most of whom have stayed for very short periods,

developed little understanding of the society and have accordingly created considerable friction at times within the community.

4.5 Relationships between Tiwi Lifestyle and the Built Nguuu Environment.

Apart from the very houses in which they live, the Tiwi people have very little control of most of the fabric of the built environment at Nguuu. The Hospital and Schools (boys and girls) are directly controlled by elements of the Catholic Church and the enterprises indicated in figure 18 which are nominally controlled by the Tiwi people, namely the Town Hall (i.e. Nguuu Shire Council), the Store (Nguuu Ullingini Association), the Bakery (Nguuu Ullingini Association), the Nursery and Garden out of town and the Garage (Nguuu Ullingini Association) are all effectively controlled by non-Tiwi managers, accountants, town clerks, mechanics or other imports to the community. The exception to this situation appears to be the Nguuu Club, the source of the community beer supply this being the one industry over which the Tiwi men appear to have some control.

Bima Wear (clothes manufacturing factory) and Tiwi Designs (artifact and fabric printers) are both also controlled effectively by non-Tiwis.

Figure 17 indicates the extent of Tiwi occupied dwellings, huts, and other buildings within the community with those buildings either effectively controlled or occupied by non-Tiwis indicated in outline only. It is readily apparent even from the diagram that the bulk of the built environment which is not dwelling is beyond Tiwi control. The non-Tiwi migrants to the Island have arranged the construction of this built environment in order to occupy their time in the style and manner to which they are accustomed, namely fulfilling the work ethic. Often in order to

justify their own involvement with the society they expect even demand the Tiwi people to work by their side and sometimes even denigrate them if they don't.

Let us now consider the ninety seven (97) houses built at Nguiu between 1974 and 1978 at minimum cost of \$2,000,000 and the effect they have had on the human health, wellbeing and general lifestyle of their Tiwi occupants. These houses have been built to several basic design concepts and constructed by a variety of different organisations. They may be broadly categorised as houses either constructed by the Catholic Mission or the Bathurst Island Housing Association. The 'log cabin' house (plate 8) and 'Margaret Mary' type houses (plate 9 and 13) along with the 'Segal' demountable houses make up the bulk of houses constructed by the Mission. Houses constructed by the Bathurst Island Housing Association are indicated in plates 10, 11, 13. Generally all these houses consist of two or three bedrooms, a breezeway/living area, a kitchen, laundry and toilet and shower and are supplied with hot and cold water, electricity and sewerage. There is no question that these ninety seven (97) dwellings have improved the human health and wellbeing of the people in a purely physical sense. The huts indicated in plates 5, 6 and 7 were the form of dwelling occupied by most of the Tiwi people at Nguiu at the beginning of the decade (1970). These buildings could generally be described as very rudimentary, and had no services, with washing, water and toilet facilities being provided by communal blocks dotted around the eight old camps.

However while the modern dwellings may be an improvement over their predecessors from a purely physical point of view, it is questionable

that the mental outlook and general wellbeing of the Tiwi people has been enhanced by their arrival. With their construction the old pattern of a series of camps which had been loosely based on the old tribal bands was effectively destroyed. This destruction of a physical link with the social patterns of the past occurred for several reasons. The town plan established on a drawing board in Darwin with little or no relationship with the community and their needs had dictated the pattern of streets, services and building locations. Housing were constructed bearing no heed to the old tribal camps in 'neat' lines along the streets echoing the 'suburbia' of the wider Australian society (plate 13). Sometimes these rows of houses were constructed right through the middle of existing camps. The non-Tiwi operatives controlling the Nguiu Shire Council have in recent years pursued a policy of knocking down and removing the old huts of the tribal camps (the few that remain) as part of a Nguiu 'beautification' programme. Such is the absolute determination with which the new settlers strive to establish the type of environment which they hold dear to their hearts without any consideration of the society which surrounds them.

After the houses had been constructed in their neat little lines along the red earth streets the operatives responsible for their construction (Bathurst Island Housing Association and Catholic Missions, Darwin) approached the Tiwi people saying, 'They are your houses you decide who will live there, and who gets each house as it is constructed etc.'. The Tiwi people did in effect choose who lived in which house but the house locations were completely restrained by the existing town plan and street pattern. As a consequence the relationships between occupants and the houses

they occupy bear little resemblance to either the original tribal bands or the more recent camps which had surrounded Nguiu settlement since its inception as a Mission.

While the old camps with their huts were located in groups with the huts placed at random (some very close together with others placed at a distance) to conform with a more traditionally approach to lifestyle the new houses are evenly spaced with no attempt at clumping them as groups. Each house occupies its own territory and similar to the general effect in Australian 'suburbia' encourages privacy and the elimination of social contact. As a consequence the Tiwi people are forced to live in houses designed for the typical Australian nuclear family taking the alteration in the fabric of the Tiwi social structure one step beyond the introduction of monogomy by also encouraging the elimination of social contact and the destruction of the extended family group.

The Tiwis attempt to live as extended families in a considerable numbers of the houses, but most of these buildings with the possible exception of the 'Margaret Mary' houses (four constructed see plates 9 and 12) are unsuited and too small to satisfactorily accommodate the larger family group. The resultant crowding into permanent buildings by people traditionally unused to such structures often results in a degree of health problem due to misuse of facilities and/or damage to the fabric of this building.

Apart from the 'Sigal' houses which have the problem of being poorly insulated and shaded and generally too hot for the climate most of these houses appear to be generally well accepted by the people. Several families have swapped houses to gain a more favoured locations but apart from this there has been little public expression

of dissatisfaction with the layout. It must be remembered however that the Tiwis have been living in these buildings at most for several years and any full realisation of the social disadvantages of their arrangement is unlikely to have been fully recognised at this stage. What can be said however is that as time goes by 'drinking problems' and other socially disruptive behaviour are on the increase with the men of the society relying on the afternoon gathering at the Nguiu Club for the social stimulus which was once part of their everyday lifestyle pattern.

One further difficulty many Tiwi have experienced is the adjustment from living in a rudimentary hut to a reasonably sophisticated house. Although attempts have been made in the construction of most of the buildings it is inevitable that the buildings suffer some damage and misuse by people who have never lived in a permanent house before. There is a considerable onus placed on the Tiwi community to keep the houses "clean and tidy" especially from some elements of the non-Tiwi society. Attempts to conform with these types of pressures often leads to problems for some individual Tiwis.

There is no doubt that these buildings have improved the physical wellbeing of the people, the effects however on the social fabric and the mental health of the people at this time are uncertain. The arrangement of the buildings, the designs to cater for nuclear families only and the general isolation they introduce between family groups coupled with the extremely rapid rate with which they have been introduced to the society (see figure 16 with ninety seven (97) being built between 1974-78) all tend to mitigate against the human health and wellbeing of their occupants.

4.6 Political Structures and Nguiu Society.

The rapidly increasing non-Tiwi community has introduced a series of new political structures to the society which are generally aimed at influencing the form of lifestyle and society adopted by the Tiwi people. Figure twenty (20) indicates the extent of the political and power structures which are operating at this time within and upon the Tiwi community at Nguiu. The only significant power structure not indicated in the diagram is the newly formed Tiwi Land Council and its future role within the society is yet to be firmly established.

Political and power structures in the traditional hunter gathering tribal bands were vested in and controlled by the old men who with the control of their many wives (units of economic production) also controlled the social system. These men endowed with the 'riches' of traditional society were in a position to significantly influence the day to day pattern of the social system. The introduction of monogamy to the society gradually disintegrated their power base and further over time placed them on the same footing as the younger men. The result was a complete break down of any clear and defined political and power structure within the society. The Tiwis inevitably turned to the Catholic Mission for support, leadership, to generally mediate between them, and to manage the day to day affairs of the community. While the mission operational complement and the missionaries lived close to the community staying for long periods and gaining intimate knowledge of the people with which they were involved the system worked well enough. The missionaries to a degree understood the needs of the people and were able to respond to them.

As discussed earlier however this situation was changing. By the early 1970's the Mission establishment were no longer permanent, 'long termers' within the community but were replaced by people who stayed on the average only a couple of years, with them came other non-Tiwi migrants to the community most of whom were also short term people doing a job with little chance or attempt made to understand the society which they were living in.

These people brought with them political mechanisms with which both they and the Australian Government which supported them intended that the Tiwi people become 'self determining'. They introduced these mechanisms which basically related to western corporate management democratic political models to a wide range of activities which were introduced to the society. The Town Council, Housing Association, Nguiu Ullingini Association, Tiwi Land Council and the Nguiu Club are all based on these type of models, with elected office bearers, committees, secretaries, presidents and the like. Non-Tiwis who introduced these political mechanisms to the society pursued their operation with rigour, organising meetings, putting proposals before the committees and generally manipulating these artificially created political structures to attain aims which generally concurred with non-Tiwi expectations. The principle of 'self determination' although well meaning in its objectives was reduced at the operational level to the Tiwis choosing between alternatives options expressed by non-Tiwis with expectations and attitudes far removed from the day to day aspirations of the Tiwi people.

Figure twenty (20) also indicates the degree to which the political process is 'filtered' by non-Tiwi operatives and organisations within the Nguiu community.

For example the only administrative arm of Government from the broader Australian society which appears to have direct relationships with the Tiwi people is the Northern Territory Police Department. Implementation of policies and the response of the people to such policies are all filtered through other organisations to and from the Tiwi community. The organisations set up to give the Tiwi people a degree of 'self determination' in their everyday affairs (Nguiu Shire Council, Nguiu Club, Nguiu Ullingini Association, Bathurst Island Housing Association) all have non-Tiwi operatives to help 'manage' their affairs. The only direct political response available to the Tiwis is to vote in Commonwealth and Northern Territory Government Elections and for both of these institutions they have to share their electorate and hence their elected members with areas of suburban Darwin and the Northern Territory at large. Electorates which by and large are very remote from the day to day needs of the Tiwi society.

Brief mention should also be made of Bathurst and Melville Islands position in the international political spectrum. Located three hundred and fifty miles south east of Timor the location of the Islands are strategic to Australia's relationship with its near and powerful neighbour Indonesia. Apart from the occasional patrol plane flying over little attempt has been made to secure the Islands from a defence point of view. A foreign strike force could land on the western end of Bathurst Island any time and no one would be there to even record its arrival.

The second factor of international importance is the claim of sovereignty over these Islands made by the Commonwealth of Australia. In 1824 Captain J.G. Brewer (British) of H.M.S. Tamar was dispatched

from Sydney with an expedition of three (3) ships to take possession of Arnhem Land and counter any likely French aspirations in the region. Having landed on the mainland at the Cobourg Peninsular and:- "brought the ship to anchor off Table Point in Port Essington all the boats were hoisted out and the marines landed, an union-jack being fixed upon a conspicuous tree near the extremity of the point, formal possession was taken of the north coast of Australia between the meridians 129^o and 136^o East of Greenwich. The Marines fired three volleys and the Tamar a royal salute, upon the occasion" (King 1827-V2:235) (see also Appendix A - 1824). Captain Bremer upon not finding sufficient water at Port Essington to start and support a colony proceeded to the northern end of Apsley Strait between Bathurst and Melville Islands where he established the first British colony in northern Australia at Fort Dundas. Within five years however the hostile Tiwi populations of the Islands were to drive the British out. By normally accepted international standards this repulsion of invasion in 1829 is tantamount to re-establishing the independence and sovereignty of the Islands. But since then however as we have seen the Tiwi Islands have again been invaded but this time for more subtly. During 1977 the Commonwealth of Australia formally handed over 'land rights' to the Tiwi people. As the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs was handing over the 'rights' to the community an old Tiwi lady in the crowd was heard to say, 'But we never lost them!'

4.7 Conclusion.

The preceding dissertation has traced the changes which have occurred within the Tiwi social structure over the past one hundred years. A period during which we have seen the society change from nine or ten hunter gathering tribal groups spread all over the two islands to a society of town dwellers living in three main human settlements. We have seen their lifestyle move from one of total independence and autonomy to one of total dependence on the wider pluralist Australian society. Marriage, family, tribal groups and political structures have all changed significantly over the period. The 'invasion' of their society by non-Tiwi migrants is complete.

Introduced technology, housing, political and social structures which now exist are making it extremely difficult for the Tiwi to lead anything but a lifestyle which is almost totally dependant for survival on the wider Australian society at large. Unless the Tiwi community can at this late stage develop some mechanism for re-establishing their identity and independence there will be 'no pukamani' for Tiwi society. The Tiwi identity and social structure will be submerged completely within the broader Australian context and their lands will be further exploited by the invaders.

TOM KEAN,

NOVEMBER, 1978.



HISTORICAL REVIEW OF EXTERNAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON THE BATHURST AND MELVILLE ISLAND TIWI PEOPLE.

- 1500-1525- Possible visit of Portugese (Mogellan?) to Melville Island on voyages from Brazil to the Philipines (indicated on early maps).
(Lockwood 1968:3)
- 1606 - Yacht 'Duyfken' (Dutch) sighted (March 1606) and sailed 200 miles down the west coast of Cape York Peninsula. The event is generally accepted as the first recorded observation of the Australian Continent by a European.
(Macknight 1969: p.36)
- 1606 - Later the same year the Spaniard Tuiz Vaez de Torres sailed through the strait which now bears his name but did not record seeing more than a few islands which might now be claimed by Australia.
(Macknight 1969: p.7)
- 1623 - 'Pera' and 'Arnhem' (Dutch East India Company) dispatched from Amboira (Ambon) - sailed 400 miles down the west coast of Cape York Peninsular. Ship 'Arnhem' had trouble keeping up and returned directly to Aru Islands, discovering the north east tip of Arnhem Land on the way.
(Macknight 1969: p.36-39)
- 1636 - Ships 'Cleen Amsterdam' and 'Wesel' in command of Pieter Pieterzoon sailed along the western twenty miles of the north coast of Melville Island and named the region Van Diemersland.
- 1644 - Abel Tasman in the ship 'Limmen' sailed along the entire coastline of what is now called the Northern Territory of Australia. Tasman's chart indicated Melville Island as part of the mainland. He named Cape Van Diemen (on Melville Island) and Van Diemen Gulf (which separates Melville Island from the mainland).
- 1705 - Three (3) ships under the command of Maarten von Delft (Dutch ex Timor) spent about two weeks surveying the north coast of Melville Island, the northern part of Apsley Strait between Bathurst and Melville Islands and the entire west coast of Bathurst Island. They recorded that they met the indigenous people several times and even allowed them aboard their ship.
- 1700-1800- During this period the Portugese based on Timor carried out extensive 'Blackbirding' or slaving of the Bathurst and Melville Islands -
'According to.....the older inhabitants of Timor, Melville Island was only less a source of slavery than New Guinea in proportion to its smaller extent of surface, at the period in which the slave trade was encouraged or connived at by the European authorities'. (statement from George Windsor Earls' 'The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago: Rapuors (London:Hippolyte Bailliere,1853,p210)) (see also Hart and Pilling 1960:97-98)

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

- 1756 - 'Ryder' a dutch yacht out of Batavia (now Djakarta) returned via north Arnhem Land coast and passed Melville and Bathurst Islands on route to Island of Roti (south west of Kupang (Timor)) after having conducted explorations in the Gulf of Carpentaria. (Macknight 1969: p.40-47)
- 1788 - Captain Arthur Phillip establishes new British penal colony at Port Jackson (Sydney)
- 1791 - Lieutenant John McCluer of the Bombay Marine (British) was returning to India after surveying the west coast of New Guinea and sighted New Year Island (north east of Croker Island) which he named, and several other small islands fronting a vague coast behind (probably Cobourg Peninsular). (Macknight 1969: p.9)
- 1791 - A group of convicts escaping from Port Jackson (Sydney) in an open boat briefly touched the Arnhem Land coast before ending their journey in Kupang (southern Timor).
- 1800 - 04- Captain Nicholas Baudin (French) explored the west coast of Australia and the coasts of Bathurst and Melville Islands. He reported a fleet of twenty six (26) Malay proas off what is now the town of Broome. Although his chart work was sketchy his maps published about the time of the Battle of Waterloo contained such names as 'Joseph Bonaparte Gulf' and 'Terra Napoleon' left the British very suspicious of French aspirations in the region. (Lockwood 1968: 5; Macknight 1969: 12,32,49,68,74;)
- 1802 - Mathew Flinders (British) in the sloop H.M.S. Investigator sailing out of Sydney charted the east Arnhem Land coast as far west as the Wessel Islands. During this voyage he encountered six (6) Macassan proas in the strait off the English Company's Islands which he had named the Malay Road. Prior to encountering these proas he saw considerable evidence of shore based camps for processing trepang or beche - de-mer (sea slug-sea cucumber). Pobassoo the commander of the proas explained to Flinders that he had been to the Arnhem Land coast six or seven times in the preceding twenty years and that his boats were part of a fleet of sixty (60) proas carrying a compliment of 1000 men belonging to the Rajah of Boni (from Macassar) then working that area of coastline. The processed trepany was taken to Timor-lauet (Tanibar Islands) 300 kilometers due north of Melville Island where it was sold to the Chinese (trepang regarded as a delicacy) who met the fleet there prior to its return to Macassar. (Macknight 1969:48-72; Mathew Flinders 1814:2v:172-3, 182-3, 188-9, 196-7, 206-10, 231-235;)

1818 -

Captian Phillip Parker King (British) in the cutter H.M.C. Mermaid returned to the area around Bathurst and Melville Islands which had been previously explored by the three (3) Dutch ships under the command of Maarten van Delft (ex Timor 1705). King chartered the islands and Apsley strait and come into contact with the indigenous population later to become known collectively as the Tiwis. On May, 14, 1818 his survey journal notes sighting seven natives in a canoe and on May 17th actual contact with the locals:-

"The day being Sunday our intention was, after taking bearings from the summit of Luxmore Head, to delay our further proceeding until the next morning, but the circumstance that occurred kept us so much on the alert, that it was anything but a day of rest. Having landed at the foot of the hill we ascended its summit, but found it so thickly wooded as to deprive us of the view we had anticipated; but, as there were some openings in the trees through which a few distant objects could be distinguished, we made preparations to take their bearings, and while the boat's crew were landing the Theodolite, our party were amusing themselves on the top of the hill.

Suddenly however, but fortunately before we had dispersed, we were surprised by natives, who, coming forward armed with spears, obliged us very speedily to retreat to the boat; and in the *saue qui peut* sort of way in which we ran down the hill, at which we have frequently since laughed very heartily, our theodolite stand and Mr. Cunningham's insect-net were left behind, which they instantly seized upon. I had fired my fowling-piece at an iguana just before the appearance of the natives, so that we were without any means of defense; but, having reached the boat without accident, where we had our musquets ready, a parley was commenced for the purpose of recovering our losses. After exchanging a silk-handkerchief for a dead bird, which they threw into the water for us to pick up, we made signs that we wated fresh water, upon which they directed us to go round the point, and upon our pulling in that direction, they followed us, skipping from rock to rock with surprising dexterity and speed. As soon as we reached the sandy beach, on the north side of Luxmore Head, they stopped and invited us to land, which we should have done, had it not been that the noise they made soon collected a large body of natives, who came running from all directions to their assistance; and, in a short time, there were twenty-eight or thirty natives assembled. After a short parley with them, in which they repeatedly asked for axes by imitating the action of chopping, we went on board, intimating to them our intention of returning with some, which we would give to them upon the restoration of the stand, which they immediately understood and assented to. The natives had three dogs with them.

On our return to the beach, the natives had again assembled, and shouted loudly as we approached.

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

1818 -
(Cont)

Besides the whale boat, in which Mr. Bedwell was stationed with an armed party ready to fire if any hostility commenced, we had our jolly-boat, in which I led the way with two men, and carried with me two tomahawks and some chisels. On pulling near the beach the whole party came down and waded into the water towards us; and, in exchange for a few chisels and files, gave us two baskets, one containing fresh water and the other was full of the fruit of the sago-palm, which grows here in great abundance. The basket containing the water was conveyed to us by letting it float on the sea, for their timidity would not let them approach us near enough to place it in our hands; but that containing the fruit, not being bouyant enough to swim, did not permit of this method, so that, after much difficulty, an old man was persuaded to deliver it. This was done in the most cautious manner, and as soon as he was sufficiently near the boat he dropped, or rather threw the basket into my hand and immediately retreated to his companions, who applauded his feat by a loud shout of approbation. In exchange for this I offered him a tomahawk, but his fears would not allow him to come near the boat to receive it. Finding nothing could induce the old man to approach us a second time, I threw it towards him, and upon his catching it the whole tribe began to shout and laugh in the most extravagant way. As soon as they were quiet we made signs for the theodolite stand, which, for a long while, they would not understand; at one time they pretended to think by our pointing towards it, that we meant some spears that were laying near a tree, which they immediately removed; the stand was then taken up by one of their women, and upon our pointing to her, they feigned to think that she was the object of our wishes, and immediately left a female standing up to her middle in the water and retired to some distance to await our proceedings. On pulling towards the woman, who, by the way, could not have been selected by them either for her youth or beauty, she frequently repeated the words "Ven aca, Ven aca", accompanied with a invitation to land: but, as we approached, she retired towards the shore; when suddenly two natives, who had slowly walked towards us, sprang into the water and made towards the boat with surprising celerity, jumping at each step entirely out of the sea, although it was so deep as to reach their thighs. Their intention was evidently to sieze the remaining tomahawk which I had been endeavouring to exchange for the stand, and the foremost had reached within two or three yards of the boat when I found it necessary, in order to prevent his approach, to threaten to strike him with a wooden club, which had the desired effect. At this moment one of the natives took up the stand, and upon our pointing at him, they appeared to comprehend our object; a consultation was held over the stand which was minutely examined; but, as it was mounted with brass and, perhaps on the account, appeared to them more valuable than a tomahawk, they declined giving it up,

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

1818 -
(Cont)

and gradually dispersed; or, rather, pretended so to do, for a party of armed natives was observed to conceal themselves under some mangrove bushes near the beach, whilst two canoes were plying about near at hand to entice our approach; the strategem, however, did not succeed, and we lay off upon our oars for some time without making any movement. Soon afterwards the natives, finding that we had no intention of following them, left their canoes, and performed a dance in the water, which very conspicuously displayed their great muscular power: the dance consisted chiefly of performances leaping two or three times successively out of the sea, and then violently moving their legs so as to agitate the water into a foam some distance around them, all the time shouting loudly and laughing immoderately; then they would run through the water for eight or ten yards and perform again; and this was repeated over and over as long as the dance lasted. We were all thoroughly disgusted with them, and felt a degree of distrust that could not be conquered. The men were more muscular and better formed than any we had before seen; they were daubed over with a yellow pigment, which was the colour of the neighbouring cliff; their hair was long and curly, and appeared to be clotted with a whitish paint. During the time of our parley the natives had their spears close at hand, for those who were in the water had them floating near them, and those who were on the beach had them wither buried in the sand, or carried them between their toes, in order to deceive us and to appear unarmed; and in this they succeeded, until one of them was detected, when we were pulling towards the woman, by his stooping down and picking up his spear.

Finding that we had no chance of recovering our loss, we returned on board, when the natives also withdrew from the beach, and did not afterwards shew themselves. (King 1827 vol 1: 106-115). It is significant that the woman on the beach used the portugese words 'Ven aca, Ven aca' and goes some way to confirming a degree of prior contact with the Portugese. On May 20th King again encountered local people at Luxmore Head also requested axes

'for they made the same signs as the Luxmore Head natives had done by repeatedly imitating the action of chopping'.

(King 1827. v1: 106-125)

1824 -

Captain J.G. Bremer (British) of H.M.S. Tamor was dispatched from Sydney with an expedition consisting of three (3) ships (H.M.S. Tamor, the Countess of Harcourt and the brig Lady Nelson) to take possession of Arnhem Land and counter any likely French aspirations in the region.

'Having cleared the Torres Strait and Tamor'(and accompanying ships)'anchored in Port Essington'(on mainland at Cobourg Peninsular). 'Lieutenant Rode then says, "Having brought the ship to anchor of Table Point in Port Essington all the boats were hoisted out and the marines landed, when, an union-jack being fixed upon a conspicuous tree near the extremity of the point,

1824 - formal possession was taken of the north coast of
(Cont) Australia between the meridians of 129° and 136°
East of Greenwich. The marines fired three volleys,
and the Tamor a royal salute, upon the occasion".

1824 - Captain Bremer upon not finding sufficient water at
Port Essington to start and support a colony proceeded
to the northern end of Apsley Strait between Bathurst
and Melville Islands where:
"Light winds retarded our arrival of Cape Van Diemen
until the 24th, and it was not before the 26th that
we brought up close to Luxmore Head in St. Asaph Bay.
Possession here was taken in a similar manner and with
the same forms as at Port Essington".
(King 1827. V2: 235)

After five or six days water was found on Melville
Island in Apsley Strait abreast of Harris Island and
a camp on the site of the proposed settlement was
established.

Fort Dundas was established as the first British Sett-
lement in North Australia. The settlement on establish-
ment had a compliment of fifty (50) soldiers, thirty
(30) marines and forty five (45) convicts. The Melville
Island aborigines proved very hostile to the estab-
lishment of the settlement spearing the new settlers
and stealing axes etc. By 1829 the combined effects
of lack of supplies, disease and hostility of the
indigenous people forced the abandonment of the sett-
lement.
(King 1827. V2: 233-243;)

All disposable hands being employed on shore in clear-
ing Point Barlow of wood and other impedements, we
were speedily enabled to commence the erection of a
fort, seventy-five yards in length by fifty wide; to
be built of the trunks of the felled trees, and to be
surrounded by a ditch ten feet wide and deep. On the
memorable 21st of October, our quarter-deck guns were
landed and mounted, the colours were hoisted for the
first time, and the work was named Fort Dundas, under
the royal salute from itself.

"From this time the place began to assume the appear-
ance of a fortified village; quarters were constructed
within the walls of the fort for the accommodation of
the officers belonging to the establishment, and about
thirty huts of various kinds were erected, and thatched
with rushes for the soldiers and convicts. A deep well
was sunk near the fort; a good substantial wharf ran
out into the water; and, as soon as a commissariat
storehouse was finished, all the provisions were landed
from the Countess of Harcourt and secured there.

"The soil in the neighbourhood of the settlement being
exceedingly good, gardens were cleared and laid out,
and soon produced all kinds of vegetables. In our
stock we were rather unfortunate, for of six sheep that
were landed for the purpose of breeding, five died,
supposed from the effect produced by eating some
pernicious herb in the woods; pigs, ducks, and fowls
seemed, however, in a fair way of doing well, and had

increased considerably since they were landed; but great inconvenience was experienced for want of some horses or draught oxen, which would not only have materially expedited the work in hand, but would have spared the men much laborious fatigue and exposure to the effects of vertical sun: all difficulties and obstacles were, however, met and overcome with the greatest zeal and perseverance, and the works proceeded with such spirit and alacrity, that we were enabled to sail from Bombay on the 13th November, without exposing the new settlement either to the jealousy of the Malays, or the mischievous attack of the natives. No traces of the former people were observed at this place, nor any of the trepang, that would be their sole inducement for visiting it. Not one native made his appearance before the early part of November, when, as if by signal, a party of about eighteen on each shore communicated with us on the same day, and were very friendly, although exceedingly suspicious and timid. They would not venture within the line of the outer hut, and always came armed, but laid aside their spears and clubs whenever friendly signs were made. On the second day of their visit, I was greatly astonished to see amongst them a young man of about twenty years of age, not darker in colour than a Chinese, but with perfect Malay features, and like all the rest, entirely naked: he had daubed himself all over with soot and grease, to appear like the others, but the difference was plainly perceptible. On perceiving that he was the object of our conversation, a certain archness and lively expression came over his countenance, which a native Australian would have strained his features in vain to have produced: The natives appeared to be very fond of him. It seems probable that he must have been kidnapped when very young, or found while astray in the woods.

"These Indians made repeated signs for hatchets, which they called paaco-paaco, and although they had stolen two or three on their first appearance, it was considered desirable to gain their good will by giving them more, and three were accordingly presented to individuals among them who appeared to be in authority. They were of course much pleased, but the next day several axes, knives and sickles were taken by force from men employed outside the settlement, upon which they were made to understand, that until these articles were restored no more would be given. This arrangement being persevered in by us, they determined upon seizing these implements on every occasion that presented itself; so that it was found necessary to protect our working parties in the woods by a guard; the result of which was, that the natives threw their spears whenever resistance was offered, and the guard was obliged to fire upon the aggressors'.
(King 1827 V2: 237-241).

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

- 1839 - J. Lort Stokes (British) in command of H.M.S. Beagle discovered Port Darwin on 9th of September. (Macknight 1969: 107)
- 1844 - Dutch ship wrecked off coast of the Tiwi Islands. (Hart and Pilling 1960: 98)
- 1858 - English vessel lost on Melville Island. (Hart and Pilling 1960: 98)
- 1869 - Palmerston (now Darwin) selected as town site.
- 1869 - End of fighting between Tiwi (Bathurst and Melville Islanders) and Larrakegah (based around area which is now Darwin) tribes.
- 1872 - Overland telegraph line connected from Adelaide to Darwin.
- 1880s - Ships 'Afghan' and 'Northern' ran aground off the southern coast of Bathurst Island.
- 1882 - Malay proa wrecked on the norst coast of Melville Island and one member of the crew killed by Tiwis. (Berndts 1954: 76,83)
- 1885 - Mother-of-pearl shell was found in commercial quantities on the bottom of Darwin harbour. The introduction of Japanese divers to the pearling industry and their eventual contact and liasons with the Tiwi peoples developed from this time. (Macknight 1969:180, Lockwood 1968: 125, Hart and Pilling 1960: 100;)
- 1886 - South Australian Government attempted to erect channel markers on the southern shore of Melville Island. These markers were immediately 'salvaged' by the Tiwis for cloth and iron. (Hart and Pilling 1960: 99;)
- 1886 - Ship 'Jane Anderson' was stranded on the shoals of first Melville and then Bathurst Island.
- 1886 - Alfred Searcy a customs official based in Darwin when describing a situation in which the steamer S.S. 'Ellengowan' was nearly wrecked on the south coast of Melville Island described the situation -
'All night long we were at the mercy of a raging, relentless sea. We were gradually set into the coast of Melville Island and if we had struck there it would have been all up with the steamer. It was not an inviting prospect, for if we were cast away, the chances were small of any one reaching the shore through such a surf, and then again the outlook of any one succeeding in getting ashore was not cheerful, for the niggers on the island were fierce and treacherous'.

- 1886 - Two (2) Macassan proas were wrecked on the northern shores of Melville with a number of the crew of both boats being killed by the Tiwis. A general description of the route usually taken by the Macassans in their search for trepang in North Australia was described by Saeng Sarro (1950) a man from the village of Bontaranmu just south of Macassar in the Celebes who could remember his trips to Australia in search of trepang with the annual fleet from Macassar before the turn of the century (1880 - 1900).
- The route started at Macassar and went down through the islands past Salajar, Wetar, Kisar, Leti, Moa and then south east for four days to Melville Island. From the point of arrival at Melville the proas went east along the northern coast of the island and then on to the Cobourg Peninsular and the Arnhem Land coast.
(Berndts 1954 76,83; Macknight 1969: 180-185;)
- 1887 - A government party crossed Melville Island and its leader was speared.
- 1888 - Macassans looking for 'Beche-de-mer' at Bathurst and Melville Islands.
(Pye 77: 106;)
- 1890 - Japanese divers reach the vicinity of Bathurst and Melville Islands in search of pearl shell after the 'beds' around Darwin harbour has been exhausted. The Japanese set up a camp on the south coast and later on the north-east coast of Melville Island and commenced temporary sexual liaisons with aboriginal women in exchange for goods. Some aboriginal men worked as crew on the luggers. At this time the Mardumbula people of southern Melville Island in particular were involved with the Japanese but such relations were to continue as a part of the lifestyle of the islands until the outbreak of World War Two despite many attempts by Australian authorities to discourage such activities.
(Goodale 1971:11; Hart and Pilling 1960: 100)
- 1895 - A government tourist party went to look over the ruins of Fort Dundas.
(Hart and Pilling 1960:99)
- 1897 - Joel Cooper and his brother came to Melville Island to attempt to make a living from shooting the buffalo which had been introduced to the island by the British settlers of Fort Dundas (1824-29). The buffalo which had been shipped from Timor had multiplied considerably in the intervening seventy years. The Tiwi did not take kindly to the presence of these men on the island and Joe was wounded and left for dead and his brother killed. Cooper retreated to the mainland in a canoe with the help of two aboriginal women (Alice alias Maraoldain who he later married and her mother)

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

Note: there is some confusion in the literature as to the date of the above event. Goodale gives 1894, Rye 1895, Hart and Pilling 1897, Lancaster Jones 1897) Goodale 1971:10, Rye 1977:26-27; Hart and Pilling 1960: 100-101;)

- 1900 - Joe Cooper the Australian buffalo hunter who had been driven from Melville Island a few years earlier by the Tiwis returned, bringing with him an armed party equipped with horses and guns. The party consisted mainly of Iwaidja (an aboriginal tribe from the Cobourg Peninsular) tribesmen who had learnt the Tiwi language. Tiwi spears could not cope with the arms of Coopers group although it is said that Cooper never went unarmed during his fifteen year stay on the Island which followed.
- The Iwaidja accompanying Cooper captured Tiwi women and took them as wives. This was often accomplished at the suggestion of young Tiwi men who after a time began to frequent Cooper's camp. Hart and Pilling (1961:101) suggest that 'the young men were performing their customary role of agents in widow remarriage - but in this case for foreign clients.' It appears that through their contact with the Iwaidja the Tiwis gained their first extensive knowledge of the wider world beyond their islands. (Hart and Pilling 1960:101; Rye 1977:27,28; Goodale 1971:11; Lockwood 1968:123; Lancaster Jones 1963:19;)
- 1906 - Herbert Basedow, the government appointed 'Protector of Aborigines' visited briefly in his official capacity.
(Goodale 1971:10;)
- 1907 - The last Macassan prau comes to the Arnhem Land coast in search of trepang.
- 1910 - Father Francis Xavier Gsell M.S.C. visits Coopers camp on Melville Island. Cooper, however attempts to discourage the missionary from establishing on the islands.
(Goodale 1971:10; Hart and Pilling 1960:101;)
- 1911 - Father Gsell M.S.C. establishes mission on Bathurst Island.
- 1912 - First Catholic nuns arrive at mission.
- 1914 - First school begun at mission.
- 1916 - Forty full blood and twenty part coloured children in school most of whom having been imported from mainland.
- 1919 - Cyclone and Tidal wave hit and destroy mission.

APPENDIX A / HISTORICAL REVIEW (CONTINUED)

- 1921 - Father Gsell buys his first wife from Merapanui.
- 1926 - Mission population of Bathurst Island eighty (80) adults and forty six (46) children.
- 1929 - Father Gsell had by now purchased sixty five (65) girls.
- 1929 - First 'Christian'/Tiwi marriage.
- 1932 - Construction of air strip commenced.
- 1937 - Activities of Japanese lugger crews result in intervention by authorities. Yeimpi deported to Darwin. Control officer stationed at Garden Point.
- 1939 - Outbreak of World War Two.
- 1941 - Bathurst Island - church completed.
- 1942 - Bathurst Island Mission straped by Japanese on route to first air raid on Darwin.
- 1948 - Cyclone causes major damage.
- 1951 - Money introduced to community.
- 1954 - Citizenship rights granted to 'selected' aborigines.
- 1957 - Hospital completed.
- 1962 - Citizen rights granted to all aborigines.
- 1964 - Pichataramoor re-afforestation commenced.
- 1964 - Discriminatory provisions against aborigines removed and right to consum alcohol permitted.
- 1974 - Tiwi (Hyacinth Tungutalum) elected a member of the N.T. legislative assembly.
- 1974 - Post Office opened.
- 1976 - Completion of new hospital wing, power house, school buildings and much housing.
- 1977 - Housing program continued.
- 1978 - Federal Government 'promises' a 'Tiwi Land Council'.

Appendix B

The Tiwi tribal bands (based on geographic 'countries')
 (based on Data :: Goodale 1971:13-23; Hart and Pilling
 1960:11-13; Pye 1977:16;)

*Bands - Geographic location on Bathurst Island only.

-Tiklauila (Tjikalauilla)(B) - from Tikalaru country.

(located on southern coast of Bathurst Island and in Cape
 Fourcroy area)

-Rangwila (Rankuilla)(B) - from Ranku country.

(located around Port Hurd and central regions of Bathurst
 Island)

-Mingwila (Minkuilla)(B) - from Minku country.

(located on west coast of Bathurst Island)

*Bands - Geographic location on both Bathurst and Melville
 Islands.

-Malauila (Malwilla)(B) - from Malau country.

(located on northern areas of Bathurst Island and a thin strip
 of coast bordering north west coast of Melville Island.)

-Mandimbula (Mandimpilla)(WM) - from Manduipi country.

(located predominantly on south west coast of Melville Island
 but whose country also encompasses the area on which Nguiu
 township is now situated on Bathurst Island)

*Bands - Geographic location on Melville Island only.

-Munupula (Munupilla)(WM) - from Munupi country.

(located on north-west Melville Island between Apsley Strait and Shark Bay)

-Wilrangwila (Wulirankuilla)(EM) - from Wilerangu country

(central western and northern Melville Island including area now occupied by Snake Bay settlement (Milikapiti))

-Palauwiuna (EM) - from country east of Curtis Haven across

to GooseCreek Swamps on North coast of Melville Island. Note that this group has not always been recognised as a country in all literature.

-Turupula + Yananti (EM) - from country on north/eastern end of Melville Island. (The two sub-countries generally being combined as one country).

-Yeimpi (EM) - from country on south/east coasts of Melville Island (this group was largely deported to the mainland in 1938 for liaising with Japanese pearlers.)

Note:: (B) Bathurst Island location; (EM) East Melville Island location; (WM) West Melville Island location;

Appendix C

Tiwi: Matrilineal Sibs (Pukwi) and Phratries (Arampi)

Phraties (Arampi)	Sibs (English name)	Pukwi (Tiwi name: Goodale/Pye)
A1	Ironwood	Kutaguni/Murtangipila
A2	Crocodile	Murdanabila/Yirrikipauwi
A2	Mullet	Takarinui/Takaringiwi
A2	Mullet	Purilawila/Pirrilawila
A2	Mosquito/Parrot Fish	Wilintuwila/Wilijuwila
B1	White Cockatoo	Milipuwila/Milipuwila
B1	Pandanus	Miatui/Miyartiwi
B2	Jabiru	Tjilarui/Tungulunyuwi
B2	Flying Fox	Muranimbila/Murrangipila
B2	Fly (the house fly)	Mandubowi/Martupawi
B2	Bamboo	/Arikijingiliyipwayuwi
C1	Woolly-butt (flower)	Arikortorruui/Arikutariwi
C1	Stingray	Yurantawi/Wurajawi
C1	Red Ochre	Krutui/Yarinapinila
C1	Yellow Ochre	
C (?)	Mud (salt water)	Parulianapila/Purruliyangapila
C2	Fire	/Pukarinyuwi
C2	Fire/sun	Uriubila/Wuruwipila
C2	Fire/sun	Kudaliu/Walikuwila
D1	bird/honey eater	Tokombuwi/Jijiyiwi
D1	march fly	Tapitabui/Japitapiwi
D2	Stones	Arikuwila/Arrikiwila
D2	Stones (red)	Punalunwila/Pungaluwila
D3	Bloodwood	Kurawi/Kuwurra-wi
D3	rain/fresh water	Andului/-

(Note - table compiled from data given in - Goodale 1971: 69-129; Pye 1977:16; Mountford 1958: 36-37;)

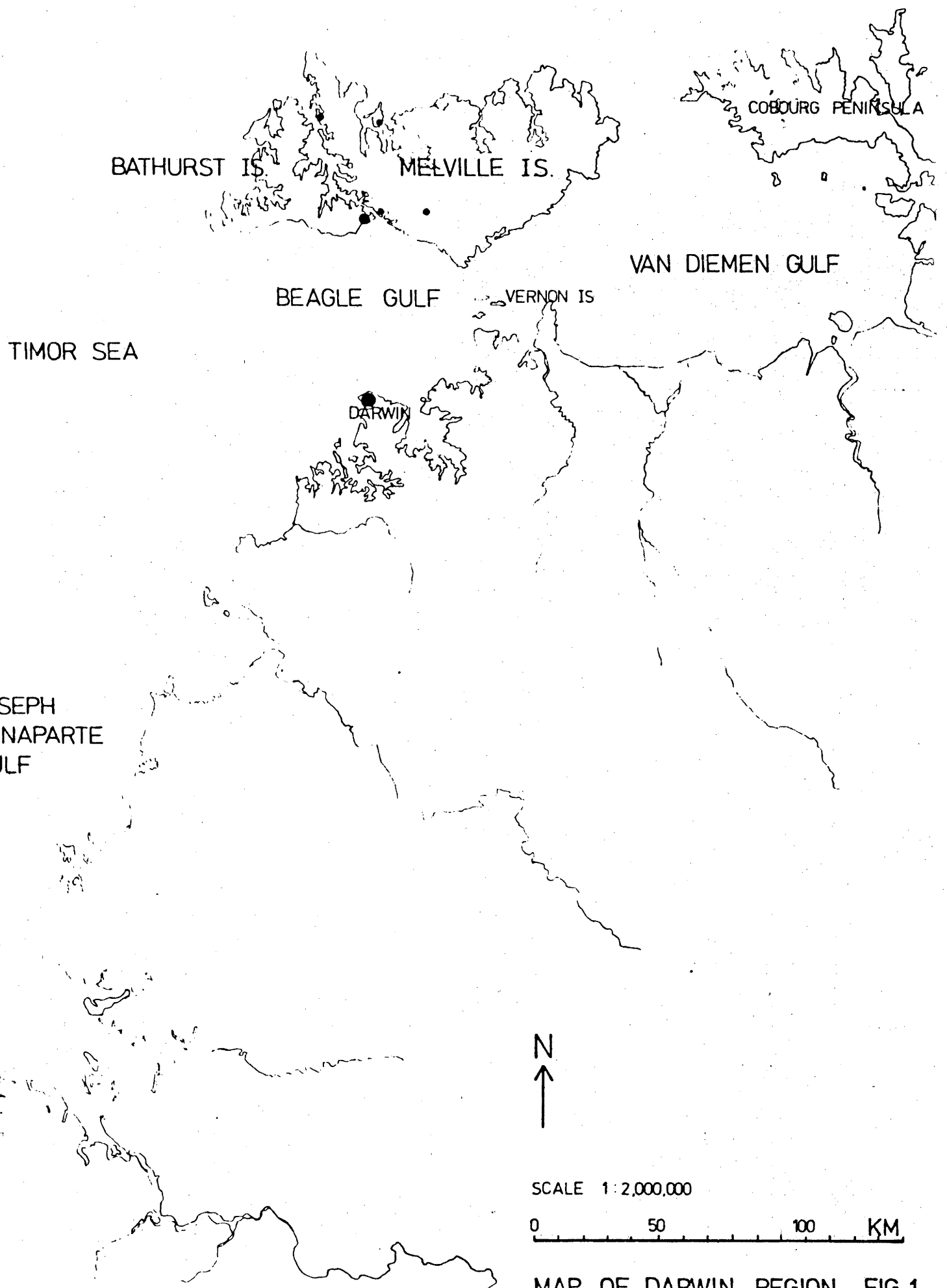
Appendix D - Figures and Tables

- Figure 1 - Map of the Darwin Region.
- Figure 2 - Map of North Australia and Eastern Indonesia
- Figure 3 - External Historical Influences upon Tiwi Culture.
- Figure 4 - Macasson Proa of type used around Northern Australia up to about 1910.
- Figure 5 - Macasson Proa of smaller size.
- Figure 6 - Dug out canoe.
- Figure 7 - Traditional bark lean-to shelter.
- Figure 8 - Traditional bark lean-to shelter.
- Figure 9 - Branch and Foliage Shelter.
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- Figure 11 - Location of Human Settlements Bathurst and Melville Islands.
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- Figure 13 - Transport and Communication Routes - The Tiwi Islands.
- Figure 14 - Nguiu - town plan.
- Figure 15 - Nguiu - extent of building construction 1974-1978
- Figure 16 - Nguiu - Tiwi occupied housing.
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- Figure 20 - Major organisations relating to the Tiwi Community at Nguiu, N.T.
- Table 1 - Relative Population of Nguiu, Snake Bay and Garden Point.
- Figure 21 - Relative Population - Nguiu, Snake Bay and Garden Point.
- Figure 22 - Bathurst Island Mission - Age Structure.
- Table 2 - Bathurst Island Mission - estimated age structure 1951, 1956, 1961, 1968;

Figure 23 - Relative Population of Adults/Children - Nguiu
1951-1973

Table 3 - Nguiu (Bathurst Island Mission) - 1950-1976

Table 4 - Nguiu (Bathurst Island Mission) - Births and Deaths
occurring to Aboriginal Population 1952-61; 1973-77;



SCALE 1:2,000,000

0 50 100 KM

MAP OF DARWIN REGION FIG 1

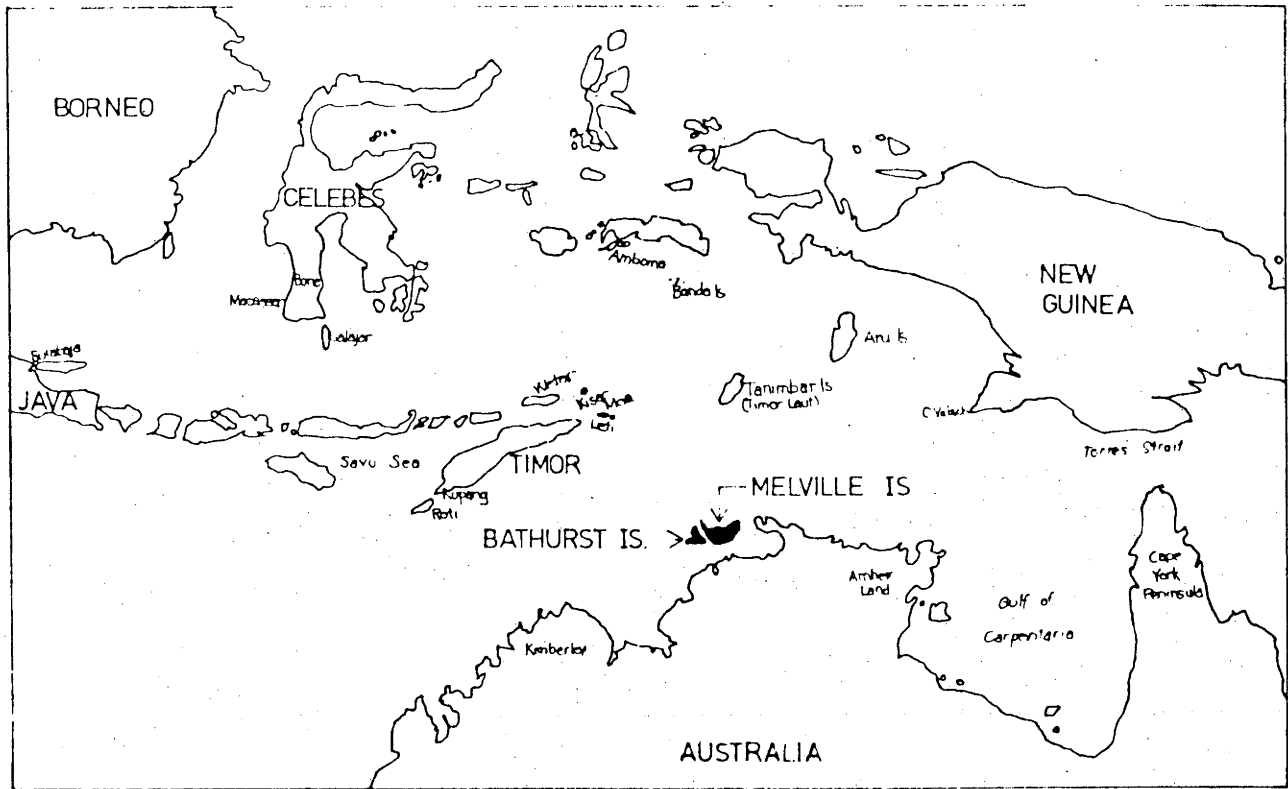


FIG 2 NORTH AUSTRALIA & EASTERN INDONESIA

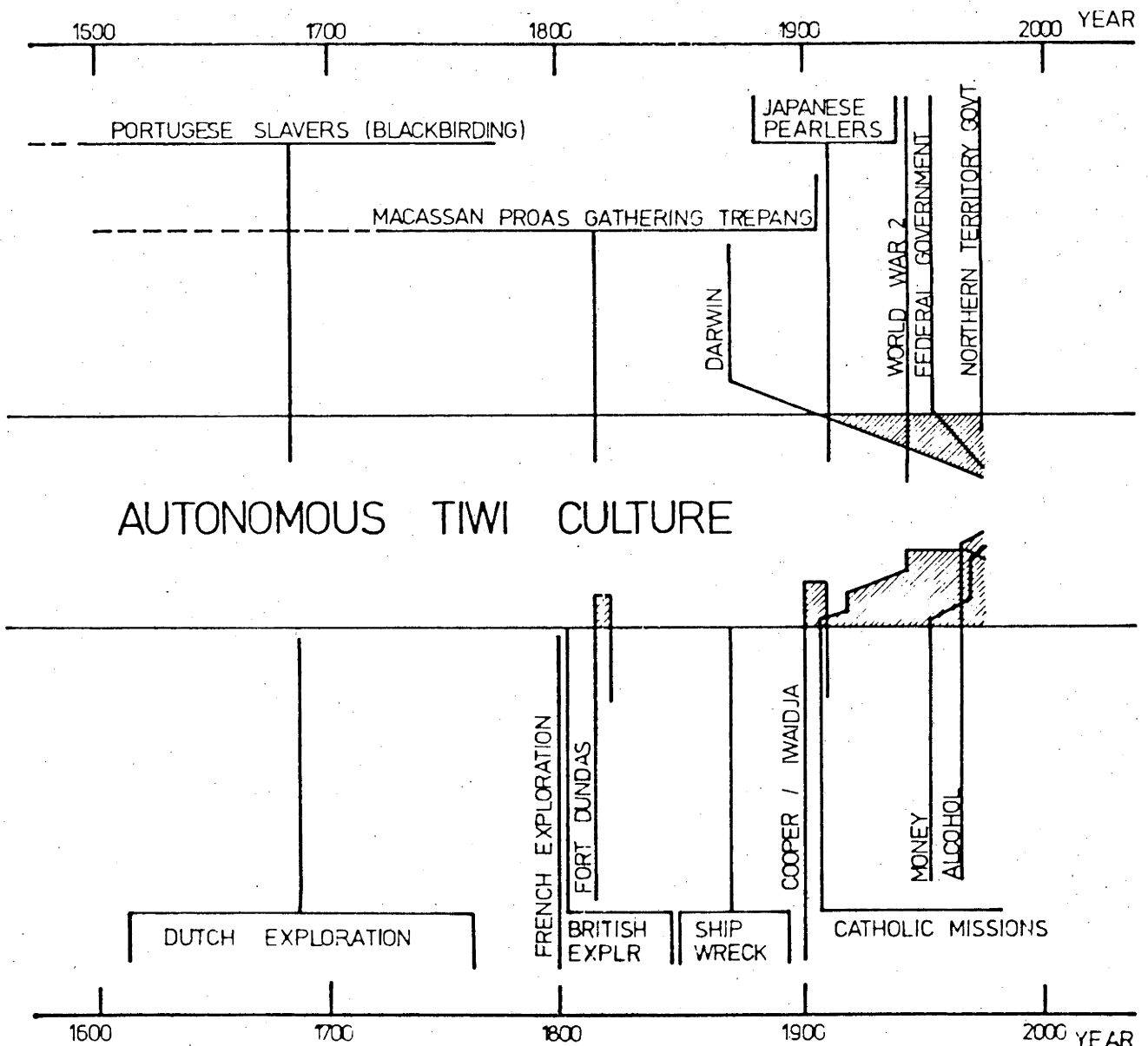


FIG 3 EXTERNAL HISTORICAL INFLUENCES UPON TIWI CULTURE.

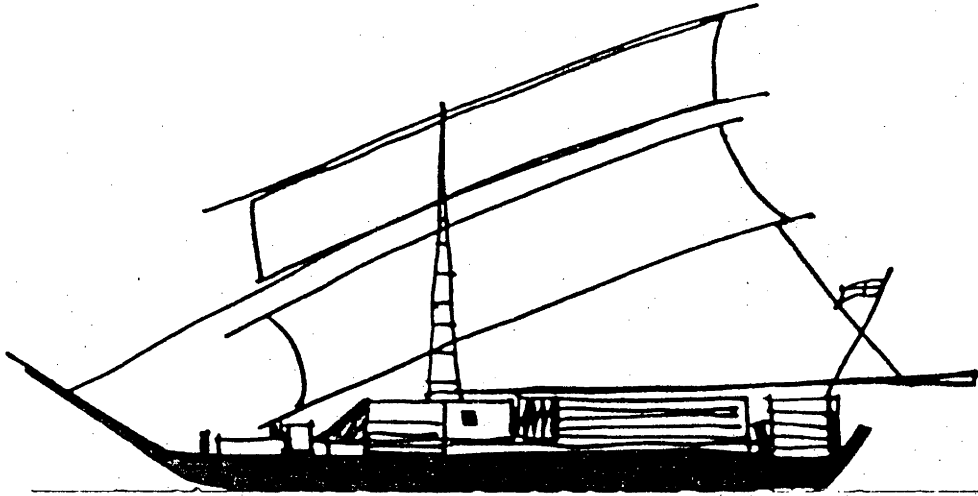


FIG 4 MACASSAN PROA OF TYPE USED AROUND NORTHERN AUSTRALIA
UP TO ABOUT 1910

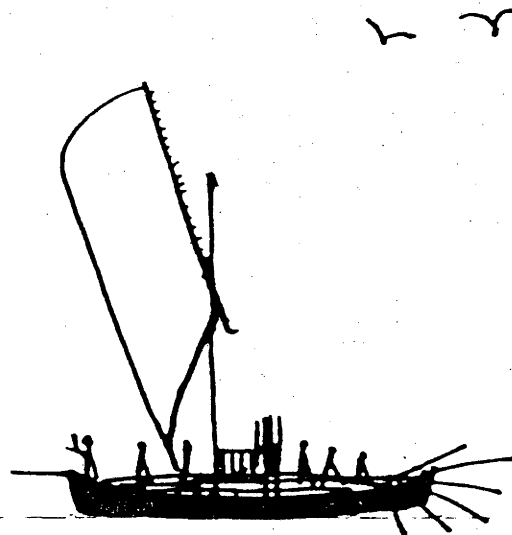


FIG 5 MACASSAN PROA OF SMALLER SIZE



FIG 6 DUG OUT CANOE (WITH SAULT) USED BY ABORIGINES
TECHNOLOGY GAINED FROM MACASSAN TREPANGERS



FIG 7 TRADITIONAL BARK LEAN-TO SHELTER.



FIG 8 TRADITIONAL BARK TENT SHELTER

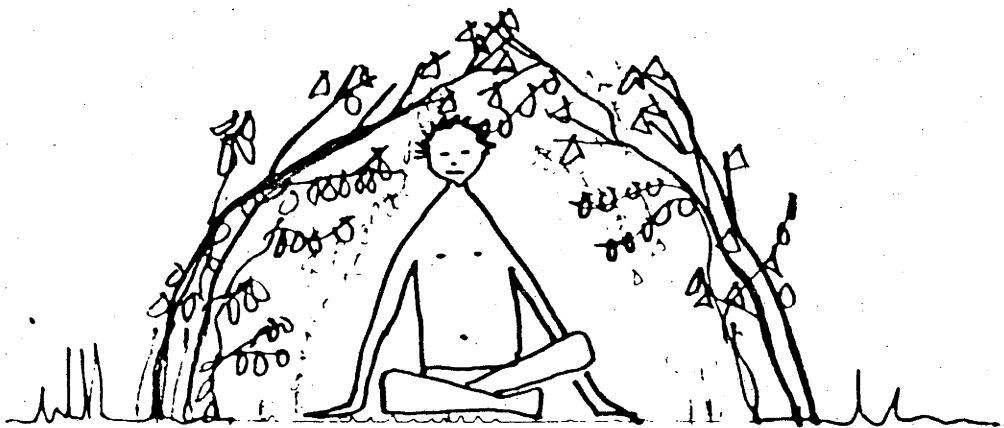


FIG 9 BRANCH & FOLIAGE SHELTER.

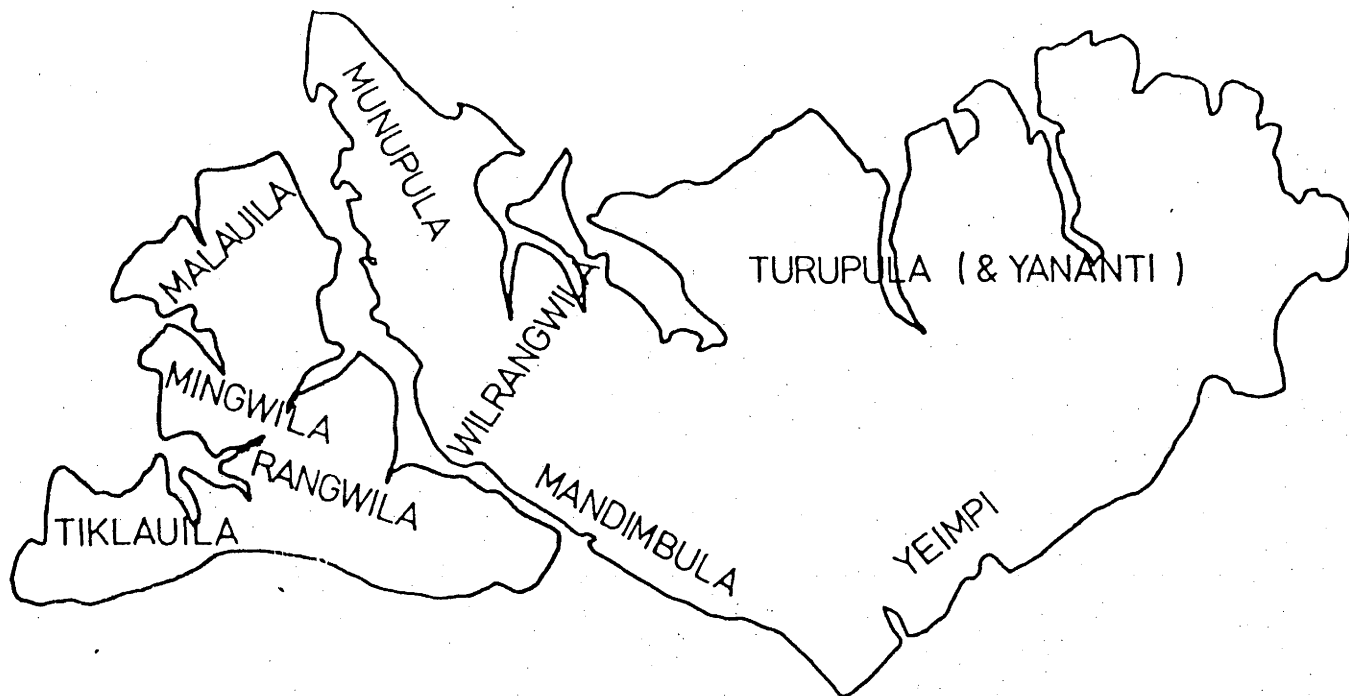


FIG.10 LOCATION OF TIWI BANDS BATHURST & MELVILLE ISLANDS.

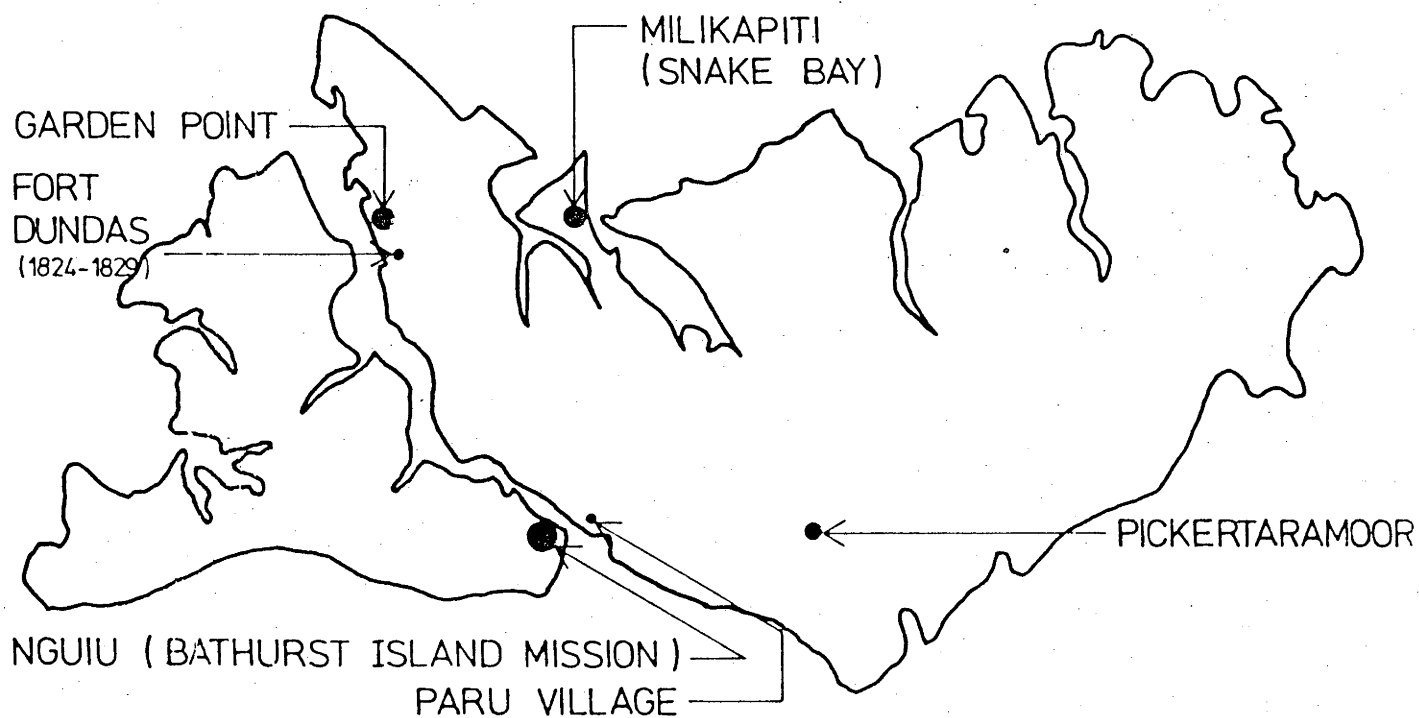


FIG.11 LOCATION OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS BATHURST & MELVILLE ISLANDS.

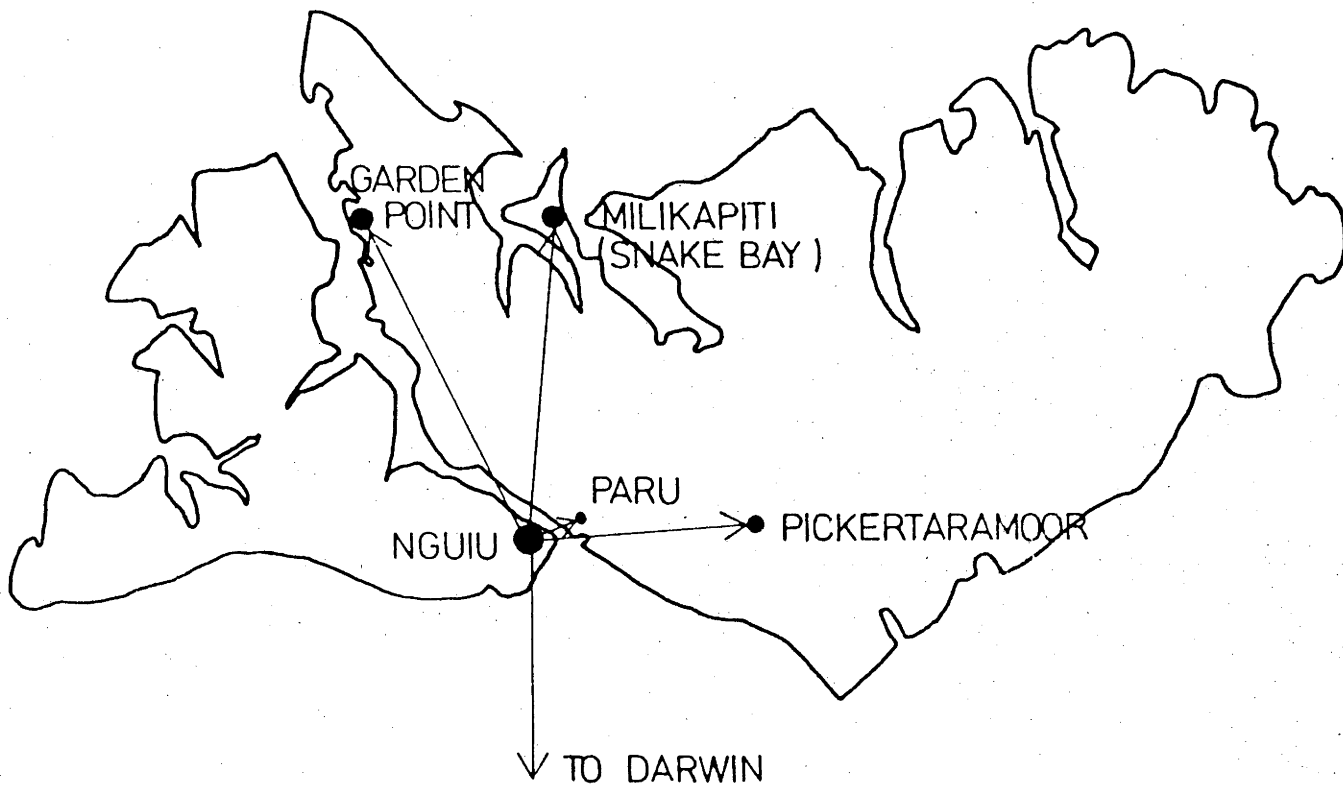


FIG. 12 MIGRATION PATTERN OF TIWI BETWEEN SETTLEMENTS

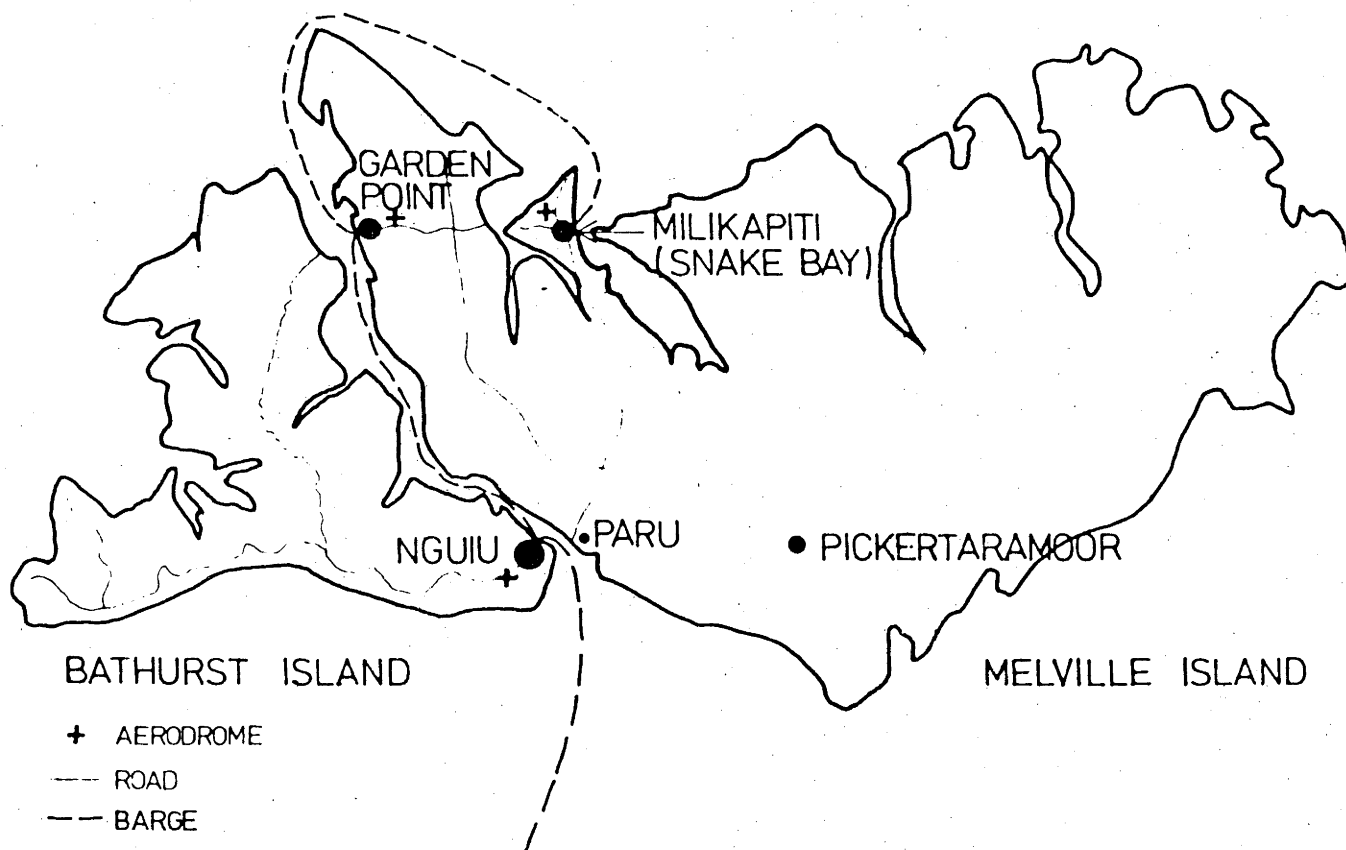
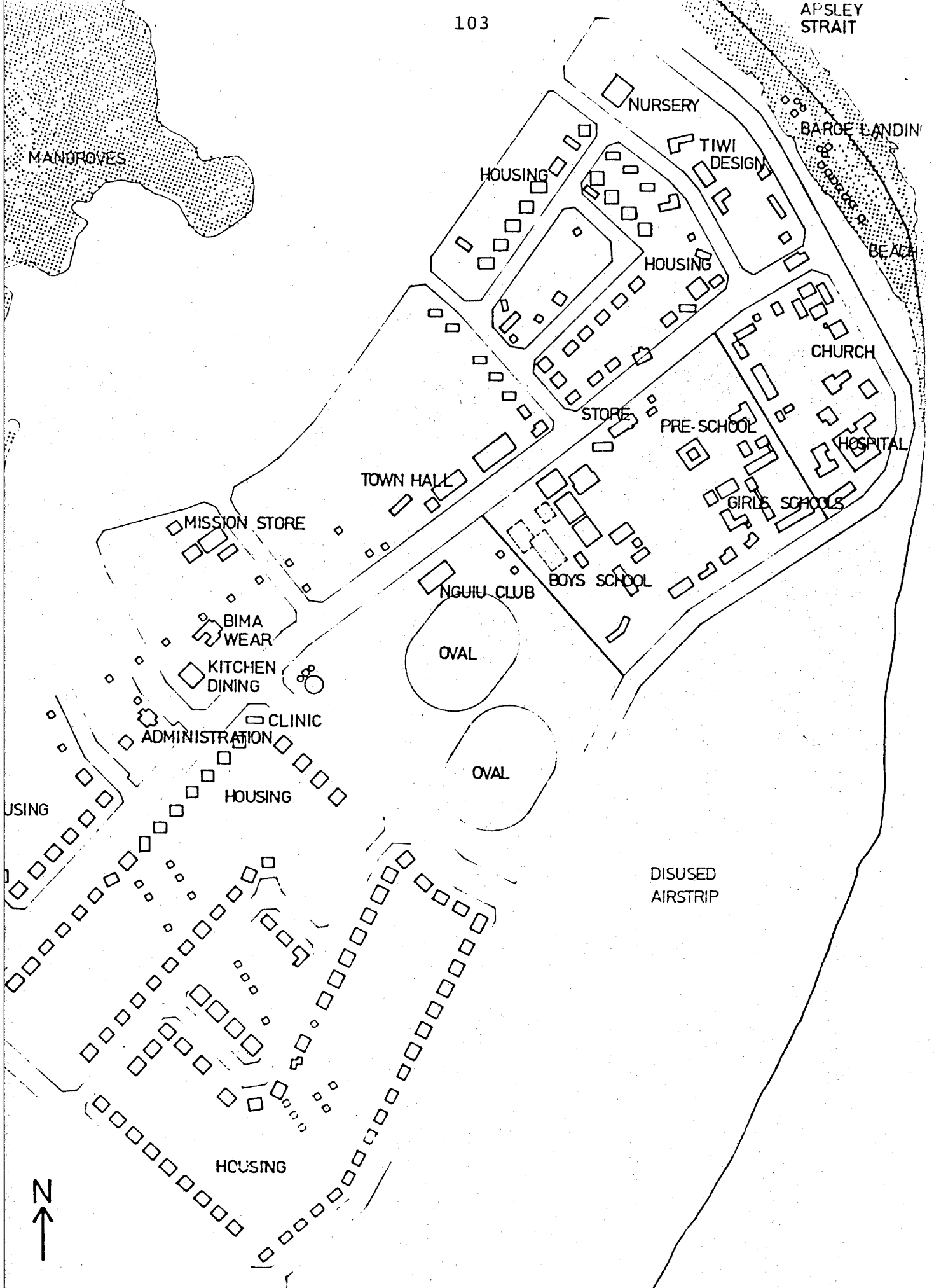
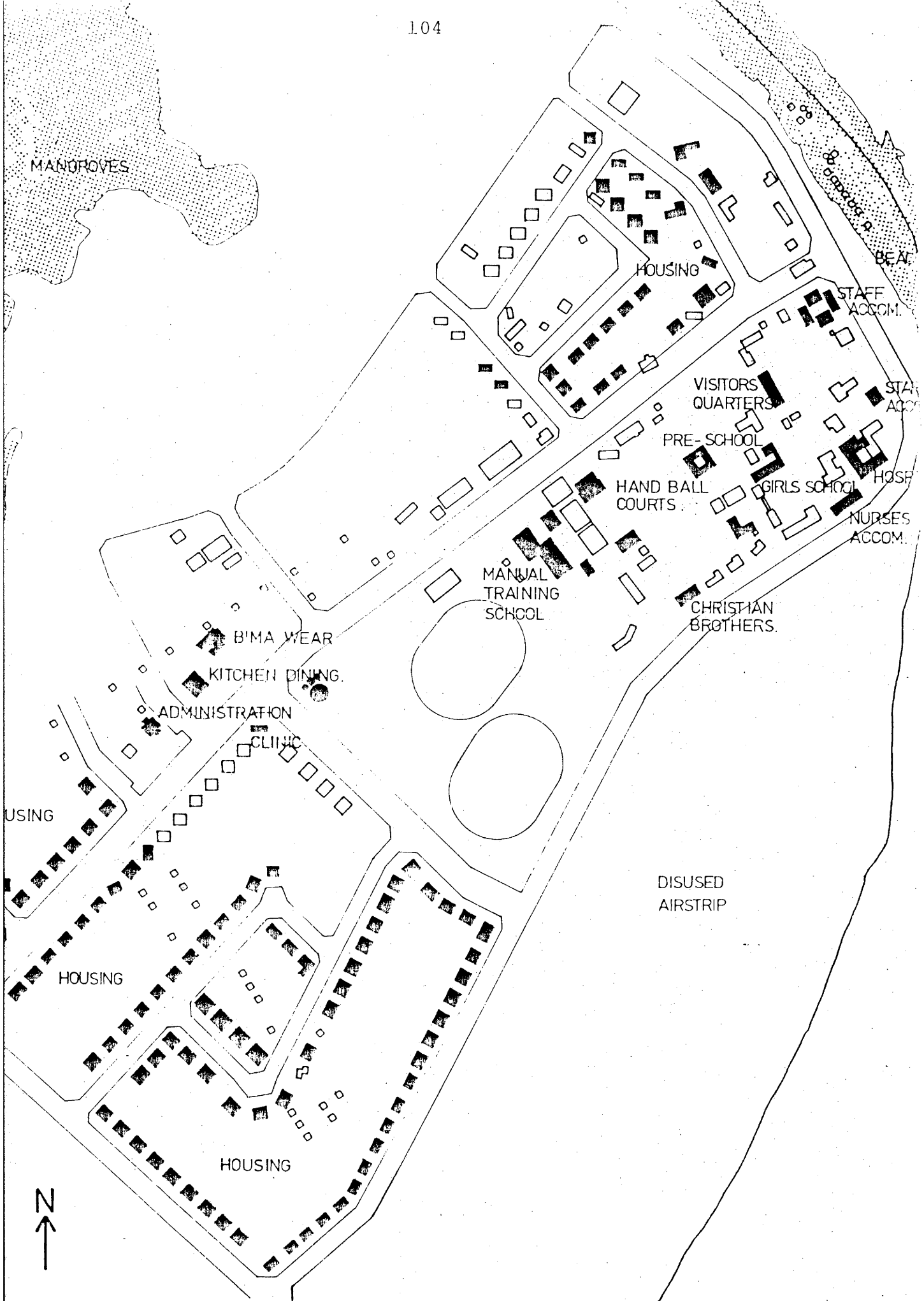


FIG. 13 TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION ROUTES THE TIWI ISLANDS



14 NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA. PLAN

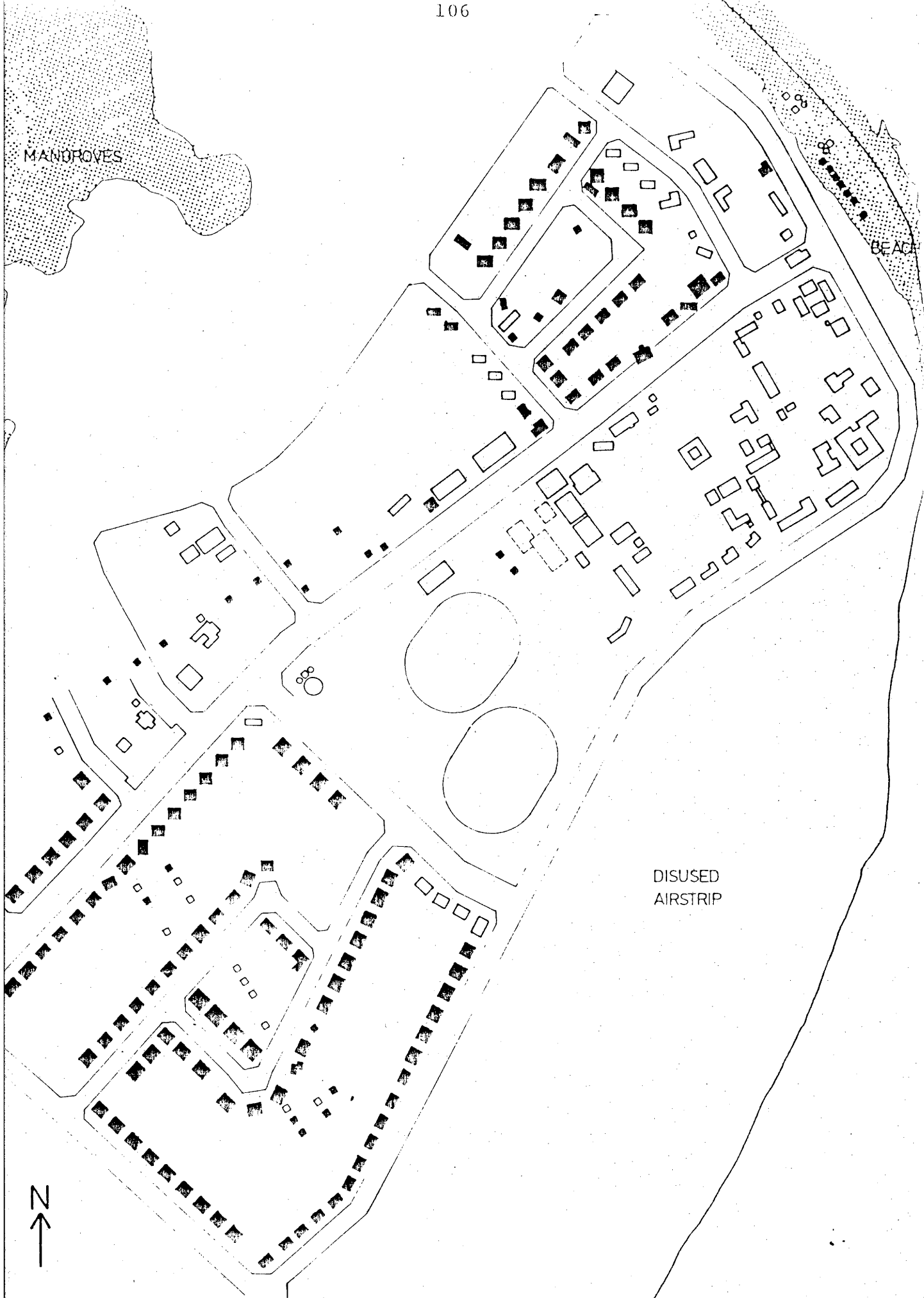


15 NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.
 EXTENT OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION DURING PERIOD 1974-1978

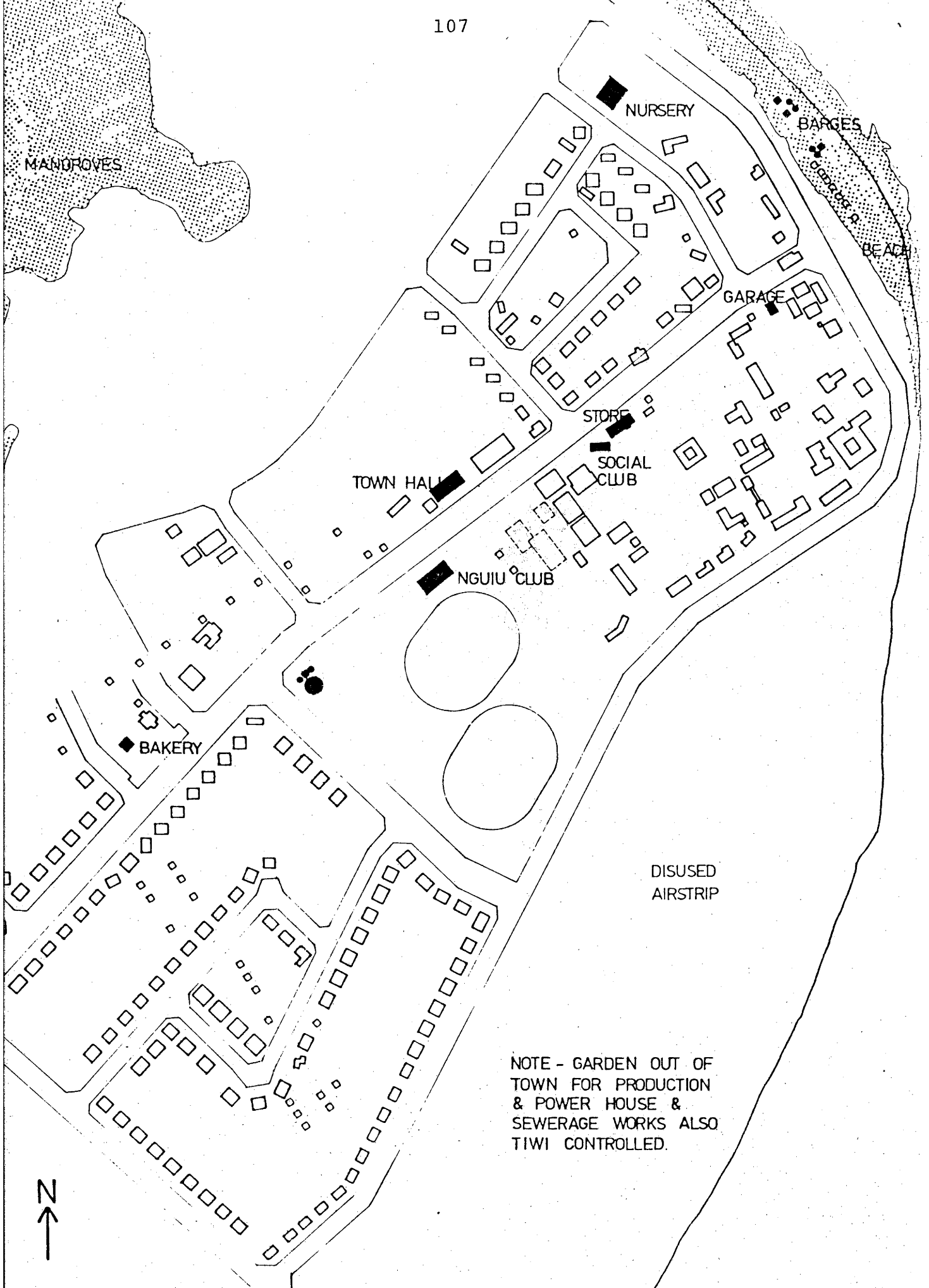
MANDROVES



16. NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.
 TIWI OCCUPIED HOUSING, NINETY SEVEN (97) CONSTRUCTED 1974-78

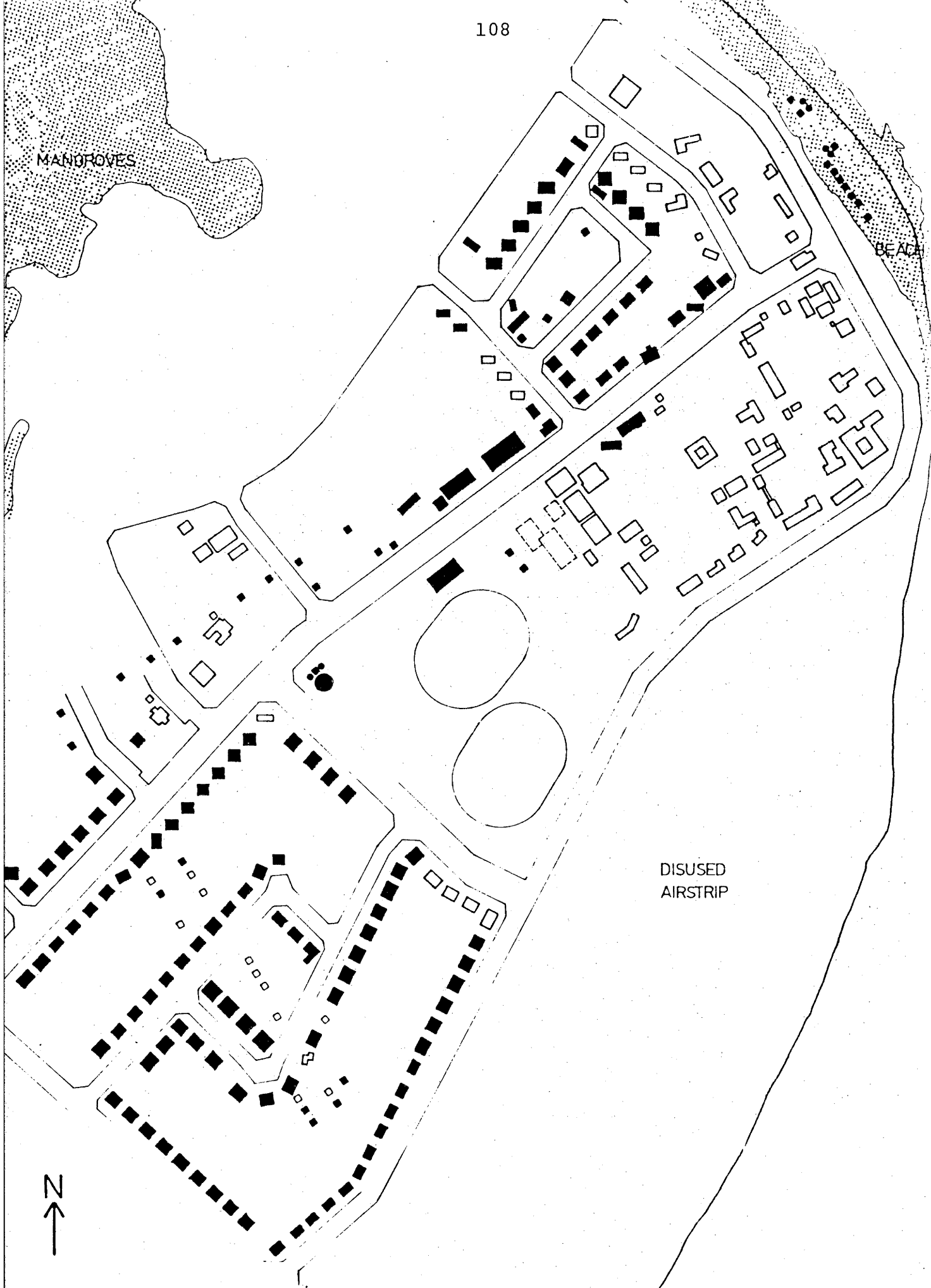


17 NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.
EXTENT OF ALL TIWI OCCUPIED DWELLINGS (INCLUDING HUTS)



NOTE - GARDEN OUT OF TOWN FOR PRODUCTION & POWER HOUSE & SEWERAGE WORKS ALSO TIWI CONTROLLED.

18 NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA. EXTENT OF TIWI CONTROLLED ENTERPRISES 1978



619 NGUIU, BATHURST ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.
EXTENT OF TIWI CONTROLLED OR OCCUPIED BUILDINGS 1978

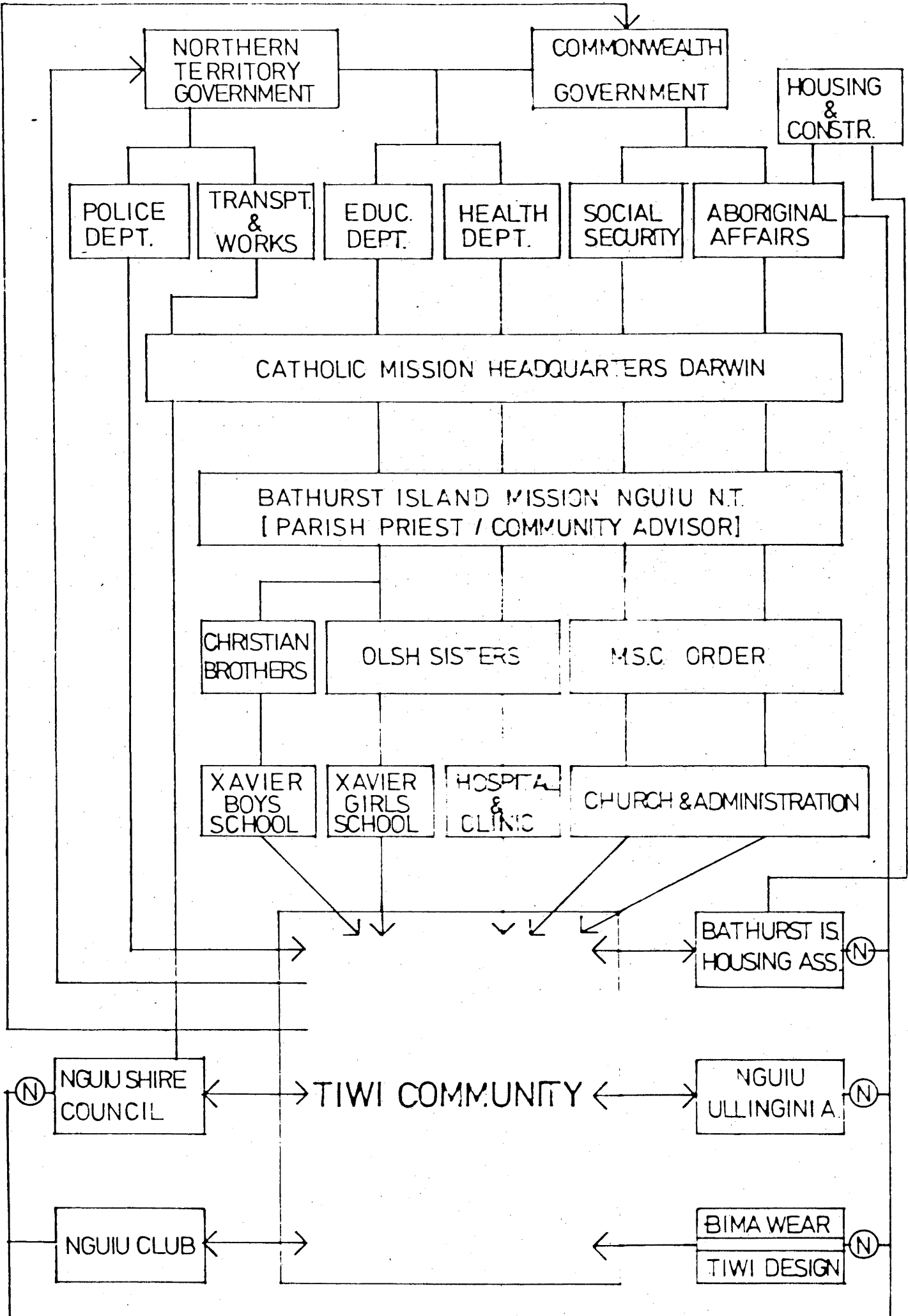


FIG 20 MAJOR ORGANISATIONS RELATING TO TIWI COMMUNITY AT NGUIU N.T.

RELATIVE POPULATION OF NGUIU (BATHURST ISLAND) AND
SNAKE BAY & GARDEN POINT (MELVILLE ISLAND.)

	NGUIU BATHURST IS.	GARDEN POINT MELVILLE IS.	SNAKE BAY MELVILLE IS.	MELVILLE IS. TOTAL
1960	911	116 (c)	184	
1961	948	118 (c)	189	349
1962	882	151 (c)	228	359
1963	869	104 (c)	239	343
1964	877	100 (c)	286	366
1965	905	7 (c)	269	346
1966	818	58 (c)	283	341
1967	887	69 (c)*	260	
1968	816	52	267	319
1969	817	61	231	306
1970	854	76	210	335
1971	863	83	254	338
1972	923	166	238	404
1973	902	179	247	426

TABLE 1

C = HALF-CASTE CHILDREN HOUSED AT GARDEN POINT.

* CATHOLIC HALF-CASTE MISSION CLOSED.

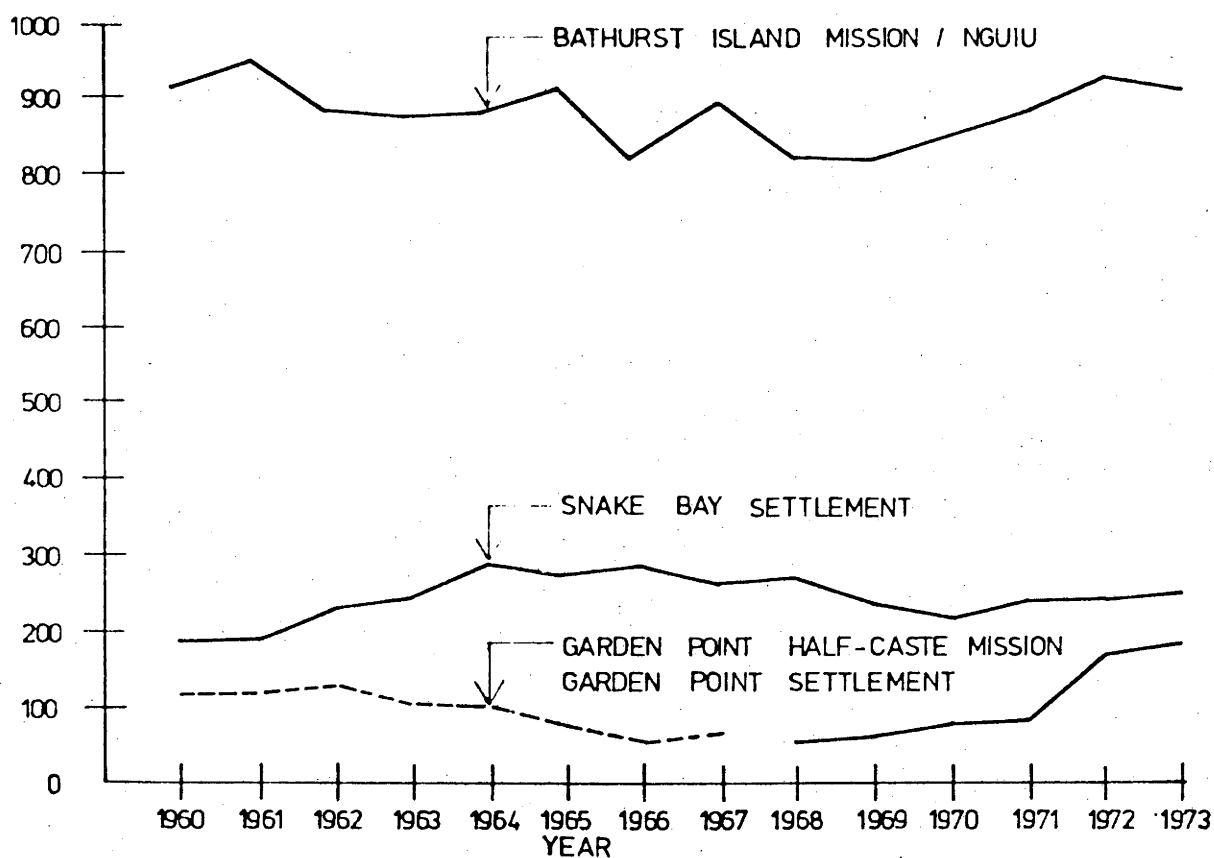
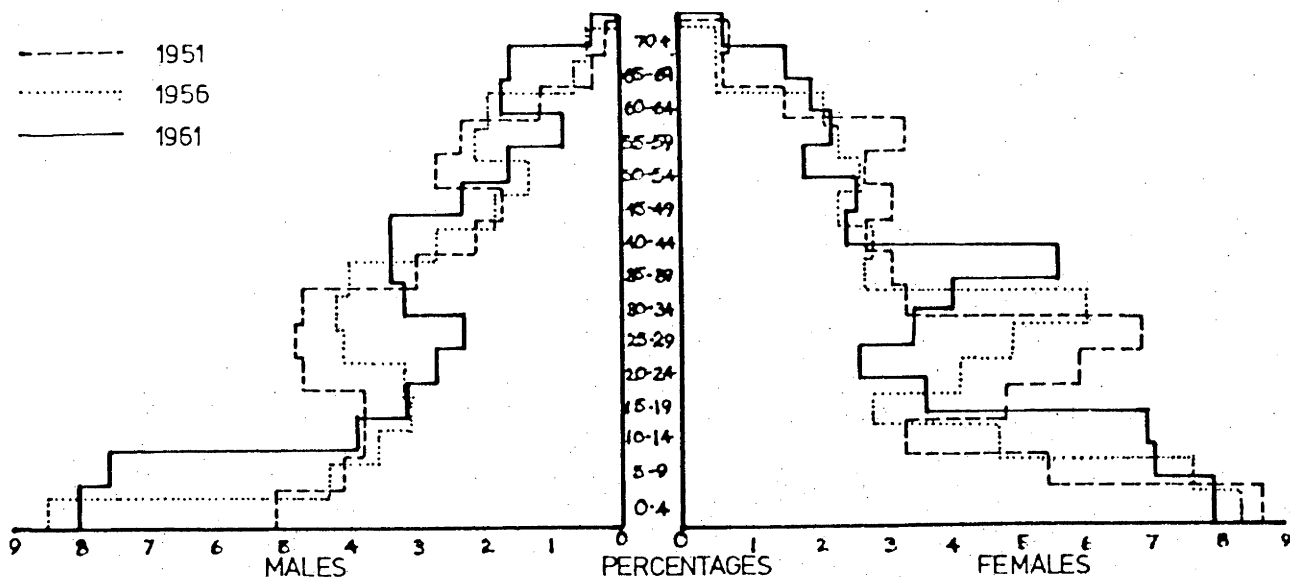


FIG. 21 RELATIVE POPULATION NGUIU , SNAKE BAY & GARDEN POINT
(1960 - 1973)



BATHURST ISLAND MISSION (NGUI) AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION 1951, 1956 & 1961 (AFTER LANCASTER JONES FIG 22)

BATHURST ISLAND MISSION (NGUI) ESTIMATED AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION 1951, 1956, 1961, 1968

AGE GROUP.	1951*				1956*				1961*				1968			
	M	F	P	%	M	F	P	%	M	F	P	%	M	F	P	%
0 - 4	56	61	97	(14)	66	65	131	(17)	71	70	141	(16)	68	65	131	(16)
5 - 14	56	61	117	(16)	62	96	156	(20)	101	123	224	(28)	121	105	224	(28)
OVER 14	221	272	493	(70)	229	262	491	(63)	235	282	517	(59)	160	299	459	(58)
TOTAL	313	394	707	(100)	357	423	780	(100)	407	475	882	(100)	349	467	816	(100)

(* DERIVED FROM TABLE II.2 LANCASTER JONES 1963 P.28)
SOURCE WELFARE BRANCH (N.T.A.) ANNUAL REPORT 1967 / 68

TABLE 2

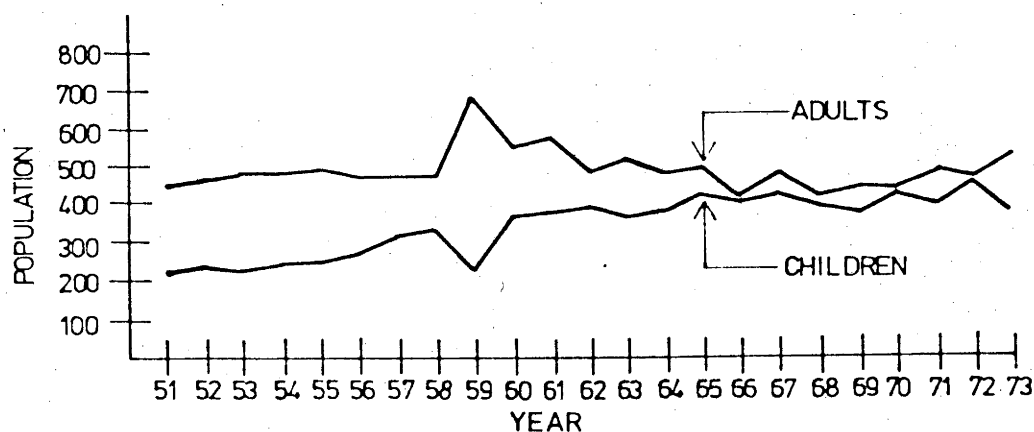


FIG.23 POPULATION ADULTS (+16) / CHILDREN AT NGUIU 1951 - 1973

BATHURST ISLAND MISSION : RESIDENT ABORIGINAL POPULATION 1950 / 76

DATE	ADULTS			CHILDREN			TOTAL		
	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
1950-51			435			222			647
1951-52			459			235			684
1952-53			482			228			710
1953-54			481			243			724
1954-55			487			261			758
1955-56									
30.6.56			471			286			757
30.6.57	220	280	470	146	167	313	366	417	783
30.6.58	242	230	472	180	150	330	422	380	802
30.6.59	309	388	697	81	147	228	390	535	925
30.6.60	243	304	547	176	188	364	419	492	911
30.6.61	271	306	577	177	194	371	448	500	948
30.6.62	237	285	492	180	210	390	417	465	882
30.6.63	240	267	507	179	183	362	419	450	869
30.6.64	235	257	492	171	194	365	426	451	877
30.6.65	241	255	496	203	206	409	444	461	905
30.6.66	188	228	416	204	201	405	389	429	818
30.6.67			476			411			887
30.6.68	144	279	423	205	188	393	349	467	816
30.6.69	172	271	443	194	180	374	366	451	817
30.6.70	184	260	444	222	188	410	406	448	854
30.6.71	226	258	484	204	195	399	430	453	883
30.6.72	212	255	467	253	203	456	465	458	923
30.6.73	263	269	532	201	169	370	464	438	902
74									
75									
30.6.76									895

1976 CENSUS OF POPULATION INCLUDES NON ABORIGINALS
LIVING AT NGUJU

LEGEND - M = MALES ; F = FEMALES ; P = MALE & FEMALE POPULATION

SOURCES ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY ,
ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE WELFARE BRANCH OF THE
N.T. ADMINISTRATION.

D.A.A. N.T. DIVISION ANNUAL REPORT 1972 - 73 , 1976 CENSUS

TABLE 3

BATHURST ISLAND MISSION ANNUAL BIRTHS & DEATHS OCCURRING
TO THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION 1952 - 1961. & 1973 - 1977

YEAR	BIRTHS			DEATHS			CRUDE BIRTH RATE	CRUDE DEATH RATE	NATURAL INCREASE
	M	F	P	M	F	P			
1952	13	18	31	3	11	14	43	20	23
1953	15	12	25	7	7	14	34	19	15
1954	18	12	30	2	12	14	41	19	22
1955	19	16	35	13	6	19	46	25	21
1956	15	16	31	4	6	10	40	13	27
1952-56	78	74	162	29	42	71	41	19	22
1957	22	19	41	4	3	7	52	9	43
1958	24	14	38	12	6	18	46	22	24
1959	20	19	39	14	10	24	46	28	18
1960	12	11	23	9	5	14	27	16	11
1961	23	22	45	10	10	20	51	23	28
1957-61	101	85	186	49	34	83	45	20	25
1973	11	13	24	6	6	12	26	13	13
1974	11	18	29	5	5	10	32	11	21
1975	16	14	30	10	7	17	33	19	14
1976	16	24	40	7	13	20	44	22	22
1977	18	13	31	10	6	16	34	17	17
1973-77	72	82	154	38	37	75	34	17	17

NOTE : 1952 - 61 STATISTICS FROM LANCASTER JONES 1963
1973 - 77 STATISTICS BASED ON MISSION RECORDS AND DOES
NOT INCLUDE DEATHS OCCURRING IN DARWIN.
THE CRUDE BIRTH & DEATH RATES ARE BASED ON THE
1973 POPULATION OF 902.

TABLE 4

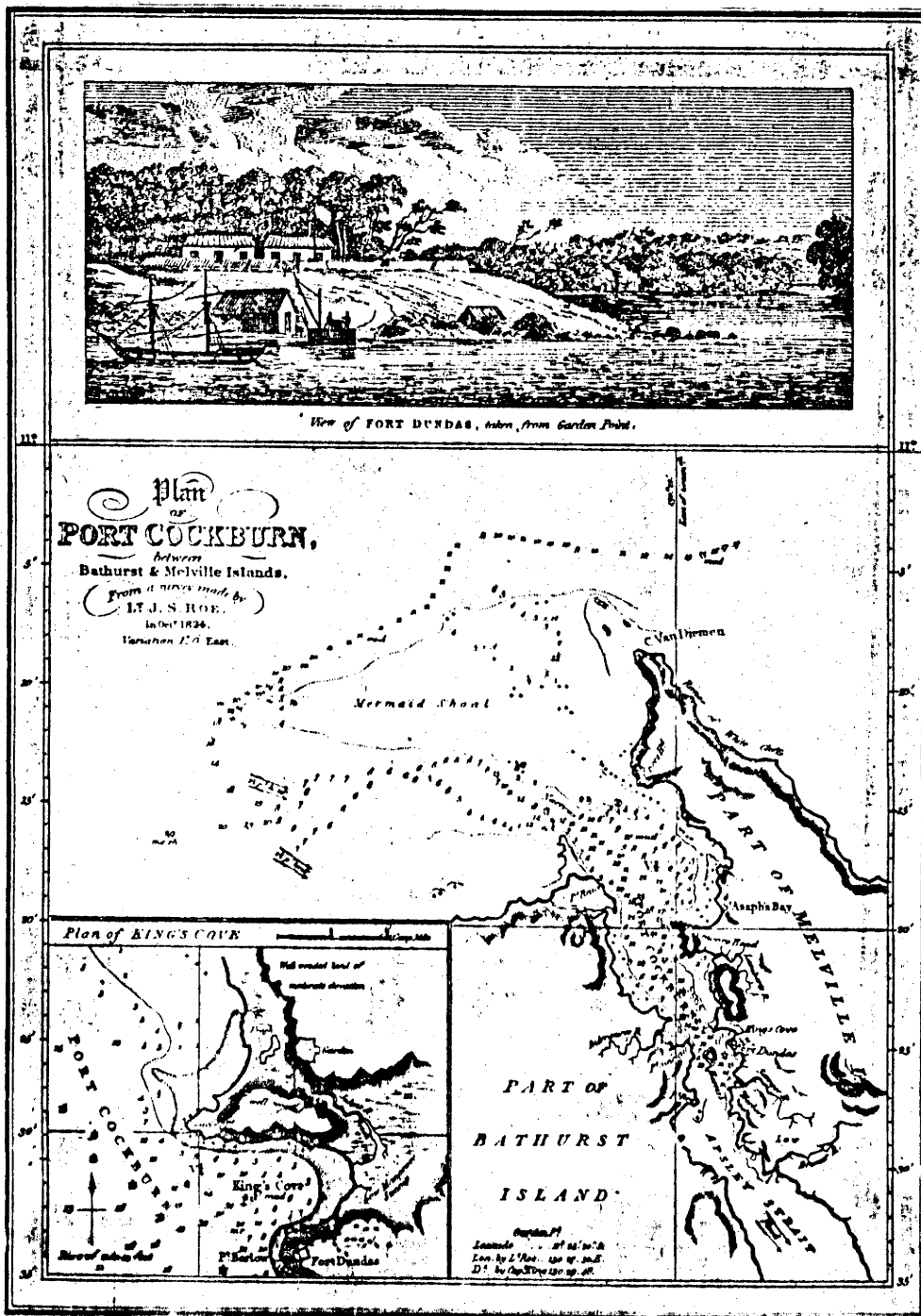


PLATE 1. FORT DUNDAS (1824 - 29) FROM GARDEN PT.



PLATE 2 CHURCH CONSTRUCTED 1961



PLATE 3 ORIGINAL HOSPITAL (EXTENDED 1975)



PLATE 4 PRESBETRY, BATHURST ISLAND MISSION

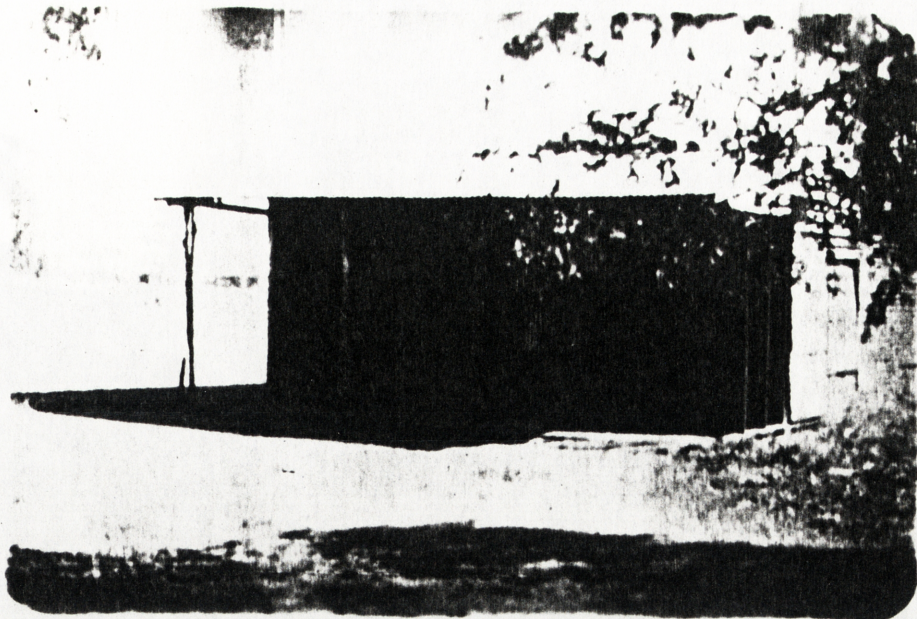


PLATE 5 TYPE OF DWELLING OCCUPIED BY TIWIS AT NGUIU PRIOR TO 1975-77 'HOUSING BOOM.'

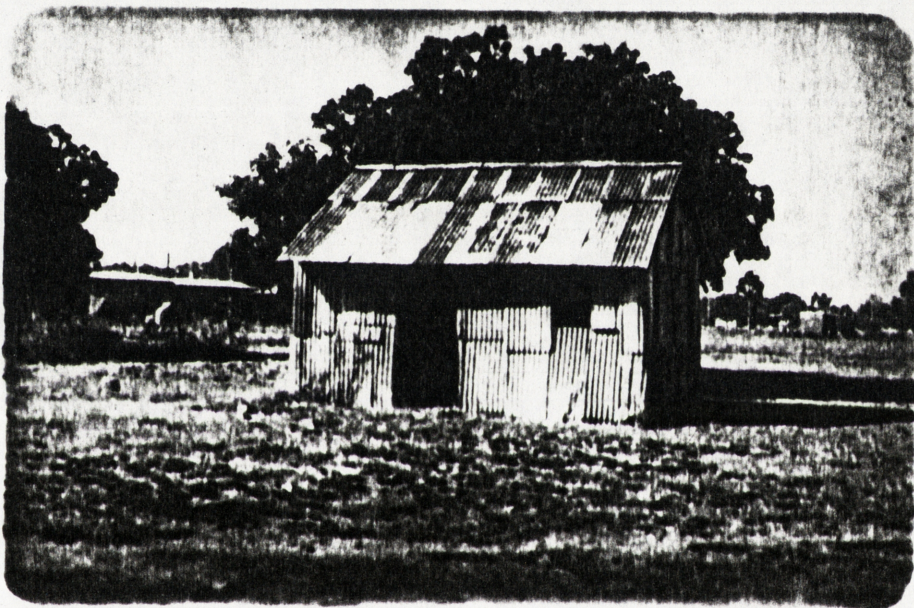


PLATE 6 APPROXIMATELY THIRTY OF THESE DWELLINGS STILL EXIST WITH ABOUT TWENTY OCCUPIED.

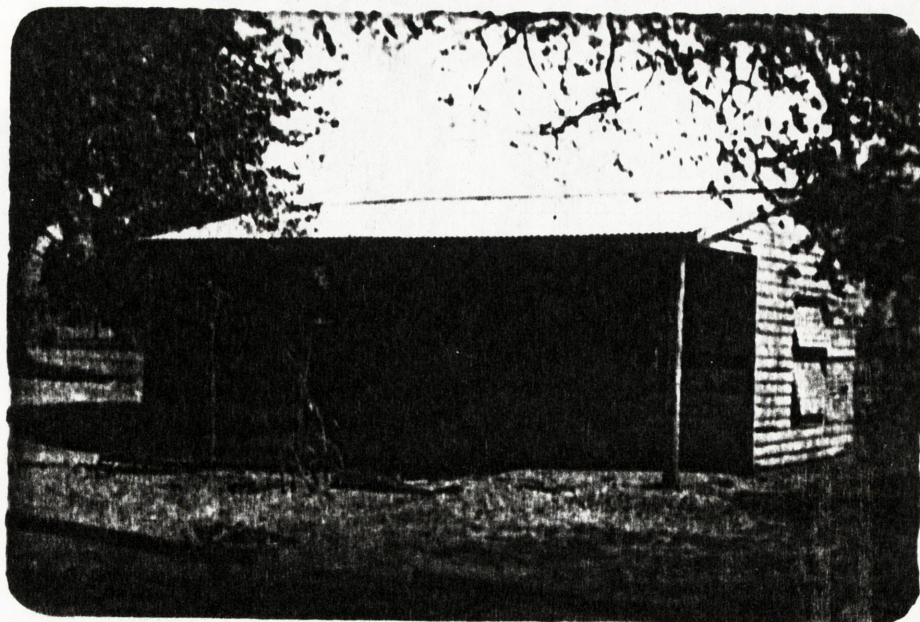


PLATE 7 THESE DWELLINGS ARE USUALLY OCCUPIED BY OLDER PEOPLE (NOTE TAKEN PUKAMANI POLES AFTER A DEATH.)

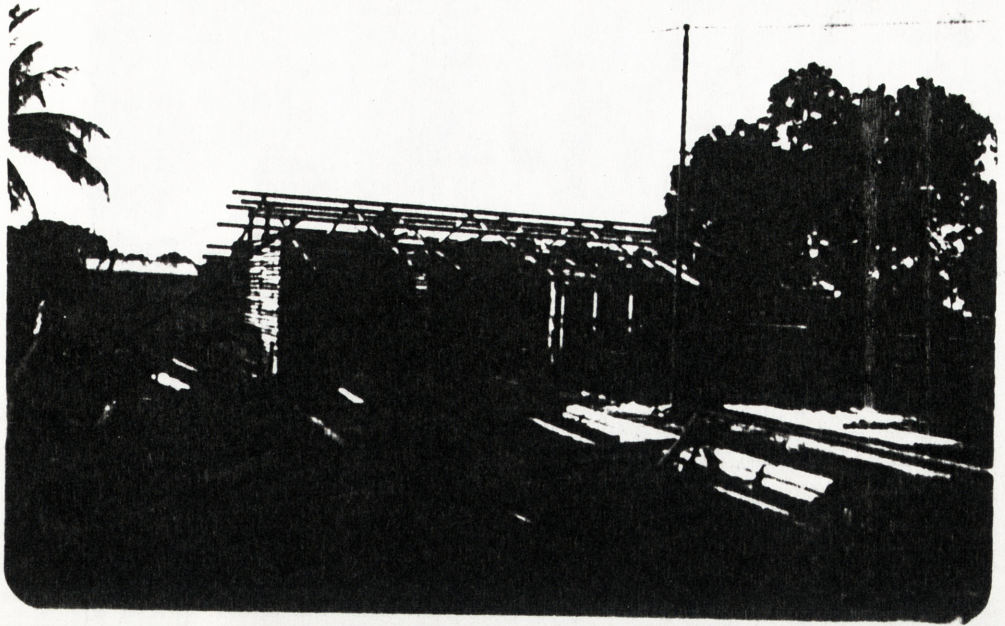


PLATE 8 LOG CABIN TYPE HOUSE UNDER CONSTRUCTION FOR FUTURE TIWI OCCUPATION OCTOBER 1978

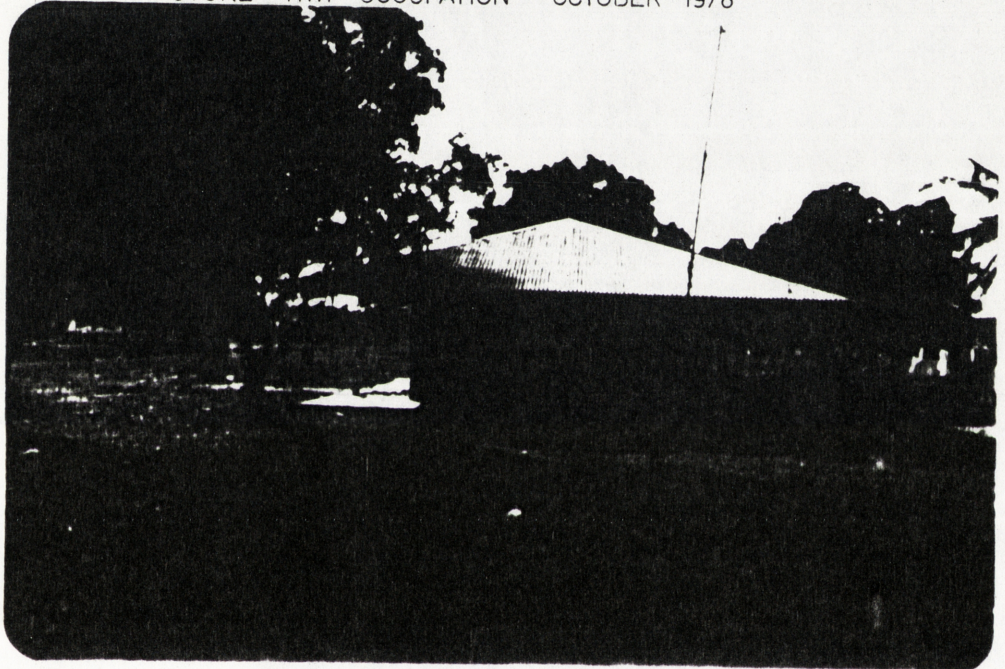


PLATE 9 'MARGARET MARY' TYPE HOUSE CONSTRUCTED FOR TIWI OCCUPATION BY BATHURST ISLAND HOUSING ASS 1977

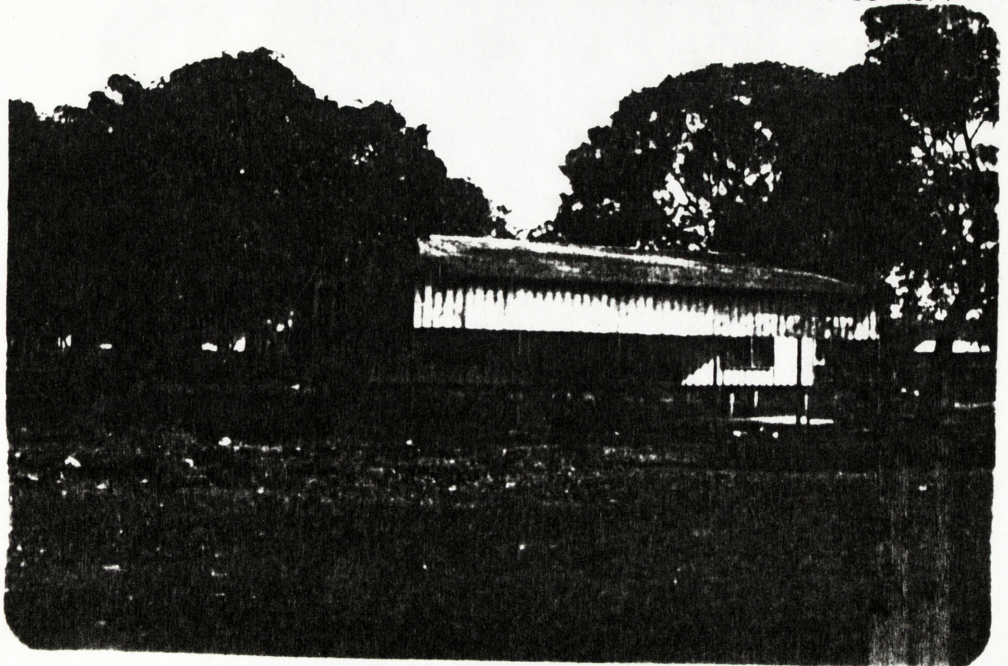


PLATE 10 HOUSE CONSTRUCTED FOR TIWI OCCUPATION 1976

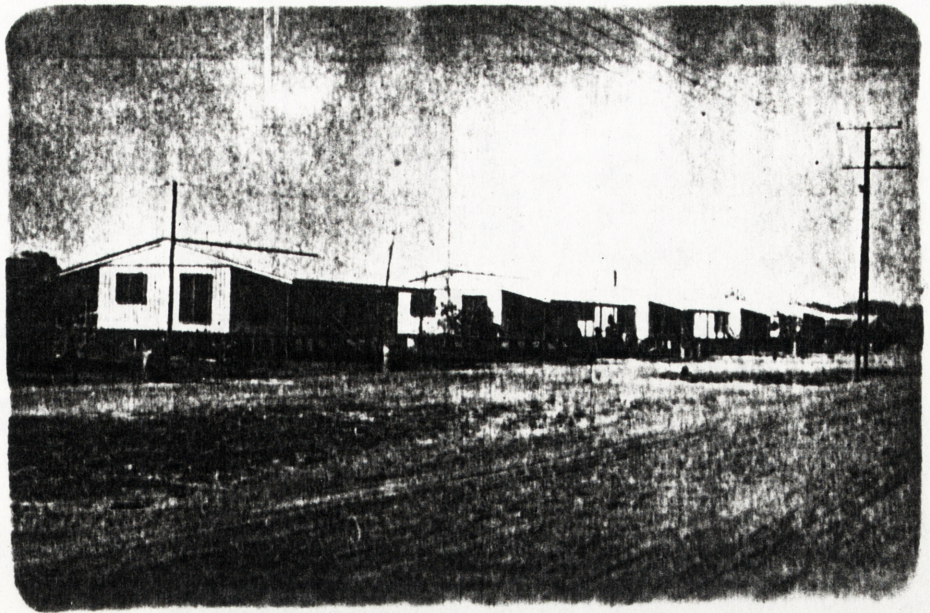


PLATE 11 TIWI OCCUPIED HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BY BATHURST ISLAND HOUSING ASSOCIATION 1975 - 77



PLATE 12 'MARGARET MARY' TYPE TIWI OCCUPIED HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BY BATHURST ISLAND HOUSING ASS. 1977



PLATE 13 HOUSING IS ARRANGED IN ROWS FACING STREETS ECHOING THE 'SUBURBIA' OF THE WIDER AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY.

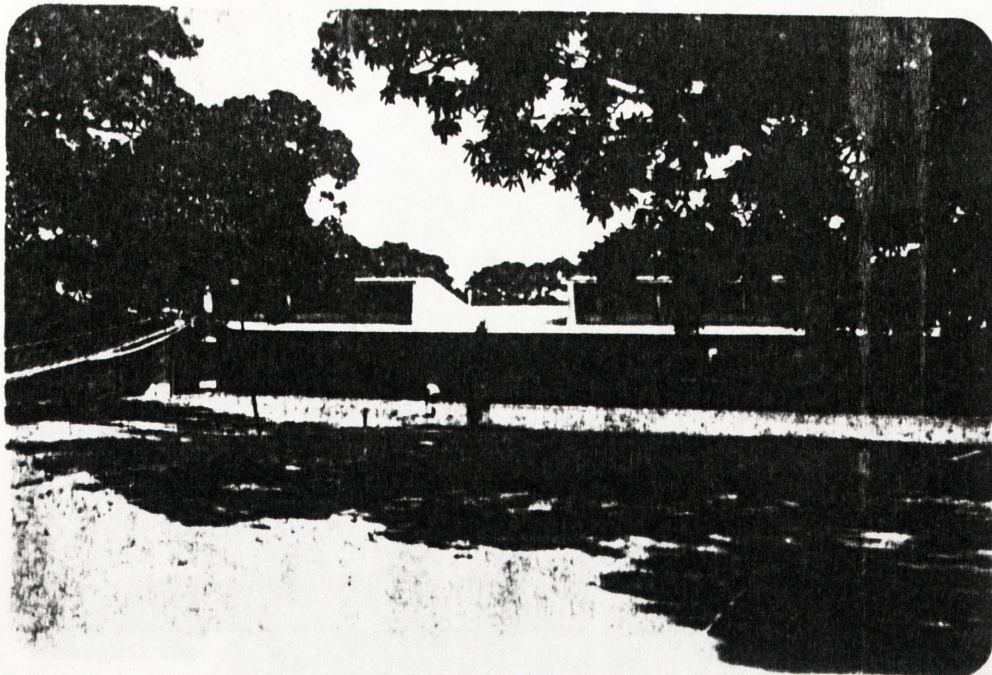


PLATE 14 SCHOOL BUILDING (GIRLS SCHOOL) CONSTRUCTED 1975

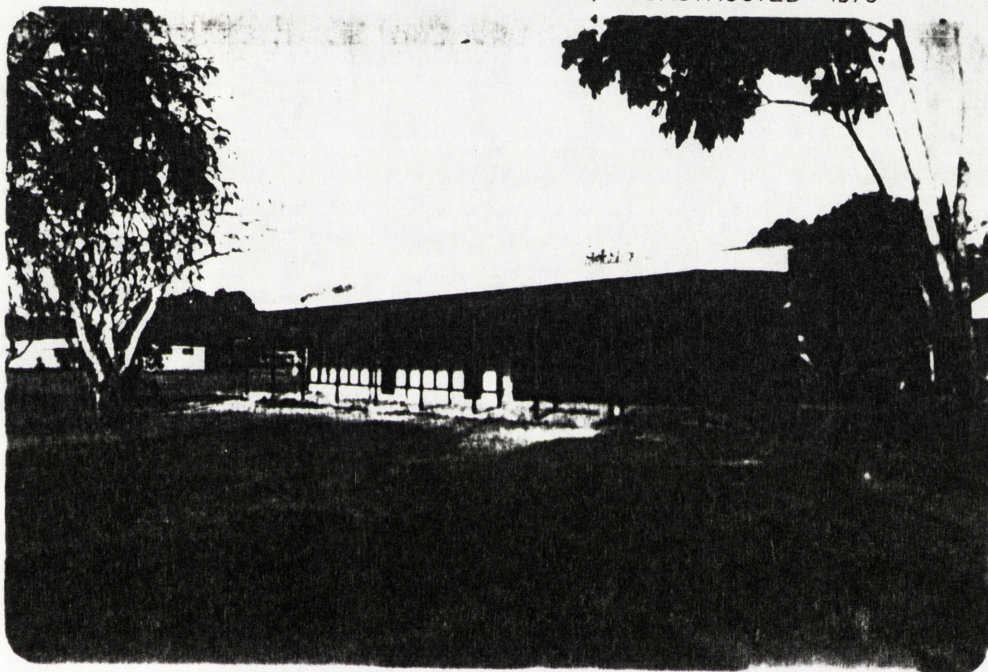


PLATE 15 SCHOOL BUILDING (BOYS SCHOOL) CONSTRUCTED 1978

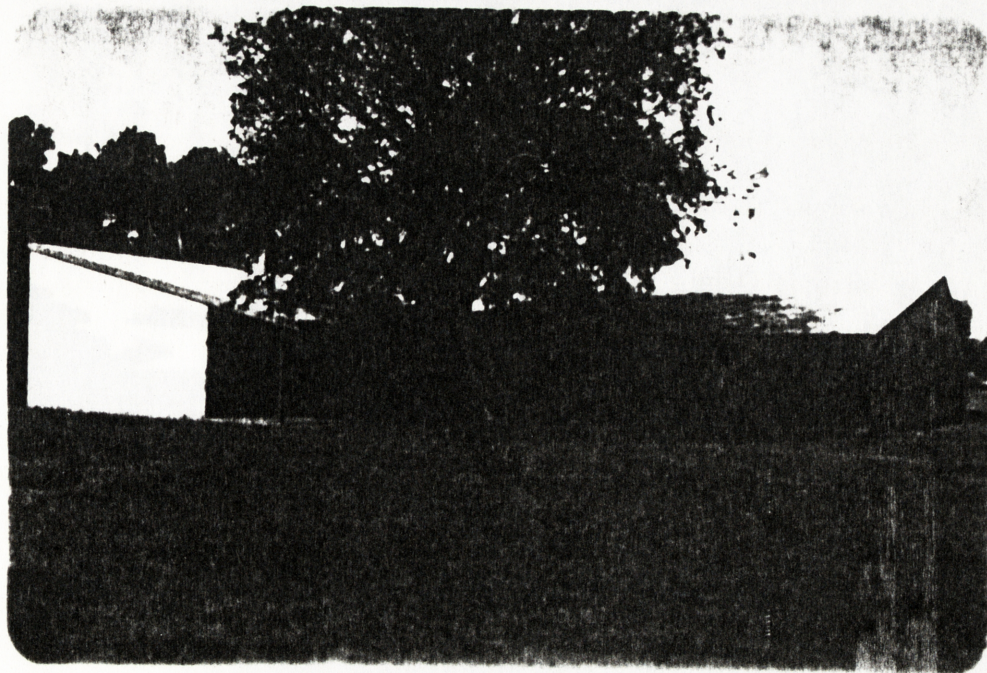


PLATE 16 SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTED 1988



PLATE 17 ACCOMMODATION BUILDING OCCUPIED BY THE O.L.S.H. ORDER OF SISTERS WHO OPERATE THE HOSPITAL & GIRLS SCHOOL.

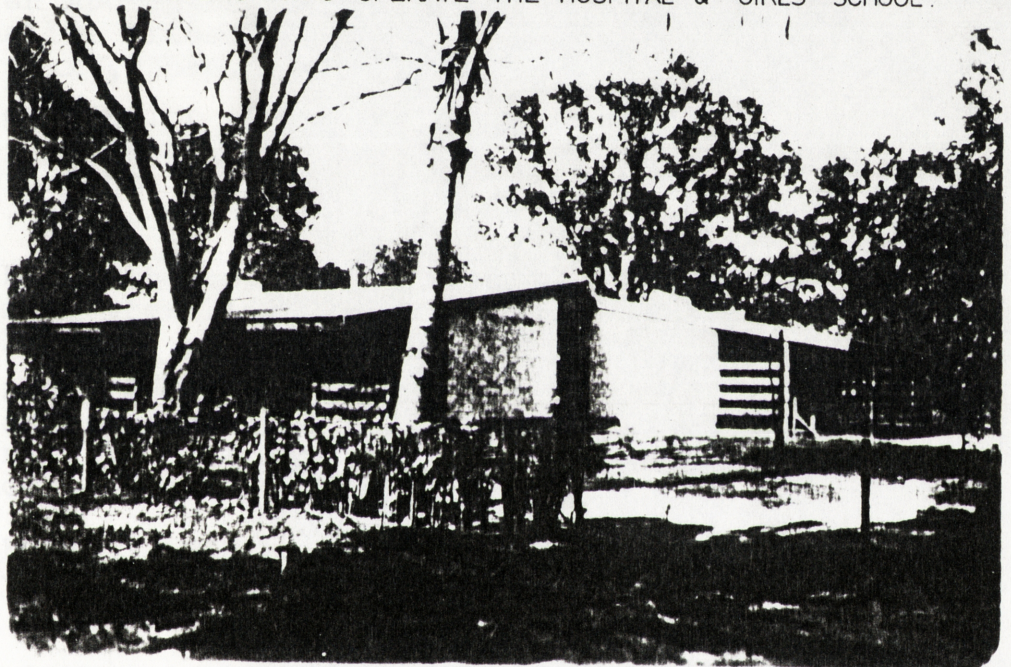


PLATE 18 ACCOMMODATION BUILDING OCCUPIED BY THE M.S.C. ORDER WHICH ADMINISTERS THE MISSION (CONSTRUCTED 1977)

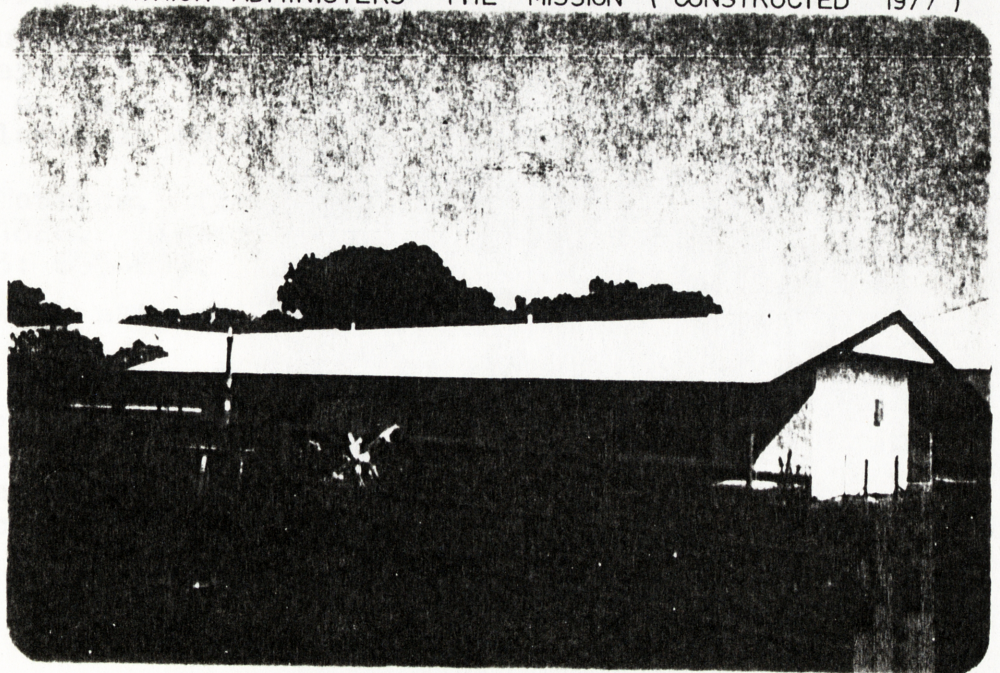


PLATE 19 NURSES QUARTERS FOR TRAINED NON TIWI STAFF

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