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THE PROPER BREADTH OF INTEREST
Norman B. Tindale: The Development of a Fieldworker in Aboriginal Australia 1900-1936

Karen R. Walter

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts
of the Australian National University.

July 1988

No page nos 93, 130 text o.k.

Rather than moving into the restricted area of the social structuralist he has maintained the proper breadth of interest that should characterize a scientist working with a vanishing native people.

J.B. Birdsell - letter supporting award of
Honorary Doctorate of Science
to N.B. Tindale
29 December 1966

Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Karen R. Walter
July 1988

For Poppa
who has inspired me
in so many ways

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not exist in its present form without the assistance and patient understanding of a large number of people.

I owe my greatest debt to my grandfather, Norman B. Tindale for letting me write about his life. He allowed me the privilege of access to all his journals and papers and let me "suck his brains", as he put it, for over a month. During talks with him in February and March 1987 I gained an insight into his motivations and ambitions which was crucial in writing this thesis. I also want to thank Muriel for letting me steal her husband away for hours on end and for looking after me and my husband so wonderfully during our stay in Palo Alto. The friendship and encouragement of the Bardins, Robert Nevin and Valerie McCarthy also helped to make the trip especially memorable. I owe similar debts to Professor J.B. Birdsell for talking with me about his experiences with Tindale, and to his wife, Roslein, for making us so welcome in their home in Malibu. Dr. C.J. Hackett also offered many unique insights into Tindale in the field and I am grateful for the chance to talk with him. The kindness of Dr. and Mrs. Hackett during our stay in London will always be remembered.

This overseas trip would not have been possible without the financial assistance of the Australian National University. The continual encouragement and advice of my supervisor, Dr. Campbell Macknight, has been essential to the completion of this thesis. I am grateful to him for his patience and understanding when problems resulting from the death of my father-in-law interrupted my work. I also owe a thankyou to Dr. Luise Hercus and Professor Isabel McBryde, my advisers, who both realized how important it was that I be given the opportunity to go to the United States to interview Tindale and supported my application. Their suggestions before and after reading drafts of my thesis were also helpful. I would like to thank, Shirley Bradley for her kindness and for being a great listener in times of crisis, Anne Player for her encouragement and Melanie Bleeze for helping to unravel the mysteries of the computer.

During 1986 I worked in the archives of the South Australian Museum. There I was helped by Philip Jones and Kaye Clark. Philip Jones has also been helpful in chasing up documentation for me in the later stages of this thesis.

I must also thank my friends; Lynette Zeitz who is always there when I need someone to moan to and Vivienne Wood for her speedy typing and cheerfulness.

The continual support of my family during the writing of this thesis was vital. I owe a huge thankyou; to Mum for loving moral support, for reading drafts and making comments, for the interview she conducted with her father, Norman Tindale, in January 1986, for digging up photos and for her own reminiscences; to Dad for holding things together as always and for his sense of humour which got me through the bad times; to Gary and Sanya for cheering me up when things looked bleak.

To my husband Paul I owe everything. He was with me continually throughout the creation of this thesis. Without his love, unceasing support, advice, silly jokes and two finger typing, this epic would not have been completed.

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PROLOGUE

Only connect.....

E.M. Forster
Howards End

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA - Sunday 8 February 1987.

Norman B. Tindale Interview

The dimness of the afternoon closed around the window. Light spilled from the lamp suspended above my head, making patterns on the papers in front of me. The tape recorder purred as it absorbed his words.

As late as 1936 it was still generally accepted that the Australian Aboriginal was dying out. Scientists of the 1920s and 1930s worked with a sense of urgency, recording information about Aboriginal culture before it was irretrievably lost. He explained that this belief was the "driving force" for him, one he derived from "museum men" like the early Director of the South Australian Museum, Edward C. Stirling.

"For what reason?" I asked.

He became more animated, gesturing with his hands as he spoke of the importance of exact "preservation of things past". It was an attitude that he believed was "distinctly museum". It was recognized as a duty - his duty to record accurate knowledge of the manner of life of "people who were living in the way of our ancestors". They possessed knowledge that we would need in order "to understand how we had become civilized". It could make us aware of "the potentialities of the future". If we were to change and progress, meticulous recording of scientific knowledge was "so vital"...

*

SHIMOSHIBUYA, JAPAN- 17 December 1911.

> Each generation must do its own work in order that the next may have something solid to work upon...The pioneer seldom builds cities but his blazed path through the virgin forest opens an easier journey for the builders who come after.[1]

In a house in the south-western part of the city of Tokyo, James Hepburn Tindale, accountant with the resident Salvation Army Mission, presented a small black notebook to his young son Norman. The fly-leaf displayed the title Common Place Book and on the following seven pages, Norman's father had transcribed in his fine copperplate hand- writing extracts from a philosophic text, The Young Man in Modern Life. These pages of notes constituted his advice to Norman on the way to live a good and productive life.

Norman, like many other young boys of eleven, spent his free time scouring the woods near his home searching out and collecting insects, particularly butterflies. However his interest went beyond the excitement of the catch. He gathered equipment for careful setting and preserving of his examples of Japanese Lepidoptera. Hours were consumed with the identification , classification, labelling, listing, describing and sketching of his specimens. He transformed the second half of his father's Common Place Book into a catalogue of *Heterocera Japonica* and it joined a stack of other similar notebooks on his shelves.

He began to compare his records and drawings with those of published entomological texts, checking and rechecking the accuracy of both. When not collecting in the field or hunched over setting boards and books, Norman would haunt the halls of the Imperial Museum in Tokyo fascinated by displays and documentation on the ways of life of other peoples. At home he read everything in his father's library, making notes from books on exploration and scientific discovery in exotic lands as well as books on geology and evolution. The first half of his

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[1]Beverly Warner, The Young Man in Modern Life in N.B. Tindale Common Place Book 1911, BRGPC

Common Place Book became a diary of facts, explanations and occurences of scientific interest, as well as a storehouse for proverbs and poetry.

Seizing upon the works of pioneers of the past, Norman read, collected, thought and wrote and began to build records of his own...

*

The tool which sculpts any life into its distinctive form is choice. To understand the whole, or even a fraction of the existence of one man, it is essential to trace the choices which gave that life its unique contour. For an historian or an interpreter of life the same forces operate. The interpreter will choose to spotlight events in his subject's life that help to elicit a particular picture of his development. So it is possible to take two dates - 8 February 1987 and 17 December 1911 - pulled out of time by an historian, and attempt to follow the path that winds between them. These two days, in themselves, may not be unlike any other days in the complete structure of a life. It is the historian who extracts and gives meaning to these moments by showing some connection between them.

There seems to be a certain continuity in the motivation of Tindale at the age of 86 and Norman aged 11. Both recognized the importance of recording scientific knowledge to be left as a legacy for the benefit of builders of the future. This correlation in ideas inspires the historian to delve into the time between these two dates to uncover the way in which aspirations are acted out in everyday living. What did Tindale do? What choices did he make to fulfil his father's precepts?

Norman Barnett Tindale chose to become a scientist and through entomology and biology he came to anthropology - the study of man. Choice in itself is controlled by context and possibility. Norman found himself in Adelaide , Australia in 1918 and he was able to realize his ambitions at the South Australian Museum. This institution offered him other choices, suggested to him ways of practising anthropology that differed from others current in Australia in the early twentieth century. It made possible associations with people who believed the study of man was a science and therefore should operate with the aims and methods of other scientific inquiry. These ideas brought Tindale into conflict with researchers who had different views about the meaning of, and issues involved in, the discipline of anthropology. The Australian context gave Tindale the opportunity to work in the field among Aboriginal people, who still lived in a "traditional" manner. He was able to record information about what he understood to be stone-age man.

Developments in anthropology in Britain and the United States also provided Tindale with choices. In the early twentieth century changes were taking place in theoretical ideas about the process of trying to understand and document other cultures. More emphasis was being placed upon the way in which research should be conducted - upon the choice of method. These developments formed a backdrop to the scene in which Tindale was working and they influenced the evolution of his own aims and approaches.

In order to interpret the experience of an individual anthropologist the historian must elucidate the choices affecting the progression of that life. Similarly, if the researcher's aim is to document the history of anthropology as a field of study, he must be conscious that its development is a process of individual anthropologists forming and adhering to new concepts and procedures and discarding the old. The acceptance, surrender, co-existence or conflict of different choices of theory and technique in the discipline of anthropology is integral to its historical evolution.

In the twentieth century anthropologists and historians have realized that because European colonization has caused the breakdown of most "traditional" societies, opportunities for ethnographic field research in such settings have become more limited. Thus the information collected at the earlier stages of this acculturation has greatly increased in value. However the parallel awareness that those records were not made in an historical vacuum but were a product of culture contact between subject and observer also makes necessary the analysis of the history of anthropological research itself. If the ethnographic information is to be used effectively, those using it must possess an understanding of the circumstances of its collection. There must be a realization of

> the selectivity of time, the selectivity of experience and the selectivity of interpretation[2]

The historical setting, the actual "time" in which the records were made, must be considered. The life of the collector involved and the manner in which this "experience" impinges upon the creation of the records must also be comprehended. The intellectual milieu should be examined because the progress and change in the ideas of other anthropologists makes up the theoretical and methodological background in which the fieldworker is operating. The wide choice of procedure available to the individual anthropologist can influence the way in which he interprets his evidence.

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[2]Greg Dening, Islands and Beaches (Honolulu,1980) p.93

Between 17 December 1911 and 8 February 1987, Tindale put into action his implicit belief in man's duty to record scientific knowledge for future generations. His choices led him to become a prolific collector of information about Aboriginal life in Australia. In terms of material gathered through ethnographic fieldwork, Tindale's most intensively productive period spans from his first association with the South Australian Museum in 1919 through to 1936 when he left Australia on a Carnegie Travelling Fellowship to Europe and the United States. During these years he was involved in at least sixteen major field expeditions, as well as many other shorter research trips. These years between the two world wars can be interpreted as a distinctive chapter in Tindale's working life. When included with his upbringing in Japan they constitute the first stage of his development as an anthropologist. It is within these first 36 years that the aims, ideas and methods which characterize the whole of Tindale's research life were initiated.

Defined steps in the progress of a life are the constructs of an historian. Each has a different beginning and conclusion depending upon the particular interpretation being made.

> It is the paradox that the more closely and scrupulously you follow someone's footsteps through the past the more conscious do you become that they never existed wholly in any one place along the recorded path. You cannot freeze them, you cannot pinpoint them, at any particular turn in the road, bend of the river, view from the window. They are always in motion, carrying their past lives over into the future.[3]

Yet the creation of loosely bound phases is an effective technique for an historian who is trying to extract some meaning from the contour of a subject's life or who is tracing the trail of particular aspects of that person's growth or experience. For this study of Tindale's development as an anthropologist, the year 1936 ends one period of his research life, centred upon the South Australian Museum and the Board for Anthropological Research at the University of Adelaide. The Carnegie trip in 1936 brought Tindale into contact with new people, offered him wider choices and altered the main focus of his research. The records amassed before 1936 - in the pages of field journals and notebooks, in the form of ethnological specimens and photographs - were collected in the context of specific ideas and involvements in Australian anthropology.

My focus on the years before the Carnegie trip is based on my interpretation that during this time Tindale developed his methods from his own field experience in Australia and was not influenced in significant ways by developments overseas.

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[3]Richard Holmes, Footsteps-Adventures of a Romantic Biographer(Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1985)p.69

However, while being an independent innovator of ideas in Australia, his methods do reflect some of the processes of change in anthropological ideas in the rest of the world.

Between the wars broad changes began to occur in theory and methodology. Interest in the evolution of culture waned and the fieldwork techniques of early anthropologists and ethnographers were questioned. New methods were introduced and tested. These circumstances had an effect upon the establishment of anthropology as a major discipline in Australia in the 1920s and 30s. Conflicts between anthropologists during this era were the result of fundamentally different choices being made about ways to practice anthropology and a contrasting understanding of why and by whom it should be carried out. In Sydney the subject emerged as a university course which embraced the new sub-discipline of social anthropology, with its emphasis on social organization, cultural practices and kinship systems. Sydney anthropologists disregarded the long standing traditions of "museum" anthropology, which characterized the subject in Adelaide. Museum ethnology stressed the collection and classification of items of material culture and other more concrete records of Aboriginal life. An examination of Tindale's work will illuminate these co-existing but conflicting trends and show his place in this debate.

This thesis does not deal with Tindale's work after 1936. Although much research has been completed since that time in most of the places and on the majority of the subjects with which he was concerned, this material does not fall within the scope of my study. A vast amount of literature, much of it debating Tindale's conclusions, has been written. In addition he has himself carried on work in many areas and replied to criticisms of his results. He considers that in 1936 he was just beginning to develop the fruits of his earlier education.[4] However the purpose of this thesis is to examine the development of Tindale as a fieldworker in the 1920s and 1930s; therefore evaluation of his work in the light of later research, both his and others', is *not* a part of this study.

Tindale's fieldwork during those years was undertaken within two related disciplines - anthropology and archaeology. Although he conducted research in both simultaneously, I have dealt with his archaeological work in a separate chapter. This does not infer that Tindale's archaeology was isolated from the rest of his research. Rather this structure seeks to clarify the particular circumstances underlying his progress in that field.

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[4]NBT to KRW 10 June 1988

To achieve a more complete comprehension of Tindale's working life the historian must engage in some imaginative reconstruction and interpretation.

> A biographer..cannot really say that his subject "thought" or "felt" a particular thing. When he uses these forms of narration it is actually a type of agreed shorthand which must mean - if it means anything factual - that "there is evidence from his letters or journals or reported conversations that he thought, or that he felt, such-and-such a thing at this time"...[5]

These problems exist even when the man whose life an historian is trying to interpret is still living. When Tindale is asked, "How did you feel on the day you wrote this?", his answer is a reflection across time, experience and new understanding. It is a man interpreting his *own* past. However, this process can lead both Tindale and the historian to make connections between moments in time, between ideas and actions, aims and achievements, not otherwise realized or recorded. A man's discussion of his own life can also reveal motivations and attitudes which are so ingrained into his own way of thinking that he is not fully aware of their existence. These fundamental precepts are suggested by the correlations he makes between events in his life and by his choice of which of his achievements are most important. As well , it can spur remembered occurrences of which there is no evidence *but* memory.

In placing Tindale's work into the circumstances of his life, the connections between the two are disclosed. History can build a passage between "the prose and the passion"[6] It can bring about a recognition of the indelible bonds between scientific knowledge preserved in the present and the living past of the man by whom it was recorded.

* * *

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[5]Holmes, p.68-9

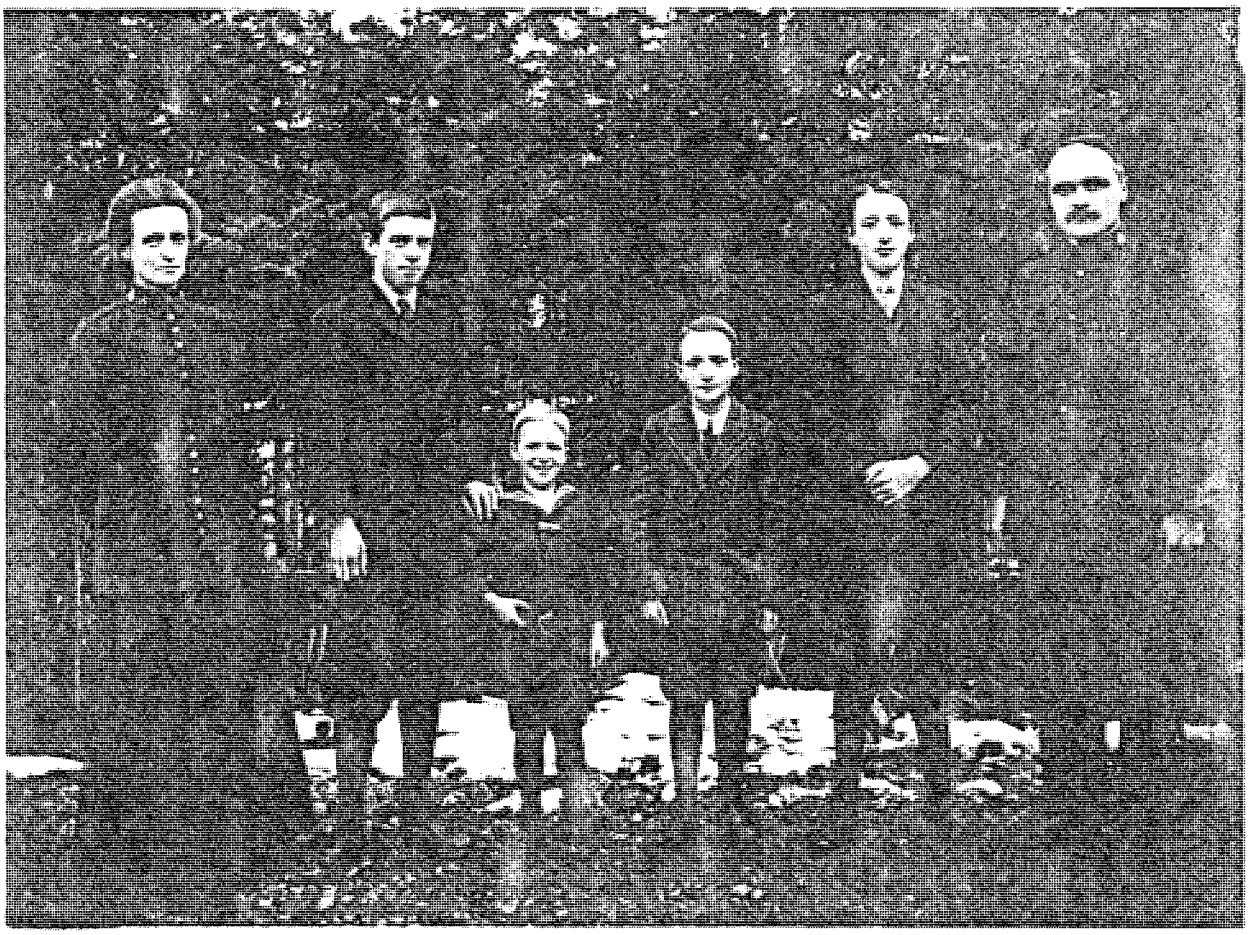
[6]Forster, p.181

Chapter 1

THE CHILDREN OF SHIBUYA.
The Childhood of a Museum Man.

Figure 1-1: Norman at ten years of age

Figure 1-2: The Tindale family in Japan.
From left:
Mary, Norman, Gordon, Cliff, Murray and James.



Sometimes a lantern moves along the night
That interests our eyes. And who goes there?
I think; where from and bound, I wonder, where
With, all down darkness wide, his wading light?

Gerard Manley Hopkins
The Lantern Out of Doors

Norman stared out of the window of the small farm cottage watching the bleak procession of waggons and buggies wind its way towards the main road. Aunt Maud took him and his brother for a long stroll across the sand dunes to the beach. It was explained to the boys that "Grandfather Barnett had gone away to Heaven".

On their return, the house was filled with the sound of weeping. There were more tears and sad farewells as Norman and his family boarded the "Leaping Lena" at the Kingston Railway Station on the first stage of a journey to Japan where his parents were to work as Salvation Army Missionaries.[1]

Images of the funeral of Grandfather William Barnett at Kingston S.E. in 1907 and of the Tindale family's voyage to Japan are among the earliest vivid memories recalled by Norman Tindale. The town of Kingston was the birthplace and childhood home of his mother, Mary Jane Barnett. Late in 1891, Mary moved to Western Australia where, in the following year, she opened a campaign of preaching for General Booth. She was the first officer to speak on the streets of Perth, where she met Norman's father, James Hepburn Tindale.[2] Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in England, James had come to Western Australia with his

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[1]The Leaping Lena was the local name for the Kingston-Naracoorte train which gave a rollercoaster style ride over the sand dunes. N.B. Tindale Summary - where not otherwise specified, information for this chapter is drawn from this Summary, which consists of a folder of rough notes and remembered incidents compiled in chronological order by Tindale in the 1970s. Copy held in BRGPC.

[2]NBT to KRW, telephone conversation, 3 August 1987

family in 1887, when his father was sent there as a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society. James became a member of the Salvation Army after hearing Mary Barnett speak. The two were married on 15 August 1899.

Their first son, Norman, was born on his Grandfather Barnett's birthday, 12 October 1900, in a small house on William Street, which at that time lay on the fringes of the inner city of Perth. Eighteen months later, in March 1902, a second son, Murray, was born. The following year the Tindale family moved to Adelaide, where James had been appointed Accounting Officer at the Salvation Army Headquarters in Pirie Street.

Before settling in the city, a short visit was made to Mary's family home in Kingston. There Norman was cared for by Ethel Watson, one of the last surviving Aborigines of the South-east. Returning to Adelaide, the Tindales lived for a time in the suburb of Keswick in a home surrounded by paddocks, overlooking the Overland train line to Melbourne. In November 1904, Mary gave birth to a third son, Clifton.

In 1906 the family moved to a new house in Unley and in October Norman began to attend the local Primary School. At first he felt isolated, as the rest of his class had already spent most of the year together and knew each other well. Norman was frightened by the experience of sharing a room and a schoolyard with a large and noisy crowd of children who considered him an outsider. Overwhelmed, he ran away a number of times. Tindale can still recall the immense relief he felt when his father announced, in February 1907, that he need not return to school because the family was moving to Japan.

Growing up in Japan played a crucial role in shaping Tindale's personal and intellectual development. Many of his most fundamental motivations and ideas can be traced to very early influences. There are connections between the young Norman's experiences and the directions he took in his later research life in Australia. Living in Japan gave him the opportunity not only to observe and understand a different culture, but also to absorb himself into another way of life. At an early age he was able to accept, associate and communicate with people of a contrasting cultural background. This consciousness of "others" assisted Tindale as an anthropologist by making it easier for him to assume both the roles of observer *and* participant in the life of the Australian Aborigines. It gave him an eye for physical and cultural details and contrasts and an ear for language.

Tindale's first recognition that there were others different from himself occurred

on the journey by German steamships, the S.S. Manila to Hong Kong and the Kleist to Yokohama. Fascination with the strange speech of the Chinese crewmen and the incomprehensible barked orders of the German officers overcame the shame he felt at being led around the decks on a double leash with his brother, Murray, a safety measure against falling overboard.

By September 1907, late summer in Japan, the Tindale family was living in a house in Hongo, north-west of Tokyo. This area lay on the fringes of a low-lying slum section. Behind the house a pathway ran westward towards a military parade ground. It was a favourite walk for the Japanese maids who, from the beginning, took care of the Tindale boys. The close relationship Norman and his brothers shared with them educated the boys in many aspects of Japanese character and behaviour not generally encountered by other foreigners. It was on one of their regular afternoon strolls that the maids were drawn to the parade ground by the sounds of excitement - the clash of a brass band and the chattering of a huge crowd of spectators. Tindale distinctly remembers the strains of the Japanese National Anthem playing as a background to the scene he saw before him.

> a whole line of prisoners lashed into kneeling positions..a series of barked orders [and] a soldier unsheathed a large military sword and stood by the first of the crouched victims, raised his weapon, and giving an unearthly yell slashed off the man's head with a single blow.

The executioner then continued down the line until all the prisoners were dealt with in the same way. After being court-martialled, Japanese soldiers who had committed crimes during the Russo-Japanese War were executed publicly in this manner. The boys' recounting of this incident to their shocked parents led to the family moving immediately to other more pleasant surroundings south-west of the city. In October of the same year the Tindales had settled into a two storey house at 618 Shimoshibuya in the village like area of Shibuya which was surrounded by gardens and fields.[3] They lived there for more than seven years.

In November Norman's parents employed the boys' first tutor, Frau Zittelmann, from the German Consulate.[4] Unable to speak much English, she gave the majority of lessons in her native tongue. Under her tutelage Norman learned to read and converse in German and to write in the Stickschrift form. After six

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[3] now swallowed up in Tokyo as Tokiwa-matsu

[4] NBT to Registrar, University of Adelaide, containing information on schooling. 9 December 1927, BRGPC

months she was replaced by a Swiss tutor who taught in German and French.[5] These early lessons provided Tindale with enough grounding in German to retain and use the language throughout his life. It was especially useful to him in his later research work, allowing him to consult scientific books and anthropological texts written in German.

Early in 1908, the year his third brother Gordon was born, Norman was enrolled in the Tsukiji Grammar School- the Tokyo School for Foreign Children- which he attended until September 1914, when he moved up to the Yotsuya High School. Each morning the Tindale boys were given money to catch the streetcar to school. In order to augment the pocket-money they received each week for completing various chores, they would usually save this fare by jogging part or all the way to school alongside the slow electric tram. Money saved could be used to buy equipment for their respective hobbies.

At Tsukiji Norman read, wrote and conversed with other western children in the English language. After school, however, he spent all his time with the kozo (boys of the village). He spoke only in Japanese and was their constant companion in the streets and markets of Shibuya and in their homes. He even joined the group as they stalked and shouted insults at the freed Russian prisoners from the Russo-Japanese War, who begged and sold bread on the streets. It was not long before the Tindale brothers had convinced their parents to allow them to wear kimono so that they blended in with and were accepted by the village children. They became part of the eager crowd outside the Yaki-imoya (baked potato shop), and a large proportion of their pocket money went on sweet potatoes which had been steamed face down in salt in a large copper pan. Their other favourite haunt was a long bench in the local food shop where a lottery was held offering a chance at winning up to fifty sen and where kori mizu (shaved ice with a sweet sugary topping) was sold in the summer months. These places were "home away from home" for the children of Shibuya.

In autumn, Norman and his brothers joined in the annual kite-flying season and it was through this activity that he made his closest and most constant friend, Toshimasa Shimizu, the young son of the priest of a Buddhist burial temple. Through this friendship, Norman was allowed the privelege of sharing Toshimasa's chore of ringing the temple bell.

The Tindale boys took part in many other traditional Japanese celebrations. On

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[5]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

5 May 1909, they implored their parents to allow them to join in the Boy's Day festivities by flying a flag. The boys saved up their money to pay for it and rejoiced as the symbol of strength and courage, koi nobori, was suspended from a pole in their front garden. This tradition was followed each year until they left for Australia in 1915.

In 1910, to the horror of his parents, Norman participated in the customary mikoshi street fights that took place between rival groups of young men and boys in the village during festival time. Stemming from ancient antipathies between classes in Japanese society, the combat was steeped in tradition and seldom led to actual bodily harm. Norman was greatly disappointed when his parents prevented him from taking part again.

From the outset of his life in Tokyo, Norman adopted the language and lifestyle of his Japanese home. He communicated in the "Tokyo dialect" and his thoughts ran more often in Japanese than in English. He slipped into village life and the traditional activities of each year, sharing experiences common to all Japanese children. Most of the time he was unaware of being in any way different from them. At school he was reminded of his western origins, but he immediately shed them just as he tossed off his grammar school cap and uniform to go and play in the streets of Shibuya.

At home Norman's assimilation into the Japanese way of life was consolidated through his association with the jochusan or maids employed in the Tindale household. Families on the edge of poverty would, in order to survive, sell their daughters to the Yoshiwara where they would be trained to sing, dance and "entertain" male clients. Many of these girls were rescued from such a life by western religious organizations. Mary Tindale, as missionary for the Salvation Army, took in a number of girls to be cared for and trained as domestic servants. Usually two or three were present in the Tindale household at one time. They were regarded as daughters by Norman's parents and as sisters to the boys with whom they spent nearly all their time. As James and Mary Tindale were always involved with Salvation Army work and frequently absent from home, the maids took over the role of looking after the four boys. They prepared them for school in the morning, watched out for them in the afternoon and made sure that they were fed, washed and put to bed at night. On many occasions they took part in the boys' playtime activities as well as introducing them to Japanese- style games.

Unknown to their parents, the boys spent much of their time in the maids' quarters, access to which was possible by climbing out of their window, scrambling

across a sloping rooftop and down to the verandah of the maids' room. In this way they observed and shared in much of the girls' everyday life.

Norman established a close friendship with one of the maids from northern Japan. Kikusan was a young girl of about fourteen years of age, the daughter of an impoverished rice farmer who, in utter desperation, had sold her to the Yoshiwara in Tokyo. She was saved from this life and taken into the Tindale home at the end of 1912. Norman spent long hours talking with Kikusan discussing many subjects and learning of her past. She accompanied the family on its summer vacations at Karuizawa, a holiday town where foreigners flocked in summer, and she joined Norman on his walks in the mountains there and at home in the woods around the temple. The maid who joined the household after Kikusan's departure remained until the family left in 1915. Oyomesan was a particularly intelligent girl and she was extremely eager to learn English, and European ways of living. Norman's mother taught her western style cooking and table manners but because of Mary's limited understanding of Japanese, it was through Norman that Oyomesan learned to speak English. They became companions and spent hours each day talking. Their conversations evolved into teaching sessions as Norman introduced her to new words and helped her to practice correct pronunciation. In addition he often had to act as interpreter between Oyomesan and his mother, extending his understanding of Japanese by actively translating between languages. He continued this role of tutor and interpreter when he was chosen as one of a small group of English-speaking youths who were playmates for the young Prince Konoye. Between 1911 to 1913 he spent many Saturday mornings assisting the Prince in his use of English.[6] By 1912 both Norman and Murray had a retinue of other young Japanese students wishing to improve their command of the English language by listening to and conversing with the two boys.

However, throughout his time in Japan, Norman preferred Japanese as a medium of expression and used English only when he was unable to avoid it or when he had to act the part of teacher. In this way Tindale gained a deep grounding in language and culture. He found himself translating across cultural boundaries in both directions. An anthropologist in the field has a similar aim- to understand the culture of others from within. It is clear that Tindale's experiences in Japan provided him with the desire and the ability to move between cultures.

Even after returning to Australia, Tindale maintained an intense interest in

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[6]KRW -NBT Interview 8 February 1987. Prince Konoye reminded Tindale of this when they met at a conference in Yosemite, California in 1936

Japanese people. He became particularly fascinated by the Ainu people of the island of Hokkaido. A number of the maids taken in by his mother had been of Ainu descent and he was intrigued by the physical and cultural contrasts between them and other Japanese girls. On one of his many visits to the Imperial Museum in Tokyo, young Norman was deeply impressed by an exhibition about the life of the Ainu.[7] As well as static displays there were performances of age-old songs and dances by Ainu people dressed in traditional costume.[8]

Norman had been a constant visitor to the museum and he was attracted by the techniques of museum collection and display.[9] This exhibition gave him his first real awareness of the possibilities of studying people. Long after, while working as an anthropologist in Australia, Tindale still upheld the idea of researching the life and physical anthropology of the Ainu race. He hoped to undertake a comparative study between the Ainu of Japan and the Australian Aborigine, tracing links in their prehistory.[10]

The Imperial Museum left a deep impression on Tindale. It actualized the precepts his father had taught about building and preserving knowledge for the future. He was exhilarated by the idea of the myriad exotic locations from which artefacts and insect specimens had come to fill the glass cabinets in the museum halls. He made up his mind to put all his efforts towards becoming a "museum man".[11] Norman had for some time been fascinated by collecting insects, particularly butterflies. It was during vacations at Karuizawa that he began to collect seriously, building up records of his own, working towards his dream of becoming an entomologist in a museum.

Norman walked long distances, scrambling high into the mountain areas around the volcanic peak of Mount Asama in search of specimens. At home in Shibuya, he also spent much of his spare time collecting in the woods and fields behind the temple. Often he would steal more time by developing mysterious pains on school mornings, which continued until the last streetcar to Yotsuya High School had disappeared beyond the horizon. Then miraculously he would feel well enough to

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[7]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[8]KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[9]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986 and KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[10]KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[11]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

eat some breakfast before vanishing amongst the trees with a butterfly net under his arm. This repeated absence from school resulted in Tindale receiving a special prize in 1915 - a book dedicated to "The one most frequently tardy and absent".

As he became more seriously involved in collecting, Norman began to spend his carefully saved pocket money at the naturalist's supply shop, investing in entomological equipment and purchasing specimens of interest and books on butterflies. Murray, when he realized the extent of Norman's obsession, was able to turn it to his own advantage by catching butterflies himself and selling them to his brother. Norman in turn sold his quite substantial stamp collection to Murray in order to get more money to buy equipment for setting and preserving his insects.

Norman's technique was refined when he met Dr. Henry Loomis of Yokohama in 1913. Loomis had long been a collector of Japanese Lepidoptera and he impressed on Tindale the importance of accurate labelling, taught him new methods of setting, provided him with spreading boards and fine entomological pins and even gave him some of his own specimens gathered in Formosa (Taiwan).

With such encouragement, Tindale's interests moved quickly beyond the thrill of the catch and the demands of setting. At night he would allow his brothers to bathe and prepare for bed before he did, so that he could gain more time for labelling, cataloguing and making detailed descriptions and diagrams of his collections. In the Union Church Sunday School library, he unearthed copies of W.J. Holland's Butterfly Book and Richard South's British Butterflies. These books became constant references as he borrowed and reborrowed them until 1915. Unaware at this stage that these texts were not comprehensive, especially in the area of Japanese species, Tindale began to question the accuracy of the descriptions and illustrations. Finding that his Japanese types were only marginally different from South's drawings, he began to doubt that South's depictions were entirely well drawn and therefore made his own "correct" record. It was not until July 1914, when his father bought him a copy of Matsumoto's Catalogus Insectorum Japonicum that Tindale realized the inconsistencies between his and South's drawings were the result of differences between western and eastern Lepidoptera and not South's incompetence! Thus from an early age Tindale developed a trust in his own accurately recorded observations *in the field* and the instinct to compare and question findings of other researchers.

James Tindale was an important influence, for he encouraged his son to take an interest in consulting and reading books and to think about the ideas contained

within them. The Common Place Book which James had given Norman summed up the proper approach a young man should take to his intellectual life. It explained that

> A man need not be a scholar or an expert in 'isms or 'ologies to have an alert, active and productive mind. But if he means to take any care of his mind at all, or if he wishes to meet men or women who are worth knowing, on equal terms in this world, and consort with the heroes and kings of literature, science and art in the world to come, he must know books, and must cultivate the reading habit.[12]

James' library in Japan was small but it offered a wide range of ideas to a young reader. Norman devoured all the books available to him, often staying up all night reading and going to school in the morning without having slept. He scanned all his father's religious texts and at an early age he boasted to have read the Bible twice through. However he found much more interest in scientific texts. At about ten years of age he read Ernst Heinrich Haeckel's The Evolution of Man (1906), a somewhat radical book to be in the library of a missionary. Norman was very impressed with Haeckel's ideas and explanations.[13] Haeckel stressed the importance of gaining scientific knowledge and truth for the advancement of man.

> All progress in our knowledge of truth means an advance in the higher cultivation of the human intelligence; all progress in its application to practical life implies a corresponding improvement of morality. The worst enemies of the human race - ignorance and superstition - can only be vanquished by truth and reason.[14]

These maxims became integral to Tindale's understanding of the vital role played by scientific enquiry.[15]

The Evolution of Man also provided Norman with his first explanation of anthropology, which Haeckel defined as "the natural history of mankind".[16] This interpretation is significant in the light of Tindale's movement into the field of anthropology through the natural sciences, and because of his perception of the subject as a science.

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[12]Warner in Common Place Book

[13]KRW- NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[14]E.H. Haeckel, The Evolution of Man - Volume 2 (Watts and Co., London, 1906) p.358

[15]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[16]Haeckel, Volume 1, p.2

Questions about origins and evolutionary change have absorbed Tindale throughout his research life. They form a bridge between his entomological, anthropological and archaeological work and were the mainspring for many of his ideas and aims. Norman, after reading Haeckel, accepted evolution as a fact. Other early reading helped to establish his belief that man had progressed physically and culturally from the stone-age to civilization.[17] In a broad sense Tindale still regards the life and technologies of primitive man as representative of a stage in the development of all mankind.[18] It can reasonably be assumed that such beliefs provided the fundamental rationale behind the study of primitive man and his culture. The workings of evolution meant that change and progress were inevitable, so this way of life would eventually be lost. Information about it needed to be salvaged. Knowledge of the past had to be built through exact scientific recording so that man could understand his present and his future.

Tindale learned such concerns early, from his father and through his father's books. The ideas evolved throughout his life, becoming more complex, less generalized, but still providing the reason behind his research into man.

Understanding of change over time and ways to document it also came to Norman through works on geology and palaeontology. In his father's library he had access to books by Hugh Miller, including Testimony of the Rocks (1857) and The Old Red Sandstone (1858)[19] These books were old even when James Tindale was young, but they provided Norman with a good grounding in the earth sciences and a fascination for environmental change as it was reflected in the rocks. It was through continued study of geology in association with his work in anthropology that Norman became interested in archaeology.[20]

History and exploration attracted Tindale and he enjoyed reading Herodotus' Histories and the tales of more modern travellers and scientists such as Charles Waterton's Wanderings in South America (1825), and Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker's Himalayan Journals (1854). The recorded experiences of these men inspired Norman to make plans to travel one day in South America and Central Asia.[21]

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[17]This reading is discussed later

[18]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[19]NBT to KRW 18 June 1986 and notes made by NBT in February 1987

[20]KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[21]NBT to KRW 18 June 1986 and KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

The experience of travel came to Norman earlier than he had expected, as the Tindale family prepared to leave Japan on the Hitachi Maru in August 1915. They sailed home via Hong Kong and Manila to Thursday Island, passing by the island of Siau, off north Sulawesi, just as an earthquake began. The family arrived in Melbourne in September and went home to Kingston for a short time before travelling on to Perth by sea. There, in 1916, Norman was enrolled at Perth Boys' School. He spent some months completing his final year of secondary education while also taking evening classes at Perth Technical School, studying commerce.[22]

While in Perth Tindale made himself known at the city's museum and spent much time there. He was assisted by Dr. Battye, the chief librarian at the Public Library and General Secretary of the Library, Museum and Art Gallery of Western Australia.[23] Battye was impressed with the boy's serious scientific aims and allowed Norman special access to books from the Public and Museum libraries and helped him to locate information on areas that Norman hoped to explore. He also provided the boy with data on the particular species of butterflies in which he was interested at the time.[24]

In February 1917, James Tindale moved the family back to Adelaide and they took a house at 96 Edward Street, Norwood. From that time Norman became a constant presence at the South Australian Museum, where he hoped to obtain a position in entomology. In May of that year, as there was nothing yet available, he took up a post as cadet in the South Australian Public Library, which at that time was a part of a complex which included the Library, Art Gallery and Museum.[25] During this period, while waiting for an opening in the Museum, he learned a great deal about handling and cataloguing books and finding references. Tindale and his fellow cadets (including the now famous physicist, Sir Mark Oliphant) were trained to take no more than three minutes, after an enquiry was made, to locate references and have the enquirer sitting down at a table with a pile of books in front of him. Failure would result in the embarrassment of having the supervisor, Mr. Greenwood, take over. "Greeny" is remembered by Tindale for the distinctive scrunch of his soft-soled shoes as he patrolled the library. It always

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[22]NBT to Registrar University of Adelaide 9 December 1927, BRGPC

[23]Who's Who in Australia 1935 (The Herald, Melbourne) p.59-60

[24]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[25]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986 and KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

seemed that the cadets were doing library work and not pursuing their own researches. Tindale was able to spend a substantial amount of time compiling information on subjects of special interest, but was always stamping books or filing cards when the supervisor approached. The young men practised and refined techniques for completing their allotted work in the shortest period in order to leave extra time for making their own bibliographies.[26]

While working in the library, Tindale consolidated his interest in exploration and entomology. He continued to read travellers' writings about collecting and exploration in faraway lands. He collated bibliographies on places that fascinated him, including New Guinea and Central Asia. After reading A.R. Wallace's The Malay Archipelago he also became curious about this area of the world.[27] He was greatly inspired by Wallace's views on environment and his discussions of natural selection and evolution. Wallace appealed to him because of his ideas about evolutionary change and also, as a naturalist, collector, scientist and explorer, he was a model for Tindale's own future career. Tindale still speaks of Wallace as having been "the guide of my life in those days".[28] Wallace not only gathered and recorded information about insect, animal and plant life in the Malay Archipelago, but also observed and described the physical appearance and the customs of its human inhabitants, such as the Dyaks of Borneo and the Sassaks of Lombok. Observers like Wallace were important ethnographers and their writings were the source from which armchair thinkers and anthropologists in England and Europe drew information for their study of man. Wallace was primarily a naturalist, but in his book Tindale would have read descriptions and discussions of other cultures and been presented with ideas about the study of man's evolution and development. It was in fact through being a naturalist and collector that Tindale made *his* first contacts with primitive people.[29] At this stage however, Tindale's real interest in travel and exploration was in terms of places to collect butterflies and other insects and to emulate Wallace's adventurous lifestyle.[30]

In addition to Wallace, Tindale was influenced by the work of Aurel Stein in

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[26]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[27]A.R. Wallace, The Malay Archipelago (MacMillan and Co., London 1869)

[28]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[29]On Groote Eylandt 1921-22

[30]KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

Central Asia in the early twentieth century. Stein's travels with ponies and camels over the Himalayas into Turkestan and across the Takla Makan Desert intrigued Tindale and encouraged in him a desire to travel eventually to Chinese Turkestan to collect butterflies. He also read the exciting memoirs of Sven Hedin, a Swedish predecessor of Stein's who had ridden on camels across the same desert. Tindale hoped that one day he too would explore deserts with a team of camels.[31]

Tindale's period as a library cadet was of great importance to his life as a researcher. He learned how to locate resources quickly and efficiently and had the advantage, as employee, of access to books in the librarian's room which were not available to the general public.[32] He was in the best location to discover books on his favourite subjects, to read and absorb ideas that helped to shape his future life. He also began to form his own library. One of its most precious titles was a volume his father had bought for him during a business trip to Melbourne in 1916, The Butterflies of Australia.[33] James Tindale was also responsible for Norman's interest in photography.[34] He taught his son how to develop films and assisted him in making his first prints. This was a significant skill as photographic records were later to form an integral part of Tindale's ethnographic data. It was while enlarging photographs that Norman lost the sight in his right eye (1917) as a result of the explosion of a cylinder of acetylene, used in the old "limelight" process of illumination.[35]

Not long after this accident the Tindales moved from Norwood to a larger house at 6 Alpha Street, Kensington Park. The spacious garden and orchard behind the house offered the boys more scope to cultivate their own particular hobbies. Norman began to build up a collection of pheasants, competing for space with his brother Cliff's pigeons.[36] However Norman's mind was always on entomology and he still waited patiently for an opening at the Museum. He had spent years of his childhood dedicated to collecting, classifying and cataloguing specimens. He had filled many dimly lit late night hours with reading and noting, or refining his skills

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[31]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[32]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[33]by G.A. Waterhouse and G. Lyell, Angus and Roberston, 1914

[34]J.H. Tindale was a renowned photographer who held numerous exhibitions in Australia

[35]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[36]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

in spreading and setting. The museums of Tokyo, Perth and Adelaide had become his favourite haunts. He knew that one day he would become a "museum man".

In January 1919 his dream was realized when he was transferred to the South Australian Museum to take up the post of Entomologist's Assistant.

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Chapter 2

REASONED THUS AND THUS.
The World Context

..though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects ; love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide...

William Shakespeare
King Lear Act 1, Scene 2

In the preface to the first edition of Wanderings in South America, (1825) Charles Waterton wrote openly about the possible reactions his book might inspire. He stressed that even if Wanderings was not accepted wholeheartedly, it would not have been written in vain.

> ...if it fall, it may still, in death be useful to me; for, should some accidental rover take it up, and in turning over its pages imbibe the idea of going out to explore Guiana, in order to give the world an enlarged description of that noble country, I shall say, "fortem ad fortia misi", and demand the armour, that is, I shall lay claim to a certain portion of the honours he will receive, upon the plea, that I was the first mover of his discoveries..[1]

Tindale like many researchers before him, was initially inspired to exploration and anthropology by the writings of travellers such as Waterton. Among notes on geography, flora and fauna, these explorers, naturalists and other scientists, included descriptions of people of other cultures whom they had encountered during their journeys. These impressions were read and discussed by thinkers at home, encouraging research into the cultures of man. Such concerns evolved into theories and methodologies of anthropology and gradually led towards its modern conceptions.

The development of anthropology in the Old World has been divided into phases by a number of historians of the subject.[2] It is important to be aware of these trends in the growth of anthropology because they play a vital role in the evolution of the discipline in Australia. Moreover, they provide a backdrop to the formation of Tindale's anthropological concerns.

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[1]Charles Waterton, Wanderings in South America; the North-West Coast of the United States and the Antilles in the years 1812, 1820 and 1824(Century Publishing House, London 1984) p.ix

[2]Including T.K. Penniman, A Hundred Years of Anthropology(Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., London 1965) and writers in J. Brew,(ed.)One Hundred Years of Anthropology (Harvard University Press, Cambridge,1968)

The period in which explorers were the primary force in the collection of ethnographic records has been labelled "The Convergent Period".[3] Prior to the publication of Charles Darwin's, The Origin of the Species in 1859 and A.R. Wallace's, The Malay Archipelago in 1869, the writings of these travellers helped to bring about a "convergence" of ideas concerning the social and biological development of other cultures.

The impact of Darwin's thoughts on origin and evolution led into the "Constructive Period" which is described as a phase in which theories

> linked together the past and the present and all forms of life, institutions and beliefs as part of one whole and in development. Henceforth Anthropology could be the science of man in evolution.[4]

Tindale's initiation into anthropology has connections with both of these phases of development. He was inspired to science and discovery by his reading of naturalists' travelogues. His aims were consolidated through his interest in theories of evolution and his absorption into the world of A.R. Wallace. Problems of evolutionary change concerned him throughout his research life and he always considered anthropology to be a *science* of man. In this respect, some of Tindale's primary motivations and interests stem from an earlier era. However the refinement of his methods reflects later phases in anthropological history.

The Constructive Period established an indelible link between the discipline of anthropology and theories of evolution of man and culture. It was not until 1874 that a systematic search for facts to support such assumptions was begun. This progression is exemplified by the publication of the first edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology in that year.[5] This manual was designed with the aim;

> to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers and to enable those who are not anthroplogists themselves to supply the information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home.[6]

The first edition bore the mark of the doyen of anthropological thought in the second half of the nineteenth century, E.B. Tylor. It reflected his emphasis on

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[3]Penniman, p.19-20

[4]Penniman, p.49-72

[5]James Urry, "Notes and Queries on Anthropology and the development of field methods in British Anthropology 1870-1920" in Proceedings of the Royal Institute 1972 p.46

[6]Urry quotes N & Q 1874, p.47

broad problems of the evolution of customs and culture and his own particular interest in primitive religion and totemism. The primary task of the book was to provide lists of questions to be used directly from the page and to provoke thought about the nature and development of culture amongst travellers and researchers in the field. The answers to these questions would, it was thought, produce reasonably accurate ethnographic accounts of different societies which could be used by armchair anthropologists. The tenor of the edition also showed Tylor's aim to encourage the growth of the subject of anthropology into a broad but exact science.[7] During this period many trained natural scientists shifted their interests towards the study of man and termed themselves, "anthropologists".[8] Their understanding of scientific method helped them to play a major role in the development of more rigorous ethnographic method.[9]

Successive editions of Notes and Queries in 1892 and 1899 did not alter the style or emphasis of the original. However the fourth edition in 1912 clearly revealed the beginnings of a transition in anthropological theory and methodology. This version reflected a shift from wide developmental theories based on the collation of ethnographic facts, towards a self-conscious concern with the methods and aims involved in the collection of that information. It also revealed a greater interest in the way in which societies were structured.[10]

The purpose of this thesis is to show the connections between Tindale's collected data and the circumstances of his research life. Such a focus makes the change in emphasis in anthropological research, in its widest context, an issue of importance. The upheaval occurred near the beginning of Tindale's research life and the 1912 edition of Notes and Queries was one of his first anthropological references. This period exposes the range of choices made available to anthropologists through the co-existence of different theoretical models amid a growing attention towards method. In addition, this shift influenced the nature of Australian anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century and therefore the more immediate context of Tindale's work. Although later chapters will show that Tindale borrowed very

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[7]Urry, p.47-8

[8]For example - Baldwin Spencer and A.C Haddon both turned to anthropology from zoology

[9]George Stocking Jnr. "The Ethnographer's Magic:Fieldwork in British Anthropology from Tylor to Malinowski." in G. Stocking (ed.) Observers Observed:Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork (History of Anthropology Vol. 1, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985) p.74

[10]Barbara Friere-Marreco & J.L. Myers(ed.) British Association for the Advancement of Science, Notes and Queries on Anthropology (Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1912)

little from the ideas circulating at this time, nevertheless some of his theories and methods reflect developments in Australia and overseas. In order to assess the particular nature of his anthropological method and to understand Tindale's place in the history of anthropology, it is necessary to have a broad knowledge of the development of the discipline in this period.

In a discussion of these transformations in anthropology, George Stocking characterizes the period prior to 1900 in its "broadest perspective".[11] He argues that

> ..the history of anthropology from its earliest origins may be viewed as the alternate dominance of two paradigms.[12]

One was a "progressive developmental paradigm" which encompassed the evolutionary model of the nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists. The other "migrational or diffusionary paradigm" offered an alternative solution to those questions of origins and development which involved the thinkers of this era.[13] Stocking sees this transitional period, in which he argues A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski played a vital contributive role, as the "first major break" in the domination of these two "diachronic" schemes.[14] During this period anthropological concerns were directed largely towards "synchronic sociological problems". These changes also brought about a questioning and reformation of fieldwork methods.[15]

The new format and approach of the 1912 edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology was one of the first indications of increasing dissatisfaction with nineteenth century research techniques. The major influence upon this text was anthropologist, W.H.R. Rivers. Trained as an experimental psychologist, Rivers had spent time in the field on the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the

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[11] George Stocking Jnr., "Radcliffe-Brown and British Social Anthropology" in Functionalism Historicized : Essays on British Social Anthropology (History of Anthropology Vol. 2, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984) p.131-191

[12] ibid. p.136

[13] ibid.

[14] ibid. Radcliffe-Brown - British Anthropologist and first head of Sydney University Department of Anthropology. Malinowski - Polish born anthropologist, famous for his influence on ethnological fieldwork methods.

[15] ibid.

Torres Strait in 1888-89.[16] On this expedition he developed the "genealogical method" for anthropological enquiry. This process sought to use a "concrete" system for obtaining information about kinship and social organization through the collection of genealogies.[17] This shift towards the recording of information about social organization, combined with an interest in methodology itself, was to lead towards the development of a new and widely adopted branch of the study of man - Social Anthropology.

Rivers' contribution to the 1912 edition resulted in its new focus. Though lists of questions were not discarded and the original purpose of the manual remained, this version provided more advice and learned criticism on the methods to be used to obtain the required data.[18] For the first time a large section on Sociology was included, prefaced by a 14 page introduction titled, A General Account of Method, written by Rivers.[19] The object of this section was

> ..to give an account of some features of method especially adapted to meet certain difficulties which beset the collection of anthropological data.[20]

Rivers argued that effective anthropological work could not be carried out without "careful attention to method".[21] This warning was followed by a discussion of points such as the advantage of learning the native language and the problems of cross-cultural understanding. The majority of issues were related to the pursuit of information on social organization.[22]

Rivers enlarged upon these ideas in a report he wrote in the following year for a volume titled Reports on the Present Condition and Future Needs of the Science of Anthropology.[23] In this treatise he argued against traditional methods -

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[16] Stocking, "Ethnographers Magic.." p.76

[17] ibid. p.86

[18] ibid. p.90

[19] Notes and Queries 1912 p. 108-122

[20] ibid. p.108

[21] ibid. p.108

[22] ibid. p.108-122

[23] Published in Washington in 1913 and quoted by Stocking in "Ethnographers Magic.." p.92

particularly the scattered, broadly interepreted records of short-term fieldwork, with its emphasis on physical anthropology and the comparative study of customs. He also criticized the methods of large scale scientific expeditions which included a specialist in each facet of the study of primitive societies and which sought to examine wide areas in limited time. Rivers had seen the problems of this type of fieldwork while with the Cambridge Expedition in the Torres Strait.[24] In his 1913 report, Rivers made a deep distinction between this form of "survey" work and "intensive" fieldwork in which,

> the worker lives for a year or more among a community of perhaps four or five hundred and studies every detail of their life and culture, in which he comes to know every member of the community personally; in which he is not content with generalized information, but studies every feature of life and custom in concrete details and by means of the vernacular language.[25]

This distinction will become significant when discussing Tindale's major fieldwork with the Board for Anthropological Research in the 1920s and 1930s.

It has been suggested that the work of Bronislaw Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands in 1917-18 was an actualization of the new concept of anthropological fieldwork envisaged by Rivers.[26] The work of other anthropologists such as C.G. Seligman in New Guinea and Ceylon (1910-11) and Radcliffe-Brown in the Andaman Islands (1906-8) had already begun to recognize to some extent a distinction between "survey" and "intensive" fieldwork. A.C. Haddon, the leader of the Cambridge expedition, had called for the "intensive study of limited areas" to provide data for comparative studies of evolutionary development.[27] It was Malinowski, however, in his introduction to one of the monographs resulting from his Trobriand experience, Argonauts of the Western Pacific(1922), who gave the clearest expression to these new ideas about the methodology of fieldwork.[28] He had already carried out work in 1914 on the island of Mailu. In this research he had followed the guidelines of the 1912 edition of Notes and Queries, but gave many indications of his discontent with direct questioning, and his movement

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[24]Stocking, "Ethnographers Magic. ." p.76-77

[25]quoted in Stocking, "Ethnographers Magic.."p.96-7

[26]Stocking,"Ethnographers Magic.." p.93 and Urry,p.52

[27]Stocking, "Ethnographers Magic.." p.81-2

[28]Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.,London, 1972 [1922])

towards more concrete and self-conscious methods of enquiry.[29] Tindale was to use Malinowski's Natives of Mailu monograph as a guide for his first fieldwork on Groote Eylandt (1921-22).

In contrast to Rivers, Malinowski's adoption of more rigorous methodology corresponded with the development of a new theoretical model, which broke away from the traditional evolutionary/diffusionary viewpoints.[30] Both he and Radcliffe-Brown led British anthropology firmly away from these traditions and were largely responsible for the dehistoricizing of anthropological research.[31] This is a process to which Tindale has always been strongly opposed.

As early as 1913 Radcliffe-Brown had argued that the question of origins - whether the existence and form of a certain institution was the result of independent invention by one group or borrowing from another - was in reality a "non-problem". The real concern of the anthropologist should be the meaning and "function" of such a structure in the present.[32] Malinowski reacted to traditional ideas in a similar way and developed his "functionalist" approach to the study of culture and society, which stressed the importance of the meaning and usage of a custom and its myriad inter-relations with all other aspects of a society. Radcliffe-Brown had developed many of his ideas through his interpretation of the work of French sociologist Emile Durkheim. He delineated an abstract structural model of how societies functioned.[33] Malinowski developed his theories through work in the field and viewed Radcliffe-Brown's concern with social structures as a negation of the diverse human element which affected the form of every custom and therefore of society.[34] He believed that the foundation for any theory lay in the

> living, palpitating flesh and blood organism of man which remains at the heart of every institution.[35]

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[29]Malinowski, Natives of Mailu; Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond research work in New Guinea. Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia (hereafter TRSSA) 39,1915 p.494-706 and Stocking, "Ethnographers Magic.." p.96-7

[30]Stocking, "Radcliffe-Brrown.. p.142

[31]ibid p.156

[32]ibid p.151

[33]ibid p.151-53

[34]ibid p.156

[35]Stocking quotes Malinowski 1931, in ibid p.169

Malinowski continued Rivers' preoccupation with the role of method in fieldwork. In the introduction to Argonauts, he consolidated his ideas on this subject, stressing the importance of describing the details of one's methods - presenting one's approaches, techniques and failings "in a manner absolutely candid and above board".[36] This would allow readers to separate the inferences of the researcher from the data of actual observation or the impressions of native informants.[37] He then delineated three "cardinal rules" of method which he believed would lead to as complete a picture of tribal society in all its details and interactions as was possible. It is worth examining these principles as the ideas contained within them are clearly discernible in some of Tindale's later research work (particularly the Mann Range expedition of 1933).

The principle of Malinowski's rules was to understand

> ..the native's point of view, his relation to life [and] to realize *his* vision of *his* world.[38]

A distinct outline of the organization of the tribe or group, which Malinowski called "the anatomy of culture", had to be provided from information collected through "concrete statistical documentation".[39] This meant that any object or action should be examined through the widest possible range of its "concrete manifestations". By recording all existing examples or cases of a particular phenomenon rather than asking abstract questions of the informants, the anthropologist could arrive at a clearer outline from which he himself could make analytical deductions.[40]

However, in order to create a true representation of a *living* culture rather than a structuralist reduction, the anthropologist should also record, through contact and observation, the "imponderabilia of actual life" - the actions, reactions and behaviour of the people amongst whom he is living.[41] Thus while watching a ceremony the fieldworker should not only document the basic format of the event,

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[36] Malinowski, Argonauts.. p.2

[37] ibid p.3

[38] ibid p.25

[39] ibid p.24

[40] ibid p.17

[41] ibid p.24

but also note the actions of individual players, their attitudes, moods and relations with each other.[42]

To add further texture to this complex view of the native's world, a researcher should also collect "documents of native mentality" - the statements, conversations, stories and histories, myths and legends, feelings and thoughts of individual members of a society. These should be recorded in the vernacular to preserve their exact form and style.[43] These documents could then be related to and compared with other details about institutions or aspects of culture, each studied through different means in order to assist in its interpretation and lead towards a total picture.

In order to achieve these purposes, an anthropologist needed to spend a long period of time in close contact with the members of one group, to observe their behaviour and daily life, to learn their language in order to communicate with them and to make accurate records of their utterances. The type of intensive fieldwork described by Rivers in 1913 was believed to be the only avenue through which such goals could be fully realized. Later chapters will show that Tindale largely achieved these goals but without engaging in lengthy periods of intensive fieldwork as suggested by the social anthropological model. He created a "total" picture through the constant accumulation of knowledge during many regular, but relatively short periods of fieldwork.

It is necessary to recognize the kinds of changes that occurred in the nature of anthropological research in other parts of the world in order to understand the evolution of Tindale's ideas in Australia. His first practical guides on "how to do" anthropology were the 1912 edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology and Malinowski's Natives of Mailu.[44] His methods developed in directions similar to changing world trends. His earlier work with the Board for Anthropological Research reflects some of the principles of early large scale survey expeditions, while much of his later work corresponds more closely with the ideas within Malinowski's three cardinal rules.

It is also revealing to examine the history of anthropology in the United States as this in many ways prefigures developments in Australia. In America, as in

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[42] ibid p.20

[43] ibid p.22-24

[44] BRG- NBT Interview January 1986 and KRW-NBT Interview 8 & 16 February 1987

Australia, there were great opportunities for fieldwork among the surviving indigenous population, and a sense of urgency about the need to record this culture before it was inevitably lost through assimilation. The first half of the twentieth century also constituted a transitional period in the development of American anthropology. The growth of a university discipline and the resulting decline in the dominance of anthropology conducted by and for museums, closely reflects later developments in Australia. The institutional context within which anthropology was undertaken had an important effect upon the nature of research carried out.

The first systematic study of the American Indian began in 1879 under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, an organization which was connected to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. The founder and first Director of the Bureau was John W. Powell. His aims and ideas had a profound effect upon the work conducted by this organization. He aspired to "organize" anthropological research in America and brought together men of diverse backgrounds - natural scientists, geologists and geographers - many of whom were academically trained in those fields.[45] The cooperative work of men with "deep scientific insight" would help to expand greatly the limited and superficial records of previous generations.[46] In terms of Stocking's model, the Bureau's work reflects the evolutionary and diffusionary assumptions of the nineteenth century. Its research was directed towards recording basic information about Indian culture, primarily through ethnographic descriptions of customs and social institutions, documentation of myths and legends, work on language and linguistics and, in contrast with British anthropology of the period, through archaeological research. Powell believed that archaeological evidence could be added to other records to aid in the reconstruction of the culture of the American Indian, placing that race within the framework of the evolutionary development of all mankind.[47]

The Bureau's field research in both ethnology and archaeology is best classified as "survey" rather than "intensive" fieldwork.[48] This was primarily the result of Powell's influence. Prior to establishing the Bureau, he had made his first contact with Indians while working in the U.S. Geological Surveys and had begun to record

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[45]Regna Darnell,The Development of American Anthropology 1879-1920 from the Bureau of American Ethnology to Franz Boas. (University of Pennsylvania PhD Thesis [Anthropology] 1969) p.2-9

[46]ibid p.10-11

[47]ibid p.38-40 and p.130

[48]Curtis Hinsley, "Ethnographic Charisma and Scientific Routine : Cushing and Fewkes in the American Southwest 1879-1893" in George Stocking (ed.) Observers Observed.. p.55

their languages. This made him aware of the increasing disintegration of Indian culture and of the urgent need to record it. Under Powell's guidance, the Bureau collected ethnographic and linguistic data, classifying it for use in comparative studies of evolutionary development.[49]

Powell had spent a large amount of time in the field and he recognized the benefits of long term fieldwork, preferably conducted with a knowledge of the native language. However, the urgency of the Bureau's survey work meant that such intensive fieldwork was not feasable and only a few researchers were able to carry out their research in such an ideal manner. The work of the South Australian Museum also reflected this compromise between what was desired and what was possible.

Not all the members of the Bureau supported survey work as a priority. Frank Hamilton Cushing, in his work with the Zuni Indians (1879-84), argued that a researcher *had* to spend a long period in the field, living amongst the Indians, in order to gain confidence with the language and the people. Foreshadowing Malinowski's aims, he claimed to understand Zuni culture from the "inside".[50] Only through long observation and perticipation could one establish this "intuitive" understanding of the way of life and the mental processes of the Indians. He believed that this was impossible within the framework of survey work. Cushing saw contemporary Zuni culture as complex and varied, with many interrelated facets, and he battled to translate its richness into the "scientific categories" prescribed by the Bureau, without somehow misrepresenting the actuality of Zuni life.[51] Cushing's dissatisfaction with the constraints of Bureau anthropology led him to seek financial support from other sources. His move away from the museum-style format of the Bureau was an early indication of the direction to be taken by other American anthropologists in the early years of the next century.

If Malinowski has become the mythic catalyst in the transition of anthropology in the Old World, then Franz Boas plays that same role in the reformation of American anthropology. After migrating from Germany in 1886, Boas began his

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[49]Darnell, p.47-48

[50]Hinsley quotes Cushing p.57-8

[51]Hinsley p.60

career in the context of the "museum age".[52] For much the same reason as Cushing - the constraints of the museum style of anthropology, its emphasis on collection and classification of specimens and its conflicting roles of research and public education - Boas led the exodus away from the museums and into newly established university departments. It was not a sudden break, but a gradual transition preceded by a period of close museum-university cooperation, the success of which is symbolized by the lasting relationship between Harvard University and the Peabody Museum. The museums needed university trained personnel to improve the quality of their research. In turn, early anthropology students in university courses studied museum collections and became involved in museum expeditions to experience ethnographic fieldwork first-hand.[53]

Gradually however, a great many university trained anthropologists became disillusioned with the possibilities of the museum context. They believed the ideal of scientific research was continually being subordinated to the aims of museum administrators and patrons, and the need to collect and display specimens. These aspects of museum work seemed inhibiting to many university trained anthropologists.[54] As more post-graduates decided to remain with their colleges rather than seek museum positions, the universities became the focus for anthropological research.[55]

These events were primarily influenced by Boas and his students.

> By 1920..Boas' students constituted the majority of American anthropologists and they were, for the most part, committed to an academic context for their research.[56]

Many of the best known names in anthropology studied under Boas - Alfred Kroeber, Clark Wissler, Edward Sapir, Robert Lowie and later Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. This group not only established a new institutional context for anthropology but also worked towards a transition in both the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the discipline.

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[52]The "museum age" has been delineated as 1880-1920, by Ira Jacknis in "Franz Boas and Exhibits : On the limitations of the Museum method of Anthropology" in George Stocking Jnr. (Ed) Objects and Others : Essays on Museums and Material Culture (History of Anthropology Vol. 3, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985) p.75

[53]Darnell p. 167-72

[54]ibid p.141

[55]ibid p.195

[56]ibid p.141

Boas' insistence on university training was based on his realization of the need for rigorous method and systematic aims in anthropological fieldwork.[57] He disapproved of the existing emphasis on survey work, which he saw as important only in establishing a body of basic information to provide the initial background for later detailed study of particular areas.[58] Like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown he reacted strongly against the deficiencies of the evolutionary paradigm.[59] Boas believed these assumptions were responsible for the broad and often misleading generalizations made by comparative ethnology from superficial fieldwork. These concepts neglected the uniqueness and diversity of cultures which developed in different geographic and historical contexts.[60] They also failed to provide *comprehensive* ethnographic descriptions through intensive fieldwork and the study of cultures in limited areas. The evolutionary anthropologists took for granted the shared *unilinear* development of all cultures and were more interested in cultural types than descriptions of specific societies. Boas believed it was far more productive to study the individual historical development of limited geographical areas and to understand "the context of elements within particular cultures".[61] He understood cultures to be integrated wholes and believed that the study of one element necessitated the analysis of almost every other aspect.[62] He believed it was important to study the parts of a culture in their present forms to understand their meaning and usage.[63] In these ways his anthropology could be called functionalist. However, the fundamental difference betwen Boas' work and that of the new British school was that Boas did *not* discard history. He regarded each culture's historical development as unique and viewed cultural forms as "products of historical growth".[64] In this particular respect, Tindale's work relates closely to the ideas expounded by Boas. In contrast to many Australian social anthropologists, Tindale did not negate the intrinsic importance of historical context.

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[57] ibid p.151

[58] ibid p. 434

[59] ibid p.374

[60] ibid p.425

[61] ibid p.421

[62] R.H. Lowie, The History Ethnological Theory (Rinehart, New York, 1937) p.142

[63] Darnell p.430

[64] ibid

Boas believed that the study of individual cultures should be based on meticulous fieldwork conducted in the native language. He stressed the importance of recording, phonetically, examples of native thought, as indicators of inner mental processes as well as for linguistic study.[65] He often encouraged literate informants to write down their stories and reminiscences in their own language, and to collect information from their own elders. Such records often revealed facts that could not be reached through the most skilled questioning.[66] This form of research aimed at understanding cultures from the inside, on their own terms.

As will be shown in later chapters, the evolution of Tindale's research work reflects the growing concerns of this transitional period in world anthropology. Much of his later work exhibits both Malinowski's and Boas' interest in producing detailed records of a living people. He too developed a distrust of direct questioning and adopted new ways and routes to uncover information. He was aware of the possibilities offered by recording stories and songs in the vernacular and understood the value of recording data from the Aboriginal point of view.

The era in which Tindale developed his work provided fundamental choices for anthropologists. In Britain, the United States and Australia researchers were aware that native cultures were decaying as "primitive" people became absorbed by "modern" civilization. The anthropologists of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and those researchers who preceded Rivers and Malinowsi, realized the advantages of long term fieldwork and of speaking native languages. Yet these anthropologists did not make such concerns explicit. They had to balance this requirement against what they regarded to be more important - the salvaging and preservation of basic data over wide areas. Given such aims, it was both impractical and detrimental to spend too much time in any one place, merely recording one small part of the wealth of cultural information.

As time progressed some anthropologists began to doubt these assumptions. They felt constrained by collecting and survey policies. Intensive work in a small area, aimed at comprehensively documenting a particular culture began to be regarded widely as a far more valuable exercise than what they perceived to be the collection of scattered and superficial facts about one all embracing human culture.

Both groups understood the importance of survey *and* intensive fieldwork.

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[65] Lowie p.132-3

[66] ibid p.133-5

Despite this, between the 1870s and the 1930s, most anthropologists began to pursue one method in preference to the other. It became a choice between institutions and a dichotomy developed between the museum and the university as a result of their contrasting judgements on this question. Movement away from one method inevitably led to criticism of the other.

Tindale recognized the urgency of survey work, but also saw the advantages of long term fieldwork. His intellectual roots - his childhood in Japan, his reading and understanding of science, and his residence in Adelaide, led him naturally into the museum context. This put him on the survey side of the anthropological debate. The Museum's location in South Australia placed it within reach of a large number of Aborigines still living in a "traditional" manner. Its limited resources, however, combined with its need to collect specimens for public display and its underlying evolutionary assumptions, made broad survey work the only feasible approach.

In contrast, the emergent university anthropology department in Sydney, established in 1925, accepted the theoretical premises of the British school of social anthropology. It was Radcliffe-Brown who held the first Chair of Anthropology in Australia. Principles of intensive fieldwork were reinforced by the fact that researchers at Sydney University had to travel far greater distances to conduct fieldwork among tribal groups. This, in conjunction with high levels of funding, made it more practical to remain in the field for a longer period.

Tindale's theoretical concerns - his acceptance of the evolutionary paradigm, his understanding of anthropology as a *science* - made him particularly suited to the museum framework. It offered him avenues of research such as material culture and archaeology which were neglected by social anthropology. However, experience in the field led him to realize the advantages of closer interaction with Aboriginal people. He recognized the need to develop more sophisticated methods and saw the potential benefits of tracing all the interconnected facets of a culture. These perceptions caused him to be, in some ways, constrained by his museum role. His opportunities to carry out more extensive research were limited by the short duration and rigid organisation of expeditions organized by the Museum and the Board for Anthropological Research.

The following chapters will show how Tindale resolved the conflicts inherent in the museum context *without leaving it*, as Boas had. I will demonstrate how he maintained a continuity in his ideas about anthropology and his reasons for doing it, whilst at the same time adopting and adapting new methods from a wide variety of sources.

Having now discussed the intellectual climate of early twentieth century anthropology, the next chapter will deal with Tindale's first expedition for the Museum, which occurred before the full impact of these changes had affected the discipline in Australia.

* * *

Chapter 3

THE FIRST WALKABOUT
The Making of an Anthropologist

Title taken from a book written
for children by Tindale
and H.A. Lindsay in 1954

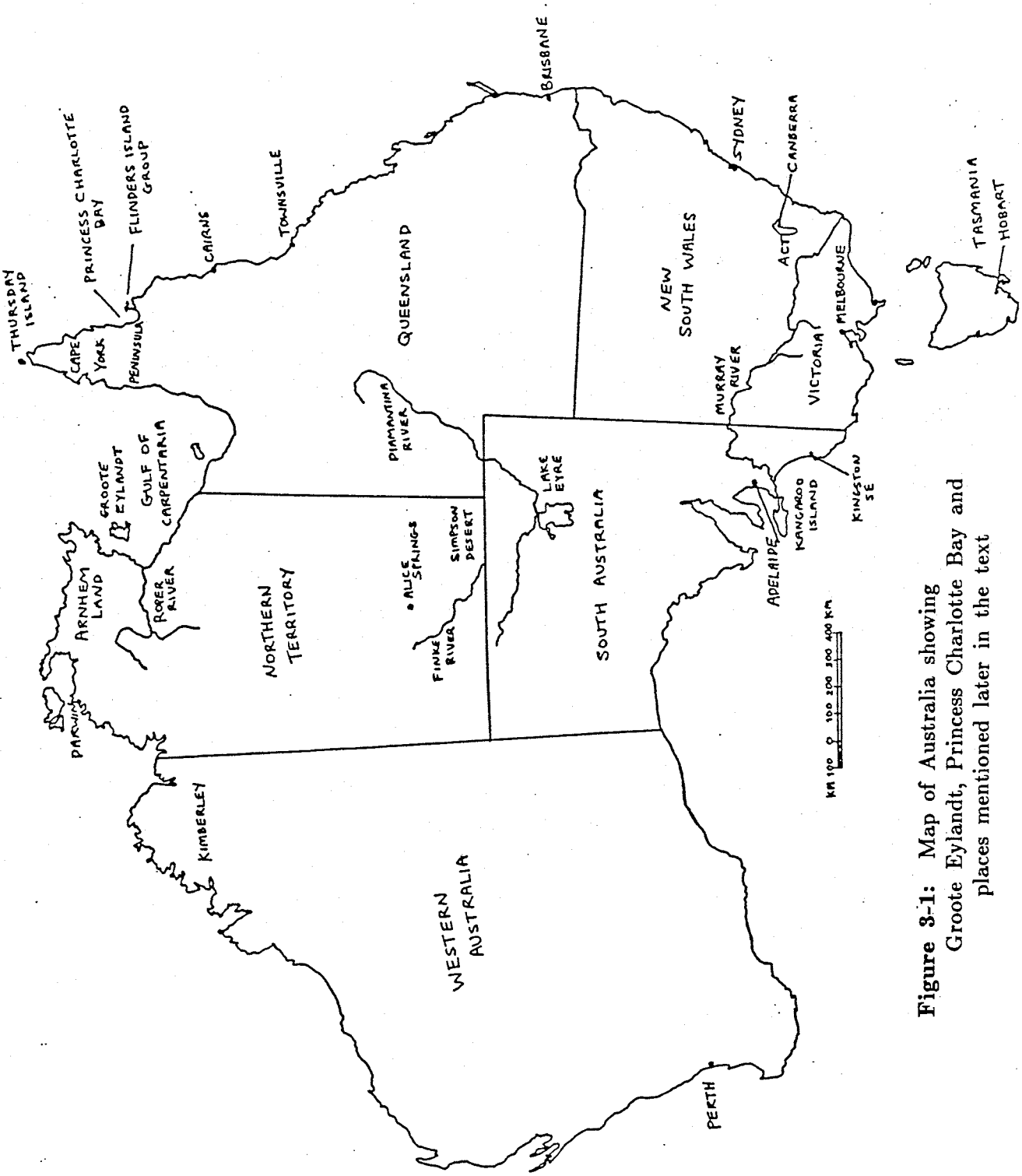

Figure 3-1: Map of Australia showing Groote Eylandt, Princess Charlotte Bay and places mentioned later in the text

Figure 3-2: Tindale on the Holly at mouth of Roper River just after falling overboard, 3 May 1921.

Figure 3-3: Tindale cutting up a Green Turtle with Aboriginal helpers nearby. Yetiba, Groote Eylandt, December 1921

> This is as strange a maze as ever men trod;
> And there is in this business more than nature
> Was ever conduct of: some oracle
> Must rectify our knowledge.
>
> William Shakespeare
> The Tempest Act 5, Scene 1

On 25 September 1920, Norman Tindale, Entomologist's Assistant at the South Australian Museum, wrote to Mr. Alfred J. Dyer of the Church Missionary Society about the possibility of joining an expedition to Groote Eylandt, situated off the east coast of Arnhem Land.

> You will perhaps remember the conversation you had with me recently in Adelaide (at the C.M.S. exhibition) on the island and its natural history. As my desire is if possible to collect there I approach you to see if any understanding or agreement could be come to wherebye [sic] that object could be fulfilled.[1]

He explained that as he was not 21 years of age, the Museum could not send him in any "official capacity". Therefore, after requesting leave and establishing an arrangement concerning the fate of any collections, all other aspects of the expedition would be his "own responsibility". Entomologist Mr. Arthur M. Lea, one of the prime-movers behind the plan, was enthusiastic about the possibilities presented by a zoological and botanical study of the island. He had assured his assistant that there would be no problem in providing him with equipment for such a venture. Tindale concluded the letter by asking

> Would it be convenient for you to engage me for a period of say 12 months on some such terms as to receive keep and permitting me half time off say while on collecting ground so as to make collections the disposal of which to the SA Museum would help defray my expenses.[2]

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[1] NBT to AJ Dyer 25 September 1920 in "GE Correspondence" BRGPC. The exhibition mentioned was a display of the work of the Roper River Mission outlining plans for a possible mission on Groote Eylandt for part Aboriginal people.

[2] ibid

A few days later he received a reply which, although mostly positive, also suggested careful consideration of the drawbacks and difficulties.[3] Groote Eylandt was as yet uninhabited by whites. The Reverend Hubert E. Warren, Head of the Anglican Mission at Roper River, had made some preliminary explorations of the region during 1916-1920, with the intention of extending the work of the Mission into the islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria.[4] Dyer had accompanied him on the second trip in November 1916 on which they had located and named Emerald River.[5] The area around the freshwater creek was considered most suitable for the establishment of a new mission station. The C.M.S. later decided to build a settlement for "half-caste" children at the site. The island would serve to separate them from "the degrading influences of the mainland".[6] At the time of Dyer's letter, the mission was still in the planning stage although contact had been made with the Aboriginal inhabitants of the island - the Ingura (now called Wanindiljaugwa).[7] Dyer cautioned that

> ..The blacks are wild, we believe we have made friends of them but they might resent us settleling [sic] there..I can assure you we have had times when our hearts have been in our mouths & we go amongst them generally unarmed. You want to consider these facts they are real and a man only knows what sort of stuff his heart is made of at these times & to show fear is to loose [sic]..[8]

Despite these warnings Tindale wrote back with no less enthusiasm;

> The difficulty would seem to be, as you suggest, the need at first for extreme caution in dealing with the natives so as not to raise their anger or fear. The suggestion of the danger, while it should be looked at seriously, does not appeal to me as worth throwing the scheme over for..My father has been a missionary in Japan, where most of my life has been spent, and I understand some of the hardships and yet the joyful sacrafice [sic] and admire anyone who devotes their life to it. P.S. Personally the sooner I go the better, I suppose it is the headlong nature

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[3] AJ Dyer to NBT 27 September 1920 in "GE Correspondence" BRGPC

[4] Keith Cole, Groote Eylandt Mission (Church Missionary Historical Publications, Melbourne, 1971) p.12-15

[5] C.C. Macknight,(ed.)The Farthest Coast:A Selection of Writings Relating to the History of the Northern Coast of Australia (Melbourne University Press, 1969) p.186-203

[6] Cole, p.15

[7] D.H. Turner,Tradition and and Transformation:a study of Aborigines in the Groote Eylandt area,northern Australia Australian Aboriginal Studies No.53 (Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1974) p.3

[8] AJD to NBT 27 September 1920

of youth.[9]

As a result of these exchanges, a contract was made with the Museum through Tindale's father.[10] It was agreed that the young entomologist should take leave of absence from his position for 12 months to act as naturalist for the C.M.S. on its expedition. It was understood that any resulting collections would be purchased by the Museum on his return.[11]

Tindale first experienced "fieldwork" on Groote Eylandt in the years 1921-22. His role was that of naturalist and his interests and aims lay initially in the field of entomology. Mr. Lea's primary area of study was beetles, especially the evolution and development of insect species found on islands off the coast of Australia. He encouraged and helped Tindale to become involved with the C.M.S. expedition in the hope that his assistant could locate and take specimens of the various species of beetle on the island while in the process of documenting its natural history extensively.

Tindale maintained his preoccupation with butterflies and his knowledge of this subject had been extended through his work as Entomologist's Assistant since 1919. However, his contract with the Museum concerning the Groote Eylandt expedition also made him responsible for the collection of ethnological specimens. The location of the proposed mission station meant that Tindale would be in close association with Aboriginal people who had as yet suffered little contact with Europeans. The series of journals written by Tindale during his time on and around the island reveal the way in which his relationship with the Aboriginal inhabitants developed and how the focus of his research work altered. Tindale began his records with a naturalist's concerns and he wrote in the manner of many a nineteenth century explorer - discussing the collection of specimens, making brief references to the Aboriginal "boys" who assisted him and drafting incidental description of the way of life of the islanders and some of their customs. During his stay, particularly on his second sojourn at Emerald River (November 1921 - March 1922) , Tindale's interest in and recording of information about Aboriginal life increased and began to encompass new areas. His research became more exacting.

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[9]NBT to AJD 4 October 1920 in "GE Correspondence" BRGPC.

[10]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[11]Director SAM to NBT, 27 November 1920 in "GE Corres." BRGPC.

This chapter will demonstrate how Tindale went to Groote Eylandt as an entomologist and returned as an anthropologist. Before he joined the expedition he had some basic training in the techniques of collecting and recording ethnographic data but his constant, long term contact with Aborigines led him to develop a deep interest in their language and culture and a growing desire to document it. Research into some of the subjects which have occupied Tindale throughout his life, such as tribal boundaries and distribution, was initiated during this period. On his return to Adelaide in August 1922, Tindale's anthropological interests gradually came to the fore, subsuming to some extent his entomological work.

During his employment at the Museum before the Groote Eylandt expedition, Tindale had learned many skills which aided his entomological and anthropological fieldwork. Lea had supervised his reading and helped to educate him in the handling, cataloguing, labelling and display of museum specimens. On Friday afternoons, on Lea's instructions and at the Museum's expense, Tindale took a special course in museum drawing at the South Australian School of Art, learning to depict accurately both insects and ethnographic artefacts.[12] In the case of ethnological specimens, he was trained by Edward Stirling in basic language transcription so that he could record and label them with their native names as well as their English equivalent. Lea directed him to learn more about phonetic transcription of Aboriginal words from botanist, John McConnell Black, who had written a number of papers on the vocabulary of South Australian tribes (1915, 1916, and 1920) using the International Phonetic Alphabet.[13] Tindale also had some experience in the preparation of scientific papers on Aboriginal culture, arranging the photographs for a paper by Stirling on the ceremonial objects of the Dieri tribe at Coopers Creek,[14] and assisting Lea in proofreading a 1918 article by Daisy Bates.[15]

Having taken entrance exams for the University of Adelaide in 1918,[16] by 1919 Tindale was enrolled in Biology 1, his first subject towards the degree of Bachelor

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[12]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[13]ibid

[14]BRG-NBT Interview, January 1986

[15]N.B. Tindale, "Anthropology"; Chapter 9 in Ideas and Endeavours-The Natural Sciences in South Australia (The Royal Society of South Australia, 1986) p.240

[16]NBT Summary

of Science.[17] He was allowed time off from the Museum to attend lectures on the understanding that this time was to be made up. Since the caretaker opened the Museum at 7 am and closed it at 9 pm, Tindale was able to work for up to five hours overtime.[18] He passed Biology with a credit and then, in 1920, began first year Physics.[19]

By the time he went to Groote Eylandt, Tindale had some university training in the sciences as well as practical museum experience in handling, drawing and classifying specimens and transcribing Aboriginal words. However, the new Museum Director, Edgar Waite, considered it important that before undertaking ethnological research, Tindale should have some *specific* education in this area.[20] At this time there were no institutions teaching anthropology in Australia, so Tindale was sent to the National Museum in Melbourne, to spend a fortnight learning from Sir Baldwin Spencer, who had been the leading figure in Australian anthropology since the 1890s.[21]

Spencer was a Darwinist, trained in evolutionary biology, who had held the Chair in that discipline at the University of Melbourne for many years. His transformation into ethnographer was the result of his fieldwork, initially as a natural scientist in Central Australia.[22] Tindale's own development followed this pattern. Spencer had conducted a substantial amount of fieldwork since 1894 and had published a number of books documenting his observations.[23] He had been a student of Tylor's at Oxford in the 1880s and his anthropological work showed the influence of Tylor's ideas as well as the concerns of Sir James Frazer (The Golden Bough 1900). His theoretical and methodological principles were linked to the British tradition prior to its break away from the evolutionary paradigm. His fieldwork was survey in style, as his aim was to open up research across wide

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[17]NBT to Registrar, University of Adelaide, 19 December 1927 in BRGPC

[18]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[19]NBT to Registrar 1927

[20]A.P. Jones, "South Australian Anthropological History: The Board for Anthropological Research and its Early Expeditions", in Records of the South Australian Museum Hereafter RSAM 20, 1987 p. 72

[21]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[22]D.J. Mulvaney and J.H. Calaby, So Much That Is New: Baldwin Spencer 1860-1929, A Biography, (Melbourne University Press, 1985) p.162

[23]see ibid, p.419 for a list of these

tracts of the continent to aid in recording the culture of a "dying" stone-age race. His approach was that of a scientist - careful observation and accurate documentation.[24]

Tindale's first education in anthropology was therefore in the survey tradition of the nineteenth century, bound as it was to the evolutionary assumptions with which he was already familiar. The most salient lesson Tindale learned from Spencer was the keeping of a daily scientific journal in which a full account of the day's observations would be systematically laid down. Spencer told Tindale that he must not go to bed at night until this task was completed, whatever the conditions. Even if the following day brought new lessons which proved yesterday's assumptions to be incorrect, the record was still invaluable.[25] Tindale began his journal on the first day of February in 1921 and has maintained the habit ever since, both in and out of the field. His journals, especially those completed while on expeditions, contain a mass of primary observations on the Aborigines of Australia. These journals, and interviews with Tindale, provide the principal source for this thesis.

Spencer also taught Tindale Geographic 1 - a then standard method of language transcription.[26] Finally he gave Tindale his personal copy of the 1912 edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology.[27] This manual, in conjunction with Malinowski's Natives of Mailu, which Tindale had been given early in his employment at the Museum, were to have some influence on the format and style of his early ethnographic recording.[28] Tindale recalls taking Notes and Queries with him to Groote Eylandt. He skim read it and developed a "general pattern" of ways to record. He did not gather information to the book's exact prescriptions, nor did he rigidly follow the format of questioning it suggested.[29] Tindale's ethnographic method in 1921- 22 was partly the result of his personal interpretation of all these varied influences.

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[24]for details on Spencer's life and work, see Mulvaney, So Much That Is New..

[25]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[26]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[27]ibid

[28]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[29]ibid

Tindale's field experience helped him to develop his own ways of seeking and recording information.[30] Throughout the expedition his methods remained primarily tied to close observation , reinforced by discussion with informants. An examination of his experiences will show how he began by making incidental notes about aspects of Aboriginal life which he had observed. However, as his interest and involvement in Aboriginal culture became stronger, he made records more frequently and his descriptions became longer and more detailed. He developed a special concern with particular subjects and he honed some of his research skills. In this way he gradually made the transition from entomologist to ethnologist.

During February 1921, after working with Spencer, Tindale spent some time studying collections in both the Melbourne and Sydney Museums. He also discussed his impending trip with a number of museum scientists.[31] In the libraries of Sydney he scanned books on subjects such as mining in the Northern Territory, seeking any information that was available about Groote Eylandt.[32]

On Wednesday 30 March, Tindale met Mr. and Mrs. Dyer, was introduced to Mr. R.D. Joynt and Mr. Perriman - two other members of the expedition - and at 5:30 pm, the group left Sydney on the Changsa, headed for Thursday Island.[33] Travelling via Townsville, Cairns and Cape York, they arrived at Thursday Island on Saturday 9 April and remained there for two weeks while they prepared their own boat, the Holly[34], for the voyage to Roper River Mission and Groote Eylandt.[35] The voyage to Roper River included a stop at Mapoon, the site of a Presbyterian mission station. Here Tindale conducted collecting work with a number of Aboriginal "boys" whom he found to be "very clever".[36] In the evening, on the verandah of the station, the mission children gathered to sing. Tindale was impressed with the sound of the "corroborree songs", writing in his journal that they were

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[30] ibid

[31] GE 1 p.21-22 and 33-5

[32] GE 1 p.35-6

[33] GE 1 p.67

[34] A ketch-rigged two-masted vessel of some fifteen tons with auxiliary diesel engine.

[35] GE 1 p.67-8

[36] GE 1 p.100

> ..most melodious, and stirring, even though I could not understand them.[37]

Even at this stage his curiosity led him to try to find out what the songs meant, but he got "no indication".[38]

The Holly arrived at Roper River amidst an epidemic of influenza which had taken the life of the Reverend Warren's two year old daughter.[39] Less than a month later, on June 12, the same fever killed the skipper of the boat and also affected other members of the party, including Tindale. This delayed their departure for Groote Eylandt by a month.[40] Prior to his illness Tindale spent most of his time in the company of Aboriginal children from the mission. In the morning they would head down to Wadjelai Billabong for a "bogie" (swim) and the boys would collect the seeds of the lilies to be roasted and eaten.[41] The afternoon was utilized for collecting insects, shooting birds and other animals which were then skinned and preserved later in the day or evening.[42] Tindale had the assistance of a number of part-Aboriginal lads from the mission who were "good shots", including Barney, Minnamea, and Jellani who Tindale noted was part Malay.[43] The rest of the days were taken up with helping to prepare the Holly for departure, Friday night "playabouts" with the mission children and Sunday services.[44] One Friday evening the young men of the camp took Tindale aside to instruct him in the rudiments of the Mara language of the Roper River area. Tindale began to note some of the words into a vocabulary, finding that his knowledge of the Japanese language was of help to him. He wrote in his journal that night

> The pronunciation is easy & similar in many cases to Japanese. I have written vowels etc. as the Japanese pronounce them & as they write Latin script. In a few cases I have tried to indicate the length of vowels by

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[37] GE 1 p.103

[38] ibid

[39] GE 1 p.112- 113

[40] GE 1 p.148 and 136- 140. Tindale was frequently ill between 28 May and 5 June

[41] GE 1 p.118 and 121

[42] GE 1 p.119-136

[43] GE 1 p.120-1

[44] GE 1 p.113-150

signs..[45]

Despite such recording, Tindale was still more concerned with his entomological and zoological work and the early part of his journal attests to this preoccupation. Most of the notes relate to his specimens and ideas about the possibilities of catching and documenting other species.[46] Aborigines were, at this time, mainly helpers in his collecting or companions in swimming and playing about. His attitude towards them was still touched by his missionary upbringing and his association with members of the C.M.S. After Sunday service which was attended not only by the local children, but also by a number of Aborigines from beyond the mission, Tindale wrote

> One could not but contrast the squalor of the myalls with the neatness and cleanliness of the boys and girls.[47]

This impression later changed as Tindale became more involved with the far less acculturated Aborigines of Groote Eylandt, and thereby lost these European preconceptions.

The Holly left for Groote Eylandt on 16 June with Warren in command and Tindale and Jellani in charge of sails.[48] Also aboard were three Aboriginal men Joshua (Umbariri), Millewara and Lambrin and two part- Aboriginal boys. One of them, Charlie, was to be Tindale's helper in collecting as he had shown himself to be most adept. The missionary team included Reverend Warren, Mr. Dyer and Mr. Forbes. They arrived on Groote Eylandt on 23 June and set up camp at Emerald River or Yetibah (Yetiba), named after the local group which owned that area.[49] Tindale was to spend a total of seven months on the island, divided into two periods of two and five months respectively, separated by a two and a half month residence at Roper River, during the beginning of the wet season - August to November 1922. During his time on Groote Eylandt he associated mostly with the Ingura people of the island and surrounds, and on the mainland with a number of members of other tribes, including the Mara of the Roper River area, the Nungubuyu (Nunggubuju) of the area around Rose River and the Ngandi who lived

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[45]GE 1 p.133

[46]GE 1 p.113-150

[47]GE 1 p.123

[48]GE 1 p.151 and BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[49]GE 1 p.165

further to the west.[50]

On first arriving Tindale was struck by the magnificence of the scenery which he considered to be "the most beautiful I have ever seen".[51] He began to collect specimens of the flora immediately. Not long after their arrival, the party "attacked" the local Aborigines with notepads and pens in an attempt to record a vocabulary, which Tindale began to note in the back of the second volume of his journal. He wrote that the Aborigines seemed "very anxious to teach us" but at the same time were sincerely amused at Dyer's and Forbes' attempts to pronounce words correctly.[52]

Tindale spent most of the first month with Warren, circumnavigating the island and exploring its coastal regions.[53] He described the geography and scenery and made collections of flora and fauna. He gathered a number of ethnological specimens and photographed some of the people of Bickerton Eylandt (Wanungamagaljuagba) whom they encountered on their journeys.[54] In the mangroves off the beach at Northwest Bay they came across what seemed to be the cleared circle of a ceremonial ground. Here they persuaded a "blackfellow" to take them to the "place where they keep their idols".[55] They were led to a number of huts in which they found "pairs of gods". Tindale sketched the shape of one in his journal and described it broadly as "ornamented with lines and stripes of colour.."[56] He learned from the Aborigine that it was to be

> ..used in the ceremony being held in the mouth as they dance. It represented in some way the bandicoot.[57]

Tindale sought no further information at this time, but he did try to ascertain

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[50]NBT, "Natives of Groote Eylandt and of the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria" Part 1 RSAM 3:1, 1925 p.62-4 & NBT,Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits, and proper names (University of California Press, 1974) for orthography of tribal names.

[51]GE 1 p.166

[52]GE 2 p.176

[53]GE 2 177-212

[54]Turner, p.3 and GE 2 p.181-83

[55]GE 2 p.184

[56]GE 2 p.184-5

[57]GE 2 p.185-6

whether the Aborigines would be willing to sell the objects to him.[58] Just before leaving the island for Roper River, Tindale was able to secure a photograph of an old man (Papatama) and the "waddy gods" by secretly taking him into the bush where he could be sure no young men would see them.[59]

However, at this early stage the journals show that Tindale did not *actively* seek information on the Aboriginal people of the island. He went exploring with Warren and collecting with his helpers. If by chance they encountered a group of Aborigines or were faced with the possibility of trading for some ethnological specimens, Tindale would make records and purchases.[60] In one case when Dyer discovered cave drawings on the east side of East bay, Tindale took a morning to trace and photograph as many of the paintings as he could.[61] Despite such activities, his abiding interest lay with his insect collections. The Aborigines were beginning to bring in weapons and other ethnological specimens which pleased Tindale, but he was far more concerned at this point about the distinct lack of entomological finds. He wrote on 19 July,

> My feelings as to this trip and its success are mixed. I badly want to make a decent show but insects are almost totally absent. Only coastal birds are coming in & opportunities of getting inland are few. I had hoped to have in writing a promise of 6 months at least of residence on the island, & it was from this that I had anticipated getting a good collection.[62]

On 1 August the party settled for a full month at Yetiba, during which Tindale was allowed specific time off for collecting while the others worked on the mission buildings and gardens. Once camped, Tindale's days were free to collect and his evenings, after cooking, were spent "yarning" with the Aborigines or skinning the day's quota of birds and animals. This sedentary situation allowed him greater time and opportunity to record Aboriginal life and his interest slowly increased. He wrote in his journal of the "novel yet familiar scene" around the campfires, enthusiastic about the experience of

..living practically among them the whole time, working with them & in

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[58]GE 2 p.186

[59]GE 2 p.249

[60]GE 2 p.181-3

[61]GE 2 p.202-3

[62]GE 2 p.197

> the evening sitting amongst them talking thru [sic] an interpreter or trying to exercise one's own knowledge of the language.[63]

"Yarning" around the campfire provided Tindale with a wide variety of information and he began to make brief notes on the location and distribution of the different tribal groups he had encountered. He also noted the kinds of food preferred by the Aborigines and the places in which they were gathered.[64] Broad details on culture were included under the heading "Corroborees". He also made very limited observations about the evidence of Macassan blood in the physical appearance of the Ingura as well as Macassan words in their language.[65] Groote Eylandt had been visited by Macassan trepangers since the eighteenth century and remains of their camps were to be found in a number of locations.[66] Most of Tindale's free time however, in between bouts of fever and dysentry, was still taken up with collecting and preparing insect and faunal specimens.[67]

On 30 August the party returned to Roper River for the wet season. Tindale wrote of his sorrow at leaving

> The open air life, the hunting, collecting, the natives & the country has a great attraction for me.[68]

He was still concerned about his lack of insect specimens;

> They are not to be found, although one puts in hours searching exclusively for them.

He believed his hope lay in returning sometime during the wet season.[69] Despite these failures from the "natural history point of view", Tindale wrote that the trip was "of great interest, adventure and experience".[70] These comments demonstrate that although Tindale enjoyed living with the Aborigines, at this stage he still considered his *work* to be entomology.

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[63]GE 2 p.215

[64]GE 2 p.221-22

[65]GE 2 p.223-4

[66]NBT,"Groote Eylandt.." Part 1, 1925 p.66

[67]GE 2 p.235

[68]GE 2 p.251

[69]GE 2 p.252

[70]GE 2 p.258

During the period at Roper River, Tindale's entries in his journal became shorter and less descriptive as he was mostly involved in repair work on the Holly and the mission station. Any spare hours were used developing films, fixing up what collections he had, or enjoying "playabouts" at the billabong. The evenings were spent in discussion with Warren and visitors to the mission.[71] When Warren, the Dyers, the Forbes and Perriman returned to Groote Eylandt on 6 October, Tindale was left to continue mission work at Roper River with Mr. Joynt.[72] The only highlights were his twenty-first birthday on 12 October and a corroboree performed on the 21st of the same month. Tindale documented the event in a superficial way. He wrote that it occurred in the late afternoon and noted the presence of Aborigines "from the bush" as well as those that looked as if they had done some stockyard service. He briefly described and made a sketch of their body decorations and headdresses. He discussed the movements of the six dancers and wrote of the musical accompaniment,

> The women, led by an old man, the "boss" apparently of the Roper tribes, sang an accompaniment. It was not in monotone but in three or four notes rising and falling. Time was beaten by the two hands clenched being beaten against the person's thighs.[73]

The whole scene "lit by the light of a small fire" with forty singers chanting with "wierd force", made a "lurid picture of aboriginal life and pleasure".[74] The description, whilst not detailed, elicits some of Tindale's excitement and enthusiasm at what he was seeing and his awareness of the aspects of a ceremony which he believed should be recorded. After the performance, in accordance with his role as museum collector, he purchased the head decorations and a number of the grass boomerangs that were used by the dancers.[75]

On the evening of November 17, Tindale left Roper River on his return to Yetiba.[76] During the next five months - the first two alone with Mr. Dyer - Tindale was to become more deeply involved with the Aborigines and he began to request and record information *actively*. Whereas during his first sojourn on the

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[71] GE 2 p.278-9

[72] GE 2 p.287

[73] GE 2 p.299

[74] GE 2 p.300

[75] GE 2 p.300

[76] GE 2 p.326-8

island he had been content to record *passively* whatever ethnographic material he came across in the course of his natural history collecting, his second stay on Groote Eylandt saw the clear transformation of his interest towards a desire to record the culture of the island's human inhabitants. Two events during December 1921 drew him into a far closer relationship with the Aborigines than he had ever experienced before.

In December Dyer and Tindale became involved in an affray between two local groups of the Ingura tribal area. Members of the Talakurupa (Diljargurba) or "soldier mob" as Tindale termed them in 1921, alleged that Charlie, a man from Bickerton Island had killed one of their men and stolen his "lubra" (woman).[77]

The trouble between the two groups began on Thursday 8 December. Tindale noted

> ..the Bickerton boys are on their guard today..All are carrying their womeras, keep together have spies out and spears close at hand.[78]

They were expecting the Talakurupa group. This party did not arrive until a week later, but they carried with them several hundred spears. They were disappointed at missing the Bickerton group who had just left the island.[79] The real affray therefore, did not begin until the night of 22 December. That afternoon Tindale had noticed the return of the group from Bickerton, without the offender, Charlie, and had watched the Talakurupa preparing their spears. That evening, while Tindale and Dyer were finishing supper, the groups began to threaten each other.

> So Mr. Dyer and I went over. We found the two lots in array in the dark. The Bickertons sitting with spears laid out before them & the Soldiers sheltering behind trees, ant hills & hurling challenges etc.[80]

Tindale and Dyer managed to prevent the fight this time

> By standing by them, talking to them & finally interesting several in the pursuit of a giant dragonfly..[81]

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[77]Turner, p.3 and GE 2 p.358-397.The Talakurupa lived in the southeast of Groote Eylandt

[78]GE 2 p.358

[79]GE 2 p.370

[80]GE 2 p.377-8

[81]GE 2 p.378

However, the following afternoon saw the arrival of Charlie and a group of his supporters. Minutes later

> spears were flying, shouts of rage & frenzy rang in the air..[82]

Dyer and Tindale hurried down to watch and see how they could stop the fighting. Dyer threw himself into the middle of the affray,

> Putting his arms around one about to throw he stopped him until Charlie's supporters shielded him again..He stood in front of Charlie as the latter retreated.[83]

Tindale soon joined Dyer,

> Going from one to another standing in front of Charlie we managed to keep the spears from flying..Charlie was shivering and shaking with fear as I stood shielding him with a couple of blackfellows, mates of mine.[84]

Dyer and Tindale tried to convince Charlie to run away into the darkness, but he replied he could not. Tindale understood the reason to be connected in some way to "tribal law". Despite Charlie's stand and with much quick work on the part of Dyer and Tindale, the fight was prevented from continuing. The two parties followed the exhausted pair to the mission house to discuss the affair. Tindale wrote

> Mr. Dyer and I were looked on as mediators or ambassadors

and they arranged that the six men who wanted revenge on Charlie should end the conflict by throwing spears at him in the traditional manner suggested by one of the Aborigines present at the discussion.[85] Tindale's descriptions of the events of the 23rd and the avenging ceremony on the following day attest to his deep excitement and involvement in the matter. He described and photographed the entire proceedings. He documented, sketched and tried to obtain as a specimen, a woven basket carried on the back of one of the Talakurupa ,the son of the murdered man. Tindale believed it to contain the remains of the boy's deceased parent.[86] He discussed this further in one of the articles resulting from his Groote

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[82]GE 2 p.379

[83]GE 2 p.380

[84]GE 2 p.381

[85]GE 2 p.384. Charlie survived this trial

[86]GE 2 p.384-5

Eylandt experiences.[87] Eventually he did obtain the bag, but without its contents.[88] In his journal, Tindale transcribed a long and detailed description of the ceremony of revenge, noting the men who threw spears, the types of spears, Charlie's reactions and finally how

> The two chiefs concerned approached, as we were departing and held each others hands..All the blacks were now friends again.[89]

That night Tindale wrote

> Fortunately the light was good & I hope to obtain interesting and valuable results of the "real thing".[90]

The "uniqueness and strangeness" of these pre-Christmas activities in which Tindale and Dyer

> were in a way seconds in a duel for life between two parties of blacks,[91]

had a profound effect on Tindale's future involvement with the Aborigines and the focus of his documentation. On Christmas day, Tindale and Dyer were once again called upon to settle a dispute in which Bent, a Bickerton man, was accused of being responsible for the death of a sick woman who was left in his care. Tindale explained that it was really "a thing that could not be helped" and Bent could not be blamed. These explanations resulted in a truce.[92] Tindale wrote glowingly in his journal,

> It is a great step into their hearts that they bring their quarrels before us in this way & we have been able with the aid of the older men to settle the troubles in accordance with their customs.[93]

He sat up late that night completing fourteen pages of documentation concerning the events of the last two days. The excitement of these activities and the close association between Tindale and the Aborigines that resulted, alter the style of his

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[87] NBT, "Groote Eylandt.." Part 1, 1925 p.75

[88] ibid p. 76

[89] GE 2 p.389

[90] GE 2 p.389

[91] GE 2 p.386

[92] GE 2 p.395-7

[93] GE 2 p.397

writing. The feel of the journal changes as the descriptions become more vivid, conveying great intensity and involvement. Following the fighting, Tindale began to write more fully about the daily life of the Aborigines. He watched them preparing dugong and fishing.[94] He spent a lot of time in the Bickertons' new camp on the beach and began to make specific enquiries about different subjects, including the experiences of one of the older men, Old Bull with the visiting Macassans.[95]

On 29 December Tindale made his first mention of Tim (Maroadunei), an Aboriginal whose knowledge as an informant on Aboriginal culture was to be the second vital stimulus towards Tindale's transformation from entomologist to anthropologist. Maroadunei was a Ngandi songmaker from Arnhem Land.[96] He had travelled great distances and been welcomed by many different groups as a carrier of trade parcels. He therefore had a wide knowledge of a number of Aboriginal languages and customs. He became an important assistant of Tindale's and provided him with a great amount of information on language, material culture, tribal boundaries and other aspects of Aboriginal life.[97]

Soon after the Christmas conflict Tindale began sitting down with Maroadunei going over the Ngandi and Mara languages. This became a constant occupation. Information on language was transcribed in the back of his journal in conjunction with notes on class systems. This constituted the first evidence of Tindale's enquiry into social organisation, a subject not directly tied to his brief as a collector for the Museum.[98] This was coupled with a growing concern with other areas, particularly tribal distribution, an interest inspired by the special knowledge of Maroadunei about tribal boundaries. As he moved into Volume Three of his journal and the New Year 1922, Maroadunei became an indispensable companion.

> ..he is a great help, as he understands English well and has always been a wanderer from tribe to tribe, his original tribe being Ngandi.[99]

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[94]GE 2 p.399 and 405

[95]GE 2 p.404-5

[96]GE 2 p.331-407

[97]KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[98]GE 2 p.409-10 and 409a-c

[99]GE 3 p.122

With the assistance of Maroadunei, Tindale began a parallel vocabulary including Ngandi, Mara, Ngalakan, Rittarungo and Rembarunga words.[100] He also became more exacting in this recording of language, making a great effort to check and re-check the words he had collected.

> At dinner time today Tim and I checked all the words he gave me, I saying the native word & he giving the English. We then started getting the same set of words in Ngalakan, the tribe of the Upper Roper..In each case where the word was similar to Ngandi I enquired the Ngandi word, so as to act as an additional check. One can very often see a common origin in words which are now very distant.[101]

This entry shows Tindale's concern with accuracy, the beginning of an interest in connections between languages and it is the first written indication of the method used in the collection of information. These techniques for checking became more refined over time. In March Tindale wrote

> ..practice and use makes most things easy & Tim & I rattle words off wholesale & checking reveals very few errors or mistaken meanings.[102]

In late January and in February Tindale began to use other informants. Two in particular became constant sources of information - Rupert, a Nungubuyu man who also possessed a strong knowledge of the Macassar and Malay languages, and Bob of the Mara tribe.[103] Working with Rupert, Tindale began to trace connections between Ingura words and their Malay or Macassan origins.

> I asked him if the word "sail" "tumbula" of Ingura is Malay. Rupert says it is also the Macassar word, the Malay word being again different. If other words substantiate this one can fix the origin of the Malay traders who came here & are said yet to ocassionally [sic] trespass along the coast.[104]

Such interest in the origin of words and the connections between languages is far removed from the simple collection of vocabulary.

By this stage Tindale had started to exercise his own knowledge of Aboriginal languages more freely. On 14 February a group of twenty-three young Aborigines

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[100]GE 3 p.1 and KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[101]GE 3 p.4-5

[102]GE 3 p.104

[103]GE 3 p.34 and 73

[104]GE 3 p.34

and a number of old men from Caledon Bay arrived at the mission camp. Tindale witnessed their ceremonial meeting with the local natives.[105] The next day he went across to their camp and spoke with three old men, obtaining from them seven bamboo shanked spears and a number of armlets. He wrote

> Their language is in some of its words similar to Ngandi & I was able to recognize several. With a mixture of Ingura, Numburuwa [Nungubuyu?] & Ngandi I was able to make myself understood more or less.[106]

Tindale in this case worked without the aid of an interpreter and was able to communicate with members of the new group and obtain specimens from them. He was more observant, noting details of their appearance, especially the lengthwise cuts on their upper arms and chests.[107] Later he followed up this observation by opening discussion about these markings (or cicatrices) with a number of Aboriginal men.[108] Having observed a practice he did not understand, he actively pursued information to explain it.

On some occasions Tindale worked with all three of his informants, obtaining and checking lists of words.[109] In July he began to organize the words he had collected into alphabetical order by their English equivalent. For this he used a method suggested by Notes and Queries - working with words on slips of paper for ease of sorting.[110]

In addition to information on language, Tindale gained much on other subjects from his work with Maroadunei, Bob and Rupert. With the aid of these men, he was able to document the weapons and other items of material culture that were known, made and used by the Mara, Ngalakan, Nungubuyu and Ngandi people. They also provided him with some information on materials used in the construction of these implements and the locations from which the materials were

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[105] GE 3 p.62-3

[106] GE 3 p.64

[107] ibid

[108] GE 3 p.148-9

[109] GE 3 p.78

[110] DR 1 p.240 and N and Q 1912 p. 192

obtained.[111] After discussion about tribal boundaries and from evidence provided by these three informants, Tindale was able to make a sketch map of the west side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, showing the names of the different tribes and their approximate boundaries.[112] He continued to check this information after his departure from Groote Eylandt, in order to form a clearer and more accurate map.[113] He recalls that when he was in the process of writing his first article on the island for the Records of the South Australian Museum, he drew the boundaries on this map of the area in bold lines. Edgar R. Waite, the Director of the Museum, disputed him on this point, arguing that the Aborigines were a nomadic wandering people with no fixed boundaries. Tindale, who had learned of the existence of these boundaries *from an Aborigine*, begged to differ. He had already begun to trust implictly in his own fieldwork observations and was willing to challenge the orthodox opinions of his peers. As a result of Tindale's stand, Waite allowed him to mark the boundaries with *dotted* lines. From this moment Tindale became determined to make the study of tribal boundaries a priority.[114]

On Groote Eylandt in the first months of 1922, Tindale also began to seek information on such areas as the social organization of the tribes and the totemic affiliations of their members. At first he made only sketchy notes.[115]

> Had a discussion with our boys & learnt that the boys were in two lots. Some belonged to the "long fella tail goanna" ..Others..are of the "kangaroo mob". It seems to mean some totemic arrangement.[116]

Tindale did not gain a large amount of information on this complex subject. At this point it was beyond the range of his knowledge, but upon his return to the Museum he began a programme of reading and correspondence to fill in such gaps. Similarly, only a small amount of material was recorded about ceremonial life, but this was primarily the result of the reticence of the Aborigines to reveal such knowledge to young men who had not been ritually accepted.[117]

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[111] GE 3 p.77-8

[112] GE 3 p.78-9

[113] DR 1p.211 & File - "Geography of GE" in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

[114] KRW- NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[115] GE p.21-22

[116] GE 3 p.21

[117] BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

In contrast Tindale was able to document a great deal about the manufacture of items of material culture and the everyday gathering of food for the camp. This was in keeping with the thrust of museum research. Although he had been recording such data from his early days on the island, Tindale's observations were far more rigorous by 1922. One of his first detailed documentations was the stage by stage description of the construction of a canoe over a number of days.[118] He took five or six photographs showing the progress of the manufacture and of the makers at work, as suggested by Notes and Queries. Finally he traded with the Aborigines to obtain the canoe for the Museum.[119] Tindale made similar descriptions of the manufacture of other items, including spears, fishing lines, and a womera, procuring examples of each for the Museum.[120] He used the same methods when documenting food gathering and preparation.[121]

As his sojourn on the island drew to a close, Tindale filled much of his time with the purchasing of ethnological specimens. Aborigines began to bring in large amounts of implements such as spears and womeras, as well as the faunal and insect specimens which they knew Tindale sought.[122] He noted in his journal as a hint towards further expeditions, that he should

> Put a check on too rapid purchase of one kind of thing. If don't e.g. "womeras" the type and style becomes grossly exaggerated & the workmanship poor.[123]

He realized the problem of articles that were made expressly for sale rather than for the Aborigines' own use. They were not realistic or typical and were therefore of less value. He noted

> Got my best stuff after fights & after corroborrees when everything the chaps had had been painted up.[124]

By this stage Tindale had become more discerning about the types of ethnological specimens that were truly representative of Aboriginal culture.

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[118] GE 2 p.366 and 368-9

[119] GE 2 p.369-70 and N and Q p.28

[120] GE 3 p.4o,41,102-3 ,and 155-6

[121] GE 2 p.360-1 and 349; GE 3 p.139 and 352-3

[122] GE 3 p.77

[123] GE 3 p.127

[124] ibid

At the end of his stay on Groote Eylandt Tindale realized that some of his early lack of success in collecting could be attributed to his moving about too much and his limited knowledge of Aboriginal languages. He wrote again for future reference

> In another trip. Bog in at once. Learn native language or certain words.[125]

His long period of fieldwork on and around Groote Eylandt had made him aware of the advantages of remaining in one place for an extended time and of learning the language - whether for anthropological or entomological research. Ironically this first period of fieldwork was one of the longest and most sedentary in which Tindale was involved throughout his research life. As early as 1922 he had recognized the possibilities presented by long term fieldwork, but the structure of the expeditions in which he was later to be involved made this ideal rarely obtainable.

During his second period on the island Tindale had continued to make entomological collecting trips and also to shoot and skin birds and native animals. However these activities became of secondary importance. Unlike the earlier journal entries, they were not the major focus of the writing. The general activities of the Aborigines, anything Tindale observed or collected in relation to them, and any work he completed with them, took priority. Interest in this kind of material also resulted in the daily entries increasing in length.

Tindale had developed a much closer relationship with the Aborigines around the newly erected Emerald River mission house. He had become physically involved in their disputes and actively interested in their way of life. He spent more time away from the mission building and in the Aboriginal camps. His notes suggest that the Aborigines themselves came to accept him more openly as time progressed. They brought their problems to Tindale and Dyer and willingly discussed some aspects of tribal life with them. Tindale wrote of their reaction to the announcement that he was leaving.

> When I told them I was going away there was a hubbub. They all came crowding round, got me to sit down & wanted to know if I was staying away long & were very disappointed to learn it was for good. They wanted me to sit down always.[126]

On his last evening on the island, Sunday 16 April 1922, Tindale wrote philosophically about his experience.

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[125]GE 3 p.126

[126]GE 3 p.156

> So ends my Groote Eylandt sojourn. As I write the familiar clank clank of the womeras the drone of the blowing stick & the chant of the singers comes over from the camp. The evening is cool, the weather now perfect day and night. Truly it is a pleasant place to pause awhile, but tomorrow I enter a new phase of my life as it were, & I look forward to the future. I have been blessed here, & I pray to be led on day by day in the right way.[127]

Whether the "new phase" Tindale wrote of that evening related to his growing interest in Aboriginal culture and anthropological research is unknowable. To suggest such a relationship would be to read back, to impose a structure on his life that is *now* discernible, but in 1922 was not. Yet it is clear that after his return to South Australia, Tindale seriously began the work of an anthropologist.

He returned home from Groote Eylandt via Roper River and Thursday Island. On the outward trip from the Roper Mission, the Holly was caught in a severe storm which lashed the boat for an entire day. Tindale wrote, after the event, that on that day - 1 May 1922 - they had lost all hope of survival as water was coming in everywhere.

> We gave ourselves up for lost & commended ourselves to God asking him to reconsecrate our lives if it was his will to spare us.[128]

The prayer was answered, the wind died down and the Holly was able to return to Roper River. This unexpected return meant that Tindale was able to spend a few days exploring an Aboriginal cave at Wagundu, near Leichhardt's Bar. He recorded the contents of the cave, took photographs, sketches and tracings of the wall and ceiling paintings, comparing them with those he had viewed on Groote Eylandt.[129] His Aboriginal guide, an Alawa man called Tommy, gave him permission to take anything that he considered to be of value, if it was portable.[130]

On 11 June the group left again for Thursday Island, and from there, Sydney, which they reached on 31 July. Tindale remained in Sydney for a while, visiting his parents who had moved there prior to their son's departure for Groote

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[127] GE 3 p.158-9

[128] GE 3 p.174-5

[129] DR 1 p.201-4

[130] DR 1 p.203-4

Eylandt.[131] He finally arrived back in Adelaide on 19 August and was met at the railway station by Mr. Lea and Herbert M. Hale, zoologist and fellow Museum employee.[132]

After a severe attack of fever frightened his new landlady, Tindale moved back into Mrs. Camm's boarding house in Unley where he had rented a room and study previously.[133] He returned to work at the Museum and started organizing his Groote Eylandt notes in preparation for writing a number of papers. In this pursuit he was encouraged by Edgar Waite. Tindale continued his work with Lea and as his chief's eyesight declined, he gradually took over most of the detailed drawing and other close work.[134]

In August of 1923 he gave a lecture to the Royal Geographic Society describing Groote Eylandt and the Roper River area; their inhabitants, languages, weapons, food gathering, camps and ceremonies, finishing by talking about some of his own adventures on and around the island.[135] It is significant that Tindale's first lecture about the island concerned its Aboriginal inhabitants rather than the entomological research which had been the original reason behind his joining the C.M.S. expedition. He received an enthusiastic reception from the audience and this encouraged him to pursue his anthropological research.

Tindale had envisaged writing a book in the style of Wallace's Malay Archipelago, describing his adventures on Groote Eylandt and including in it both his entomological and anthropological notes. He experimented with titles and outlines but this plan became submerged beneath other more pressing jobs and his work on the scientific papers.[136] Between 1925 and 1928 Tindale published three papers on Groote Eylandt based on his field journals, but also containing information he had gathered since his return, through correspondence with the Dyers, Joynt and Warren, and later with a new member of the missionary team with an intense interest in Aboriginal culture, E.C.H. Lousada. A large number

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[131]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[132]DR 1 p.268-9

[133]DR 1 p.269

[134]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[135]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987 and The News Adelaide, 27 August 1923

[136]KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987 and loose sheets with book notes in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

of letters held in the South Australian Museum archives attest to this correspondence.[137] In May 1924 Tindale wrote to the Dyers telling them that he was gradually writing up a paper on the island,

> .. as I see a chance of the paper being published in the near future I am doing some more to it and often wish, when some puzzling point crops up, that I had old Tim to help me out..Going over the notes & vocabularies I have come across various omissions and other points which require confirmation. Would it be possible for you to fill them out where available and let me have them back as soon as convenient so that they can be incorporated into my account.[138]

Through correspondence with Mrs. Dyer, Tindale was able to include some information about the Aboriginal women of Groote Eylandt, with whom he had been allowed no contact. The women were kept in seclusion away from any possible contact with outsiders. His only glimpse of them had been of a party of women and children fleeing into the bush at the command of an old man.[139] Tindale wrote in his 1925 article that

> ..after several years of mission work, the natives were induced to bring a party of their women to a place near Yetiba, and Mrs. Dyer ventured with the old men to where they were hiding. She found them to be timid and shy, hiding at first completely behind hinged sheets of stringy bark..[140]

In this way she was able to describe this event and the appearance of the women in a letter to Tindale.

In addition to writing letters requesting material Tindale also collated all other information on the island and its surrounds from books, articles and newspaper clippings. He checked his conclusions against those of Spencer in his Guide to the Australian Ethnographic Collection (1901), Native Tribes of the Northern Territory (1914) and Across Australia (1912), as well as with works by Etheridge, Curr, Mathews and Gilbert White's Thirty Years in Tropical Australia (1918).[141] In the case of Spencer he made many notes about discrepencies he had to check.

Spencer N.T Tribes p. 29 says paperbark is very warm & can be easily

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[137]File "Letters re Groote" in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

[138]NBT to Dyers 24 May 1924, in File "Oenpelli, GE & Letters from RR" in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

[139]GE 2 p.342

[140]NBT "Groote Eylandt.." Part 1, 1925 p.72

[141]File "Bibliography of GE" in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

> wrapped around their bodies as they lie on the ground during cold winter nights. It was definitely ascertained that the natives with whom I associated never used paperbark wrappers as blankets even on the coldest nights. Sleeping between fires stark naked is the usual practice in the cold season.[142]

Tindale had in fact already begun reading and comparing notes with Spencer's work on the return journey from Groote Eylandt in 1922. On 2 June he wrote in his journal

> Have been reading Spencer's Native tribes of N.T. & beg to differ in several places. His pronunciation or spelling of several words is wrong e.g. Nulakun for Ngalakan etc.[143]

He was also making notes about information to check up on,

> I must write & enquire about subincision in Mara. I have not noticed or heard of it & will ask Mr. Joynt.[144]

Tindale's concern with accuracy and insisitence on direct field observation , maintained since his entomological pursuits in Japan, was translated to his anthropology. Exhaustive checking, filling in of omissions and seeking of explanations for, and information on all unexplained phenomena became an integral facet of all his later anthropological work.

The three articles on Groote Eylandt are the summation of Tindale's work on the island and the additional research he completed after his return. The articles followed the patterns of interest exhibited by Tindale on Groote Eylandt. The first paper discussed the Ingura, with whom he had spent the most substantial amount of time, providing material on tribal distribution, ceremonial life, general patterns of living, food collection and a large proportion of information about material culture- its manufacture and distribution.[145] The second article dealt mainly with seafaring and the manufacture of canoes, aspects of camp life and tribal arts.[146] The final instalment brought together all Tindale's notation on language and included a twenty page comparative vocabulary, a discussion of

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[142] File "Unsorted Notes Groote & Mainland Tribes" in 4/5/1 NBTP, SAM

[143] DR 1 p.230

[144] ibid

[145] NBT "Groote Eylandt.." Part 1 1925 p. 61-102

[146] NBT, "Natives of Groote Eylandt and of the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria" Part 2 RSAM 3;2 1926 p.103-134

language structure and of Macassar and Malay influences.[147] Tindale had consulted his copy of Malinowski's Natives of Mailu when writing up these articles, both to make comparisons with his material and also to gain ideas for the layout of his own papers.[148]

Tindale made quite an impact with the amount and quality of his specimens, which when valued for purchase by the Museum, earned him six times his regular salary! He recalls that this made "a little sensation" and the Museum Board was "nonplussed".[149] His parents were also impressed. His mother wrote, in September 1922,

> Now I must add my note of pleasure for the good report of your collection. You have done well, far beyond my expectations I must confess that if you had cleared expenses with a few pounds to spare was as much as I expected. Of course I think you fully deserve the substantial balance you have worked hard & taken many risks & it is very satisfactory to know that God has blessed the work of your hands.[150]

Tindale's father added his congratulations on the collection and on his son's first appearance as lecturer.[151] He was glad to hear that Norman would be able to clear 141 pounds from the trip and he offered some advice on fixed deposits![152]

The success of Tindale's Groote Eylandt expedition - of his collections, his public lectures and the anticipation with which his upcoming papers were regarded - all served to consolidate his involvement in anthropological research. In 1923 he enrolled in Geology 1 and Chemistry 1 at the University of Adelaide, putting two more subjects towards his degree.[153] However he was still employed as entomologist and continued to carry out his duties in that field. In May of 1924 he was appointed Lecturer in Forest Entomology at the University and in 1925 he was promoted to Assistant Entomologist with an accompanying rise in salary.

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[147]NBT, "Natives of Groote Eylandt and the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria" Part 3 TRSSA 52 1928 p. 5-27

[148]KRW- NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[149]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[150]Mary Tindale to NBT 10 September 1922 in File "GE Correspondence" BRGPC

[151]JHT to NBT 7 November 1922 in ibid BRGPC

[152]JHT to NBT 8 September 1922 in ibid BRGPC

[153]DR 1 p.272

This increase in pay was welcome as Tindale had become engaged to Dorothy May Gibson in August 1923 and on 27 December 1924 they were married in a Salvation Army ceremony. On 17 October Tindale had purchased a house at 55 Somerset Avenue, Cumberland Park, for 1018 pounds.[154] This was to be the Tindale's home for many years, the house from which Norman rode his bike into the Museum every day.[155]

It was not until 1928 that Tindale officially became Ethnologist, but since his return from Groote Eylandt in 1922 more than half his time had been taken up with anthropological research. Tindale has said that it literally "swamped" his other work. Developments in Adelaide and in Australian anthropology in general helped to encourage this transition from entomologist to anthropologist. He recalls that

> In a sense I was driven into it of my own free will..it was a transition that was inevitable because of the circumstances.[156]

In 1923, at the Pan- Pacific Science Congress in Sydney, it had been recommended that a university department of anthropology be developed in Australia for the study of the fast vanishing culture of the Australian Aboriginal.[157] This decision helped to stimulate the creation of the Board for Anthropological Research at the University of Adelaide in December 1926 and the Anthropological Society of South Australia the same year.[158] These two institutions provided the foundation for anthropology in South Australia and the platform for Tindale's anthropological research.

A new era in anthropology began to develop in Australia in the 1920s - its growth reflecting the transitions that were taking place in the rest of the world. Tindale returned from his first fieldwork expedition with a burgeoning interest in Aboriginal people and their culture. At this time anthropology in Australia was becoming institutionalized into two distinct and competing contexts. Each embraced a contrasting approach to, and understanding of, the study of man. The

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[154]DR 1 p.273

[155]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[156]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[157]Tigger Wise, The Self-Made Anthropologist:A Life of A.P. Elkin (George Allen and Unwin Australia, Sydney, 1985) p.39-40

[158]NBT, "Anthropology" Chapter 9 p.241

emerging department at Sydney University was founded upon the ideas of the British school of social anthropology. In contrast, the museum context, represented by the South Australian Museum and the aims and methods of the Board for Anthropological Research, upheld the precepts of survey anthropology.

These developments provided the framework upon which Tindale's new interest in anthropology would be fashioned and they prescribed the structure through which his involvement with Aboriginal people would be translated into fieldwork.

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Chapter 4

HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL AMATEURS
The Australian Context

[We] were working without pay for anthropological fieldwork ..whereas the Sydney school were all paid people..To some extent then, from one point of view, you might say the Adelaide school was a bunch of amateurs, but they were highly professional amateurs.

Interview with Tindale
7 February 1987

What makes the man and what
The man within that makes:
Ask whom he serves or not
Serves and what side he takes.

Gerard Manley Hopkins
On a Piece of Music

In a discussion of the varied nature of ethnographic data, Curtis Hinsley, historian of anthropology, emphasized that

> While life in the field is an individual experience, it is institutionally filtered, and it is extremely important to consider the roles of sponsoring institutions in differing historical contexts in accounting for the nature of fieldwork, as experienced and as reported.[1]

The growth of the discipline of anthropology in Australia paralleled its development in the United States in the contrasting institutions of museum and university. Tindale's museum role helped to consolidate, fashion and actualize his ideas and methods in ways which differed from those championed by university-based anthropologists. Ultimately he found himself on one side of a continuing debate about the *correct* manner in which to pursue the study of man. This dichotomy was represented by the disparate aims and procedures followed by the South Australian Museum (with its related research body, the Board for Anthropological Research) and the academic Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney.

Anthropological research in Australia did not *begin* with the establishment of a university department for the discipline in 1926, although it has been suggested that early researchers were only "forerunner[s] of anthropological research proper"

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[1]Curtis Hinsley, "Ethnographic Charisma.." p.55

as they were not "trained" academically.[2] The question of the appropriate training required to become an anthropologist is central to the debate between the Museum/Board and the University. The way in which this problem is understood in turn results in different emphases in the assessment of the history of anthropology in this country.

The aim of this chapter is to set out Tindale's place in this debate, his own understanding of the conflicts, and what influence these issues had upon his work. For this reason much of the evidence about the "Adelaide point of view" derives from my interviews with Tindale.

In a 1958 article, A.P. Elkin, Professor of Anthropology at Sydney University, delineated a number of phases in the history of the anthropology of the Australian Aborigines.[3] He had already claimed in 1938 that

> Until 1926, the conduct of anthropological research in Australia had been only spasmodic.[4]

In 1958 he divided this era into three overlapping periods during which he considered most research, except that of a few workers such as Spencer, A.W,Howitt and Radcliffe-Brown was "very sketchy".[5]

Prior to 1870 most anthropology was "casual or incidental" and observations and commentary on the Aborigines were contained within the pages of journals and books by explorers, administrators, missionaries, travellers and natural scientists. This phase roughly approximates the period preceeding the publication of the first edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology in 1874. Between 1870 and the turn of the century, research was characterized by "compiling and collating" information about the fast diminishing culture and way of life of the Aborigines through "questionnaires and correspondence". Into this category Elkin placed such works as R.Brough Smyth's The Aborigines of Victoria(1878), G. Taplin's Folklore, Manners and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines (1879) and E.M. Curr's, The Australian Race (1886). He noted that a number of these researchers also

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[2]Annette Hamilton, "Anthropology in Australia: Some Notes and a Few Queries" in G.McCall (Ed),Anthropology in Australia - Essays to Honour 50 Years of "Mankind"(Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 1982) p.92-3

[3]A.P.Elkin, "Anthropology in Australia - One Chapter" in Mankind 5:6, October 1958 p.22-24

[4]Elkin, "Anthropological Research in Australia and the Western Pacific 1927-37" in Oceania 8:3 1938 p.306

[5]ibid

personally gathered information in the field and put forward some opinions of their own about the meaning of their records.

Elkin's next phase involved the "development of systematic research". He stressed that this period overlapped its predecessor, spanning 1870 to the outbreak of the First World War. A number of workers, such as Howitt and R.H. Mathews combined the methods of compilers with the new techniques of more systematic enquiry. Another important change was that some researchers worked from theoretical premises learned and adopted from anthropological theorists in other parts of the world. The material collected by Howitt and Lorimer Fison on social organization in their famous book, Kamilaroi and Kurnai (1880), had its background in the kinship classifications of American anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan. Baldwin Spencer was influenced by theories he had learned from E.B. Tylor at Oxford and by the kinds of information he was encouraged to pursue for Sir James Frazer.[6]

Both Elkin and Tindale, who summarize the achievements of pre-1926 anthropologists somewhat differently, agree that Spencer and F.J. Gillen's classic Native Tribes of Central Australia (1899) had a profound impact on the manner, motives and results of field research among the Aborigines.[7] This period also embraced the dedicated and systematic work of South Australian surveyor, Robert Hamilton Mathews. Elkin recognized his "marathon effort" and invaluable contributions, particularly to the study of social organization, but pointed out that

> ..his results are not always as complete and detailed as we would wish.[8]

In contrast, Tindale refers to Mathews as "fundamental to anthropology in Australia"[9] and suggests that his results, contained within over 200 papers scattered through the world's most learned journals, have been

> overshadowed too long by the brilliance of the work of Spencer and Gillen.

Tindale stresses that

> For many tribes our knowledge would have been minimal save for his

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[6]Elkin, "Anthropology in Australia.." 1958 p.226-227

[7]ibid and NBT,"Anthropology.." Chapter 9 in Ideas and Endeavours.. 1986 p.239

[8]Elkin, 1958 p.228

[9]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

devoted studies.[10]

Most later writers have accepted Elkin's periodization or have constructed a very similar series of phases to explain the development of anthropology in Australia, dating the beginning of "professional anthropology"[11] or "anthropological research proper"[12] from 1925-6 and the establishment of a university department at Sydney. In doing so, they have continued to emphasize the role of Sydney University in the development of anthropology at the expense of other centres.

In contrast, Tindale characterizes the period prior to 1914 as a "Golden Age" in anthropology.[13] He recognizes that it was an era in which explorers, missionaries and travellers were the main collectors and compilers, but, in an article on the history of anthropology in South Australia, he stresses the importance of their work to successive researchers. He gives more credit to these early recorders for having established the roots of anthropology in this country.

Tindale emphasized that Taplin was more than merely a skilled compiler, citing the 1874 paper in which he had clearly stated his intention

> to trace the time and place of the arrival of man on the Australian continent.[14]

Tindale also pointed out that Taplin's early realization of the "mixed descent" of the Aboriginal people was, in his opinion, "fully corroborated" by his own fieldwork with J.B. Birdsell in the late 1930s.[15] Similarly, he commented on an 1879 summary presented by J.D. Woods to the Royal Society of South Australia which showed that at that early stage, there had been enquiry into such diverse and complex subjects as the origin and physical makeup of the Aborigines, tribal divisions, the "complexities of their social organization and kinship systems" and the importance of initiation ceremonies.

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[10]NBT, "Anthropology" p.239

[11]Grant McCall, "Anthropology in Australia:Introductory Remarks" in McCall (Ed) Essays to Honour.. p.2

[12]Hamilton, p.92

[13]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[14]NBT, "Anthropology" 1986 p.236

[15]Tindale/Birdsell's tri-hybrid theory of the origins of the Australian Aborigines has been widely contested. This however is a post 1936 development and therefore beyond the scope of this thesis

Although Tindale is aware that some of the material collected by men such as Woods and Curr is "not always of the highest standard", he believes it is still of *immeasurable* value to anthropologists. Papers published by such groups as the Field Naturalist's Section of the Royal Society brought together information "which might otherwise have escaped notice".[16] Thomas A. Parkhouse's work in the Northern Territory during the 1890s provided an invaluable record of Aboriginal culture before its disintegration in the face of western contact. In addition Parkhouse used his knowledge to make some of the first comparisons between tribal practices in different parts of the country. Similarly W.L. Cleland's comments in an address to the Royal Geographic Society in 1898, concerning the antiquity of the Aborigines were "already dimly anticipating ideas that are even now only being developed".[17] In this way these men were exercising their knowledge to expound *theories* about the origins and development of man in Australia.

The differing assessments made by Elkin and Tindale about the early development of anthropology are expressions of a more fundamental contrast between their respective understandings of its role. Elkin saw the work conducted in the pre-war years as the forerunner of the *real* research of post 1926 university-trained anthropologists. It was valuable, but because the collectors had no background in anthropological theory or method, the information was often unreliable and badly or superficially interpreted. It was primary material, a good starting point and resource for researchers, but it had to be used with great care.

Tindale viewed the era as a very productive period of anthropological research which lapsed until after the First World War.[18] He saw it as a time of great opportunity. The anthropologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century worked when white contact had caused less disruption to the "traditional" way of life of some Aborigines. Examples of tribal life were abundant and men who knew the ways of their ancestors were still alive and able to impart their knowledge. From the point of view of a museum anthropologist whose priority was the salvage and preservation of irreplaceable evidence, this period was surely a "golden age". The members of the Board for Anthropological Research were the "inheritors of this tradition".[19] They continued, in the 1920s and 1930s, the research begun in

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[16]NBT, "Anthropology" p.237

[17]ibid p.238

[18]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[19]ibid

earlier decades, but with much more emphasis on accuracy and detail coupled with increasingly sophisticated methods developed through experience in the field.

Most of the anthropologists in Australia during the nineteenth and early twentieth century were amateurs - *untrained* in the subject of *anthropology*. They wrote for scientific journals and collected for museums. Similarly their successors in the Museum and Board had no academic training in the discipline. Until 1926 there *were no* courses in anthropology in Australia; besides which, men like Tindale believed that broad education in the sciences was of far more value in pursuing the aims of survey anthropology. The approach to anthropological research taught by Sydney was considered by Tindale and his colleagues to be narrow and thus of less relevance. The aims of Adelaide anthropologists had more continuity with earlier researchers than those of the Sydney group. Adelaide objectives were to salvage, record and preserve *all* forms of knowledge of the Aborigines. In addition Adelaide anthropologists worked within the assumptions of the nineteenth century evolutionary school of thought and therefore had an interest in questions of origin and antiquity. As will be shown in Chapter Seven, this meant that they were leaders in the field of Australian archaeology.

Elkin, based in the new university department, not only regarded his predecessors as untrained, but also considered any contemporary researchers who lacked university training in anthropology to be amateurs. In addition, university anthropology espoused a new aim; intensive fieldwork focussed on the complex issue of social organization. Whether its workers lived up to the ideal of intensive fieldwork is questionable. Elkin's own fieldwork was largely of survey style, although his concern was to collect particular information over wide areas. The influence at Sydney of Radcliffe-Brown, the first Head of Department, assured a lack of involvement with subjects based around an historical perspective - origins, antiquity and change over time. The department also neglected archaeological research and the supposedly sterile function of museums - the study of material culture. Rather, the members of the department encouraged enquiry into the structures of society - social organization and kinship - which they understood to be the key to its functioning.

The Sydney department had been established as a result of discussions at the 1923 Pan-Pacific Congress. The Australian National Research Council (hereafter ANRC) - a society of distinguished scientists created in 1919 and linked to the International Research Council - was responsible for the securing of funds for setting up the department. It persuaded the Commonwealth and State Governments to guarantee funding for five years and encouraged a promise from

the American Rockefeller Foundation of grants for field research.[20] Radcliffe-Brown was in charge of instruction in anthropology and in control of the fieldwork conducted by the University. His emphasis on social structures and encouragement of fieldwork focussed on a study of social organization influenced the tenor of the department and the work to be financed by Rockefeller grants. The ANRC was in control of Rockefeller funds and had appointed a "Committee on Anthropology and Human Biology", chaired by the Professor of Anthropology, to

> consider all applications and plans for research work, to draw up conditions of such research and..to budget carefully according to the grants available for the carrying out of the *most important pieces of research* for which *suitable* workers were forthcoming.(KRW italics)[21]

The recommendations were then handed on to an Executive which made the final decision. Elkin noted in his 1938 article that

> the bulk of the Committee's work has fallen on the shoulders of its chairman especially with regard to the applications and the selections of fields of research.[22]

In this way, through

> this threefold method of administrating and watching over the expenditure of the research funds - namely through the Director of Anthropological Research, the Committee on Anthropology and the Executive Committee of the Australian National Research Council..an assurance [was provided] that the best use was being made of the grants given by the Rockefeller Foundation.[23]

The connection between the Sydney Department of Anthropology and the ANRC Committee through their dual head the Professor of Anthropology, meant that the University had almost absolute control over the major source of funding for anthropological research and fieldwork in the country. In this way they were able, as Elkin himself stated, to assure "the best use was being made" of these grants; at least what *they* believed to be the "best use".

Through the influence of Radcliffe-Brown, Elkin, (who in 1927 was still at London University writing a thesis in anthropology) was given the first Rockefeller

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[20] Wise, p.41-7

[21] Elkin, 1938 p.309-10

[22] ibid p.310

[23] ibid p.310

Fellowship to do one year's fieldwork in the Kimberley Range.[24] The focus of his research was social organization. His first work was survey in style, aimed at locating the most productive areas for the future intensive fieldwork so strongly emphasized by Radcliffe-Brown.[25] However it was not survey anthropology in the manner of the Board for Anthropological Research, as it was focussed primarily on the recording of one type of information. Elkin used a similar method in a systematic survey of South Australian social organization in 1930.[26]

Elkin succeeded to the Chair of Anthropology in 1933 after the resignation of Radcliffe-Brown and his temporary successor Raymond Firth. With Elkin as Professor and Chairman of the advisory Committee, funds were secured even more exclusively for social anthropology. His 1938 article lists the fieldworkers funded by ANRC grants. It attests to the fact that Sydney-based anthropologists working in Australia, New Guinea and the Pacific commanded the majority of the top category of funding - which consisted of a stipend as well as the payment of any travelling and research expenses. Elkin was the recipient in 1927-8 and in 1930-1 for his work in the Kimberley district and in South Australia. Similarly, W.E.H. Stanner and R.L. Sharp received fellowships for intensive work on totemism and social organization in Tennant Creek/Daly River (1934) and the Gulf of Carpentaria (1933-5) respectively.[27] Ursula McConnel received both a grant (1927-8) which included travelling, research and "out of pocket" expenses, and a fellowship (1934-5) for her work at Cape York Peninsula on "kinship, totemism and mythology of the region".[28] In relation to work in the greater Pacific area, Dr. H.I. Hogbin and Dr. Raymond Firth were granted fellowships for their intensive fieldwork in Ontong-Java (1927-8) and Tikopia (1928-9) respectively.[29]

In contrast, the annual expeditions run by the Board in Adelaide only received

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[24] Wise, p.48

[25] ibid p.70

[26] ibid p.92-3

[27] Elkin, 1938 p. 311 and 318

[28] ibid

[29] ibid, p. 313 and 318

"Grants in aid", which consisted of "a contribution towards expenses of research".[30] Over the period from 1926 to 1940 Rockefeller grants totalled 52,500 pounds of which only 3,500 went to the Board in South Australia.[31] The majority of money was used to fund "trained" social anthropologists from Sydney. Interdisciplinary research - archaeology or physical anthropology - and other areas of study of the Board in South Australia were neglected.

Elkin and the ANRC Committee and Executive considered very little of the work of the Board to be within the scope of the type of research to be funded by Rockefeller money.[32] The methods of the Board team were judged by Elkin to be superficial and old-fashioned. Longer expeditions with a smaller number of personnel on the fieldwork model of the new British school were preferred.[33]

This lack of funding came as some surprise to the Adelaide fieldworkers as they had, from the early 20s, received positive responses from American Rockefeller representatives. Indeed it had seemed likely that Adelaide University would be chosen as the location for the first Australian department of anthropology. Even after learning that Sydney had received that honour, it was still believed that Adelaide anthropologists could gain direct funding from the Rockefeller Foundation without needing the approval of Sydney advisors.

In December 1925, John Embree, a Foundation director, and Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, visited Adelaide. They were met by a committee which included two Adelaide scientists, who were later to become members of the Board for Anthropological Research and co-workers with Tindale - John Burton Cleland and Thomas Draper Campbell, both from the University medical school.[34] The Americans were taken on a tour which included a visit to Wilgena Station, where they met a group of Aborigines who had recently come in

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[30] D.J. Mulvaney, "Anthropology, ANZAAS and Academics since 1888: Towards a History of Anthropology", Work-in-progress Seminar, Research School of Social Sciences (History) Australian National University, 9 October 1986 and Mulvaney (in press) "Strictly Scientific and Critical": ANZAAS and Antipodean Anthropology in R. McLeod, The Commonwealth of Science (Oxford University Press) as quoted by P. Jones "S.A. Anthropological History ..", p. 76

[31] ibid

[32] Mulvaney seminar and P. Jones, p. 76-77 for more detail

[33] ibid

[34] P. Jones, p. 73. Campbell had also been an honorary member of the Anthropology staff at the Museum since 1923; see his Obituary in TRSSA 92, December 1968 p.125

from the western desert.[35] Tindale wrote that

> This first visit to the field was almost dramatic in its impact on Wissler and on the South Australians, in that it was clear that within 24 hours of leaving Adelaide, it was still possible to be seated among aborigines who, only a short time before, had been living a nomadic life without any Western contacts in their territories in the Desert.[36]

Tindale considers Wissler's visit to have been "a direct stimulus" towards the formation of the Board.[37] Wissler had made it seem probable that Adelaide would receive some funding and a research body was established which would carry out its fieldwork using these funds. However, it was decided that only one research centre in Australia could be funded-Sydney.[38] Tindale recalls "the indignation when the news arrived".[39] Nevertheless, the Board for Anthropological Research was made an official body in December 1926.[40] Among its inaugural members were many scientists with whom Tindale was to become closely involved - including Campbell, Cleland, Frederick Wood-Jones, and Robert Henry Pulleine. The Board was connected to the University of Adelaide through these men and to the Museum through both Campbell and Wood-Jones (Curator of Anthropology at the Museum since 1919) as well as the membership of Tindale and Hale.

In the same year, Campbell and Pulleine sent an official letter to Tindale and Hale at the Museum about the possibility of setting up an anthropological society.

> You no doubt realize that the study of the Australian aboriginal is one of great national and scientific importance: it is also a work in which this State has always been foremost in so far as the carrying out of research is concerned. For various reasons there seems to be a strong likelihood of Adelaide becoming a much greater, if not THE centre of anthropological research on the Australian native.
>
> To aid this ambition it is desirable to encourage and co-ordinate as much as possible the work of all who are interested in the study of our natives. We the undersigned therefore cordially invite you to attend a meeting which we are convening in the hope that it will constitute the

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[35]KRW-NBT interview 7 February 1987

[36]NBT "Anthropology", p. 241

[37]ibid

[38]Mulvaney seminar and P. Jones, p. 75

[39]NBT to KRW 17 June 1988

[40]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

inaugural gathering of a useful and interesting study circle.[41]

At this meeting it was "unanimously decided" to form the Anthropological Society of South Australia[42] in order to

> encourage research on the Australian native, to work his preservation, and to bring together those interested in Anthropology.[43]

These two linked groups, the Board and the Anthropological Society, provided the opportunities for anthropological work in South Australia and the platform for Tindale's fieldwork. The most important people in South Australian anthropology were members of both and the activities of the two institutions were complementary.

The expeditions of the Board in the decade 1926-1936 were mostly structured around recording the physical anthropology of the Australian Aborigines. Prior to the establishment of the Board, a number of its founders - members of the staff of the University of Adelaide and the Museum - had begun survey work on expeditions in the years 1921-5. Their primary focus was the recording of anthropometric data, but they also made observations about such varied subjects as psychology, music and stone tool usage.[44] In an article summarizing these early observations, Campbell wrote that "limited time" and "smallness of the party" meant that the number of Aborigines examined was small, but

> in all their observations the present writers endeavoured to satisfy the requirements of modern anthropological research as far as conditions in the field permitted, and it seems to them that where the necessity for recording facts about our aboriginals is so obvious and urgent the limited scope of any observations should not be a bar to their publication.[45]

The newly formed Board continued to uphold such principles and on its expeditions it remained primarily concerned with anthropometry. This is related to the fact that the core members of the group were medical men. However, the presence of Oxford-trained anthropologist, Henry Kenneth Fry, the cooperation of museum men Tindale and Hale, and the wide interests of Cleland, Campbell and others, meant

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[41] R.H. Pulleine/T.D. Campbell to Hale/Tindale 15 June 1926 in Minutes of the ASSA, SRG 161 MLSA

[42] Minutes Inaugural Meeting ASSA, Monday June 28 1926, SRG 161 MLSA

[43] Minutes ASSA 26 July 1926, SRG 161 MLSA

[44] see T.D. Campbell and A. Lewis, "The Aborigines of South Australia: Anthropometric and Descriptive and Other Observations Recorded at Ooldea", TRSSA 50, 1926 p. 183-91 and P. Jones p. 72

[45] Campbell and Lewis p. 183

that the team surveyed and collected the widest range of material. The members produced a large collection of papers on a variety of subjects ranging from social organization to blood grouping, from the preparation of native tobacco (pitjuri) to detailed descriptions of initiation ceremonies. Yet, in his 1938 article, Elkin spoke of the achievements of Adelaide anthropologists only under the heading of physical anthropology.

He stressed that

> The main purpose of these expeditions, which were usually only a few weeks in duration, has been to take routine anthropometric measurements, and also to study the dentition, pathology, the blood grouping and basal metabolism of the Aborigines.[46]

In his bibliography he ignored a large proportion of the papers written by Board anthropologists, including most of Fry's contributions on social anthropology.[47]

Elkin's misrepresentation of the range of the Board's research and his dismissal of Tindale as being merely the expedition's "recorder",[48] reflects the fundamental dichotomy in the implementation of fieldwork in Australia. The approaches to anthropology differed over *how* to record, and what *types* of information to record. This in turn became a question of *who* should be doing the research. The heart of the argument lay in a contrasting understanding of the *kind* of training required to carry out the most effective anthropological fieldwork. The members of the Board were men educated in science - medicine, zoology, biology, geology - and they applied the methods of these disciplines to their anthropological fieldwork, adopting and adapting methods as experience in the field dictated. Tindale developed his knowledge of anthropology within this context, learning from the special skills of his colleagues in the Board. He stresses that,

> Because there was no formal anthropological course at Adelaide University I got my training through these experts.[49]

In turn, as he became more knowledgeable in anthropological method, through reading, contacts and experience, Tindale was able to offer his own ideas and understanding to this "think tank" of scientists. In this way, the Board "did

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[46]Elkin 1938 p. 312-13

[47]ibid p. 318-27

[48]ibid p. 313

[49]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

training within its ranks", a system that Tindale considers to be "unique" and one which "proved to be very good", providing him with

> a wider range of training and thought than any of the people in the rest of Australia.[50]

The only sense in which the Board could accurately be considered an amateur group was in that all its expeditions were conducted in the free time of its members. While Sydney anthropologists were paid a salary as "professional" academic researchers and could carry out their work year-round, Tindale and his co-members of the Board were limited to their periods of leave and holidays. All were full-time professionals in other fields, whose intense involvement in anthropology led them to sacrifice their own time to study and record the culture of the Australian Aborigines. This even meant supplementing expedition funds with their own savings. Tindale concludes that if the Board members were "amateurs", then they were "highly professional amateurs".[51]

Tindale believes that the on-the-job training he received was far more useful than the "narrow track" taught in university courses and pursued by Sydney anthropologists. In his view, their focus primarily on social relationships tended to obscure the interconnections of all aspects of culture.[52] Tindale argues that it is impossible to comprehend *fully* these social relationships without understanding how they are related to tribal ecology and how such relationships have evolved over time. The methods of the Board and of Tindale in particular, meant that the facts of social organization were collected as part of a more complete description of the total culture of the individuals being studied. Totemic and kinship terms and relationships, class names, sub-sections - all this "social" information was collected but not to the exclusion of more purely ethnographic material. It was essential to gather information on such areas as material culture, economic life, tribal boundaries and trade routes, because these factors impinged upon social organization - revealing the reasons why a society was structured in the way it was.[53] Tindale was disappointed that Sydney anthropologists like Elkin tended to neglect the historical development of social relationships and changes in those

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[50]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[51]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[52]KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[53]ibid

relationships over time.[54]

Tindale's concerns, his education in the sciences and his museum position all meant that he fitted in naturally with the kind of anthropological work being pursued by the Board in Adelaide. His motivations, his understanding of the aims of the science of anthroplogy and the way in which it should be conducted, placed him in conflict with Sydney University anthropology. Both the anthropologists based in Sydney and those in Adelaide aspired to an ideal of anthropological fieldwork - to have the time to complete full survey work and follow this with intensive research in limited areas over long periods of time. The seeming disintegration of the Aboriginal race (both physically and culturally), the size of the Australian continent, the limits on funding and on time, made the achievement of this ideal, remote. A choice had to be made between salvaging a wide range of information or limiting the focus of research to deal with one aspect or location in great detail. Radcliffe-Brown, Elkin and the department in Sydney chose the latter. Tindale, the Board for Anthroplogical Research and the South Australian Museum elected to record as much about as many subjects and in as many places as they could.

These conflicting choices led to disputes which Tindale found "unfortunate", although he does suggest that,

> It may be necessary in science as in anything else to have a certain amount of conflict in order for advances to be made.[55]

It is clear when talking with Tindale that this dispute did inspire advances. He was incited to produce more work and better work than the so-called "professional" anthropologists from Sydney, and the Board expeditions were the means by which he was to achieve his goals.

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[54]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[55]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

Chapter 5

ADVENTURERS IN ANTHROPOLOGY
The Board Expeditions 1928-1932

Title from J.B. Cleland letter 3 January 1967 describing Tindale as "fellow-adventurer in the field of anthropology" in Book of Letters supporting Honorary Doctorate of Science for Tindale.

Figure 5-1: Map of South and Central Australia showing routes and locations of Board expeditions 1927-1935.

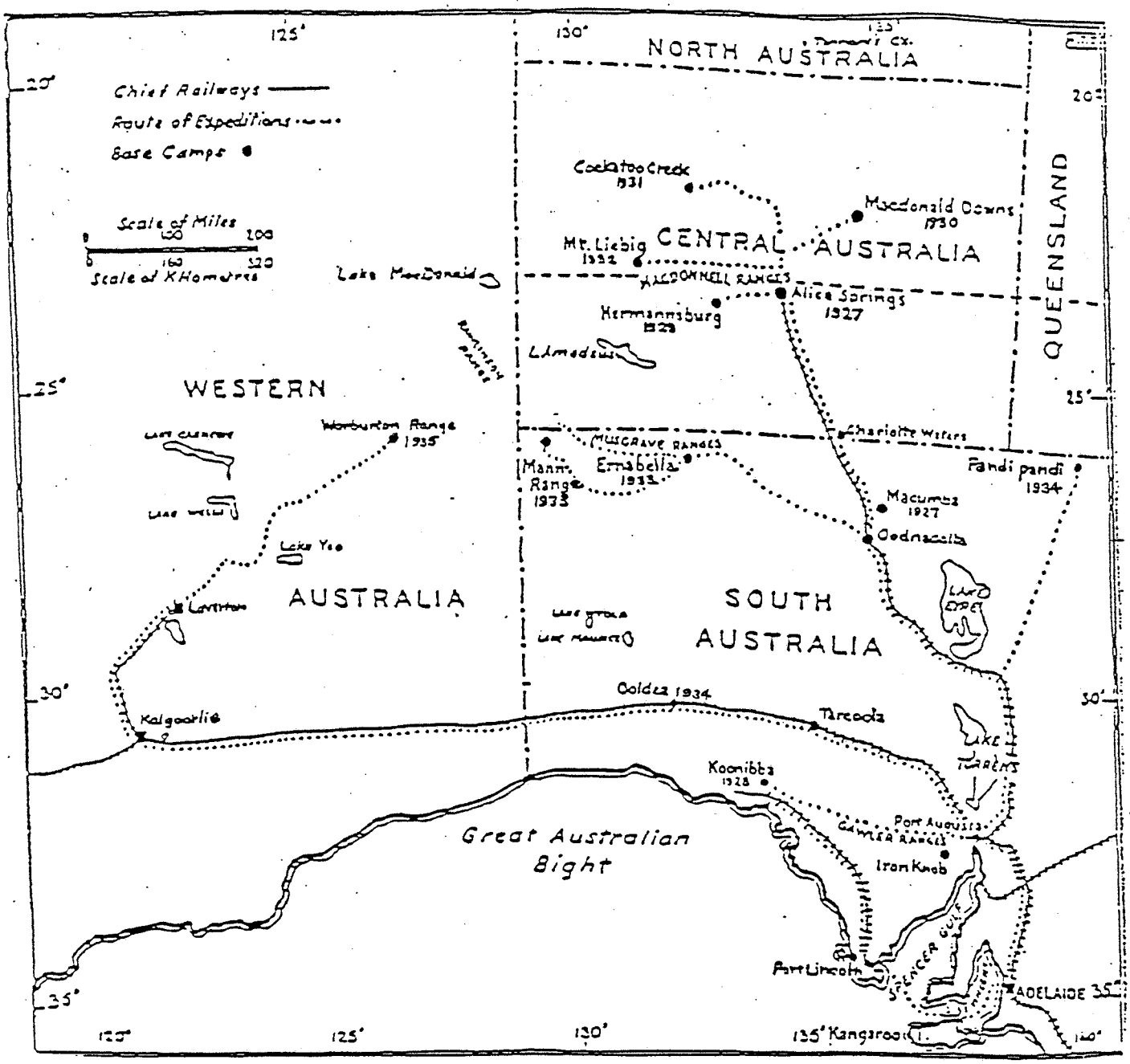

Figure 5-2: Tindale preparing to take standard portraits, Hermannsburg, August 1929. Note registration tags on hats of Aboriginal men.

Figure 5-3: Board Expedition to Hermannsburg August 1929. From left - Johnston, Maegraith, Miss Johannsen [driver], Davies, Hale, Campbell, Fry, Mr. Johannsen [driver]. Cleland not shown. Tindale, photographer.

On New Year's day 1927, Tindale and Herbert Hale of the South Australian Museum arrived at Flinders Island off the north-east coast of Queensland which was to be their base for a study of the Aborigines of the Princess Charlotte Bay area. They had obtained passage on the cargo steamer SS Canonbar, arranging to be left at the island on the ship's northward voyage.[1] In the passage between Flinders and Stanley Islands, the cutter Iorana was anchored. On board they met Mr. Markwell, who ran cargo from Port Stewart to the mainland. It was organized that Markwell, who was just leaving, should return in a week to pick up the two scientists.[2]

During the next few days Tindale began his ethnographic research by examining a number of outrigger canoes, photographing frontal and side views of some of the Aborigines living on the island, collecting vocabularies and obtaining ethnological specimens in exchange for trade items such as flour and tobacco.[3] In the evenings the two men observed dances which Tindale described in reasonable detail in his journal.[4] For the first time, Tindale made cinema film records of the daily life of the Aborigines, as well as taking still pictures which were developed in the evening.[5] He worked hard as he believed their time on the island to be limited.

However, a cyclone near Cooktown prevented Markwell from making the run to Flinders Island.[6] This delayed him a fortnight and meant that Tindale and Hale's

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[1] CY p. 1-11

[2] CT p. 15-16

[3] CY p. 16-21

[4] CY p. 18-20

[5] CY p. 21 and 47-9

[6] Sydney Morning Herald 11 March 1927 and CYN p. 139

fieldwork at Cape York was necessarily extended. Their supply of food quickly became depleted and they began to share food collected by the Aborigines. Trips were made with them to neighbouring islands and to the mainland in order to obtain food to replace their diminished supplies. This close association with the Aborigines in their daily life resulted in Tindale having the opportunity to collect much more ethnographic data than would otherwise have been possible. He was able to form special relationships with a number of the men such as Wondal, a 33 year old Stanley Island man, who became an informant on subjects including language, daily life and tribal areas.[7] By the end of his stay Tindale felt that he and Hale

> .. could more or less melt into their way of living and behaviour and thus were treated as friends rather than foreigners.[8]

Tindale arrived back in Adelaide on the 25 March 1927 after spending his annual leave collecting insects and visiting museums around Sydney and Melbourne.[9] Recently back from fieldwork at Cape York and with his expedition to Groote Eylandt already well known, it was logical that Tindale should be invited to join the next expedition run by the newly formed Board for Anthropological Research, to Koonibba on the west coast of South Australia. The forming of an alliance between Tindale at the Museum and the Board for Anthropological Research at the University of Adelaide was a natural progression, but it was also a new beginning for *both* parties.

Tindale had been involved with the men who made up the Board and the Anthropological Society for a number of years before the official establishment of the two bodies in 1926. He recalls that the Museum had from an early date been a "casual focus" for people interested in anthropology. Between noon and 2 pm every weekday, University men and other interested working people would drop into the Museum to eat their lunches and discuss their research with a receptive and enthusiastic group.[10]

Tindale knew the leading members quite well. Pulleine had treated Tindale's eye in 1917 and had since remained interested in his career. Pulleine became the first

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[7] CYN p. 351

[8] BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[9] CY p. 61-3 and p. 67

[10] KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

chairman of the Anthropological Society[11] and a member of some Board expeditions. His interest in natural history and anthropology led him to become involved with the Royal Society, advancing from the position of Secretary in 1909 to President in 1922-4.[12]

Among others who gathered at the Museum were three men from the Medical school at the University of Adelaide - J.B. Cleland, Professor of Pathology, T.D. Campbell, Lecturer in Dentistry and F. Wood-Jones, Professor of Anatomy. Tindale had a working relationship with Campbell, having accompanied him on numerous field trips since 1923.[13] The membership of the Board for Anthropological Research influenced the work undertaken. Wood-Jones had already conducted a number of short expeditions in South Australia to collect data on the physical anthropology of the Australian Aborigines, which was secured through body measurement and study of other physical traits - skin, hair and eye colour and characteristics, body scarring, cardiovascular tests and dental examinations.[14] In 1924 and '25 Campbell accompanied him. The results were published in the Transactions of the Royal Society.

The formation of the Board created a formal institution for the continuation of this work. The first chairman, Dr. William Ray, was Director of Medical Studies and a member of the University Council. His appointment gave the group "official standing".[15]

The Board's first expedition, (in which Tindale was not involved) visited Central Australia early in 1927 and was funded in part by a Rockefeller grant. The focus of the expedition was still physical anthropology and the personnel reflected those aims. Dr. Campbell and Cecil J. Hackett, at that time a medical student at the University were to make "descriptive and anthropometric observations" following the methods mapped out by A. Hrdlicka in Anthropometry (1920). Ray was in charge of physiology and pathology and Cleland conducted blood tests and worked

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[11]Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the ASSA 28 June 1926, SRG 161 MLSA

[12]Obituary RH Pulleine in TRSSA 59, 1935 p.v-vi

[13]Trips to Pedler's Creek etc. will be discussed in Chapter 7

[14]Campbell and Lewis, "The Aborigines of South Australia.." TRSSA 50 1926 and Wood-Jones and Campbell, "Anthropometric and Descriptive Observations on some South Australian Aboriginals, with a Summary of Previously Recorded Anthropometric Data" TRSSA 48 1924 p. 303-12

[15]NBT "Anthropology" p. 241

on blood grouping. The only break from this narrow medical focus was the inclusion of E. Harold Davies, Elder Professor of Music and Director of Music at the Elder Conservatorium to record and study Aboriginal songs, and the employment of a Mr. F. Jeffrey to act as photographer and cinematographer.[16]

The expedition was the first of its kind in the State and was both large and ambitious in comparison with previous fieldwork. On their return from the field, Ray reported the results of the trip to the Anthropological Society.[17] The Society was the forum through which Tindale became more involved with the members of the Board and in which they were to take notice of his achievements.

By 1927, Tindale had a good deal of experience in the field and he related easily to Aboriginal people. He returned to Adelaide from Groote Eylandt as a budding anthropologist with recent field experience. In November and December 1924, he had also made a trip with Herbert Hale to the Flinders Ranges in northern South Australia, where he recorded data about the Wailpi people of that area. "Yarning" around the campfire as he did on Groote Eylandt, he collected vocabularies and information about a wide range of subjects. On one occasion he spoke for a long time with Windawapala, a Wailpi man, recording his recollections about the first appearance of whiteman in his country.[18] During this expedition, Tindale and Hale also inspected and photographed rock carvings and paintings.[19] The results of this trip were published in 1925.[20]

This fieldwork was followed by short excursions to Yorke's Peninsula in August 1925 and to Kangaroo Island in January of the following year. These trips, although to some extent focused on entomological collecting, provided Tindale with the opportunity to conduct some anthropological and archaeological research.[21]

This experience was consolidated through Tindale's daily work in the Museum -

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[16]Campbell and Hackett "Adelaide University Field Anthropology No. 1: Descriptive and Anthropometric Observations" in TRSSA 51 1927 p. 65-6

[17]Minutes ASSA 28 March 1927, SRG 161 MLSA

[18]FR p. 19 (my pagination)

[19]FR p. 8-9

[20]NBT and HH "Observations on Aborigines of Flinders Ranges and records of rock carvings and paintings" in RSAM 3:1, 1925, p. 45-60

[21]DR 1 p. 274-9 and 280-94

handling artefacts and records and through his own reading. Tindale recalls that ever since his return from Groote Eylandt he had been very *very* talkative about his unique experiences and important results.

> I suppose I was a bit bumptious and talked a lot and I *knew* .... I was probably slightly intolerable in those days.[22]

This knowledge and enthusiasm had its effects. He associated with people in the Museum and later in the Anthropological Society who were greatly interested in his experiences. He used his knowledge and first hand observations in discussion.[23]

As early as June 1927, Tindale delivered a paper to the Society on the "Native Tribes of South Australia", in which he told the gathering that

> Some 125 local groups and tribal names have been recorded for South Australia. So far some 26 tribes have been definitely recognized but in the desert part of our state there are probably others whose names etc. have never been written down, although their members are rapidly diminishing in numbers and in knowledge of their former estate.[24]

He also pointed out that a map marked with the "known distribution of the tribes" had been prepared for the records of the Society.[25]

In October of the same year Tindale and Hale reported to the Society on their recent expedition to Cape York Peninsula and showed a twenty minute film they had taken of the Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay.[26]

Tindale's experiences in North Queensland were important. There is a clear development in his fieldwork methods and interests from Groote Eylandt through his work on the Cape York Peninsula to that on the Board expeditions. For this reason it helps to examine briefly his ethnological work in 1927.

On and around Flinders Island Tindale followed up some of the subjects of research he had become interested in on Groote Eylandt. He made extensive notes on Aboriginal canoes including stage by stage descriptions of their manufacture and

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[22]KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[23]See for example Minutes ASSA 27 September 1926, SRG 161, MLSA

[24]ibid 10 June 1927

[25]ibid

[26]Minutes ASSA 31 October 1927, SRG 161, MLSA

usage.[27] Similar descriptions were made of the manufacture of other implements and many specimens were obtained in return for trade.[28] Each was immediately given a registration number and the information about it was recorded under that number. Additional details were obtained, including the name of the man or woman from whom the item was procured and the trade routes of the implement or its parts, if they came from the mainland or elsewhere.[29] These were advances on Tindale's Groote Eylandt method. So too was cinematic recording of the manufacture and use of implements ranging from fishing nets to spears.[30]

Tindale also found that starting from discussion of a material object, he could direct an interview into further subjects. For example, he discovered that by discussing a *material* item such as a mourning stick, he could elicit *cultural* information about mourning practices and treatment of the dead.[31] This material was augmented by an examination of actual burial sites.[32] In addition, Tindale photographed an old woman in mourning.[33] Tindale's Cape York Peninsula Journal attests to the range of topics on which he gathered information. Vocabularies were collected and he made notes about tribal dialects and language distribution.[34] Tribal boundaries and place names were collated and a map was drawn from information provided by several informants.[35] A number of cave-paintings were examined, sketched and photographed, most importantly at the extensive Walaemini cave on Bathurst Head and the huge Endaen shelter on Stanley Island.[36]

Tindale's descriptions of Aboriginal dances and ceremonies were also made in

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[27]CY p. 20-20 and p. 344-5

[28]CY p. 38,44, 48, 51 etc.

[29]CY p. 68

[30]CY p. 51

[31]CY p. 52

[32]CY p. 36

[33]CY p. 45-7

[34]CY p.17-22, 31, 46-56 etc.

[35]CY p. 45-7, 53-6 and CYN p. iii (maps) and p. 350

[36]CY p. 33-5 and 338 and NBT and HH, "Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay North Queensland, Part 2" in RSAM 5:2, 1934 p.146-54.

more detail. The movements of the dancers were depicted and mapped out in diagram form, body decorations were sketched and for the first time, some of the words of the songs were transcribed. The meaning of some dances was ascertained.[37] Tindale, after observing a "playabout" dance to which the two scientists had been invited, commented upon the obvious loss of tradition

> The performances are certainly much degenerated because of the absence of the younger men on boats and the dying out of the men who could tell of the olden days and keep up the tradition of the tribe.[38]

In this way he showed his awareness of the urgency of his work as well as the problems of exact recording of "traditional" ways in a community of Aborigines losing its ceremonial life as a result of the impact of pearling and trepang industries in North Queensland.[39]

Two new areas of recording are revealed in the Cape York journal. Tindale noted on the first page of his diary that on a visit to the National Museum in Melbourne, he had been urged by Baldwin Spencer

> to try and discover the organization of the Princess Charlotte Bay tribes.[40]

Hence, he sought more information on social organization than he had on Groote Eylandt. Many notes were made about marriage customs, totemism, and relationship terms. For the first time, Tindale compiled a number of genealogical tables.[41] On one occasion he laid out the family tree of one of his chief informants, Katabili, a 28 year old Port Stewart man, complete with photographs of most of his living descendants.[42]

The other new area of interest was the appearance and layout of Aboriginal campsites. He measured and described a hut, noted the location of Aboriginal wells and, in the back of his journal, drew a map of the layout of one campsite -

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[37]CY p. 25-7 and 18-19

[38]CY p. 25

[39]NBT/HM "Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay .." 1934 p. 85

[40]CY p. 1

[41]CY p. 17, 33, 36, 53-6, 210-5, 220-23 and 372-3

[42]CY p. 55-6

Walkeiwa.[43] In this way he recorded the physical setting within which daily life proceeded.

Tindale's address to the Anthropological Society after his return constituted his first presentation of the results of this expedition. The writing up of his material into a paper, however, was not completed until 1933-4. The main reason for this delay was his involvement with the fledgling Board for Anthropological Research.

It is an indication of Tindale's maturity as an anthropological worker that he was officially given the position of Ethnographer at the South Australian Museum in 1928.[44] It was in this new role that he was invited to accompany the Board on its next expedition, to Koonibba on the north-west coast of South Australia.

Tindale's presence on this expedition resulted in the Board widening its focus to include the recording of *ethnographic* as well as anthropometric data. The Koonibba expedition established the form that Board trips were to take from then on.

For Tindale, the alliance with the Board had advantages and disadvantages. Most importantly it gave him the opportunity to be involved in expeditions *every* year to a wide range of localities. The structure of the field trips and their aims in terms of physical anthropology meant that a large number of Aboriginal people were studied. Tindale therefore had the chance to speak with and gain information from hundreds of informants. His close association with the other members of the Board both on expedition and in Adelaide, helped him to gain training in a range of specialized subjects. The members took an interest in each other's work and ideas, each learning from the other. The specific skills that Tindale learned from different Board members will be discussed as they arise in examination of each expedition.

On the negative side, the Board trips were large in personnel but short in duration, being limited to the period of University vacations because most of the members were employed by the University. Ironically, Tindale's first expedition for the Museum, although not focused purely on anthropology, had been much longer. With the Board he had to adjust to working with a team and conducting the specific tasks which were allotted to him, such as collecting the genealogy of each

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[43] CY p. 23

[44] He still retained the title of Assistant Entomologist. NBT Bibliography 1984

person and giving each a registration number. This data was recorded on cards which held anthropometric information, so that all the knowledge gained about and from each person was collated with one identifying card number.[45] Tindale had to fit his own research and his general ethnographic recording around these duties. The genealogical material for the cards was important for anthropometric work and also helped Tindale to identify his informants and gain information about their tribal and totemic affiliations. However, recording this core information limited the time available to pursue other subjects.

An examination of the first five Board expeditions in which Tindale was involved will show how he found ways to accommodate these various tasks. He developed his methods so as to seek what he regarded as the most valuable data, to make the best possible use of his time and of the possibilities offered by the Board style of fieldwork.

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On 12 August 1928 a party of eight men left Adelaide on a two day bus trip to the Lutheran Aboriginal Mission at Koonibba, about 30 kilometres north-west of Ceduna.[46] The group was led by Cleland and included Davies, Pulleine, Campbell and Tindale.[47] Each member had paid his own fare to the West Coast, plus other various expenses, as funding for the trip was limited.

The Mission, established in 1901, was now run by Pastor C. Hoff and, with his assistance, a large group of Aborigines was brought together for the scientists.[48] Tindale noted in his journal that this was his first trip with the Board and that he had been allocated specific "duties", including collecting genealogies, taking standard portrait photographs and securing data on tribes.[49] He also assisted Davies in recording Aboriginal songs on wax cylinder, his first experience of this type of work.[50] Tindale made notes of a few of the songs in the Wirangu

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[45]These record cards are held in the archives of the South Australian Museum and are today used extensively by Aboriginal people seeking information about their ancestors.

[46]K p. iv

[47]The other members were H.H. Woolard (Professor of Anatomy), A.K. Macbeth (Professor of Chemistry) and A. Moore.

[48]K p. iii and The Advertiser 10 June 1926

[49]K p. i

[50]K p. 43

language with the English translation beneath, following the style of Malinowski's Natives of Mailu. He also gave a brief description of their meaning.[51]

It was during his work on this expedition that Tindale developed a technique for identifying the origin of songs. He would sing or play a recording of a song to his informants and ask if they knew anything of its source and meaning.[52] Tindale recalls that on this first Board trip, he spent a lot of his time just listening. His experience on Groote Eylandt and at Cape York had given him an "ear" for hearing and transcribing Aboriginal language. In this respect he was of great assistance to Davies.[53]

Tindale's main role, however, was collecting the genealogies of the Aborigines who were measured by the rest of the Board team. He gave each Aborigine a number, corresponding to a record card and took a large proportion of the official photographs of each subject. He secured the Aboriginal and other (usually European) names of the informant, and laid out the genealogy of each person in as much detail as could be gained. While doing this, Tindale also pursued information about the tribal area of the informant, noting down the places to which he said his country extended and the moiety to which he belonged. Any other data obtained indirectly through conversation with the informant was also recorded. Often while securing a genealogy, relationship terms or marriage rules would be revealed.[54] At Koonibba his genealogical work provided him with details of the social organization of the Wirangu and its two-class marriage system.[55] Tindale had written down a number of genealogies at Cape York but not in such a constant and systematic fashion.

In a report on the results of the expedition to the Anthropological Society, Tindale explained that through these discussions he had also ascertained the boundaries of various tribes including the Wirangu and Kokata.[56] He had pursued tribal data comprehensively, talking with both his Aboriginal informants and with

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[51]K p. 43, Natives of of Mailu p. 669-71 and KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[52]K p. 43

[53]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[54]K p. 1-3 Example of Wirangu man - Yabinya

[55]K p. 80 and Minutes ASSA 22 October 1928, SRG 161 MLSA

[56]ibid

long term white residents.[57] He checked his conclusions against the records of previous researchers, Carl Strehlow and A.H. Howitt.[58] Tindale also showed his awareness of the effects of historical change on these boundaries noting that the depletion of the Wirangu people meant that the Kokata had moved into the former tribe's territory near Denial Bay during recent times.[59] Similarly areas to which men did not go in the "olden days" were now commonly visited.[60] Tindale also recognized the problems of defining tribal names, in that different groups had their own terms for other groups.

> It appears that these are directional descriptions of adjoining peoples; they are not the "own names" of tribes. What is the Western tribe to one group may be the eastern tribe to a people living further to the west.[61]

These notes on the qualifications of his data reveal a concern with accuracy.

Tindale's involvement in genealogical work meant that his notes on general aspects of daily life or material culture were more limited. He did make a special botanical trip to Davenport with Cleland in order to collect examples of plants used by the Aborigines there as food, medicine or for the manufacture of implements. They made substantial notes on the plants collected, Cleland noting their scientific names and Tindale their Aboriginal equivalent, as well as discussing their characteristics and usage. Tindale had witnessed the Wirangu and Kokata amusement of kukara stick throwing.[62] Therefore during the botanical trip Tindale collected speciments of the Eucalyptus plant from which the sticks were made.[63]

Cleland had a specific interest in botany and Aboriginal use of plants and he introduced Tindale to this subject. By working as Cleland's assistant in the collection of specimens, Tindale learned a great deal and added another dimension to his talents. He was to continue this kind of work with Cleland on later expeditions.

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[57] K p. 109

[58] K p. 166-23

[59] K p. 119

[60] K p. 52

[61] K p. 108

[62] K p. 33

[63] K p. 31

Tindale's experience at Koonibba clearly shows his attempts to make the best use of the Board system of fieldwork. He did not have the freedom of movement Aor the opportunities for a wide variety of recording which he had had at Cape York, but was primarily tied to interviewing informants to secure genealogies. However, the very fact of having to interview so many Aborigines meant that he could question them about areas of his own particular interest, principally tribal boundaries.

After the expedition's return, a report was made to the Anthropological Society on the results of the trip. Campbell and Cleland spoke on the achievements in anthropometry and physiology, Davies discussed the recording of Aboriginal songs and Tindale spoke on the outcome of his ethnological work.[64]

In August Tindale returned to work at the Museum. By the end of 1928 his three papers on Groote Eylandt had been published and he had also completed a number of articles on rockshelters and rock paintings. The evidence for these was drawn from records he had made during his Groote Eylandt trip and on a number of shorter excursions within South Australia.[65]

The period from the formation of the Board and Anthropological Society in 1926 up until the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, was one of expansion in the field of anthropology in South Australia. Funds in the South Australian Museum made possible the purchase of many books published both in Australia and overseas. Tindale continued to read avidly - both older works such as those by Curr and Brough Smyth, as well as more modern general works. In 1928 geographer T. Griffith Taylor published Environment and Race and Tindale was greatly interested in his theories about climatic change in Australia. He recalls that Taylor

> alerted me early .. to the fact that the climate of Australia *had* changed.[66]

Taylor's work encouraged in Tindale an interest in environment and ecology which was further stimulated by Cleland, who during the next few years, was working on an ecological map of Australia.[67] Contemporary opinion suggested that Aborigines

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[64]Minutes ASSA 22 October 1928, SRE 161, MLSA

[65]Discussed in Chapter Seven

[66]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[67]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

had not been in Australia long enough to have been affected by climatic changes.[68] In 1928 Pulleine stated in his Presidential address to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, that the Aborigines were "an unchanging people living in an unchanging environment".[69] Tindale disputed this idea. He recalls that as a young man he was, in some ways, "looking for differences from the older generation" and therefore he seized upon new ideas such as those propounded by Taylor.[70]

Tindale read any new work that appeared relating to the Aborigines. Discussions continued in Anthropological Society meetings on a variety of subjects ranging from the nomenclature of cultural remains and implements to a discussion on Aboriginal mythology.[71] The group also discussed current problems in Central Australia brought about by drought conditions which had caused clashes between blacks and whites. Tindale, as Secretary, was asked to write to the Prime Minister with the Society's recommendations that any enquiry into this problem should not only look to difficulties caused by the drought but should also examine "the needs of the black population during normal seasons", which the Society believed had been inadequately addressed. The Secretary of the Prime Minister's department replied that their suggestions were considered "unnecessary"[72]

At another meeting Reverend Friedrich W. Albrecht of the Hermannsburg Mission spoke to the members.[73] His visit influenced the choice of location for the next Board expedition - Hermannsburg - where Tindale and the other Board members were brought face to face with the effects of the drought.

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The 1929 Hermannsburg expedition was extremely important in terms of the training Tindale received from Board members. The party that year again consisted of eight members. Campbell, Cleland, Davies and Tindale, who had been to Koonibba, were joined by four newcomers. Herbert Hale increased the museum

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[68]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[69]Pulleine as quoted in D.J. Mulvaney Prehistory of Australia p. 121 (Pelican Books, Ringwood, 1975)

[70]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[71]See Minutes ASSA 16 January 1929 and 26 November 1928

[72]See Minutes ASSA 21 December 1928

[73]Minutes ASSA 26 November 1928

contingent while Brian G. Maegraith, a medical student from the University, assisted the anthropometric team. Also at Hermannsburg were two men who were to play important roles in this and later Board expeditions - Thomas Harvey Johnston, Professor of Zoology,[74] and H.K. Fry, medical practitioner. In 1909 Fry had been Rhodes Scholar for South Australia and attended Balliol College, Oxford. There amongst other studies he undertook a postgraduate diploma in Anthropology.[75] Tindale had met Fry casually at meetings of the Anthropological Society but it was not until they travelled together on the inaugural passenger train from Gawler to Alice Springs and in vehicles from there to Hermannsburg [76] that they talked at length. They soon became close friends.[77] This association was extremely important in the development of Tindale's methods. On this trip Fry, applying what he had learned at Oxford, developed a structure for the systematic recording of kinship data which became known as the "Fry Framework".[78] Starting from the point of view of one individual, genealogical questions would be asked such as "What is your father's name?". Receiving in answer a relationship term, an anthropologist could begin to lay out a pattern of kinship relations in the informant's terminology.[79] Tindale learned this method from Fry in 1929 and has utilized it for arranging all kinship data since that date. Creating kinship frameworks along these lines fitted in naturally with his allotted work of recording genealogies, which took up most of his time. A typical day was noted in Tindale's journal on 10 August

> Up at 7 am. After breakfast started on genealogical work & continued all day & evening till 10 pm.[80]

A second important change which arose from Tindale's work with Fry was his gaining of a class name from the Aranda and Kukatja people amongst whom the Board worked at Hermannsburg. While attempting to explain their social

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[74] Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.9 1891-1939 (Melbourne University Press, 1983) p.501-3

[75] Who's Who in Australia (The Herald, Melbourne, 1935) p.190-91. See also Fry's obituary in TRSSA 83 March 1966 p.205

[76] The party was driven to and from the mission by local resident Mr. Johannsen and his daughter, Gertrude. see DR 1 p.303-6 and p.338-46

[77] KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987 and NBT, "Anthropology" p.241

[78] Fry published an account of this in TRSSA in 1931

[79] KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[80] DR 1 p.309

organisation, the Aborigines utilized the fact that there were eight expedition members to allot each man with a subclass and in this way they were able to provide a model of their eight class patrilineal system.[81] Tindale noted in his journal on 9 August,

> The old men decided that I should belong to the Ambitjan [Mbitjana] subclass.[82]

In this way Tindale became Mbitjana to the Aranda and in further discussion on totems he was also given the Brown Hawk totem, erukalandja.[83] Tindale used his allotted class in all future encounters with Aborigines as it immediately established him in a relationship with all the members of a group.

It is interesting to note the origin of Tindale's Brown Hawk totem name. On the 1929 trip Cleland was developing an ecological map of Australia and to this end he made each expedition member an observer of the presence and range of some particular phenomenon - plant or animal. During the car trip from Alice Springs and on a number of short excursions out from Hermannsburg, Tindale was asked to record all sightings of the Brown Hawk. The Aborigines understood Tindale to be the man who was interested in this particular bird so they gave him that totemic affiliation.[84]

Tindale was again of assistance to Cleland in his botanical work, securing the Aboriginal names of the plants Cleland had collected.[85] It became his speciality to record Aboriginal words and his advice on transcription was sought by a number of other Board members.[86]

Tindale's previous fieldwork had helped him to establish an easy manner and rapport in talking with Aboriginal people. He believes that because of the way he entered anthropology through his work on Groote Eylandt and his close casual association with Aborigines during that trip, he was "always in harmony" with them. At Hermannsburg he sat with the men in their camps, around their fires,

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[81] ibid and NBT, "Anthropology" p.242

[82] DR 1 p.309

[83] ibid and KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[84] KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

[85] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[86] KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

joining in their discussions or their work until he blended in and was accepted and "didn't register as an absolute foreigner".[87] In addition, the Board party always stationed themselves as near as possible to the camps of the Aborigines who had come into the station, and went *to* the Aborigines to identify themselves before beginning work.[88]

The party remained at Hermannsburg for about three weeks, during which they made two car trips; one to Palm Valley in the south and one to Glen Helen, about 20 miles to the north-west - the second car ever to make the trip.[89] Tindale recorded descriptions of the environment through which they passed on these trips and from a discussion with two Aborigines they had taken with them he was able to note the location of totemic places.

> Fifteen miles up from the Mission along the Finke is the totem place Ama ("15 mile"). This is 3m west of Tjunka Tjunka Hill. The totem is the putaya a marsupial rat.[90]

On the earlier trip to Palm Valley he had recorded similar places and also noted down a number of stories connected to the places viewed.[91] During these journeys motion picture film was taken of various landscapes.[92]

At Hermannsburg, Tindale recorded much material on ceremonial life. On a number of occasions the party was taken "by devious routes" to ceremonial grounds where they recorded on cinema and still film and in notes, the performance of totemic rituals. These descriptions were much more systematic than any Tindale had recorded previously. The ceremony was named and because of his increased knowledge of kinship Tindale was able to relate its ownership to the sub-class system and describe the relationships of the different performers. His descriptions of the actions of the dancers were short because he was involved in taking motion picture film.[93]

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[87] ibid

[88] KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[89] DR 1 p.324-33

[90] DR 1 p.331

[91] DR1 p. 325-6

[92] DR 1 p.333

[93] see DR 1 p.321-24 and p.336-7

On another occasion the Aboriginal men "after some persuasion" demonstrated methods of blood-letting from the arm and subincised penis. Tindale described the practices in his journal and afterwards purchased the blood containers and other items used in the ceremonies.[94] This was the first time Tindale had witnessed such a secret ritual.

It was on this expedition that Aboriginal elders were first asked to identify examples of stone tjuringas brought to Hermannsburg from the South Australian Museum collection. These were hidden in a corner of the mission school

> so concealed that noone but the initiated men can approach them[95]

Tindale wrote of the enthusiasm of the old men in this task,

> About 20 tjuringas were identified by the old men of the Arunta [Aranda] tribe, there is no doubt about the interest they arouse.[96]

At the end of the Hermannsburg work Tindale wrote of saying farewell to all

> our numerous tribal relations..& my "no more straight" "wife" Claudie who according to native law should be Dr. Davies' wife, but against whom she had a dislike because of his age.

He also stated that

> The consequences of our being drawn into the subclass system, one man into each subclass have been most interesting & indeed helped a great deal in winning their confidence.[97]

Another occurrence which had earned the respect of the Hermannsburg Aborigines was the influence of the Board members upon the ravages of drought conditions. At the beginning of the trip, Kukatja men, women and children had been coming in from the desert, malnourished and ill.[98] Forty had died at the mission since Christmas. On 8 August Tindale recorded in his journal

> The doctors diagnosed the disease..as being simple scurvy, caused by lack of vitamins. The natives have, owing to the drought for such a long

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[94]DR 1 p.323-4

[95]DR 1 p.309-11

[96]ibid

[97]DR 1 p.338-9

[98]DR 1 p.313 and NBT, "Anthropology" p.242

time, been deprived of the bush vegetables & other sources of fresh food.[99]

The Board party was able to arrange for a train to bring a supply of vegetables and fruit, and by the time they left in late August, the majority of the Aborigines had recovered and looked quite healthy. Tindale recalls that this

> stood us in good stead. For years after Aborigines in Central Australia looked on us as wonderful people.[100]

He later noted in his journal that in September of the same year, Professor Stanley D. Porteus of Hawaii had visited Hermannsburg and had heard concrete evidence of the impact of the Board's visit. He found that a 16 year old Aboriginal girl had

> ..composed the words of a song..it started literally Yakai! We are sorry for the departure of that good man (Dr. Campbell). At the conclusion of the song each girl shouted or sang the name of her favourite or potential husband according to the subclass system. At other times the whole party of girls would sing the name of one of our party in unison.

Tindale transcribed the Aboriginal words of this song, as told to him by Porteus.[101]

On the return journey to Adelaide the party met Mr. C.O.Chalmers at MacDonald Downs Station. He invited the anthropologists to work with Aborigines on his property. Tindale noted

> it is certain that if his invitation is accepted that one could obtain much information from the..natives of his district.[102]

In this way planning for next year's expedition began even before the present work was completed.

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By the end of the Hermannsburg expedition Tindale had established close relations with the members of the Board, particularly Fry and Cleland. He had also worked with Maegraith during the trip while he collected data on Aboriginal

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[99]DR 1 p.308

[100]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[101]DR 1 p.347-8

[102]DR 1 p.344

astronomy, noting names for the stars.[103] Throughout the rest of the 1920s and the early 1930s, Tindale was to associate with these men continually in Board and Anthropological Society meetings. Fry, Cleland and others would drop into Tindale's office in the Museum or to his home.[104] In this way the Board members "were all in each others' pockets".[105] Most days they lunched at the Museum in a vibrant atmosphere of discussion. The anthropology section in the Museum extended through a number of rooms and Tindale recalls that it was

> a place where anthropology was like a kettle on the boil all day long.[106]

The meetings of the Board were informal and were often in Cleland's office at the University or Tindale's room at the Museum, and they occurred more frequently as it came closer to the annual expedition.[107] In this way, through the common concerns of the Board members, Museum and University were linked. These linkages were maintained throughout the life of the Board. The lack of an anthropology department at the University prevented the separation of museum and university which was taking place in the United States.

Tindale worked long hours at the Museum as he still had to make up time spent at lectures at the University. In 1929-30 he was studying second year subjects for his BSc., including Zoology and Geology (Stratigraphy).[108] He was also still officially Assistant Entomologist along with his title of Ethnologist and he was allowed to spend up to half his time on entomological research. Between 1928 and 1930 he published six papers on natural history and biology.[109] Yet Tindale recalls that he gave more time to anthropology during these years;

> My job was anthropology and I pursued it day and night.[110]

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[103] DR 1 p.317

[104] KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[105] KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[106] ibid

[107] ibid

[108] NBT Summary

[109] NBT, Bibliography 1984

[110] KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

Although he kept a number of his older journals in the Museum, as he worked from them for his research papers, Tindale maintained his current journal at home and wrote it up every night. He carried pencilled notes of important things he had learned during the day to be written up in the evening.[111]

Tindale had been building up his personal library for some time. At the end of 1929 the effects of the Depression were beginning to be felt. The Museum had little money available to stock its library, so Tindale relied more on his own collection. His salary was low and he and his wife Dorothy, now with a three year old daughter, Beryl Rae, were quite poor. They had scant money left after normal living costs. However, whenever possible Tindale purchased second-hand books with his savings. His lack of finance meant that anything he bought had to be very closely linked with his most central research interests. Highly theoretical works or anthropological texts unrelated to the Australian Aborigines were never considered.[112]

Discussions in the Anthropological Society were also more focused on anthropological *practice* as it related to the Aborigines rather than on anthropological *theory*. Reports had been made to the Society on the results of the Hermannsburg trip, stressing the methods of recording data and the results. Tindale presented a slide show illustrating various phases of the work.[113] There was also discussion of new methods proposed for later fieldwork. At one meeting Tindale and Hale exhibited a number of plaster casts of Aboriginal men and women made at the Museum. They utilized a technique outlined by Hrdlicka and first used by Dr. Suk in Czechoslovakia in which the eyes of the subject were left open.[114] It was hoped that this method could be tested in the field on future expeditions.

In August 1930 the Board took up the offer to work at MacDonald Downs. This was followed in August 1931 by a larger field trip with twelve members to Cockatoo Creek in Central Australia, a location chosen in consultation with an

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[111] ibid

[112] KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[113] Minutes ASSA 30 September 1929, SRG 161 MLSA

[114] Minutes ASSA 28 July 1930 SRG 161 MLSA and NBT, "Anthropology" p.244

Anglican Missionary group - the Aborigines' Friends Association.[115] These two trips will be treated together as they both involve developments along similar lines of research.[116] It was on these expeditions that Tindale put into practice some of the ideas discussed at the Society and Board meetings.

At MacDonald Downs, Tindale and Hale tried their first plaster casts on two young Iliaura boys. Tindale described the process;

> The subjects were perfectly calm & had full confidence in us & we experienced no difficulties. The eyes are left open and the nostrils are not plugged with reeds as in the old method. Each cast takes 20-30 minutes.[117]

As they became more confident with the task the two men worked faster. At Cockatoo Creek they spent entire days taking casts of Aborigines of the Walpiri and Anmatjera tribes. Tindale commented on the stress of this occupation;

> Felt very tired afterwards, stooping about and the tension of the work is somewhat exhausting.[118]

On both expeditions face-casting was an additional task to "routine work". Tindale completed genealogies, again using the interviews to collect data on tribal boundaries. He linked this information with notes made on the geology and ecology of the landscape, locations of totemic significance and watering places. From all this, he drafted detailed maps of the area. As a result of this kind of work at Cockatoo Creek, Tindale noted that

> Marked ecological and geological differences such as between the granitic ranges, the great red soil plains and the sand-dune country appeared to determine natural tribal boundaries.[119]

These notes are the first indication of Tindale's theory of the ecological determination of tribal boundaries, an idea he was to develop at length.

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[115] Cleland, "Anthropological Expedition to Central Australia" in Medical Journal of Australia 19 December 1931 p.793

[116] MD Personnel were Campbell, Cleland, Fry, Hale, Johnston, Tindale and J.Hugo Gray and H.J. Wilkinson - anthropometrists. Pulleine visited for several days. CC Personnel were Campbell, Cleland, Fry, Hale, Johnston, Tindale, Gray, Wilkinson and C.S. Hicks, R.F. Matters, Pulleine - all medical men, and Oswald E. Stocker - photographer and cinematographer. Also present was A. Rau, a general assistant not counted in the twelve.

[117] MD p.16

[118] CC p.18

[119] NBT, Manuscript Report in CC p.96

The absence of Harold Davies on both these expeditions meant that Tindale took over the responsibility for recording and transcribing songs. Most evenings were taken up with this task. On a number of occasions he played recordings made at Hermannsburg to see if they were known and to encourage the Aborigines to sing their own songs. During the MacDonald Downs expedition he found that

> The women were very amused and interested in the songs we obtained at Hermannsburg last year & after some persuasion sang several of their own..They were very amused at the Arunta [Aranda] - Ilpinja [Il'pindja] or sex lure songs. In evening got the boys to sing two of these sex songs called Anmanda in Iliaura. The meanings are difficult to get.[120]

At Cockatoo Creek discussion of these songs led to a number of related incidents. One evening as dusk pulled across the sky several small groups of young men carrying spears and shields broke away from the main camp in an excited "trotting run".

> We followed them & found that about 1/4 - 1/2 m away from the main camp in a SE direction they had prepared a camp & were singing an Ilpinja [Il'pindja] song seated close together in a semicircle around the fire. They were all very excited, dancing & laughing and every now & then breaking out into the Ilpinja. The arrival of the rest of our big party interrupted proceedings & the natives with illgrace, at first set going an impromptu corobori. They lit a fire & all the young men sat around in a close circle & sang a song about the "cold south-west wind"[121]

Tindale was able to secure records of the following dance and transcriptions of a song. He discovered from "subsequent enquiries" that after the Board team had left, "the interrupted Ilpinja was continued" and, joined by a number of the old men and some women, it continued until late into the night.[122]

Although Tindale's enquiries about these particular songs were successful in that they encouraged a performance, the Aborigines had control over what the Board were able to see and hear. At this time they did not wish to have these songs recorded. They therefore stopped and performed a ceremony specifically for the benefit of the scientists and afterwards continued their previous activities.

At MacDonald Downs, Tindale and others attempted to persuade the old men of the tribe to begin the ceremonies involved with the initiation of a young boy who was due to be circumcised. The team hoped to secure a motion picture record of this. However, this did not eventuate. Tindale wrote in his journal that he sat

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[120] MD p.22-3

[121] CC p.19

[122] CC p.20-21

> ..till 3 am in hopes of witnessing a circumcision ceremony which failed because the boy, no. 56, a youth of about 16-17 resisted so vehemently & protested that he already had a wife (no.50) that they let him off.[123]

Persuasion was in most cases a pointless exercise. Ceremonies were performed at particular times according to tradition and could not be altered for the scientists' convenience. The ceremonies recorded therefore depended to a large extent upon the timing of the expedition or, in the case of "playabout" corroborees, on the whim of the Aborigines.

At both MacDonald Downs and Cockatoo Creek much of Tindale's material related to ceremonies. These records are very detailed. His description of an Aranda totemic dance at MacDonald Downs gives a good example. He noted the name of the ceremony, its totemic affiliations and the place to which it was linked. The systematic preparations for the performance were recorded along with some of the songs which accompanied each stage in the process. Tindale depicted the props and decorations used in the ceremony and the movement of the dancers. The number of performers, their relationships, their names or registration numbers (as related to the data cards) were also recorded. Tindale's opportunity to narrate this ceremony in complete detail and to obtain exact transcriptions of the songs was hampered by the fact that it was also his responsibility to film the ceremony.[124] In contrast, at Cockatoo Creek, Stocker accompanied the party and was specifically in charge of taking cinematic and photographic records. This largely relieved Tindale of the task and he was able to make better transcriptions of songs on that expedition. On both trips he encouraged Aborigines to repeat their songs after ceremonies so that they could be recorded on wax cylinder.[125] He also began making sound recordings of Aboriginal language and vocabularies. He would speak a word in English and his informant would repeat the Aboriginal equivalent.[126]

On both expeditions vocabularies were written in the back of Tindale's journals in Geographic 2 .[127] In 1931 a special committee had met at the University of Adelaide to discuss the question of transcription of Aboriginal languages. It was

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[123] MD p.35

[124] MD p.53-60

[125] MD p.127-143 and CC p. 123-135

[126] MD p.20 and 136

[127] MD p.163-171 and CC p.185-201

headed by Professor J. Fitzherbert of the Classics department. Tindale was at this meeting when it was decided that all transcriptions from that time should be made using the International Phonetic Alphabet. This system was modified to include a series of interdental sounds which Tindale and Fitzherbert had learned from discussion with Aborigines of the South-east.[128] Although transcriptions at MacDonald Downs and many of those at Cockatoo Creek were originally made in Geographic 2, Tindale went back and made additions to these records after 1931 to take into account the rules of the newly adopted phonetic script.

During the 1930 and 1931 expeditions techniques for the identification of artefacts were expanded. Tindale would show a series of implements to an informant asking him to give the name and use of those he recognized.[129] Stage by stage descriptions of the manufacture of items were made in far greater detail with sketches and photographs to accompany each stage as well as notes on the names of the makers and the duration of the process.[130] Tindale also experimented himself. While one man worked on shaping a hooked boomerang with a stone-ended adze

> He allowed me to try my hand at cutting several grooves, I succeeded in making several which he accepted as sufficiently good to incorporate in his work without modification.[131]

Similarly, after watching Aborigines light a fire by sawing a shield with a womera, Tindale and Campbell attempted to repeat the process

> and succeeded in lighting a fire in about the same time as the natives (c. 1 minute)[132]

Many examples of material culture were collected for the Museum during both expeditions. After the performance of the yala or yam totem ceremony at Cockatoo Creek, the inkata or owners of this ceremony - five old men whose names, numbers and subclasses were recorded - took Tindale, Cleland Fry and Pulleine to see a number of tjuringa hidden near the ceremonial ground. As each was brought out songs were sung and the objects were explained to the

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[128] NBT, "Anthropology" p.240

[129] MD p.7

[130] CC p.24-9

[131] CC p.41

[132] ibid

anthropologists as being those belonging to the andaka totem of Aknatalya (Cockatoo Creek). The totem place was set down by Tindale and after the meeting he made sketches of a number of the tjuringa. He also noted that

> They had evidently decided beforehand to give us three, for these were offered to us.[133]

Tindale thought that this was probably because

> we had already told them on a previous occasion that I was the man who was the inkata or "boss" of all the tjuringa at Adelaide.[134]

During both expeditions Tindale continued to record the layout of campsites, but in ever more detail. At Cockatoo Creek, he drew plans of individual camps and sketched the overall pattern of the entire camp area, noting the number of people at each location, their names and registration numbers if they could be ascertained.[135] In this way he had a concrete picture of the living pattern of almost every Aborigine at Cockatoo Creek, as well as a record of typical camp layout.

Both these expeditions were extremely successful and at the conclusion of each, the cooperation and friendliness of the Aboriginal people was reported as being one of the most important reasons for the excellent results. At MacDonald Downs the owner of the station, Mr.Chalmers, had only been on the land for four years and

> The great kindness of that pastoralist..and his family towards the natives had won their friendship and the investigations had proceeded without a hitch.[136]

The Aborigines of the Cockatoo Creek area had experienced little contact with white society and were "still living their customary nomadic life".[137] However, Cleland reported that

> The utmost friendliness existed between the natives and ourselves as soon as the first shyness had been overcome.There was not the slightest suspicion as to our intentions and some of the processes and tests to which they were subjected might quite reasonably have raised some doubt.

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[133] CC p.46

[134] CC p.48

[135] CCp.13-14

[136] Tindale, quoted in The Advertiser 15 September 1930

[137] The Advertiser 28 August 1931

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After returning to Adelaide Tindale resumed his routine of museum work, anthropological meetings and research excursions. In particular the year 1931 saw the development of Tindale's interest in the Aborigines of the South-east. It was during a week's visit to Point McLeay in June, to make a survey of possible informants, that he met Milerum (Clarence Long) - the last initiated full-blood survivor of the Tanganekald tribe.[139] Milerum had just lost his second wife and was staying with his four children at the Point McLeay mission on Lake Alexandrina.[140] Tindale recalls that at first Milerum treated him with "total indifference". However, when he discovered that he and Tindale were distantly "related", his attitude changed to one of "intense interest".[141] Puningeri, father of Milerum, had been a bullock driver for William Barnett in 1875 and Milerum often travelled with him. At the age of six he saw white men for the first time and he also received his first set of European clothing so that he could play with a little girl at Rosetown - Mary Jane Barnett - Norman's mother.[142] Once Milerum discovered this connection he became "like a brother" to Norman.[143]

Milerum had learned an immense amount about the history and traditions of the tribes of the South-east from his parents and he began to impart this knowledge to Tindale. In November 1933 he came into Adelaide and Tindale showed him around the Museum, noting his comments on a wide range of subjects, including fishing, games, firemaking and names for areas of the Coorong.[144] The visit of Milerum, "Last of the Wild Tribe" was reported in the Mail and he was described as

6 ft tall, broad and muscular. He walks with a proud and active step.

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[138]Cleland, "Anthropological Expedition.." 1931 p.794

[139]SE 1 p.80 and SE 2 p.179

[140]Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol 10 (1891-1939) (Melbourne University Press, 1986) p.498-99. Tindale was the author of the entry on Milerum.

[141]KRW-NBT Interview 26 February 1987

[142]ADB, p.498

[143]KRW-NBT Interview 26 February 1987

[144]SE 1 p.119-20

> His voice is mellow and commanding. His face has a dignity and culture about it which commands respect.[145]

Milerum was a shearer in the South-east.[146] Each year after his first visit to the Museum, when the shearing season had finished, he travelled to Adelaide and made a summer camp for three or four months in the sandhills at Fulham. Most days he would travel by tram into the city and to the Museum. Tindale organized with the Museum office that he should be able to collect a small amount of money for his fare.[147]

On the porch of the old military barracks behind the Museum, Milerum set up a "day camp" under the shade of an old grape vine. It was here that most of his discussions with Tindale took place. Other Museum personnel as well as people from the University, including some Board members, also found time to sit and talk with Milerum or to watch him make baskets and weapons. Most afternoons Tindale sat with him listening and asking questions. If Milerum could not answer a question immediately, he would say that he would think about it. Days or even months later he would suddenly express all his knowledge on that particular problem.[148] From Milerum Tindale gained information on the territory, social organization, customs and material culture of the Tanganekald as well as other groups with which Milerum was familiar, including the Potaruwutj - his mother's tribe.[149] Tindale transcribed words , songs and stories told to him by Milerum.[150] For the first time he wrote down entire legends. The text of the story in the Aboriginal language was written above the word by word translation and was divided into "sentences" or phrases by numbers and slashes. Following this, each whole sentence was given a clearer "European" translation and finally there was a summary by Tindale of the basic story line.[151]

Milerum also assisted in making a map of the Coorong area which located all

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[145] Mail 12 November 1932

[146] ADB p.498

[147] KRW-NBT Interview 26 February 1987

[148] ibid

[149] ibid, and ADB p.499 and KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[150] SE 2 p.179

[151] SE 1 p.121-7

Aboriginal place names and tribal boundaries. In February 1934 Tindale, accompanied by Fry, travelled with Milerum along the Coorong with the intention

> to study..tribal boundaries on the spot as a follow up of the detailed work done at the Museum.[152]

Tindale compared the data he had collected on social organization before and during this trip with work undertaken by Radcliffe-Brown in 1918 and modified in 1930. He decided that Radcliffe-Brown's "conclusions..are not well informed & need much correction".[153]

In the same year Tindale published an article about Milerum in The Advertiser stressing the great importance of the man's knowledge.

> Viewed through the eyes of a last full-blood aborigine of the South-East, whose memory can bridge the gap between our times and those of the vanished tribal life of the blacks in that portion of the state, we can dimly realize the tragedy to these people of the making over of their whole country to suit another race.[154]

While working with Milerum during the 1930s, Tindale continued in his role as Secretary of the Anthropological Society. Reports on Board expeditions were given at these meetings in the tradition already established. In December 1931 a special meeting was held in the Anatomy School at the University to show the cinema films taken at Cockatoo Creek to an audience of 220 people.[155] In June 1932 Tindale addressed the Society on factors governing population density and distribution, showing diagrams of the settlement patterns of Aborigines on Groote Eylandt and in the Coorong area.[156] This, combined with work completed on two previous expeditions on geological and ecological determination of tribal boundaries, exhibits his increasingly methodological approaches to questions of population distribution. Tindale was to continue research into such areas on the 1932 Board expedition to Mount Liebig in Central Australia. That year's party of thirteen was to be the largest brought together by the Board since its inception and it was the first expedition to which a member of the press was attached - Max Lamshed

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[152] SE 2 p.1

[153] ibid

[154] 7 April 1934 - portions of the vast quantity of information Tindale collected from discussions with Milerum have been written up in a number of papers, and the complete story is currently (1988) being written up as a book by Tindale.

[155] Minutes ASSA 5 December 1931, SRG 161 MLSA

[156] Minutes ASSA 27 June 1932, SRG 161 MLSA

of The Advertiser.[157]

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The Board party left Adelaide on the morning of 4 August 1932, and the newspapers reported on this expedition which left "to study the World's last prehistoric race". They commented also on Tindale's "bright pink beret" and Fry's "riding breeches".[158] Travelling to Alice Springs by train and then by car for two days to Mt. Liebig, the party made camp near a rockhole to the north of the mountain called Munturungu.[159]

Tindale's duties on this expedition were well planned - listed on a paper and signed by Herbert Hale who was now Director of the South Australian Museum. Tindale continued the role of genealogical recorder and was also responsible for the collection of general ethnological notes - vocabularies, manufacture of implements and other cultural data. He was allocated a period not exceeding fourteen hours to assist Hale with face-casting and he was expected to put not more than one hour towards the taking of official photographs - which would harmonize with his genealogical work. Gramophone recording was again Tindale's responsibility, sometimes aided by Cleland.[160] Through genealogies Tindale also ascertained details about the social organization and relationship terms of the Aborigines with whom they worked -the Ngalia and Pintubi. He and Fry recorded these on genealogical tables.[161] In a discussion with one young Ngalia Aboriginal whom they had met on the previous year's expedition to Cockatoo Creek, Tindale was able to record some "very interesting" notes on his movements during the last year.[162]

> This includes a continuous list of some waterholes visited..This can be plotted out in detail & will give a wonderful idea of the movements of

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[157]ML personnel were Tindale, Campbell, Cleland, Fry, Hale, Johnston, Gray, Stocker, Moore, Hicks and N.Holden (meteorologist), E. Elridge and T.G.H. Strehlow (then a 22 year old student at Adelaide University)

[158]The News 4 August 1932

[159]ML p.20-26

[160]Paper listing duties in ML p.375

[161]ML p.28, 32 and H.K. Fry, "Mt. Liebig" Journal/Notebook p.8 (My pagination) in AA 105 Acc 225 SAM

[162]ML p.30

the natives of a tribe over a given time.[163]

The 330 locations learned from this man were misreported as 400 by Lamshed. This coupled with his publication of a mass of unchecked data caused Tindale and the other anthropologists to be much less enthusiastic about allowing the press to follow them into the field on future expeditions. Despite such inaccuracies, Lamshed's articles do give some insight into the general life of the camp and the roles of the party members.[164] He commented on Tindale's "patience" in securing genealogical data from the Aborigines,[165] and described how

> Mr. N.B. Tindale ethnologist and Dr. H.K. Fry sit around fires with groups of natives, the former ascertaining names and relationships, and allotting numbers, so that subjects may be identified farther down the line. His passion seems to be the construction of genealogical trees. Already he has one spread over half a dozen sheets of foolscap and every day sees more information added..[166]

Tindale only met with the other members of the team at lunchtimes and in the evenings as most of the day each man was involved in his own particular task, in his own special location. The Aborigines passing from one group to another would build a fire wherever they stopped and these were visible all over the campsite.[167]

In the evenings and during the day a number of ceremonies were performed and general work was interrupted to take accounts in note form and on cinema and still film. Stocker again accompanied the anthropologists and was responsible for taking motion picture records of the performances. As well as a number of totemic rituals, Tindale witnessed and described in great detail the ceremonial meeting of two groups of Aborigines who had never before met. On 17 August, a group of eleven men, twelve women and eighteen children of the Pintubi arrived in the Ngalia camp. Following some ceremonmial demonstrations the two groups sat down near each other and

> After a little space they started to indicate to each other their class names, translating the Pintubi..into the Ngalia & Luritja [Kukatja] terms

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[163] ibid and ML p.229-233 for Tindale's list of these watering places

[164] Articles by Lamshed appeared in The Advertiser and The Mail between 8 August and 9 September 1932

[165] The Advertiser 13 August 1932

[166] The Advertiser 19 August 1932

[167] ibid

for the benefit of the Ngalia.[168]

Once these names had been discovered, men of the same class moved closer to each other and began to discuss

> families; number of wives, children etc. and to point out their fathers to each other. An important point appears to be the indicating of the country of the informant & there was considerable pointing in the direction of the country, often with a clicking of the fingers to indicate that it was a long way off.[169]

Tindale's description of the event was full and was complemented by still photographs and cinema records. It is deeply significant that the manner in which these two groups met - the exchange of class and relationship terms, discussion of family and country - was paralleled by the method Tindale employed when first approaching Aborigines with whom he hoped to work - gathering genealogies and asking questions about tribal areas. This was coupled with his own Mbitjana class affiliation which gave him an *Aboriginal* identification to exchange. By reproducing Aboriginal manners, Tindale's relationship with his informants was more natural and led to him being given access to more information than would otherwise have been the case. Although his own interest in tribal boundaries was longstanding (since 1922), it was this, *combined* with the systematic genealogical approach of the Board expeditions, which resulted in Tindale's uniquely successful method of establishing the ethnographer-informant relationship.

This relationship made it easier for Tindale to record complete Aboriginal legends at Mt. Liebig, as he had in his work with Milerum.[170] He also made a major effort to transcribe and record on wax cylinders, the songs heard at ceremonies and to follow this up, after the event, by seeking accurate translations and summaries of the meanings. On 16 August he recorded in detail the preparation, performance and songs of the Wati paluni totem ceremony, owned by a Pintubi man Mintun Mintun. The next day he elaborated on this by transcribing an account of the story of the Wati or "true man".[171]

During the expedition Tindale and others were assisted by a number of

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[168]ML p. 68-9

[169]ML p. 69

[170]ML p. 175- 191

[171]ML p.55-61

translators, including an Aranda man (Wheeler) and a part-Aboriginal (Theo) who came out with the party from Alice Springs, as well as by the Aborigines who sang the songs, told the stories or were the "owners" of the ceremonies performed.[172] Other Aborigines acted as informants on material culture following the methods used at Cockatoo Creek. Stocker and Tindale went on excursions with a number of Aborigines and filmed a large variety of "technical arts" including the making of a womera and a hunt for witchetty grubs.[173]

The stay at Mt. Liebig lasted just over two weeks but in that time a vast amount of data was gathered. Experience of four previous Board expeditions ensured that the members of the team worked well together and had refined their methods. Tindale's role in Board fieldwork had "expanded over time" because of his interest and his realization of the opportunities, but also because practice had helped him to complete his allotted work more quickly.[174] He was able to surge ahead with the genealogical work so that a large number of Aborigines had been "registered" for the other anthropologists and then he was free to pursue subjects of his own interest and to transcribe complete texts.

On the final day Tindale kept recording songs until the last minute while the rest of the party pulled down the tent above him.[175] The group finally left by car for Alice Springs where they attended a dance in the hall, and on the following day they caught the train back to Adelaide.[176] Nailed to a tree in the campsite at Mt. Liebig was a plaque made from the side of a kerosene tin which read

University & Museum Anthropological Expedition - August 1932.[177]

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By the end of 1932 Tindale had been involved in five consecutive expeditions with the Board for Anthopological Research. During those years he visited a wide range of locations, working with Aborigines who had as yet suffered comparatively

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[172]ML p.97, 109 and The Advertiser 26 August 1932

[173]ML p.42 and 47

[174]KRW-NBT Interview 10 February 1987

[175]ML p.92

[176]ML p.92-100c

[177]The Advertiser 22 August 1932

little contact with Europeans and therefore had maintained aspects of their "traditional" way of life. The range of information Tindale collected is unique. The alliance with the Board meant changes in fieldwork method. Tindale, tied to genealogical recording, at first seemed limited in opportunities for research. However he adapted to this new role and used it to the best advantage. He questioned his numerous informants intensely, initially about his own interest - tribal boundaries - and then gradually expanding into a wide range of subjects. He became interested in different areas through association with the other Board members and his own increasing experience, and his methods became more sophisticated. Techniques developed over time, were initiated on one expedition, expanded and refined on the next. Tindale began to recognize the connections between different aspects of the total way of life of the Aboriginal people and he developed new ways to seek information using these linkages. Genealogical questioning would establish a rapport with people as he introduced himself on their terms. It would also provide insights into family and social organization, totemic law and tribal boundaries.

Travelling with Aboriginal men over their land allowed Tindale to record and map totemic places, to note the names and usage of plants, to plot tribal boundaries. In these ways he unfolded the Aboriginal understanding of the countryside. By transcribing stories connected with these places and by gaining the complete text of legends or songs linked to a ceremony, Tindale collected concrete examples of this world view.

As a museum ethnologist he gathered items of material culture, but to him they were also pointers to daily life through their common usage or to ceremonies within which they were involved. Discussion about them could elicit related stories and songs to be transcribed in the Aboriginal language. The repetition of these in other places on further expeditions could indicate their distribution across the continent and allude to the connections between tribal groups.

Out in the desert in 1933, as leader of an expedition, accompanied by only one other anthropologist, Tindale began to follow Aborigines on *their* terms. He built upon his previous experiences and independently worked towards an ideal of fieldwork originally propounded by Malinowski, that which would bring understanding of

> the native's point of view, his relation to life..to realize *his* vision of *his* world.[178]

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[178] Malinowski, *Argonauts*.. p.25

Chapter 6

A MASTERLY PIECE OF DETECTION
The Later Expeditions 1933-1935

The social anthropology of the Aboriginal peoples of the central area has concerned him for many years and his recurrent visits amongst the groups to trace geographical and historical distribution of legendary material have grown to be a masterly piece of detection.

Professor W.V. MacFarlane Letter
Supporting award of Honorary Doctorate
of Science to N.B. Tindale 1967

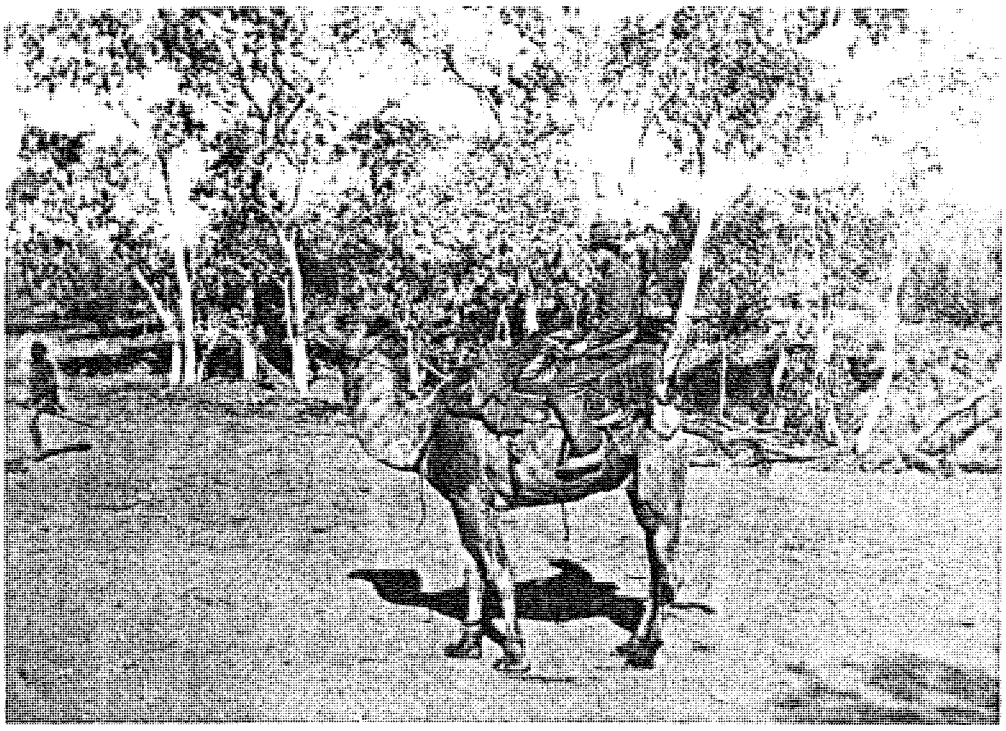

Figure 6-1: Tindale riding camel at Glen Ferdinand
Mann Range Expedition 30 July 1933

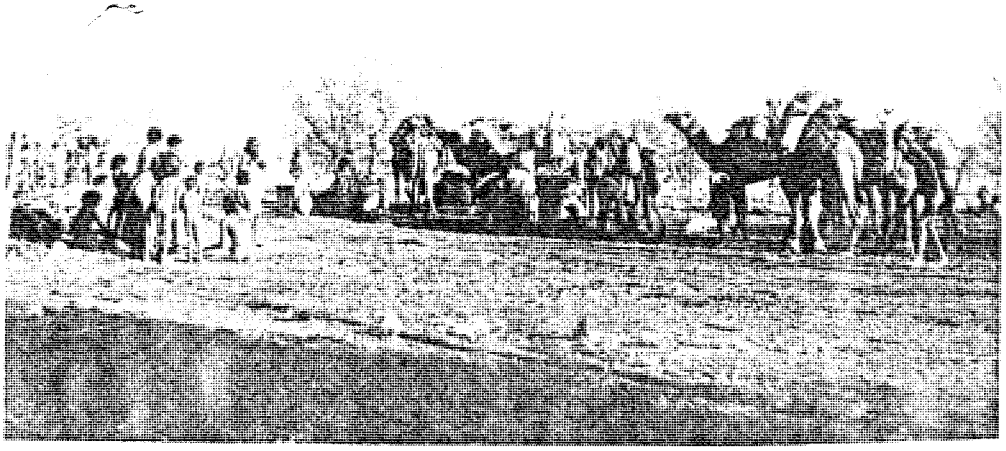

Figure 6-2: Early morning start from Poka,
Mann Range Expedition 13 July 1933

Figure 6-3: Tindale in his "pink beret", Warburton Range Expedition 28 August 1935

Figure 6-4: Expedition camp at Warupuju,
Warburton Range Expedition 16 August 1935

As the sun rose on a second ice-cold morning at Ernabella, a group of Aboriginal men approached the camp. They invited the two anthropologists to accompany them to the ceremonial ground where the Malu (Kangaroo) and Papa (Dog) pre-initiation ceremonies were to be performed. Forty-four men with spears raised, jogged excitedly over to a cleared circle of ground to the west of the waterhole.[1] On arrival they sat down in two close circles and began to sing a series of songs, rhythmically beating the ground with sticks. A number of men began to perform the act of blood- letting and their lead was followed by the whole group. Their singing became more intense as the preparations progressed. Finally all but nine older men moved to another camp to decorate themselves for the ceremonies. The two anthropologists remained seated with the old men "as they seemed to desire it".[2]

Afterwards, joining the main circle, Tindale and Hackett were seized by several old men and their heads were thrust down, their faces pushed into the ground so that they could not see what was happening in front of them. Other men beat sticks "furiously" pummelling the earth around their lowered heads. Suddenly the old men raised the white men's heads so that they could see the spectacle of twenty decorated men lined up along a swept track in the centre of the ground. While the chorus sang loudly these men performed an energetic dance.[3] Immediately it was near conclusion, the white men's faces were again forced down

> in the dirt while the singing went on vehemently, the sticks pounded down about our ears.

This treatment was continued until the two men were permitted to see another

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[1] MR p.15

[2] MR p.17

[3] MR p.17-19

stage of the performance.[4] Tindale, swept into the fear and excitement of the proceedings felt that he was

> compulsorily acting the part of the young initiate

and in this way he

> could understand some of his feelings at this first dramatic incident in his adult life.[5]

From the very outset of the Mann Range expedition Tindale was drawn into the ceremonial life of the Aborigines and was forced to take the role of the young initiate in the pre-initiation ritual. This early incident set the scene for the whole expedition. During the Mann Range trip Tindale followed a group of Aborigines across the desert from one traditional waterhole and camping site to another, and in that way adopted the Aboriginal pattern of life and movement, surviving and travelling on their terms. The timing of the expedition paralleled the circumcision rites of the Pitjandjara people of the area. This, combined with his closer relationship with the Aborigines, resulted in Tindale securing unique insights into their way of life and their mentality. He was able, not only able to make the records of an *observer*, but also of a *participant.* His increasingly sophisticated style of observation, his tracing of facts through numerous avenues meant that he could depict the interconnected facets of a society. His longer term participation in this culture meant that he could also witness "the imponderabilia of native life" and record the "documents of native mentality" which Malinowski had stated were essential to any anthropological research.[6]

On 24 May 1933 The News in Adelaide reported

> The ethnologist at the Adelaide Museum (Mr. N.B. Tindale) and Dr. Cecil Hackett, of the Adelaide University, will leave tomorrow morning on an expedition which will last about four months. They will conduct a comprehensive research into the customs and characteristics of Australian natives for the Board of Anthropological Research at the Adelaide University.

A week earlier Tindale and Hackett had been granted permission to enter the Aboriginal reserve in the far north-west of South Australia to conduct "scientific

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[4]MR p.21

[5]ibid

[6]Malinowski, Argonauts.. and see Chapter Two of this thesis

research".[7] It was agreed that Mr. Allan Brumby, nephew of Stan Ferguson, the pastoral leaseholder at Ernabella should accompany them. Brumby was a white man but as he was born in Central Australia he had learned to speak the Aboriginal language of the area and he knew the country. Most importantly, he owned a string of eight camels.[8] These were to carry the anthropologists' equipment and stores across the desert, thus enabling Tindale to realize his young man's dream of making a journey in the style of the explorers Hedin and Stein. The party was also to include two Aboriginal interpreters.[9] The anthropologists left by train for Oodnadatta on 25 May 1933. A lorry loaded with their gear took them from there to Ernabella where they remained for almost two weeks while they waited for Brumby to arrive with his camels.[10] Cecil Hackett was at this time in the midst of his medical degree. The Board had asked him to accompany Tindale as a physical anthropologist, aware that he had some experience of conditions in Central Australia as Campbell's assistant on the Board's first trip in 1927.

In early 1933 Hackett was recovering from a month in bed with suspected pulmonary tuberculosis. The illness had inevitably caused disruptions in his career, leaving him "drifting about" and he viewed this offer as "a wonderful opportunity", and immediately agreed to be involved. Hackett also suspected that his training in medicine had influenced his appointment as it was still considered to be "hazardous" to travel in the depths of the Central Australian deserts without a doctor on hand.[11]

During this trip Hackett experienced close and continual contact with Aboriginal people for the first time. He feels greatly indebted to Tindale as a model and mentor for relating naturally with people of another race.[12] After lunch on the first day at Ernabella (May 29), both men made themselves known to the Aborigines camped near the landholder's house. They

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[7]Chief Protector of Aborigines Dept. South Australia, To Whom it May Concern (NBT) 19 May 1933 giving this permission. Included in MR

[8]NBT and C.J. Hackett, "Preliminary Report on fieldwork among the Aborigines of the North-West of South Australia" in Oceania 4:1, 1933 p.101-2

[9]MR p.97

[10]MR p.5-87. Ernabella was still a private pastoral holding in 1933. The mission was not established until 1937.

[11]KRW-CJH Interview 30 March 1987

[12]ibid

> went over to the main camps and walked from one to another, sitting for a while at each fire.[13]

Hackett recalls that on an occasion such as this Tindale sat down and talked with groups of Aborigines at their fires in an "easy-going" manner with "no fuss at all".[14] He believes that Tindale's open relationship with these people stemmed from his lack of differentiation between himself and his informants. Hackett learned from him to be "colour blind" and developed Tindale's habit of approaching and speaking to all people in a manner which was not domineering or ingratiating, but which recognised them as "ordinary people".[15]

By the second day Tindale was already planning to make the best use of the enforced wait at Ernabella.[16] These two weeks gave him the opportunity to work with a group of about 150 Pitjandjara Aborigines from the west who were camped nearby. He commented that the members of this group were with only a few exceptions, "quite uncivilized" and "free from [European] dress".[17]

Lack of knowledge of their language meant that Tindale had to work with an interpreter, Tommy. However, by the second day Tindale noted in his journal that he had already learned a few phrases and

> I hope to know much more before we are finished.[18]

With Tommy's assistance Tindale gathered information on his habitual range of subjects - genealogies, tribes, material culture, language, camp layout and ceremonial life, while Hackett took physical measurements. On occasion Tindale found his own questioning "uphill work" because of Tommy's frequent absence and half-hearted approach.[19]

One method of enquiry, initiated in a limited way at MacDonald Downs in 1930,

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[13] MR p.7

[14] KRW-CJH Interview 30 March 1987

[15] ibid

[16] MR p.23

[17] MR p.25

[18] ibid

[19] MR p.29,41 and 43

was developed extensively in 1933. Tindale provided Aboriginal men with large sheets of brown paper and crayons in recognizable traditional colours - red, yellow, black and white - and encouraged them to make drawings.[20] During the second week at Ernabella Tindale noted the reactions of the men to this activity

> ..Soon had a dozen or more artists making sketches of wanigi, tracks of animals & ceremonial marks (walka). We left each man to choose his own subjects and colours. From time to time I looked at them and made notes. Soon they were eager to have me look at them & I was mobbed by artists who wished to submit drawings. Some men went away by themselves & carefully drew pictures..All the younger lads were driven away early in the proceedings & then ceremonial drawings became the order of the day. Enthusiasm reigned for more than two hours until nearly dark.[21]

Tindale secured photographs but lamented that

> we cannot speak much to these men (Pitjandjara) yet.

However he felt positive that

> we are picking up a good smattering as time goes on.[22]

While the men were drawing, Tindale was able to record the Aboriginal names of the objects depicted, adding them to his word list.[23] On the following day the young men were again sent away to hunt euro because the old men

> wanted to make drawings on the brown paper sheets.

They began to produce a large number of "sacred drawings" related to initiation and other ceremonies.[24] In this manner, the possibilities offered by this method for securing information about ceremonial life were revealed to Tindale. This inspired him to use it more extensively after the expedition's movement into the Mann Range area.

During their time at Ernabella, the two anthropologists witnessed several ceremonies, including a women's dance. Both he and Hackett found that sitting in a circle of Aborigines watching this performance,

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[20] NBT "Anthropology" p.243

[21] MR p.81

[22] ibid

[23] ibid

[24] MR p.85

> our presence became less and less a matter of consequence until we were almost forgotten in the interest of the dance.[25]

When many others jumped up to join in a men's "sideways hopping dance", Tindale and Hackett got up as well "to the great amusement of the crowd".[26]

On 13 June, Tindale and Hackett left Ernabella [Camp 0] with Brumby and his string of camels.[27] The movement of the expedition followed Aboriginal waterholes and camps in the Musgrave and Mann Ranges. At different stages the two anthropologists followed or were trailed by varying numbers of Aborigines who joined the key group with whom the anthropological team moved. Tindale and Hackett generally walked with the group while the camel string travelled some distance behind.[28]

Between Upsan Downs and the third camp - Erliwanjawanja [Ali'wanja'wanja] - travelling with 25 Aborigines, the group crossed some salt bush flats. Tindale observed at first hand the collection of food and hunting of game on the move.

> They spread out in a fan shape, the young men running away on either side while the older men follow the general line of march. The women and children follow behind some of the former carrying bundles, others children. From time to time they stop to dig out rabbits & roots noticed either by older men or by themselves. The old men's belts are soon filled with dangling rabbits and smaller animals. Passing near the large granite hill to the south of the main range all the younger men climbed up the hills & attempted to spear euro.[29]

As they approached the dry season camp of Erliwanjawanja along a worn path, Tindale was able to describe the "order of progress" of the group which was travelling about two hundred yards in front of the camel team.[30] He made detailed descriptions and watched the progress of one particular old man, woman and child over five to fifteen minute intervals as they neared the water hole.[31]

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[25] MR p.77

[26] see MR p. 67-77

[27] MR p.97-101

[28] NBT "Anthropology" p.145

[29] MR p. 125 -7

[30] MR p.129

[31] MR p.131-33

Tindale and Hackett stayed for a few days at this camp, making routine measurements and collecting general data on the Aborigines there. June 19 was a typical day;

> Spent day measuring and obtaining details bringing number of individuals measured and studied up to 54. Added to vocabularies, hunted up place names and made enquiries regarding 'wapara which is the word to denote stories and tales of ancestral beings. After lunch recorded several kangaroo ceremony songs & attempted to get a description by an old man of the movements of the ancestral kangaroo.[32]

On the 21st Tindale and Hackett left in drizzling rain for their fourth camp at Konapandi, a waterhole set on a mulga flat with a large mountain visible in the distance. It was here that, over a number of days, the two anthropologists were permitted to witness all stages of the Pitjandjara initiation ceremony.[33] As well as filming all parts of the preparatory ceremonies and those sections of the initiation ritual which took place in daylight, Tindale made close to 60 pages of detailed notes on the events including straight narrative, song transcriptions, diagrams and sketches.[34] When not involved in this work he made general notes on the behaviour of the people in camp , such as the setting up of night fires and breakwinds.[35] Tindale and Hackett never camped further away from the Aborigines than the distance between the fires of the family groups.[36] In this way their fire blended in with the Aborigines' campsites and Tindale was also close enough to observe any activity or movement.

During the two days preceeding the actual circumcision rites on the night of 23 June, Tindale went across to the day camps to talk with the old men about the impending ritual. He spoke with one old man who was the 'maijada or inkata of the young Pitjandjara men - the principal teacher of the ceremonies.[37]

On 22 June Tindale and Hackett watched a number of events which preceded the circumcision. At dusk the women kinsfolk ngondjo, (mothers) of the initiands and the kondili, (mother's and father's sisters) surrounded one of the youths and

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[32]MR p.139

[33]MR p.153-5 and NBT and CJH, "Preliminary report on field work among the aborigines of the North-West of South Australia" in Oceania 4:1 1933 p.101-05

[34]MR p.155-263 (generally written on one side of page)

[35]see, for example, MR p. 157-9

[36]KRW-NBT Interview 28 February 1987

[37]MR p.161

> armed with yamsticks [they] prod & beat him about the legs and shoulders unmercifully so that he was half stupefied.[38]

Tindale described the wailing of the women following this action and the extinguishing of the fires of those whose relationship was tjanamiltjan to the initiands, (now called ulpuru).[39] Throughout his descriptions Tindale referred to the participants from the point of view of their relationship terms. He noted that the Pitjandjara people had a dual relationship system consisting of members of alternate generations. Tindale explained the categorizations in his 1935 article.

> Thus all persons classified by Ego with his own generation as well as those in the generations of grandparents and grandchildren are grouped together as nganandaruka; while those of the parents' and children's generations are together called tjanamiltjan. The terms are reciprocal.[40]

Tindale's picture of the tjanamiltjan relatives huddled together to ward off the cold is more than a mere delineation of their positions. His journal entries, and the article written later, are both descriptive and emotive. He describes the "attitude of dejection" maintained by these people, the father sitting "somewhat apart, wailing" and one of the old men punari, (father and father's brother) "with tears in his eyes".[41]

That night Tindale made a survey walk about the camp noting that

> There were at least 256 persons present in approximately 42 camps including four men's camps, the ground camp of the parents etc. of the initiates, a girls' camp and two groups of very old women. From one spot we counted more than 110 fires probably not more than half the real number.[42]

He also made a sketch map showing the camps of the respective relatives and the position of the ulpuru.

The day of the circumcision ritual dawned cold, drizzling with rain. From 10 am, until late in the day Tindale and Hackett were present at three ceremonies - the Inma Papa, (Dog ceremony) of the place Tjanalkulja, the Inma Malu,

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[38]MR p.161-3 and NBT, "Initiation among the Pitjandjara natives of the Mann and Tomkinson Ranges in South Australia", Oceania 6:2 1935 p.201

[39]MR p.163

[40]"Initiation.." p.200-1

[41]MR p.163 and "Initiation.." p.202

[42]MR p.165

(Kangaroo ceremony) and the Inma Wati Pampul, (Ceremony of the man Pampul).[43] The singing, the preparations and the dancing were filmed and Tindale transcribed the songs and described roughly the actions of the dancers, referring the reader to the film for details.[44]

After a break for dinner the two anthropologists returned to the young men's camp in which they had been sitting all day.[45] There was movement in the distance and the men in camp spoke in hushed voices. Moments later the two white men were swept up into a crowd of men with burning torches which began to move off towards the next young men's camp.

> From every side other bark torches began to converge on this point & by the time we had reached the third young men's camp, practically the whole camp, men in front, then women with the young boys in the background. There must have been 250 torches alight.[46]

Tindale and Hackett moved along at a "slow trot" with the young men who were leading the procession. Arriving at the ceremonial ground this group split into tjanamiltjan and nganandaruka sections on either side of the cleared track and around the two fires that had immediately been lit.[47]

From this point Tindale divided the progress of the circumcision rites into nine stages. He made two sketch diagrams of the ceremonial ground on which he plotted the movements of all the participants.[48] At the end of Tindale's seventh phase the old maijada who had been the principal director of the ritual, called out for the ulpuru to come.[49] This was the signal for the final stage of the ceremony, which would conclude with the circumcision operation. Within his description of the ceremony Tindale transcribed the words of 38 songs, 35 of which were performed in this last phase. Included with these were comments on the mood of

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[43] MR p. 191-7

[44] MR p.173 and NBT, "Initiation.." p.207

[45] MR p.201

[46] MR p.203

[47] MR p.205

[48] MR p.207-9

[49] NBT, "Initiation.." p. 213

the song and the tone and attitude of the singers.[50] The reactions of the men to different events were noted. At the swinging of bullroarers between songs 3 and 4

> The boys were held face down very firmly; this had a great effect on all present and they sat listening very intently and expectantly.[51]

Careful notes of the chronology and duration of each phase were kept. At 9:36 pm three men gathered at the far end of the ceremonial ground and together formed the circumcision table. Tindale sketched this formation. As it was too dark to film the circumcision itself, Tindale's written descriptions are comprehensive, recording the actions and reactions of the different men involved such as the marutju, (mother's brother's sons) who held the boy and the ommari who performed the operation. He also noted the number of cuts required to complete the task and the responses of the new initiates. After being placed by the blazing fire the boys

> sat head down & very dazed looking without sign or sound.[52]

After the ceremony Tindale was given the circumcision knife which he sketched in his journal. During discussion with a number of informants after the ritual, he discovered that two men who had stepped in to complete the operation on the second boy (after a left-handed ommari had failed to remove the foreskin) were of the "wrong side" of the tjanamiltjan. Tindale's understanding of the sociological relationships of the performers helped him to follow the logic of this problem. These men were punari or of the father's side rather than ommari, (wife's father [potential]) and should have had nothing to do with the circumcision.[53]

The initiation ceremony at Konapandi was the most important event Tindale had yet recorded. The small size of his expedition meant that he was accepted more readily at such a significant ritual. The fact that he had been travelling with the group and sharing their everyday life made his presence more familiar. Thus he could observe the ceremony from a place within it - sitting in a circle of Aboriginal men. In this way Tindale descriptions are focused from the *Aboriginal* point of view. The aim of intensive fieldwork was to make possible this type of

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[50] MR p.205-251

[51] MR p.223

[52] see MR p.253-57

[53] MR p.259

experience. Tindale's involvement in the initiation ceremony attests to the fact that he had achieved this goal despite an as yet, relatively short period in the desert.

The day after the ritual most of the group of Aborigines left Konapandi heading for Arukalanda [Camp 5]. Tindale and Hackett travelled with them. During this time Tindale continued to follow the fate of the two new initiates, (wangar) noting that they camped at some distance from the main group.[54] Tindale tried to understand the impact of

> this sudden break in [a boy's] life which occurs at the initiation ceremony.[55]

During the next six weeks Tindale and Hackett travelled west alongside the Musgrave Ranges and across flat mallee country in the direction of the Mann Ranges. Reaching this destination they made their fourteenth camp at Poka or Trew Gap, for detailed work over a number of days. On 13 July they turned back and travelled south-east via Mount Crombie, returning to Konapandi and then onwards to Ernabella via their original route on the outward journey. During this period they accompanied a group of Aborigines which varied in size as some families dropped back, stayed behind or went off in different directions. Before the move back to Ernabella they left the main group with whom they had been since the first stop at Konapandi, but picked up other groups who returned with the team to Ernabella.

The whole expedition took in a total of 28 campsites, some of which were revisited on the return trip. During the entire journey Tindale was able to learn the location of 207 Aboriginal waterholes and totemic places. The two anthropologists covered a total distance of 355 miles.[56]

Moving with a group of Aborigines over long distances gave Tindale great opportunities to observe and share in their daily life. On the journey between Konapandi and Arukalanda, Tindale recorded a long narrative describing the activities of the people with whom he travelled.

> The native women, carrying 'mimburi on their heads, children on their backs & digging sticks walked in a loose group on our left, the children to

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[54]MR p.279

[55]NBT, "Initiation.." p.221

[56]NBT and CJH "Preliminary report.." p.103-4

> the right, most of the men were either behind or half a mile north walking in single file. Two little girls of c10 years were hand in hand..Several boys near puberty were armed with spears & womeras & were continually throwing at dead stumps & other objects ahead of them, they were cheeky in their behaviour to the adolescent girls, playfully threatening them with spears in the pubic region & playfully pretending to club them with digging sticks snatched from the girls. When older men approached they became very subdued.[57]

These descriptions not only tell of the actions of the Aborigines but also of their attitudes towards each other - friendship, playfulness, respect. Tindale watched as a group of young boys raced ahead and began playing a "hop and jump" game, attempting to jump and land in each other's footprints.

> These young boys were racing ahead as a rule as a loose play unit, girls of similar age played on the periphery, never being fully accepted.[58]

As the day progressed and the group came nearer to the Arukalanda rockholes,

> The men moved ahead, the women lagged behind digging out rabbits. The children began to play less eagerly & began to talk of water. Babies began to cry for drinks.[59]

Cinema film taken by Tindale of such activities while travelling or in camp made up a significant part of the documentary which resulted from this expedition - A Day in the Life of the Pitjandjara - which has since become a classic among anthropological motion pictures.[60] In the Mann Ranges Tindale was responsible for purchasing his own film stock so he was careful that the best use was made of the 2000 feet he took with him.[61] He wrote in his journal that nearly all the shots of everyday activities were

> unposed; some with telephoto so that my presence was not a disturbing factor in their behaviour.[62]

At one stage during the Mann Range trip a side journey to the south was taken by Tindale alone, to try and meet up with another group of Aborigines.

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[57] MR p.265

[58] MR p.267

[59] MR p.269

[60] Copies are held in the South Australian Museum and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

[61] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[62] MR p.419

Travelling between Pundi and Anpala he described the way in which the Aborigines moved in cold rainy weather.

> The rain set in steadily so after putting a mile or so behind us I made a brief halt & they built a big fire & we warmed ourselves. We then moved on for another half an hour and built another fire. Each individual carried a large fire formed of mulga bark; with this they kept slightly warm in the extremities even in the rain. Every time they passed a suitable dead mulga they replenished their stock of bark & as a precaution against the chance of losing their fire each of the older men carried a long. sheet of bark 3 inches wide & 5-6 feet long balanced upon his head as spare fuel.[63]

Tindale was able to utilize this method himself while travelling in the cold on a later expedition in the Warburton Ranges.[64] The recording of this kind of information was dependent upon moving with the Aborigines over long periods. A Board expedition limited to one location could never have witnessed practices such as this.

While journeying past important campsites or places of totemic significance, Tindale questioned his informants about the stories connected with the locations as he had since 1929. Often as a place was pointed out men would begin to sing songs associated with it. On a trip out from Umbukulu a hill called Okaralja was located. This was an ancestral site related to the Seven Sisters constellation. Tindale was also told of Itara (Mt. Harcus).

> The sight of Itara caused the "boys" to start singing snatches of ceremonies associated with the place.[65]

This kind of information also made it possible to map some areas with the names of ceremonial places and rockholes.[66] While collecting information about the movements of the kanjala or euro whilst making such a map, Tindale seized the opportunity to obtain an entire text of the story of the kanjala, including an English summary translation.[67] While in camp at Poka, Tindale brought out his sheets of brown paper and encouraged the men to draw.

> Obtained some interesting drawings; when the paper is first placed

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[63] MR p.575-7

[64] WR p.169

[65] MR p.341-3

[66] See MR p.93 for an example

[67] MR p.407 and text on p.248a

> before them with four coloured pencils black, red, yellow & white with free choice they experimented, drawing uncertain meandering lines. Some of the older men never got beyond this stage. Others soon realized the potentialities and began to draw ceremonial marks, such as are painted on the backs of young initiates (at the end of the period of seclusion with their guardian).[68]

On another occasion some men depicted drawings related to the Inma laka Wardaruka of the place Kamburarungga. The importance of this was realized that evening when a messenger came over to the two anthropologists and told them that a performance of this ceremony was about to begin. Tindale and Hackett were taken by the arms and rushed across to the ceremonial ground.[69] This event showed the deeper possibilities of the collection of drawings. Making ceremonial marks related to this inma had motivated the Aborigines to perform it. This method of using one Aboriginal response - art - to elicit information about another area of human behaviour - ceremonial life - was also used by Tindale in his work on material culture. On the Mann Range expedition, more than ever before, he not only collected examples of implements but also used these specimens as pointers towards further enquiry. Questioning on use and meaning of an artefact led to more insights on ceremonial life, daily life or geographical distribution of types. Beginning from the museum approach of collecting *material* objects, Tindale extended this to uncover the less tangible facts.

> Obtained yesterday 3 ceremonial objects of cylindrical form like tjuringa made of hard wood & marked with stone [unclear] cut designs. [Sketch of them here] Their name is 'kondala' and they come from the other side (W) of Peltadi and had been passed on. They are used at the Inma kondala 'laka tingari. During the ceremony they are struck together & give a ringing note. The song sung is
>
> 'kondala 'meil meil wanganda
> The kondala meil meil talks
> i.e. The kondala makes the sound 'meil! meil!
>
> 70

These were obtained in discussion with an old man concerning the impending circumcision rites at Konapandi. The description encompasses the usage of the kondala and gives information on the trade route of such an item. Tindale learned the name of the ceremony at which the sticks were used and gained a transcription and translation of a song from that ritual, connected with the kondala.

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[68] MR p.335

[69] MR p.439

[70] MR p.171

Awareness of the connections between material items and ceremonial life led Tindale to realize that discussions about dances that had been performed or in which he was interested, could result in the manufacture of items related to these rituals. At Ernabella after their return from the Mann Range journey,

> Several groups of men commenced to make wanigi to illustrate various ceremonies we have spoken about or seen demonstrated. During afternoon these were brought up to me. Obtained details of them and photographed several..[71]

A further development in Tindale's method was his interest in the reactions of the Aborigines when viewing and discussing sacred objects such as tjuringa.

> While we were standing running our fingers over the marks two old men..began to cry. "Sorry for people who been die". These are the actual ones made by the 'tjukur, not ones made for the ceremony..The crying lasted for 10 minutes. The younger men were quite unconcerned.[72]

On a number of occasions while gathering ceremonial information, Tindale found it necessary to work with an interpreter. Sometimes this could be advantageous. During the circumcision ceremonies Tindale's relationship to his interpreter provided them with a position within the ritual. The interpreter was nganandaruka to the initiates, so the two anthropologists were included in this group.[73] However, there were also drawbacks. When seeking information about these sociological divisions, the interpreter's position in the system meant that his comments were all in terms of his relationships.[74] The other points of view had to be sought elsewhere. One unforeseen disadvantage of nganandaruka interpreters was that Tindale could not follow up completely the fate of the new initiates. While camped at Arukalanda Tindale saw a group of red-ochred tjanamiltjan men returning from the north-west at about 9:30 in the morning. He learned that they had been out to visit and check the healing progress of the wangar who were camped about a mile away. Their two guardians had also visited the main camp. Tindale discovered

> The reason we have not been told about it was that both our translators as "marutju" and 'puruku of the boys, could not speak to them or go near them. We must watch for this next time.[75]

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[71] MR p.643 and 651-3

[72] MR p.355

[73] MR p.215-17

[74] MR p.330-1

[75] MR p.273

Tindale's constant presence within the group and the ease with which he related to Aboriginal people meant that this kind of unexpected problem could be overcome. The basic trust that he had established with all members of the group made it possible for him to glean information from many informants. He made a point of following up any areas of doubt or omission on successive expeditions (as will be shown later in this chapter). Tindale noted the general eagerness of the Aboriginal men and women to help. At Poka he wrote

> The women and children have absolutely no fear of us & talk to & approach us without any self consciousness..They are pleased at our interest in their children. Wati bulka! applied to a little kid of 6 - 10 months brings great smiles to their faces.[76]

Hackett also noted the desire of the people to make him and Norman a part of their activities.

> They delighted to have Tinny and me join in their songs and loud would be their laughter when we accepted the invitation to dance with the men.[77]

The style of the Mann Range expedition meant that Tindale and Hackett had more time to develop this kind of relationship.

Back at Ernabella, the situation changed as Tindale slotted back into the Board system of fieldwork.

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The Board anthropology team left Adelaide on 3 August 1933 and arrived at Ernabella in the afternoon of a clear warm Monday (7 August). They met Tindale and Hackett and immediately began to set up tents and unpack their gear in preparation for an early start in the morning.[78]

During their eleven day sojourn at Ernabella Tindale's days were primarily taken up with "routine work" which included registering the almost 200 Aborigines in camp, some of which had come in from the field with him and Hackett. He also

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[76]MR p. 429

[77]CJH, A Letter About an Unknown World or A trip into N.W. South Australia p.54-5 in AA122 Acc.No 50 SAM

[78]The 1933 personnel were Tindale, Hackett, Cleland, Johnston, Fry, Hale, Hicks, Gray and J. O'Connor(assistant to Hicks). Also accompanying the party were Lamshed (press) and Mr.McLean(From the Dept. of Protector of Aborigines).

assisted Hale in making plaster casts.[79] Some afternoons saw him collecting drawings or taking cinema film of camp activities, but, back into the routine of the Board system he had little time to pursue subjects of his own interest.[80] However he made the most of whatever opportunities did arise. On the second day after the Board team's arrival, the Aborigines staged a ceremony describing the travels of an ancestral being, the Pampul tjukur.[81] Not all the songs from the long series related to this legend were performed, but of the twenty- six that were sung, Tindale secured the words and meaning of nearly all and related them to the story as it was being enacted in dance.[82] During the ceremony Tindale sat forward with the interpreters while the rest of the Board party gathered in the background. Tindale and Hackett left the ground to film the preparations for the final stage and on their return the men grouped into tjanamiltjan and nganandaruka circles. Tindale wrote that

> They would only allow Hackett and I to stay with the (our) nganandaruka

while the rest of the party still remained somewhat apart.[83] The two men's longer association with the Aborigines assured a more willing acceptance for them than was offered the newly arrived Board members.

Following this inma Tindale sought out extra data and recorded on gramophone a "full" account of the Wati Pampul legend "for comparison with the various partial accounts we have written down".[84] This was one advantage of the Board team method. Tindale had at his disposal a number of versions of any event as each member kept some records, however sketchy, and these could be consulted to clarify details.

The last couple of days were taken up with preparation for the return to Adelaide. Tindale spent some time recording the Aboriginal names for plants

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[79] E (in MR) p.665 and 691-693

[80] E p.667-693

[81] E p.667

[82] E p.669-685

[83] E p.685-7

[84] E p. 693

which Cleland had been "assiduously collecting".[85]

The day of departure was cold and dull. The party battled towards Oodnadatta through rain and mud in an overloaded vehicle.[86] Supplies were running very low and the last night's meal rated a diary entry for its meagreness.

> Monday night's meal was our hardest one, taken in the shelter of a low sheet spread over the front of the vehicle. Food was short except for butter & poor Hugo Gray was reprimanded by our food director T.Harvey Johnston, who refused to break into the last pack since he hoped to get a refund at Oodnadatta. Cheeseparing at the end of an otherwise grand trip but of course we were all desperately tired & Hugo worst of all because of his slight build & the heavy work he had been sharing with us.[87]

On Tuesday evening the group caught the Alice Springs express, arriving in Adelaide on Thursday 24 August. Tindale was to be met at the station by his wife Dorothy and daughter Beryl. Dorothy walked straight past him as she did not recognize the red-faced man with a long bedraggled and multi-coloured beard.[88] Beryl, afraid, hid behind her mother, knowing that this was not her father. Norman however won back his daughter's affection when he produced from his pocket a whimpering bundle of reddish brown fur - a tiny dingo puppy with a white stripe down its forehead and a small white-tipped tail.[89] He told Beryl that the Aborigines who had found and saved the pup for him near Konapandi, had named him 'Kamutu, meaning "faithful one".[90]

It was not long before Dorothy was happy as well. Norman's beard was "off by nightfall"![91]

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On his return to Adelaide Tindale resumed his normal role at the Museum. In

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[85] E p.737

[86] E p.739

[87] E p.741

[88] ibid

[89] BRG Reminiscence and MR p.619

[90] MR p.619

[91] E p.741

March 1933, before the Mann Range trip, he had graduated with a Bachelor of Science Degree from the University of Adelaide. Having completed Geology 3, (Pleistocene Stratigraphy) during the previous year, he had passed his final exams in November 1932.[92] Therefore by 1933 all his time was taken up with museum work and short trips out of Adelaide, such as those to the South-east with Milerum. Much of his museum work involved arranging and cataloguing specimens he had collected on expeditions. At least two and usually three evenings a week were spent in writing up rough field notes and preparing papers for publication.[93]

During 1933-4 Tindale produced two papers on the Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay as well as a preliminary report on the Mann Range trip and a number of short articles for The Advertiser. In addition he was planning and writing a paper on initiation among the Pitjandjara people. Some descriptions of the initiation rites in this article were transferred almost directly from Tindale's journal.[94] During this period Tindale also completed his first full paper detailing the text of a legend. It was a story from the Jaralde [Jarildekald] tribe of Lake Alexandrina and the article included notes on the phonetic system in which it was transcribed.[95]

Other evenings Tindale spent in working on 11 reels of film exposed during the Mann Range and Ernabella expeditions.[96] Only a month after their return from Ernabella, Tindale and Hackett were reporting some of the results of their trip to the Anthropological Society, outlining the route of their journey and showing photographs.[97] The Tindales spent Christmas of 1933 at Taratap in the South-east, the property of Walter Tapfield, Tindale's uncle. Two weeks "vacation" there included visits to Aboriginal campsites in the area.[98]

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[92]NBT Summary

[93]NBT to Museum Director 2 April 1935 in 1/2/1 NBTP, SAM

[94]MR p.219-22 and "Initiation.." p.213-4 is an example

[95]NBT, "Aborigines of the Princess Charlotte Bay, North Queensland" Part 1, 5:1 1933 p.64-116 and Part 2, 5:2 1934 p.117-172 in RSAM; "Preliminary report.." 1933 "Vanishing Tribes of the Arunta Desert" and "Initiation Ceremonies" for The Advertiser September 17 and December 29, 1934 respectively; "Initiation.." 1934; "Legend of the Waijungari, Jaralde tribe, Lake Alexandrina, South Australia, and the phonetic system employed in its transcription" in RSAM 5:3 1935 p.261-274

[96]NBT to Museum Director 2 April 1935 1/2/1 NBTP,SAM

[97]Minutes ASSA 25 September 1933, SRG 161 MLSA

[98]SE 1 p.148-193

Early in 1934 Tindale reported to the Society on his work in the South-east with Milerum, making particular mention of the trip along the Coorong with him and Fry. He exhibited maps showing the positions and Aboriginal names of many places located by Milerum.[99]

Meanwhile the Board planned its August expedition. This year there was concern that it would have to operate on an even smaller proportion of Rockefeller funding. In February the Board wrote to the Honorary Secretary of the Australian National Research Council. The letter stated that the Board approved of cost-cutting measures and was doing all in its power to limit expenditure.

> During its expeditions it [the Board] has made every effort to save money and reduce the cost. This had been absolutely necessary as in spite of the utmost economy and assistance from other sources besides the Rockefeller Foundation, the money has been barely sufficient to pay the actual expenses.[100]

Tindale has described how on all Board expeditions it had been necessary for each member to put something towards the venture. Fortunately Tindale and Hale were seldom required to contribute money, being on a much lower salary than the University Professors and other medical staff.[101] So to a large extent the expeditions were self-supporting. As the Board commented in its letter, it was "fortunate" to be closely associated with the Museum as

> some of their camp equipment & gear has been utilized thus obviating the necessity of purchase with ANRC money.[102]

Occasionally small grants would come from other sources. Tindale recalls that in the 1930s Cleland had come by a grant from the Kinsey Institute in the United States. It was with great embarrassment that he

> very gingerly asked everyone to make all possible notes they could about sex life

in order to make a report to the Kinsey people.[103]

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[99]Minutes ASSA 19 February 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

[100]Board to Hon. Sec. ANRC, Professor A.J. Gibson 9 February 1934 in 1/2/1 NBTP SAM

[101]KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[102]Letter cited

[103]KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

The main reason for the lack of funding was the continuing rivalry between Sydney and Adelaide. In May 1934 a meeting was held in the Anthropological Society to discuss a suggestion by the Sydney Department of Anthropology to amalgamate the anthropological societies of South Australia, New South Wales and Victoria into one Australian Anthropological Association. The members of the Adelaide group generally disagreed with the idea. Cleland saw it as a "backward step in prestige" for the South Australians.[104] The group agreed with the sentiments expressed by Keith Kennedy, Past President of the Anthropological Society of N.S.W. in a letter sent to Tindale,

> Some of us feel that it is a move on the part of the Anth. Dept. of S.U. [Sydney University] to gain control of the three societies and eventually swallow them up in the new Association, and date the true study of Anthropology as commencing in the year 1935 with Dr. Elkin as its high panjandrum.[105]

Rivalry with the Sydney University department was felt strongly, not only by the South Australians but also by other "amateur" anthropologists in its own state.

Three months after this meeting Tindale was again in the field on the Board's meagrely funded August expedition - this year to Pandi Pandi station on the Diamantina River near Birdsville.[106]

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On a clear calm Saturday afternoon in August Tindale sat on the Quorn to Marree train reading with interest, Our Sandhill Country by Miss A.M. Duncan-Kemp, which offered him a taste of the country for which he was bound.[107] The next few days were filled with hard work, heat and dust as the team battled to push the heavily loaded cars over slippery red sandhills and across the Lake Eyre country which a party of stockmen cursed as "only fit for camels and Afghans".[108]

A rough day's journey across bare "badlands" country left one car victim to the sandhills and hours were spent reloading the gear onto a lorry. This delayed their arrival at Pandi Pandi and forced them to spend a night on the flats at Goyder's Lagoon

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[104]Minutes ASSA 1 May 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

[105]Keith Kennedy ASNSW to NBT as Secretary of ASSA 28 March 1935, 1/2/1 NBTP SAM

[106]Minutes ASSA 23 July 1934

[107]D p.7

[108]D p.9-11

> with a very dry dead horse decorating one end of our camp and a large breakwind to keep off the piercing NW wind.[109]

Wakening to the smell of steak grilled on red hot coals, the party got moving by 8:15 am and finally arrived at Pandi Pandi at 3 pm in the middle of a howling duststorm.[110]

> We unloaded & started to erect big tent..Soon the sky became so overcast that we could hardly see for red dust & we almost lost the tent.[111]

By evening every man sported a layer of "pale greenish yellow" dust "giving..a strange unnatural appearance".[112]

This year the Board team[113] was assisted by station owners, Mr L. Reese of Miranda and Minnie Downs, (East of Pandi Pandi) and Mr. Leo Crabb of Pandi Pandi itself. These men called together a large group of Aborigines, including many stockmen who had been away mustering.[114]

Tindale's work at Pandi Pandi contrasts sharply with his Mann Range experience. Little time was available away from "routine" genealogical work, except for some hours of gramophone recording in the evenings, (for which he was entirely responsible) and general observations and cinema recording during short breaks in the day's work.[115] By this, his seventh Board expedition, (excluding Mann Ranges), Tindale had established a routine of 104 questions used as a basis for gaining genealogical data from each informant.[116] He worked quickly, questioning

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[109] D p.29

[110] D p.29 and 35

[111] D p.35

[112] D p.37

[113] 1934 Personnel were Tindale, Campbell, Cleland Johnston, Fry, Leslie Wilkie, (Artist and Director of the S.A. Art Gallery), Frank Fenner, (medical student at Adelaide University) and T. Vogelsang, (of the Museum, who spoke Dieri well)

[114] D p.43

[115] D p.37-43

[116] Manuscript Report 19 October 1934 in D p.201

10 to 15 people each day.[117] Yet in the first few days he had little chance to talk with these people except on a broad basis while registering them. This situation was altered, to Tindale's great satisfaction, when the cars which were expected to come and pick them up on the nineteenth did not arrive until the afternoon of the twenty-second.[118] Tindale wrote positively about this delay,

> personally I felt glad that there was an opportunity at last to get away from the routine of filling data cards which [is] so important for the anthropometric work and so interesting as a concrete ground for other enquiries yet leaves so many tracks and side-trails untouched.[119]

Tindale's experience on the Mann Range expedition - his freedom of movement and choice of what information to pursue - now made him feel hindered by the Board method of fieldwork. He did not doubt its value, but was extremely happy to gain three and a half days to

> delve into the recesses of the minds of the few remaining old men of the tribe, finding out details of tribal wanderings, legends and songs.[120]

On the night of 18 August, the anthropologists were invited to witness the ceremony of the Atjilpanta of Murumburu which they photographed on supersensitive movie and still film with the aid of flashlights.[121] The following day Tindale, free from routine work, was able to follow up some information about this dance. A bullroarer that had been used in the ceremony had broken from its cord and become lost in the sand. Tindale wrote

> I watched several men searching for it early in the morning and in fact found it myself. The womenfolk were kept away Winjuli's wife was close bye [sic] & his endeavours to find the specimen, keep his wife away & yet appear not to be doing anything of the sort, were most interesting to watch. Suddenly I noticed it on the ground and covered it with my foot. Winjuli expressed concern at its disappearance & was relieved when I disclosed its whereabouts. He offered the specimen to me and I obtained it for the Museum collection.[122]

Tindale's luck in finding the bullroarer and his tact in keeping it hidden from the

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[117] D p. 37, 41 and 43

[118] D p.55 and 165

[119] D p.121-3

[120] The Advertiser 17 September 1934

[121] D p.45

[122] D p. 51

women earned him the specimen and in discussion with Winjuli he learned much of its history and meaning.

The next two days Tindale spent mostly in the company of an Aranda man, 70 year old Ngaltjagintata. He first spoke to him about his country and his family and through this discussion learned details about Aranda and Wonkanguru relationship terms, marriage rules and totemic affiliations.[123] Following up the main interest of the Mann Range trip, Tindale obtained from Ngaltjagintata, information about a chain of waterholes which would be utilized if travelling between Pandi Pandi on the Diamantina to the "watered country" on the other side of the Arunta or Simpson Desert.[124] The old man was able to name and locate all the places and give an idea of how long it would take the Aborigines to travel between them and the time they would spend at each stop. With the old man's help Tindale was able to plot about 50 waterholes in this area.[125]

Tindale's work with Ngaltjagintata extended into other areas. He recorded the old man's relationship with every person in the Board's list.[126] Discussion with him about the ceremony performed on the Saturday evening led into information on burial practices.[127] Finally Tindale recorded the old man's life story. This autobiography was published verbatim in its entirety in The Advertiser.[128] Ngaltjagintata had recalled for Tindale his first vision of whiteman at the age of ten.

> The whitemen were looking at the country for the first time. We had never heard of whitemen before that. We ran away, frightened, back to the 'mikari country [soak country of the Simpson Desert]. Never stopped to see what the strange beings would do.[129]

The second time he saw whites was at Dalhousie Springs just after his initiation. This time the Aborigines did not retreat, but camped close by and Ngaltjagintata

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[123] D p.63

[124] D p.65-7

[125] Manuscript Report 19 October 1934 in D p.201

[126] D p.75

[127] D p.77-83

[128] 17 September 1934

[129] D p.103

had his first taste of bullock meat and later saw camels.[130] Tindale recorded the events of the old man's life, in the way they were told to him, up until Ngaltjagintata met Mr. Reese in 1905 and attached himself to his station.[131]

Tindale followed up this discussion of historical contact with whitemen at Mirra Mitta, on the return journey, when he recorded the experiences of an old Wadikali man, Palpilina[132] This is a good example of Tindale's interest in the effects of contact on Aboriginal people. An awareness of historical change set him apart from those (social) anthropologists who worked within an ahistorical, sociological framework.

On the final morning before the arrival of the cars Tindale found the time to write descriptively, giving one of the few images of camp life on a Board expedition.

> Breakfast bell sounded on a crowbar suspended from a tree and struck by a geological hammer brought all but a sluggard or so promptly to the table. The sound of the gong brought H.K.F. [Fry] out of his bunk to proceed thoroughly with his washing and shaving while others dined. Our first course was invariably grapenuts & milk, the milk hot from the fire and tin. Then followed juicy steaks cut from the bullock which Reese specially killed for us & which had been placed on the special rack which formed the focus of our camp..Having attended to our kit we were ready for the day's work.[133]

On this last day Tindale sat down contentedly with Ngaltjagintata, not thinking at all of the late cars but making the most of the time he had left with this old man.[134] He opened discussion with the subject of pitjuri or native tobacco, as on the previous day he had recorded a series of songs related to the plant and filmed its preparation into a chewing "quid". He had discussed the subject with a Ngameni[135] tribesman, Tempili, who had sung the pitjuri songs and had gained some idea of the route by which men from Pandi Pandi would journey to the

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[130] D p.105-7

[131] D p.107-113

[132] D p.179-81

[133] D p.119-21

[134] D p.123

[135] also Ngamini (L. Hercus)

pitjuri country.[136] He extended his knowledge by talking with Ngaltjagintata about the differences between pitjuri, (of the Duboisia hopwoodi plant) and ingulba (from the Nicotiana plant). He transcribed the man's statements exactly, except for translating them from pidjin English.[137]

In the three days during which Tindale was released from routine work he recorded a vast amount of information, filling more than sixty pages of his journal.[138] The cars finally arrived at 1 pm on 22 August and the group had loaded them up within the hour and left on another tiring push across the sandhills.[139] The rough countryside took its toll on the vehicles. The entire chassis of the lorry broke loose and had to be held together with wire and weighted down with gumtree wood. Half the load of packages had to be left behind in the desert to be rescued by the next mail truck.[140]

Reaching Marree at 8 pm Tindale spent the night at the hotel before leaving on the train to Adelaide at 4:45 am on 27 August, arriving late the following day.[141]

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On 27 September 1934 Tindale wrote to the Director of the Museum asking permission to make a two week trip to Ooldea, South Australia, where about 250 Aborigines had gathered in anticipation of the visit of the Duke of Gloucester, who was to stop there for "a glimpse of real Aboriginal life".[142] He suggested that

> As the presence of such a number of natives in the western part of our state is unexpected it seems advisable to make at least a preliminary survey of them to find out where they come from, their boundaries, contacts and the prospects of their returning to their own country. It is a useful opportunity to make contact with natives whose habitat is evidently many miles out in the desert region north and north-west of

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[136] D p.93

[137] D p.123-5

[138] D p.55-165 (generally written on one side of page only)

[139] D p.165

[140] D p.165

[141] D p.221-3

[142] NBT to Director SAM, 27 September 1934 in 1/2/1 NBTP SAM

Ooldea.[143]

Tindale, perhaps a little frustrated by the return to routine Board work after the freedom of his Mann Range research, was quick to seize the opportunity for another small self-led expedition. Adding up the expenses of railfare, food and photographic equipment, he requested just over twenty one pounds for the trip.[144] The request was approved and Tindale, accompanied by Hackett, left Adelaide on the East-West Express at 10:15 am on Friday 2 November. Hackett, having established his interest in the disease yaws and the incidence of boomerang legs amongst the Aborigines, was eager to continue his research in the field.[145] However, just out of Peterborough the rains began. Soon the

> railway line was covered with a boiling turret of red earthy water..with great ice cakes floating merrily down. The train was brought to a standstill.[146]

The two anthropologists joined a large number of passengers who had decided to walk the two miles to Eurelia station rather than wait hours until the train could move. Walking in complete darkness just before reaching the station Hackett tripped and

> pitched headlong into an inspection pit, some 3 ft. deep & lined with concrete. He lay stunned for a minute and then rose and said he was alright.[147]

During their evening meal however, he showed signs of memory loss and began to feel ill. After consultation with a doctor it was decided he could go on to Port Augusta, but as there was no improvement, Tindale left him there and continued on to Ooldea alone.[148] He arrived at the mission camp at 8 o'clock on Saturday 3 November, after a four mile walk from the station. There he was met by three of Ooldea's United Aboriginal Mission workers, including Miss A. Lock with whom he had corresponded about the Aborigines present in the area.[149]

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[143] ibid

[144] ibid

[145] O p.3

[146] O p.5

[147] ibid

[148] O p.5-7

[149] O p.11

The first morning at Ooldea was spent establishing the routine of the Aborigines at the mission. As it was Sunday, over 150 men, women and children attended a service before breakfast. In the late morning and afternoon Tindale made himself known to the old men and sat talking with the "chief man" of the group, Old Billy Painun'ja.[150] Alone and free to pursue his own interests Tindale directed conversation into tribal areas. He continued questioning other men on this subject during the following day.[151]

While he was talking Tindale noticed two old men drawing tracks on the ground and discussing the movements of a particular ancestral being. He went across to join them and was able to record the story of Njiru - the wanderings of Wati tjitji kotjo tjokotjoko - and to make maps of his travels locating on them the places he visited.[152] One of the men, Kakana, made a drawing of the tracks of Njiru on the ground, which Tindale copied.[153]

The highlight of the Ooldea trip was the performance of ceremonies related to the return to the camp of two recently initiated boys, who had spent two months moving in secret about the bush.[154] Tindale was particularly interested in this having recently witnessed an initiation ceremony in the Mann Ranges and followed the beginning of the travels of the two Pitjandjara initiates. He was very fortunate that the timing of his Ooldea trip fell when two *other* boys were just about to come in from their own secret travelling.

In the late afternoon of the second day Tindale was invited to a place about a mile south of the Ooldea soak where the group of Aborigines was camped. After darkness fell he watched the performance of the Inma lak:a kalaia (emu) of Waratji - a soak in the sandhill country north of Ooldea.[155] During the ceremony Tindale sat with his informant and "mentor" as he called him, Milina,[156] who fortunately stood in the relationship of tjanamiltjan to one of the initiates and

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[150] ibid

[151] O p.15- 19

[152] O p.22-4 and 26

[153] O p.24

[154] O p.27

[155] O p.27-9

[156] O p.43

nganandaruka to the other.[157] This circumvented the problem of exclusive points of view encountered during the Mann Range trip. Using the methods of recording utilized on that expedition, Tindale described the performance. Afterwards he rested beside the camp fire of Milina for two hours until about 7:30 pm, when everyone moved back to the ceremonial area.[158] Part way through the next stage, when a screen of bushes was erected behind which the two initiates were hidden, Tindale's informant provided him with inside information on how the boys would be feeling. Milina told of his experience, saying

> I was like that once, not frightened, feel good inside, a new man.[159]

After 9 pm, when the constellation of Orion rose in the sky, a number of men who had been discussing the story of Njiru with Tindale pointed out that the stars accompanying Orion were called Njiru tjena - the footsteps of Njiru.[160] In this way Tindale followed up his interest in this legend.

Tindale continued to describe the dances, some of which he recognized as having been filmed during ceremonies at Konapandi and Ernabella the previous year.[161] As the ceremony continued into the night Tindale noted that

> The intensity of the singing and the group interest in the ritual seemed to become intensified & the presence of myself entirely forgotten except by my informant and his mate who sat beside me and made comments.[162]

Later Tindale joined the group of men as they

> all rose together and forming a compact body with the boys in their centre walked forward and around the women..I accompanied them..by invitation walking close to one of the novitiates and singing..with them.[163]

Tindale struggled painfully over rough timber-strewn ground in the dark for what seemed like half a mile. At the new site the boys were seated, each by a blazing

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[157] O p.29

[158] O p.37

[159] O p.43

[160] O p.51-3

[161] O p.52

[162] O p.55

[163] O p.65

fire, and Tindale was able to sketch and describe their appearance. From his place in the nganandaruka circle around one of the boys, Tindale was only able to follow the proceedings as they related to this young man as the other sat about twenty yards distant.[164] He ascertained a completely new attitude towards the boy, who became

> the centre of interest, the men now appeared to wish to encourage & to patronise him, he was given tobacco.

Tindale recorded the boy's reaction, following up his interest in the effects of the crisis of initiation.

> The boy sat in silence. No sound passed his lips, at first he kept his head down, as if from recent habit, but gradually, shyly, he lifted it & glanced around as if unable to understand this new attitude towards himself.[165]

The Ooldea journal is filled with such subjective descriptions of Aboriginal feelings. On previous Board expeditions, where a large group of white men were obvious observers of a ceremony, Tindale's records are more factual. Here, completely alone with the Aborigines and, as in the Mann Ranges, a participant in an extremely important and intensely emotive ritual, he was drawn into the mood of the event and his records reflect this. His description of the singing of the old men at the ceremony shows this empathy.

> The excitement caused by the singing seemed to be most noticeable in the older men who by their appearance & behaviour seemed to be re-living the thrill of their own initiation & its culmination.[166]

Through later discussion after the ceremony had ended, Tindale discovered the fate of the two initiates who would later have to undergo another ritual, that of subincision, before they became true wati or men.[167] The ceremonies had ended at 7 am and Tindale only slept for a few hours before spending the day collecting information for a summary of the various stages of the initiation rites through which a boy must pass,[168] and gathering related drawings. This continued over

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[164] O p.68-71

[165] O p.71

[166] O p.73

[167] O p.95

[168] O p.95-7

several days.[169] Tindale found that the men

> love to sit about and make these drawings and I never stop them.[170]

Some, such as Milina, drew ethnological objects - spearthrowers, boomerangs - others ceremonial wanigi or the tracks of ancestral beings. Some of the drawings elicited

> no stories but from others there was a rich garnering of notes.[171]

However at the end of a long day of gathering examples of art, he lamented that

> many of the places mentioned cannot be localized even approximately & there is the difficulty that too many drawings were offered & time could not be found to talk each one out.

Tindale found that he had to be selective. He would therefore

> gather detailed notes of several relating to ancestral beings about which I have been getting notes all along & just the names of the others to act as clues for future work.[172]

For example, he continued to gather data and drawings related to the Njiru legend including sketches of the ancestral beings - Wati Julana, (son of Njiru) and the wati kutjara, (sons of Julana - literally "two men".)[173] In this way he expanded his records into a more complete picture rather than gathering numerous scattered and unrelated facts. Many of the drawings were copied into his journal.

Drawings not only augmented knowledge on ceremonial life but also on place names and the Aborigines' own map of their country. As he heard the names of different places related to legends, he questioned informants as to their whereabouts using sites he had already located as points of reference.[174]

The large proportion of notes on ceremonial life and legends in this journal attests to Tindale's preoccupation with these subjects on the Ooldea expedition.

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[169] 7-13 November

[170] O p.109

[171] O p.109-11

[172] O p.111

[173] O p.117 and 163

[174] O p.117-19

These concerns were in part related to the timing of the trip which coincided with the return of the two initiates. The ceremony at the beginning of the trip set the focus of Tindale's research. The enthusiasm of the Aborigines for drawing consolidated this.

Near the end of the expedition Tindale became involved in assisting Hackett (who had arrived on the 7th) immunize children against yaws and take blood samples for testing in Adelaide.[175] While doing this Tindale also collected sentences for the beginnings of a study of Pitjandjara grammar. He continued this pursuit while waiting for the train on the day of departure, (15 November).[176] He boarded the train with Hackett at 1 pm, journeying home via Port Augusta and Quorn. Tindale arrived in Adelaide the following day, after his second expedition in the space of four months.

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Four days after the Christmas of 1934, The Advertiser published Tindale's account of his Ooldea experience, titling it "Strange Rites at Dead of Night".[177] In the New Year, Norman, Dorothy and Beryl travelled by train to Sydney for a holiday with Norman's parents. A few weeks were spent relaxing, sailing a dinghy on the Georges River, on which James Tindale's house was situated. The vacation ended with a visit to Melbourne where Norman attended a science congress.[178]

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Tuesday 6 August 1935 found Tindale shovelling furiously in the sandy floor of Elder Creek in the Warburton Ranges, as he attempted to dig out a bogged expedition lorry.[179] The small Board party was still a few miles from its proposed camp at Warupuju - an Aboriginal spring located at the junction of Elder and Warburton Creeks. After freeing the vehicle they reached their destination and spent the rest of the day and evening setting up camp on the western bank of the

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[175] O p.193

[176] O p.193 and 201

[177] 29 December 1934

[178] NBT Summary

[179] WR p.42 - the journal used is a typescript, so the pagination is different from the original

creek, opposite the main Aboriginal waterhole.[180]

The camp at Warupuju was recorded as Camp 6 because the party - Tindale, Hackett, Stocker and Charles Pearcy Mountford[181] - had already travelled some 360 miles in six days on the outward journey from Laverton.[182] At Laverton Hackett had engaged a clerk, E. Gutteridge, to help with the anthropometric recording, and the party had been joined by two Aboriginal interpreters, Pi:tawara and Nijau, (Jack).[183]

Tindale had begun work the moment they left Laverton, talking with Pi:tawara. On the day before reaching Warupuju the team had passed through a place known as Kanba - the start of the Warburton Range country and the "water" or birthplace of Pi:tawara. He recalled travelling around this area with his father when he was a young boy, and Tindale was able to note that

> family hunting territory..is clearly marked off into parna (earth or country) separated by boundaries.[184]

The interpreter also told Tindale that the site was a wati kutjara totem place and he told the story of the movements of the ancestral being in this country. Pi:tawara spoke excitedly of the place he had not seen since he was a boy. He commented brightly to Tindale, who was viewing the "very ordinary grass covered laterite plateau" from the back of the lorry,

> My country is nice looking isn't it.[185]

Inspired by passing through his country he continued to talk with Tindale throughout the journey about his family - their tribal, totemic and sociological relationships. He also told of the most dependable foods and water supplies in the

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[180] WR p.42-3

[181] Mountford was Senior Mechanic with the G.P.O. He had become involved with the Board through membership of a Commonwealth Board of Enquiry (of which Cleland was Chairman) into mistreatment of Aborigines by Police in the Northern Territory. The Warburton Range expedition was his first with the Board. He was also a member of the Anthropological Society. See Max Lamshed, Monty - The Biography of C.P. Mountford (Rigby, Adelaide, 1972) for more detail

[182] NBT, "General report on the anthropological expedition to the Warburton Range, Western Australia July-September 1935" in Oceania 6:4 1936 p.481

[183] WR p.12-13

[184] WR p.35

[185] WR p.36

Kanba area, the weapons used and the ceremonies performed by its people.[186] Therefore, by the time he was camped at Warupuju, Tindale had already been introduced to an Aboriginal view of this country and had established a good relationship with Pi:tawara.

The work at Warupuju began systematically with Tindale registering the Aborigines present. However by the third day Tindale had moved beyond this and was deeply involved in collecting details on legends.[187] The absence of the University part of the Board team meant that this expedition was longer than previous August trips as no-one had to be back for the start of term. With Tindale as leader the aims of the expedition were not focused on physical anthropology. That task became almost entirely Hackett's department. Stocker took responsibility for cinematography and Tindale had Mountford to assist him with ethnological work. The two men's respective roles however were clearly marked out by Tindale. Mountford had been engaged principally to collect Aboriginal drawings for the Museum but it was understood that he

> will so arrange it that his writings will not clash with my work on the drawings in their relation to mythology, which I am using for a special purpose.

This he continued was

> part of the technique developed by myself for the learning [of] details of the names and movements of totemic ancestors.[188]

Tindale had refined this method over a number of years. While Mountford was expected to gather drawings for their inherent value as representations of Aboriginal art, Tindale *used* them as a key to mythology and the Aboriginal view of the world. Therefore as soon as Mountford began to supervise the collection of art, Tindale helped transcribe Aboriginal words. At the same time he was able to follow up his own work on legends. His principal informants in this were Pi:tawara and an old man, Katabulka, who claimed Warupuju as his "water".[189] It is not surprising that the drawings made by Pi:tawara and his comments related

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[186] WR p.35-39

[187] WR p.45-50

[188] WR p.2

[189] "General report.." p.44 and 46

to the wati kutjara who formed the country around Kanba.[190] Tindale had begun making notes about the wati kutjara at Ooldea and at Warupuju he was able to record more legends and songs connected to these ancestors and to trace their movements. Collection of information on this subject lasted more than five consecutive days.

Tindale extended his interest outwards from the wati kutjara legend by asking about other ancestors mentioned in the story or by making enquiries about other details raised during discussion of this myth. For example, Pi:tawara commented on totem or inma boards made by the wati kutjara so Tindale secured a sketch of them and sought information about how they were made and used.[191] Within five days of his first discussion about this man's drawings, Tindale was able to record a "long line of camps of the wati kutjara men" complete with copies of the Aboriginal drawings which represented this journey.[192]

On this expedition the mapping of the journeys of ancestors and the physical location of the places mentioned in such legends was an area of Tindale's particular interest. Also related to this was his continuing attempt to map totemic sites and waterholes used by the Aborigines.[193] This technique extended from his work in the Mann Ranges and his methods for collecting such material had evolved over two years.

Furthering his records on ceremonial life Tindale recorded songs central to the legends he was discussing. The Aborigines were eager to assist in this and Tindale wrote

> we are inundated with requests to be allowed to sing songs[194]

Tindale considers the Warburton Range expedition to be a "culmination", not only of the series of Board expeditions run yearly since 1928, but also in terms of what he was able to record. This expedition was the longest Board trip, (excluding the somewhat different Mann Range endeavour) and the group travelled

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[190] WR p.45-50

[191] WR p.52-55

[192] WR p.73-77

[193] The Advertiser 24 July 1935

[194] WR p.68

further into the desert than ever before. Finally it was a consummation because Tindale was able to see, in broad daylight, not only another complete circumcision ritual, but also a subincision ceremony.[195] The fact that these were performed in daylight meant that, unlike at Konapandi, both events could be filmed. The films of these ceremonies, as well as Tindale's previous motion picture record of the daily life of the Pitjandjara, were essential factors in Tindale's future in anthropology. Showing them overseas during his Carnegie Fellowship so impressed anthropologist, Earnest H. Hooton at Harvard University that he asked Tindale to lead a joint expedition run by the Harvard and Adelaide Universities - an event that led to a new phase in Tindale's anthropological career.[196]

Half way through their stay at Warupuju Tindale and the other anthropologists in "secret discussion" with the old men had asked whether a circumcision ceremony was pending. They learned that although this was not possible because of the absence of certain vital participants there could be a subincision. It was discovered that the team's interpreter, Nijau was due to be subincised and, if he submitted to the operation, it would proceed immediately.[197] Nijau had been circumcised about a year before but had then become involved in town life at Laverton and had avoided the further initiation operation, mainly through fear. However as he was aware of the importance of the ritual and of the attitude of his kin if he did not undergo it, he decided to submit.[198]

By noon that same day (18 August) the ritual, also called Minu, had begun. Tindale noted that the ceremonial parade preceding it resembled the one he had seen at Konapandi and the shouted words of the men sounded the same. At the ceremonial ground Tindale began to describe what he saw and to write down the songs.[199] As Stocker was responsible for filming, Tindale and the others were free to make their own observations. All helped to reload Stocker's cameras to ensure a complete and uninterrupted record. During the rest of the time Hackett was able to make medical notes, Mountford took still photographs and Tindale eagerly made detailed notes in a "rough journal" from which he later wrote up his full

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[195] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[196] KRW-JBB Interview 23 February 1987

[197] WR p.91

[198] unpublished article in File "Circumcision and subincision among the Ngadadjara of the Warburton Range, Western Australia" in 1/5/2 NBTP SAM

[199] WR p.92-96

journal account that night.[200] Having previously registered the men involved he was able to refer to them by name and subclass as well as their registration number.[201]

In his description of the subincision operation Tindale noted the class relationships between the initiate and the men who formed the subincision table, as well as with those who performed the operation. He described the incision - who performed it, the time taken and the reaction of Nijau who "gave no sign of pain although it must have been considerable".[202] Tindale was surprised to find that another two boys were to be subincised. This time different men formed the table, and the boys were less subdued. Tindale's account evokes the tension of the event. The second boy

> ..broke down and howled loudly..His cries were muzzled by his jingani who held their hands over his mouth. He foamed at the mouth in agony. The men who sat in the circle laughed heartily at the howls of the lad. The third boy lay quietly on the ground with his eyes shut, throughout the noise of the second operation. One man held his hand over one ear of the boy.

Finally the third boy was subjected to the operation and Tindale noted that

> he took the punishment rather well with no more than a few groans and cries.[203]

While the hair of the new initiates (now called mankajara) was bound up , the men prepared for the conclusion of the ritual, which consisted of a "forwards jumping dance" which Tindale found to be similar to one he had filmed in 1933.[204]

That night he noted that he was

> very tired after a most strenuous and exciting day. It was quite a strain recording the details of what is surely one of the most amazing spectacles which one could see upon this earth. We are fortunate to have seen it under the most advantageous conditions one could wish for: the light was perfect for detailed photography and with luck we have a

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[200] WR p.99-100

[201] for example WR p.94

[202] WR p.96

[203] WR p.97

[204] WR p.98-99

complete record.[205]

Tindale sought material on the subincision ceremony during the next day, securing songs and a list of the names for the life stages of men and women, including the titles given to boys in each stage of the initiation process.[206] He also took an interest in the recovery of the two mankajara who were camped some distance away. Although they were still in pain, they were "reasonably happy because of their new status".[207] Less than a week later Tindale was able to watch and have filmed the hoped for circumcision ceremony. However a day before this took place there were other unexpected events to be recorded. On 22 August there was a flurry of excitement as a group of ngatari or "strange people" were seen to be approaching the camp from the north-west. Katabulka walked across to talk with them, returning about fifteen minutes later. The newcomers looked as if they were moving away. Suddenly

> at a signal all the men in camp began to race through the scrub towards the newcomers..it seemed that a fight was imminent.[208]

Tindale and the others grabbed their cameras and moved to the cleared area where it was obvious something was about to happen. Stocker began to film as

> The principal newcomer a tall middle-aged man with a bandicoot-tailtip tied in his beard was parading up and down shouting threat and challenge.[209]

It was discovered that this man had "stolen" a woman promised to a man in the Warupuju camp. For this he had been speared in the leg. He now stalked back and forwards threatening to take revenge. Tindale, caught up in the tension of the event, saw that

> At first his challenge was taken seriously and it seemed that any moment spears would fly.[210]

He was perhaps reminded of the fight with which he and Dyer had become

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[205] WR p.101

[206] WR p.102-103

[207] WR p.107

[208] WR p.118

[209] ibid

[210] ibid

involved on Groote Eylandt. However this time he did *not* intervene. Now, as an anthropologist, it was his task to record Aboriginal life and this was an opportunity to record a unique event. Gradually the excitement died down as it was realized the man was not going to carry out his threat. Many men from the Warupuju camp left. Some of the newcomers sat down and Tindale joined them, talking with them

> until finally the pacing fighter also sat down, drawn perhaps by curiosity at my lone presence in the new camp, for all the rest of the people, members of our party and natives had returned to camp.[211]

Tindale discussed with them their class names and tribal areas, introducing himself to them in Aboriginal fashion. Finally he too returned to the camp. After tea he joined the old men who went over to the newcomers camp to exchange their class names, relationships and "homewaters", as Tindale had seen at other ceremonial meetings. He watched as the three new mankajara were introduced.[212]

Early the next morning he observed a group of old men discussing the forthcoming circumcision ritual. Katabulka was concerned about his son, who was to undergo the operation and he "refused to discuss the business and walked away by himself".[213] At noon the songs of the circumcision series were begun. Tindale's records of this ritual resemble those taken at Konapandi. His previous experience gave him a better idea of what to expect so that at the end of part of the performance, when the men formed a "compact body" and moved towards the camp, Tindale followed.

> Only I knowing what was likely to happen, kept up with the men. They raced into the camp and ran about in a solid phalanx with high leg action, secured several photographs.[214]

Tindale's images of the songs and dances which preceded the actual operation fill 15 pages and are complete with numerous diagrams detailing the arrangements and movements of the men during the performances.[215] Throughout the proceedings, he not only took note of the placement and the reactions of the boys to be

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[211] ibid

[212] ibid

[213] WR p.121-22

[214] WR p.130

[215] WR p.137-52

circumcised, but also of the newly subincised men who were present. He found that they only took a minor part in the ritual

> Their lips moved in attempts to follow the singing, which of course, they had only heard twice before (once during circumcision rituals and again when subincised).[216]

As he described the leadup dances to the operation Tindale noted differences from the Konapandi rituals, such as the absence of the ceremonial wanigi which had played an important role in the Mann Ranges. He wrote of the operation on the two boys, but with less involvement than was discernible in the 1933 descriptions. At Konapandi he was seeing the ritual for the very first time and he and Hackett had taken a part in the proceedings. At Warupuju there were more expedition members and their role was that of observers rather than participants. The detail of the description and the sophistication of Tindale's understanding of the sociological relations of all the performers , is nonetheless revealed in the journal accounts.

Less time with the Aborigines at Warupuju meant that Tindale could not establish as close a relationship with them as he had during the longer Mann Range trip. However, over the period of the team's stay, Tindale noted the growing trust of the people.

> Was pleased to receive a little ritual gift from..my little kabali according to the position in which [I] have been placed. She is a delightful little kiddy of some six years of age..[She] accepts us in all good faith as true relations and will come and sit beside me as freely as if I were a close relative. It is pleasant to feel that the people have taken us so closely and intimately into their lives, if even only for a few days; what a contrast to the strange semi-fear with which they treated our first advances.[217]

Each of the members of the party had been given a class in the Ngadadjara system in a similar manner as at Hermannsburg in 1929. This perspective enabled Tindale to piece together a complete picture of the kinship system.[218]

Despite the people's acceptance of Tindale and the others, some men still treated them with suspicion. After the circumcision ritual Stocker asked the waputju of one of the boys, (potential wife's father and the performer of the operation) to let

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[216] WR p.145

[217] WR p.116-17

[218] WR p.192

him see the circumcision knives. Tindale was at the time discussing the ownership of these implements with another man. He wrote of the situation.

> Stocker brought one [knife] over to show me. The old man thought it was being taken away and was so disturbed that he picked up his spears and came over, looking as black as thunder. I told the man it was alright and hastily made a sketch. Every moment the man became more excited and Stocker was relieved when I handed it over to the old man. His anger was directed at Stocker.[219]

Tindale secured the name of the knife (kandi) and information on the origin of the stone. He learned from his informant that the "stones could not be replaced " and they would not allow him to have one.[220] This explained the intense concern of the waputju at Stocker's action.

While at Warupuju Tindale followed up subjects other than ceremonial life, although the latter was predominant in his notes. He continued work on areas begun earlier - Aboriginal plants,[221] collection of Aboriginal foods[222] and the use of weapons and implements.[223] Opportunities for observing daily activities were less constant than on the Mann Range expedition, but he made efforts to record camp layout and camp life. A few days were spent in the company of the children, watching and wandering with them, describing their play. He observed their attempts to dig up Hepialid grubs and listened to their explanations about the best way to find them.[224]

The party left Warupuju on 25 August and travelled back via five camps to White Cliffs and Laverton. During the journey Tindale continued to make notes. He spent a lot of time talking with Pi:tawara and one of the principal areas of interest became the night sky. He recorded the location of the stars related to the wati kutjara legend and the Njiru story (as recorded at Ooldea). He sketched the arrangement of different stars recording their names and the stories and songs

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[219]WR p.154-6

[220]WR p.156

[221]WR p.51 and 174

[222]WR p.59, 77-8, 82-3

[223]WR p.59 and 163

[224]WR p.72 and 77-8

connected with them.[225]

The group arrived at Laverton on the afternoon of 30 August. A late night followed as they attended the Returned Soldiers Anniversary Ball - the grand function of the season - at which they stayed until the early hours of the morning.[226] On the train home Tindale met Miss Lock and a number of Aborigines from Ooldea with whom he had worked in 1934.[227] Tindale finally arrived back in Adelaide at 6:30 pm on 6 September and was greeted by his family at the station. He was easily recognized this time as the party had all cleaned themselves up and Tindale had shaved off a month's growth of beard before reaching White Cliffs - though not before taking a portrait photograph of the members of the party before the "grand cleanup".[228]

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Just over two weeks after their return from the field, the party gave a report to the Anthropological Society on the results of their trip. Tindale described the 370 mile journey from Laverton to Warupuju and gave a broad picture of the work conducted and the ceremonies they had been fortunate to witness. Hackett spoke of his anthropometric work and his medical observations on the subincision and circumcision operations. Mountford discussed his work in collecting drawings, stressing that it was a continuation of methods begun on previous expeditions by Tindale.[229]

In the months following the Warburton Range trip, Stocker began to assemble the cinema film taken during the expedition; 3900 feet of 16 mm film. For the first time this included colour stock, 500 feet of which had been donated to the Board.[230] Stocker used Tindale's accounts of the progress of the ceremonies to assist him in organizing the film.

Just as Tindale's notes helped in understanding the film, the cinema record in

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[225]WR p.178-88

[226]WR p.190

[227]WR p.191

[228]WR p.174 and 182

[229]Minutes ASSA 23 September 1935, SRG 161 MLSA

[230]"General report.." p.484

turn aided Tindale in expanding and refining his own written account. In May of 1936, Tindale wrote to Stocker on this subject.

> Apropos of these ceremonial films are there any parts of the film which, although not essential for the main theme, would assist us in analysing the details of the events for our own written account of the rites?..There are quite a number of incidents recorded in the film which we only sketchily indicated in our notes..I am particularly anxious, therefore to go through any scrap film you may have discarded in order to ascertain whether there are any other events which we have omitted to chronicle.

He explained that he and the others were

> going ahead with planning detailed descriptions of every scene in the film.[231]

Tindale also prepared a general report on the expedition which was published in Oceania in September 1935. He worked on his records of the subincision and circumcision ceremonies with the help of Dorothy, who acted as typist in the absence of any other secretarial assistance.[232] This job, which involved the checking and re-checking of every detail against still and cinema photographs, extended over a number of years. The article on these rites took second place to Tindale's paper on the wati kutjara legend, which was published in Oceania in 1936.[233]

It is significant that much of Tindale's work after the Mann Range expedition was published in Oceania, the journal of the *Sydney University* Department of Anthropology. This included reports on both the Mann and Warburton range expeditions as well as his papers on initiation and mythology. The very fact that they were considered for inclusion in this journal suggests that they were closer to what Sydney viewed as the correct kind of *social anthropology*. Yet the structure of Tindale's fieldwork did not embrace this twentieth century fieldwork ideal. His longest consecutive period in the field in the years up to 1936 was still his first expedition to Groote Eylandt, followed by the three month tour of the Mann Ranges. Neither did his methods recognizably reflect the theories of social anthropology. Tindale's techniques were those of a museum ethnologist - survey work over short periods of time. However, the large number of smaller expeditions in which he was involved added up to a vast field experience. This, combined

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[231]NBT to Stocker 7 May 1936 in 1/2/1 NBTP, SAM

[232]NBT to CJH 17 October 1937 in 1/5/2 NBTP, SAM

[233]NBT, "Legend of the Wati Kutjara, Warburton Range, Western Australia" Oceania 7:2 1936 p.169-185

with Tindale's broad range of interests, his understanding of scientific method, his adaptability and his clever detective work, evolved into a new kind of fieldwork method. Beginning from the point of view of a museum ethnologist - collecting objects and observing daily life and ceremonies - Tindale developed ways of getting as much as possible from this foundation. He expanded his questioning outwards, aware of the links *between* kinds of information. He had begun this approach on the earlier Board expeditions. From the Mann Ranges onwards he used this technique particularly when following the links between the material and the immaterial. By encouraging men to draw he could stimulate them to speak of their ceremonial life and the journeys of their ancestors. Often this would inspire the performance of ceremonies. He could then understand the deeper meaning by witnessing the emotional responses of the participants. In this way, through his own museum-based approach he was able to secure insights into the whole society and to document the kind of information it was widely believed only the methods of modern social anthropology could achieve.

Tindale's work, especially during and after the Mann Range expedition, *bridges* the two mainstreams of anthropological fieldwork in this century - museum survey ethnology and university-based intensive social anthropology. He was able to make the best use of the limited system of Board fieldwork and of the museum approach so that he did not have to *leave* this environment to join a university department. He did grow to feel restricted by Board fieldwork. After the Mann Range expedition Tindale, in many ways, had outgrown this training ground. On his return to Board work at Diamantina he was dissatisfied with the "routine" and wanted to go beyond this "groundwork", as he had in the Mann Ranges. After Diamantina he did not return to the old style of fieldwork. He seized the opportunity to go to Ooldea and then to lead the longer, smaller expedition to the Warburton Ranges. After his visit to the United States in 1936 he moved into a new phase of his anthropological career based on the self-led expedition. Although the Board continued to organize expeditions well into the 1950s, Tindale was present on only one.[234] All his other post 1934 field trips were self led and small in size.

This chapter has shown how Tindale moved beyond the Board's method of anthropological fieldwork. He did not become just another social anthropologist, as many of his concerns were not in the realm of that body of thought. His material

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[234]This was an expedition to Central Australia under the leadership of Professor A.A. Abbie (13 August - 1 September 1951). They travelled by air to Alice Springs and then by car to Yuenduma Government Station. Tindale made a particular study of stone tool making and hafting. NBT to KRW 17 June 1988

on social organisation did not aim at documenting the theoretical workings of a society but led to its more concrete representations in camp layout and ceremonial roles. Art and legend provided keys to Aboriginal geography and tribal movements. His work on material culture was not only that of a museum collector but extended into a new area of scientific archaeology.

The next chapter will show how Tindale's development in the field of archaeology reflects this same growth. He began his archaeology on short trips with colleagues who were to become members of the Board and the Anthropological Society, but soon moved beyond to conduct his *own* archaeological fieldwork and to carry out the *first* scientific excavation in Australia.

* * *

Chapter 7

NO FLOURISH OF TRUMPETS
Tindale as Archaeologist 1921-1936

Without any flourish of trumpets two young Australian scientists have recorded a discovery which tends strongly to prove the great antiquity of man in this age-old land..

The Herald
18 July 1930

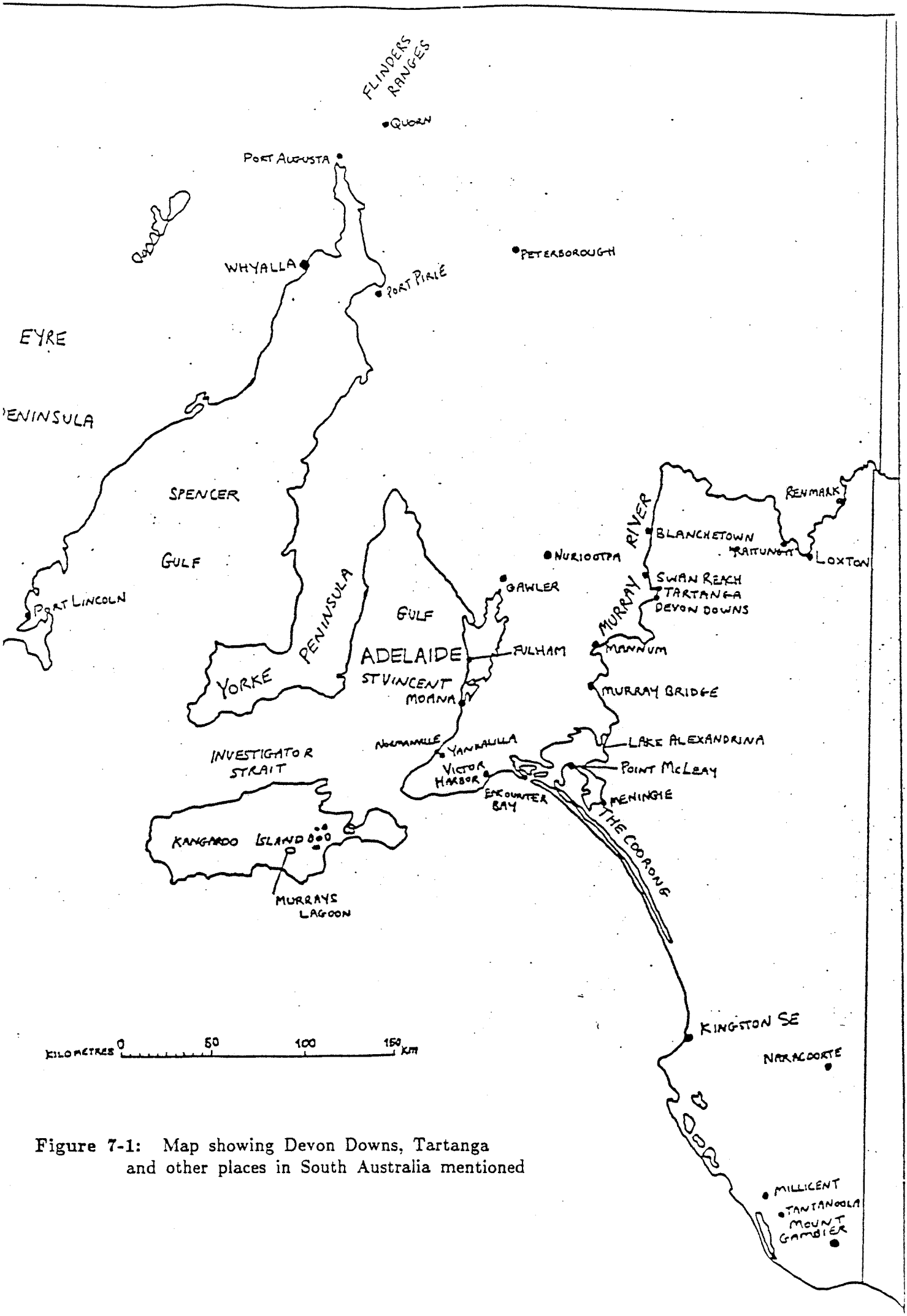
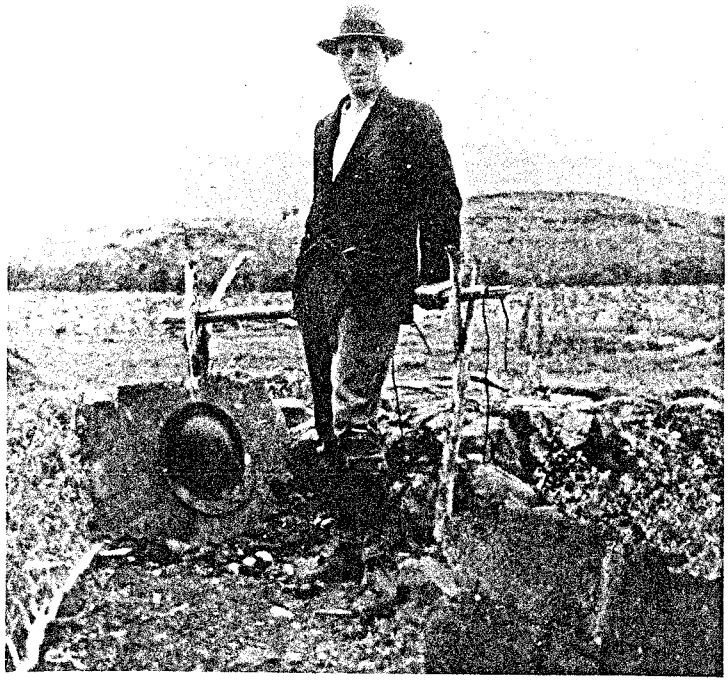


Figure 7-1: Map showing Devon Downs, Tartanga and other places in South Australia mentioned

Figure 7-2: Tindale at "cooking fire",
Owieandana Northern Flinders Ranges,
South Australia, December 1925



> The story of primitive man in Australia remains as great a puzzle as ever. We have had much armchair speculation for years, but it doesn't bring us any nearer the truth. The Commonwealth School of Anthropology at Sydney under Professor Radcliffe-Brown, appears to concern itself more with what our aborigines said and thought than what they did. A fascinating study but not one that is directed towards finding out the earlier history of primitive man in Australia.
>
> One thing we have needed badly is men of adequate training and ability who would roll up their shirt sleeves, spit on their hands, and delve into the materials of aboriginal shelters and kitchen middens..During the past 12 months two young men, Herbert Hale and Norman Tindale, curator and ethnologist respectively of the South Australian Museum, have carried out a remarkably fine series of investigations and the results have just been published..The work is of the highest quality and the results are of surprising interest and importance..This work by Hale and Tindale opens up a new chapter in the story of primitive man in Australia.
>
> The Australasian
> 9 August 1930

The optimistic prophecy of 1930 that Tindale and Hale's excavation of Devon Downs rockshelter, (now known as Ngautngaut) marked the birth of an Australian school of scientific archaeology proved to be decades premature. Today the significance of their work in South Australia's Lower Murray Valley is realized and it has been hailed as the first excavation in this country to be conducted in a precise and scientific manner. It has been stated that

> Their techniques were far in advance of any archaeologist in the Pacific region.[1]

Occupational deposits in a rockshelter were dug down to 6.2 metres, great attention being paid to the stratification of the debris. From stone tools and other materials that were unearthed from twelve successive layers, Tindale

> brought to light four superimposed cultural phases..termed in descending

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[1] D.J.Mulvaney, "Citation for an Honorary Degree" (ANU April 1980)

order Murundian, Mudukian, Pirrian and Pre-pirrian.[2]

To this was added a fifth, the oldest phase - Tartangan - studied at another site in close vicinity, on an island called Tartanga.

As well as establishing this cultural sequence and arguing the great antiquity of the earlier layers, Tindale discussed evidence of environmental and climactic change as revealed in "faunal modifications" associated with the cultural phases.[3] The resulting report in which these conclusions were discussed is considered a classic of archaeological literature because of its detailed and methodological approach, meticulous description and original interpretations. Mulvaney wrote in 1975 that through this report Tindale had "introduced the concept of 'culture' into Australian prehistory", and

> Australian prehistorians are indebted to Tindale for emphasizing the reality of ecological and cultural changes within Australia and for attempting to define their manifestations.[4]

In the 1920s and 1930s the idea that the culture of the Australian Aborigines *had* changed during many thousands of years of occupation was a radical departure from entrenched beliefs. One of Tindale's colleagues in the Board for Anthropological Research, R.H. Pulleine, had summed up common opinion in a Presidential Address to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science in 1928. He emphasized that the culture of the Aborigines was characterized by a

> uniformity ..only modified by the availability of different materials for manufacture.

His suggestion that

> excavation would be in vain, as everything points to the conclusion that they were an unchanging people in an unchanging environment.[5]

did not discourage Tindale.

Tindale's initiative poses a number of questions which will be addressed in this chapter on his development in the field of archaeology. Why was it Tindale who,

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[2]NBT and HH, "Notes on some human remains in the Lower Murray Valley, S.A." in RSAM 4:2 1930 p.175. Tindale's terms are the subject of debate and are no longer accepted by many prehistorians

[3]"Notes.." p.218

[4]D.J. Mulvaney, The Prehistory of Australia p.118 and 120

[5]Pulleine as quoted by Mulvaney in The Prehistory of Australia p.121

against orthodox opinion, pursued the question of Aboriginal antiquity through archaeological investigation? How and why did he manage to conduct an excavation and write up results which were so far ahead of their time?[6] To answer these questions, it is essential to understand how his ideas and methods developed.

One of the major debates in archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century concerned whether technological innovations in a culture developed through independent invention or were diffused through contact with other cultures. It is tempting to assume, as a diffusionist might, that Tindale's innovations in Australia must have been the result of his coming into contact with the ideas of fieldworkers in other parts of the world, either in print or in person. However, as will be shown in this chapter, although he read widely, Tindale's unique and pioneering methods in archaeological research were very much a natural outcome of his varied training, his initiative and inventiveness, and his broad-based scientific approach to any problem.

A brief overview of the development of scientific archaeology in the rest of the world will show that the ideas and techniques which characterized this new discipline were developed in the majority of cases by individuals working independently of each other in the field. It will also become obvious that Tindale's success at Devon Downs in 1929-30 was not the result of his direct borrowing of ideas of other fieldworkers, but rather a consequence of a shared approach with these pioneers.

From an early age Tindale read books on geology and evolution. A compulsive collector, this obsession soon spread beyond insects and butterflies to other objects and ideas. Museum research and curatorial experience, scientific training at university (especially in geology and zoology), and fieldwork with the Museum and the Board for Anthropological Research all consolidated Tindale's interests. It was this continually evolving broad education which made it possible for Tindale, ahead of all others, to initiate scientific archaeology in Australia.

As early as 1904 English scientist and archaeologist, Sir Flinders Petrie, wrote of the kind of education required to pursue the science of archaeology. He stressed that the best archaeologist would be the man who had

> ..a fair use of languages, and a working familiarity with many sciences..a combination of scholar and engineer,

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[6]Although Hale was only present during the first week of the excavation, as Director of the Museum and Tindale's senior, his name heads the resulting report.

who could conduct

> solid continuous work, certain, accurate, and permanent.

Petrie believed that the requirements of archaeological excavation were unlike those of any other kind of research as

> in few kinds of work are the results so directly dependent on the personality of the worker.[7]

The history of archaeology in both the Old and New World tends to prove Petrie's theories as it was individuals such as he described who made the advances in excavation method and archaeological theory which turned an adventurous hobby into a scientific discipline.

The first archaeologists were antiquarians and men in search of the treasures of the ancient world. Although some of these workers in the early and mid nineteenth century made extensive surveys, completed detailed maps and drawings and aspired to more thorough excavations, their actual digs were unplanned and selective. It was left to later individuals to realize that only through controlled and systematic digging , coupled with careful and constant recording, could a "total" excavation be done. Only work of this kind could throw light upon man's history and prehistory. Darwin's On the Origin of Species (1859) and his discussions of the evolution of man had sparked more interest in the prehistory of mankind and this was reflected in changes in excavation technique.

General Pitt-Rivers, an Englishman who conducted excavations during the last two decades of the nineteenth century developed the idea of "total" excavation. He was also one of the first archaeologists to pay clear and constant attention to stratigraphy. In this way he heralded a new era in the history of archaeology as the use of stratigraphic recording reflected a growing interest in chronology.

Pitt-Rivers' interpretation and display of his finds revealed his belief in evolution. In his museum he arranged types of archaeological specimens in a manner which showed what he believed to be their evolutionary development from simple to complex forms. This typological arrangement aimed towards a "history of the human race" in its climb from savagery to civilization, rather than a localized

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[7]Petrie, Methods and Aims in Archaeology (1904) as quoted in G. Daniel, The Origins and Growth of Archaeology (Galahad Books, New York, 1967) p.223

chronology of one group of people living and evolving in one place.[8]

At the turn of the century advances in theory and interpretation of archaeological discoveries tended to lag behind improvements in excavation technique. While a small area would be meticulously dug and recorded, the finds would be generalised and classified to fit into broad hypotheses of mankind's development. A similar imbalance characterized the growth of archaeology in the United States. During the years 1840 to 1914 advances were made in survey and excavation techniques while interpretation still involved mostly description and classification.[9] Early work such as that conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology (headed by J.W. Powell) was characterzed by meticulous detail - scientific surveying, mapping, careful digging, recording and drawing of finds - but there was little concern with chronology and cultural change except in a very broad sense. Only during the second half of the nineteenth century was there a distinct aim to "prove the antiquity of man in the New World".[10] This was inspired by developments in the Old World such as Darwin's evolutionary theories and the discovery of Palaeolithic flint implements by Boucher de Perthes in France. More importantly it was brought about by the rise of the sciences in America - especially geology - and by the interests and motivations of individuals and institutions.

The work of the Bureau made its researchers aware of the speed with which the culture of the American Indians was disintegrating. Under Powell's guidance the institution's prime concern became the salvage of information about this vanishing race and the search for proof of its great antiquity.

By the late nineteenth century, members of the Bureau had been joined in the field by workers sent out by the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. The first curator of the Museum was a natural scientist, Jeffries Wyman, who because of his training was one of the first fieldworkers in America to recognise stratigraphic layering. After his death in 1874, F.W. Putnam, zoologist turned archaeologist and museum curator, took over.[11] Between this institution and the

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[8]Penniman, A Hundred Years of Anthropology (1935) p.154 and Pitt-Rivers, Excavations in Cranbourne Chase (1887) as quoted in Daniel p.226

[9]Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff, A History of American Archaeology (Thames and Hudson, London, 1974) p.83

[10]Willey/Sabloff p.55

[11]ibid p.43

Bureau, a wide range of researchers, educated in many different areas of the sciences were sent out into the field. Some, such as Ales Hrdlicka, maintained that the Indians were recent immigrants to the New World.[12] Others like German-trained museum worker Max Uhle, working on Peruvian mounds, made the first true stratigraphic excavations in America, revealing cultural change over a long period of time.[13]

It was during the next twenty-five years that stratigraphic excavation took hold and an interest in chronology became consistent. In the Galisteo Basin in New Mexico (1914) Nels Nelson conducted such an excavation, following the natural occupation layers, classifying pottery types he unearthed, ordering them chronologically from their place in the strata.[14] He also used the succession and stylistic changes in the pottery he uncovered in the Galisteo Basin to order chronologically and date the finds from other sites in the area.[15] In 1915 at Pecos Pueblo in New Mexico, Alfred Vincent Kidder, supported financially by the Peabody Museum, followed Nelson's stratigraphic technique - digging by the natural strata and only using metrical levels where no natural layers could be defined.[16] He also used the technique of seriation - comparing and ordering artefacts from different sites in relation to similarities or differences in their characteristics. In this way he was able to produce a chronology which, with the results of stratigraphic digging, could be used to date and order sites within a given area.[17] Kidder, using these techniques, eventually produced a complete cultural sequence for the American Southwest - the Pecos Classification, which was a great aid to future workers in the area.[18]

Kidder's work in the Southwestern United States produced a sequence of cultural change for a particular region. His interpretation of his finds formed a *localized* chronology of the development of a particular group of Indians rather than a broad

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[12] ibid p.58

[13] ibid p.64 and 74

[14] A.H. Rohn, "The Southwest and Intermontane West" in James E.Fitting(ed.), The Development of North American Archaeology p.191 and Willey/Sabloff p.91-4

[15] Willey/Sabloff p.93-4

[16] Rohn in Fitting, p.191

[17] Willey/ Sabloff, p.98-102

[18] Rohn in Fitting p.191 and Willey/Sabloff, p.110

scheme which would reflect the evolution of mankind as a whole. Tindale's 1929 Devon Downs excavation in Australia reveals a similar concern. The dig demonstrated a chronological sequence of occupation layers and implement types for the area. Only after later work did Tindale expand the theory to explain succession in the rest of Australia. It is interesting that Tindale's work resembled the methods, aims and interpretations of Kidder's pioneering excavations. However, despite the parallels, there is no direct connection as Tindale did not know of Kidder's work in 1929 and did not read of his excavations until much later.[19]

Kidder's 1924 An Introduction to Southwestern Archaeology may have been available in the libraries of South Australia, but Tindale at that time was not interested in American developments as these did not relate directly to questions of the origin of the Australian Aborigines. Tindale's interest in archaeology and his work in the field arose from his ethnological work with Aborigines. He did read for general interest such journals as Antiquity and the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, which contained articles on prehistoric excavations in England and Europe.[20] During the 1920s he accumulated a collection of newspaper clippings on Middle Eastern archaeology and discoveries concerning Neolithic man, as well as articles bearing on Aboriginal prehistory.[21] Works such as Kidder's, however, he considered to be "too American" and focused upon too recent a period of history, and he did not pursue them in the years up to 1929.[22] In addition, Tindale stresses that the reason he did not know of some of this type of work was that

> the library [Public and later Museum] didn't get the literature because it was too far away from the run of the ideas of librarians to some extent, and the cost, particularly after 1929 and the Depression.[23]

Therefore although Tindale's wide reading may have brought him into broad contact with work on man's prehistory in the Old World, he recalls no direct influence. The only work which was clearly used as a guide in the Devon Downs excavation was R. Martin's 1928, Lehrbuch die Anthropologie which had been

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[19]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[20]KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[21]File: "Neolithic Man" with clippings on Aboriginal prehistory and Early man, dated especially 1923 and 1927 in 1/1/3 NBTP, SAM

[22]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[23]ibid

obtained for the Museum library.[24] Tindale had been taught to read German in Japan and he consolidated his knowledge by taking a Berlitz course in 1918, principally because of the importance of the language in the sciences.[25] Martin was only used as a guide and Tindale worked mainly from his own training in geology, under Sir Douglas Mawson, and experience in the field since the early 1920s.

There was no *Australian* model upon which to base his work as prior to Devon Downs very little true excavation archaeology had been completed in this country. It is of interest that it was museum-based scientists who conducted what limited work was done in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Museum directors - Robert Etheridge (Sydney), Baldwin Spencer (Melbourne) and Edward Stirling (Adelaide) - all encouraged and themselves helped to establish excellent ethnographic collections.[26] However they did little or no archaeological fieldwork. Spencer reflected common opinion that the Aborigines were fairly recent arrivals on the Australian continent and argued that, because of this low antiquity, there were no obvious changes in the development of their stone tools. Mulvaney stresses that Spencer's 1900 Guide to the Australian Ethnographic Collection and his classifications of stone implement technology, supported the idea of a "timeless, unitary technology". He suggests that

> Consequently Spencer's prestige and the influence of his museum guidebook reinforced those notions which inhibited the development of systematic field archaeology. These included the belief that there were no stadial or chronological phases in stone technology; that because caves were avoided, it was pointless to excavate for stratified deposits, and even rockshelters seem to have been included in this assumption; that the nature of the raw material was the only controlling factor in the form or size of an implement.[27]

Edward Stirling and A.S. Kenyon produced a classification of stone tools in the same year as Spencer's Guide and Etheridge and T. Whitelegge wrote a paper in 1907 on implements they had amassed from a surface campsite on the Central New South Wales coast.[28] The only systematic excavation completed before Tindale's

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[24] ibid

[25] NBT Summary

[26] F.D. McCarthy, "Anthropology in the Museums of Australia" in Essays to Honour 50 Years of 'Mankind' p.24

[27] Mulvaney, So Much That Is New p. 255

[28] McCarthy in Essays.. p.29-30

was an examination of rockshelter deposit by Etheridge in 1891.[29] He wrote a brief report but his lead was not followed by subsequent workers. Surface collection became the norm[30] and was in fact the way in which Tindale began working.

The other area of interest to museum workers was rock art. Directors at the Adelaide and Sydney Museums both sponsored and themselves completed studies.[31] Some of Tindale's first expeditions for the Museum were to examine rock paintings and carvings.

Tindale followed in the fields established by earlier museum workers, but he could not learn from them the ideas which led to the kind of work he completed at Devon Downs. There is no clear model to which an historian can point to suggest that Tindale gained his ideas from this or that particular source. Tindale himself recalls that with his burgeoning interest in anthropology and archaeology after returning from Groote Eylandt, he read so voraciously he cannot remember any works that influenced him in particular. He stresses that there was no *one* work,"no absolute model" which he consciously followed.[32] Hence the only way in which Devon Downs can be understood is to trace the development of Tindale's methods and ideas over time as I have done in my discussion of his experiences in anthropology. This kind of examination will reveal the numerous threads which came together to form Tindale the archaeologist.

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> Actually I did my first excavation on Groote Eylandt in 1921 when I dug in a mound with the Aborigines sitting around and being interested and explaining what things that I turned up were..In other words ..when I did Devon Downs, that was eight years after I had dug my first mound under instruction from the Aborigines.[33]

Tindale's 1921-22 expedition to Groote Eylandt was the catalyst in his becoming an anthropologist and he recalls that it also brought about his first excavation. Part of Tindale's 1921 agreement with the Museum was that he should collect ethnological specimens, so he conducted extensive trade for implements with

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[29]Mulvaney, Prehistory of Australia p.117

[30]McCarthy in Essays.. p.29

[31]ibid p.29

[32]KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[33]KRW-NBT Interview 6 February 1987

Aborigines at Roper River and on Groote Eylandt, and watched and recorded the manufacture of a wide variety of items. As well as the limited mound excavation, he undertook some examination of rock art. In July 1921, at East Bay, Tindale took a large number of tracings and photographs of cave drawings. He wrote that

> By digging in the sand at the bottom of cave I exposed well preserved pictures on the rock which must be of great antiquity.[34]

On the return journey via Roper River an Alawa man took Tindale to a cave south of the mission. Here again he took tracings and made written descriptions of the paintings on the walls. In addition he recorded the size and appearance of the cave, and made a survey of the contents which included piles of bones and numerous other "blackfellow treasures" - including wooden coolamons, hair- belts, pieces of red ochre and stone knives as well as bits of tin and iron.[35] Although no digging into the floor deposit was attempted, his description of the cave constituted a limited survey.

In 1923 Tindale enrolled in Geology at the University of Adelaide. When later completing his training in this discipline he chose to take Mawson's Pleistocene Stratigraphy course.[36] The subject was extremely important in consolidating his understanding of stratigraphy and other aspects of archaeological research. Even before this specific education , his early geological training helped to set his interpretations apart from those of his colleagues on the first archaeological field trips in the early and mid 1920s. These were undertaken prior to the creation of the Anthropological Society. During this period Tindale and Hale accompanied Campbell and geologist Paul Hossfeld[37] on excursions to Pedler's Creek, on the coast about 25 miles south of Adelaide, an area later given the Hawaiian style name, Moana, to promote tourism.[38] Many Saturday mornings the group would travel down to the coast to work on the extensive series of Aboriginal campsites.[39] After the formation of the Anthropological Society, they were joined by amateur

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[34]GE 2 p.202-3

[35]DR 1 p.203

[36]He was one of only two students to take this course, the other being Rhodes W. Fairbridge.

[37]Hossfeld was a geology student at Adelaide University from 1924 to 1926, when he became assistant to the Geological Advisor to the Commonwealth Government. See Hossfeld's obituary in TRSSA 91 December 1967

[38]NBT, "Native Burial at Pedler's Creek, South Australia" in South Australian Naturalist 8:1 1926 p.10

[39]KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

archaeologist H.L. Sheard, who became chauffeur to the group in his Ford car.[40]

At Pedler's Creek the team conducted surface archaeological research aided by natural wind erosion. While Campbell and Hossfeld were specifically interested in salvaging all the surface artefacts to produce a large series of stone implements, Tindale's aims were different.[41] With his recent training fresh in his mind and with no overriding aims like the others, Tindale took more notice of the form and geology of the land and the distribution of types of sand and deposits.[42] While the others crawled over every inch of the campsite area, picking up and *pooling* all the implements they found, Tindale, having noted the contrasts in the texture and colour of the soils over the area, gave each sector a letter symbol (A to D). He kept the implements from each together, as he had also become aware of variance in the types of tools.[43]

Research at Pedler's Creek spanned a number of years and gradually the entire surface of the site was cleared of implements. During one winter season very strong gales produced a kind of natural excavation at the site, uncovering a new surface of implements.[44] The tools unearthed also conformed to Tindale's area divisions, lending support to his theory. He argued that his divisions separated areas of differing antiquity and revealed a succession of shore-lines over time, with corresponding changes in material culture.[45] In later years Tindale utilized this knowledge of changing shore-lines in an attempt to date sites. His pioneering work on eustatic terraces provided a method for dating finds before radio-carbon dating became widely available.[46]

In the 1920s he theorized that area C on the south bank of the creek was the "youngest", characterized by "fresh-yellowish" sand, charcoal and shell deposits,

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[40]NBT, "A South Australian looks at some beginnings of archaeological research in Australia" in Aboriginal History 6:2 1982 p. 94

[41]ibid p.97

[42]BRG-NBT Interview January 1986

[43]NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.95-7

[44]KRW-NBT Interview 16 February 1987

[45]NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.95-7 and KRW- NBT Interviews 16-18 February 1987

[46]NBT, "Research on eustatic sea levels, South Australia" in Report of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science 1952 in collaboration with E.D Gill and R.W. Fairbridge. This was the first in a line of papers on this subject.

charred wood and animal bones, all evidence of more recent occupation. This was proven through later work with Milerum, who recalled camping on this area of the site with his parents when he was a boy in the 1870s.[47] It was in this area that a number of burials were discovered, one of which Tindale described in 1926.[48] Tools in this area C consisted mainly of "irregular flakes" in contrast to those found in Tindale's area B, (100 metres inland) which were clearly worked geometric flakes. The deposit in which they were found also differed in composition being a grey colour with very few food remains, suggesting to Tindale that it was an older site than C. Area D lay another hundred metres inland from the B dunes. The reddish soil was well vegetated and therefore allowed for less natural erosion. Implements were found but no bone or food debris. The tools consisted of finely worked projectile points which, after 1929, Tindale named "pirri points". The area called A was to the south of the other sites and Tindale paid less attention to the few large flake tools unearthed there.[49]

He labelled the tools in his first series with their area symbol and after the eroding winds he found that the same types of implements turned up in the same areas. Hence, as early as the mid 1920s, Tindale was aware of cultural succession and changes in tool types and was testing his theories carefully. He stresses that this work at Pedler's Creek was an important precursor to the Murray River dig as it introduced him to the idea of succession.[50] Indeed, his report to the Anthropological Society summing up his Pedler's Creek fieldwork and discussing his theory that the site and implements implied "three distinct periods" of occupation, was presented only four months prior to the Devon Downs excavation.

During the 1920s there were also other factors which served to consolidate Tindale's interest and insight into archaeology. As well as the work at Pedler's Creek, the early members of the Anthropological Society undertook a project at Fulham, west of Adelaide. In 1893, Samuel White, in the major excavation of an artificial lake for his home at Reeds Beds, Fulham, had found large stone tools on a buried land surface under a marine deposit extending at least a kilometre inland. The finds were ignored until 1919, when his son, Samuel A. White, described the

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[47]NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.95

[48]NBT, "Native Burial.."

[49]NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.95-7

[50]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

occurrence and displayed the tools.[51] The stratigraphy was vouched for by geologist, Walter Howchin. The exhibit of the tools inspired members of the Anthropological Society to conduct a hand-drilling operation. They bored a line of holes, (each about 4 to 5 metres deep) for a kilometre inland, to link the site of the finds with the apparent red sand dune terrace, with its base now above sea level. This work continued for more than a year and it assisted Tindale in his interpretation of cultural succession for South Australia many years later.[52]

Tindale conducted some archaeological work while on collecting expeditions for the Museum. Early in November 1924, he wrote to the Director of the Museum suggesting that he and Hale should make a trip to the Flinders Ranges lasting four weeks.[53] He did not specify the aim but as the "season" featured as an important reason for immediate departure, its focus was certainly entomological. However the trip also became an ethnological expedition. From November to mid December, Tindale and Hale camped in the Flinders Ranges collecting and spending time working with Aborigines from the area, gaining insights into customs and language. During their stay they studied rock paintings in a shelter at Malkaia, 6 miles south-east of Mt. Serle and carvings at Owieandana and in the bed of Gammon Creek, near where they were camped. The paper resulting from this expedition shows refinements in Tindale's methods.[54] A detailed survey of the shelter was completed, noting its size and location and the appearance of the "floor area". The surface was photographed before the earth was disturbed by limited digging. A brief examination of the deposit unearthed a few artefacts, mainly bones and flint chippings.[55] His major concern, however, was the rock paintings which were described and sketched in his journal and then photographed. On his return to Adelaide the sites of rock paintings and carvings in the Flinders Ranges were added to a survey map of art sites which he had been developing from the previously published sources as well as from his own fieldwork.[56] This site survey provided a starting point for future work. Through discussion with Aborigines in

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[51] TRSSA 43 p.77-80

[52] NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.94

[53] NBT to ER Waite, manuscript in FR

[54] NBT and HH, "Observations on aborigines of the Flinders Range and records of rock carvings and paintings" in RSAM 3:1 1925 p.45-60

[55] FR p.12 and 49

[56] NBT, "Observations.." p.54

the Flinders Ranges, Tindale learned that there were probably more carvings and he hoped these would be discovered through further exploration of the Aboriginal camping areas.[57]

Conversations with Aborigines about archaeological sites formed an integral part of Tindale's method as early as 1924. Questioning old men in the Flinders Ranges about the carvings and the way in which they were made led Tindale to some conclusions about the age of different sites. The men referred to carvings done by their fathers with the aid of the "sharpened end of a horse shoe". Tindale had noted that some carvings seemed to be more recent and he concluded that these were the ones mentioned by the old men.[58] The rockfaces displaying older carvings were

> covered with a hard dark-rust-coloured "patina" or glazed surface-film.[59]

This and the fact that some of the carvings were found on rocks buried up to 9 inches below the present ground level, suggested to Tindale their "great age".[60] The more recent ones he decided were attempts to copy the ancient art of ancestors.[61] Discussions with an informant showed this to be true. Tindale concluded that such carving was

> apparently a practice descended from olden times which has lost its significance.[62]

In the United States, some archaeologists had begun to use similar methods. By working in areas where Indians still lived, or were known to have lived in historic times, they were provided with a direct route backwards into the archaeological past. This technique became known as the Direct-Historical Approach.[63] In the 1950s and 1960s, in the United States and Australia, the method was refined further into various techniques which have acquired the label ethnoarchaeology.

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[57] ibid p.53

[58] ibid p.55

[59] ibid

[60] FR p.9

[61] NBT "Observations .." p.53-55

[62] FR p.9

[63] Willey/Sabloff p.108

Tindale used these methods less self-consciously. When he later became more involved in ethnological expeditions with the Board, his knowledge of the living habits of present day Aborigines naturally helped him in his archaeological research. He has always believed that his dual role as anthropologist *and* archaeologist gave him the

> tremendous advantage of being an archaeologist who had seen living people make archaeological tools.[64]

Prior to 1928 his work for the Museum consisted mainly of studying rock art. In 1926 Tindale completed an article with Mountford on rock carvings near Morowie in South Australia. He compared and suggested connections between a collection of narrow grooves discovered on the walls of a rockshelter and the incisions or "tally marks" previously noted on "cylindro-conical" stone artefacts in the north-east of the state and along the Darling River in New South Wales. Many examples of these were held in the Museum and could be closely studied there. Tindale also located many descriptions in literature. He mapped the locations of the incised and unincised stones and plotted the newly discovered sites.[65] This paper was more than a simple descriptive record of an archaeological phenomena. It attempted to draw together evidence from different sources to produce a more complete study of these markings - offering a picture of their distribution and original interpretations about the meaning of their connections with other markings.

In November 1926 he presented a paper to the Royal Society with Sheard, describing the contents and paintings in four rockshelters along the South Para River near Gawler. Some limited digging was done in the entrance to the first shelter and Tindale was able to describe the composition of the deposit.

> Interspersed with the earthy debris were regular layers of charcoal going down at least 2 feet, showing that the slope had been used for camping purposes on various occasions and had not been previously disturbed.[66]

From the surface or just below he collected some quartz flakes, crude scrapers and food shells.[67]

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[64]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[65]NBT and CPM, "Native rockmarkings at Morowie, South Australia" in TRSSA 50 1926 p. 156-9

[66]NBT and HLS, "Aboriginal rockshelters on South Para River, South Australia" in TRSSA 51 1927 p.14 . The original paper was read 11 November 1926

[67]ibid p.14 and 17

While collecting in Cape York Peninsula two months later, Tindale took the opportunity to look at some campsites and shelters. He and Hale landed their boat at Walaemini, an Aboriginal camp in Princess Charlotte Bay and they examined a rockface covered with paintings. Further afield they explored a rockshelter at Worei, describing its location and appearance and making notes on the shells found in the floor deposit.[68] They sailed across to Stanley Island more than once to examine the main camping site of its inhabitants, describing the shells and other debris scattered over the ground.[69] On the island Tindale discovered a large 100 foot long shelter in which he estimated the occupation deposit went down at least eight feet. However he lamented that there was "no time or conveniences for investigation" of the interior in any detailed manner.[70]

As the expedition was limited in time but wide in scope, Tindale could only make superficial archaeological investigations. The kind of site survey and location he conducted in the Cape York Peninsula became one of the prime concerns of the Anthropological Society which had been established in the middle of the previous year. One of their first meetings discussed the "Geological history of man in Australia". The points of discourse around which the session was based reveal the concerns of the group. The members began by debating the question of the origins of the human population of Australia - the method of arrival and entry, and the antiquity of the migration. A summary of the "occurrence of human relics of geological antiquity" in Australia concluded with an analysis of the "nature and distribution" of archaeological deposits in South Australia. This assessment concentrated on those known to contain "human relics of antiquity".[71]

Cataloguing sites was pursued in a more vigorous manner during 1927- 28 when questionnaires were sent out to station-owners and other corresponding members of the Society, asking for information on Aboriginal campsites in their area of the state. This method had been used in the nineteenth century by researchers such as E.M. Curr to gain first hand observations on the languages and customs of the Aborigines. The Anthropological Society sent out similar questionnaires on subjects including Aboriginal medicine, dwellings, fishing methods and watercrafts as well as

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[68] CY p.30

[69] CY p.22

[70] CY p.32

[71] Minutes ASSA 6 December 1926, SRG 161 MLSA

on campsites.[72] Tindale was responsible for compiling one of these in August 1928.[73] In the case of campsites, the form asked for the location and extent of the site, a description of the surrounding countryside, the abundance of food and water and the name of the tribal group known to have inhabited the area. To gain an idea of the age of the deposits the Society requested commentry on when the camp was last occupied and any other indications of its antiquity. Finally the questionnaire asked for a more complete description of the contents of the site itself - the nature of the occupation deposit, whether middens, implements or evidence of a cooking hearth had been found and whether any human remains were present. It also asked about art sites, quarries and mines for stone implement materials or ochre, fishing traps, rock springs and wells.[74] The list of questions was very thorough, ensuring a clear idea of the nature and value of the campsite.

As well as site surveys of the kind discussed above, members of the Society were also interested in the typology and classification of stone implements. This was of particular concern to Campbell, especially since his work at Pedler's Creek. In September 1927 he delivered a paper on this subject. He began by outlining the "European method" for the classification of stone tools

> in which stratigraphy and form enable workers to divide implements into seven or more distinct stages.[75]

A few years earlier Wood-Jones had put together a number of similar sets of Aboriginal implements. One he had sent to Cambridge University where M.C. Burkitt had classified the set "according to European standards". Campbell's comments on this are of interest as they manifest the fundamental difference between the orthodox view and Tindale's. Tindale's classifications of implements (at Pedler's Creek and later at Devon Downs) derived *purely* from the *unique* stratigraphy at the particular site. Campbell, Wood-Jones and Burkitt, in classifying Australian tools using European standards *imposed* an already established sequence upon an Australian series, rather than developing the classification from the site at which the tools were found. Campbell and associates were doing very much what Pitt-Rivers had done, creating an evolutionary succession of types of implements reflecting the technological development of tools from simple

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[72]Minutes ASSA 1927-28 various meetings

[73]Public Library, Museum and Art Galleryof South Australia - Questionnaires by Norman B. Tindale, Ethnologist, SAM August 1928, BRGPC

[74]Minutes ASSA 25 July 1927, SRG 161 MLSA

[75]Minutes ASSA 26 September 1927, SRG 161 MLSA

Palaeolithic to more complex later forms. Campbell claimed that lack of knowledge about Aboriginal tool usage made any localised typology "largely fancy and guesswork", thus necessitating the imposition of an established evolutionary classification.[76] Tindale, who had already begun using his knowledge of present day Aboriginal habits to aid in his archaeological work, disputed this view. He did not look to Europe or America for his ideas on stone tool classification or cultural succession, but rather turned to Australian archaeological evidence and to observation of living Aborigines and records of Aboriginal life in historic times.

Tindale's attitude to the kind of opinions Campbell and Wood-Jones displayed in 1927, is amply summed up in a later meeting he had with Burkitt during his 1936 Carnegie trip. He argued with Burkitt about the European classification of adze stones and chisels as "scrapers". Tindale pointed out that from his knowledge of Australian Aboriginal stone implements and his observations of Aborigines at work, these stones could not be labelled in this manner as they were not and could not be *used* as scrapers.[77] By looking at the evidence of *usage*, pushed aside by Campbell as fanciful, and treating Australian and European cultures separately and on their own terms, Tindale was led to completely different conclusions.

It is significant that the Anthropological Society was the forum for discussion at such an early date, as it helped Tindale to develop and debate his opinions and ideas. The Society, however was not only a place for developing ideas, but also a focus for active archaeological fieldwork. Tindale recalls that

> every weekend someone would be going on a trip trying to get material.[78]

The trips to Pedler's Creek during which Tindale developed his first ideas about succession fell into this category. The activities of the Anthropological Society therefore provided Tindale with a forum both for his intellectual and his practical development in archaeology. Just as he had served an apprenticeship in anthropology with the Board for Anthropological Research, the Society acted as a training ground in archaeology. Tindale believes that work in the field with men such as Campbell and Hossfeld combined with early museum work on rockshelters, provided him with

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[76] ibid

[77] KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[78] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

five years prior local training and gradual development of..skills.[79]

However it was not long before Tindale drew away from the conventional ideas of Society members and went on to conduct excavations of his own, advancing method and theory far beyond that of his associates.

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The paths that led to the Devon Downs excavation were numerous. Tindale had been interested in the antiquity of man in Australia and had read avidly about discoveries of human remains. The first human skull of Pleistocene age, that of a young boy found in Queensland in 1886 and known as the Talgai skull, intrigued Tindale, as did the more recent discovery in 1925, of the huge Cohuna cranium.[80] Both were obviously of great age and therefore they baited Tindale's curiosity. It was a human skeleton which led Tindale to excavate in the Lower Murray Valley at Tartanga, the precursor to Devon Downs.

In 1928, Mr W.P. Roy of New Devon Downs station found human bones protruding from the ground in a limestone reef at the site later known as Tartanga.[81] He brought the remains into the South Australian Museum and left them with the Director, Edgar Waite. Waite was at the time on his way to a Science Congress in Hobart, so he left the specimen on his desk with a brief and somewhat "cryptic" note about the find, without reference to its place of discovery or its discoverer.[82] He intended to work on it himself on his return. However, while in Hobart Waite collapsed and died at the conference. Herbert Hale was appointed the new Director and he and Tindale became heirs to the discovery. Intrigued but also completely baffled by its existence and the lack of information about it, they tried in vain to track down its origin.[83] It was therefore with great gratitude and relief that they greeted Mr. Roy who, in April 1929, having heard nothing about his donation, came into the Museum to see what progress had been made. Roy was asked to take them to the site immediately where they conducted a survey to ascertain whether more intensive work would be productive. The

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[79] ibid

[80] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987 and Josephine Flood, Archaeology of the Dreamtime:The story of Prehistoric Australia and her people (Collins, Sydney, 1983)p.55-6

[81] HH and NBT, "Notes on some human remains.." 1930 p.146 and NBT Seminar at the Australian National University 14 April 1980

[82] Seminar 14 April 1980 and KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[83] ibid

decision was positive and three weeks later, another more extensive survey was completed at the site. "Tartanga", named after the Aboriginal term for part of the area, consisted of

> a series of nine stratified deposits, situated on a long narrow island between the river and a lagoon.[84]

During a three week survey the site was mapped and recorded in sectional drawings. Excavation unearthed

> much other material, including portions of two further human skeletons, about two thousand examples of vertebrate and molluscan remains, and stone and bone artefacts.[85]

At this time Tindale also examined a cliff shelter which had been discovered by Sheard in 1927.[86] Sheard had dug a small test trench at the site revealing deposits worthy of much more intensive investigation. This rockshelter was Devon Downs and it was situated on the opposite bank from the Old Devon Downs station, and only about 1.5 kilometres west of Tartanga. Tindale did not return to excavate there until November of 1929, six months after his work at Tartanga. In his report on both sites the results of the Tartanga dig are discussed first. It had laid the groundwork for the November excavation. The information on Tartanga includes a number of maps showing, in cross-section, the location of the site, the nine stratified beds of deposit and the position of the human remains.[87] Tindale gave each of the layers an alphabetical symbol (A to I) and referred to the deposit and finds according to these designations, as he had at Pedler's Creek. Layers A to E and two beneath A (A1 and A2) were the oldest and were referred to as the Tartanga beds, while the composition of beds G to I (the Upper beds) showed them to be more recent. The depth of each layer was recorded and the nature of the deposit described before a more detailed examination of its contents.[88] Tindale argues that his training in geology was germane to his recognition and study of these layers. As a geology student he was aware of stratigraphy and his "geologist's mind" made him question their different qualities,

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[84]NBT and HH, "Notes on some human remains.." p.146-7

[85]ibid p.147

[86]HLS, "Aboriginal rockcarvings at Devon Downs, River Murray, South Australia" in TRSSA 51 1927 p.18-19

[87]HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.149-50

[88]ibid p.151-2

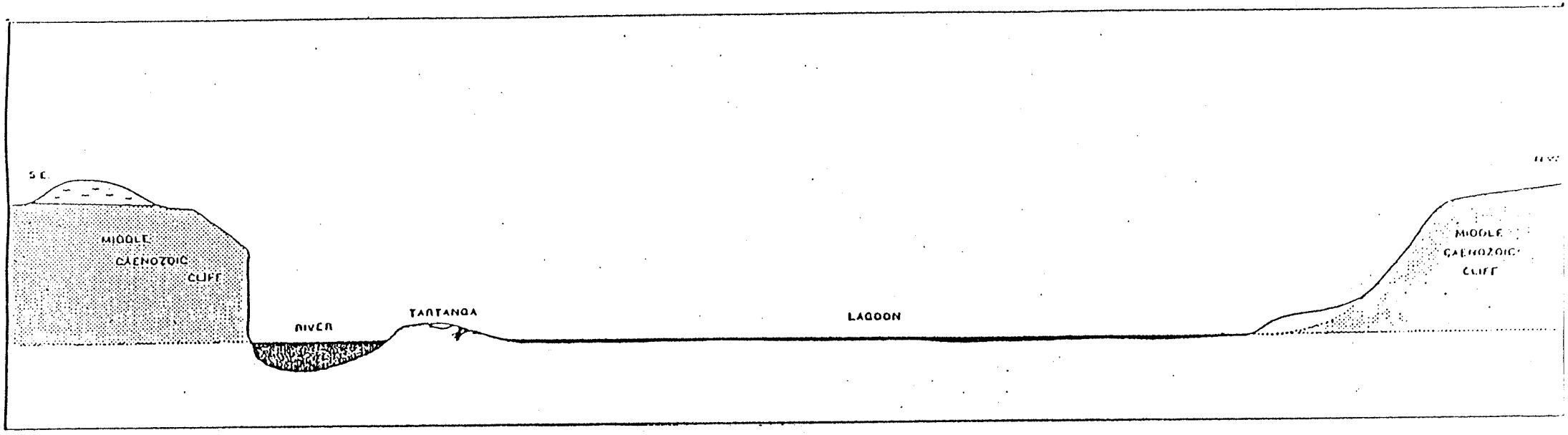
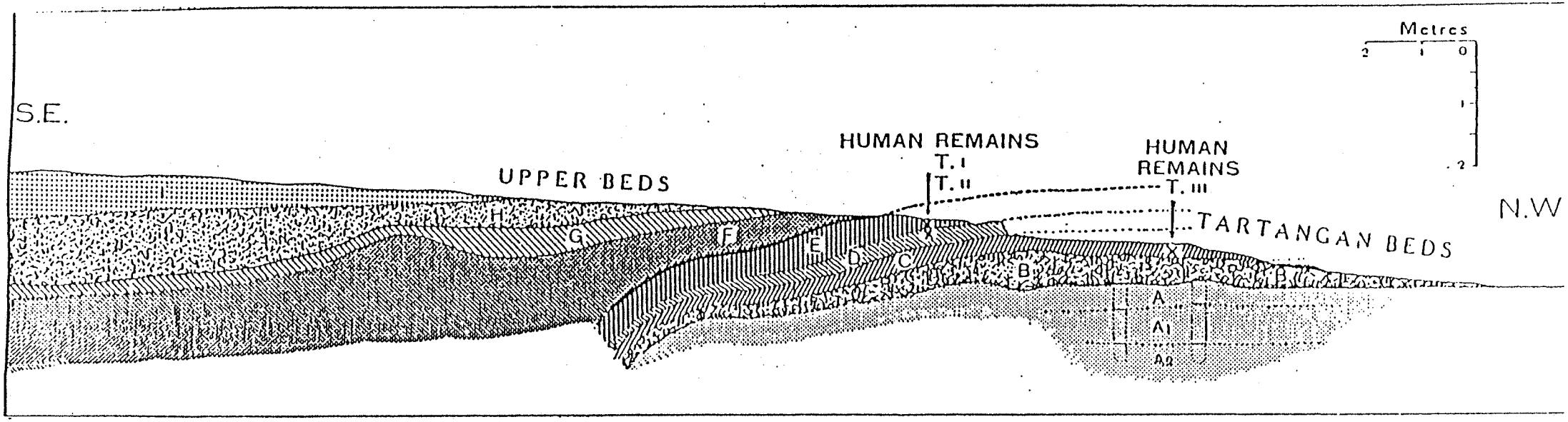


Figure 7-3: Map and section - Tartanga.
Taken from 1930 report.



enquiring how their unique formation and colour had developed and from where their characteristic components originated.[89] In this way, Tindale's examination of the Tartanga site was not limited to a description of his finds; he went further to understand the creation of the layers and the impact of environmental change, (a shift in the direction of the river) on the position of the deposits. His scientific approach made him ask *why* the deposits appeared as they did. This close examination of the Tartanga site later helped him to date the "succession of human occupation debris" in the Devon Downs rockshelter as "more recent than that of Tartangan beds A to E" and

> deposited over a period sufficiently long for some notable changes.[90]

Tindale also used the occurrence and appearance of bones, shells and artefacts to prove the great age of the Tartanga beds as compared with the Upper beds. The two sets of beds were separated by two strata F and G in which there was little or no evidence of human occupation. Tindale explained that the bones in the lower deposits were

> heavily stained with iron oxide.. and have undergone considerable mineralization.[91]

This was in marked contrast to the same finds in the Upper beds, which showed little evidence of ageing. The appearance of the bones and fossils, especially the distinctive staining from the deposit in which they had lain, also helped Tindale to trace some that had been weathered out back to their layer of origin.[92]

Another indication of age was secured by comparing the appearance and structure of mussel shells (Unio) from the Tartanga beds with those from the more recent layers and those in the lagoon. Graphing the thickness of the shells, Tindale proved

> the mussels from the Tartanga beds have consistently thicker shells than those now living.[93]

This suggested the greater age of the Tartangan mussels and that over time the

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[89] KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[90] HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.151-2

[91] ibid p.154

[92] ibid p.151-4

[93] ibid p.154-5

mussel had evolved to the thinner-shelled variety now found in the lagoon. Tindale's training in zoology made him aware of changes in fauna over time and he used this to provide further insight into the possible age of the human occupational debris.

The report on Tartanga contains a detailed description of the composition and contents of each of the layers - the bone and food debris, implements and human remains.[94] In this way the in situ appearance of the human skeletal remains was recorded, noting the occupational debris with which they were surrounded. During the excavation the remains of three skeletons were unearthed (named Tartanga Nos. 1, 2 and 3). The position of each burial was described in detail before removal.[95] The fragile condition of the skull of Tartanga No. 1 made it impossible for it to be removed without damage, so the sandrock in which it was embedded was frozen in paraffin wax and the whole thing was transported to the Museum to be carefully extracted.[96] Back at the Museum, using Martin's Lehrbuch as a guide, Tindale conducted a series of measurements in his examination of the skull and made detailed drawings of all the skeletal finds. He employed dental expert, T.D. Campbell, to make an examination of the teeth and jaws to ascertain the age of each individual.[97] In his Tartanga summary Tindale also presented a layer by layer description of the artefacts unearthed from the strata, with accurate sketches of a large number.[98] The types of implements discovered in the Tartanga and Upper beds became important when compared with those taken in the Devon Downs excavation. Tindale concluded that the larger, coarser implements from Tartanga were clearly older than any of those found in the rockshelter deposit. "Tartanga" was to become the oldest phase in Tindale's famous Devon Downs cultural sequence which he began to develop in November and December of 1929.

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At 9:15 am on Thursday 21 November 1929, a car left the South Australian Museum heading towards Swan Reach. By the late afternoon Tindale, Hale and assistants Herbert T. Condon and James Conroy were camped on the east bank of

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[94] ibid p.155-9

[95] HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.159

[96] ibid

[97] ibid p.162-66

[98] ibid p.167-73

the Murray River near Devon Downs rockshelter.[99] The next morning work commenced immediately with the drawing of a "contoured plan of the shelter and vicinity" which later appeared in the excavation report.[100] The previous May, during work on the Tartanga site, the shelter had been examined and a narrow trench had been dug down to five metres to test the extent of the deposit. Removal of the debris in 10 cm horizontal layers revealed occupational strata in a

> series of broader bands, well defined owing to differences in appearance and constitution.

The November excavation followed these strata, identifying and removing "twelve successive layers to a depth of 6.2 metres".[101] Tindale stresses that this is still one of the deepest excavations ever conducted on an Aboriginal site and that his use of metric measurements in the work was pioneering in Australia.[102] Following Martin's lead, Tindale had used metric measurements in his examination of the Tartanga skeletons so he extended this into his excavation work at Devon Downs, believing it to be more scientific.[103] This later became the norm for all archaeological work.

Over the first six days of the excavation, while Hale was still present, deposit was removed in accordance with the visible strata, down to layer 5.[104] As the layers were removed, examined and then sieved through a mesh (not more than 4mm) Tindale made descriptions of the finds in his journal. In order to ensure that no bones or implements were missed, Tindale made sure that each bed was scrutinized carefully and the debris washed and examined afresh. His journal also notes the final check,

> The debris from all the layers is being dumped in numbered heaps to the east of the shelter, so that if anything should be found subsequently in the rubbish it can be placed with considerable confidence.[105]

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[99] DR 1 p.353. Condon was an ornithologist and Conroy, a mammalogist

[100] DR 1 p.354 and HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.174

[101] "Notes.." p.175

[102] KRW-NBT Interview 8 February 1987

[103] KRW- NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[104] DR 1 p.354-69

[105] DR 1 p.365

Figure 7-4: Devon Downs Section.
Taken from 1930 report

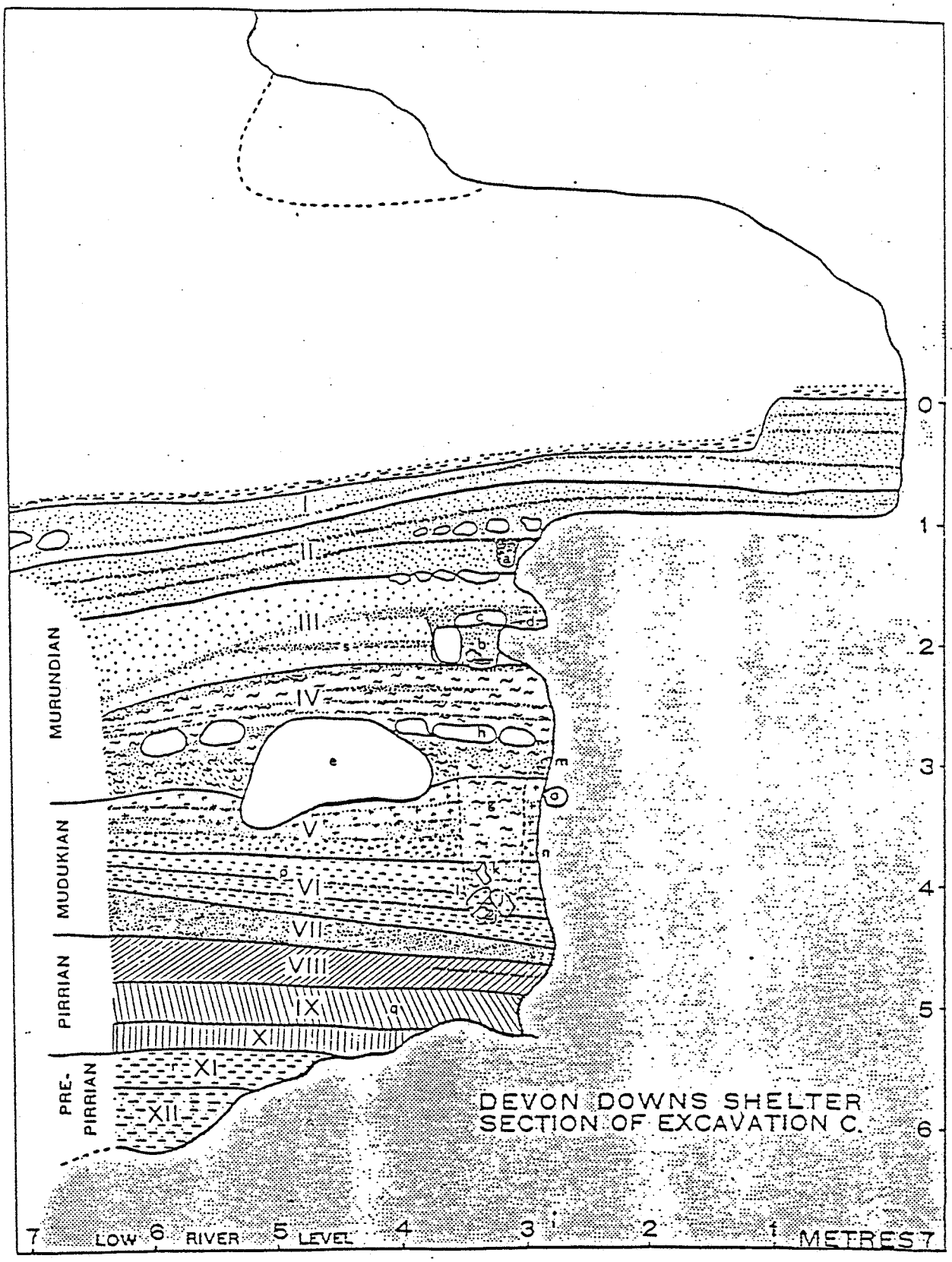

Fig. 41. Section of the deposits in Devon Downs Shelter. (a) Infant burial from the 120 cm. dark band; (b) child burial from the middle iii land surface; (c) block of limestone used as a mill-stone and inverted to form a grave capping; (d) pocket of debris, an outlier of Layers V-VII; (e) big rock which fell on top of Layer V; (f) its former position on roof of shelter; (g) grave excavated from the brown layer of IV; (h) stones capping the grave; (i) broken skull and bones of the child buried from the brown level; (j) consolidated blocks of upper V used as grave lining; (k) lower jaw of a five-year-old child disturbed from Layer VI and reburied with the Layer IV child; (l) teeth of five-year-old child in apparently undisturbed VI; (m) upper limit of sharpening marks on wall; (n) lower limit of same; (o) position of bone implement in hole in wall; (p) *Sarcophilus* teeth; (q) *Sarcophilus* jaw; (r) deciduous human incisor; (s) comminute deciduous human incisor.

He also ascertained the location of weathered out or disturbed artefacts by noting the differences in the colour and staining of bones and stone tools from each layer as he had at Tartanga.[106] In the evening, unearthed shells were sorted, measured and graphed to provide an idea of changes in size and thickness, for comparison between the different strata and with the Tartanga molluscs.[107] As early as the second day of digging, Tindale and his assistants came across the remains of an infant in Layer 2.[108] Only two days later while excavating layer 3, Tindale came upon a second child's skeleton. He described the unusual method of burial and the position of the skeleton in a hole lined with stones to form a vault.[109] Cross-section and vertical diagrams, including a close-up showing the positioning of all the bones and pieces of the skull, were made before the skeleton was moved.[110] That evening Tindale attempted to repair the skull.[111] This proved unsuccessful as a letter from Hale (who returned to the Museum on 28 November) informed him,

> When I laid the baby skull out on the table it looked a real mess, it travelled well without a break, but our attempts at reconstructing it were poor. Every bone joined is out of true, so I have given it to Rau [Taxidermist at the Museum] and told him to soak it all out and start afresh. It certainly doesn't pay to work in the field like that.[112]

Hale had been forced to return to the Museum to fulfil his commitments as Director, so Tindale was left in charge of the dig.[113] Before Hale left he helped to remove a huge rock-fall between layers 4 and 5 which, it was ascertained, had fallen from the present roof of the shelter. Tindale was able to conclude that the turtle-shaped rock carvings visible in the gap in the roof

> were definitely carved at a time after the deposition of layer 5 as is indeed suggested by the fact that the place could not be reached without

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[106] DR 1 p.365

[107] DR 1 p.356-7

[108] DR 1 p.359

[109] DR 1 p.362

[110] DR 1 p.363 and attached diagrams

[111] DR 1 p.364

[112] HH to NBT 30 November 1929 included in DR 1

[113] ibid

artificial aid from any level below 1 or 2 (NBT underline)[114]

This gave an idea of the age of the carvings. Another rock fall at the western end of the shelter had exposed a new piece of wall and on this Tindale noticed work of a "definitely different style". On the lower face of the fallen rock the markings were similar to those on the roof. This evidence suggested to Tindale that the roof carvings were older than those on the exposed wall. The latter consisted mainly of straight-line or "tally" marks like those he had studied in a shelter at Morowie.[115] The position of the carvings and that of the fallen rocks revealed the layer of occupation of the people who must have made the markings.[116]

During the days following Hale's departure Tindale spent some time sketching and photographing these different types of carvings, concentrating on areas where he could discern new examples superimposed upon the older.[117] Whilst working he came across a series of holes of similar diameter in the wall of the shelter. His experience of observing the habits of Aborigines led him to conclude that they had

> the appearance of having been done by twirling a stick in the hole. From analogy in N. Australia I suggest that such holes might possibly be made in shaping the end of a firestick before making a fire by the twirling method.[118]

Further excavation down beyond Layer 5 revealed other rock markings and also uncovered more skeletal remains. One of the problems encountered because of the continual and intensive occupation of the shelter over a long period, was that the activities of Aborigines of one time often interfered with the debris of earlier occupations. While digging out Layer 4, Tindale discovered a grave in which a child had been buried. This had been dug right down through the fifth and sixth strata. Mixed in the contents of this burial were the remains of a jaw-bone and teeth of another child, heavily encrusted with a limy deposit characteristic of level 6. Layer 4 contained teeth which belonged to this jawbone. Tindale deduced that in burying the child, the people from level 4, had disturbed an earlier grave in the

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[114] DR 1 p.368

[115] DR 1 p.368-9

[116] HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.208-11

[117] DR 1 p.378-82

[118] DR 1 p.382

sixth stratum and the two had become mixed. Only Tindale's awareness of the appearance of the bones from different strata and his careful scrutiny of the finds, alerted him to this problem.[119] After this he took extra care to watch for this kind of disturbance.

His careful observation extended also to stone and bone implements. The differences he noted in stone artefacts and cultural assemblages led him to establish his five part cultural sequence. Early in December the excavation team had reached level 8 which Tindale immediately recognised as entirely different in character to all those preceding it. He noted in his journal "the sudden change" in the contents of the deposit.

> At first sight we were inclined to think it sterile but this was only because of the entirely different type of remains.[120]

The following day Tindale noted the appearance of a pair of "spear points", which he later called pirri points, (after a description by Horne and Aiston in 1924) fashioned from chert. He wrote that these were

> so similar in shape, design, material and workmanship that it is certain they are the work of a single craftsman. This is the first level in which we have encountered such implements.[121]

Tindale concluded that the distinct differences in these artefacts showed that they were from another older cultural sequence which he named Pirrian, after the pirri implements. By carefully studying these tools, Tindale was able to make some comments upon the way in which they were manufactured.[122]

Excavation continued down to 615 cm where the team reached "rock bottom". Tindale wrote with enthusiasm that even at this depth there was evidence of human presence in the form of

> burnt stones and Unio..adhering close to the floor of the shelter..the whole of the shelter from top to bottom shows occupational debris.[123]

He thought it

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[119]DR 1 p.383-4 and HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.182-3 and 187-9

[120]DR 1 p.392

[121]DR 1 p.394

[122]HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.194-5

[123]DR 1 p.413

> unfortunate that we were not able to dig out a longer trench and thus perhaps obtain debris further away from the wall of the shelter (perhaps of even greater depth than 615).[124]

In the published report he suggested that this would be the logical way in which to continue excavations in the shelter.[125]

On the final days of their stay Tindale began to make sense of the excavation as a whole by writing down a "tentative summary of our season's work at Devon Downs". The summary in table form divided the twelve layers into five phases in terms of stone tool technology, rock carvings and shell remains.[126] The divisions correlate with those later reported in the article on the Murray River excavations, in which they were named as follows: Layer 1 -Late Murundian; Layers 2 to 4 - Early Murundian; Layers 5 to 7 - Mudukian; Layers 8 to 10 - Pirrian; Layers 10 to 12 - Pre-Pirrian. The finds in the Tartangan beds A to E suggested an earlier phase again, separated from the cliff shelter sequence by a "time lapse of unknown duration".[127]

Tindale described the types of implements which characterized each part of the culture succession. The Tartangan tools of stone and bone were larger and more coarsely worked than later artefacts. While the Pre-Pirrian strata revealed no implements, only stone chippings, the following Pirrian culture was rich in finely worked stone and bone tools. The beautifully crafted pirri leaf point, the kind shown by Horne and Aiston to be unknown amongst present day Aborigines, was the clearest cultural marker for this stage.[128] The successive Mudukian people made stone tools such as the tula adze and also used bone implements, including the muduk or fishing bone which gave its name to this period. This was recorded by Brough Smyth in 1878 as a tool still used by Victorian Aborigines. Yet Tindale's excavation showed that bone implements were not present in the next, most recent phase at Devon Downs - the Murundian (named after "the local subtribal name of the latest occupants of the district").[129] He suggested that the reason for this discrepancy was that this later culture had

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[124] DR 1 p.414

[125] HH and NBT, "Notes.." p.202

[126] DR 1 p.424

[127] "Notes.." p.204

[128] ibid p.204-5

[129] ibid p.203

> not extended to the coastal parts of eastern Victoria where people of a somewhat earlier phase (possibly comparable with the Mudukian) existed until the present time.[130]

This kind of analysis shows that Tindale was beginning to utilize the Devon Downs sequence to help in understanding tool cultures in areas further afield.

The Murundian and later Murundian phases showed a degeneration in stone tool culture combined with the introduction of polished basalt axes traded from interstate and the South-east.[131] From historical sources it had been ascertained that the Aborigines of the late Murundian - the most recent period - used many wooden implements. However none were found at Devon Downs because of their fast disintegration in an environment infested with termites.[132]

Through the excavations in the Lower Murray, Tindale expounded a culture sequence, the *first* ever to be established in Australia. It was destined to become a subject of great discussion and debate in the years to come, beginning with F.D. McCarthy's alternative sequence proposed after his excavations at Lapstone Creek in New South Wales.[133] This two phase sequence was based principally upon stone tool typology.[134] McCarthy had little experience with tribal Aborigines. In developing his typology his "emphasis was more on formal characteristics than upon function". Mulvaney describes him as a "systematist", who drew on his experience of classifying museum collections to define his sequence.[135] Tindale in contrast had worked with Aborigines and observed the manufacture and use of their implements and was therefore more concerned with function. He also exhibited a more imaginative analysis utilizing zoological and environmental evidence as well as changes in stone tools to support his theories of succession.

In his 1930 report Tindale argued that changes in food remains supported the

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[130] ibid p.208

[131] ibid p.205

[132] ibid p.206-7 and DR 1 p.424

[133] F.D. McCarthy, "The Lapstone Creek excavation:two culture periods revealed in eastern New South Wales" in Records of the Australian Museum, 22 1948 p.1-34. The actual excavation was conducted in 1936

[134] McCarthy's sequence, applied to N.S.W, included an earlier Bondian period followed by the pre-European Eloueran culture. After later work at Capertee Valley, he added an older phase, the Capertian.

[135] D.J. Mulvaney, "Classification and typology in Australia: The first 340 years" p. 265 in R.V.S. Wright, (ed.) Stone Tools as Cultural Markers: Change, Evolution and Complexity (Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Prehistory and Material Culture Series No. 12, Canberra, 1977)

idea that his stone tool cultures represented successive occupations of the shelter by different people. The food debris left by the Pirrian people showed more dependence on the river as a source, while the following Murundian culture first concentrated on small mammals, only later utilizing river products. Tindale stresses that the idea of change in occupancy of the shelter

> is strengthened by the abrupt disappearance of the stone "pirri" followed immediately by the arrival of the bone "muduk".[136]

Tindale's study of shell remains resulted in the drawing of a graph which displayed the "relative abundance" of different types in the successive layers of occupational debris. His awareness of the living conditions of the types of molluscs helped to reveal that

> during the period of deposition of the material in the shelter there has been a progressive modification in environmental conditions due to climactic changes in the direction of the semi-arid conditions of lower watershed characteristic of the present time.[137]

Tindale had learned in the field, through a letter from Hale, that he had passed all his university exams. Among these was Zoology 2.[138] This training in zoology was integral to the study of faunal changes which he used to support his theories of cultural change. In areas of doubt, he called in experts such as Hedley Herbert Finlayson (mammals) and Bernard C. Cotton (molluscs) with whom to discuss his ideas.[139] In all aspects of the Devon Downs excavation, Tindale's broad-based scientific knowledge was of great value. It allowed him to utilize a wide variety of forms of evidence to support his theories of cultural succession at Devon Downs and the great antiquity of the Tartanga remains.

It was the latter which seized the attention of the press when the results of the excavation were published. Since the discovery of the Talgai and Cohuna skulls, the newspapers were eager for new evidence of "Ancient Man in Australia" and "Ape man in the Murray".[140] There was a great effort on the part of Hale and Tindale to get their results into print before they were anticipated by other finds in Australia. In December 1929 Hale wrote to Tindale,

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[136] "Notes.." p.213

[137] ibid p.213-4

[138] HH to NBT 30 November 1929 included in DR 1

[139] "Notes.." p.217

[140] The Herald 18 July 1930 and The Register 19 December 1929

> We will have to look to our laurels in regard to fossil man in S.A., and get our paper out pronto.[141]

By the middle of the following year, headlines had appeared in a number of papers and Tindale and Hale were hailed as the authors of "a new chapter in the story of primitive man in Australia" and the Tartanga remains "would be discussed the world over".[142] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this prophecy was premature and the results were largely ignored by other anthropologists, although the work had been noticed as far away as Oxford University. A letter to Tindale from a friend at Magdalen College informed him that

> Old Adelaide is getting on the map. Draper's work is well-known here and so is your Tartanga stuff, but anything without an Oxford degree in front of it is not given much credit.[143]

The limited acclaim for Devon Downs did not deter Tindale and the experience inspired and encouraged him to press on and consolidate his work in archaeology; through the 1930s it began to take up a major proportion of his working hours.

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In February 1930, only a month after his return from fieldwork at Devon Downs, Tindale left Adelaide for Nuriootpa where he spent a day discussing with Harold Sheard other possible sites for excavation. Together they went in search of Aboriginal campsites in the Eden Valley district and encountered a group of workmen, one of whom took them to see a new shelter he had discovered.[144] Tindale, on viewing it, sketched a map showing its location, and described its size and appearance, digging a small hole to gauge the depth of the deposit.[145] He lamented that

> Rabbits have burrowed extensively in this and have probably caused much damage to the stratification which exists.[146]

He quickly checked the surface for any implements or other remains and recorded a number of red-ochred figures depicted on the walls of the shelter.

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[141] HH to NBT 4 December 1929 included in DR 1

[142] The Australasian 9 August 1930

[143] Bran (unclear) to NBT 1 November 1931 in 1/2/2 NBTP, SAM

[144] DR 1 p.439-40

[145] DR 1 p.440-41

[146] DR 1 p.442

This preliminary work aimed at ascertaining whether the site would be worth excavating. Tindale made a similar survey trip with Pulleine in June of the same year, travelling to Normanville and Yankalilla to examine a surface campsite and a cave in the coastal area. The cave showed a large area of "dense native occupation" which, because of the washing of the storm waves in the front section and the spraying of seawater over the whole floor, was so impregnated with salt that even wooden implements and grasses were preserved. Tindale wrote that the shelter would take

> two weeks at least to dig..with the aid of two assistants as at Devon Downs.[147]

In August 1930 Tindale went on his first Board expedition since the Devon Downs excavation. It is significant that starting with this trip Tindale spent more time on work related to archaeology than he had prior to 1929. At Koonibba (1928) and Hermannsburg (1929) his work was almost entirely ethnological and except for collecting items of material culture and observing an implement chipping site at Hermannsburg,[148] he did little or no archaeological work. The 1930 MacDonald Downs trip reveals a marked change. For the first time, Tindale consciously explored avenues of archaeological interest. He made a special trip to a place called Arapia to examine a number of rockshelters, all of which revealed signs of recent occupation, including

> ashes, stone chippings and a surface layer of recently shelled acacia seed pods. Nowhere was the debris more than a foot in thickness.[149]

Tindale had taken a number of Aborigines with him to act as "mentors" as he put it, and they were able to help locate sites and comment on the finds. While examining and taking casts of markings on the walls of one shelter Tindale asked the Aborigines about them, noting that they

> do not remember the making of these marks and attribute them to a cannibal native called Aranja [a mythical ancestor]. Aranja made them with a stone tomahawk, the vertical ones were made during efforts to make fire, hence the name fire marks.[150]

Discussions with these Aborigines provided Tindale with an idea of how the marks

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[147]DR 1 p.450

[148]DR 1 p.306

[149]MD p.38

[150]MD p.38-9

were made and their connection with the Aranja myth, (which he also noted down) showed their antiquity. In another cave the men were able to demonstrate the way in which hand prints on the walls had been completed. Tindale's informants were also able to tell him that the shelters were still used.[151]

A few days after this trip, Tindale visited another shelter at Mt. Ultim where he studied a fossil bed, drawing its geological strata and making a brief search for implements.[152] On other expeditions in the 1930s, Tindale also made specific trips to examine archaeological sites. In the Mann Ranges (1933) he explored a number of rockshelters, making brief descriptions of their appearance and contents, and mapping their locations for possible future work. On one occasion he carried out an actual excavation in a cave shelter showing that

> All the debris is recent, the top six inches has rabbit bones in it, the lower six is without them. Obtained several nice implements, some animal bones, abundant charcoal and ash.[153]

His examination helped him to conclude

> It seems evident that a flood had cleared the cave out at no distant period and that reoccupation started immediately for ashes were right on the bottom rock surface.[154]

During the Warburton Range trip (1935) Tindale also explored a number of shelters in search of deep deposits.[155]

On every Board expedition after Devon Downs, archaeology also entered into Tindale's daily routine of work. He made surface implement collections wherever he noticed them.[156] At MacDonald Downs, Mt. Liebig (1932), Diamantina (1934) and in the Mann and Warburton Ranges, he asked Aborigines to identify the tools he had picked up on campsites in the area.[157] In this way, at Mt. Liebig, Tindale found support for his theory of the antiquity of the pirri point. When he directed the attention of his Aboriginal informant to one of these points, the man

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[151] MD p.39

[152] MD p.49-51

[153] MR p.141-43

[154] ibid

[155] WR p.32-33

[156] MD p.8-9; ML p.27; MR p.383 and 320-23; D p.11- 31 and WR p.32-33

[157] MD p.7; ML p.27 and 70; MR p.320-23; D p.47-9 and WR p.37-8

> suggested it was a stone for pointing and suggested that old men still made them. Further enquiry was inconclusive and no old man was found who really knew how to manufacture them[158]

While maintaining primarily an ethnological focus, the Board trips provided Tindale with another forum in which to refine his skills in archaeology and consolidate his theories.

In November 1930, three months after the MacDonald Downs expedition, Campbell addressed the Anthropological Society. Reviewing achievements in Australian and South Australian anthropology over the last year, he stressed that one of the aims of the society was to locate, preserve and give attention to many sites of archaeological significance. This, he pointed out, had been achieved at Devon Downs. He also commended Tindale's "lively interest" in the many other possibilities for archaeological research in the Murray Valley.[159] At this meeting Tindale exhibited a number of hammerstones found by Mr. R.G. Thomas during soil survey work on Kangaroo Island for the Commonwealth Nutrition Laboratory.[160] These were to lead him into a new stage of his archaeological research.

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On 13 December 1930 Tindale went to Hawks Nest on Kangaroo Island, the site of the Thomas finds. This recent discovery, combined with eight hammerstones found by Walter Howchin in 1903, had stimulated his interest in the area.[161] The following year Tindale and B.G. Maegraith published a paper discussing the implements they had picked up around a lagoon on Hawks Nest station. On a sketch map Tindale plotted the distribution of the different types of tools, which consisted primarily of hammerstones, large core-type implements and some roughly trimmed flakes, almost all made of materials foreign to their location.[162] Their positioning implied that during the period of occupation the lagoon was much larger and Aborigines camped along its shoreline.[163]

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[158] ML p.70

[159] Minutes ASSA 24 November 1930, SRG 161 MLSA

[160] ibid and NBT, "A South Australian looks.." 1982 p.97

[161] NBT, "A South Australian looks.." p.97-8

[162] NBT and BGM, "Traces of an extinct aboriginal population on Kangaroo Island" in RSAM 4:3 1931 p.277-81

[163] ibid p.284

The aspect of the finds which intrigued Tindale and suggested the great age of the implements was that they were

> not associated with the usual signs of recent occupation, such as ashes, charcoal, ruddle, bone and shell fragments.[164]

In fact Tindale now had the confidence in his convictions to dispute Howchin who, in his 1903 report, had described a shell midden with evidence of flake tools. Tindale examined this himself and finding fresh shells associated with the older debris concluded that

> This mound, then, is not a native camp, but is merely the result of the transportation of living or recently dead shell- fish by storm-waves and wind

and that the quartz flakes displayed *no* evidence of "intentional manufacture" but instead had been formed by "natural weathering". Tindale pointed out

> in one case it was possible to fit several pieces together and to see that thermal action had caused the flaking.[165]

The lack of recent occupation debris drew Tindale into a discussion about the people who made the tools. The established age of the implements made Tindale consider that they may be the same people who populated Tasmania and were then isolated.[166] For more insight on the island's past and a possible idea of its now extinct inhabitants, Tindale looked into the myths of mainland Aborigines concerning the island. He drew this information from historical sources and also from discussion he had with his own informants.[167] In the paper he also mapped out the limited evidence of the same types of implements on the mainland and suggested this as a definite area for research.[168] He made subsequent visits to Kangaroo Island in late 1931[169] and in December of 1934[170] to follow up his research and examine other sites. In later years Tindale named the Kangaroo

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[164] ibid

[165] ibid p.284

[166] "Traces.." p.284-5

[167] ibid p.286

[168] ibid p.288

[169] NBT Summary

[170] NBT, "Relationship of the extinct Kangaroo Island culture of Australia, Tasmania, and Malaya." in RSAM 6:1 1937 p.39-60

Island tools after the Kaurna name for the island - "Karta".[171] Further evidence of the "Karta", later "Kartan" implements was found in Tasmania and on Flinders and Cape Barren Islands and Tindale expounded a relationship with similar horse-hoof choppers and large flake implements at Fulham in South Australia.[172] The Kartan phase was added to Tindale's cultural sequence as an era preceding the Tartangan.[173]

After returning from the first trip to Kangaroo Island on 22 December (1930) the Tindale family spent Christmas camped at Moana so that Norman could do a little light fieldwork in between swimming and body-surfing.[174]

Back in Adelaide for the New Year (1931) Tindale presented an address to the Anthropological Society on his Kangaroo Island finds emphasizing that there were probably many more potential sites for exploration on the island.[175] However his next archaeological field trip was on the mainland - an excursion to the South-east with Hale and Condon to examine caves at Tantanoola. He noted in his journal that the "prime object" of the trip was "the study of bones found in a newly discovered cave".[176] Travelling by car from Wellington to Meningie along Lake Alexandrina, Tindale noticed numerous sandblows alongside the road which had revealed campsites, but he had little time to stop and examine them. Near their lunch stop along the Coorong, he noted that the shell beach was very similar to that which surrounded Murrays Lagoon at Hawks Nest on Kangaroo Island. In his journal he commented on the "abrupt change in ecology" after leaving Meningie, which he stated signalled the "boundary between the Yaralde [Jarildekald] and the Tangane [Tanganekald] natives".[177] Such comments reveal Tindale's constant awareness of the connections between the different places and aspects of his work. Just because this was an archaeological field trip, he did not cease to notice evidence for his tribal boundaries research.

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[171]NBT, "Relationship.." 1937 p. 39 and 48-55 and NBT, "Antiquity of man in Australia" in Australian Journal of Science 3:6 1941 p.145

[172]NBT, "Relationship.." p.55-59 and NBT, "Antiquity.." p.145

[173]NBT, "Antiquity.." p.146. After later work in other parts of Australia these terms were used to classify implements across the continent

[174]NBT Summary

[175]Minutes ASSA 23 February 1931, SRG 161 MLSA

[176]SE 1 p.1

[177]SE p.1

Arriving at Tantanoola the group pitched their tent under the remains of an old shed and dined on the wool-sorting table.[178] Over the next few days they excavated and collected in the main cave (called Site A) locating two different types of bones - more recent surface finds and others embedded in the "breccia" or infilling of the cave. Most were small mammal bones found on the surface and Tindale wrote with regret

> It will be almost impossible to get a big series of bones at this site.

Condon had spent most of the first day trying to remove a large mammal bone from the hardened infilling, breaking two cold chisels in the process.[179] Although most time was spent at Site A, the group also examined and sieved the deposit in smaller caveholes (B to D) finding mainly recent bones.[180]

Working in confined damp spaces by the light of petrol lamps which sent out sickening fumes, Tindale and the others found themselves feeling ill and most evenings they felt the effects too much to do anything more than a little labelling or packing of the specimens.[181]

On the return trip Tindale examined a cave on the Glencoe road (Site E) and the three men spent about nine hours collecting bags of deposit. The next day they inspected a surface campsite at which Tindale, while mapping and making surface collections, found evidence of "two superimposed sites". Reflecting his concerns at Pedler's Creek, Tindale emphasized that this kind of site

> indicate[s] the necessity for accurate observations so as to avoid mixing of industries from two adjoining sites.[182]

The Tantanoola trip reveals the kind of work, some of it under very harsh conditions, with which Tindale was involved. It also shows the way in which he utilized opportunities to obtain other information and to examine, if only briefly, as many campsites as possible. On his return Tindale began working on a paper

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[178] SE p.4

[179] SE 1 p.7

[180] SE 1 p.8-9

[181] SE 1 p.10 and 13

[182] SE 1 p.29-30

discussing the geology and physiography of the Tantanoola caves.[183] In September 1931 he reported on this trip to the Anthropological Society, showing photographs to support his "ethnological notes". He explained that while extensive excavation was carried out, no human remains were unearthed.

At this same meeting a committee was formed to produce a paper on work in prehistory in South Australia. Tindale's Devon Downs excavation and Tartanga finds had come to the attention of the head of the Danish Geological Survey, Dr. Victor Madsen and he and his associates had considered the finds valuable enough to request a report as part of an "International Commission for the study of Fossil Man". This was to be presented at the 1932 Geological Congress in the United States. Tindale joined Campbell, Hale and South Australian Government Geologist, L. Keith Ward, on the committee.[184]

In the New Year (1932) Tindale once again challenged the work of Walter Howchin. This time he did more than just correct him on a point as he had in 1931. Instead he produced a complete paper which proved that the implements Howchin had collected on the Tableland regions of Central Australia, and had called "plateau eoliths" were

> not the handiwork of man, but that they bear the evidence of a natural origin in the fortuitous nature of the flaking and the marked differences in weathering and patination of the various surfaces.[185]

By summarising the characteristics of known man-made implements in contrast with those that were naturally formed, and by examining one of Howchin's specimens and a known man-made Tasmanian tool in the light of these traits, Tindale proved Howchin's claims to be wrong. He argues that his "geological training" and advice from Sir Douglas Mawson helped to provide him with enough knowledge and confidence in his ideas to challenge such a well respected and famous geologist.[186]

During 1932 Tindale began to focus more attention on the Murray River area

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[183]NBT, "Tantanoola caves, south east of South Australia, geological and physiographical notes" in TRSSA 57 1933 p.130-42

[184]Minutes ASSA 28 September 1931, SRG 161 MLSA . The paper was published in 1935 as part of the Report of XIV International Geological Congress

[185]NBT, "Notes on the supposed primitive stone implements from the Tableland regions of Central Australia" in RSAM 4:4 1932 p.488

[186]KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

and the possibilities for archaeological work there. From 18 February to 3 March of that year he and Cotton travelled by boat along the River from Murray Bridge to Blanchetown, looking for Aboriginal campsites, noting their location and examining shell and other occupation debris.[187] Tindale made brief descriptions and sketches in his journal discussing the occupational evidence and suggesting whether each site was worthy of further study. He also explored a number of rockshelters along the River, making short entries which contained enough information for a would-be archaeologist.

> Sunday Feb 21
>
> Left camp at 8:30 am and proceeded upstream. At section 0 Hundred Forster directly opposite Sect. 308 Ridley we noticed a small rockshelter perched some 40 feet up the cliff at the end of a lagoon. It proved to be quite small, some 15 feet long with an overhang of 7 feet. A large block fell down directly on the occupation horizon about the time it was last in full use. All the camp debris in the 1st foot of rubbish under the fallen rock is unaltered and contains numerous stems, with fragments of chewed rush fibre, opened quandong stones, cod bones, Mesembrianthemum, the desiccated remains of a small carnivorous marsupial etc. There is probably no more than 3 feet of debris in the shelter. It would be well worthwhile sieving the contents of this cave in the hope of securing remains of nets, baskets, etc.[188]

Tindale was making a record for himself, but also for future researchers.

On the way upriver, Tindale and Cotton came across an occupied Aboriginal campsite and Tindale spent a whole day talking with a 70 year old man of the Maraura tribe and another younger man.[189] The two scientists made their own camp at a distance from the Aborigines so that they could observe their activities.[190] The two also visited an Aboriginal couple whom Tindale had met before, Bob McKinley and Amy Johnston, and he spent some time discussing language and sociology and purchasing a number of baskets, just completed, for the Museum.

Tindale spent the last two days of the trip excavating a rockshelter with a very substantial and well protected deposit. In the upper layers he found strata of "freshly preserved thin shelled Unio" and beneath this he located a "flexed infant

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[187] MRN p.1-10

[188] MRN p.10

[189] MRN p.13-17

[190] MRN p.17

burial".[191] The second day Tindale preserved the tiny skull in wax before attempting to remove it. Further examination turned up a second, more desiccated baby skeleton. Tindale noted the presence of only burnt food bones, and concluded from comparison with his knowledge of present day Aborigines that

> a habit of burning all such remains to prevent magical practices was in vogue such as is known for the present day Tangane [Tanganekald] on the Coorong.[192]

He made a sketch map of the shelter with measurements and included with it his notes on the excavation which, he wrote, had been completed using very similar methods to the Devon Downs dig.[193]

Returning to Adelaide on 3 March, Tindale was greatly distressed to learn that Mr. Lea, his first chief and close friend had died on the previous Monday.[194] He countered his deep depression at this loss by throwing himself back into his work. Only three weeks later at Easter, he made a trip to the South-east with Campbell, Fry and Symons and followed that by returning to the Murray. There he examined a number of other caves and made preliminary plans for excavation.[195]

At the end of 1932 Tindale completed his final exams for the Bachelor of Science degree and in March of the following year he graduated.[196] The year 1933 was taken up primarily with work connected to the Mann Range expedition, so less work was completed in the local area. Near the end of that year however, he began to take an interest in the site at Fulham which had been worked intermittently since 1926, and to make comparisons of the implement finds there with those on Kangaroo Island and at older sites on the mainland.[197] In this way he was moving closer to the six phase cultural succession which he discussed in

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[191] MRN p.27-8

[192] MRN p.28

[193] MRN p.31

[194] MRN p.32

[195] NBT Summary and MRN p.41

[196] NBT Summary

[197] Minutes ASSA 27 November 1933, SRG 161 MLSA

two later articles (1937 and 1941).[198] In these papers he included the Fulham implements as a stage in the sequence of tools, between the Kartan and the Tartangan.

Christmas of 1933 again combined work with pleasure as the Tindales spent the holiday at Taratap with Uncle Walter Tapfield and Tindale made numerous excursions to examine campsites and burials.[199] Only three days after Christmas he made a trip to Papinyu caves, in the Potaruwutj country

> where in several chambers we found disturbed flexed burials under stones in small partly stone outlined graves..[200]

The first two weeks of 1934 were spent examining campsites around the area and as far away as Mt. Gambier.[201]

Early in February Tindale continued this kind of survey on his trip along the Coorong with Milerum and Fry.[202] The constant presence of Milerum meant that Tindale used every moment of each day and evening to talk with him on many different subjects and to utilize his knowledge of the Coorong country. The location and examination of campsites was only part of the vast range of subjects with which Milerum was able to assist Tindale. All camping places and other sites located and named by Milerum were plotted on maps of the area.[203] Later that month Tindale exhibited these maps to the Anthropological Society and discussed some of the observations he and Fry had made.[204] This trip is an example of the way in which Tindale utilized the vast knowledge of an informant to assist in understanding the country from an Aboriginal point of view. This was a great aid in locating camp sites as Milerum could remember staying at many of them as a child or could recall his parents speaking of certain places. Excavation at such a site of historical occupation could in many cases lead back into prehistoric times.

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[198] NBT, "Relationship of the extinct Kangaroo Island culture.." 1937 and "Antiquity of man in Australia" 1941

[199] SE 1 p.148-9

[200] SE 1 p.149

[201] SE 1 p.193-99

[202] SE 2 p.1-25

[203] SE 2 p.179

[204] Minutes ASSA 19 February 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

During the following month Tindale was involved in his most complete excavation since Devon Downs when he dug in Kongarati Cave, South Australia. The most important find was the desiccated and dried body of an old woman wrapped in a kangaroo skin cloak, found at a depth of 45 centimetres below the surface.[205] Tindale concluded that the body had been "smoke-dried". He had learned of this method from writers such as Taplin and also found references to this type of burial in notes he had made of discussion with Aborigines in the South-east. Tindale's own observations and those of his associates helped in making comparisons of the site with other burials elsewhere in Australia.[206] Discussions with Milerum also assisted Tindale in the identification of implements unearthed in this excavation.[207]

While Kongarati Cave yielded a number of interesting finds, its stratigraphy was not as marked and revealing as that at Devon Downs. The period of occupation was much shorter and more recent and Tindale noted that the implements were only "reminiscent of the Murundian horizons".[208] Tindale, in retrospect, believes that although the excavation of this cave revealed some new information, such as an idea of the making of kangaroo skin cloaks from the one around the body, it was less interesting to him than the Devon Downs work. The occupation was recent so did not furnish any further evidence towards the antiquity of man in Australia or cultural change over time, which were Tindale's prime concerns in this period.[209]

In September he discussed the Kongarati burial at a meeting of the Anthropological Society.[210] It was not long, however, before he had turned back to work which would be certain of revealing much earlier evidence of Aboriginal occupation.

At an earlier meeting of the Society, Tindale had reported on the drilling programme at Fulham which still continued. It was now becoming clear that the

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[205] NBT and CPM, "Results of the excavation of Kongarati Cave near Second Valley, South Australia" in RSAM 5:4 1936 p.489

[206] ibid p.499

[207] ibid p.496

[208] ibid p.502

[209] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[210] Minutes ASSA 24 September 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

ancient implements from below the marine horizon had been in situ.[211] Information from this site was to prove more valuable during 1934 as comparisons were made with sites on Kangaroo Island. That year, Harold M. Cooper was employed as a volunteer assistant in the Anthropology section at the Museum, with a special project to study occupation sites on that Island and map their distribution. Tindale noted in a 1982 article surveying the progress of South Australian archaeology that Cooper

> was able to demonstrate the presence of as many as a hundred sites of occupation and confirmed our suspicions that none of the post-Pleistocene coastal dunes had ever been trodden by early man, thus indirectly supporting a link with the pre-marine tools of similar type from Fulham.[212]

In October 1934, at the meeting following the Kongarati discussion, the Society discussed the subject "The Antiquity of Man in Australia". Tindale theorized about these connections and stated that, in conjunction with finds at Devon Downs

> while geological antiquity is not yet provable, a historical sequence of some length can be demonstrated.

He explained how the Kangaroo Island and Fulham tools could be seen as precursors to the Devon Downs succession.[213] This meeting reveals Tindale taking a further step towards his theory of cultural succession.

During this entire period 1934-5 Tindale was thinking about the connections between the numerous sites he had examined in South Australia and beyond. He saw that the location and preservation of sites was one essential task, hence his Murray River and South-east survey trips. He was interested in digging at as many places as possible, to gain insight into the Aboriginal past, but it was those that showed clear evidence of occupation over a long period and which could clarify his Devon Downs sequence which seized his attention the most.

In November of 1935 Tindale learned that he had been awarded a Carnegie Travelling Fellowship to undertake research in the United States and Europe. In June of 1936 he travelled to Sydney to visit his parents before sailing on the

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[211] Minutes ASSA 19 February 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

[212] NBT "A South Australian looks.." p.98

[213] Minutes ASSA 22 October 1934, SRG 161 MLSA

Mariposa to Hawaii and then on to San Francisco.[214] Before his departure from Adelaide he had received a letter from Joseph L. Shellshear, of the Australian Museum in Sydney, asking him to assist in "stimulating interest in archaeology in New South Wales".[215] Therefore while in Sydney Tindale visited the Museum and talked with Shellshear and McCarthy, discussing methods and approaches, explaining his techniques of excavation at Devon Downs and Kongarati Cave and hearing some of the results of Shellshear's work in Southeast Asia. McCarthy had been shown Tindale's Devon Downs rockshelter in January 1935[216] so he returned the favour by showing Tindale a number of rockcarving sites on which he had worked. Tindale spoke of the plaster casting methods he had used at the Adelaide Museum to record such phenomena. Borrowing a launch from the Department of Fisheries, the group travelled up the Hawkesbury River attempting to locate rockshelter sites, just as Tindale had a number of years earlier along the Murray.[217]

A few days later Tindale left Australia with a confidence, developed over ten years of intensive archaeology in the field, that enabled him to speak with authority to overseas experts about the prehistory of Australia.[218] After a year overseas , meeting and talking with numerous specialists in archaeology and anthropology, Tindale returned with even more enthusiasm and assurance. In 1941 he produced his first summary of the culture sequence ascertained from Kangaroo Island, Fulham, Tartanga and Devon Downs. This was to develop over the rest of his life as he located and examined new sites which provided support for his theories. Although challenged by McCarthy and later by Mulvaney after his excavations at Fromm's Landing, (ten miles from Devon Downs)[219] Tindale replied with a meticulous article in 1968.[220] Mulvaney's questioning of Tindale's thesis mainly involved his terminology, some of the type artefacts he used to define

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[214]NBT Summary

[215]NBT "A South Australian looks.." p.98 and KRW-NBT Interview 7 February 1987

[216]MRN p.170-4

[217]NBT "A South Australian looks.." p.98-9

[218]ibid p.99 and KRW-NBT Interview 18 February 1987

[219]D.J. Mulvaney, "Archaeological excavations at Fromm's Landing on the Lower Murray River, S.A." in Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria 72 1960 p.53-85

[220]NBT "Nomenclature of archaeological cultures and associated implements in Australia" in RSAM 15:4 1968 p.615-40

stages in his cultural sequence, and the problem of whether his cultural sequence could or should be applied over the rest of Australia.[221] Tindale argued that representative implement types had been found all over the country and they existed, labelled as to location, in the South Australian Museum. Despite these qualifications there is no doubt that Tindale's work in the Lower Murray Valley and on Kangaroo Island initiated the serious, scientific and interpretative study of archaeology in this country.

Tindale believes that the 1930 Devon Downs paper and the following 1931 article on the Kangaroo Island implements "shook Australian anthropology". Nothing in any way resembling this detailed and constructive work had been done before. He believes his work at Devon Downs was

> as far advanced in Australia as anybody could have been without actual experience in other countries.[222]

Tindale considers Devon Downs to be one of his most important achievements as it not only stimulated the development of archaeology in Australia, but also allowed him to establish an antiquity for the Australian Aborigines using "techniques which in a sense we had evolved ourselves".[223]

Tindale was a pioneer in the way he developed scientific archaeology out of his broad scientific training and experience. His evolution as an archaeologist both mirrors, and is an integral part of, his development as an anthropologist. He received no formal training in subjects called "Anthropology" or "Archaeology". His training was in the sciences and his lessons in anthropology and archaeology came from practical experience in the field. Through the many expeditions in which he was involved, whether their primary focus was on general ethnology, physical anthropology, rock carving or stone tool succession, Tindale developed and used his unique integrated and holistic approach. In this way he never missed an opportunity to record information about anything. It became *routine* for him to look at the ground around him while talking with an old man about tribal boundaries, food plants or social organization on the chance that he might pick up

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[221] In his 1960 paper, Mulvaney disputed Tindale's Devon Downs conclusions on a number of related points. 1 - He argued that changes in implement types did not necessarily represent "cultural differentiation" (p.75). 2 - The Fromm's Landing excavation "raised crucial problems concerning the identity and uniqueness of the Mudukian phase..with its type-artefacts, the muduk and the microlith" (p.77). He also questioned the Murundian phase, and emphasized continuity rather than change in tool industries (p.78-9). 3 - Fromm's Landing did however support the antiquity of the "pirri" implement (p.80).

[222] KRW-NBT Interview 1 March 1987

[223] ibid

a surface implement. On a survey trip up the Murray, it was logical for him to call on an Aboriginal family he knew lived in the area for an informal chat which might lead to recording new information. It was natural for him to discuss his work with Milerum while sitting on the verandah of the old military barracks behind the Museum, or to accompany him along the Coorong and through discussion about where he had camped as a child, to locate archaeological sites and learn place names.

Tindale's archaeological work in this chapter shows great variety. It manifests the essential quality of his work - the constant and natural interconnection of all forms of evidence in all of his pursuits. Tindale was *simultaneously* archaeologist, anthropologist, geologist, zoologist, entomologist and general scientist. His research in each field supported his work in others. In this way each fieldwork experience, each method or idea, not only answered specific questions but provided yet another link in his quest to understand the totality of Aboriginal life.

In this way institutions such as the Board for Anthropological Research and the Anthropological Society were training grounds, forums for discussion of ideas and refinement of methods; the members were both consultant experts on different aspects of Tindale's work, and friends or associates in the field. Tindale always respected their knowledge and aims, but also questioned and disputed their techniques and their conclusions. He gradually moved beyond, to pursue ideas of his own, and to fuel that proper breadth of interest which was integral to his vision of Aboriginal Australia.

* * *

EPILOGUE

His field experience in Australia can never be duplicated and his knowledge can never be equalled. He is at one with the Aborigines as it is given to few men to experience another people.

Leonard Broom - Professor of Sociology,
University of Texas in support of Honorary
Doctorate of Science for Tindale
13 December 1966

Since childhood Tindale has been a collector. He began by chasing butterflies in the woods and forests surrounding the village of Shimoshibuya. Returning to Australia he worked to realize his dream to become a "museum man". Throughout his first seventeen years of association with the South Australian Museum as Entomologist and Ethnologist, he collected material on the Aborigines of Australia. His research work in and out of the field led him to gather up the experiences which shaped his methods and developed his ways of seeing. Each piece of information he recorded and each technique he created to learn more was linked with another, and together they evolved in his mind and in his work to produce new avenues for discovery.

As the Mariposa set sail from Sydney in 1936, one phase of Tindale's life closed. During those preceding years he had developed his own broad-based scientific approach with its many interlinked methods of detection, and he was able to use this as a foundation for all his future work. His experiences in the United States during the next year initiated a new part of his working-life. They led to the joint Harvard and Adelaide Universities' expedition which introduced Tindale to his friend and colleague, Joseph B. Birdsell. The two spent many months in the field on this 1938-39 trip[1] and, after the war years, on an expedition financed by the University of California at Los Angeles (1952-4). During these years Tindale forged links with institutions in America which led to three Visiting Professorships, one at UCLA (1959) and two others at the University of Colorado at Boulder (1966-8 and 1970-71).[2] After his second term at Boulder, Tindale settled with his second wife, Muriel Nevin in Palo Alto, California.[3] He returned to Australia temporarily in 1973 to take up a Visiting Fellowship at the Australian National

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[1]See journal - Harvard-Adelaide University Expedition 1938-1939. Numerous papers resulted from this expedition

[2]Tindale received his first Honorary Doctorate of Science from the University of Colorado in 1967

[3]Dorothy May Tindale died in 1969

University.[4] Since then he has crossed the Pacific on many research trips, travelling around areas of Australia following up information for all facets of his work.

In this thesis I have drawn together the many threads of Tindale's life and experience which led him to become a fieldworker in Aboriginal Australia and which helped him to develop his particular approach. The years up to 1936 were crucial in establishing his methods and interests. Much of the background for his first tribal map (1940) derived from these early expeditions.[5] Tindale acknowledges that Maroadunei , his informant on Groote Eylandt, was the inspiration for his study of tribal boundaries and territoriality which led, in 1974, to the publication of Tindale's major work, Aboriginal Tribes of Australia.[6] Even those who dispute its premise, (the existence of the "tribe") do not cease to use it as an essential guide and reference.

Tindale continues to use the material he collected during the 1920s and 1930s. His priority is now to collate and publish all the information he gathered through discussion and travel with his close friend and informant, Milerum. This book will provide a unique record of life in the South-east of South Australia and will also offer insights into the experiences of Milerum the man.

Tindale's fieldwork in those years gave him the opportunity to record vast quantities of primary observation in the pages of his journals. His aim was always to salvage as much information as possible over wide areas of the country before it was lost to time. His accounts have now become unique and irreplacable. They are not only invaluable records of Aboriginal life in those years for the use of anthropologists and historians, but are also a direct link with the past for Aborigines themselves. Many people now use the genealogies, data cards and photographs which Tindale compiled to trace their ancestors and to learn of their family history. The descendants of those people with whom Tindale shared a campfire now benefit from his meticulous notes. In this way the methods which Tindale used to create links between all his forms of evidence have built a bridge between the past and the present.

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[4]Tindale received his second Honorary Doctorate from the A.N.U. in 1980

[5]NBT, "Distribution of Australian aboriginal tribes : A field survey" in TRSSA 64:1 1940 p.140-231

[6]NBT, Aboriginal Tribes of Australia : Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits and Proper Names (University of California Press, 1974)

His work also unites his own past and present. The boy who wanted to collect knowledge of the world became the 35 year old man who had travelled into the desert, shared the life of another people, and who now took his records of that life to the world.

In 1911 Norman's father had given him a blank notebook. On the first pages he had carefully copied quotations which suggested to his son the way in which a young man might aim to use his time productively - building records, opening a path for those who come after.

Tindale has spent his life filling those empty pages....

* * * *

Bibliographic Note on Primary Sources

This thesis is based mainly on primary source material located in a number of private and public holdings. It has also drawn upon interviews conducted with Tindale by myself, and by my mother, Beryl R. George. Given that Tindale's personal papers have not yet been centralized or catalogued, it is useful to offer a brief discussion of these sources.

Journals and other Sources held by Tindale

The principal sources on Tindale's working life are his journals. These have been kept not only while on field expeditions or other travel but also while at home. The originals are held by Tindale himself at his home in Palo Alto, California. I have worked almost entirely from photocopies of these taken by my mother during a visit to the United States in January 1986. These photocopies are now (1988) held in the BRGPC (The Beryl R. George Private Collection to be discussed below). Although typed copies exist in both the BRGPC and the South Australian Museum (SAM), these are largely unchecked and may contain typing errors. Tindale always works from the handwritten originals or checked copies. I have only used checked typescripts in three cases - the Cape York Peninsula Journal, the Warburton Range Journal and Murray River Notes. All other journals used were photocopies of the originals.

In the footnotes to this thesis I have used a standard system of reference to the journals. My abbreviations are listed below together with the full titles as exactly found on the individual items. My own comments follow in brackets. Where not otherwise specified each item consists of a single bound volume.

- GE 1 = Journey to Groote Eylandt 1921-2 Diary Vol.1 Feb. 1, 1921 - June 30, 1921 pp.1-172. N.B Tindale Adelaide Jan. 28th 1921
- GE 2 = 1921 Diary Vol 2 pp.173-409. July 1st - Dec. 31, 1921 also Notes on Groote Eylandt tribes, language, etc. pp.400a-400fF. N.B. Tindale, Yetibah, Groote Eylandt, N.T. Dec. 31, 1921.
- GE 3 = 1922 Diary of Norman B. Tindale pp.1-200. Jan. 1st - May 21st, 1922 Groote Eylandt and Roper River, N. Territory.

- FR = Rough Diary of trip to Northern Flinders Range, S. Australia Nov. 14 - Dec 18th, 1924. Incorporating various notes on the Aborigines. (unpaginated approx. 28 pages)

- K = Field Notes and Journal on the Anthropological Expedition to Koonibba on the West Coast of South Australia by Norman B. Tindale August 1928. Adelaide, S. Australia. (137 pages)

- CY = Journal of a visit to Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland. November 1926 - March 1927 by Norman B. Tindale. (Typescript 72 pages)

- CYN = Cape York genealogies and illustrations (also some Field Notes) (approx. 200 pages)

- DR 1 = 1922-29 Norman B. Tindale Diary of Researches pp.201-456 from May 22, 1922 - June 15, 1930. Arnhem Land 1922/Kangaroo Island, Yorkes Peninsula/ C. Australia 1929/Devon Downs 1929/Leichhardt's Bar N.T. May 23, 1922. (This journal includes "Journal of an Anthropological Expedition to Hermannsburg C.A. August 1929" p.295-352 and "Expedition to Tartanga, River Murray and to examine Devon Downs rockshelter [NN. Ngautngaut]" p. 353-438)

- MD = Anthropological Expedition to MacDonald Downs, Central Australia. Journal and Field Notes by Norman B. Tindale. Aug-Sept. 1930. Adelaide, South Australia 1930 (176 pages)

- CC = Expedition to Cockatoo Creek, Central Australia Aug 6-27, 1931. Journal and Field Notes by Norman B. Tindale. (323 pages)

- ML = Journal of an Expedition to Mt. Liebig, Central Australia to do Anthropological Research by Norman B. Tindale Adelaide 1932. (374 pages)

- MR = Journal of an Anthropological Expedition to the Mann and Musgrave Ranges, Northwest of South Australia May - July 1933 and a personal record of the Anthropological Expedition to Ernabella Aug. 1933 by Norman B. Tindale. Adelaide 1933. (Mann Range 661 pages, Ernabella 84 approx.)

- D = Journal of the Anthropological Expedition to the Diamantina NE of S. Australia Aug. 1934 by Norman B. Tindale. (236 pages)

- O = Visits to Ooldea to study the aborigines by Norman B. Tindale in 1934 and 1951. Adelaide, S. Australia. (1934 visit -280 pages. 1934 and 1951 together form a bound volume)

- W = Journal of a Visit to Warburton Range, Western Australia. July - Sept. 1935 by Norman B. Tindale. (Typescript 222 pages)

- SE 1 = Journal of Researches in the South-East of S. Australia Volume 1 1931-34 with some earlier notes copied in By Norman B. Tindale (260 pages)

- SE 2 = Journal of Researches in the South-East of S. Australia Volume 2 1934- (301 pages)

- MRN = Murray River Notes 1932-35

As well as the originals of all his past journals and those he is currently keeping, Tindale also holds the original of the "NBT Summary" cited in this thesis. I used a photocopy held in the BRGPC. He also has many volumes containing correspondence (including a bound volume of letters supporting the award of an Honorary Doctorate of Science from the University of Colorado), other notes and clippings, copies of the more than 200 articles he has written, photographs, sound and motion picture recordings as well as a comprehensive library of books and papers which he has consulted.

Beryl R. George Private Collection - BRGPC

This collection consists of papers which Tindale left in Australia with his daughter, Beryl R. George. It is kept at her home, "Raitunga" in New Residence, South Australia and consists of various unsorted files of personal papers. These include copies of journals (some checked), boxes of correspondence, notes, notebooks and papers, bibliographies, reprints. There is also a large collection of photographs as well as books and articles from Tindale's personal library. Access is only by permission of Tindale and his daughter. Footnotes show the particular items used in this thesis.

The Photographs used in this thesis are copied from those held in this collection. They cannot be reproduced without Tindale's permission.

South Australian Museum - SAM

The N.B. Tindale Papers are shelved in a large compactus in the Museum archives. There is no access without Tindale's permission. The collection consists of numerous baskets and boxes of papers, largely unsorted and uncatalogued. A *very* generalized shelf list exists in the Museum giving Bay/Shelf/File numbers and brief descriptions of a part of the collection. The most useful files from which information for this thesis was drawn are as follows.

- 1/1/3 = File of clippings and General Correspondence.
- 1/2/1 and 1/2/2/ = General Correspondence.
- 1/5/2 = Manuscript material and correspondence re Warburton Range Expedition.
- 4/5/1 = Letters, Bibliographies, Unsorted Notes re Groote Eylandt Expedition and material for Groote Eylandt papers.

There are many other boxes containing material ranging from the 1920s to the 1960s.

Other Tindale material is held under series number AA338 with various Accession numbers. This contains museum display notes, material connected with the Anthropological Society of South Australia, correspondence, notes, University course notes, genealogical data and some record cards.

Papers of Tindale's colleagues held in SAM

- H.K. Fry AA105 - I used Acc.225 which included a notebook/journal on "Visit to Coorong 10/2/34" and a notebook entitled "Mt. Liebig 1932".
- C.J. Hackett AA122 - I used Acc.50 which was Hackett's "A Letter About an Unknown World or A trip into N.W. South Australia".
- Also held are some papers of The Board for Anthropological Research AA346
- T.D. Campbell AA23/2/3 and AA52/1/3
- J.B. Cleland AA23/1/12
- R.H. Pulleine AA259
- O.E. Stocker AA311

The Mortlock Library of South Australia - MLSA

In the Mortlock Library I consulted

- Minutes of the Anthropological Society of South Australia Volume 1 1926-30. SRG 161
- Minutes of the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of South Australia 41st meeting Feb 23, 1931 to Feb 22, 1940. SRG 161 1/2

Interviews

In February 1987 I went to Palo Alto to interview Tindale. During February and March I made 11 90 minute tapes of interviews as well as many pages of transcribed notes from talks with Tindale. (KRW-NBT Interviews) My husband Paul Walter was present during a small number of these interviews and on those occasions he contributed questions. Whilst in California I also went to Malibu where I interviewed Professor J.B. Birdsell about Tindale. (2 tapes - PMW was present. KRW-JBB Interview) Coming home via London I spent a morning talking with Dr. C.J. Hackett at his home in Bayswater. (1 tape. KRW-CJH Interview)

In January 1986, during a trip to visit her father, Beryl George recorded an

interview with Tindale which has also been used in this thesis (1 90 min. tape. BRG-NBT Interview)

I have also drawn upon phone conversations and written correspondence with Tindale as well as on conversations with my mother to gain her reminiscences.

All tapes and correspondence will be lodged in the BRGPC.

Secondary sources used in this thesis are listed in a separate bibliography. This includes those of Tindale's published works which I have consulted.

* * *

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