

Example 4: Josephine Rankin

Another said to have an interest in the claim area is Josephine Rankin, daughter of a Larrakia-speaking woman of the inyarany clan (itchy dreaming). Her mother died soon after Josephine was born and she was raised by a Wadjiginy man in Darwin and on the Cox Peninsula. Her genitor was a Chinese Aboriginal man and the man, married to her mother when she died was a Larrakia man of the danggalaba group, who also died when Josephine was very young. She was often cited to us as an owner of the claim land, although her upbringing first in Wadjiginy-language surroundings and later as a part-Aboriginal segregated from tribal people, makes her reluctant to claim affiliations that others acknowledge to be hers. She has married a man of the same "country" and language group as her foster father, who was the renowned "clever man", Agug. She has adopted children from other language groups again and some of her stepchildren had a Larrakia-speaking mother of the inyarany clan. So, depending on the circumstances of a request to identify herself, she may give any one of a number of responses.

Example 5: Carol Collins

Another woman linked to the danggalaba clan by affinal connections is Carol Collins. Her mother's mother, still living, belongs to the inyarany clan of the Larrakia language grouping. This woman who is deaf and dumb has not been able to pass on much traditional information to her descendants. We were told that this woman, Harriet or Ababa, was promised to Tommy Lyons of the danggalaba clan. (Her sister married Bobby Secretary's father of the same clan.) She married a European and had two daughters, one of whom was Carol Collins' mother. Carol Collins' father was reportedly Tamil, yet Carol has always thought of herself as a "Larrakia", and a relative of the Secretarys, but has never known

the precise genealogical links that Bobby and Topsy Secretary can explain. Her life has been largely in urban Darwin, but she lives now in the township of Batchelor. She, too, depending on where and by whom a question is being asked, will select an appropriate identification.

The selection used by these people is not distortion. Rather it is a choice from among authentic identification labels of that most appropriate to a given question. This is a feature of social interaction among people anywhere.

Factors affecting identity

So where a person is born and raised and by whom, and what language (or languages) the real or step- or foster-parent speaks strongly influence how a person identifies. An even more powerful influence is what ceremonies a person has participated in and where and to what extent. Thus Wadjiginy-speakers such as George Munggalu Normal Barral, Nipper Rankin, Roy Madbulg and Johnny Biyanamurrng were identified, together with Bobby Secretary, as ceremonial leaders with Larrakia-language titles. In contrast, Prince of Wales, son of the senior danggalaba clan ritual leader, King George, and a Wadjiginy-speaking mother, went through a so-called "Wagaidj" initiation and therefore has no responsibility for ceremonies of his own clan. "Prince go back to Wadjiginy way, because his mother and his grandfather Wadjiginy ... that's the way", said one of our informants.

Similar examples of what we have called multi-faceted identity could be given by any of the claimants.

Ngirawad: a naming process

A custom bearing upon the "mixing" of people in the claim area has already been briefly referred to. This is the ngirawad. Another is maruy (or conception totem) which is dealt with in chapter six.

Ngirawad can be roughly translated as "namesake". A person in the claim area can have a name from another person, or from a place, and places can be namesakes for one another, too. This exchange of names, a formal affair, is one of the activities that cuts across people in the social field and links them with people to the east, west and the south. It is reported from the Port Keats area by Stanner (1936:303-8) as extending across a number of linguistic boundaries to the Daly River, by Falkenberg (1962:265-8) among groups at Port Keats; by Nancy Williams (personal communication*) in the Finnis River area and ourselves in the South and East Alligator rivers region and for the Warai around Humpty Doo, and by Herbert 1873:27; Daly 1887:66; Parkhouse 1895b:640 and in some detail by Elkin (1950b) in the claim area where the ngirawad is between people, restraints, even taboos, are placed on interaction. Release from them requires a ritual and exchange of gifts. We recorded numerous examples of ngirawad among our claimants, some at Belyuen (Delissaville), one with a Wulna-speaking woman at Humpty Doo, one with a Limilngan woman at Humpty Doo, two with women from Daly River, and two with people from Port Keats. The claimant Peggy Wilson was able to describe the ritual of release to us from her own experience. Claimant Lorna Tennant expects to complete her rituals and exchange in the near future.

Manaidj : "godparent"

Another custom which cuts across linguistic and territorial boundaries is manaidj, or godparent, where a woman such as Peggy Wilson gives the welfare of her daughter, Christine, to another, in this case to Maudie Bennett. Peggy's manaidj is a Kiuk-speaking man, Daly Young, or Murringga.

Ngirawad, like manaidj and merbok (Stanner 1933-4:156), a complex system of "inter-tribal" exchange, served to link people with people, and people with land, and land with land, over a wide area. Like kinship links and alliances forged through marriage

* to M. Brandl.

(Tonkinson 1978:8), these were devices which expanded the social field of individuals and of groups, particularly with regard to territorial and socio-religious affiliations.

Some of the reasons why the social field required expansion will be discussed in the history and history of contact chapters. These bear upon the traditional pattern of land ownership and use in the claim area and provided a demonstration of the strength of attachment of the traditional owners, the danggalaba clan, to their estate.

We will list now those people with an interest in land in the claim area through the following principles:

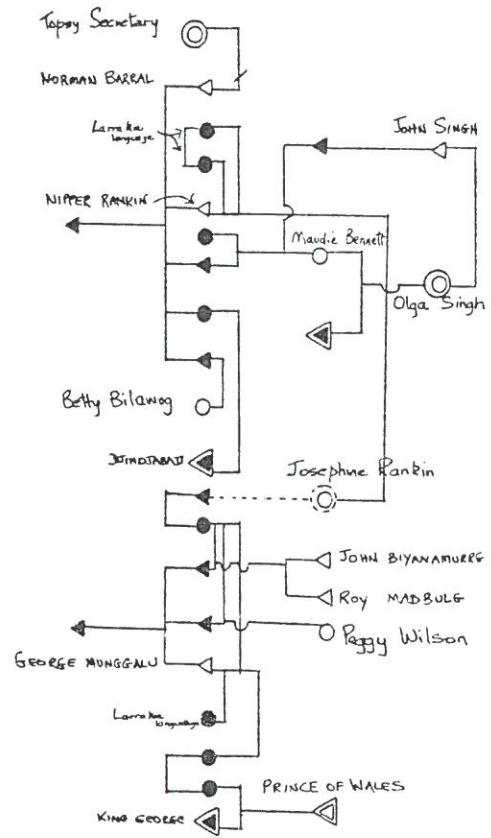
- . ceremonial initiation and progression
- . marriage to danggalaba local descent group members
- . birth or conception "dreaming" at a site in the claim area
- . burial site of a relative
- . right of forage
- . durlg site in the claim area
- . residence which is additional to the above principles and may be combined with any of them

The details of how people relate to land are given in chapters six and eight in particular where the above principles are discussed. Some names appear on more than one list but this demonstrates their multiple linkages to land in the area.

Ceremonial initiation and progression

George Munggalu
John Biyanamurrug
Roy Madbulg
Tommy Barradjab
Norman Barral
Nipper Rankin
Captain Bishop
Mr. Holmes

(See figure two for a diagram of the relationship of these people to members of the danggalaba group.)



Legend

- △ male living
- ▲ male deceased
- female living
- female deceased

- △ (with horizontal line above) danggalaba class
- △ (with horizontal line above and dot below) " " "
- (with horizontal line above and dot below) " " "
- (with horizontal line above and dot below) " " "

- △ (with horizontal line above and circle below) putative or adoptive
- △ (with horizontal line above and circle below) marriage
- △ (with horizontal line above and circle below and dot below) broken marriage
- △ (with horizontal line above and circle below and triangle below) siblings

People with an interest in the claim area through ceremonial leadership.

Ceremonial initiation and progression (continued)

All boys and men initiated at Belyuen and elsewhere in the claim area.

All girls and women initiated at Belyuen and elsewhere in the claim area.

Marriage to danggalaba local descent group members

Norman Harris
Nipper Rankin
John Singh
Matthew Thompson
Maudie Bennett

Given Rachel (or Paula) Thompson's disinterest in the claim, Matthew Thompson may share it, but he is named here because of his marriage to the daughter of the danggalaba leader, Tommy Lyons.

Maudie Bennett is undoubtedly one of the most knowledgeable living Aborigines on matters to do with the claim area.

Birth or conception "dreaming" (maruy) at a site in the claim area

<u>Person</u>	<u>Site</u>
Kenny Burrinjuck or Barradjab	Binalg
Deborah Bigfoot	Wulmarr
Lyn Bigfoot	Nungulmarra
Lynette Bigfoot	Binbinya
Marianne Bigfoot	Mibug
Billy 3 Bilbil	Wanggigi
Gracie Binbin Biyanamurrug	Bidbinbiyirrg
Lenny Burrburr	Imalug
Stephen Fergusson	Wudud
George Gumbudug	Bidyirrninyini
Robin Nilco	Midjili
Jason Singh	Madjalaba
Lenny Singh	Debilibu
Jimmy Singh	Milig
Audrey Smith	Wanggigi
Winnie Woodie	Binalg
Harold Woodie	Nungiyil
David Woodie	Wudud
Margaret Woodie	Belyuen
Roy Yarrowen	Madjalaba
Olga Singh	Gidjerigidjerinyini (her father's father's birthplace)

The concept of maruy is examined in chapter six.

Burial site of a relative

<u>Person</u>	<u>Site</u>
Tommy Barradjab	Belurriya - father's grave
" "	Milig - sister's grave
Maudie Bennett	Muldja - father's grave
Bobby Lane	{ Daliribarg - father's brother's grave
All the Henda, Singh, Rivers, Moffat and Cubillo	{ Manggalangoara - father's brother's grave
families are related to the deceased people buried at these sites	
Audrey and Agnes Lippo	Ngambarrngayidj - mother's grave
Maggie Timber	" - sister's grave
Olga Singh	Gabarl - father's father's grave
Alice Wanbirri)	
Roy Yarrowen)	
Roy Bilbil)	
John Bama)	Duwun - mother's mother's grave

The sites of Danubulgiyam and Wanggigi have many graves. When the Mandorah hotel and swimming pool were built many of these graves were excavated.* Many living Aboriginal people have relatives buried there.

Residence and right of forage

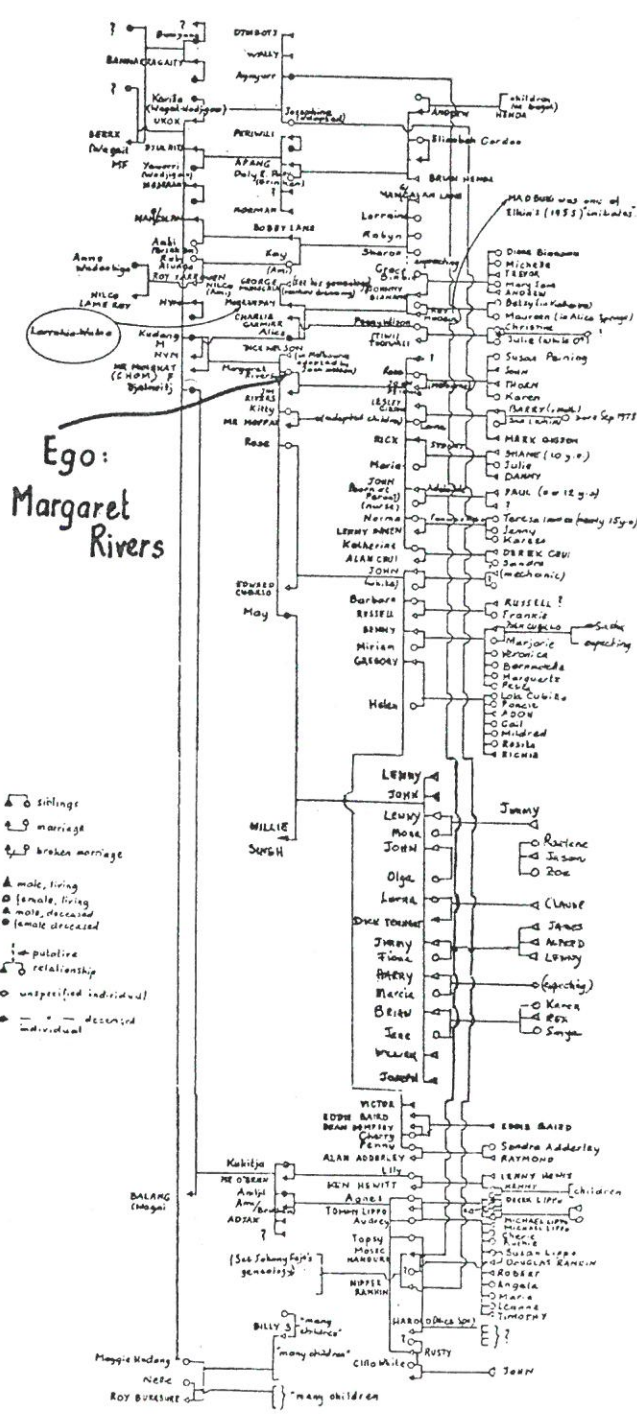
All those who live at Belyuen have the right to forage in the claim area. We have a list of some seventy family heads plus their spouses and children where applicable. if required).

People living outside the claim area who may forage as of right include the Secretary family and other traditional owners who, for one reason or another, do not reside at Belyuen. Important among those who may forage are the Rivers, Moffat and Cubillo families and their children and children's children.** In fact in times past Bobby Secretary has made specific requests to Margaret Rivers to care for the islands.

Some Belyuen residents have married Port Keats people and others in the Northern Territory. One has even married as far

* A former superintendent of Delissaville settlement confirmed this in a personal communication to M. Walsh.

** See Figures 3 and 7.



Margaret Rivers' genealogy.



Margaret Rivers and her mother's sister, Gudang, oldest living member of the Wadjiginy language group. Both these women have long associations with the claim area. Margaret Rivers has held an occupation licence on Durr-in-mirrie Island for many years.

east as Milingimbi. Absence does not mean they no longer have the right to forage in the claim area, we were told.

Durlg site in the claim area

Harriet or Ababa Shepherd is an old Larrakia woman in Darwin. One of her "dreamings", or durlg, is said to be inyarany, or itchy "dreaming", located at Bagalg on the Cox Peninsula. As she is deaf and dumb and has few people left of her own age, we were not able to gather much more information about this site. Nor has she been able to pass on information to her daughters, Pauline Baban and Ruby Shepherd, nor to their children, who have an interest in the site. These are the descendants of Ababa in the female line:

Pauline Baban (Senior)
 Ruby Shepherd
 Carol Collins and children
 Irene Musk and children
 Pauline Baban (Junior)
 Ronald Baban
 Donald Baban
 Trevor Reed and children

These people are said to be Larrakia and identify themselves in this way (see Figure 4).

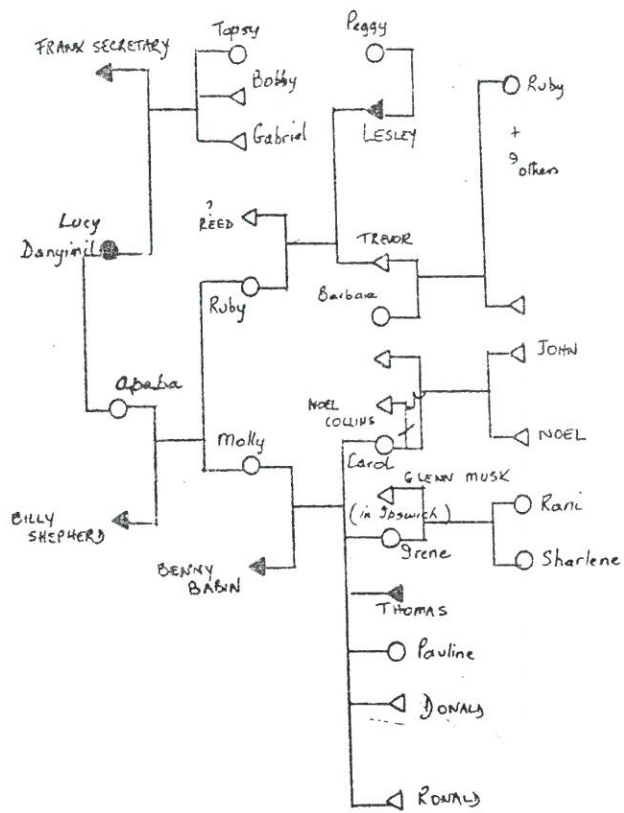
The Fejo family are also said to be Larrakia, but we were unable to locate a durlg or "dreaming" for them. However R. M. Berndt (in 1945) was told their durlg was turtle, or dawulira (personal communication*). In this case their durlg site is possibly Madjalaba in the claim area. These are the descendants of Djuma Fejo, now dead:

Jim Fejo and children
 Edward Fejo and children
 William Fejo and children
 Walter Fejo and children
 Sam Fejo and children
 Frank Fejo and children
 Joan Fejo and children
 Dorothy Fejo and children

(See Figure 5 for genealogy of the Fejo family.)

In Chapter six we discuss the relationship of the dawulira

* To M. Brandl and M. Walsh.



Aba and her descendants. (For legend see Figure 3)

and inyarany local descent groups to the claim area.

People related to other Larrakia durlg through women

John Fejo (died 17 November, 1979) and children
 (see his genealogy, Figure 6)
 Richard Rankin
 Lorna Lee Talbot and children
 Nancy Brown and children
 Clancy Cahill
 The Batjo family
 Christina, Bertha, Martina, Poncie, Edward,
 Delfin, Anna and the deceased John, Philip and
 Laurence Cubillo and the children of these people

We regard this list as very preliminary indeed. Undoubtedly more people exist who belong to this category, but because of the reasons given in chapter 4, have lost contact with their kin.

A brief example will be given here. A man, Delfin Cubillo, lives in Darwin with his family. He is one of ten children of a Filipino diver, Juan Cubillo, who came to Darwin at the turn of the century to work on pearling ships. In 1910 Juan Cubillo married Lily McKeddie, daughter of an early settler on the Cox Peninsula - George McKeddie - and a Larrakia woman named Annie, who came from the Belyuen area. Lily's brother, Jack McKeddie, married Victoria Dashwood, sister of George Munggalu, the most senior ritual man in the claim area today.

Delfin has an active interest in his family history, but never knew his mother's mother. It is, however, part of his family's traditions that his grandmother told his mother of a waterhole, a dreaming place for the rainbow, at Delissaville (that is, Belyuen). He also knows that Old Man Rock off Casuarina Beach in Darwin is supposed to have travelled before settling there, and that it is a dangerous area.

The Cubillos apparently have connections to the claim area, particularly the family of Delfin's brother, Edward, who married Rose, sister to Margaret Rivers and Kitty Moffat (see Figures 3 and 7) and certainly an interest.

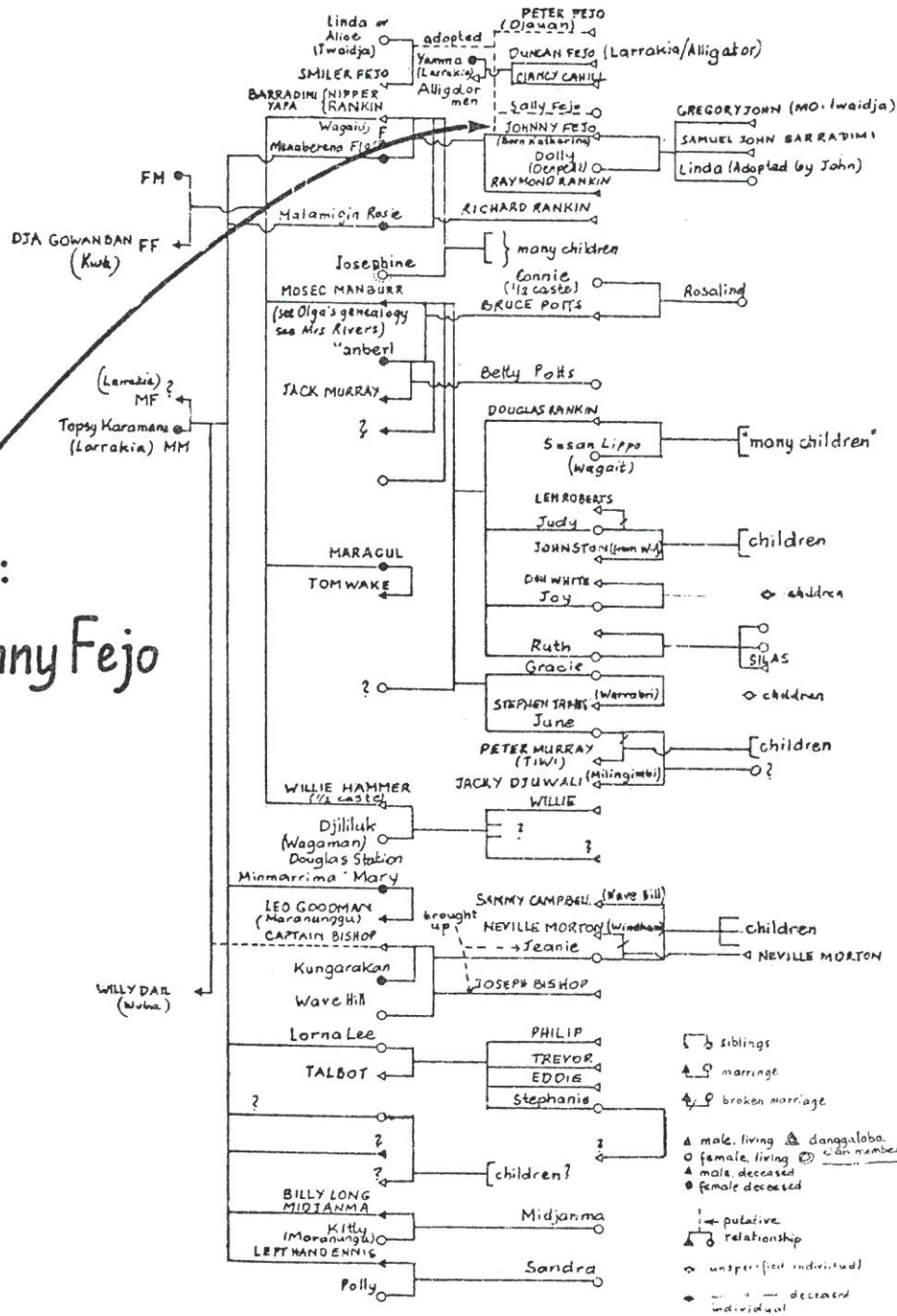
The Fejo family pose a different problem. A genealogy (Figure 6) taken from Sam Fejo parallels one taken by R. M. Berndt in 1945 for the older generation levels. Sam Fejo's father had his initiation ceremony at Daramanggamaning, and Sam's was at Gundal in the Darwin area.

We assume, because we were given no information to the contrary, that the Fejo family are not traditional owners, but they are considered to have an association with the area through women and step-fathers.

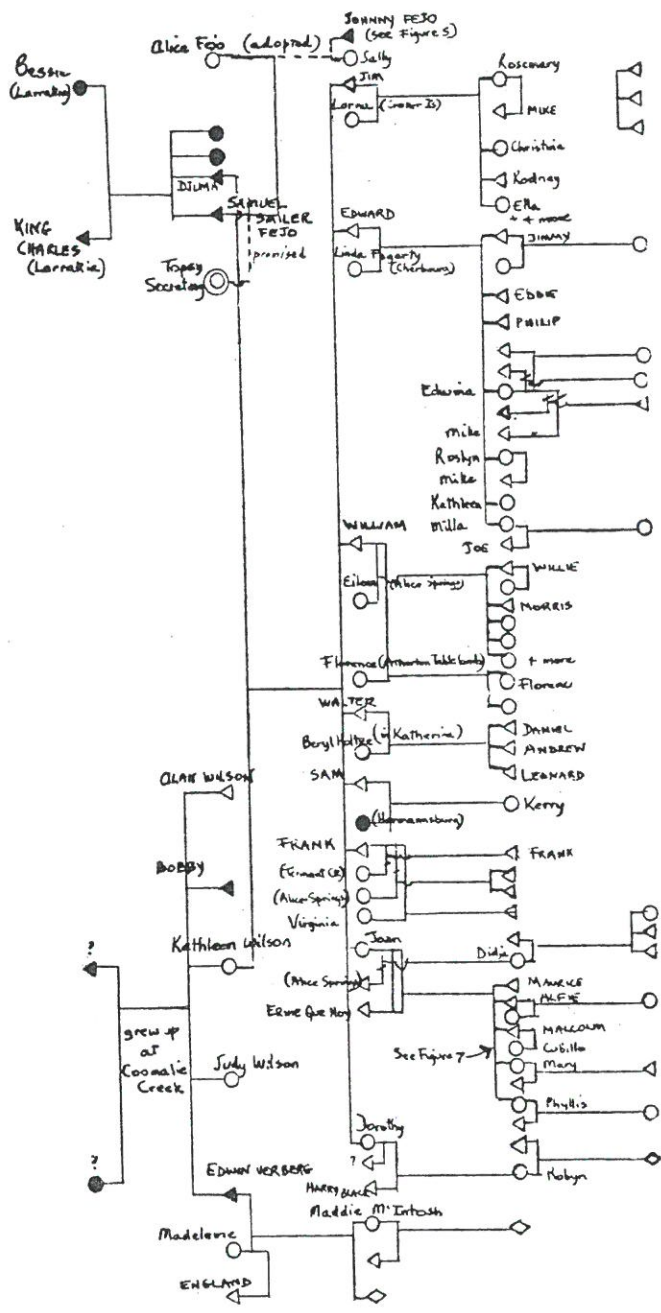
We have approached all people known to the Northern Land Council as having an interest in the claim and followed up other leads where time permitted. We have also made known that this claim book is available to those who feel they have an interest in the claim and requested them to make themselves known to the Council.

The existence of Larrakia durlg or local descent groups, other than the traditional owners in the danggalaba clan, are discussed in chapter six. Also considered there are the implications these other groups have for traditional ownership of the claim area.

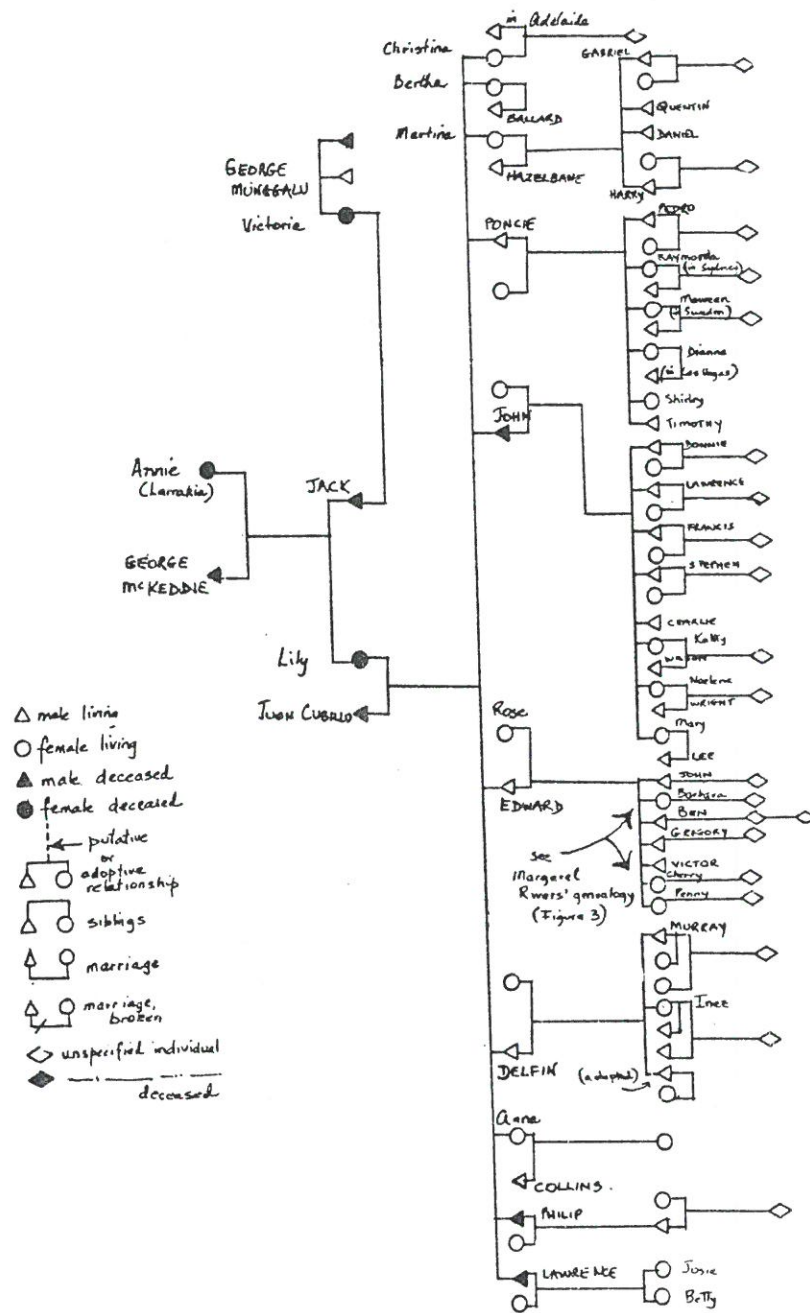
Ego:
Johnny Fejo



Johnny Fejo's genealogy. (For legend see Figure 3)



The Fejo family. (For legend see Figure 7)



The Cubillo family.