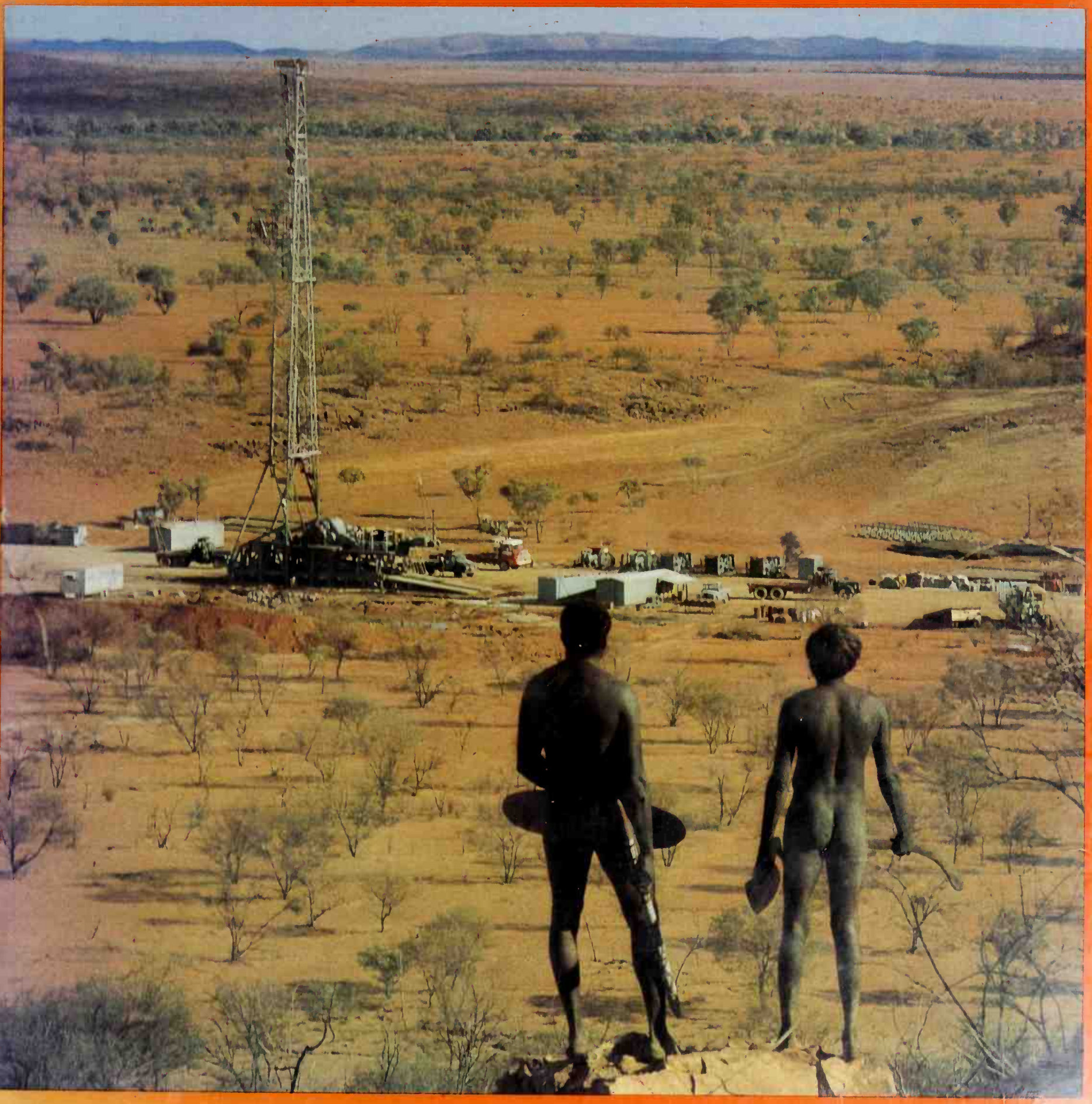
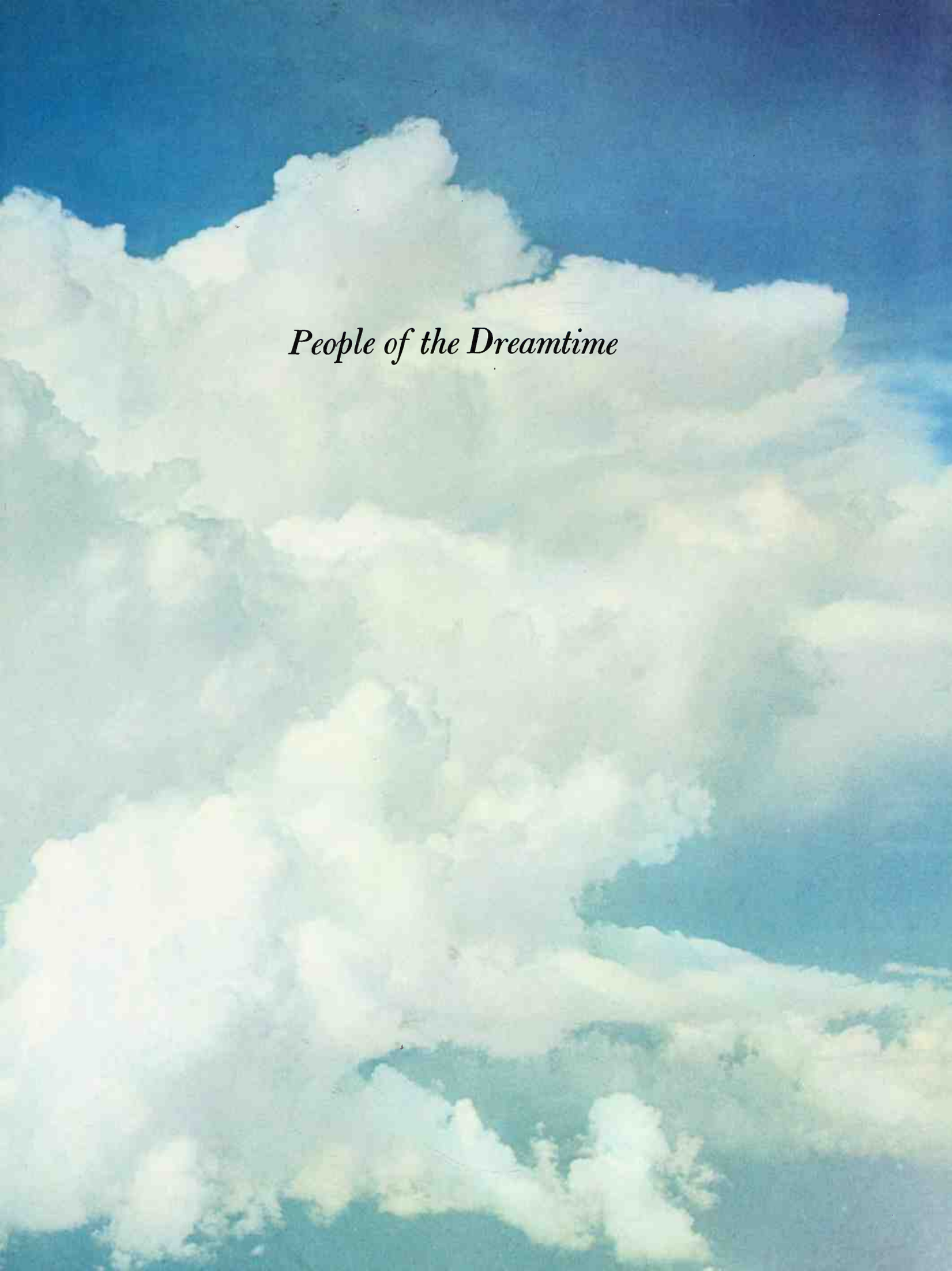
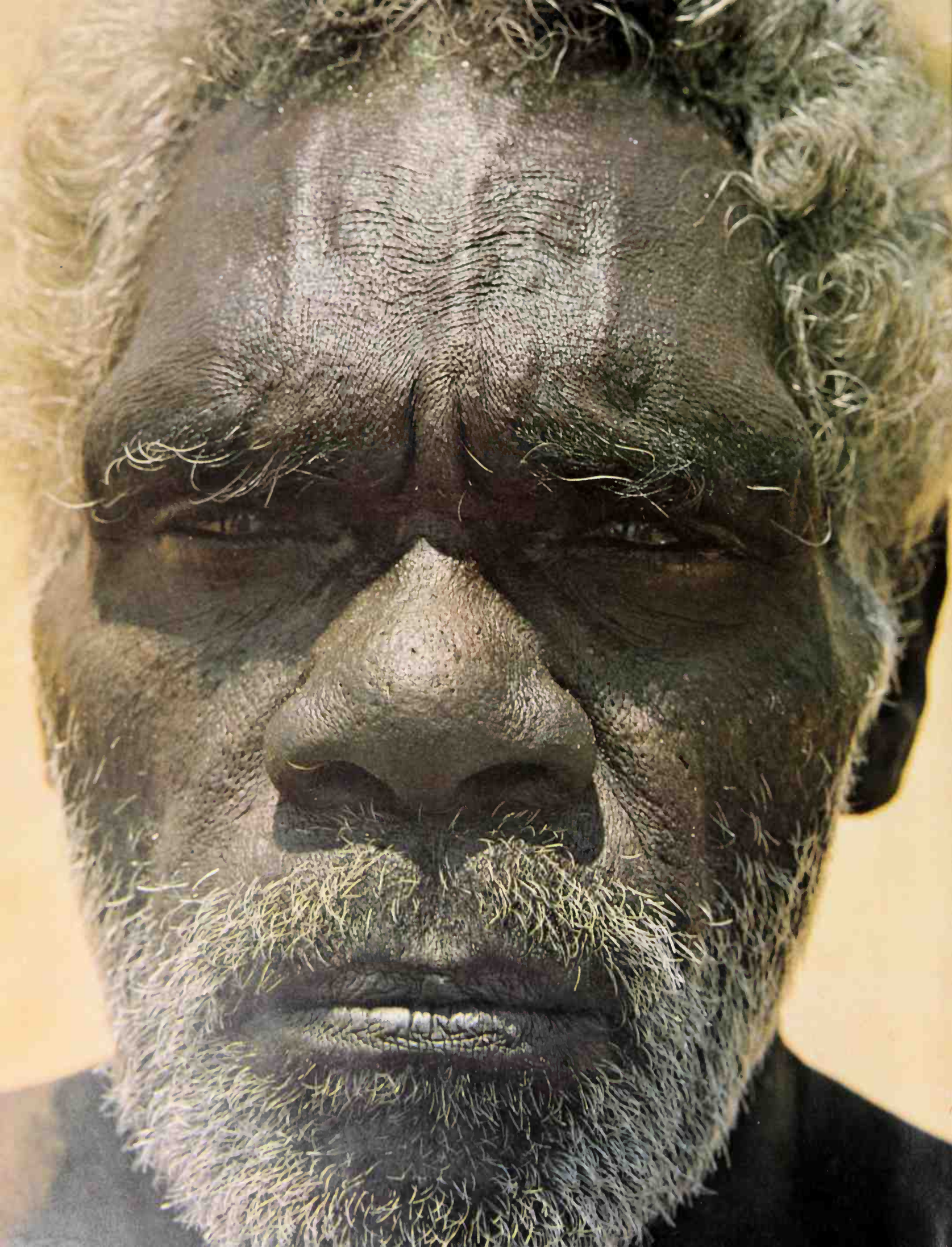
DOUGLASS BAGLIN & DAVID R. MOORE

People of the Dreamtime

The Australian Aborigines




People of the Dreamtime



DOUGLASS BAGLIN & DAVID R. MOORE

PEOPLE OF THE DREAMTIME

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

A Weatherhill Book • WALKER/WEATHERHILL • *New York & Tokyo*

ENDPAPERS DESIGN: "Dream of a Turtle Hunt," a contemporary bark painting from Arnhem Land, identified in a label on the back as being by "Milirrtum of the Ritatgingo tribe." (Collection of Mr. & Mrs. Thomas L. Blakemore, Tokyo)

First edition, 1970

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Contents

Authors' Preface

THIS BOOK seeks to provide a balanced and reasonable statement upon the past, present, and future of the aborigines of Australia. We have not, however, attempted to conceal our sympathy for the plight of the Dark Australians, and we hope we have communicated something of our own feelings in the closely integrated text and photographs. If the book has a general theme, it is man's astonishing incapacity to understand that all men are not made in the same cultural image, that groups outside one's own have different ways and habits that are their means of survival, not merely curious or naïve customs that can safely be eliminated without harming the human beings who hold to them.

In a sense it can be said that Douglass Baglin has been primarily responsible for the photography and David R. Moore for the writing. But we have in fact worked together so closely on the book that it is, in the fullest sense of the word, a collaboration.

While the book's preparation involved consulting the usual formal sources—books, studies, archives—the ultimate point of reference has been the Dark Australians themselves, among whom we both have lived and worked for a number of years. Many other Australians have aided and wonderfully abetted us in our task. Among them we would particularly like to thank the following: the Reverend Douglas Belcher, of Mornington Island; the Reverend Mr. Shepherdson and David Morris, of Elcho Island; Peter Baillieu; Dr. John Cawte, of the University of New South Wales; Barry Allwright, of Everard Station; David and Judy Goslett, of Mitchell River; Colonel Michael Casey, of Groote Eylandt; Harry Giese and Ted Milliken, of the Northern Territory Welfare Department; the Fisher brothers of Pine Creek; Eddie Connellan and Christine Davy, of Connellan Airways; Wal and Rita Olsen, of Bonny Creek; and, lastly, Elaine Baglin, who has been deeply involved in this book from its inception and who typed the final manuscript.


Melville Is.
Millingimbi
Bathurst Is.
Darwin
Wessel Is.
Elcho Is.
Yirrkala
Thursday Is.
Oenpelli
Chasm Is.
Weipa
El Sharana
Groote Eylandt
Mornington Is.
Cooktown
Mitchell River
Mt. House
Ord R.
Cairns
Brunette Downs
Broome
Derby
Halls Ck.
Yarrabah Mission
Tennant Ck.
Lagrange
Nicholson
Northern Territory
Mt. Isa
Queensland
Alice Springs
Hermannsburg Mission
Tempe Downs
Santa Teresa
Western Australia
Mt. Everard
Brisbane
South Australia
Tibooburra
Ashford
Marree
Milparinka
Andamooka
New South Wales
Wee Waa
Euriowie
Ebor
Perth
Broken Hill
Maitland
Molong
Parkes
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Victoria
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Melbourne
Flinders Is.
Mt. Cameron West
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Hobart

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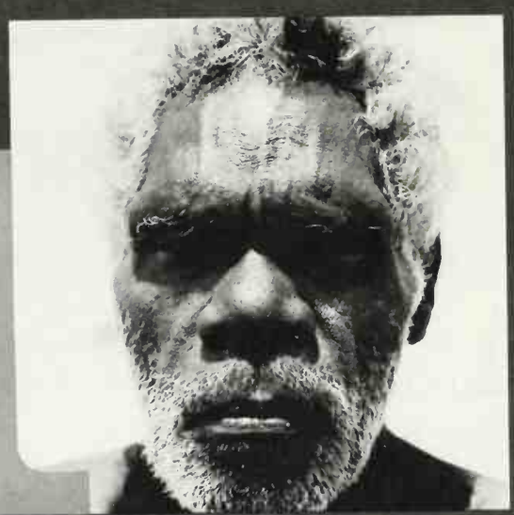
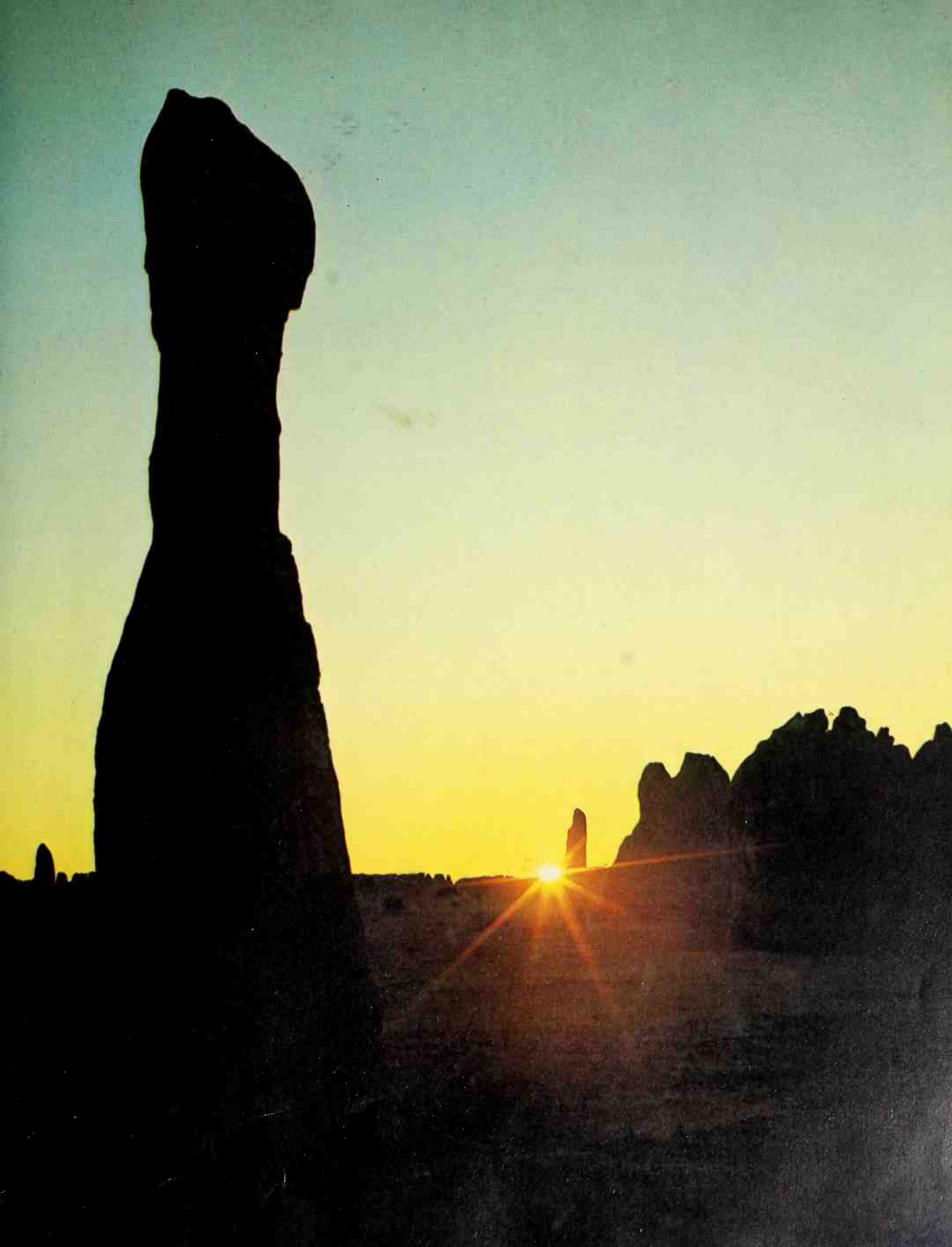


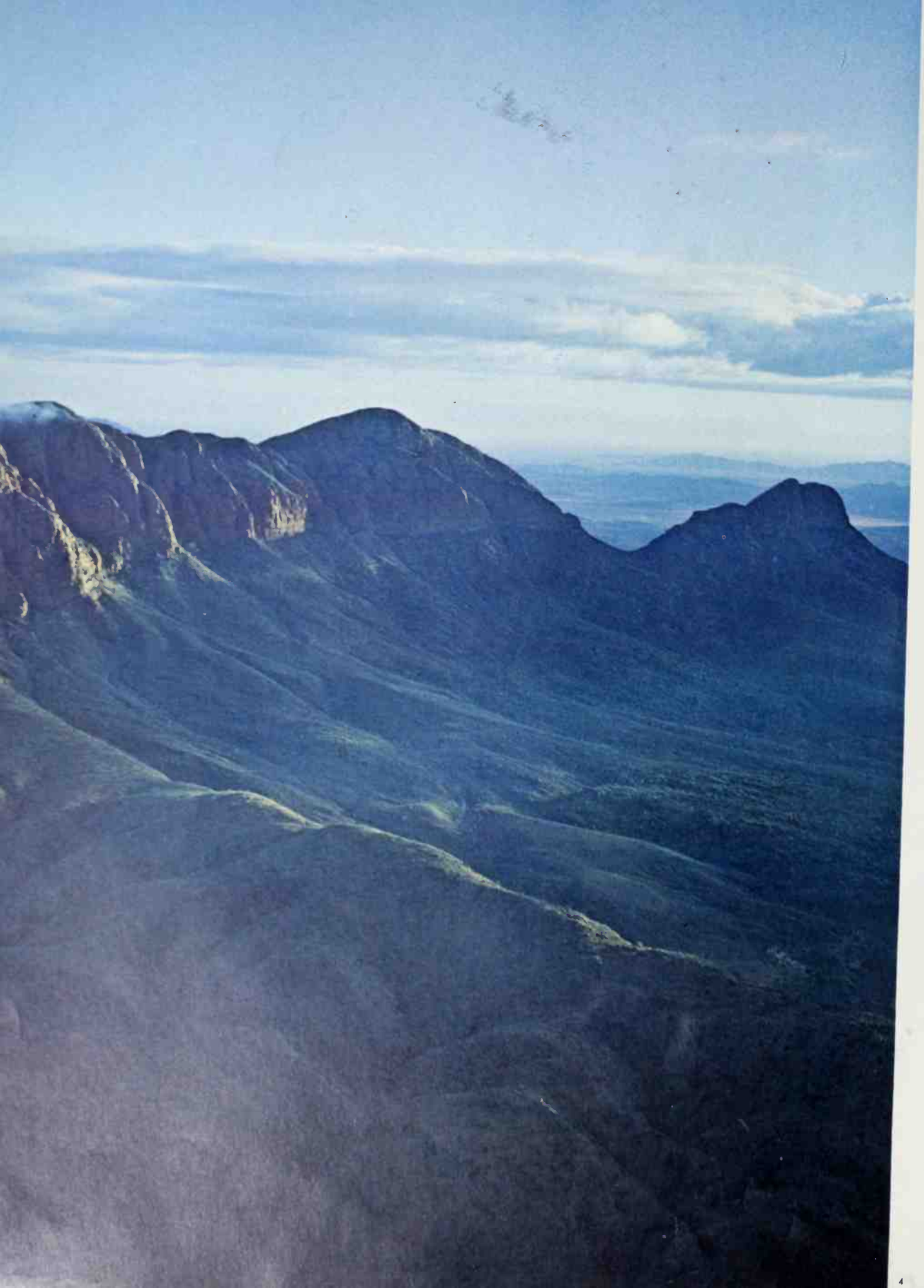
The Land and the Dreamtime

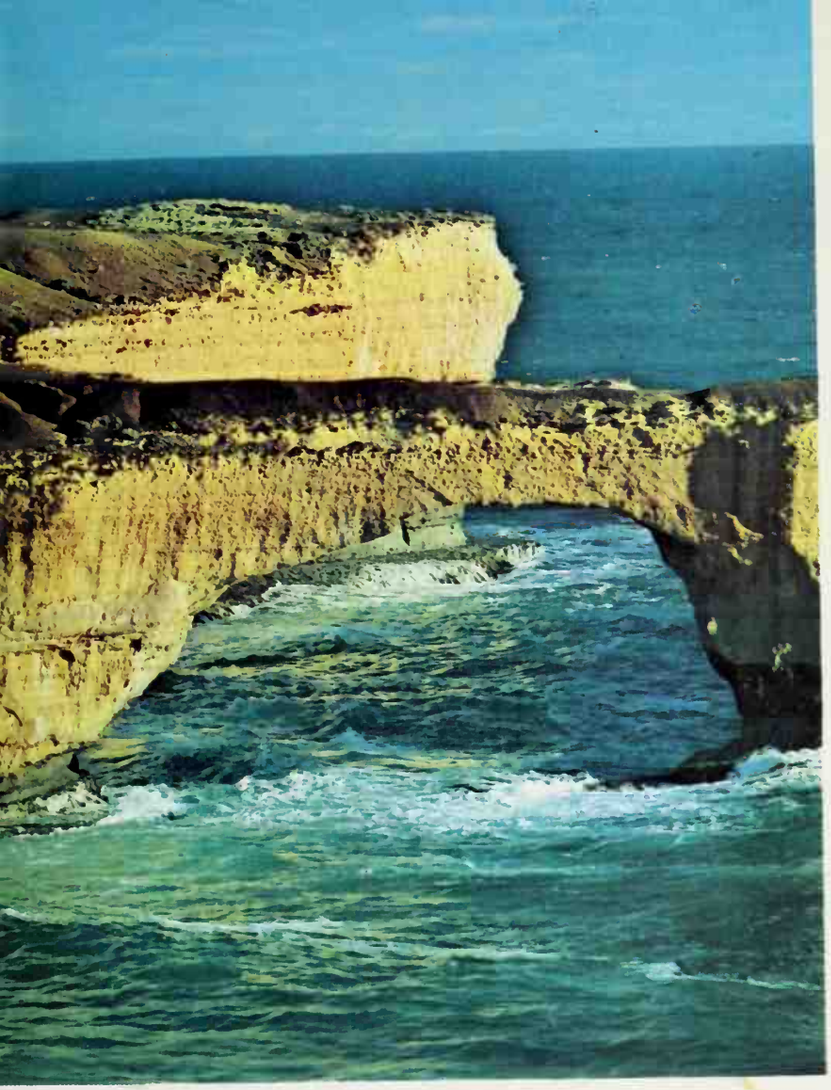
LONG, LONG AGO, it is said, the land and the sea already existed but the countryside was young and unformed; none of the animals and birds and fishes we know today were in existence. Nor were there then any Dark People, the aborigines of Australia, to move about their tribal territories, collecting their foods at the appropriate times, hunting their totemic animals, camping on the rivers, waterholes, and inlets of the sea, and carrying out their life-giving ceremonies.

The land was waiting, nothing moved upon it. And yet in that time, say the legends, some people did already exist—the human, and yet superhuman, spirit ancestors of the Dreamtime. On the bare, silent landscape, these ancestors awoke and stretched themselves and arose from the earth. They undertook great journeys through the empty countryside of the Australian continent. As they traveled, they populated the land with all the animals, plants, waterholes, and rivers necessary to sustain human life. And as they created all these things they often took upon themselves the form and essence of the things they were creating. This is the origin of the close alliance between human beings and other natural species and objects that is known as totemism.

When the totemic ancestors had completed their travels around the countryside, hunting and camping, making love and fighting, and by their actions creating all the features we now know—the rocky hills, rivers, and waterholes of the inland; the headlands, lagoons, and islands of the coastline; the stars that wheel in the sky and the rain-giving clouds—they performed yet one further act of creation. . . .







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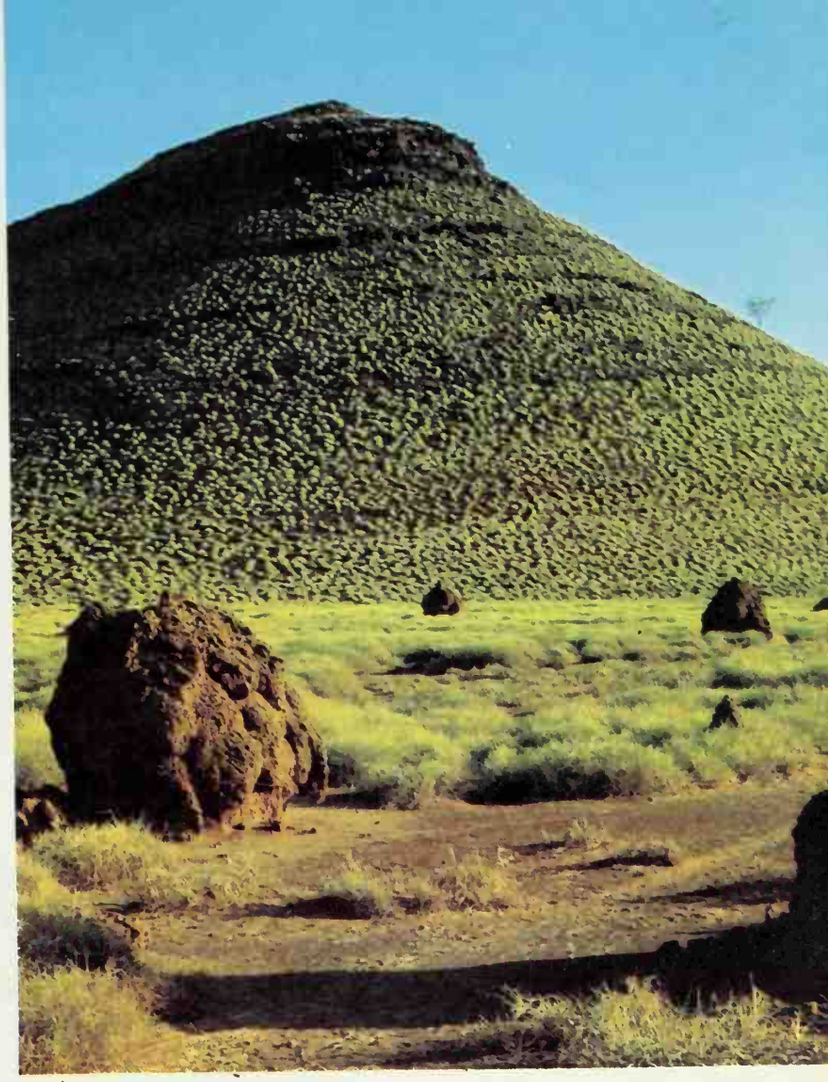

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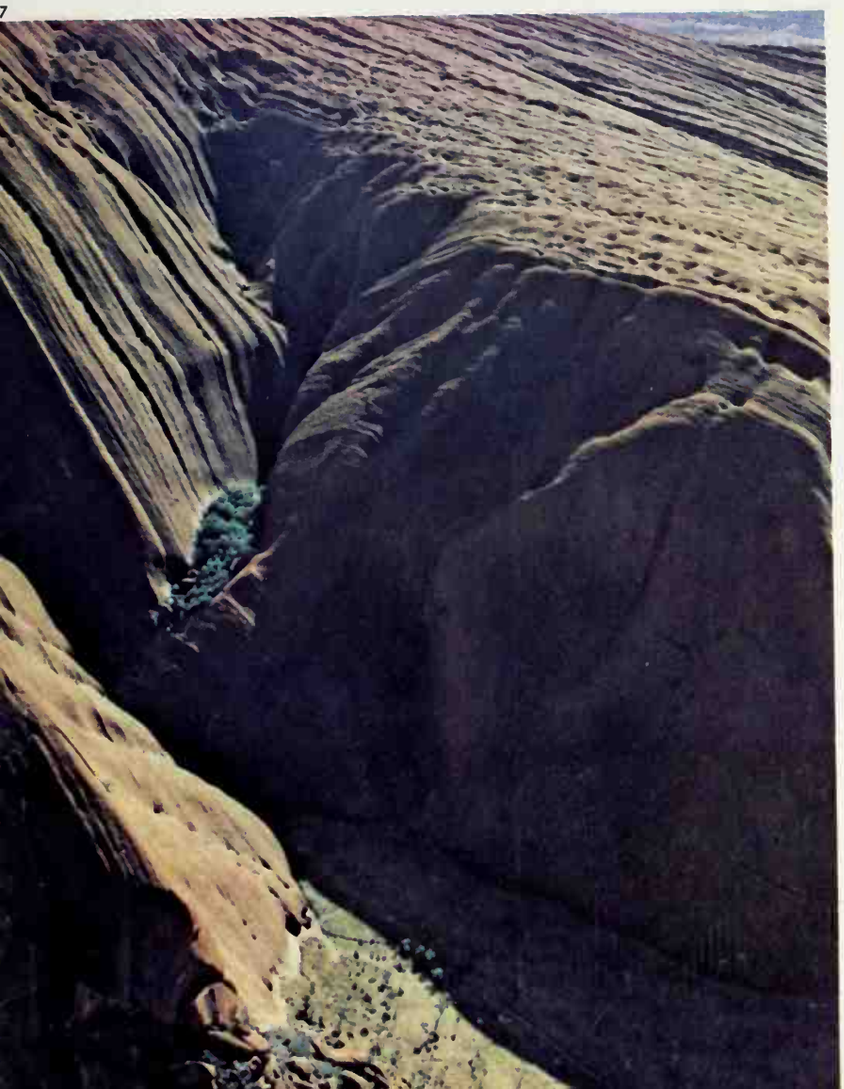

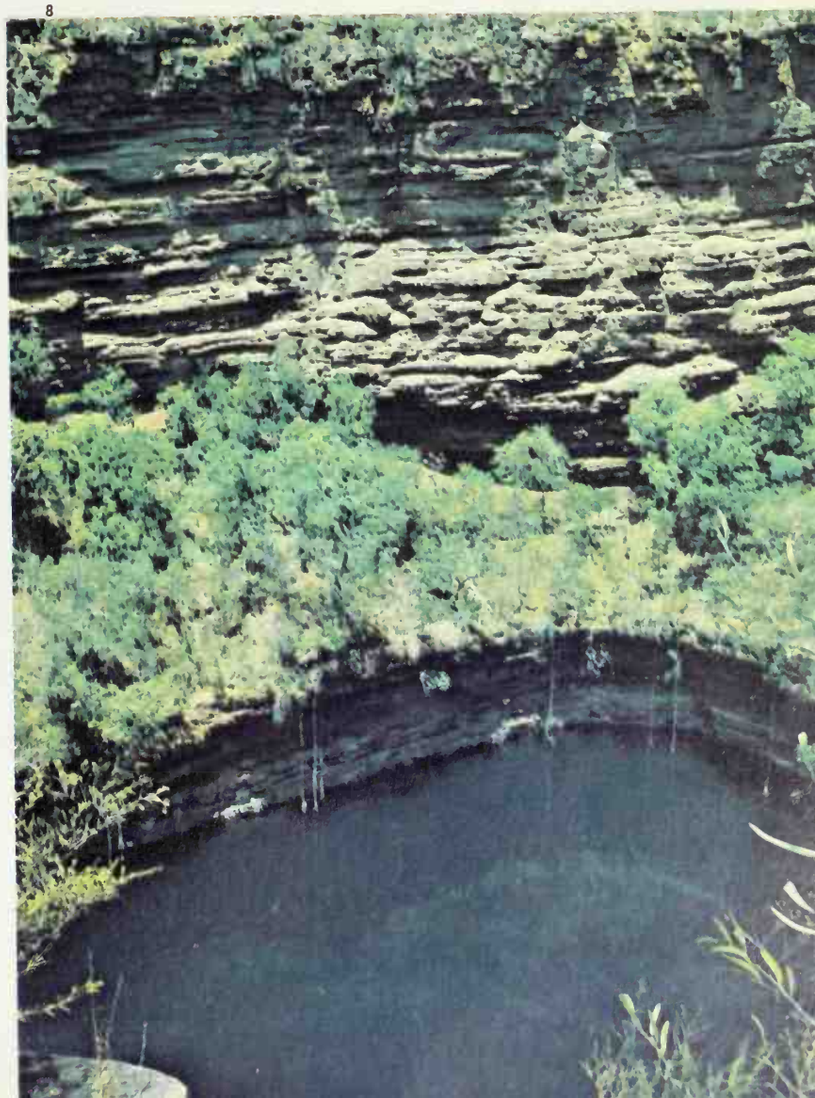

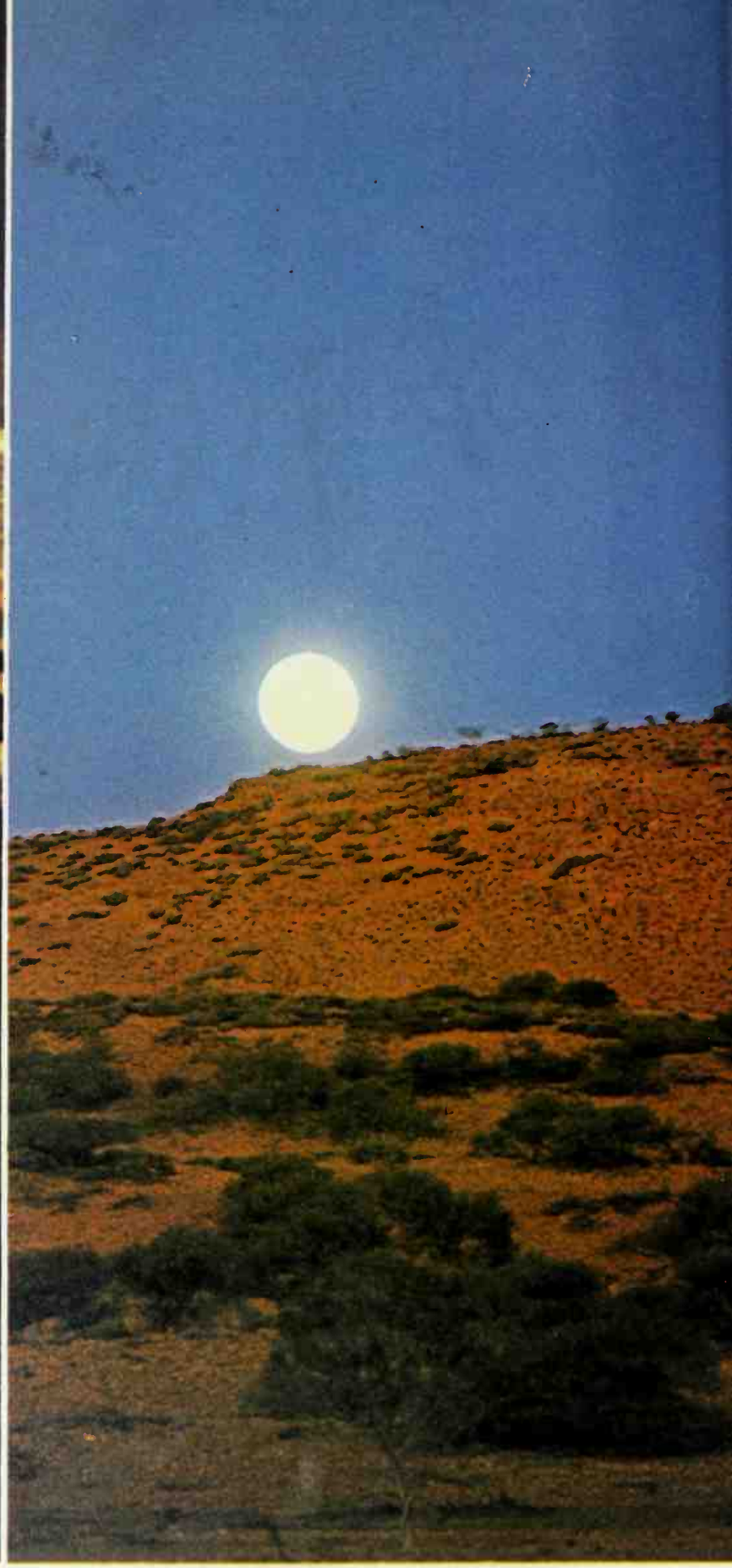

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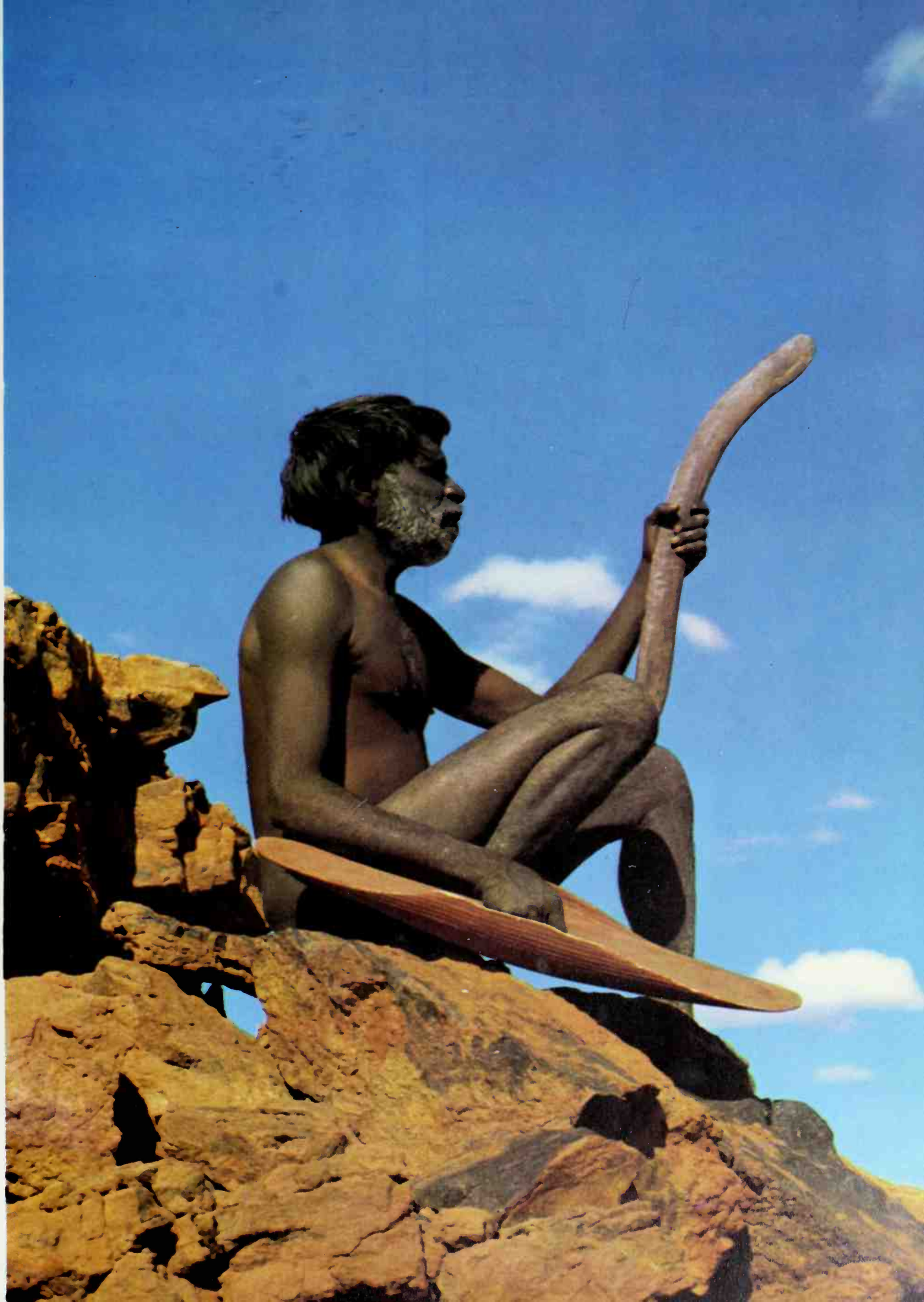
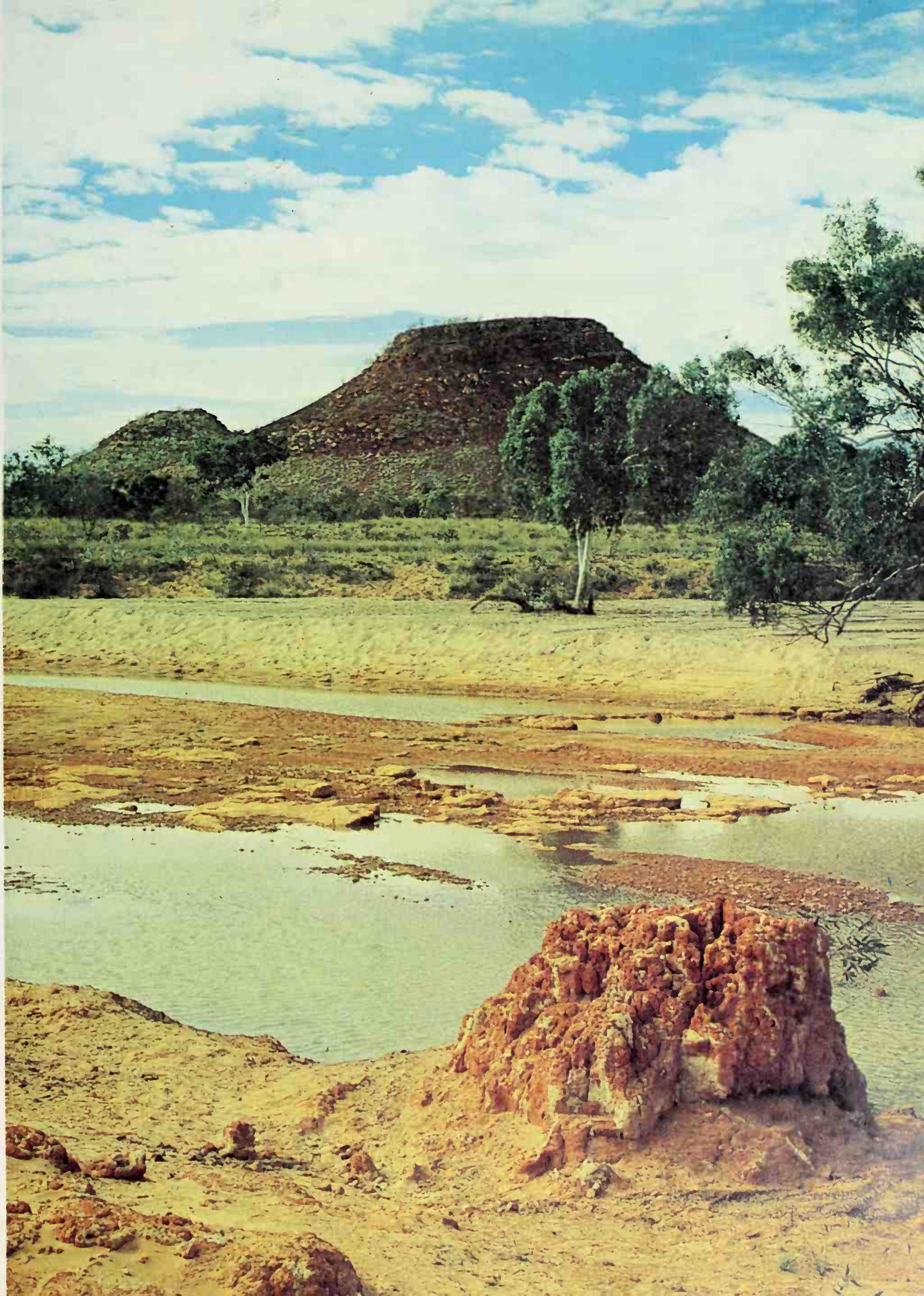
. . . When all the features of the land as we know them today, and all the living creatures, had been brought into being, then finally the ancestors of the Dreamtime created the aboriginal people themselves, to inhabit the land and enjoy all that was in it.



All their creative acts completed, the ancestors of the Dreamtime vanished into the ground, into the rivers and the waterholes, or into the caves and the rock shelters. . . .



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. . . And as they vanished, sometimes the ancestors left behind their forms, in the shape of unusual rocks, painted figures on the walls of caves, or engraved outlines on flat rock surfaces, for the Dark People to see and ponder.

◁ 17

Rock engravings,
Tasmania.

21 *Sacred engravings, Euriowie.*

22 *Sacred churinga stones, Halls Creek.*

The myths and legends telling of these creative acts of the heroes and heroines of the Dreamtime have been passed down through thousands of generations, over many millenniums of time. They have been recited in solemn chant to the young men of each generation by the initiated men of the previous generation and acted out in dance-drama during the great cycles of initiation rituals in which each youth of the tribe was re-created as an adult man. Until recent times these stories constituted a total system of belief for the aboriginal people—an explanation of the universe, of the tribal territories, and of the animate and inanimate features of the countryside, a validation and reinforcement of the workings of aboriginal society, a book of rules for conduct in normal and

A churinga from central Australia. The incised carvings represent journeys of the ancestors of the Dreamtime. At initiation ceremonies, such sacred stones were brought from hiding places by the old men and their legends were explained and repeated to the young men. Thus the legends were preserved and handed on correctly.

◁ *Cave paintings, El Sharana.*

abnormal circumstances, a promise of the continuance of life for one's children and one's children's children.

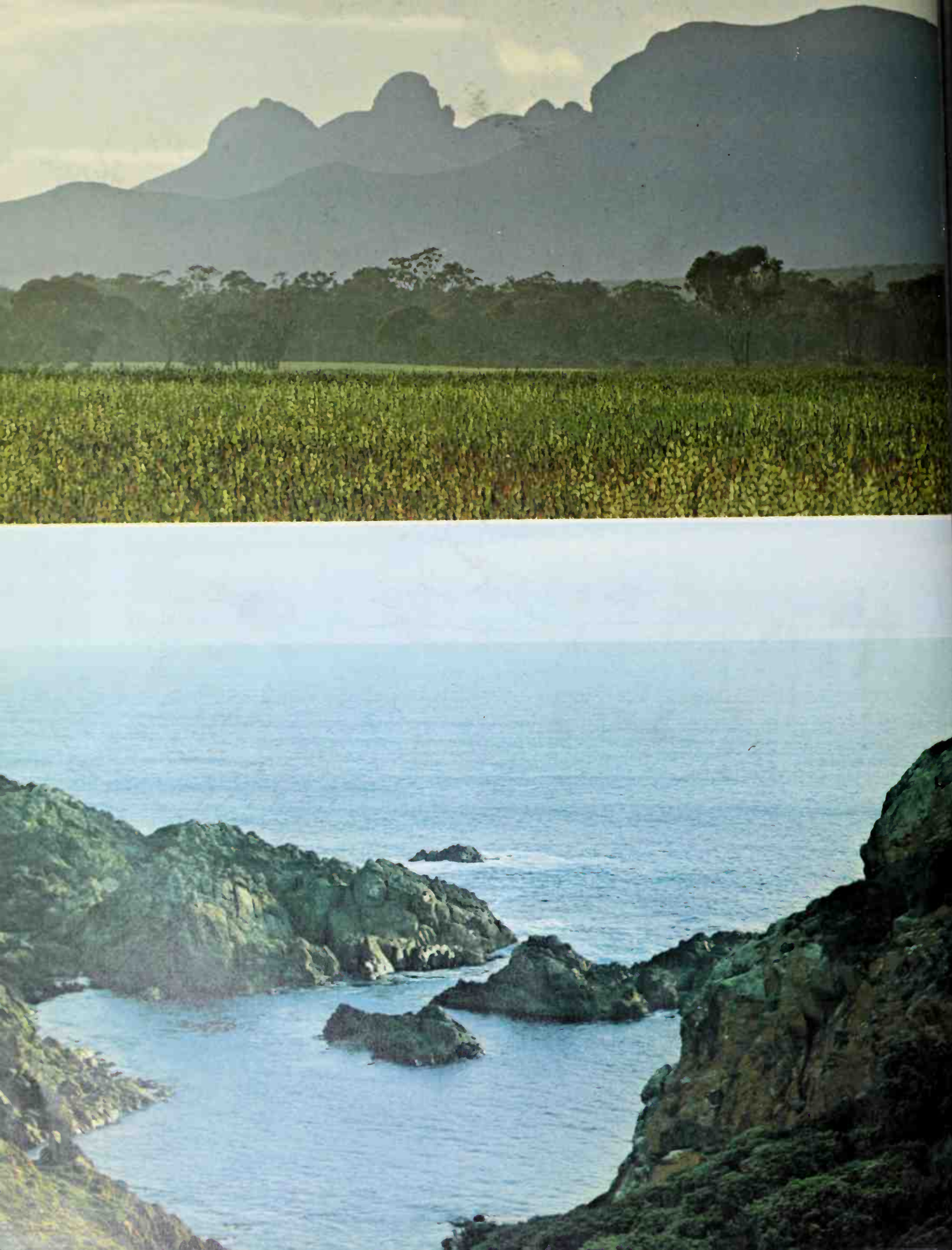
The belief in the Dreamtime is not an easy concept to grasp, but it is basic to any understanding of aboriginal daily life and religion. It is for this reason that this brief account has been put at the beginning of this book. The vital importance of these legends to the aborigines will best be understood if a few of their applications to daily life are briefly described.

An aboriginal man who is still in touch with the traditional life, when asked what his "dreaming" is, will give the name of some animal or natural feature—a kangaroo, a rocky outcrop, an inlet of the sea, or maybe a constellation. This is his origin, the place from where his spirit came, and it is also the name of his totemic clan. Formerly, all aborigines believed that each man's spirit came from a clan pool of spirits, entering his mother's womb at the time of conception and returning to the common pool after death, so long as the appropriate mortuary rituals were enacted. During his lifetime this totem governed his relationships with every other man and woman in his own tribe and also, ultimately, with those of other tribes. It determined which girl or girls he would marry and which totemic grouping his children would be in. All tribes were divided into totemic subsections, which strictly regulated the social system, and this system, like all other aspects of aboriginal life, was derived from and sanctioned by the myths of the Dreamtime.

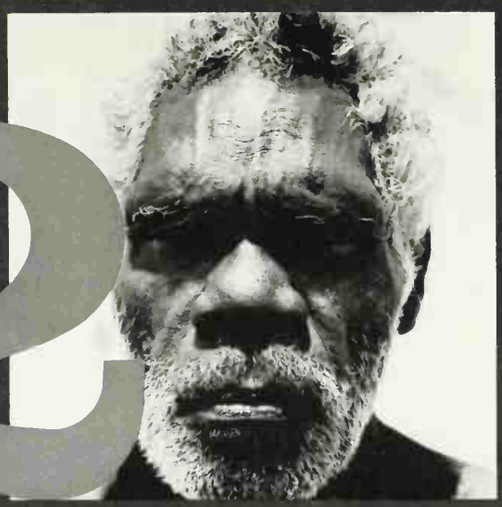
The aborigines owed their existence to the ancestors of the Dreamtime, and they had to do something in return, to even the balance, just as in daily life every gift, every kind deed, and every evil deed also, required, in due course, a reciprocal return. The debt to the ancestors was repaid during the great ceremonial initiation cycles. In these rituals, performed at the places where the creative

events of the Dreamtime had taken place, these events were commemorated in chant and dance-drama, in the touching up of cave paintings and the repairing of rock engravings, and in the bringing out of sacred objects from their hiding places. During these ceremonies, the events of the Dreamtime were re-created, and the performers believed that they actually, in spirit, became the totemic ancestors for the duration of the performance. Hence these rituals were ecstatic, highly sacred, and totally secret; women and uninitiated boys were usually strictly excluded, on pain of death. The reenactment of these myths and legends was believed to ensure the continuance of all species, of the cosmos, of the whole aboriginal way of life. Once a boy had undergone initiation, during which, in addition to learning the myths and ceremonies, he often had to undergo severe ordeals to fit him for manhood, he had a definite place and status in everyday life, and his spirit would return to the ancestors after death.

Looked at in this way, the concept of the Dreamtime contains within itself the past, present, and future; it is both temporal and eternal. This is a philosophical view of considerable complexity and sophistication, and it is obvious that it must have evolved from the wisdom and intuition of many men over a considerable period of time. That it was a general belief throughout aboriginal Australia also indicates that it was probably of great antiquity, and this is reinforced by the fact that in some tribes the language of the rituals was an archaic one, incomprehensible to later generations until translated by the old men. Although details of individual legends and ceremonies varied greatly from one part of the continent to another, the underlying belief in the Dreamtime, the great creative Golden Age of long ago and here and now, was nevertheless universal. Possibly it was brought to Australia by the first aboriginal people who reached the continent.



2 *The Aboriginal Past*



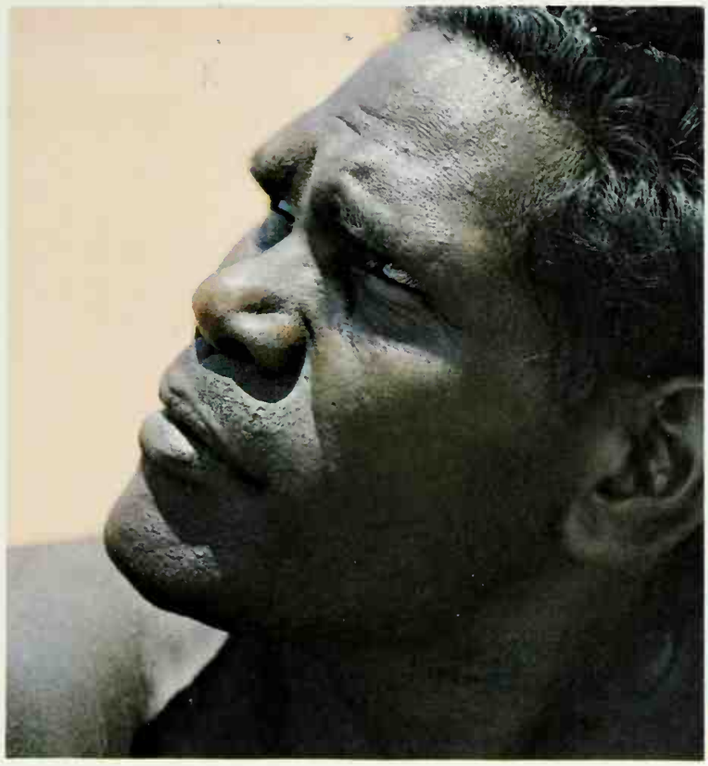
27 *Derby, northwestern Australia.*

28 *Brunette Downs, Northern Territory.*

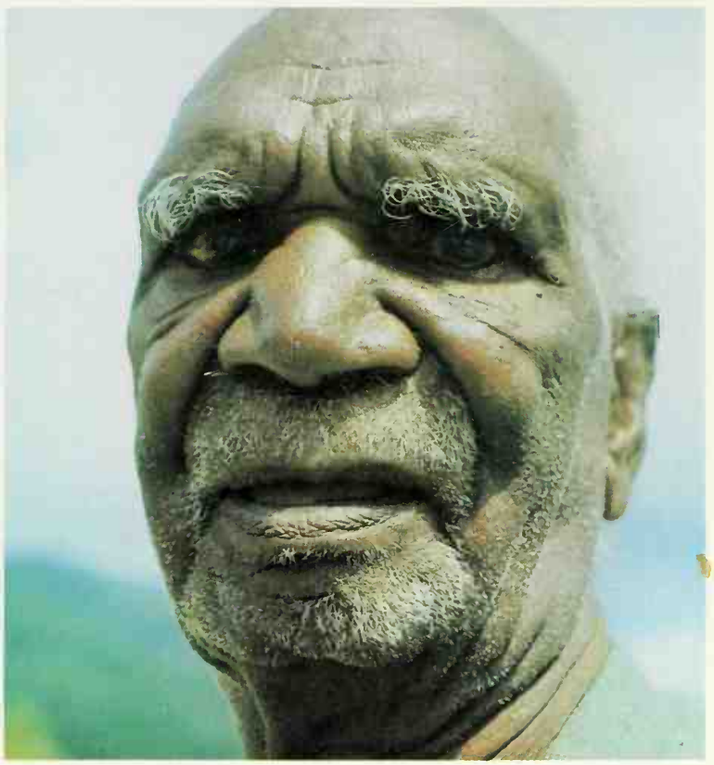
The Australian aborigines are a remarkably homogeneous people, as may be seen from the marked physical similarity between individuals from widely separated parts of the continent shown on this and the next few pages.

29 *Bathurst Island, northern Australia.*

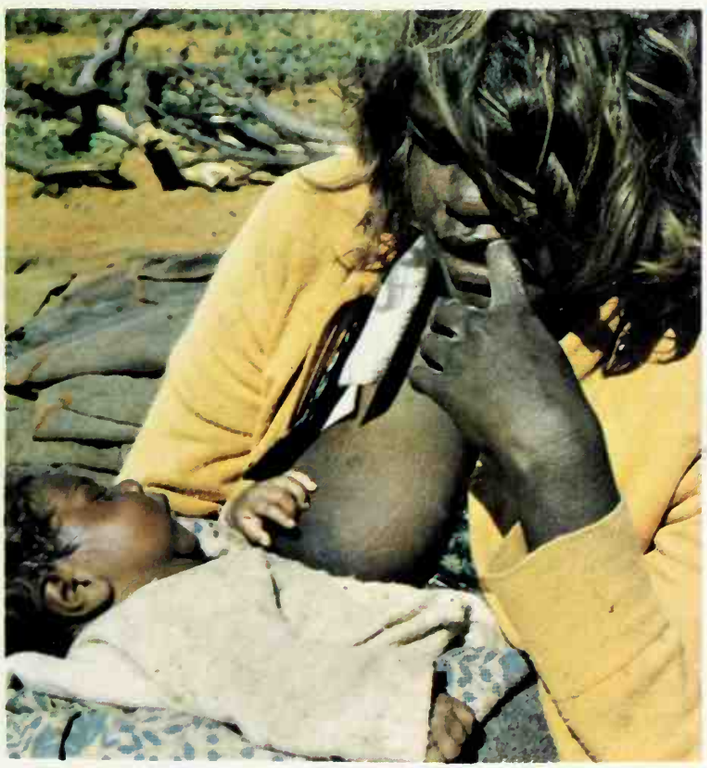
30 *Mitchell River, northern Queensland.*



31 *Groote Eylandt, northern Australia.*

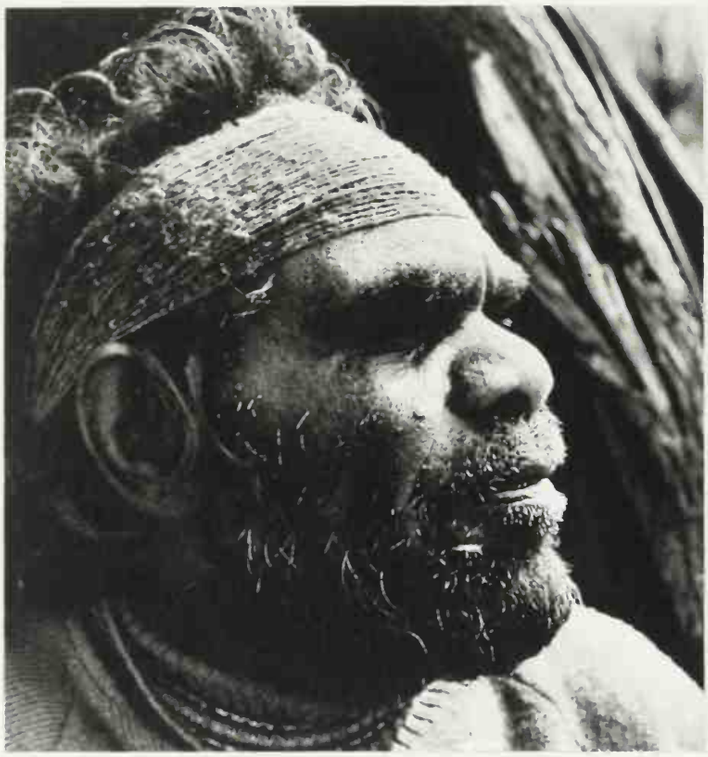


32 *Yarrabah, northeastern Queensland.*

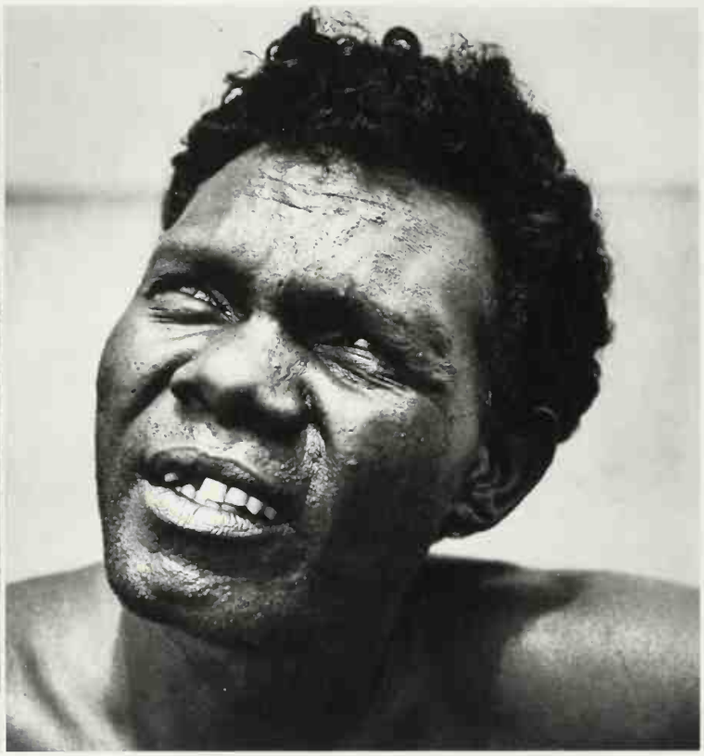


33 *Musgrave Ranges, South Australia.*

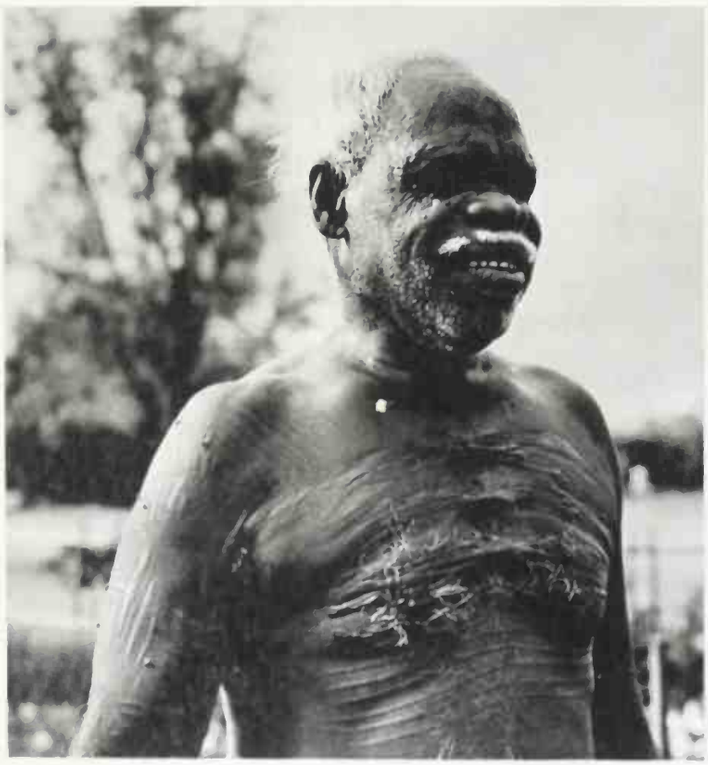
34 *Elcho Island, Northern Territory.*



35 *Everard Station, central Australia.*



36 *Bathurst Island, northern Australia.*



37 *Mount House, northwestern Australia.*

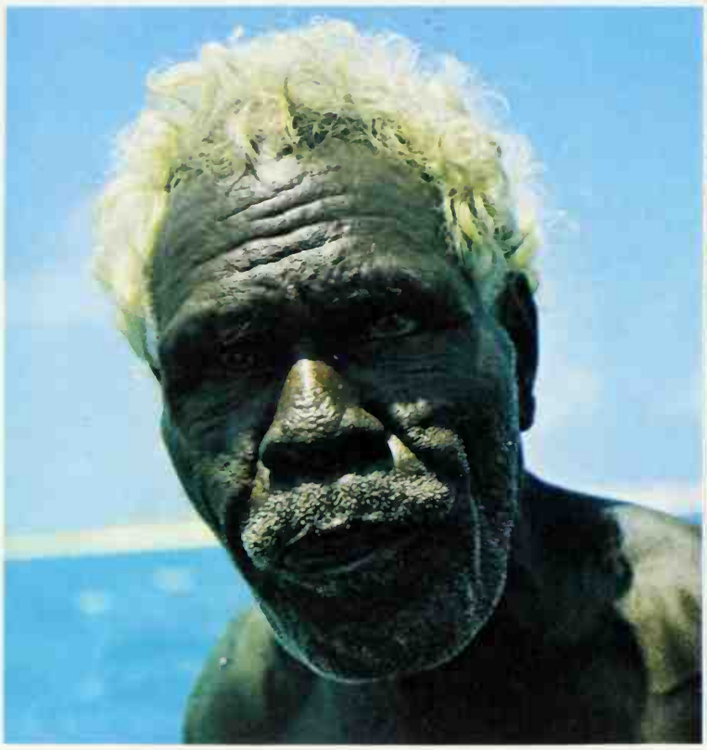
38 *Tibooburra, northwestern New South Wales.*

39 40

Aborigines of Elcho Island and Groote Eylandt, northern Australia.

WHO WERE THESE Dark People who were found inhabiting the whole Australian continent when the first Europeans arrived on its shores? Where had they come from, and how long had they been there? These three questions have concerned and puzzled anthropologists and other thinking people in all parts of the world ever since the existence of the Australian aborigines first became known. The final answers have not yet been found, though many clues have come to light in ever-increasing researches carried out during the past fifty years by archaeologists, social and physical anthropologists, and linguistic experts. In this section the results of some of this research will be summarized.

The aboriginal Australians are a brown-skinned people with dark brown wavy hair and rather deep-sunk brown eyes. They are of medium height, the men averaging about five and a half feet, well built and muscular, with ample body hair. Since they differ considerably in their physical characteristics from the three main racial groupings—Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid—the Australian aborigines have been assigned to a separate group, known as the Australoid, which is generally taken to be a survival of an archaic form of the Caucasoid race.



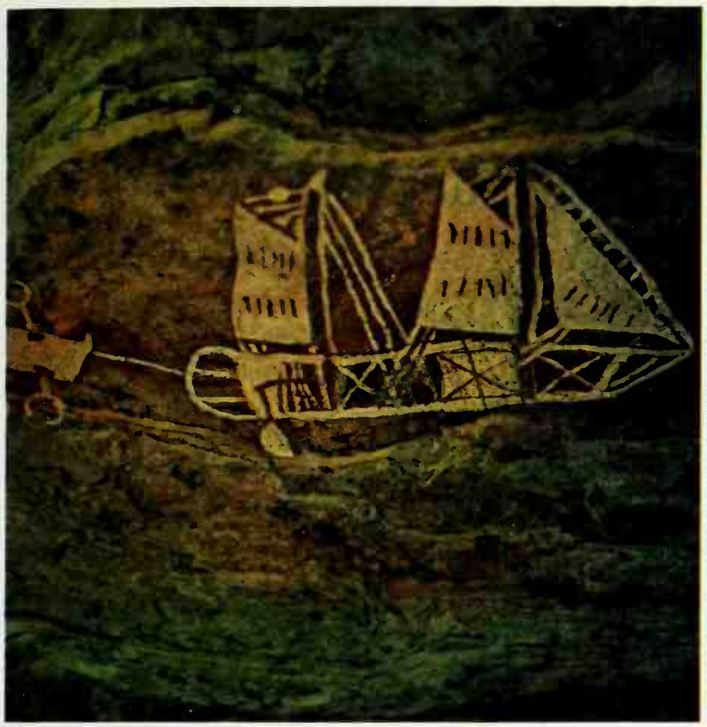
41 *Wessel Island, northern Australia.*

42 *Arnhem Land, Northern Territory.*

There are certain other small groups of aboriginal peoples in South India, Ceylon, and Southeast Asia who resemble the Australian aborigines physically and are also classed as Australoid, but no definite connection has been established by blood-grouping or any other biological method. It is quite possible, however, that each of these groups may be relics of an earlier population of southern Asia which has become differentiated genetically over a great period of time.

On the other hand, the Australian aborigines themselves seem to be a remarkably homogeneous people. Although N. Tindale of South Australia, J. Birdsell of the United States, and others have assiduously propagated the view (known as the tri-hybrid theory) that there were three quite separate migrations into Australia by different groups, recent work in the fields of physical anthropology and linguistics suggests strongly that all present-day aborigines come from the same original stock.

There has been some racial mixing on the north coast as a result of visits by Indonesian trepang fishers to Arnhem Land and the Kimberleys and through trading with the Melanesians across Torres Strait in the northeast, but neither of these contacts seems to go back more than a few hundred years.



43 *Sailing vessels represented in cave paintings, Wessel Island.*

44 *A Macassan-type dugout canoe, used throughout northern Arnhem Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria.*

45 *Macassan smoking pipe, widely used on the north coast.*

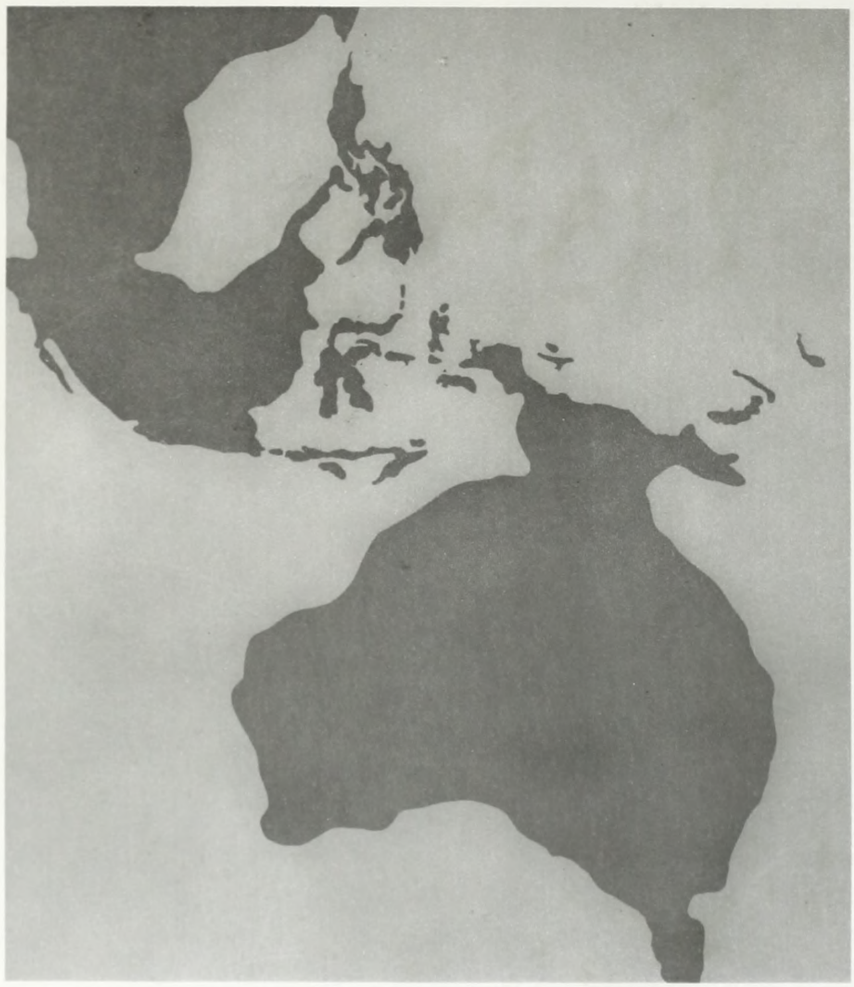
46 *Cave painting representing recent visits by Japanese pearlers, Wessel Island.*

Even girls smoke Macassan-type pipes on Elcho Island. ▷

Regarding the length of time the aborigines have inhabited Australia, we now have a considerable amount of information as a result of intensive archaeological work carried out mainly during the last decade. Radiocarbon dates of the order of 20,000 B.C. have been obtained for charcoal from living sites in the northern, southern, and eastern parts of the continent, and few prehistorians would now doubt that the ancestors of the present aborigines must have reached Australia by 30,000 B.C. or even earlier. This places their arrival well into the final glaciation of the Pleistocene Era, a time when, due to the locking up of great quantities of the earth's surface water in the northern icecap, sea levels were four hundred feet lower than they are today.

The maps on the following pages show the land masses of Australasia and Southeast Asia as they were in that period and as they are today, providing a graphic demonstration of the tremendous changes that took place as the sea level rose. For example, with the exception of one gap of about sixty miles, the Indonesian island chain was then joined to the Malayan mainland. There were, however, additional gaps between the eastern islands and New Guinea and a sea crossing of more than a hundred miles between Timor and northwestern Australia. The assumption is that a group or groups of Australoid people must have been accidentally blown across to Australia on some form of elementary watercraft, such as a bamboo raft or a tree trunk. Even today Indonesian fishermen are occasionally driven over in this way during the northwest monsoon period.

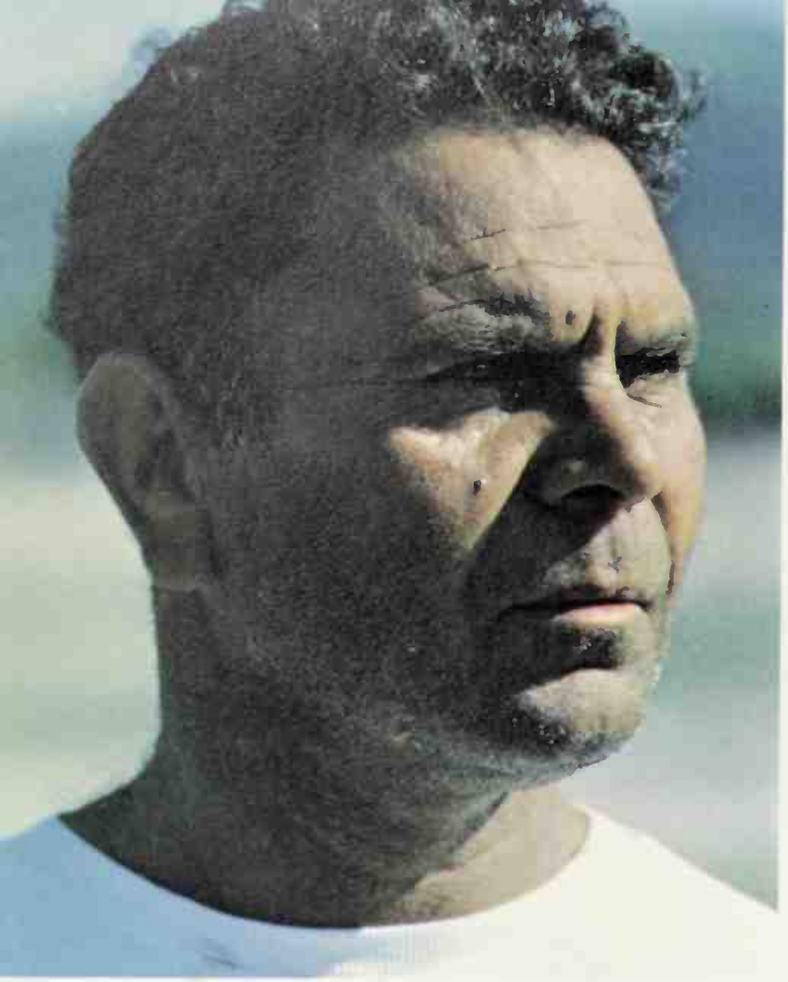
If this assumption is correct, one would expect to find traces of former aboriginal occupation in the Indonesian islands. Unfortunately, very little systematic archaeological work has been done in



that region, and most of the important skeletal remains found there have been obtained from river beds, having been carried down from elsewhere in flood times. As a result, it is impossible to assign such remains to definite periods of prehistory or to associate them with any of the cultural materials, such as stone tools, that have been obtained from a number of sites. One of these fossil skulls, from Wadjak in Java, is considered by many to have Australian affinities and seems to date from the period of the last glaciation.

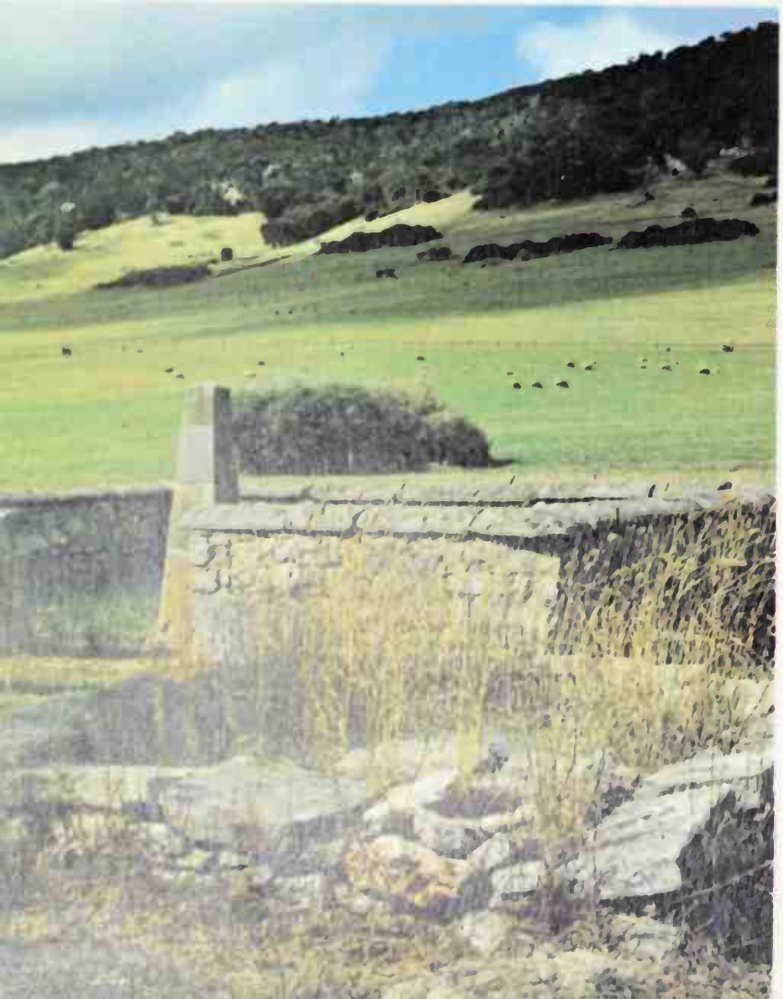
In Australia, early skeletal material is rare, and those fossil skulls which seem to have some antiquity have been the subject of heated controversy. Recent intensive study by N. W. G. Macintosh of the University of Sydney has led him to the conclusion that skulls dating probably from 8000 to 10,000 B.C. exhibit considerably more massive and "primitive" characteristics than those usually found in present-day aborigines. What the aboriginal people were like in 20,000 or 30,000 B.C. is difficult to imagine from the information currently available.

Although organic material survives rarely in archaeological contexts in Australia, stone implements are available in stratified sites of considerable antiquity. The intensive archaeological work of recent years has distinguished distinct changes in aboriginal stone technology over a time span of more than twenty thousand years. In a number of major excavations it has been found that an earlier stone industry, characterized by rather large pebble and core-and-flake tools, is overlaid by an advanced blade and microlithic tradition. The change-over seems to have occurred at different times in various parts of the continent but is generally dated to somewhere around 3000 B.C. Industries somewhat similar to the earlier pebble and core Australian material have been identified in Southeast Asia, but it is uncertain whether the later backed-blade tradition is due to influences from outside Australia or was a local technological advance. Considerably more scientific work and archaeological investigation in Indonesia and Malaysia will be necessary before these problems can be elucidated.



One of the last surviving descendants of the Tasmanian aborigines, who live on Flinders Island in Bass Strait, between Australia and Tasmania.

A mass grave of the earlier Tasmanians on Flinders Island.

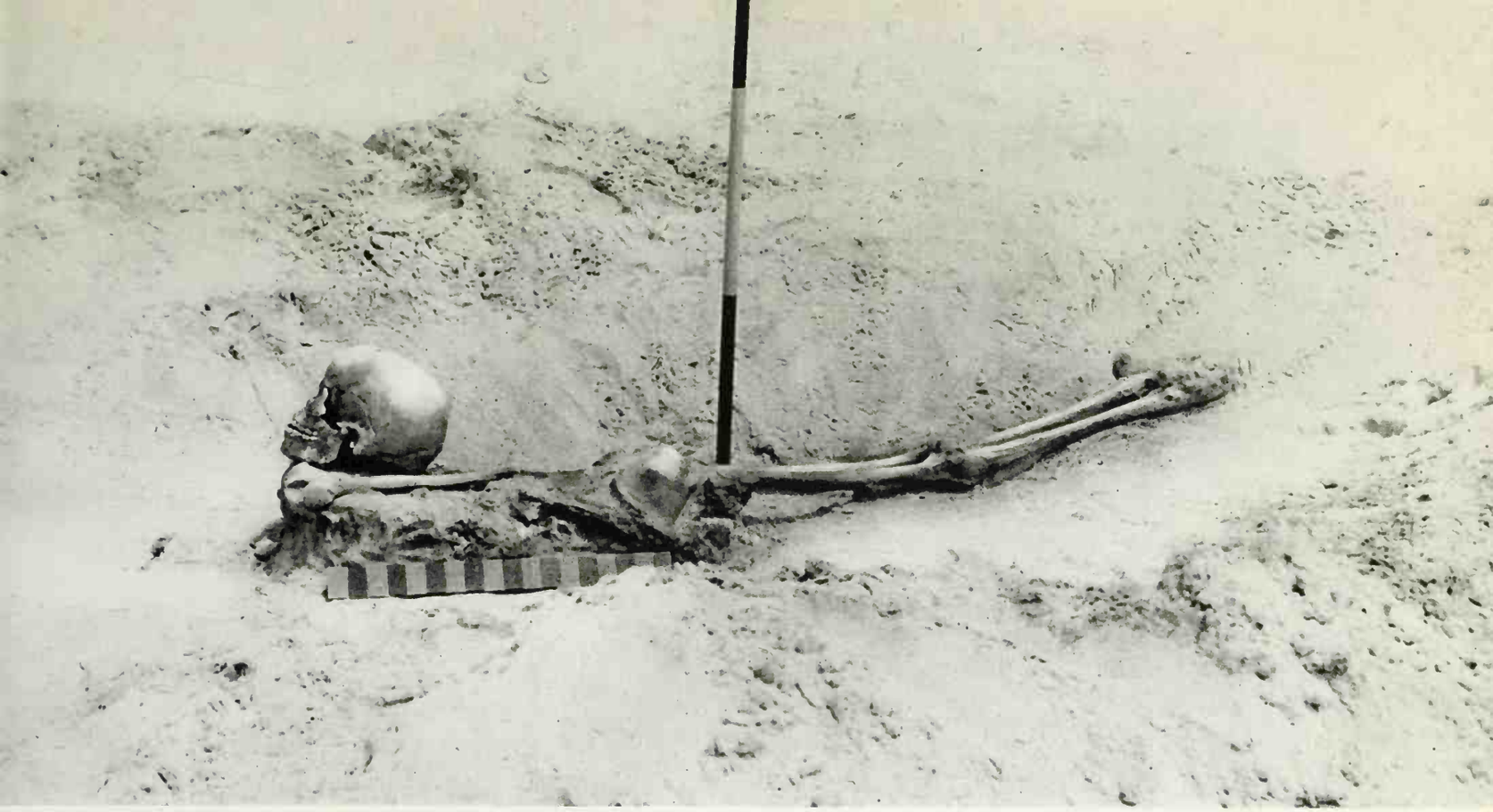


Within Australia, however, it is possible that study of the prehistory and technology of the previous inhabitants of Tasmania may throw light on earlier developments on the mainland. The Tasmanian aborigines, who became extinct in 1876 (although some mixed-blood descendants still survive on Flinders Island), were considered until recently to have belonged to a totally different race from that of the mainland people. Many experts thought that they had affinities with some of the Melanesian peoples to the north of Australia, and it was believed that they had preceded the Australian aborigines on the mainland and later been absorbed or destroyed except in Tasmania, where they were preserved by the flooding of Bass Strait in about 10,000 B.C., after the conclusion of the final glaciation. An alternate theory was that they were descendants of a group who drifted down the eastern coast of Australia and made a landfall in Tasmania after its severance from the continent.

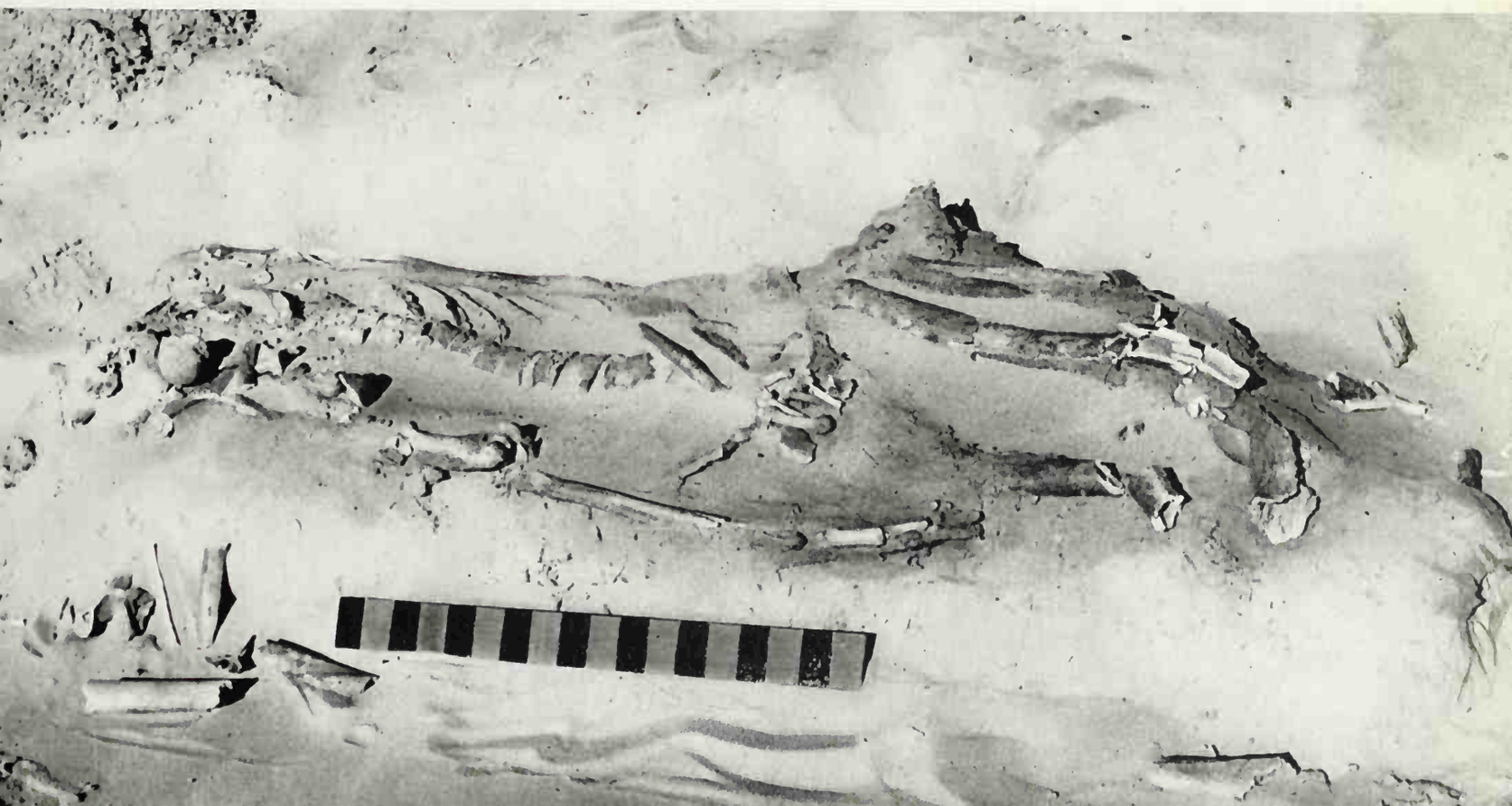
However, the recent work by Macintosh already referred to has led him to the conclusion that in all essential features the Tasmanians resembled the mainland aborigines more than they did any other peoples. What differences were present were quite consistent with genetic drift, which could easily have operated among a small group of Australian aborigines isolated for some twelve thousand years from contact with the people of the mainland. This view is borne out by the fact that the people of Tasmania possessed a number of weapons, tools, and customs identical with those of the mainland, whereas they lacked a number of important mainland artifacts,

Excavating an ancient rock shelter in eastern New South Wales. The aborigines used such shelters both for living quarters and for making tools during either wet or very hot weather. The prehistory of Australia is slowly being elucidated by analyzing the debris of tools, waste stone flakes, and food remains from such sites.

Another type of aboriginal living-site that occurs commonly is the shell-midden, found along coasts, lagoons, and rivers. Here the people gathered at the close of day to eat the shellfish collected by the women. Over the centuries, the discarded shells gradually accumulated to form the middens. These two photographs show some particularly large middens at Weipa, on the west side of Cape York Peninsula. One of the biggest was excavated in 1963 and found to be only about a thousand years old. Local aborigines helped in the work of elucidating their own prehistory.



Aboriginal burial sites often provide valuable evidence about the past. They frequently come to light in coastal sand dunes and in inland claypans and sandhills, but excavation and the removal of skeletal materials for laboratory study are extremely difficult to carry out efficiently. Also, many discoveries of aboriginal skeletons are unfortunately not reported and hence cannot be scientifically investigated. Nor does bone usually survive well in Australian environments.



56

Some of the tools of the earlier archaeological period—handaxes made from split and flaked pebbles, chunky scrapers and choppers, ground-edged axes, and a core tool.

The new stone industry, which seems to have been introduced or invented in Australia about five thousand years ago. The new tradition included backed blades and geometric microliths, uniface and biface points, small adzes and scrapers, and various ground-edged implements. It seems to have continued up to the time of European contact, though later periods saw a decline in workmanship.

57

Aboriginal burial grounds, Tibooburra.

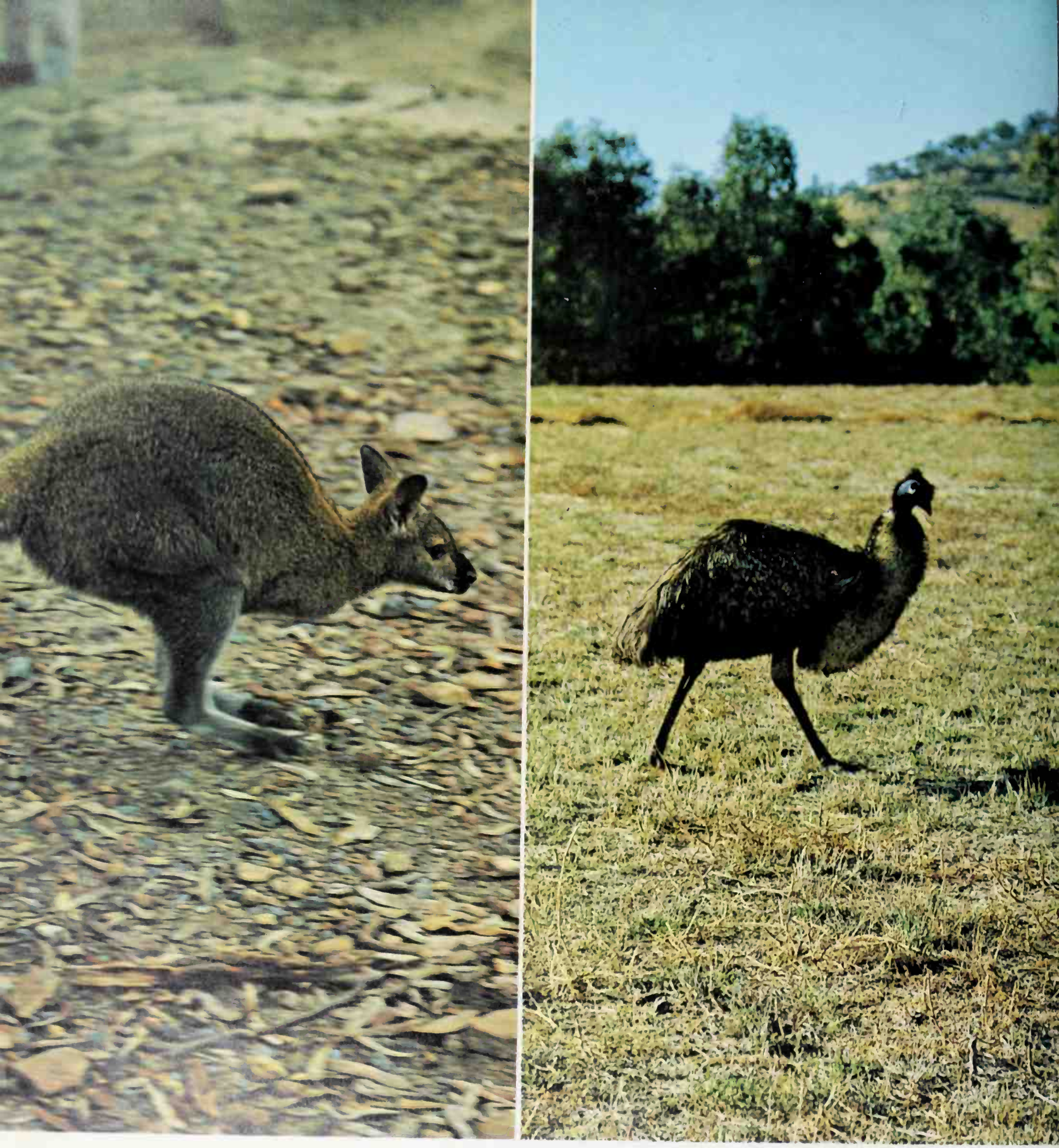
Study of the living aborigines can also provide clues to the distant past. Here a linguistics expert records the language of the people of Arnhem Bay, which will later be studied and analyzed. The relationships between present-day languages and dialects can often yield information about past events.

such as the spearthrower, boomerang, and bark canoe. The assumption is, then, that these were invented or adopted by the mainlanders some time after Tasmania was cut off from Australia.

To sum up the evidence concerning the origin and prehistory of the Australian aborigines, present indications are that an ancestral group or groups arrived on the north coast of the Australian mainland from somewhere in Southeast Asia during the final Pleistocene glaciation. They gradually increased and spread throughout the continent, forming tribal groupings and adapting to the varying environments. By 20,000 B.C. at the latest, most of the continent was occupied. With the fairly rapid rise in sea level due to the melting of the northern icecap after about 10,000 B.C., those groups who inhabited the coast as it was then must slowly have been forced inland, until the coastline assumed its present conformation. Probably, then, the earliest archaeological sites lie far beneath the sea and may only be found by underwater archaeologists. In Tasmania a small group was cut off by about 10,000 B.C. and subsequently developed along somewhat different lines from the mainlanders, who presumably were affected by later contacts from outside via the northern coast.

Northeastern Australia was finally severed from New Guinea between 8000 and 6000 B.C. It should be stated here that no evidence has been obtained so far of any Australian aboriginal occupation of the New Guinea mainland, though it is known that the central highlands of Papua were occupied, presumably by a Melanesian-type people, by about 20,000 B.C. The general indications at present are that the Australian aborigines must have crossed to northwestern Australia from the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago without reaching New Guinea and that the occupation of Melanesia by a totally different people took place not long afterwards, possibly by a different route from the northwest.

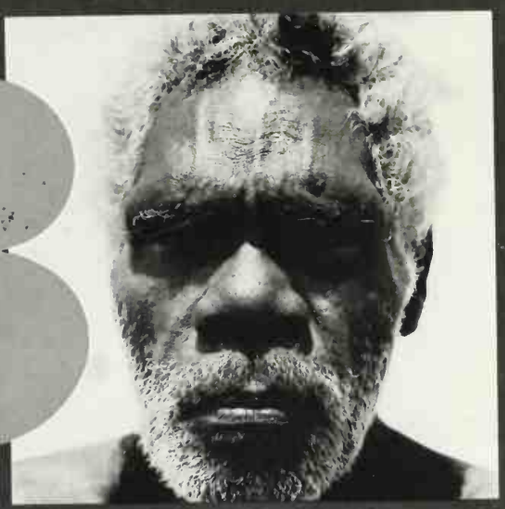
The question is often asked: Why, since they had long contact with the agricultural and herding cultures of both the Indonesians and Melanesians to the north, did the Australian aborigines never progress beyond hunting and collecting? The answer is simple: There are no indigenous plants or animals in Australia that are suitable for domestication. Even since European settlement no endemic species has been commercially domesticated for food: all economic crops and livestock have been introduced from abroad.



61

THE UNDOMESTICATED. *No one has ever succeeded in domesticating and herding kangaroos, emus, or any other Australian animals. This is one answer to the question: Why did the Australian aborigines never become farmers?*

3 *The Old Life*



62

Men's gear.

BEFORE THEIR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION was disrupted by the intrusion of European settlers into their lands, the aboriginal Australians are believed to have numbered about 300,000 and were divided into some seven hundred tribes or distinct groupings with differing dialects. These tribal groupings were most numerous around the coasts and along the main river systems, and thinnest in the arid interior of the continent. The way of life varied greatly according to the ecology of the tribal territories, but the underlying basis of existence was uniform throughout the land.

The determining factor was that the aboriginal people were hunters and gatherers and, of course, very efficient fishers. This meant that they were basically nomadic, though in some areas of prolific food resources they did on occasion become almost sedentary. Normally the members of a tribe did not move about all together; they were split up into local groups with specific areas from which to obtain their food. These local groups usually consisted of one or more related families who divided up or came together according to the availability of food. They traveled light, with only the basic necessities for food-getting. For the men the gear normally consisted of spear, spearthrower,

63

Women's gear.

stone axe, shield, small dilly bag, and possibly boomerang; for women, with babies to carry, the outfit was even lighter—digging stick, coolamon (a wooden dish), and large shoulder-slung dilly bag. Other items, such as large grindstones for making flour from grass seeds and various forms of shelter, were left at regular camping places to be used again when the time came to revisit the area.

Generally the menfolk looked after the hunting of larger game, such as kangaroo and emu, and were also responsible for spear fishing and deep-sea fishing. The women, who provided the bulk of the diet, spent their days collecting seeds, fruits, roots, small marsupials, reptiles, and shellfish; they also did most of the line fishing for small sea- and fresh-water species. Cooking was largely done by the men, on open wood fires, but the women ground and prepared the seeds and nuts to make cakes for baking in the ashes.

The aborigines wore little or no clothing, since the climate did not call for it. In the colder southern regions, in winter they sometimes wore cloaks and slept under rugs made of kangaroo or possum skins sewn together, but normally both men and women wore no more than a stout belt of plaited

human or animal hair into which weapons or tools could be pushed when not needed, with occasionally a small apron or tassel in front and behind. They were, however, very fond of decorating themselves, both for daily adornment and, more elaborately, for ritual purposes. Secular body decoration included headbands with innumerable embellishments, earrings of shell or bone, nose pegs, decorative cicatrices cut into the chest, back, stomach, and thighs, and ochers to color hair, face, and other parts of the body.

The coastal and river people had elaborate fishing gear—lines and shell hooks, multipronged fishing spears, a variety of nets, and canoes made of sheets of bark sewn together and caulked with gum. In the north the dugout canoe, with or without outrigger, was used for hunting dugong, sharks, and other offshore fish.

Fire was made in a variety of ways—by saw, plow, spun wooden point, or striking sparks from ironstone—but the labor of making and operating such devices was normally obviated by carrying a firestick of smouldering bark from camp to camp.

Early observers were misled by the apparent simplicity of the aborigines' material possessions into thinking that they lived just like animals, moving here and there aimlessly in search of food. It is only quite recently that we have come to a full realization of the remarkable elaboration of their social system, the complexity of their esoteric life, and their almost perfect adaption to their environment, all of which arose from and was maintained by the concept of the Dreamtime.

As already mentioned, every tribe was divided into totemic clans, the members of which believed they were descended from a common Dreamtime ancestor. In some parts of the continent these clans were grouped into two moieties or subtribal groupings; elsewhere there were four or even eight sections or subdivisions of the tribe. Membership in these subdivisions gave each person a definite place in the social structure, ordained which group a marriage partner should come from, determined the part a man would play in the great ceremonial cycles, and, in short, regulated life from birth to death, and even further.

Picking up animal tracks in the soft sand of the Kimberleys requires acute observation.

With his spear ready in the spearthrower, a hunter pursues a kangaroo.

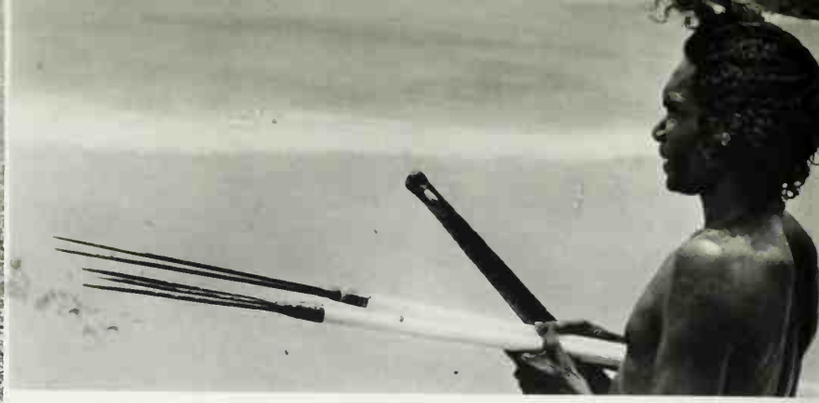
68 *A hunter in Arnhem Land has smeared himself with clay, both for camouflage and to conceal his scent from the game.*

A lucky hunter with three kangaroos.

A boy with his catch of a baby kangaroo—a pet for a few days, after which it will be eaten.

Hunters in the Kimberleys rub themselves with mud from anthills 69 *for the same purpose.*

70 *On the northern coast, as a result of contact with Indonesians and Papuans, the dugout canoe was widely used for offshore fishing.*



72 *Multipronged fishing spears used to be tipped with bone or stingray barbs. Nowadays fencing wire is found more effective.*

73 *Poised to strike. The coastal dwellers are extraordinarily adept at spearing fish from a canoe or in the water.*

71 *Another prolific source of food was the dugong or "seacow," a mammal that provides plenty of flesh and fat.*

74 *Turtles are fairly easily caught in tropical northern waters and are delicious when cooked in their own shells.*

75 *A Barrier Reef turtle that will provide a feast for a whole family.*

◁ THEY FISHED

The system of law and government was also dependent on the clan organization and hence, ultimately, upon the events of the Dreamtime. Matters affecting a whole tribe were decided in consultation between those men appropriately placed in the ritual life. This meant that the consultative group differed according to the matter under consideration. Similarly, affairs of law and order within the local group would be in the hands of the initiated clansmen of the parties concerned.

This social system was understood from early childhood, so that no boy or girl, no man or woman, had the slightest doubt about how he should behave toward every other person in the tribe, or even, since the same system in one form or another extended over the entire continent, toward persons in other tribes. Naturally there were occasional individuals who tried to break out of the system—most commonly by eloping with a mate allotted to someone else—but in the old days this usually meant death unless the elopement was very efficiently carried out and the couple could be accepted into another tribe a considerable distance away.

In most tribes there was an important individual known as the karadji (generally rendered in English as "medicine man"), who to some extent stood outside the normal clan system and laws. He was called in when revenge magic or healing magic was required. Medicine men underwent a rigorous training in which they often had trancelike experiences and believed that their spirits traveled far away from their bodies. As well as being versed in esoteric and magical matters, medicine men generally knew a good deal about natural remedies, and there are many well-documented cases of their curing seriously ill persons. Such cures were effected by a combination of genuine treatment, sleight-of-hand to remove the supposed cause, and curative magic. Equally well authenticated are cases of death caused by the magic of medicine men, such as the well-known bone-pointing.

Intertribal disputes were dealt with either by surprise revenge expeditions, which sometimes brought about a state of continuous feuding, or else by a form of ceremonial battle. In the latter case, the able-bodied men of both tribes lined up, with every weapon in the armory and, urged

76

THEY COLLECTED. *The bulk of the aboriginal diet was composed of what could be collected—usually by women—nuts, fruits, shellfish, and the like. Today, with European foods readily available, the prized items of the old diet have become special treats and are gathered by all. Photo 76, gathering cycad nuts. The cycad is a survival of a very early form of tree; its nuts are poisonous unless leached in running water for several days. Photo 77, searching for honey. These men on Elcho Island are probing the base of a palm tree in hopes of finding a recess containing "sugarbag," the highly prized dark honeycomb of the indigenous wild bee.*

77

CAMP LIFE. *Few aboriginal groups now live entirely in the traditional way. This man and his two wives, however, still live off the land in the Everard Ranges. Although European clothes and metal cooking pots are much in evidence, the man still hunts with spear and spearthrower, while the women collect and grind wild grain and seeds on grindstones. The usual dogs still hang around the camp waiting for the odd scrap of food. Altogether, this scene represents a sad come-down from the old days when the people looked proud and dignified in their nakedness and when only natural objects littered the camps.*

A sad relic of the old days—the remains of a family shelter in New South Wales. The framework appears to have been cut with stone axes and could well be more than a hundred years old, since wood survives well in the dry air of the arid interior. Such shelters, covered with grass or branches, provided shady, airy living areas.

A temporary shelter for women and children in northern Arnhem Land. Again European goods are in evidence, but the shelter and the activities are traditional. Not nearly so substantial as more permanent shelters like that on the facing page, such hastily built shelters provided refuge from the burning sun.

FIRE, *as in all primitive societies, was a vital element in aboriginal life. Besides its primary uses in cooking and giving warmth on chilly nights, it was used in many other ways—in melting the black gum with which stone was stuck to wood for making implements and weapons, in straightening spears and giving the appropriate twist to boomerangs, in flattening bark for making shelters and paintings, in hollowing out logs for coffins and didjeridus (the drone-pipes of northern Arnhem Land) and dugout canoes, and, of particular importance, in putting up game. In most parts of the country, before the coming of the white man, the land was deliberately and carefully burnt off each year, at which times whole tribes would combine for great game drives. This burning-off also ensured ample grass in the following season, so that kangaroos and other marsupials would be attracted to the tribal territory to feed.*

In the accompanying photograph a man on Groote Eylandt is making fire by the traditional fire-drill method. The hard stick is spun between the hands until the intense friction of the point in the soft wood eventually causes the latter to burst into flame.

82

In aboriginal camp life there is always activity. The man (82) carries a large bundle of firewood into camp. The woman (83) has gathered rushes for making mats and baskets. The huts (84) are typical of the temporary shelters put up along the coasts of Arnhem Land, especially in the wet season of the northwest monsoon.

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Camp activities, as seen here, include the making of hunting spears (Groote Eylandt), weaving beautiful open-work mats used for sitting or for babies to crawl on (northeast Arnhem Land), or the amusements the older children always find for themselves. Here the boys of Mornington Island have found a live turtle to play with.

7

on by the women and children, let fly at each other with spears and boomerangs. So skilled and quick at evasion were the men, with their lifetime's hunting experience, that serious casualties were rare. In these ceremonial battles, as soon as blood was drawn by either side, honor was satisfied and a ceremony of reconciliation was danced and sung. On some occasions, single representatives of the two tribes engaged in individual combat under similar conditions.

The only time large numbers of aborigines gathered together was when the great initiation ceremonies were held, and this depended to some extent on the availability of considerable quantities of food in one particular locality. Hence the ceremonies, like all other aspects of aboriginal life, were governed by the seasons.

When there were a sufficient number of youths ready to become men, the ritual leaders would send messengers to neighboring tribes to summon them to the appropriate ritual center and would start planning the food supply. In due course the tribes would gather and establish their camps in the correct topographical arrangement. Within each camp too, each local group had its correct position, and within the local group each individual had his appointed place.

The more complex ceremonies, involving elaborate headdresses and body makeup, extensive ground markings, arrangements of stones, designs cut into trees, or the making of large ritual objects, often took weeks or even months of preparation. The ceremonies themselves also often continued for a considerable period, particularly if they involved the reenactment of a whole series of interrelated myths. Each section or act of the drama would be performed by the appropriate clansmen of the various tribes taking part. Often too the food supply might run short, in which case the men would interrupt the series to range far afield after game, while the women would be out collecting seeds, fruit, fish, and shellfish.

Although women and children were usually excluded from the rituals, and the young men undergoing initiation were secluded for long periods, these ceremonial assemblies were times of general excitement and recreation, when friendships were renewed and old scores settled. Often they culminated in a sort of saturnalia in which all normal restraints were cast aside and everyone took part, before dividing up once again into normal groupings and returning to their tribal territories for another year's cycle of hunting and collecting the various foods in their seasons.

Aboriginal life, when the season was good, was pleasant and fulfilling, with ample food shared out fairly according to tribal rules, with the next cycle of ceremonies to look forward to, with lighthearted secular songs and dances around the camp fires at night, with courtship and marriage, birth and death, quarrels and reconciliations to break up the monotony of the everlasting food quest. And when seasons were bad—well, one went hungry and hoped for better times.

Preparing for a sacred ritual at Mitchell River. Such preparations are considered part of the ceremony and are taken very seriously. ▷

89

In central Australia elaborate body decoration is achieved by sticking small tufts of white and colored down, arranged in traditional patterns, to the body. In the old days human blood was used as an adhesive.

90

91

Less serious rituals are known as corroborees or "camp dances." Here young men of Mornington Island (90, 92) have finished their makeup for the evening's corroboree and pass the time playing poker and putting the final touches on a spear. Dancers near Alice Springs (91) wait in full regalia for the dancing to begin.

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The ceremonial shown on this page commemorates the ritual killing of an enemy of the tribe. The miming of such events, accompanied by appropriate chants and rhythms, is extremely realistic and tense.

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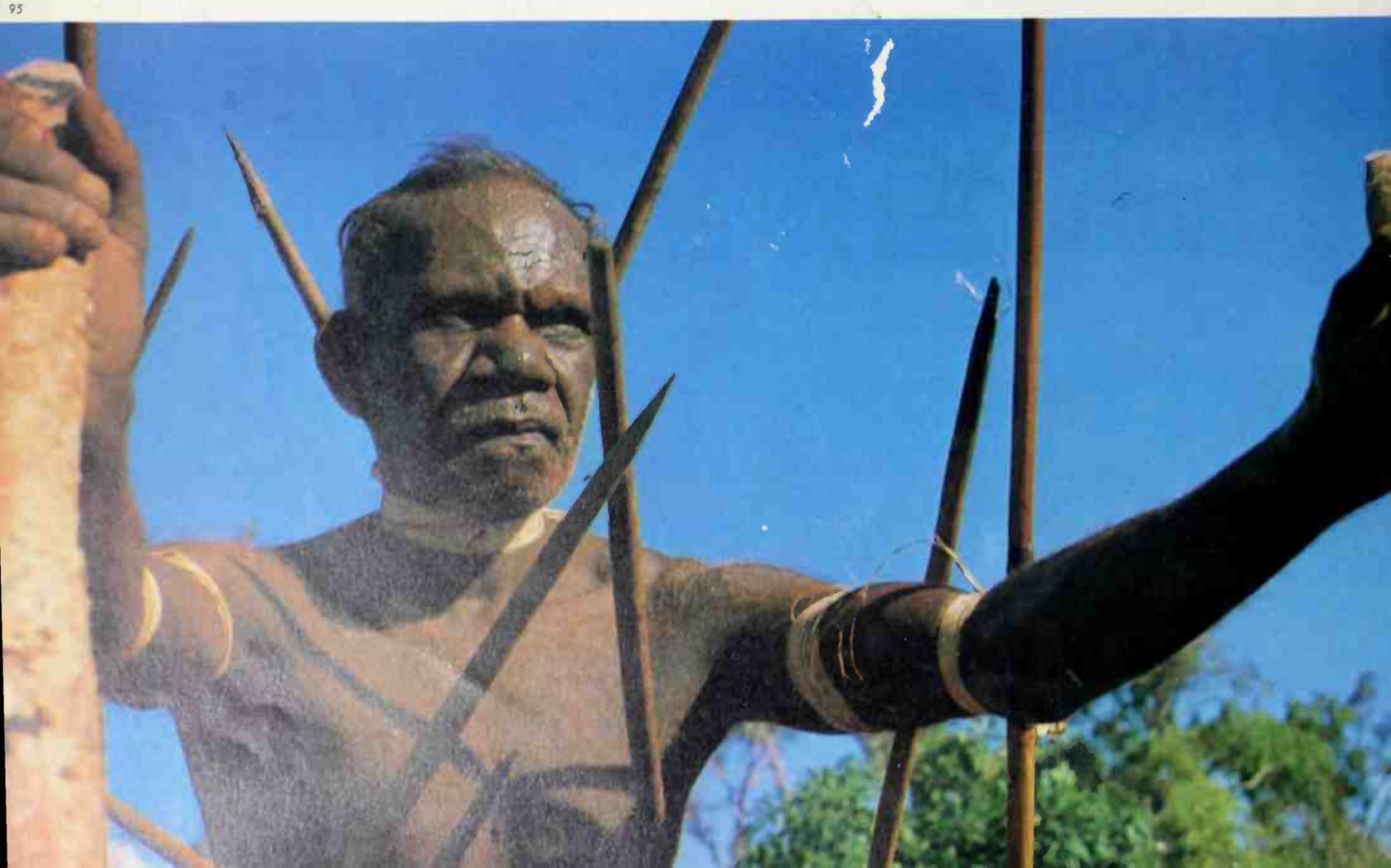

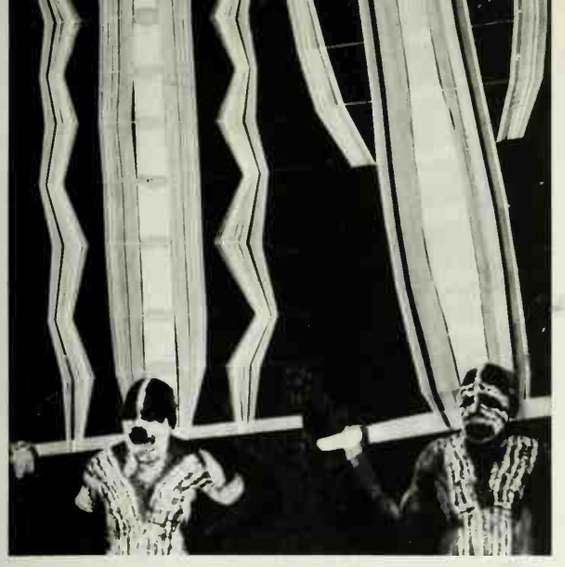

96

Scenes from ceremonies at Derby (96) and on Elcho Island (97–98).

97

98

In this Mornington Island ritual, performed at night by the light of campfires, the songman and leader stands in front and the "tap-stick man" at the right keeps time. Such nighttime ceremonies are most impressive and dramatic.

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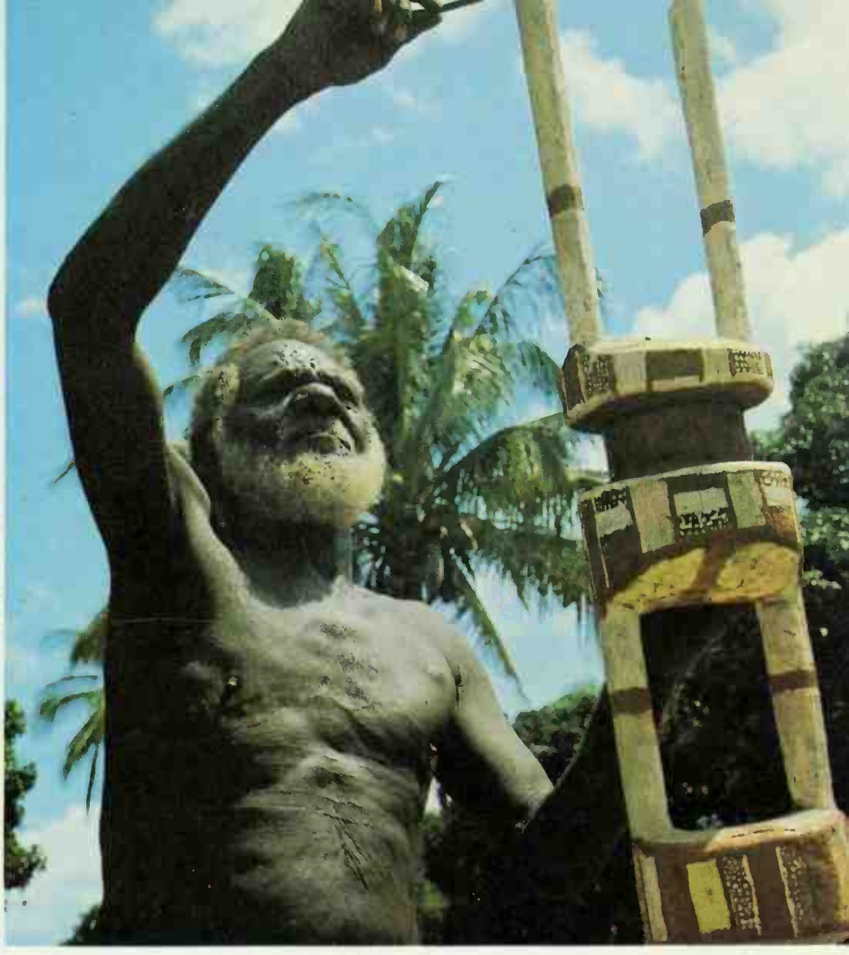


101

MORTUARY. *Burial ceremonies varied greatly from region to region. On Elcho and Melville islands (100–1) elaborate grave posts were carved and painted with the dead man's totems. In northeastern Arnhem Land (102) hollow log coffins were painted and used as receptacles for the deceased's bones. During a burial ceremony various totemic objects were used. In the group shown here the totems represent a goose and a yam. The bark armlet in the foreground was worn by the chief mourner.*

102

103

104

There are remains of ancient burial and ceremonial grounds all over Australia. The carved tree or dendroglyph (103) in eastern New South Wales is one of the few still standing; such trees marked graves or initiation grounds. The stone patterns (104) at Mount House were the tracks followed by youths during initiation ceremonies. The remarkable stone constructions (105–6) near Ebor almost certainly were part of a "bora ground," one of the permanent initiation areas, banned to women and children and used annually to initiate youths into full membership of the tribe.

105

106

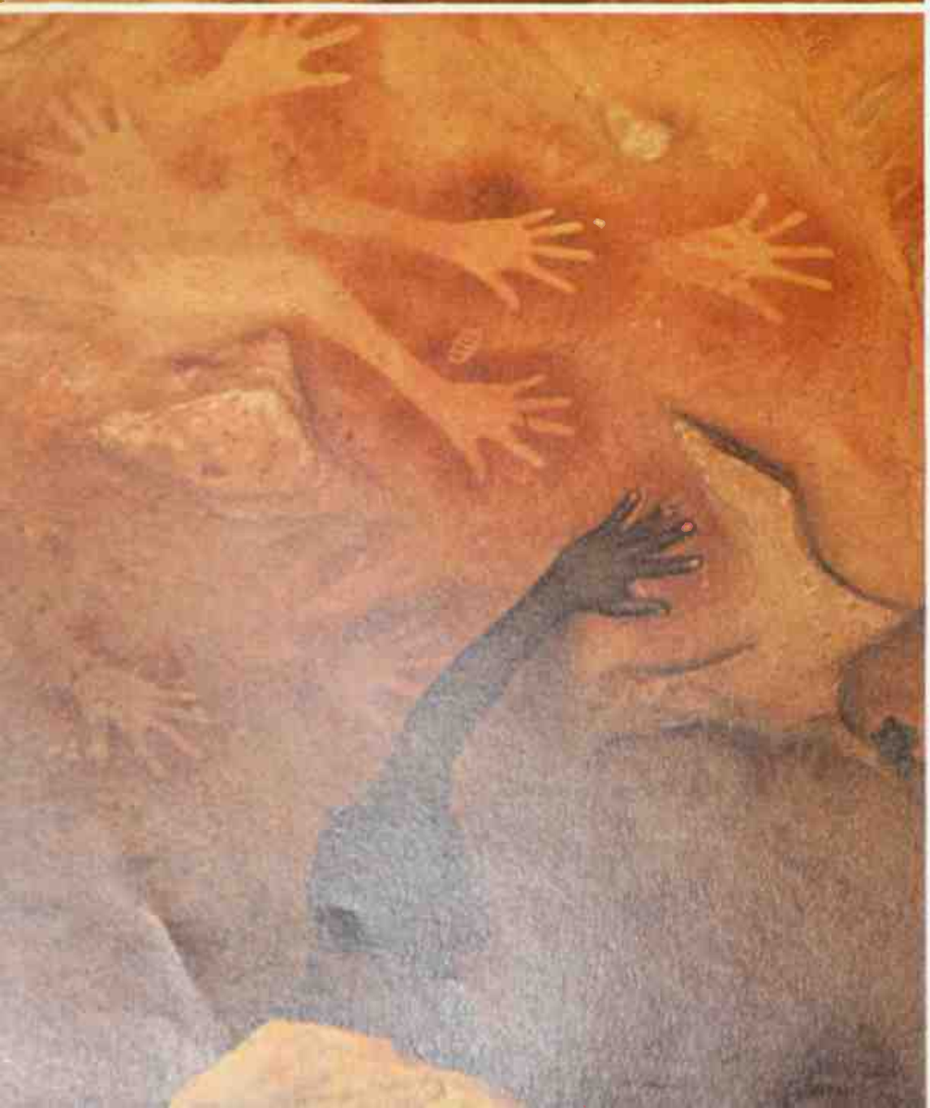
107

ART OF THE ROCK FACES. *A tribesman at El Sharana solemnly contemplates a rock-shelter painting of a totemic spirit ancestor who is said to have disappeared into the rock at this place. In the old days such sacred and secret paintings were periodically touched up during special ceremonies.*

Paintings in the Cave of the Rainbow Serpent at Yuendumu in central Australia, the scene of solemn ceremonies of the Dreamtime ancestors whose sacred deeds are commemorated in the paintings. The serpent is repainted before each ceremony, during which process the men relate ancient stories and address the serpent as if it were a living being. There is often no way to tell the age of such paintings. Many are no longer being repainted, and there is an urgent need to find some way of restoring and preserving the more important paintings.

The other main type of rock art is engraving. In western New South Wales dozens of such sites are covered with literally thousands of pecked-out figures. ▷

◁ *Paintings on Groote Eylandt representing spirit ancestors and totemic animals. Often such paintings combine human and animal forms in such bewildering ways that, if the modern aborigines of the region no longer preserve their lore, it is difficult to interpret them.*



A close-up view of the painting shown on page 74.

◁ *Hand stencils on Chasm Island, first reported by Matthew Flinders, who sighted them while surveying the north coast in the* Investigator *in 1803. Such stencils, which are found throughout the continent, are made by filling the mouth with liquid ocher, placing the hand on the rock face, and blowing the ocher all around it.*

114

A tribal elder of Wessel Island returns to an ancestral cave to retouch the totemic paintings. He grinds and mixes his ochers with water and applies them with a cane brush, teased out and chewed at the end. In Photo 116, older designs have been overpainted with a fishing lugger in white. Aboriginal art reflects not only the distant past but also more recent happenings, such as visits by Indonesians and Europeans to the north coast.

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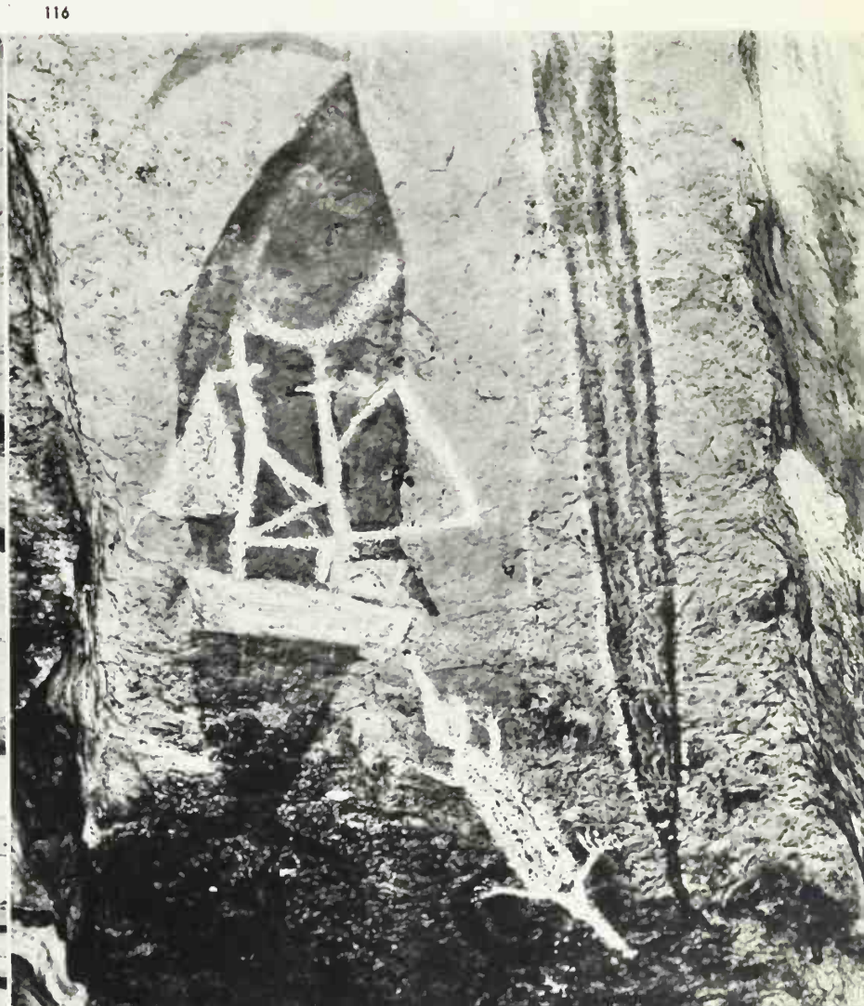
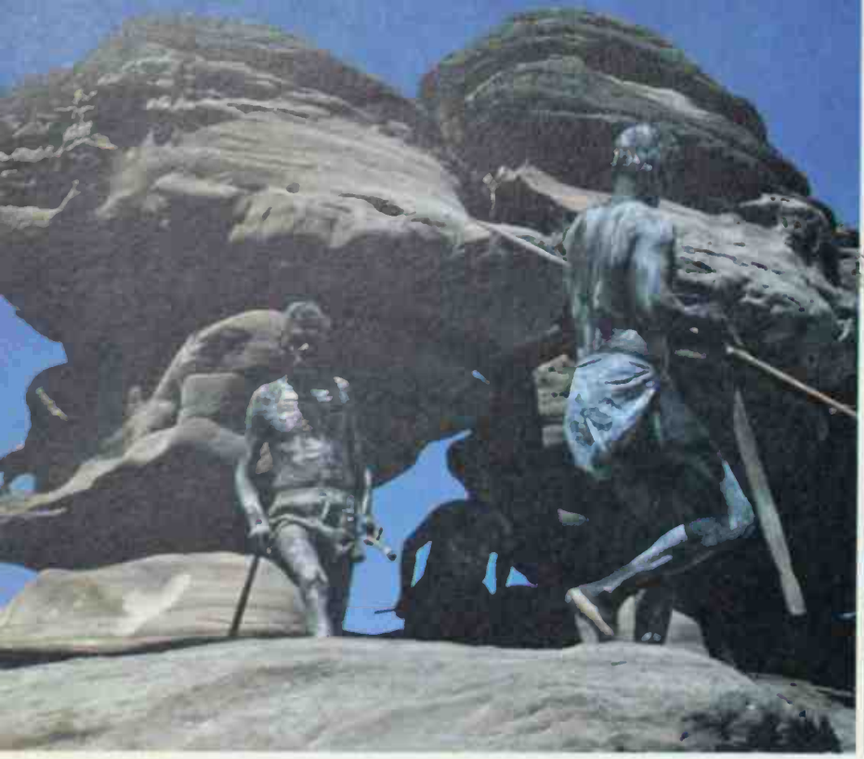




117

A party returns to perform hunting ceremonies at a strange rock outcropping on Elcho Island.

The art of the Kimberleys. Photo 119, a Wandjina creator spirit. Photo 120, a rainbow serpent, which brings the life-giving rain, together with hand stencils of initiated men who have performed ceremonies there.

119

121

A remarkable painting at Noarlangie. A turtle is shown from the underside with anatomical features done in X-ray style. The significance of this style, which is unique to northern Arnhem Land, is not fully understood.

122

Petroglyphs from the Sydney region. The deeply engraved outlines in the area's soft sandstone were produced by making a series of punctures and then joining them up by abrasion. Animals, fish, ancestors, and human and animal tracks are all found, often huge in size. They cannot be accurately dated, but it is unlikely that they could have survived many centuries. The outlines in these photographs have been chalked in to make them more visible, but this is not recommended as a regular procedure since it produces a chemical action that tends to damage the rock. Photo 122 shows a whale, a stingray, and a human figure; 123, a strange composite human and animal, probably a totemic ancestor.

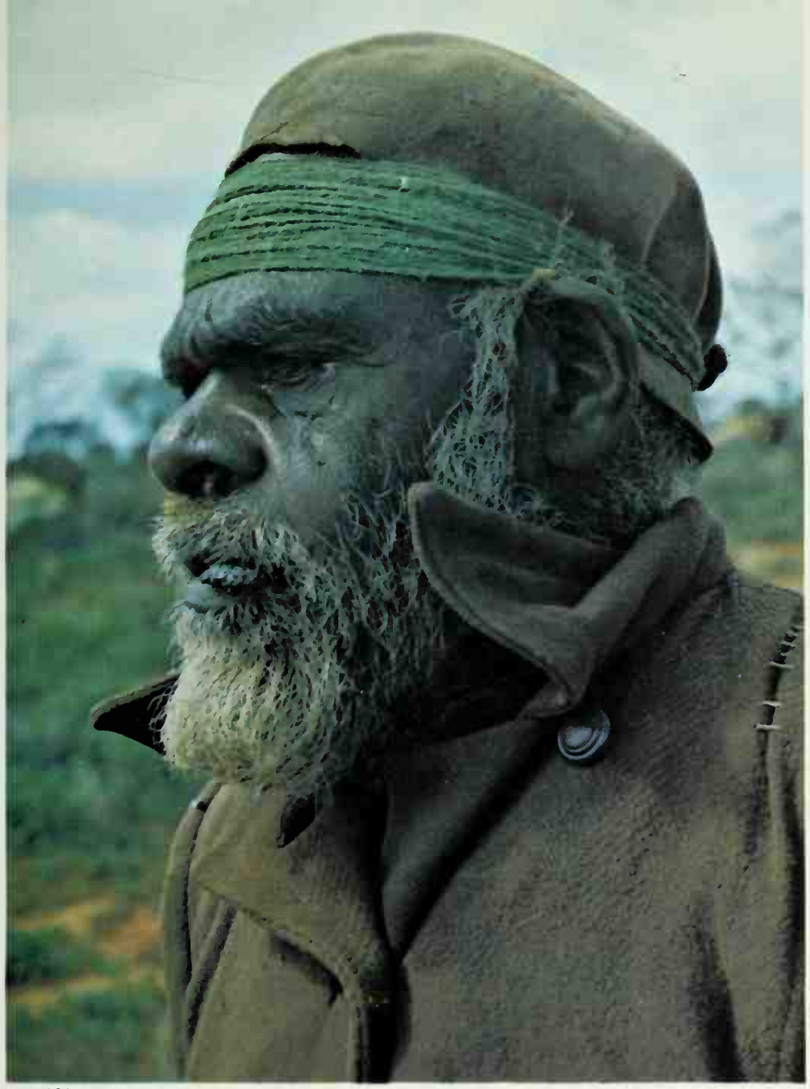
123

124

This fascinating painting, in a rock shelter near Cooktown, is a rare example in that it seems to have been consciously composed, each figure having a definite relationship to the others. Further studies of rock art may prove that compositions are commoner than is now believed.

An example of the complexity of superimpositions found in many caves. Generation after generation has painted over previous work so that it is often impossible to distinguish between successive stages. It was apparently the act of painting itself that was important, not the relation of one painting to another.

Here ends our brief view of "the ART OF THE ROCK FACES." More and more is it a thing of the distant past. But very much of the present are the descendants of the original artists, like the four persons shown on the opposite page, the inheritors of the spirit, the vision, and the creativity that produced this remarkable art.



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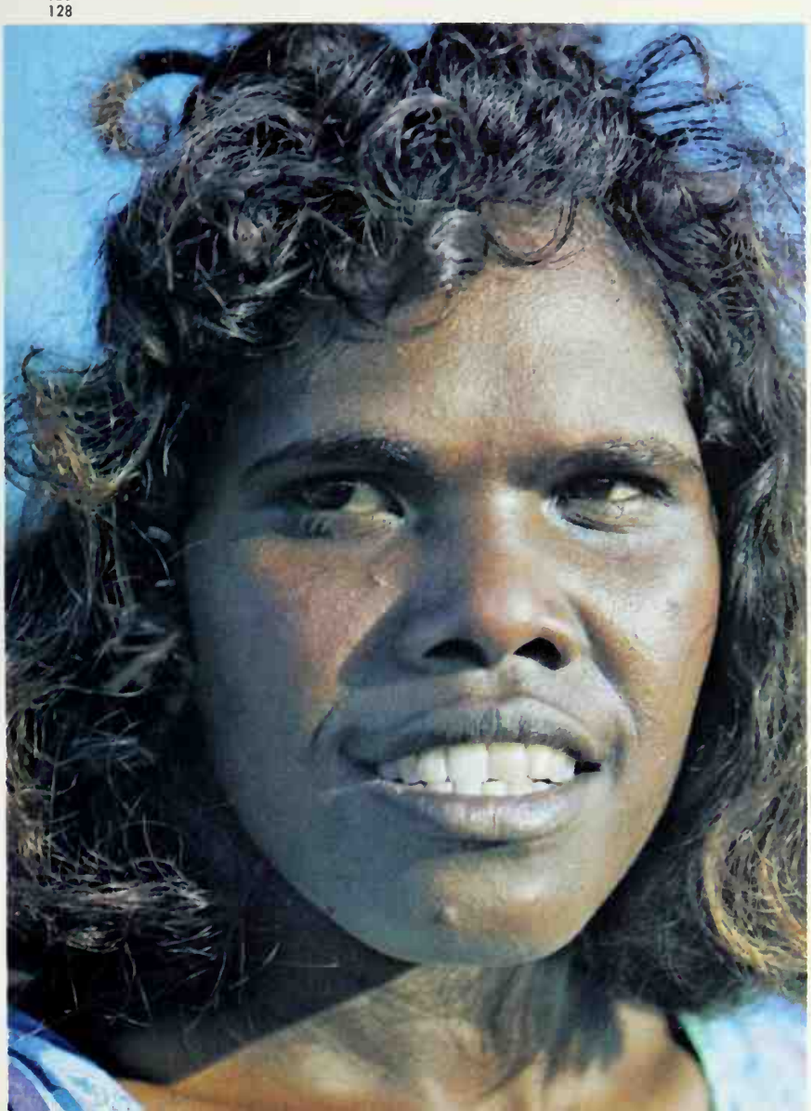

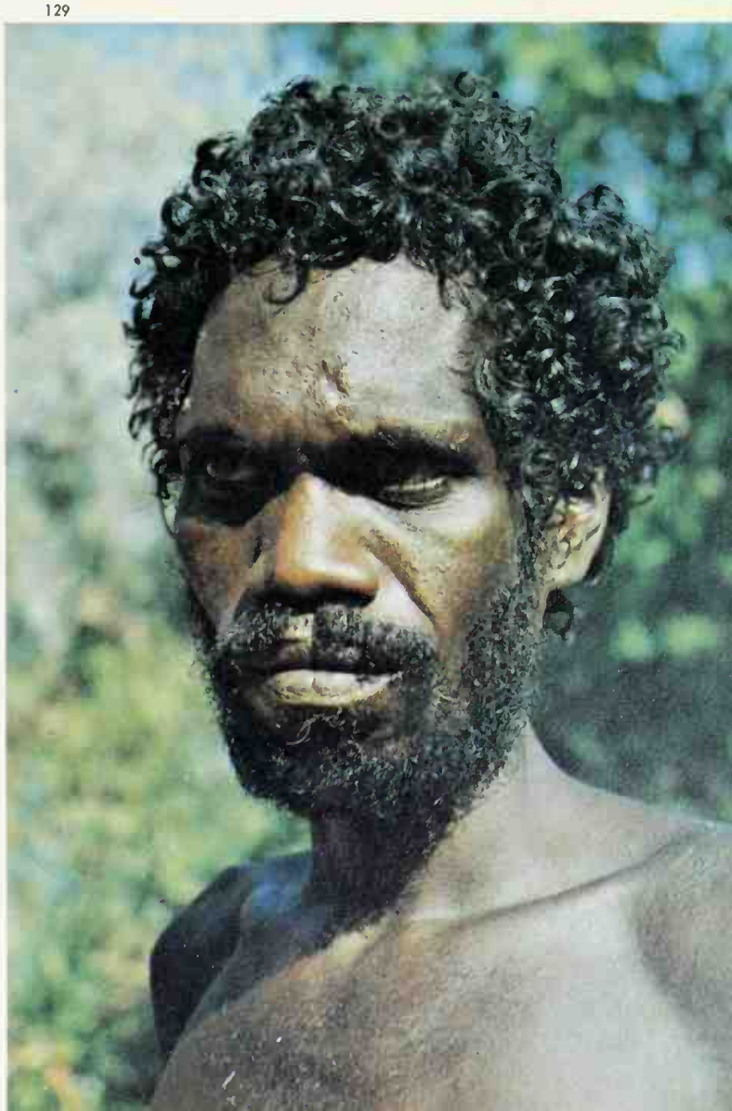

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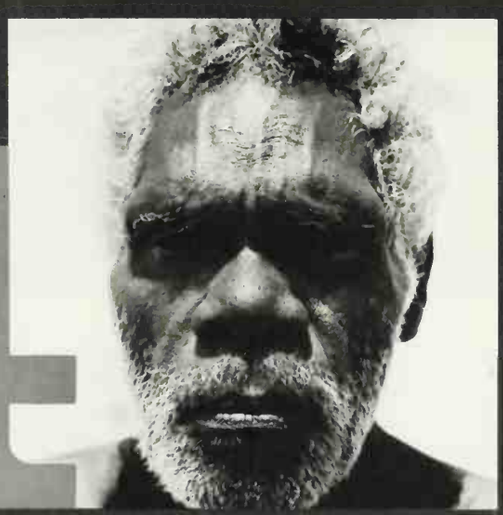
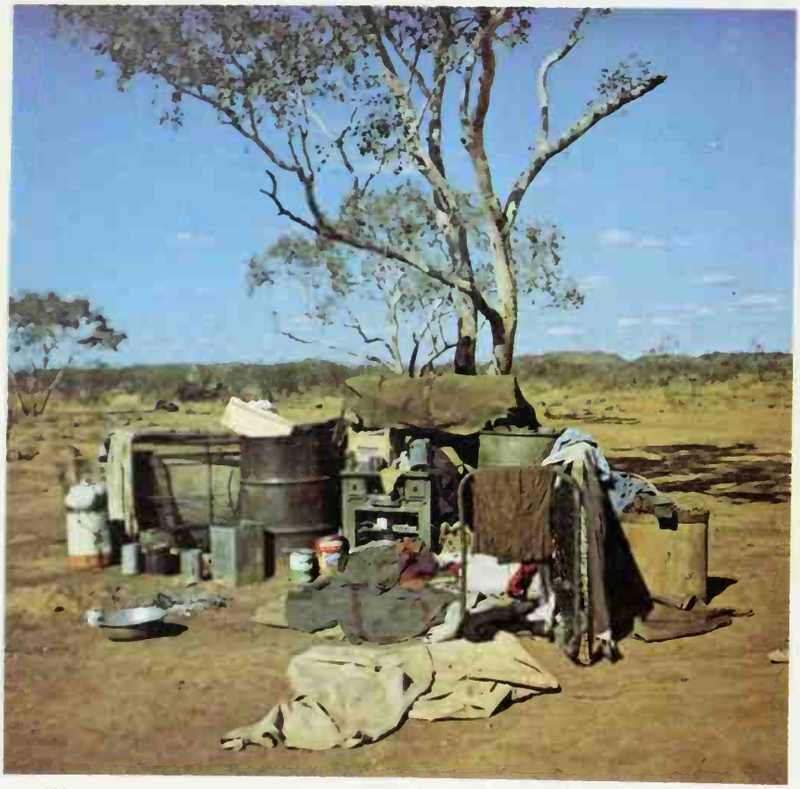


A Brief History of Discrimination

OUTCASTS IN THEIR OWN LAND



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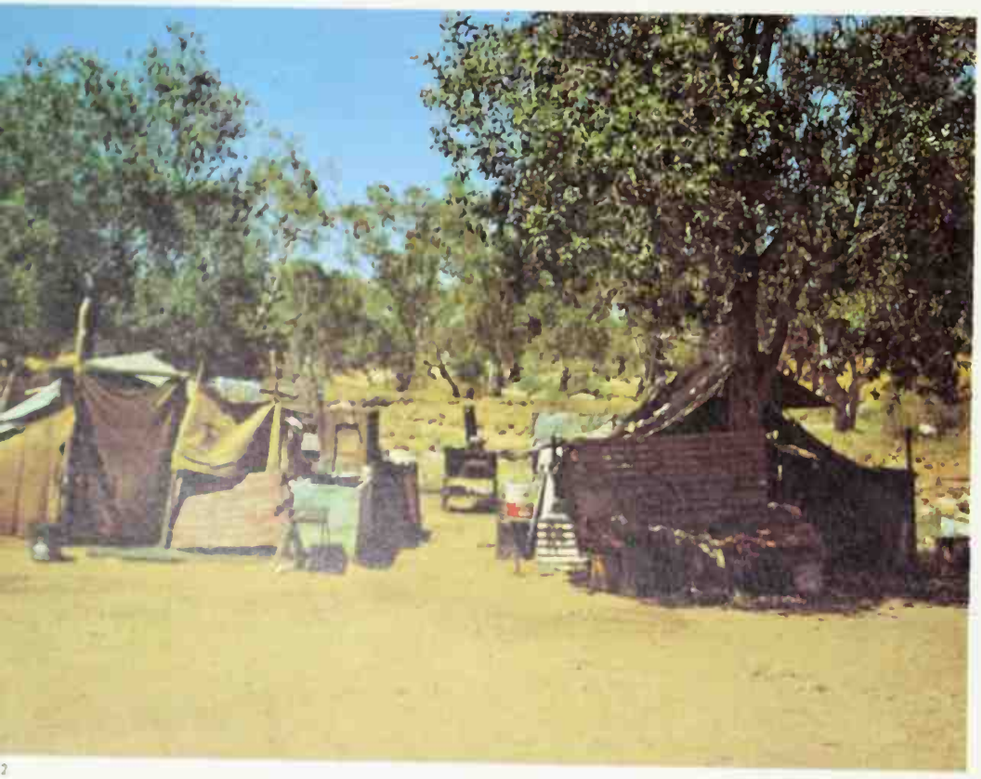

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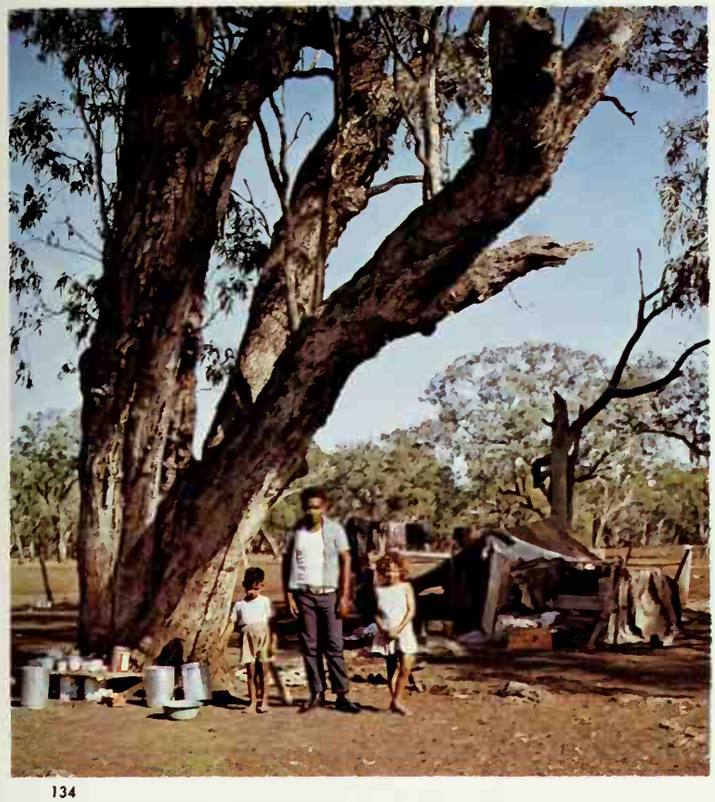
133

Deprived of their lands, the aborigines must squat wherever they are left in peace . . .



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136

. . . dwelling on the fringes of the new civilization, as seen in these photographs from different parts of the country.

FROM THE MOMENT Governor Arthur Phillip stepped ashore at Sydney Cove to found the first British settlement in Australia in January, 1788, the old aboriginal way of life was doomed. The story since that time has been, almost without exception, a tragic one for the Dark People. Progressively, from one end of the continent to the other, their lands have been usurped by white settlers. From what has been said earlier it will be realized that, although the aborigines did not own land in the Western sense, every natural object on the tribal territories was a vital part of their spiritual life, while the game and fruits of each local group's area were essential to their survival. It was not possible for tribes to move off their own territories, for this would have meant encroaching on the lands of adjoining tribes and denying the grand scheme of the Dreamtime. But these considerations, of course, were not understood by the white newcomers, who were simply impatient to be about their own affairs.

At first it did not enter the heads of the aboriginal people that they might be denied the use of their ancestral lands, and generally they treated settlers moving out into new territories with a friendly interest. This stage, however, was usually short-lived. As the newcomers moved their flocks and herds in and drove out all the natural game—kangaroo, emu, and the like—the aborigines soon found themselves short of food. Often also the settlers tried to deny them the use of their ancestral sources of water. When the settlers refused to allow them food and drink, naturally the tribes started to spear the new game on their lands—the cattle and sheep—and continued to use the watering places despite all warnings. This led to reprisals by the settlers, who tried to drive the aborigines away, not realizing, or not caring, how absolutely the tribes were tied to their lands. Often there were severe clashes, but obviously the aboriginal men, armed only with spear, spear-thrower, and shield, were no match for mounted whites with guns. Excellent though aboriginal organizing ability was for ritual and ceremonial, the idea of sustained and ruthless warfare was entirely alien to them.

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The end result of such a situation was either sporadic resistance leading to annihilation, or else capitulation and the rapid disintegration of tribal life. In some cases, when settlers were sympathetic and made some attempt to understand the aboriginal situation, local groups were allowed to remain on their lands and were given rations in return for assistance as shepherds or stockmen. A much commoner situation, however, was for demoralized remnants to hang around on unwanted borderland, trying to pick up casual laboring jobs, cadging, and stealing in order to stay alive. Their main contact was with the worst elements of the invaders—convicts, poor-class servants, outcasts, and ne'er-do-wells. Inevitably, therefore, the majority of aborigines rapidly succumbed to the white man's diseases and vices and were continually in trouble for prostitution of their women, drunkenness, theft, and other newly learned crimes.

This sorry pattern was repeated throughout the continent, as white settlements spread ever farther and farther from the coastal fringe. The results are still much in evidence in those areas where any of the Dark People have survived. Aborigines today are still bitter at the appalling cruelties perpetrated on earlier generations and even more bitter at the usurpation of all their lands without any form of compensation. Also, they often still suffer crippling discrimination, particularly in rural areas.

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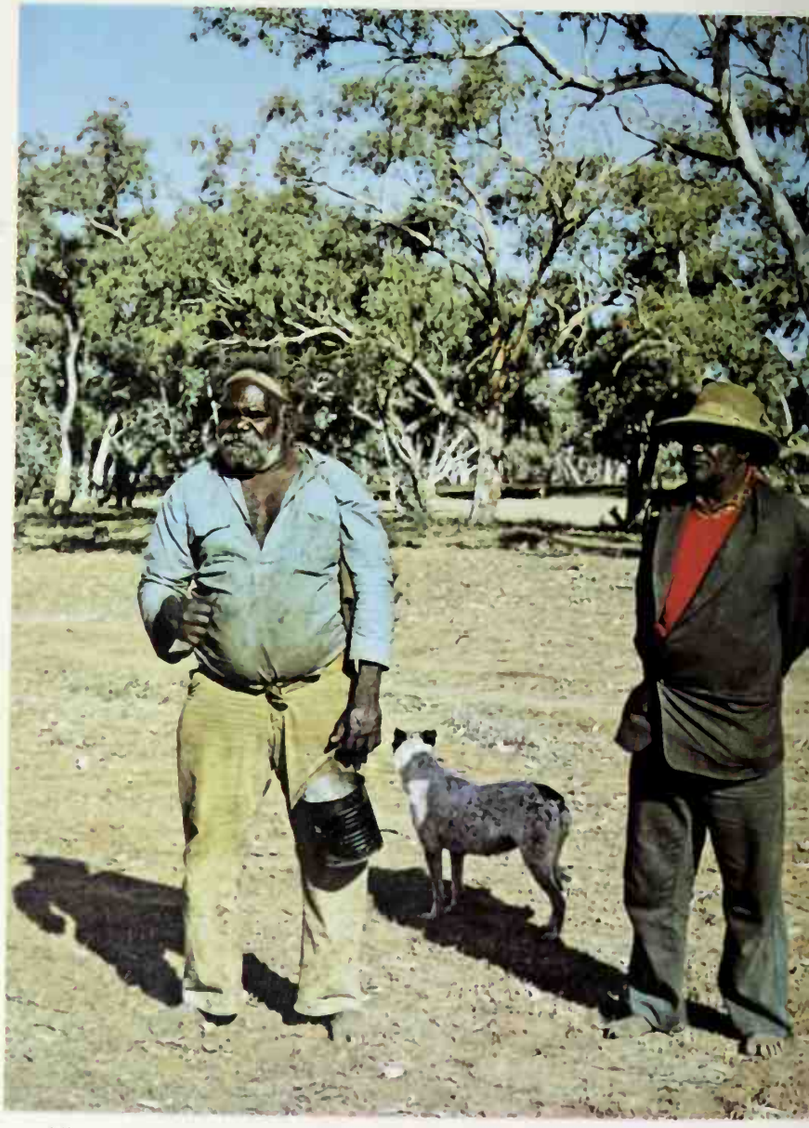

141

Dispossessed, the majority now tribeless, they have lost their past without gaining a future; . . .

. . . in all parts of the country, for many aborigines there is only the boring present of lives made useless through lack of education and opportunity.

Although almost always well-intentioned, official Australian policies toward the aborigines have more often than not been seriously misguided. The attitudes of the general white population have been extremely inconsistent, ranging from shooting, poisoning, or exploitation amounting to virtual enslavement, to sentimental admiration and benevolent paternalism. Always the Dark Australians have been treated as something different, unlike the European population, whether as a useless nuisance or as childlike savages to be humored, petted, and given toys to play with. And yet, from the very start aborigines have served, helped, guided, and even saved the lives of Europeans, all for little or no reward. They are a naturally cheerful, humorous, and cooperative people; and when they are given equal opportunities, their abilities are quite equal to those of any other ethnic group. In some respects they are almost certainly superior to any other surviving people—for example, in visual and aural perception and memory, in acting, dancing, and mime; but unfortunately little attempt has been made to utilize these outstanding abilities since the collapse of tribal life.

143 144

"Always they have been treated as something different." Photo 143, tourists at Weipa Mission photographing children. Photo 144, an artist at Alice Springs sketching a young man.

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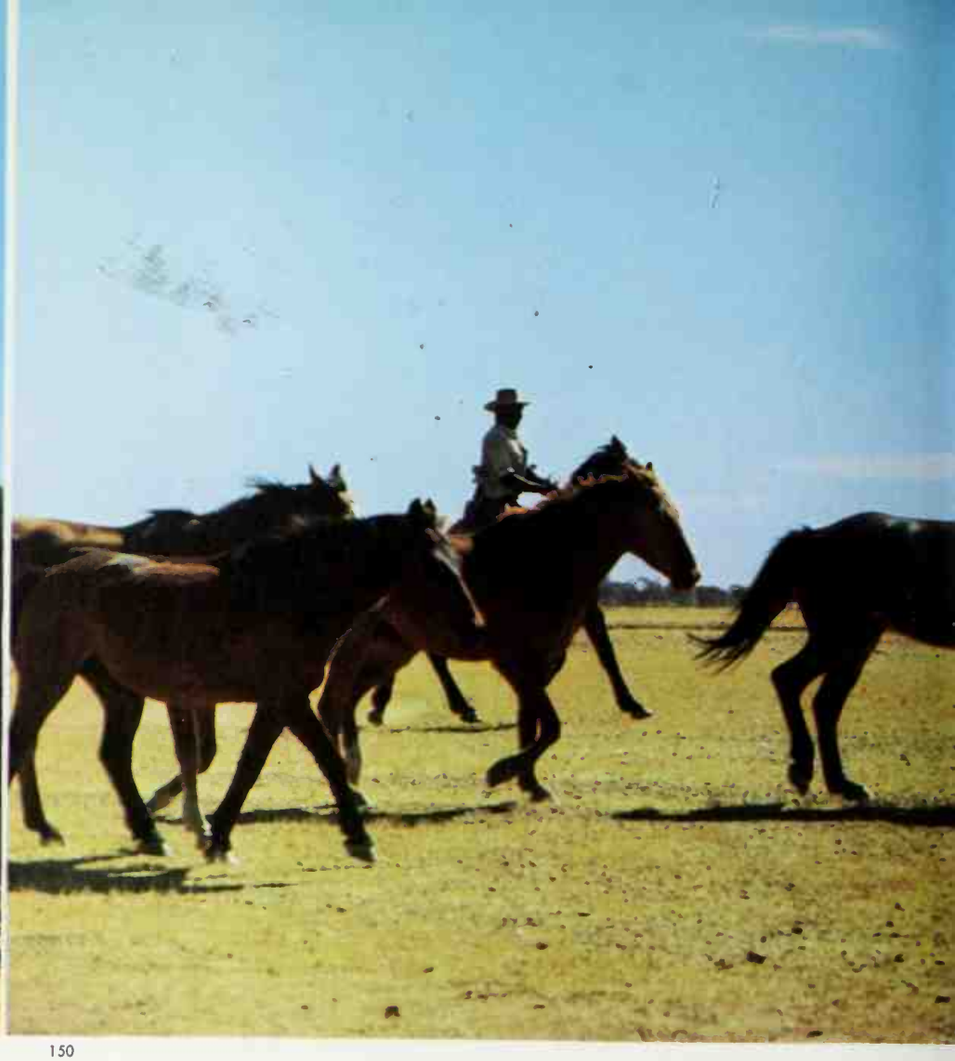
One field in which aboriginal skills have been extensively employed—and exploited—is in northern Australia's cattle industry. Photos 145–46, aboriginal stockmen. Photo 147, a stockman and his family. Photo 148, saving a bogged cow.

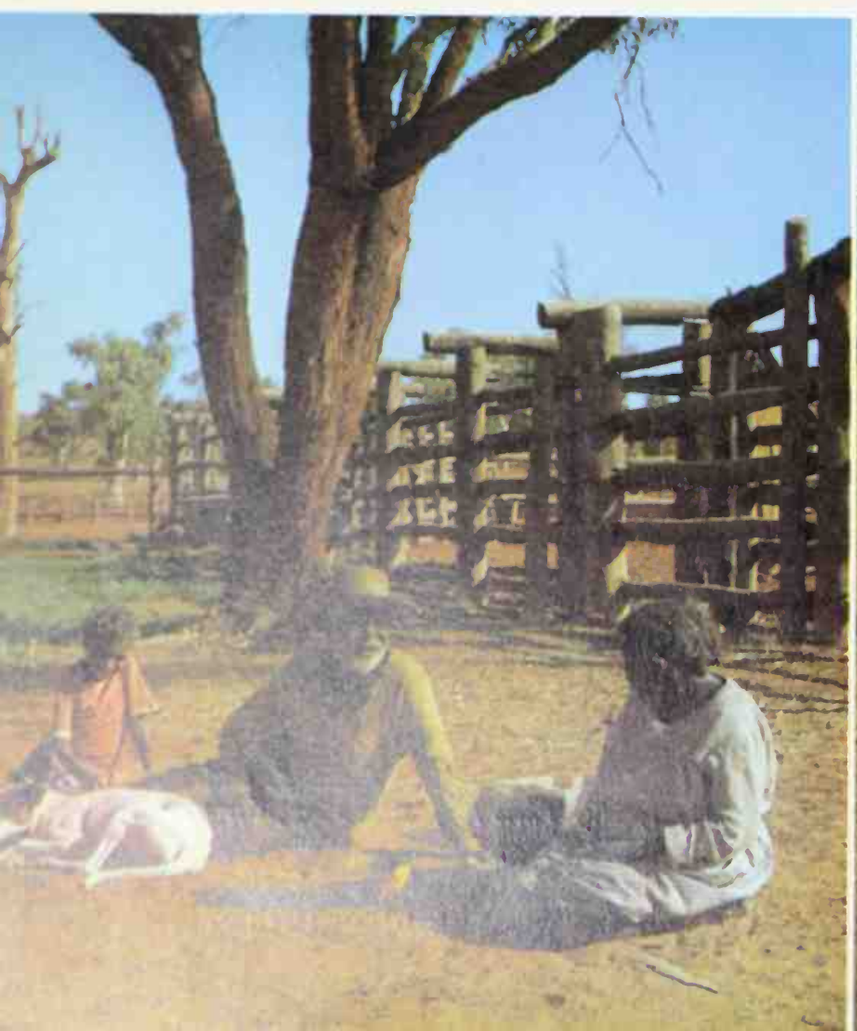
149



150

"From the very start aborigines have served, helped, guided, and even saved the lives of Europeans, all for little or no reward." Photos 149–50, yarding cattle and rounding up wild horses. Photo 151, a tracker and his family. Photo 152, a drover "ringing" cattle.

151



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More scenes of the stockman's life: shoeing horses and "boiling the billy."

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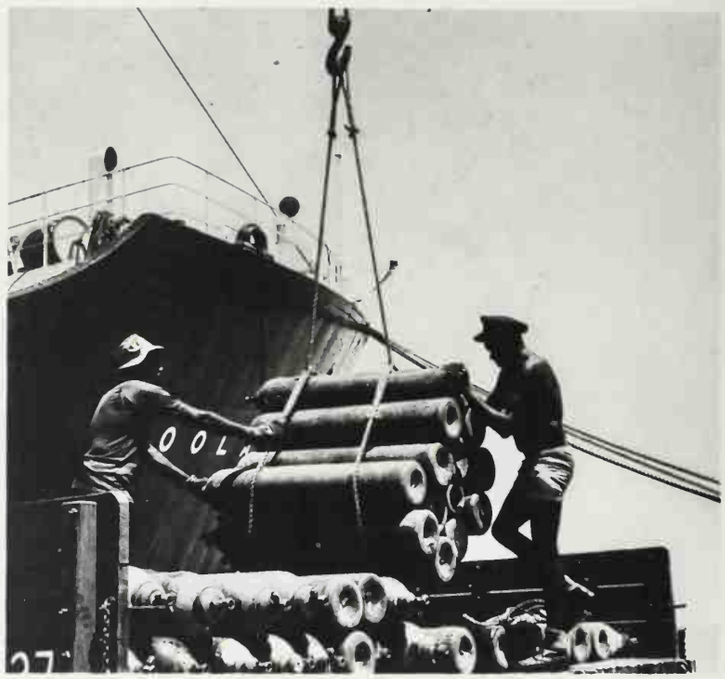


157

Other occupations include road work (156), stevedoring (157), and—a common work pattern in northern Australia—gardening for men (158) and housework for women (159).

158

159

"They are a naturally cheerful, humorous, and cooperative people."

Two typical stockmen—one, whom the stock hands have nicknamed "One-eyed Nugget," from the north (160) and the other from the south (161). Their teeth were knocked out in initiation ceremonies.

"Little attempt has been made to utilize their outstanding abilities."

162

Alert, intelligent aboriginal children. What will be their future —hopeless, shiftless fringe-dwelling or constructive, worthwhile lives in decent employment?

163

A question that must be asked again and again, until an adequate answer is found: Why have the aborigines remained in this hopeless and seriously underprivileged situation for nearly two hundred years when official policies throughout the period have attempted to find a satisfactory place for them in the national community? Does the fault lie with the aborigines or the whites, or are there faults on both sides? Perhaps a quick review of official attitudes from the time of first settlement may throw some light on the question.

William Dampier, probably the first Englishman to have any contact with the Australian aborigines, referred to those he saw on the northwest coast in 1688 as "the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these." Since Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* became a standard reference work, this original impression of the Dark Australians colored the thinking of Europe until the publication of Cook's first *Voyage* in 1773.

Although Cook had little to say about the Australian aborigines (he referred to them always as "Indians"), his admiration for the Polynesians and their way of life seem to have affected the views of Europeans regarding the peoples of the South Pacific in general, so that they tended to be equated with Rousseau's concept of the noble savage. Some of this fame and admiration appears to have brushed off onto the Dark Australians, even through racially and in their way of life they were far removed from the Tahitians and Maoris.

Governor Arthur Phillip had a remarkably advanced attitude toward the aborigines he found enjoying the harbors and inlets of the eastern coast of New South Wales. This was summed up by Lieutenant William Bradley, a naval officer on the First Fleet, as follows: "The Governor's plan with respect to the Natives was, if possible, to cultivate an acquaintance with them without their having an idea of our great superiority over them, that their confidence and friendship might be more firmly fixed."

Phillip persuaded several aborigines to join the European settlement and even took two of them back to England with him in 1792. One of them died there, but the other, Bennelong, returned to Sydney, where he became something of a nuisance before he was finally killed in a tribal fight.

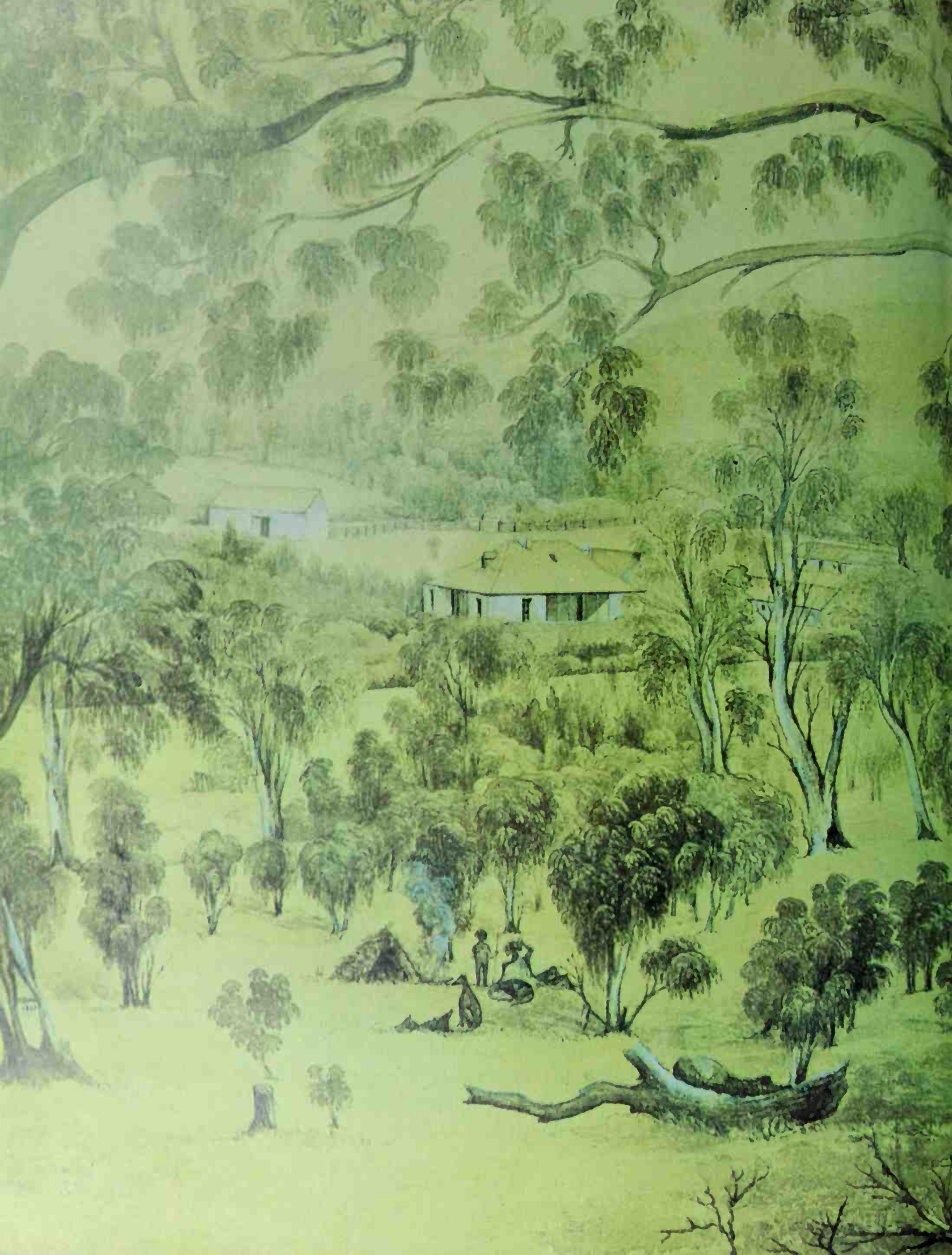
Unfortunately, Phillip's ideals were not shared by many others in the new colony, and there was trouble from the start. Captain Watkin Tench of the Marines, who himself was well disposed toward the aborigines, says: "They either fear, or despise us too much, to be anxious for a closer connection," and blames "the fickle, jealous, wavering disposition of the people we have to deal

A typical brass plate of "authority."

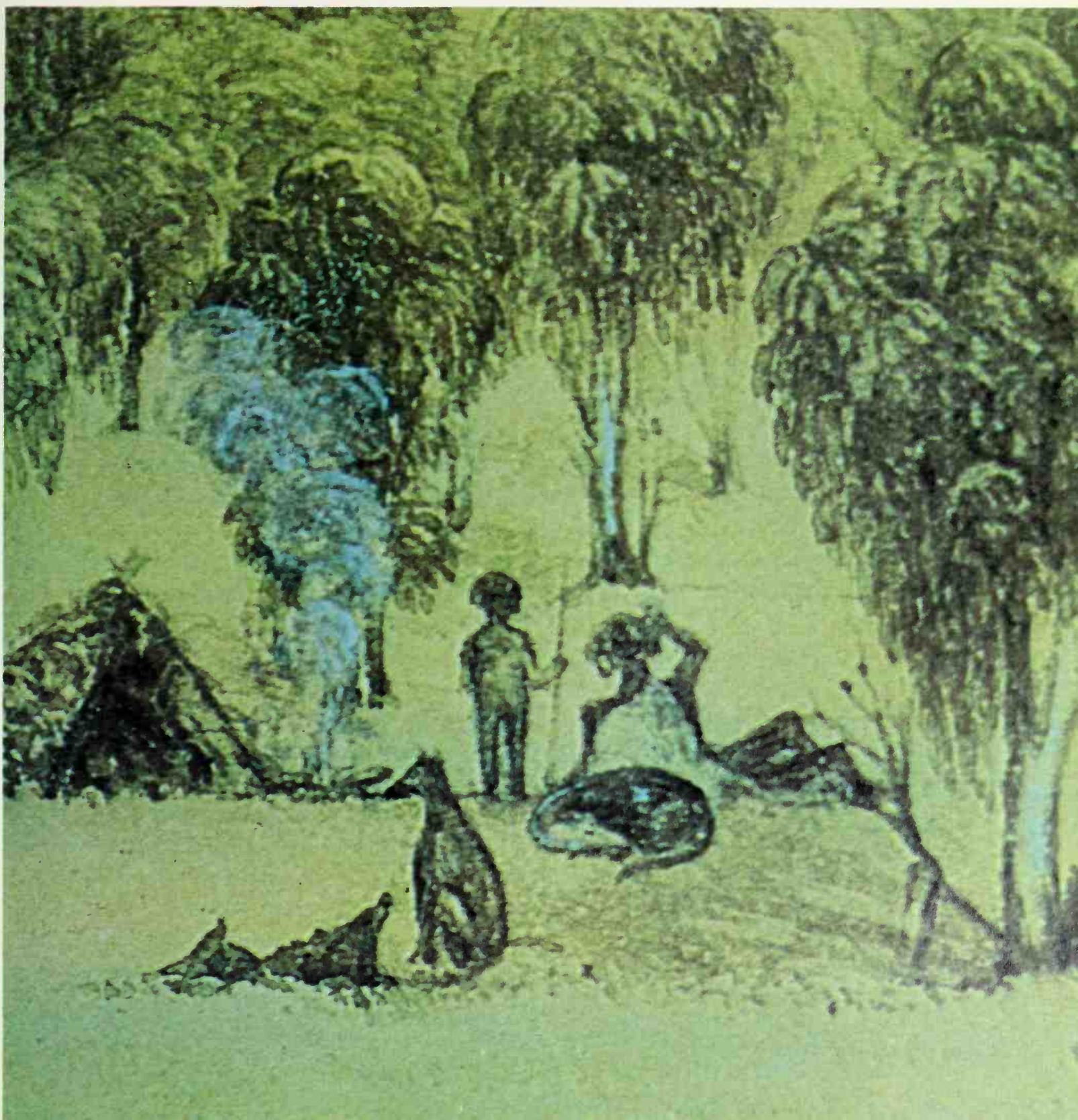
with" for the clashes and killings that had soon begun to occur. Needless to say, as in all such clashes of cultures, neither side was capable of seeing the other's viewpoint.

It is noteworthy that, in the early efforts to make contact with aboriginal groups, the Europeans always attempted to parley with "chiefs," presumably because they believed that aboriginal political organization must be similar to that of the Polynesians, which had been described so glowingly by Cook and others. As we have seen, however, the Australian aborigines were a dispersed and nomadic people; they had no hereditary chieftainship, nor in fact even a fixed form of government in the Western sense. So when officials, explorers, and settlers demanded to speak with the "chief," the request was not understood.

What eventually seems to have happened was that some old man, who was probably respected in the tribe for his ritual knowledge, was pushed forward and given his instructions by the newcomers. These instructions were almost inevitably misunderstood, and in any case, the ritual elder would not have had any real control over the actions of his group. At a somewhat later date such unfortunate old men were given brass plates to hang on their chests, in an effort to give them some official authority. These plates were inscribed with some such nonsense as "King Billy, Chief of the Warrumbungle Tribe."



◁ *This interesting old painting of the "Manar" property, near Goulburn in New South Wales, was done in 1840 by an early settler. It shows the original station homestead, before much clearing had been done, with an aboriginal camp in the foreground (see detail below). At this time aboriginal groups were still permitted to remain on land settled by Europeans, but this arrangement seldom lasted for long.*



The early reports are full of references to the "treachery" of the aborigines. There can be little doubt that most such "treacheries" were due to the whites' total misunderstanding of the aboriginal way of life and equally, on the part of the aborigines, to a complete inability to grasp what was required of them. Once these mutual misunderstandings had solidified into a hostile pattern, the chances of developing any reasonable modus vivendi became more and more remote. From a very early date successive governors of the colony were endlessly importuned with petitions from settlers begging for military protection and punitive measures against the depredations of "the blacks," as the aborigines soon became colloquially known. On occasion armed troopers were sent to control the movements of the offending aboriginal groups, and often the troops massacred men, women, and children, sometimes without even verifying whether or not the people they were punishing were actually those who had been complained about. Such illogical reprisals caused even greater bewilderment to the Dark People and generated deep hatreds that have not been totally forgotten even today.

The periods of greatest expansion were necessarily the periods of the most intensive clashes. The term of office of Governor Lachlan Macquarie, from 1809 to 1822, was such a period, since it was during this time that a way was found over the Blue Mountains to the northwest of Sydney, and jubilant settlers, with their families, sheep, and cattle, poured out onto the apparently boundless and fertile plains to the west. Innumerable atrocities went unreported, owing to the great distances and poor communications. Macquarie's own policy toward the aborigines was one of conciliation, and again and again he forbade his people to harass and harm the indigenous inhabitants. He established the Native Home and School for Aboriginal Children at Parramatta, near Sydney, and instituted an annual "feast" for the aboriginal remnants of the Sydney region. He also employed a number of intelligent aborigines as boatmen, government messengers, and police trackers. All the same, Macquarie's administration was marked by innumerable punitive expeditions, both official and spontaneous, against aboriginal groups on the fringes of settlement.

During the regime of Governor Sir George Gipps, from 1838 to 1846, the authorities in London tried to lay down a positive "plan for the better protection and civilization of the native tribes." Lord John Russell, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, wrote to Gipps: "There appears to be great

difficulty in making Reserves of Land for the Natives which shall be really beneficial to them. Two sources of mischief mar the most benevolent design of this nature; the one arising from the inaptitude of the Natives to change their desultory habits and learn those of settled industry; the other from the constant inroads of Europeans to rob, corrupt, and destroy them."

Nevertheless, a policy of establishing "native homesteads" was tried both in New South Wales and in the newly colonized region of Victoria. The idea was to collect on a reserve of ten square miles all the aboriginal remnants in the surrounding area and try to interest them in agriculture and stock raising. A "protector," usually a young man fresh from England with his wife and family, lived at the homestead to look after the people. Hunting was allowed over only five of the ten square miles. Such an area was of course totally inadequate to support any hunting and collecting group. As a result, the few aborigines, mostly the old and the very young, who elected to hang around the homesteads had to rely almost entirely on government handouts of flour, tea, and "bacca." This was the official beginning of the demoralizing system of "protection" that eventually placed the majority of aborigines throughout Australia in a position of dependence on the state —a system that continued until a more progressive policy was worked out almost halfway through the present century.

Also in Governor Gipps's time a scheme was started of removing aboriginal children from their parents and taking them to the more settled areas for apprenticeship. Until quite recently this cruel scheme was still applied to both full-blood and half-caste children in some backward areas. Voluntary assistance to aborigines also began during this period, when the first Christian mission stations were founded, and this set the pattern for later developments in all parts of the continent. There was a strong belief during the nineteenth century—a belief that still exists in some quarters—that if only the heathen aborigines could be Christianized, all would be well.

It should be added that Governor Gipps made himself extremely unpopular by refusing to reprieve seven station hands from northern New South Wales who had been sentenced to hang for having slaughtered at least twenty-eight aboriginal men, women, and children in what was known as the "Myall Creek Murders." Despite the enormity of their crime, public sentiment was massively in favor of their reprieve.

68

The grave of Yuranigh, also known as Jacky, a young aborigine from Molong, New South Wales, who accompanied Sir Thomas Mitchell on important and dangerous exploration journeys in 1845–46. Mitchell described him as his "guide, companion, counsellor, and friend," and said that the success of the expedition was considerably due to Yuranigh's intelligence and judgment, plus his sharp eyes and quick ears. He died in 1850 and was buried according to the rites of his tribe. At the corners of the site stand four carved trees, one of which is visible in the photograph.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a particularly ironic development was the establishing of the Native Mounted Police. Aboriginal men were recruited and trained to operate against troublesome tribes. Led by European officers, these paramilitary detachments, well armed and mounted, were responsible for many of the most ruthless massacres of their own people.

It has always been difficult to obtain reliable population figures for the aborigines, because considerable numbers have in the past existed outside the limits of law and order. It is believed, however, that by the end of the nineteenth century the number of full-blood aborigines in the whole continent had dwindled to something of the order of forty thousand, and the general belief at the time was that they would ultimately vanish altogether. The phrase "smooth the dying pillow" was frequently bandied about among well-wishers.

The official policy of "protection" was followed in all the states and the Northern Territory. In the north and center of the continent, in areas considered useless for European exploitation, large reserves were created within which tribal remnants were allowed to carry on a semblance of the old life, though various denominational missions continued their efforts to convert the aborigines to their own particular beliefs. Although the passing on of religious sectarianism to native peoples anywhere is to be deplored, it must be added here that much devoted work has been done for the aboriginal people by missionaries during periods and in areas in which no one else was prepared to give them assistance. Until recently, in fact, what funds governments were willing to allocate for aboriginal welfare were mostly channeled to the support of the sectarian missions.

Yirrkala Mission in Arnhem Land (170) grew out of beach camps like the one shown in Photo 169.

171

172

MISSION LIFE. *Santa Teresa Mission (171–72) is in the arid center of Australia, but its children seem healthy and happy. Yarrabah Mission (173) is on a beautiful promontory near Cairns, northern Queensland. At Elcho Island Mission (174), heavy supplies have to be landed on the beach.*

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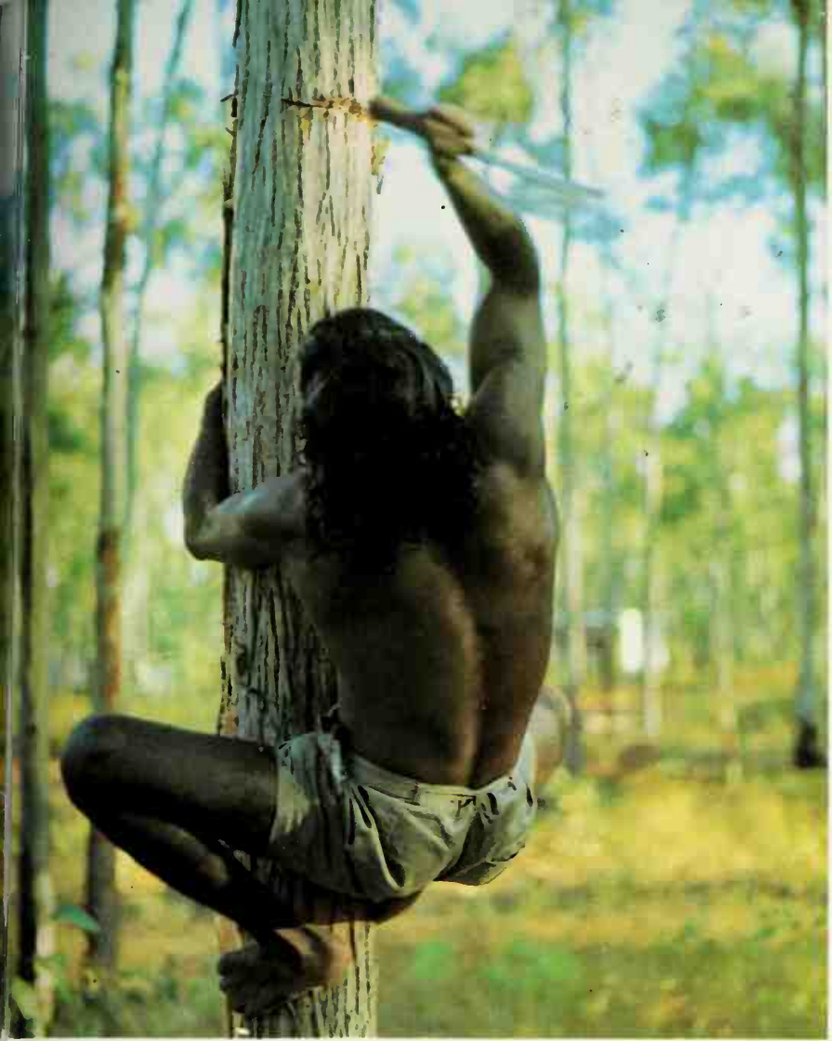

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176

Many missions encourage aboriginal arts and crafts, and the world-famous bark paintings of northeast Arnhem Land have been chiefly distributed by the missions. Shown are various steps in the production of a painting: cutting the bark, tempering and drying the bark in fire, applying natural ochers with a brush of teased-out cane.

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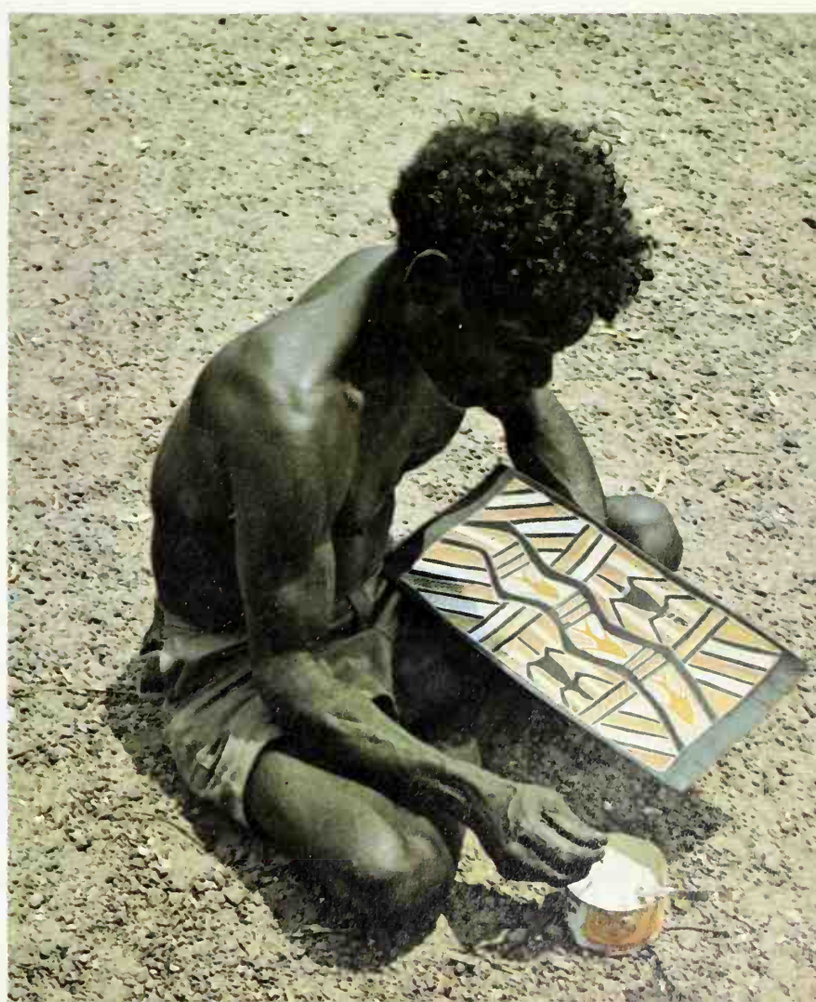

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Women's crafts are encouraged at Bathurst Island Mission (179–80). At Elcho Island Mission (181–82), a fishing cooperative has been started: the men do the fishing and the women help in the freezing works.

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Missions have also established welfare and health services for their people. Here a "flying doctor" visits Elcho Island Mission.

184

Maternity section of the hospital at Elcho Island Mission.

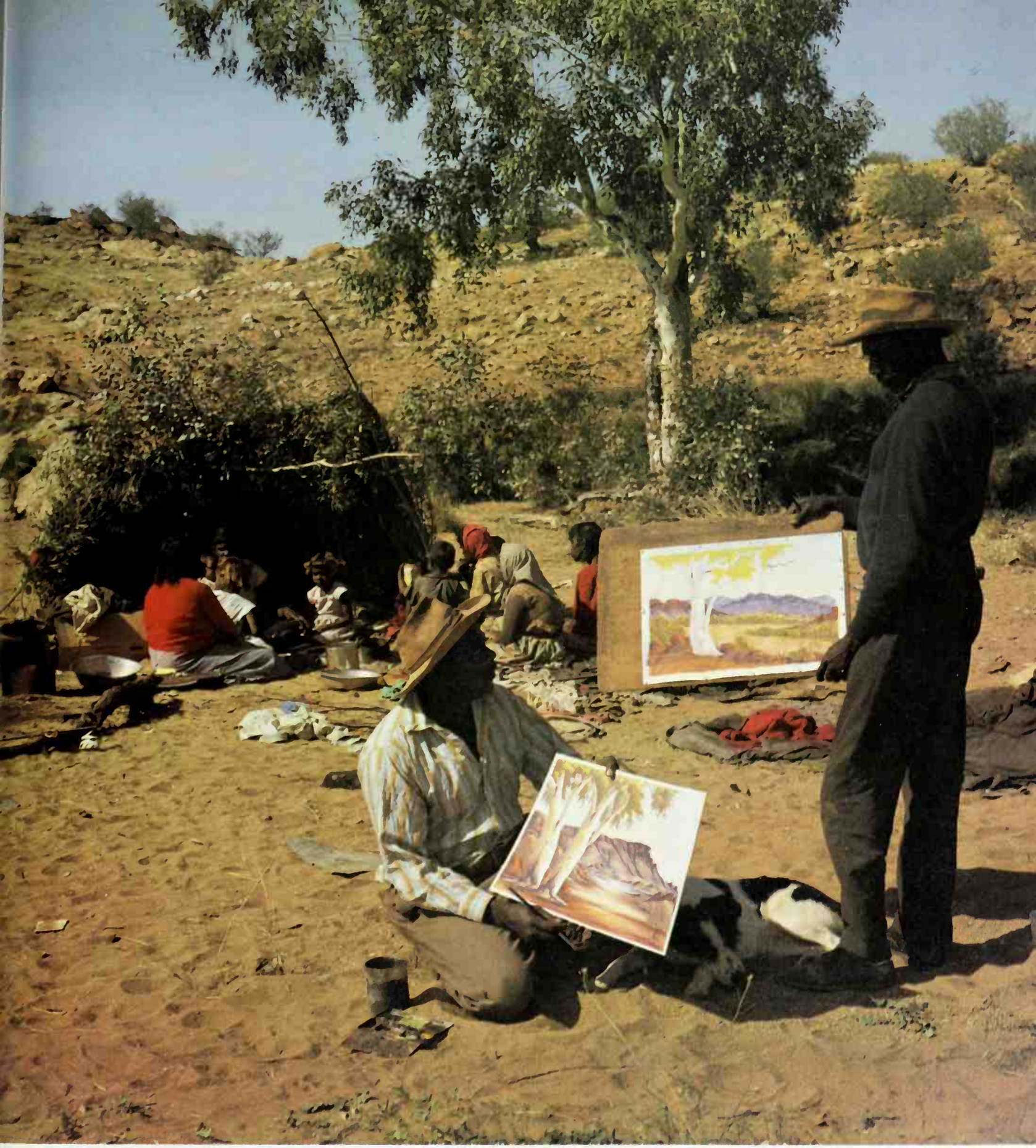
185

A seriously ill woman is evacuated by air from Elcho Island Mission.

The popular store at Mitchell River Mission, well run by aborigines.

Aboriginal medical orderly at Bathurst Island Mission.

A flying doctor pays a routine visit to Weipa Mission.



189

At Hermannsburg Mission in central Australia, a whole school of aboriginal artists painting in the European tradition has grown up as a result of the success of the late Albert Namatjira, who was taught by Rex Battersbee. Displaying their paintings in this photograph are Namatjira's son Enos (standing) and Claude Pankka.

Largely as a result of anthropological field work among the aborigines in the 1920's and 1930's, there was a considerable advance in understanding their needs, both psychological and material, and this new knowledge began to influence administrators and missionaries. It was evident that the policy of "protection" and its concomitant segregation were not going to lead to any ultimate solution of the problems. The search for a solution gained encouragement from the fact that the population of full-bloods and half-castes was no longer decreasing; in fact, their numbers were rising in most parts of the country. This was due partly to improved health services and partly to a change of attitude toward the aboriginal people, which gave them a few small grains of hope for the future.

A conference of Commonwealth and state welfare authorities held in 1948 decided to reverse the policy of protection and segregation and instead to work toward the assimilation of the aborigines into the general population, using extensive programs of education, health services, employment assistance, and general social improvement. This was interpreted by some aboriginal leaders as meaning that their people were expected to disappear as an ethnic and cultural entity, and there was considerable resentment.

In 1967 the new policy was reformulated as follows: "The policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community—enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Any special measures taken are regarded as temporary measures, not based on race, but intended to meet their need for special care and assistance and to make the transition from one stage to another in such a way as will be favorable to their social, economic, and political advancement."

These are hopeful, well-intentioned words and, if effectively implemented, would inevitably mean the total disappearance of the old beliefs and the old way of life. But they do not necessarily mean the disappearance of the aborigines as a social and cultural entity within the general population.

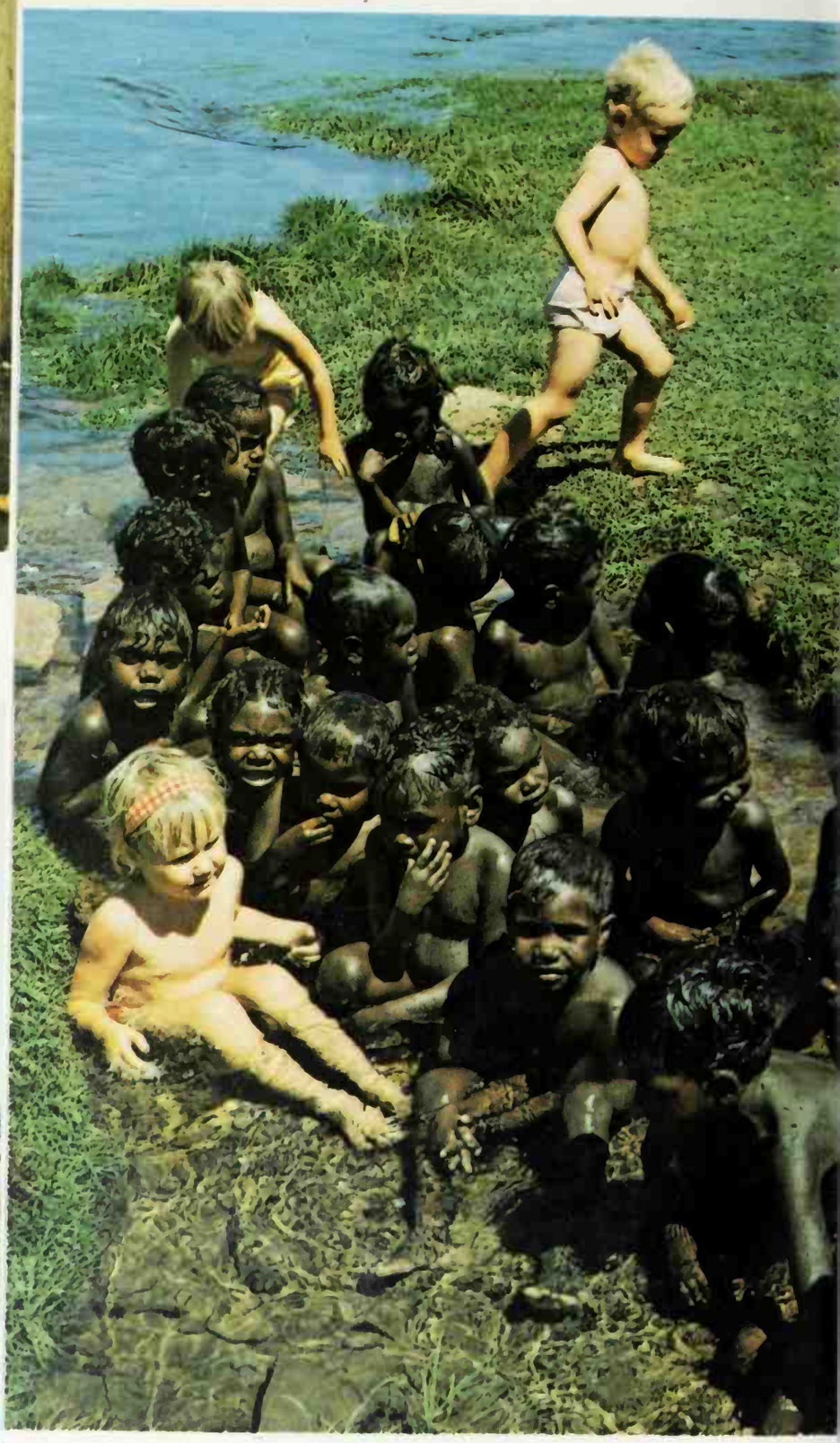
As a result of a national referendum held in May, 1967, the Australian public gave overwhelming support to a proposal to include the aborigines in future census counts and also authorized

190

THE POPULATION EXPLOSION. *It has always been difficult to make an accurate count of the aboriginal people, since there are generally considerable numbers on the move in the bush and out of contact with any center of population. Here census takers attempt to get a count of a nomadic group in the Arnhem Bay area.*

Preschoolers at Elcho Island. Photo 191, receiving a bath before entering one of the preschools that are playing a vital role in basic education. Photo 192, black and white children playing happily together in a freshwater stream.

192



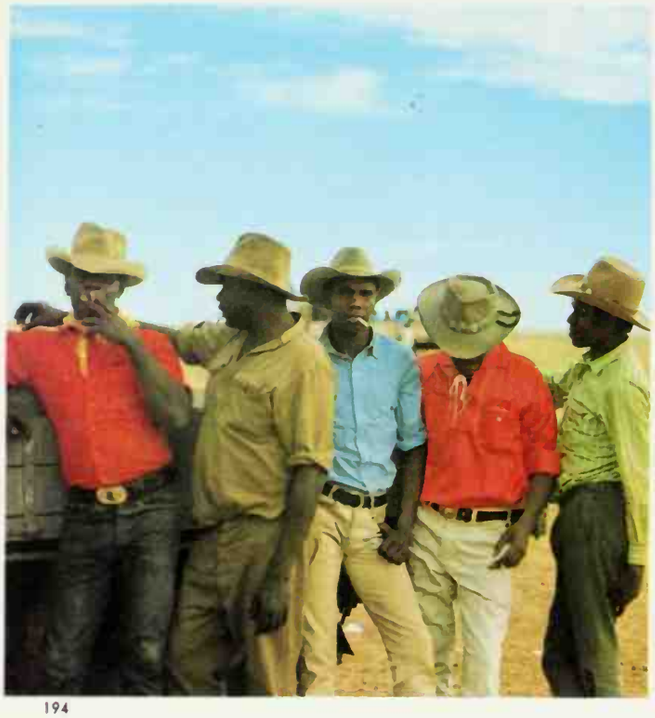
Integration in progress at Derby High School.

the Commonwealth government to pass such legislation as it considered necessary to assist aboriginal advancement. There is, then, a general feeling among Australians that a real helping hand must now be given to the Dark Australians to better their position and become full members of the Australian community.

But there is no general agreement as to how this desirable end is to be attained. Many aborigines are apprehensive that they are going to be prevented from living in their own communities and compulsorily dispersed through the white population. Aboriginal political leaders are vocal concerning their rights to some, at least, of the lands stolen from them. Others support the idea of community enterprises, controlled and carried out by aborigines, as being a more suitable transition both from the life of the tribe and from the communal life of the government and mission settlements.

One fact must be emphasized. When aborigines have been voluntarily or compulsorily segregated, in both town and country, they have retained certain tribal virtues in the field of kinship obligations, sharing of resources, and community activity that run counter to the rationale of Western competitive society. These aspects of aboriginal community life do tend to hamper those aborigines who attempt to transfer wholly to white ways of life; but understandably, and perhaps commendably, most aboriginal people are unwilling to sever their ties of kin and community to become lonely, isolated units in a society they do not wholly approve of and which does not wholly approve of them. This is both an economic and a psychological problem that can only be resolved by the aboriginal people themselves, with the greatest possible understanding and assistance from all Australians.

There are many who point out that Australians do not object to other groups retaining their own community life in Australia—for example, Greeks, Italians, Chinese—and therefore conclude that it is skin color that causes the discriminatory attitudes toward the Dark People, even though they are the only true Australians. Those who hold this view, and they include both aborigines and Europeans, would like to see the aboriginal people treated as an ethnic group within the population, having the same status as the other ethnic components of the Commonwealth and being given every opportunity to develop their capabilities according to their own wishes.



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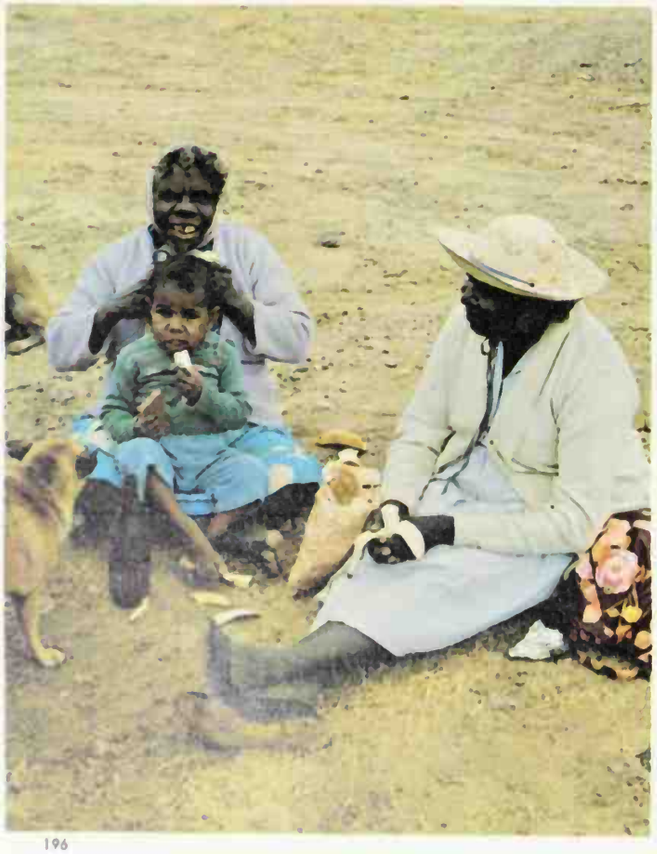
At the races, Brunette Downs Cattle Station. Segregation—voluntary or involuntary?—is apparent.



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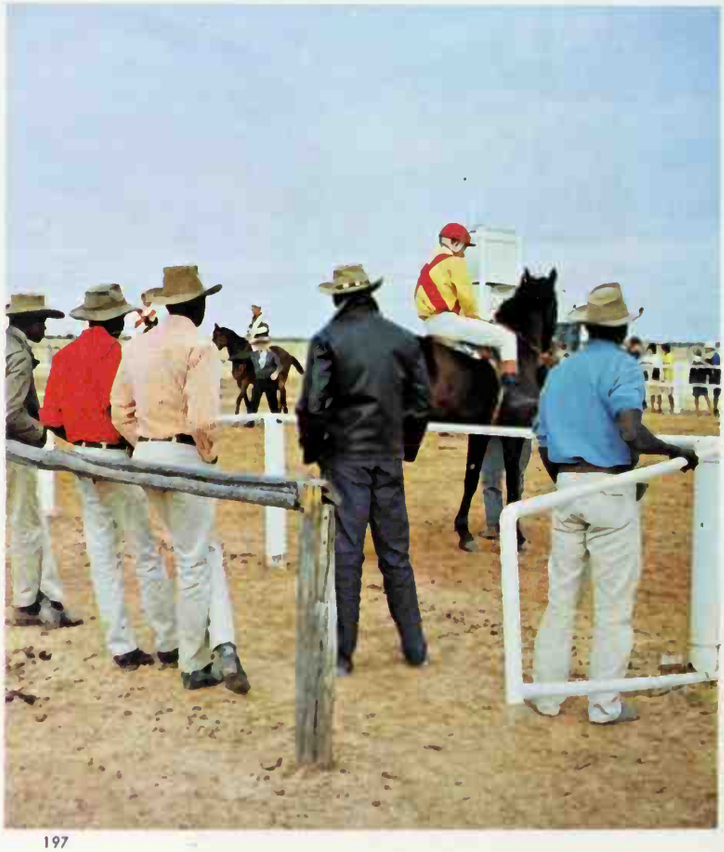

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198–203 ▷

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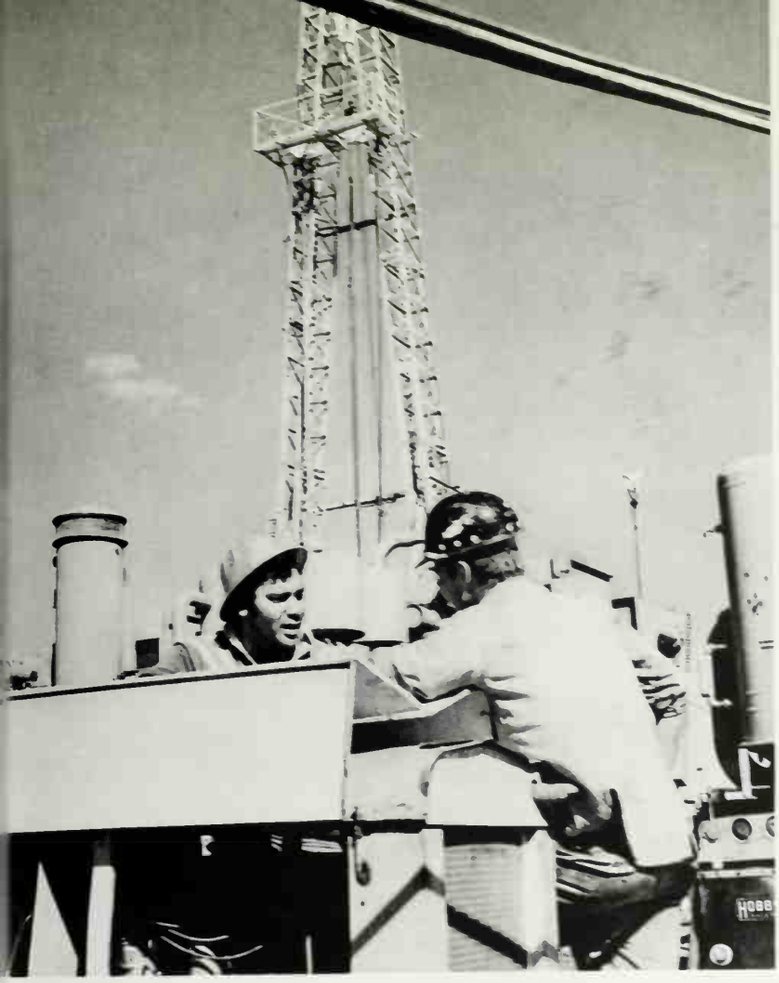
BUT SOME HAVE SUCCESSFULLY INTEGRATED. *Photo 204, a young mother at Yarrabah Mission. Photo 205, a family in front of their well-kept home at Derby. Photo 206, a young man leads his prize Brahman bull at an agricultural show. Photo 207, integration in the air.*

207



209

And the men make capable workers in enterprises requiring modern skills: Photos 208–9, working with an oil-search team at Manyari, South Australia. Photo 210, servicing an aircraft at Ord River. Photo 211, bulldozer driver at an open-cut manganese mine on Groote Eylandt.

211

Aboriginal women in Sydney as housewives and secretaries.

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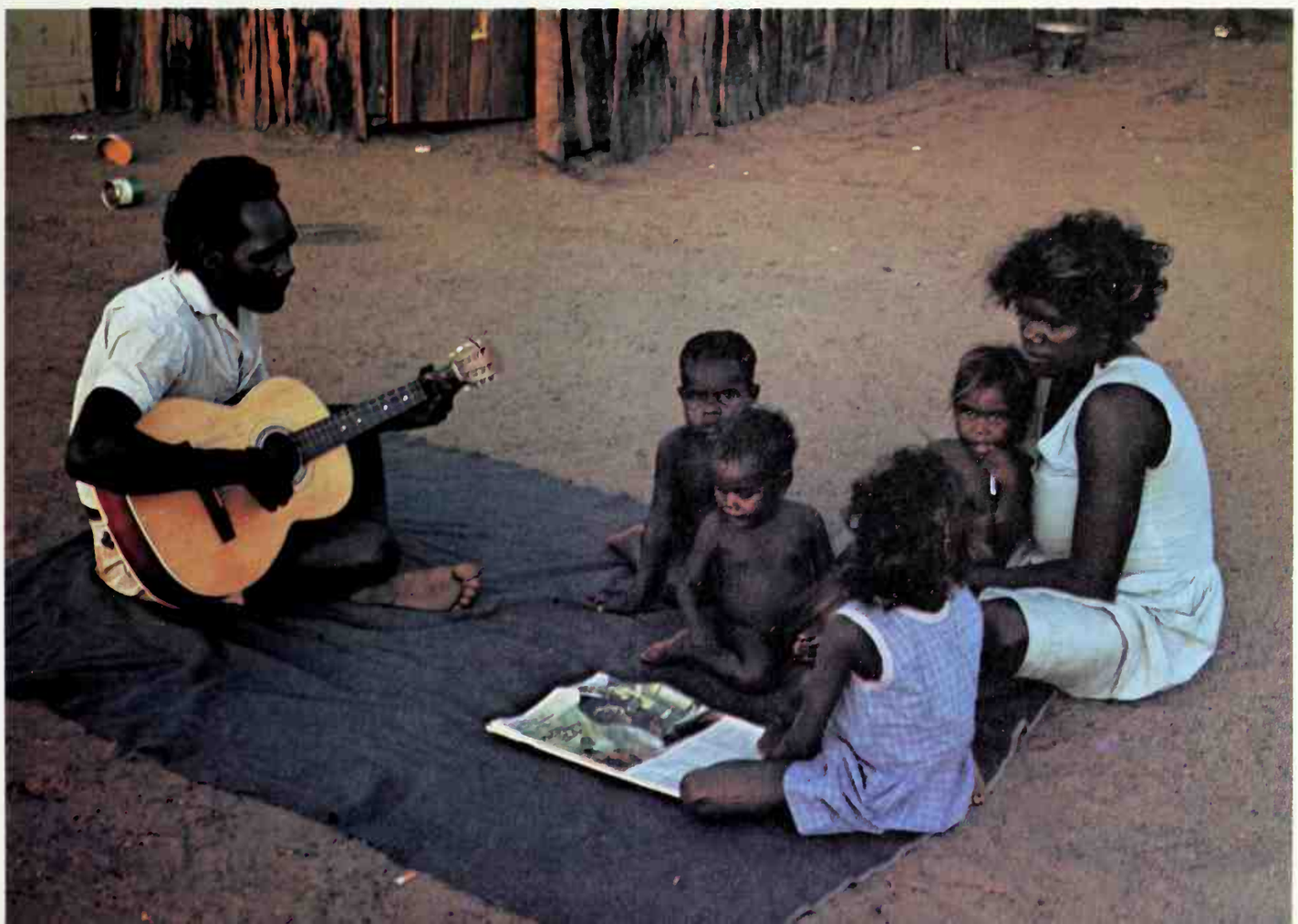
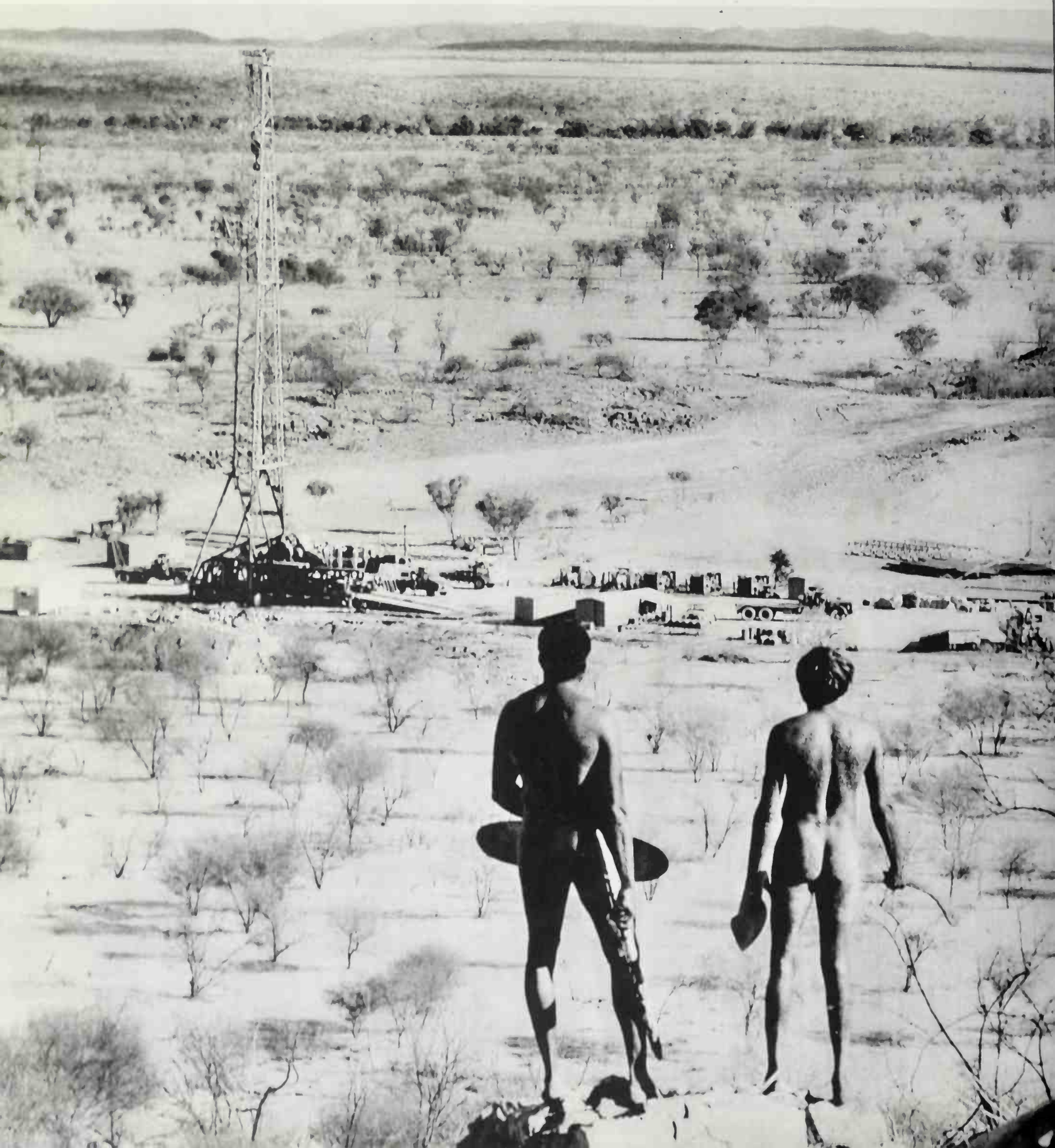
216

MUSIC! MUSIC! MUSIC! *Wherever there are aborigines there is music. They have wholeheartedly adopted all the popular styles—country-and-western, rhythm-and-blues, and also "island music," an adaptation of the Hawaiian. Many aborigines have succeeded as professional entertainers on stage, screen, radio, and television.*

217



THE PAST AND THE FUTURE. *Will the Dark People be enabled to partake fully and satisfactorily in the Australian future, or must they forever view it at a distance as in this photograph of an oil rig at Renner's Rock Station?*



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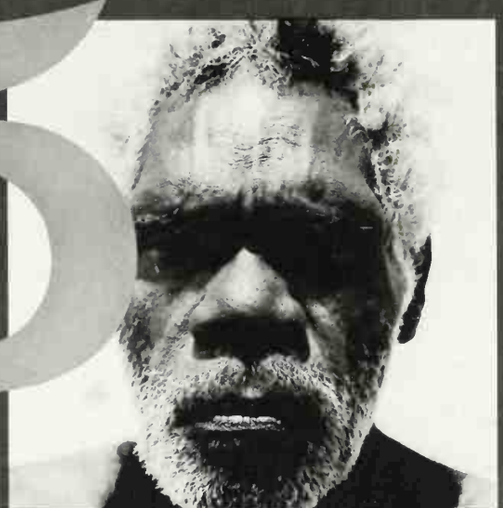


The Future That Must Be

WHILE THERE ARE a few faint signs of changes for the better, four points of criticism against past policies can justifiably also be applied to the present general situation:

Firstly, the aborigines themselves have never been consulted about their own needs or their future development, nor have they ever been given any major responsibility in the administration of their own affairs.

Secondly, never has adequate financial assistance been given to the aboriginal people themselves, either individually or as groups, to enable them to break the following longstanding syndrome: lack of education and technical training, therefore only casual or unskilled work available to them, therefore no opportunity to better their condition, therefore no chance of succeeding at school or technical college.

Thirdly, despite all protestations to the contrary, the aborigines have never been accepted as the equals of other Australians. For their part, discrimination and underprivilege have invested them with such a racial inferiority complex that they have only managed to survive at all by developing a system of group defense and solidarity. This includes the sharing of resources, as already mentioned; the use of secret languages containing many adjectives of derision and contempt to describe their white oppressors; refusal to cooperate with white welfare services; and avoidance of white officialdom in general. Such factors obviously militate against any form of assimilation and particularly inhibit their chances of succeeding in European-type education plans.

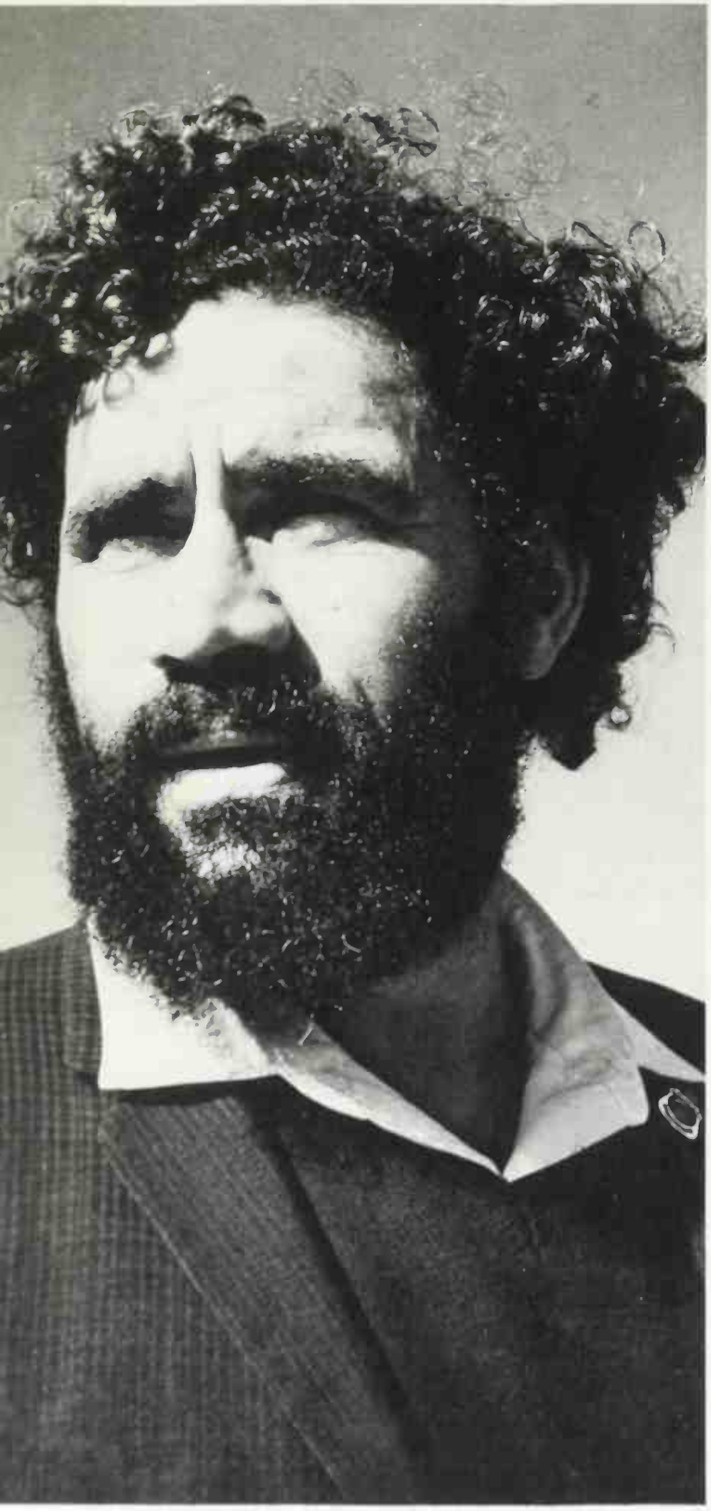
Fourthly—a fact growing out of the three preceding points—a great many aborigines suffer from a disease not unknown among their white brothers—institutionitis. They have been exiled on government, mission, and cattle stations; they have been herded into reserves; they have been demoralized by dependence on "charity"; they have been subject to much petty and humiliating dictatorship by ignorant, arrogant whites; they have been chivvied, arrested, and maltreated by prejudiced police and officials. As a result their only wish is to avoid as far as possible all contacts except with their own people.

For these reasons, and for many others, surely it would be worth giving the aboriginal people a chance to solve their own problems, to work out their own destiny in their own way. Sad to say, the main factor preventing any solution, let alone the one suggested here, is vested interest. For, like it or not, great areas in the north of the continent are dependent economically on the exploitation of aboriginal labor, which in the past has been provided cheerfully and willingly for no more reward than minimal and unhealthy rations and the use of substandard, unhygienic shacks as shelter for their familes. In more settled areas it has been useful for farmers and others to have a pool of unskilled casual labor, willing to undertake seasonal work for a pittance and not requiring housing up to European standards.

All this is now changing under pressure from aboriginal organizations and labor unions and by government decrees, but there is still a long way to go before it can be said that the past has been atoned for and that the aboriginal people are an integral and respected part of the population.

Education and technical skills—these are the keys to aboriginal advancement. Great vision is required to break through the syndrome created during nearly two hundred years by both European and aboriginal Australians. It may be that such a vision will call for acceptance of the fact that aborigines are, in truth, "different" to the extent that they wish to work out their destiny in their own way rather than in a way imposed on them by the invaders of their land. But, since they have been deprived of all their own hereditary resources, they can only work out their own future with massive assistance, both financial and psychological.

The future that must be, then, calls for a vast education program, for both dark and white Australians, firstly to lead them to accept each other as human beings and secondly to orient all more fortunate Australians toward helping the aboriginal people solve their own problems in their own particular way. This, after all, is the principle of self-determination, to which all persons of goodwill must surely subscribe.



220

Ken Colbung (219), poet, philosopher, visionary, wants educated aborigines absorbed into the national park system as ranger-naturalists. He also advocates the teaching of the traditional life in conjunction with general education. Born at Gunya, near Perth, he is employed by the Foundation for Aborigines, Sydney.

Charles Perkins (220), born in a shack near Alice Springs, battled his way to become a top-grade footballer and to be the first aborigine university graduate (B.A., University of Sydney, 1966). He is a dedicated leader of his people.

221 *Learning logging and sawmill operations.*

222 *Instruction in beekeeping.*

223 *Learning welding techniques.*

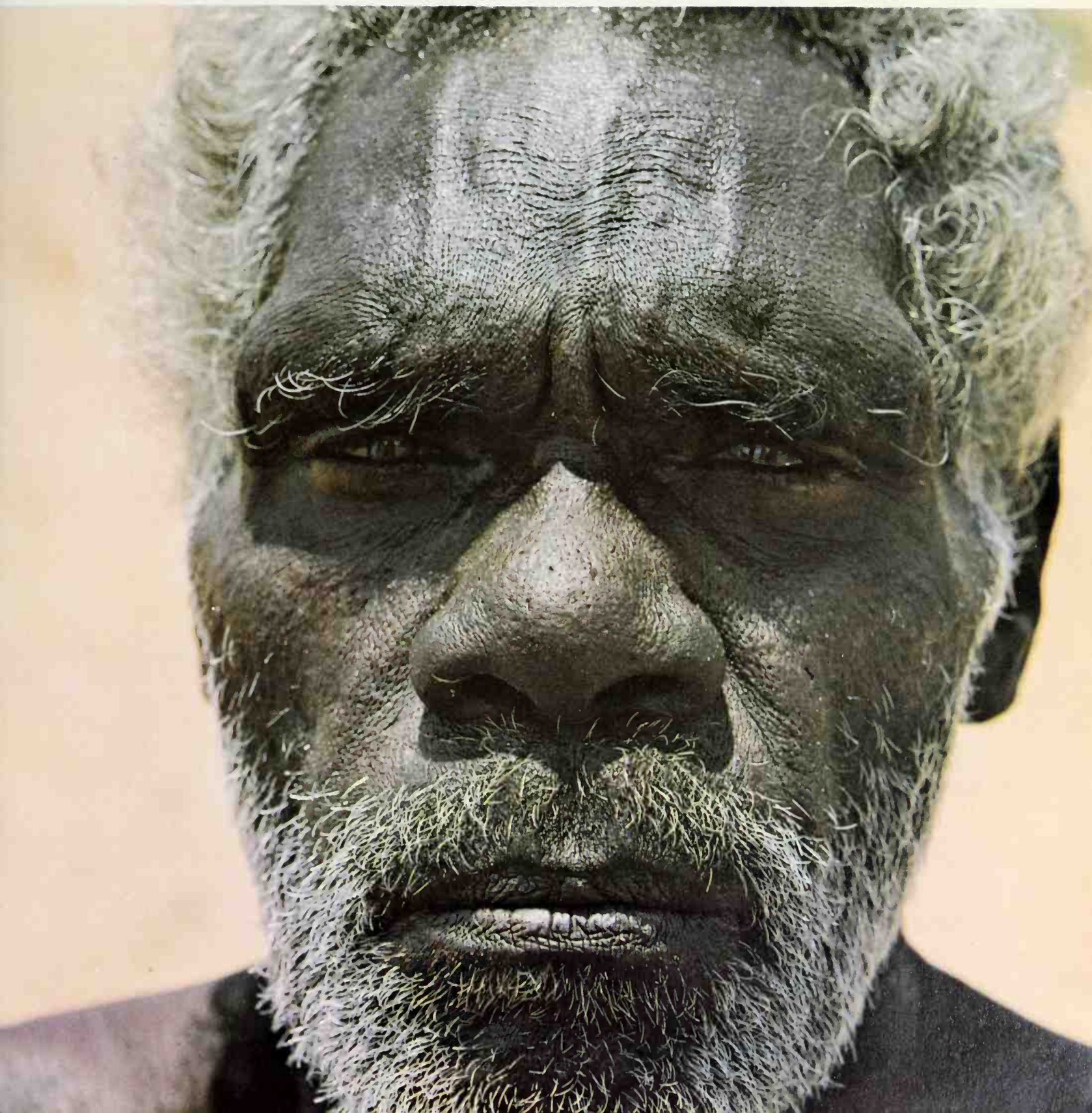
224

THIRD, TOLERANCE AND A HELPING HAND

Perhaps more mixed marriages is one solution to the racial problem. Photo 224 shows a young ranger with his wife and child at historic Port Essington, site of an early abortive attempt, in 1838, to found a European settlement on the north coast of Australia. The charming young girl of Photo 225, from northern Queensland, seems to have inherited the best features of a number of races.

225

We finish, as we started, with a portrait of a serious, intelligent man of middle age, because he looks both into the past and toward the future, as must all those who genuinely wish to see the Dark People of Australia take their rightful place as free and equal citizens.



Books for Further Reading

For those who would like to learn more about aboriginal life, art, and religious beliefs, the following general and nontechnical books are recommended:

Berndt, R.M. and C.M. *The World of the First Australians.* Ure Smith, Sydney, 1964.
Berndt, R.M. (editor). *Australian Aboriginal Art.* Ure Smith, Sydney, 1964.
Elkin, A.P. *The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them.* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1964 (4th ed.).
McCarthy, F.D. *Australia's Aborigines: Their Life and Culture.* Colorgravure, Melbourne, 1957.
Mulvaney, D.J. *The Prehistory of Australia.* Thames & Hudson, London, 1969.

Photo Identifications

The following identifications give the barest of information, being generally limited to who, what, or where. Thus they only supplement the text and captions, which have already attempted to answer why. Unless otherwise indicated, all photographs are by Douglass Baglin.

The following abbreviations are used: C.A. (central Australia), N.S.W. (New South Wales), N.T. (Northern Territory), Qld. (Queensland), S.A. (South Australia), W.A. (Western Australia), Tas. (Tasmania), and Vic. (Victoria).

1. Monsoon clouds over Cape York, Qld.
2. Tribal elder, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
3. Sunrise over The Pinnacles, W.A.
4. Mt. Sondar, N.T.
5. London Bridge at sunset, Port Campbell, Vic.
6. Spinifex grass and anthills near Derby, W.A.
7. Aerial view of Ayers Rock, N.T.
8. Huge sinkhole near Arnhem Bay, N.T.
9. Sunset over Lake Amadeus, near Ayers Rock, N.T.
10. Setting moon, N.T.
11. Tribesman, Alice Springs, N.T.
12. Spinifex grass near Chichester Range, W.A.
13. Cave of the Rainbow Serpent, Yuendumu, C.A. Secret objects are wrapped in leaves and hidden in the rock fold.
14. River near Mt. McLarty, W.A.
15. Coastal river near Derby, W.A.
16. Castle Rock, C.A.
17. An ancient landmark dominates the otherwise flat country in Arnhem Land, N.T.
18. Rock formation, W.A.
19. Rock paintings at Emily Gap, Alice Springs, N.T.
20. Rock engravings, Mt. Cameron West, Tas.
21. Rock engravings, Euriowie, near Broken Hill, N.S.W.
22. Churinga stones from Halls Creek, northwestern W.A.
23. Cave paintings, El Sharana, N.T.
24. Churinga, C.A.
25. The Sterling Ranges at dawn, W.A.
26. Seal Bay, King Is., Tas. Masses of seals live here.
27. A headman, Derby, W.A.
28. Woman named Sarah, Brunette Downs, N.T.
29. Man with a Macassan-style beard, Bathurst Is., N.T.
30. Woman outside thatched hut, Mitchell River, Qld.
31. Man of Groote Eylandt, N.T.
32. Old man of Yarrabah, Qld.
33. Young mother with baby, Musgrave Ranges, S.A.
34. Mother with baby, Elcho Is., N.T.
35. Man with red headband, Everard Station, S.A.
36. Man with tooth knocked out in initiation ceremony, Bathurst Is., N.T.
37. Old man with initiation markings on body, Mt. House, W.A.
38. An elder of the tribal remnants at Tibooburra, N.S.W.
39. Old man with initiation scars on chest, Elcho Island, N.T.
40. A man of Groote Eylandt, N.T.
41. Djingalou, elder of Wessel Is., N.T.
42. Man of Oenpelli, Arnhem Land, N.T.
43. Cave painting by Djingalou showing a yacht he remembers seeing as a young man, Wessel Is., N.T.
44. Macassan-type dugout canoe, Bathurst Is., N.T.
45. Man smoking pipe, north coast of Arnhem Land, N.T.
46. Cave painting showing a Japanese pearler, Wessel Is., N.T.
47. Girl smoking pipe, Elcho Island, N.T.

48. Cape Barron islander, Flinders Is., between Tas. and Aus.
49. Common grave, Flinders Is., Tas.
50–51. Excavating a rock-shelter site, Hunter Valley, N.S.W. (Photos by David R. Moore)
52–53. Shell middens, Weipa, Cape York Peninsula, Qld. (Photo 52 by R. V. S. Wright, 53 by David R. Moore)
54–55. Aboriginal skeletal remains: 54, at the south entrance of Lake Illawarra, N.S.W.; 55, at Windang, N.S.W. (Photos by David R. Moore)
56–57. Stone implements.
58. Burial ground, Tibooburra, N.S.W.
59. Language-recording, Arnhem Bay, N.T.
60–61. A kangaroo and an emu.
62. Typical gear of a man.
63. Typical gear of a woman.
64. Tracker, Kimberleys, W.A.
65. Hunter with spear, Denham Is., Gulf of Carpentaria, Qld.
66. Hunter with three kangaroos, near Derby, W.A.
67. Child with baby kangaroo, Elcho Is., N.T.
68–69. Hunters concealing their scent: 68, Arnhem Land, N.T.; 69, Kimberleys, W.A.
70. Building a dugout canoe, Bathurst Is., N.T.
71. Dugong hunters, Mornington Is., Qld.
72–73. Spear fishermen: 72, at Yirrkala, Gove, N.T.; 73, on Mornington Is., Qld.
74. Swimming after a turtle, Mornington Is., Qld.
75. Swimmer with a Barrier Reef turtle, Orpheus Is., Qld.
76. Gathering nuts, Elcho Is., N.T.
77. Searching for wild honey, Elcho Is., N.T.
78. Man and his two wives, Everard Station, S.A.
79. Remains of an old wurlie at Mia Mia, Yandama Station, near Mikparinka, N.S.W.
80. A day shelter for women, Oenpelli, Arnhem Land, N.T.
81. Making fire on Groote Eylandt, N.T.
82. Bringing in firewood, Mornington Island, Qld.
83. Bringing in rushes, Elcho Is., N.T.
84. Bark huts, Arnhem Bay, N.T.
85. Shaping a spear, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
86. Women with woven mats, Elcho Is., N.T.
87. Children playing with turtle, Mornington Is., Qld.
88. Preparing for a ritual, Mitchell River, Cape York Peninsula, Qld.
89. Men in full regalia for the Amoonguna ceremony at Alice Springs, N.T.
90. Poker game, Mornington Is., Qld.
91. Another scene of the Amoonguna ceremony.
92. Testing flexibility of spear with teeth, Mornington Is., Qld.
93–95. Miming ritual of a ceremony at Mitchell River, Cape York Peninsula, Qld.
96. Ceremony, Derby, W.A.
97–98. Ceremony, Elcho Is., N.T.
99. Ceremonial dancers with eucalyptus decorations, Mornington Is., Qld.
100. Carved mortuary posts, Elcho Is., N.T.
101. Painting a burial post of the Tiwi tribe, Bathurst Is., N.T.
102. Decorated log coffin, Milingimbi, N.T.
103. Carved tree near Parkes, N.S.W.
104. Initiation ground, Mt. House, Kimberleys, W.A.
105–6. Initiation ground near Ebor, Gibraltar National Park, N.S.W.
107. Cave paintings of spirit people near Pine Creek, El Sharana, N.T.
108. Cave of the Rainbow Serpent, Yuendumu.
109. Rock engravings, N.S.W.
110. Rock paintings, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
111. Hand stencils, Chasm Is., N.T.
112. Same as Photo 108.
113–15. Djingalou retouching cave paintings, Wessel Is., N.T.
116. Overpaintings, Wessel Is., N.T.
117–18. Hunting ceremonies at a rock outcropping, Elcho Is., N.T.
119. Bark painting in West Australian Museum, Perth, from Kimberleys, W.A.
120. Cave painting near Lynton, Port Gregory, W.A.
121. Turtle painted on Noarlangie Rock, Arnhem Land, N.T.
122–23. Rock engravings at Ku-ring-gai, near Sydney, N.S.W.
124. Cave painting near Cooktown, Qld.

125. Superimposed cave paintings near Musgrave Station, N.T.
126. Old man, Everard Station, S.A.
127. An unidentified man.
128. Young woman, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
129. Bearded man, Oenpelli, Arnhem Land, N.T.
130. Camp at Tennant Creek, N.T.
131. Woman with washing machine outside shelter, Tibooburra, N.S.W.
132. Fringe dwellings, Mt. Isa, Qld.
133. Dwellings of opal gougers, Andamooka, S.A.
134. Kitchen under a gum tree, Wee Waa, N.S.W.
135. Group of aborigines among the famous river gums of Todd River, C.A.
136. Women cooking, La Grange Mission, Kimberleys, W.A.
137. Family near Manyari, S.A.
138. Camp, Everard Station, S.A.
139. Family waiting to board train, Maree Station, S.A.
140. Family at Tibooburra, N.S.W.
141. Tribeless men near Alice Springs, C.A.
142. Detribalized youth, Broome, W. A.
143. Tourists photographing children, Weipa Mission, Qld.
144. Sketching a young man, Alice Springs, N.T.
145. Drovers crossing river, Brunette Downs, N.T.
146. Drover, Everard Station, S.A.
147. Cattle-station family, Everard Park, S.A.
148. Saving a bogged cow, Mitchell River area, Cape York, Qld.
149–50. Yarding cattle and rounding up wild horses, Brunette Downs, N.T.
151. Tracker and family, Tempe Downs, N.T.
152. Drover, Mt. House Station, Kimberleys, W.A.
153. Shoeing horses, Nicholson Station, Kimberleys, W.A.
154-55. Stockmen, Mt. House Station, Kimberleys, W.A.
156. Roadworkers, Ashford, N.S.W.
157. Stevedores, Derby, W.A.
158–59. Gardener and houseworkers, Mt. House Station, Kimberleys, W.A.
160. Drover, Brunette Downs, N.T.
161. Stockman, S.A.
162. Mixed-blood children, Yarrabah Mission, Qld.
163. Children of La Grange Mission, W.A.
164. Children near Derby, W.A.
165. An antique "chief's" breastplate, eastern N.S.W.
166–67. Painting showing "Manar" property, 1840.
168. Grave of Yuranigh, near Wellington, N.S.W.
169–70. Although mission housing is available, many aborigines prefer to live on the beach; Yirrkala Mission, N.T.
171–72. Santa Teresa Mission near Alice Springs, N.T.
173. Yarrabah Mission, Qld.
174. Elcho Is. Mission, N.T.
175–78. The bark-painting artist Wadamu at work, Elcho Is., N.T.
179–80. Classes in sewing and weaving, Bathurst Is., N.T.
181–82. Catching and freezing fish, Elcho Is., N.T.
183–85. Doctor's visit, maternity ward, and air evacuation, Elcho Is., N.T.
186. Store at Mitchell River Mission, Cape York Peninsula, Qld.
187. Doctor's visit, Weipa Mission, Qld.
188. Medical care, Bathurst Is. Mission, N.T.
189. Artists of the Arunta tribe, Morrises Soak, Alice Springs, N.T.
190. Census taker from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and a linguist, Arnhem Bay, N.T.
191–92. Preschoolers, Elcho Is., N.T.
193. Students at Derby High School, W.A.
194–203. People in their Sunday best at the races, Brunette Downs Cattle Station, Barkly Tableland, N.T.
204. Mother with children, Yarrabah Mission, Qld.
205. Family with modern home, Derby, W.A.
206. Young man with prize bull, Maitland Agricultural Society Show, N.S.W.
207. Boarding a plane, Gove, N.T.
208–9. Working with an oil-search team, Manyari, S.A.
210. Aircraft maintenance, Ord River, W.A.
211. Bulldozer driver, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
212–15. Housewives and secretaries, Sydney, N.S.W.

216. Musicians, Mitchell River, Qld.
217. Musician and his family, Groote Eylandt, N.T.
218. Oil rig, Renner's Rock Station, S.A.
219. Ken Colbung.
220. Charles Perkins.
221. Logging, Yarrabah Mission, Qld.
222. Beekeeping, Elcho Is. Mission, N.T.
223. Welding, La Grange Mission, W.A.
224. Young ranger with family, Smith Point, Port Essington, N.T.
225. Girl of mixed blood, Yarrabah Mission, Qld.

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A sympathetic, thought-provoking acco
present, and future of the aborigines of Australia told in
a remarkable blending of text and over 200 photographs

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