

JOSEF BRINKE

DEMOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE REMBRRANGA TRIBE

1. INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEMS INVOLVED.

This paper is a brief summary of the main results of the demographical and settlement-geographical research into the tribe of Rembrangas carried out by the author in 1969, and forming part of a complex research of the Rembrangas realized by the scientific expedition of the Moravian Museum. The main purpose of our research was to study thoroughly the demographical and settlement-geographical characteristics of the tribe, and in co-operation with other scientific branches to obtain a clear picture of the life of the Rembrangas at present and also in the past. The basic task was to provide complex and reliable statistics of the Rembranga tribesmen, to correct the results of the earlier censuses realized by Australian government agencies.

It is estimated that at the time of the arrival of the first European settlers to Australia in 1788 there were some 250,000—300,000 Aborigines. Most authors accept these figures, which, naturally, cannot be checked. The Aborigines lived in some 500 tribes — as most authors agree (Bernt, Elkin and others), only some of them consider this figure too low (e.g. Tindale holds there were up to 700 tribal territories in the period). The Australian Aborigines have very well adapted themselves to the adverse environment and their way of life of hunters-collectors, continuously on the move in small groups, enabled them to survive. Most European settlers had a rather hostile attitude towards the Aborigines from the very beginning and harassed them in various ways. The number of the Ab-

origines was rapidly dropping and some tribes have completely perished (this happened to all Tasmanian tribes). They survived only in the most adverse regions of the continent, with little chance of sustenance and the infectious diseases brought in by the Europeans took also heavy toll among the Aborigines lacking natural resistance. In the 20th century the most cruel ways of persecuting the Aborigines ceased, but by this time most of them were surviving only in the barren and semi-arid areas of the central and northern parts of the Continent. Later a series of reserves have been established in these areas. Some of the Aborigines employed as cheap farmhands on the cattle stations, often working for food, tobacco, and clothing only. Better care was taken of the Aborigines in the missions of various churches. Fundamental changes occurred after World War II, thanks to the activities of government agencies. New settlements were founded, medical care and education were provided. Thanks to these measures the number of Aborigines started climbing again. According to the 1966 census there were 45 thousand full-blooded Aborigines and 76 thousand half-casts.

In the recent years the way of life of the Aborigines has been rapidly changing thanks to the advancing europeanization. This process has been speeded up after the year 1967, when the Aborigines obtained equal political and civil rights as the white Australians. The process of europeanization has affected also the Rembranga tribe, practically all Rembrangas abandoned the nomadic way of life in favour of life in government settlements, cattle stations and church missions.

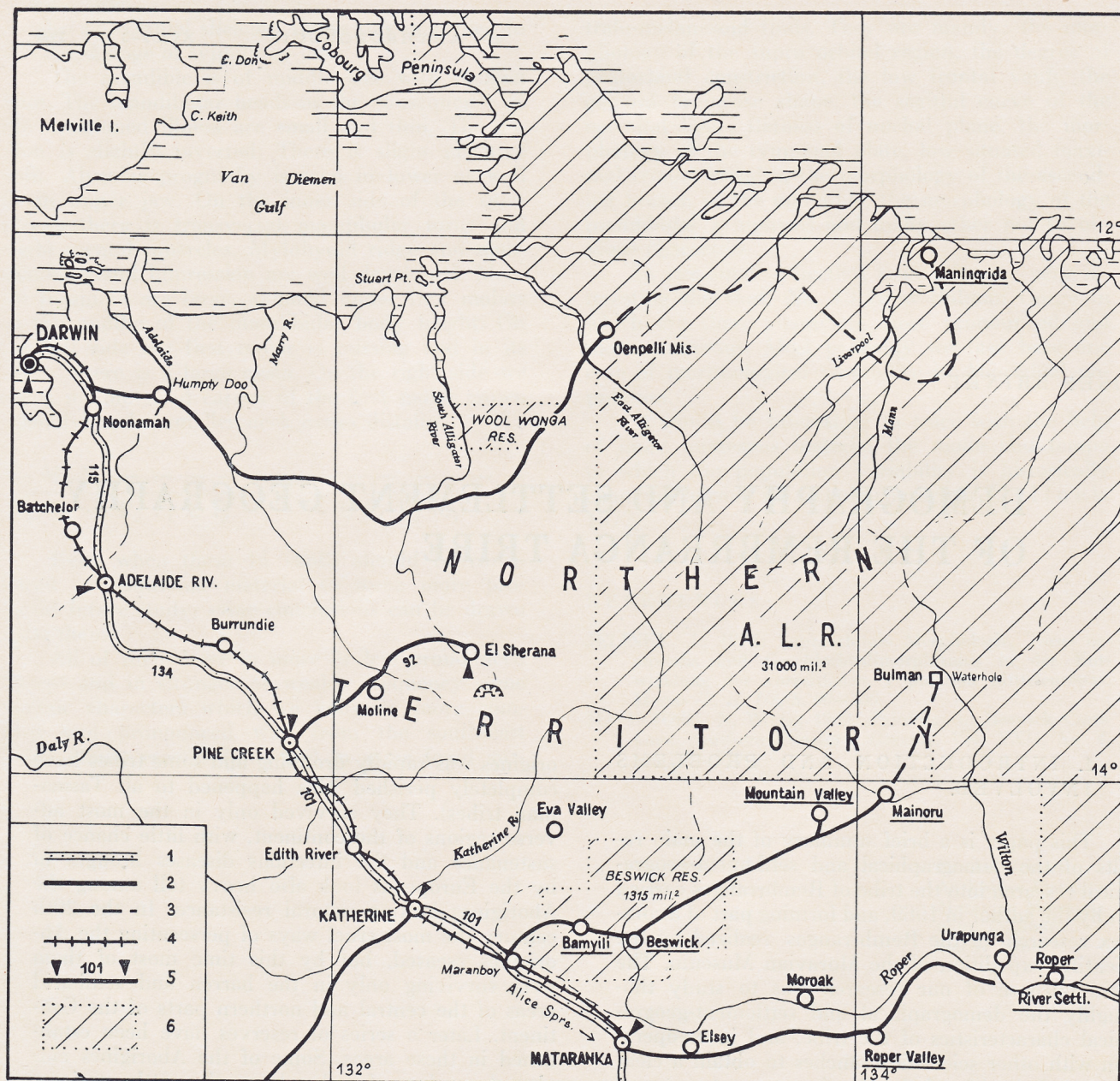


FIG. 1. Outline map of Arnhem Land. The names of settlements where demographical research on the Rembranga tribe was carried out are underlined. Explanations: 1 — Stuart Highway, 2 — major roads (sealed and unsealed, all weather), 3 — tracks, 4 — railway, 5 — distances on roads (in km.), 6 — Aboriginal reserves.

1.1. Methods of Research

Our research, similarly as the other scientific-research activities realized by the Expedition, can be divided into three basic phases: 1. Preparatory phase, i.e. work prior to starting fieldwork, 2. Research proper in the terrain, 3. Processing of the gathered material.

The preparatory phase comprised the study of literature and gathering of all the available statistical data and other materials concerning the Rembranga tribe and the drawing up of a demographical questionnaire. For lack of time we were

unable to study thoroughly the special literature available in the libraries of the Australian scientific institutions. The Demographical Dept. of the Welfare Branch in Darwin provided us with the results of the hitherto realized censuses of the Aboriginal population in the Northern Territory and informed us also about the approximate location of the Rembrangas. We used these data for working out the route for our field research. The demographic questionnaire was drawn up after consultations with some of the specialists of the Welfare Branch in Darwin, so that it comprised all the basic data required for a later analysis of the population base

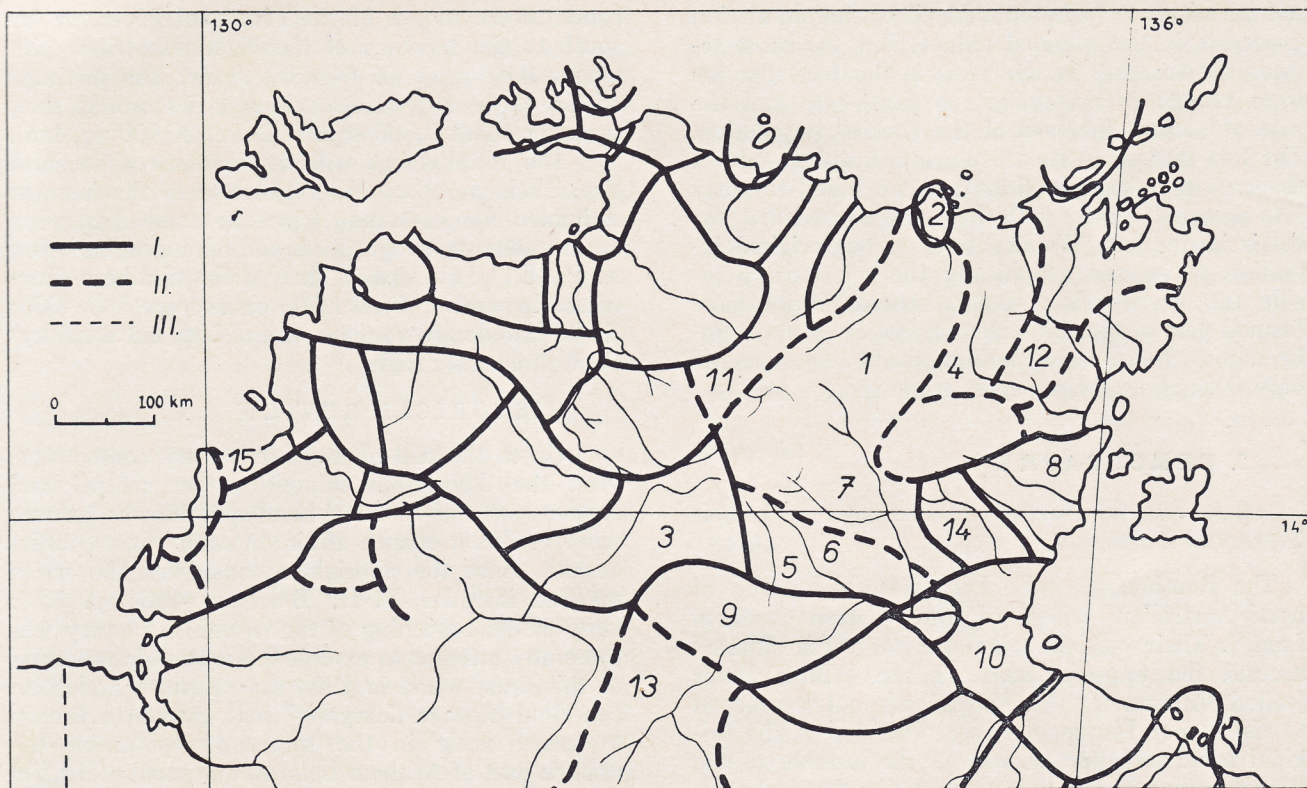


FIG. 2. Tribal map of Arnhem Land (according to N. B. Tindale, 1940). The territories of tribes with which Rembrangas interbreed given on the map by numbers. In brackets are Tindale's transcriptions of tribal names (only where they differ from the current more common transcriptions used by us). Explanations: I — fixed tribal borders, II — approximate tribal borders, III — state border. 1 — Rembranga (Rembarunga), 2 — Burera (Barera), 3 — Djawun (Djauan), 4 — Djinba, 5 — Nalakan, 6 — Ngalkbun, 7 — Ngandi (Nandi), 8 — Nunggaboju (Nungubuju), 9 — Mangarei (Mangarai), 10 — Mara, 11 — Mialli, 12 — Rittharingo (Ritaringo), 13 — Jangman (Yangman), 14 — Wandaran, 15 — Wogait.

and of the populationary processes. The questionnaire for men contained 20, and that for women, 20 questions (see *Annexes No. 1 and 2*). But as we shall see further, the filling of the questionnaires often met with considerable difficulties, and some of the planned data could not have been found out at all. Besides demographical studies our research plan comprised also certain geographical studies, namely the settlement conditions of the Rembrangas, as well as environmental studies and the influence of the environment on the studied population.

The second phase of our research activities, i.e. the fieldwork was organized so as to enable concerted demographical and geographical research alongside with the physical-anthropology research. It was so not only due to practical reasons (the subject matter of the studies remained the same — the Rembranga tribesmen), but also due to the time factor and last but not least also due to technical reasons. In line with our time schedule the whole research had to be completed within a short period of three months (at the latest by the beginning of the rain season, starting sometimes already in October) and thus we decided to visit only settlements in which the number of Rembrangas exceeded ten.

During research a number of unexpected complications arose. The whole research was realized on voluntary basis and many Rembrangas refused to get subjected to examination. Referring to tribal laws they refused to tell us the names and personal data of the deceased persons and the men refused to tell us the names of their sisters. It rather complicated, and sometimes made it completely impossible, to record a complete family anamnesis and to establish data enabling us to characterize the death-rate of the studied population. In spite of these difficulties we managed to put together a basic list of Rembrangas containing a larger number of tribesmen than indicated by the Welfare Branch in Darwin and by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra. According to our estimates the list comprises 85–90 per cent of the living Rembrangas.

The difficulties and shortcomings we were facing in the preparatory phase and in the phase of the research proper made themselves felt also in the third, or final phase: On evaluating the gathered data and on processing the materials obtained during our fieldwork we felt a shortage of comparable data, namely of demographical data of similar populations (e.g. of other tribes). The incomplete data of our demographical questionnaires did

not permit us to make an analysis of the population processes in the planned extent. But the most serious shortcoming in our view is the fact that we were unable to determine the death-rate and the rate of natural increase of the studied population. The fact that some Rembrangas refused to subject themselves to examinations and we failed to enter into personal contact with them, has caused that our list is incomplete. We had to drop our original intention to express graphically the relationship inside the whole tribe — this scheme could have formed part of the basic characteristics of the Rembrangas. These shortcomings could be removed only through a new research on the spot.

2. DEMOGRAPHY

2.1. *The number of Rembrangas and their Territorial Dispersion.*

The Rembranga tribe belongs to the group of north-Australian tribes of the eastern Arnhem Land¹). Their original tribal territory was situated around the upper reaches of the Wilton River (called Bulman by the Aborigines) and it reached to the Upper Liverpool River. The size of the original tribal territory, as well as the number of the Rembrangas in the past (namely in the early periods if the European colonization), can be assessed only approximately. M. J. Meggit (1967) concludes that in the north-Australian coastal area an Aborigine needed some 5 square miles (i.e. about 13 sq. km) for his sustenance, while in the desert areas of central and western Australia he needed about 35 square miles (about 90 square km). A. A. Abbie (1968, p. 63) considers these estimates too low, and holds that the territory could secure subsistence for more people.

The coastal area was richer in food than the arid inland areas, therefore the 6–7 sq. miles (about 15–17 sq. km) per head figure was perhaps correct for the Rembrangas. If we base our estimates on the present-day numbers of the Rembrangas, which is about 250–300 persons (i.e. full-blooded Rembrangas at the time of our research), and if we accept the presumption that there were more Aborigines in the late 18th century, we can put the number of Rembrangas in the period at 400–500. Provided that one Aborigine needed an area of 6–7 sq. miles for his subsistence, the total size of the original Rembrangas might vary between 2,300–2,900 sq. miles (6,000–7,500 sq. km). N. B. Tindale (1940), however, designates an even larger territory on his tribal map of Arnhem Land (see Fig. 2). Our research shows that the tribal boundaries were apparently not so strict, as was the case in some regions where food supplies were scarcer, and so the Rembrangas would seem to have moved over an area much greater than their own territory. They penetrated as far as the northern

coast, to the mouth of the Liverpool River, or far south to the territory of the Ngalkbun tribe, with whom they were on friendly terms. The territory within these approximate boundaries would then measure about 7,700 sq.mi. (i.e. c. 20,000 sq. km).

The Rembranga tribe is therefore of medium size. Their numbers are very close to the average estimated for Australian tribes by some Australian anthropologists, geographers and ethnographers. But A. P. Elkin, states that their numbers fluctuated between 100 and 1,500 on average 500–600; N. B. Tindale gives an average of 500, but considers the figure rather high.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Up to the end of the last century contact between the Aborigines inhabiting the central and eastern parts of Arnhem Land and Europeans was more or less a chance affair. In most cases conflict ensued, since the aborigines considered the white man an intruder (F. H. Bauer, 1964, p. 139). Only at the beginning of the twentieth century was there any attempt to exploit the economic potential of this area, when in 1903 the "Eastern and African Gold Storage Company" was granted a licence to graze cattle in the southern regions of the eastern part of Arnhem Land to an extent of 19,250 sq.mi. (i.e. 30,000 sq.km). This attempt was, however, a failure, since the Aborigines killed the cattle and harassed the white men in their stations, the supplying of which was also a great problem (see Bauer, 1968, pp 157–158). In 1908 the first mission centre — the Roper River Mission (at today's Ngukurr) was founded in the eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the period before and especially after the First World War cattle breeding began to take root in Arnhem Land. New cattle stations were built, around which the Aborigines began to settle. The first cattle station round which the Rembranga people began to settle appears to have been the Mainoru station (founded after World War I), lying to the south of their tribal territory. Some of the Aborigines, among them a number of Rembrangas, according to our research, left in the 30s for the west (towards Maranboy and Katherine), and some of them even worked as labourers in the mines (Rembrangas, e.g., in the Maranboy tin mine.) Most of the Aborigines, however, including the Rembrangas, continued their old way of life in the bush.

But the greatest jolt to the lives of the Rembranga and the other tribes of central and eastern Arnhem Land came during and after the Second World War. At the time when the north of Australia was threatened by the Japanese (Darwin was bombed for the first time in Feb., 1942) many military camps were established there, especially in the western part of Arnhem Land around the Stuart Highway, which was built at that time. The construction of roads, airfields and other military requirements necessitated a large work force. For this reason many Aborigines came from the bush into the vicinity of the military camps, including some Rembrangas, and the men were employed there as

¹) If we want to determine the Rembranga tribal territory more exactly, we can say that it is situated in the southern part of central Arnhem Land.

auxiliary labourers. They and the members of their families received food, tobacco and clothing from the soldiers. When the war ended, and the military camps were no longer maintained, most of the Aborigines did not return to the bush, having become accustomed to the new way of life. But food shortages and certain infectious diseases began to spread among them. As an emergency measure to relieve the situation the government sent officials and health workers to the old camps. Thus there arose the so-called "Ration Stations", where food and clothing rations were distributed among the Aborigines, and medical care supplied. Gradually there were set up Government Aboriginal Settlements, the chief aim of which was to acquaint the Aborigines with the European way of life. After the war several Aboriginal Reserves were established; some had even existed there from the years preceding the First World War. The biggest is the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve, started in 1931, and covering an area of 31,000 sq. mi. (i.e. 80,837 sq. km) in central and eastern Arnhem Land. It includes also the original tribal territory of the Rembranga people. The second most important Aboriginal reserve in which Rembrangas live is the Beswick Aboriginal Reserve (started in 1953) with an area of 1,315 sq. mi. (i.e. 3,405 sq. km), spread along the south-west edge of the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve. The reservations are administered by the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration, whose headquarters are in Darwin, but which has a number of branch offices. Admittance to the aborigine reserves is by special permission only, which the office gives only in exceptional cases. They thus follow a policy whereby the Aborigines in the reserves are exposed as little as possible to what might be destructive influences.

After the Second World War the migration of the Rembranga people from their tribal territory to the south and south-west took on new proportions. They mostly settled in the newly set up government settlements and stations (Bamyili and Beswick) or in the already existing private cattle stations, in some of which, e.g. Mainoru and Roper Valley, they lived even before the war. When the government settlement of Maningrida was founded in 1957, on the northern coast of Arnhem Land, at the mouth of the River Liverpool, a part of the Rembranga went there also. The original tribal territory on the upper reaches of Wilton (Bulman) River was then almost uninhabited.

During our research we found 243 living full-blooded Rembrangas and 109 Aborigines having some Rembranga blood. There were also discovered 54 Aborigines from other tribes who are directly related (by mixed marriage, one of the partners being a Rembranga) to the Rembrangas (full-blooded or with some Rembranga blood only). (The information refers to the time of our research in individual settlements. For specification of time see *Appendix III*, introduction, p. 196—197. This applies also to the dating of all other information given in the text or in tables, unless otherwise stated.)

Our information is difficult to compare with that obtained on the numbers of Rembranga people by the official census of 1965, whose results were kindly placed at our disposal by the Research Branch, Welfare Division of the Northern Territory Administration, Darwin. In this census of Aborigines, all who professed membership of a certain tribe (the Rembranga being no exception) were ascribed to it: no distinction was of course sought (nor, obviously, established) between those who were full-blooded members of the tribe or half-castes. Our method of establishing tribal appurtenance was on a different basis (see *Appendix III*, introduction, p. 196—197). We nonetheless believe that it is interesting to give here the results of both censuses.

TABLE 1.

Rembranga Aborigines	Official Census of 1965	Our Census of 1969	
		Total	Full-Blooded
Males	149	184	127
Females	129	168	116
Total Persons	278	352	243

The distribution of Rembranga people and their settlement pattern are evident from *Fig. 3* and *Tab. 2*. We shall not however go into conditions of settlement in any more detail here, since there is a special chapter devoted to this.

2.2. Demographical Structure of the Rembranga Tribe.

The study of the structure of the Rembrangas according to various indications was one of the most important aims of our research. According to the characters which we observed, we may speak of their composition under the headings.

1. Biological, 2. Economic, 3. Cultural. From the biological point of view we shall make a study of the Rembrangas according to sex and age, and, in connection with these, marital status. In the economic sphere we shall note chiefly economic activity, profession and qualifications of those working; in the cultural context we shall pay special attention to questions of education and tribal appurtenance.

One shortcoming of the study is the fact that the group observed is comparatively small (406 persons) — but we actually had to work with an even smaller group in many cases, since not all those who filled in the demographical questionnaire answered all questions. In the analysis of some of the items studied we therefore had to go on a comparatively small number of instances. Not the least of our handicaps was the lack of comparable information (e.g. for other Aboriginal tribes from Arnhem Land). (Among other things, this arose from

TABLE 2.

*Rembranga
by distribution
in settlements*

Settlement	I.			II.			III.	IV.
	a	b	c	a	b	c		
Bamyili Settl.	30	16	46	25	40	65	111	541
Beswick Stn.	26	10	36	6	7	13	49	68
Maningrida Settl.	36	49	85	1	9	10	95	871
Mainoru Stn.	15	22	37	7	4	11	48	48
Moroak Stn.	—	3	3	3	—	3	6	20
Mountain Valley Stn.	3	4	7	8	8	16	23	43
Roper River (Ngukurr)	2	—	2	5	5	10	12	394
Roper Valley Stn.	13	12	25	20	12	32	57	81
Urapunga Stn.	2	—	2	2	1	3	5	41
Total	127	116	243	77	86	163	406	2107

Explanatory notes:

- I. — Number of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines living in the settlement: a — Males, b — Females, c — Total persons.
- II. — Number of Aborigines, living in the settlement of the other tribes directly related with Rembrangs (mixed marriages when one of spouses is Rembranga, or having at least partly Rembranga blood: a — Males, b — Females, c — Total persons.
- III. — Total number of Rembrangas, (Group I.) and of Aborigines from other tribes (Group II.) living in the settlement.
- IV. — Total number of Aborigines living in the settlement.

the fact that when we were working on the material collected during our research we did not have at our disposal some specialized publications having a direct bearing upon our subject. Such was, for example, the study mentioned by L. F. Jones (1963, 1970), which was available to us in synoptical form only.)

2.2.1. Distribution by Age and Sex.

The most important indication in a population from the biological point of view is its age structure, deduced from the present age of individual members of the population studied. The exact determination of age populations is of course only possible in developed civilizations; in our case it was not possible. The exact date of birth was determined only with children up to the age of 13–15, born in the government settlements and on some cattle stations (i.e. not all children) where such records have been kept from about the middle of the 1950s. With adult Aborigines we had to be content with the year of birth only, while in many cases we were forced to estimate age (for further information see *Appendix III*, Introduction, p. 196–197). In order to get homogenous data, or information of the same type, we therefore determined the year of birth only for all persons. This meant that we had to leave those persons born in the year 1969 out of the age structure, since our research was carried out during the period July–October, 1969, and we did not therefore establish the total number of persons born that year. Thus the original figure of 406 (see *Tab. 2*) was reduced to a referable number of 389. The age structure of this group according to five-year age groups and sex was then expressed in both tabular and graphical form. We did not, ho-

wever, consider the age structure of the whole group only, but also of its individual sections. We divided the entire group into three parts according to the degree of tribal appurtenance:

- I. Full-blood Rembrangas
- II. "Half" Rembrangas (one parent a full-blooded Rembranga and the other an Aborigine of another tribe)
- III. The remaining Aborigines with some Rembranga blood — those of other tribes having a direct relationship with the Rembrangas (mixed marriages).

The age structure of the group as a whole and of its three sub-divisions (Groups I–III) is given in *Tab. 3*. We chose besides tabular form to use also the more immediate graphical form. We employed the most customary means of expression, the population pyramid, expressing the number of persons in individual age groups as absolute values (*Fig. 4*). We further supplemented the population pyramid with a Smith Graph of the composition of the total group by sex and age, since this better expresses the detailed differences in the representation of the two sexes according to age (the Smith Graph shows the deviation in the representation of each of the two sexes according to age from some norm) on the basis of a value of 100 (in the form of a diagram, with the deviations from normal). (The corresponding indices are given in *Tab. 3*.) The Smith Graph forms *Fig. 5*.

If we take a detailed look at the age structure of the total group and at the analysis of its individual sections (Groups I–III), we discover an interesting fact. We find especially that in the age groups 20–24, 25–29, and to some extent also

Age Group	I.						II.					
	Males		Females		Total Persons		Males		Females		Total Persons	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
0—4	19	15,44	19	17,44	38	16,38	14	31,12	11	24,44	25	27,78
5—9	15	12,19	18	16,51	33	14,22	13	28,90	17	37,77	30	33,34
10—14	15	12,19	14	12,84	29	12,50	9	20,00	13	28,90	22	24,44
15—19	14	11,38	11	10,09	25	10,78	2	4,44	3	6,67	5	5,56
20—24	10	8,13	7	6,42	17	7,33	2	4,44	—	—	2	2,22
25—29	7	5,69	4	3,67	11	4,74	—	—	—	—	—	—
30—34	7	5,69	10	9,17	17	7,33	1	2,22	1	2,22	2	2,22
35—39	9	7,32	8	7,34	17	7,33	2	4,44	—	—	2	2,22
40—44	9	7,32	4	3,67	13	5,60	—	—	—	—	—	—
45—49	6	4,88	5	4,59	11	4,74	1	2,22	—	—	1	1,11
50—54	5	4,07	3	2,75	8	3,45	—	—	—	—	—	—
55—59	2	1,63	3	2,75	5	2,16	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—64	—	—	1	0,92	1	0,43	1	2,22	—	—	1	1,11
65—69	2	1,63	1	0,92	3	1,29	—	—	—	—	—	—
70—74	3	2,44	1	0,92	4	1,72	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	123	100,00	109	100,00	232	100,00	45	100,00	45	100,00	90	100,00

Age Group	III.						IV. Total (I. + II. + III.)						Index ²⁾	
	Males		Females		Total Persons		Males		Females		Total All Persons		Males	Females
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%		
0—4	4	16,68	6	13,95	10	14,93	37	19,26	36	18,27	73	18,77	102,61	97,34
5—9	2	8,33	3	6,98	5	7,46	30	15,63	38	19,29	68	17,48	89,42	110,35
10—14	2	8,33	2	4,65	4	5,97	26	13,54	29	14,72	55	14,14	95,76	104,10
15—19	5	20,85	7	16,28	12	17,90	21	10,94	21	10,66	42	10,80	101,30	98,70
20—24	2	8,33	2	4,65	4	5,97	14	7,29	9	4,57	23	5,91	123,35	77,33
25—29	—	—	7	16,28	7	10,45	7	3,65	11	5,58	18	4,63	78,83	120,52
30—34	2	8,33	5	11,62	7	10,45	10	5,21	16	8,12	26	6,68	77,99	121,56
35—39	2	8,33	6	13,95	8	11,94	13	6,77	14	7,11	27	6,94	97,55	102,45
40—44	1	4,17	1	2,33	2	2,99	10	5,21	5	2,54	15	3,86	134,97	65,80
45—49	2	8,33	3	6,98	5	7,46	9	4,69	8	4,06	17	4,37	107,32	92,91
50—54	1	4,17	—	—	1	1,49	6	3,13	3	1,52	9	2,31	135,50	65,80
55—59	1	4,17	1	2,33	2	2,99	3	1,56	4	2,03	7	1,80	86,67	112,78
60—64	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0,52	1	0,51	2	0,51	101,96	100,00
65—69	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1,04	1	0,51	3	0,77	135,07	66,23
70—74	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1,56	1	0,51	4	1,03	151,46	49,52
Total	24	100,00	43	100,00	67	100,00	192	100,00	197	100,00	389	100,00		

fr. = frequency.

Explanatory notes:

¹⁾ At 31 December 1968.²⁾ Indexes for the construction of Smith Graph (Fig. 5). For explanation see text on page 180.

I. — Full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.

II. — Mixed Rembranga Aborigines (one of parents was full-blood Rembranga).

III. — Other Aborigines with part of Rembranga blood and Aborigines of other tribes who married to Rembranga Aboriginal (from group I. or II.).

According to the relation between the three age groups, our group may be regarded as progressive, i.e. a growing, vital type of population, with a strong element of the very young. This fact can also be documented by the use of another indicator, which is the mean age of the present population. (This group indicator has, however, the disadvantage that it is not very sensitive to the extreme ages.) The mean age of the total population studied

(Group IV, Tab. 3) was 20.37 in 1968; for full-blood Rembrangas (Group I) it was 23.08, for "half" Rembrangas (Group II) 10.50, and for the other Aborigines (Group III) 24.22.

We supplement our characteristic structure of the Rembranga people according to age and sex with one more indicator, that of sex ratio — index of masculinity, or of femininity (the index is calculated per 1,000 inhabitants of the sex compared).

FIG. 4. Age structure of the Rembranga Aborigines by age and sex (to 31/12/1968).
 Explanations: 1 — full-blood Rembranga Aborigines, 2 — mixed Rembranga Aborigines (one of the parents a full-blood Rembranga), 3 — Aborigines with part Rembranga blood and Aborigines from other tribes who married Rembrangas (full blood or with at least part Rembranga blood).

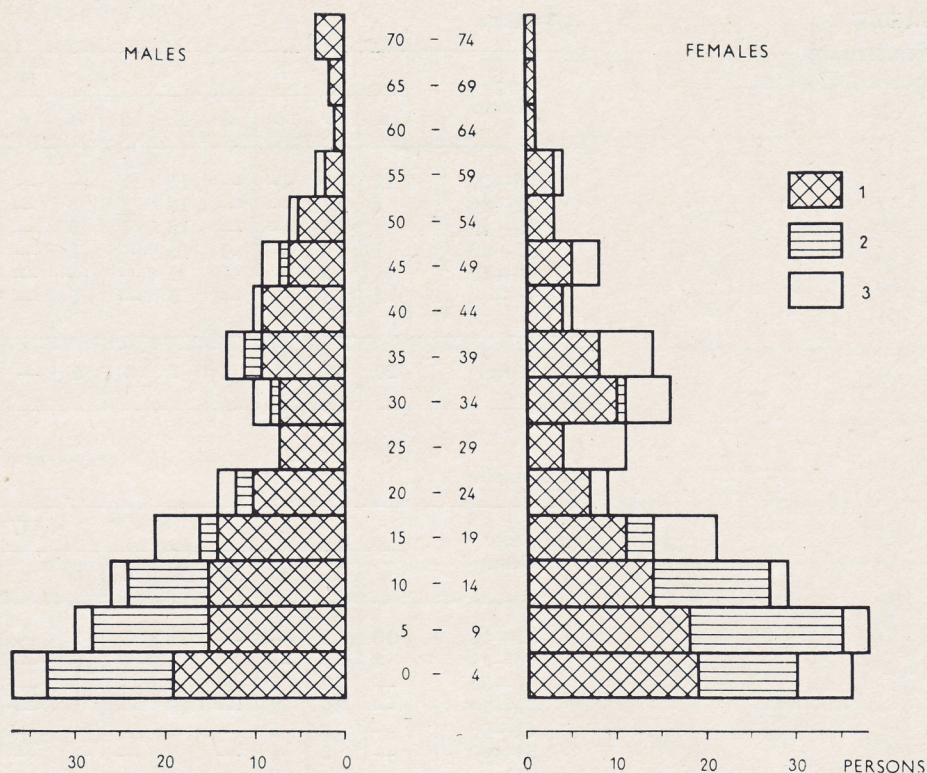


FIG. 5. Smith diagram—sex ratio of the Rembranga Aborigines in the year 1968 according to age (full-blood Rembranga Aborigines; having at least part Rembranga blood, and Aborigines from other tribes who married Rembrangas).

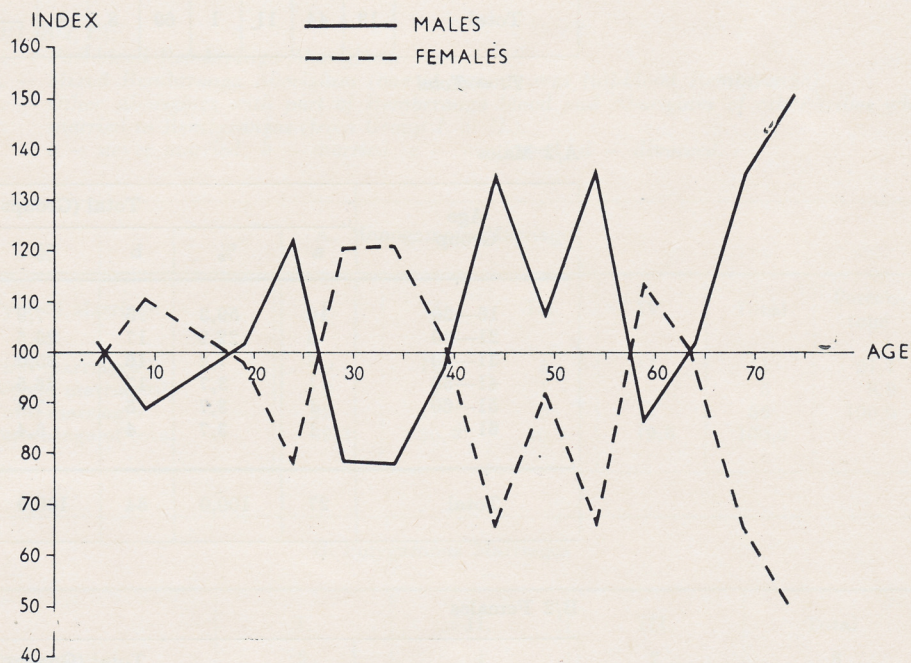


TABLE 5.
 Rembranga, Masculinity and Femininity.

	I	II	III	IV
Index of Masculinity	1128,4	1000,0	558,1	974,6
Index of Femininity	886,2	1000,0	1791,7	1026,0

Note: Groups I—IV correspond to those in TAB. 3.

2.2.2. Marital Status.

To our interpretation of the population of Rembranga people according to sex and age let us add an interpretation of their marital status, which, it is true, belongs essentially to social-legal characteristics, but in view of the fact that most children are born in wedlock, the characteristics of the marital status of the population are usually associated with those of sex-age structure.

TABLE 6.
Rembranga —
by marital status

A/1 Males

n = 95

Age Group	I.					II.					III.				
	a	b	c	d	T.	a	b	c	d	T.	a	b	c	d	T.
16—20	12	3	—	—	15	1	—	—	—	1	3	2	—	—	5
21—30	5	13	—	—	18	1	1	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	3
31—40	1	11	—	—	12	1	2	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	3
41—50	1	12	—	1	13	—	1	—	—	1	—	4	—	—	4
51—60	1	5	—	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
61 +	1	3	1	—	5	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total	20	48	1	2	7	3	5	—	—	8	3	12	1	—	16

B/1 Females

n = 113

Age Group	I.					II.					III.				
	a	b	c	d	T.	a	b	c	d	T.	a	b	c	d	T.
11—15	10	3	—	—	13	7	1	—	—	8	—	1	—	—	2
16—20	3	5	—	—	8	1	2	—	—	3	—	8	—	—	8
21—30	—	10	1	1	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	1	—	8
31—40	—	16	2	—	18	—	1	—	—	1	—	9	—	—	9
41—50	—	8	1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	4
51—60	—	2	4	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
61 +	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Total	13	44	11	1	69	8	4	—	—	12	—	30	2	—	33

T. = Total

A/2 Males

n = 95

Age Group	Total (Groups I. + II. + III.)							
	a	%	b	%	c	%	d	%
16—20	16	59,3	5	7,8	—	—	—	—
21—30	6	22,2	17	26,5	—	—	—	—
31—40	2	7,4	16	25,0	—	—	—	—
41—50	1	3,7	17	26,5	—	—	1	50,0
51—60	1	3,7	5	7,8	1	50,0	1	50,0
61 +	1	3,7	4	6,4	1	50,0	—	—
Total	27	100,0	64	100,0	2	100,0	2	100,0

B/2 Females

n = 113

Age Group	Total (Groups I. + II. + III.)							
	a	%	b	%	c	%	d	%
11—15	17	81,0	5	6,4	—	—	—	—
16—20	4	19,0	15	19,2	—	—	—	—
21—30	—	—	17	21,8	2	15,4	1	100,0
31—40	—	—	26	33,3	2	15,4	—	—
41—50	—	—	12	15,5	1	7,6	—	—
51—60	—	—	3	3,8	4	30,8	—	—
61 +	—	—	—	—	4	30,8	—	—
Total	21	100,0	78	100,0	13	100,0	1	100,0

TABLE 6.
(continued)

C. Males and Females

n = 208

Age Group	Total: Males + Females (I. + II. + III.)							
	a	%	b	%	c	%	d	%
11—15 ¹⁾	17	35,4	5	3,5	—	—	—	—
16—20	20	41,7	20	14,1	—	—	—	—
21—30	6	12,5	34	23,9	2	13,3	1	33,3
31—40	2	4,1	42	29,7	2	13,3	—	—
41—50	1	2,1	29	20,4	1	6,8	1	33,3
51—60	1	2,1	8	5,6	5	33,3	1	33,3
61 +	1	2,1	4	2,8	5	33,3	—	—
Total	48	100,0	142	100,0	15	100,0	3	100,0

D. Summary

n = 208

Group	Males		Females		Total M + F	
	fr.	%	fr.	%	fr.	%
Never married ¹⁾	27	28,4	21	18,6	48	23,1
Married	64	67,4	78	69,0	142	68,3
Widowed	2	2,1	13	11,5	15	7,2
Divorced	2	2,1	1	0,9	3	1,4
Total	95	100,0	113	100,0	208	100,0

¹⁾ Males of age 16 and over; Females of age 11 and over; fr. = frequency.

Explanatory notes (Table A/1, A/2, B/1, B/2, C):

- I. — Full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.
 - II. — Mixed Rembranga Aborigines (one of parents was full-blood Rembranga).
 - III. — Other Aborigines with part of Rembranga blood and Aborigines of other tribes who married to Rembrangas (from Group I. or II.).
- a — never married; b — married; c — widowed; d — divorced.

TABLE 7.
Rembranga—Marriages
by tribal membership
of spouses

A. Monogamous Marriages						
Type of Marriage	I.	II.	III.	IV.	Total	Percentage
First marriages ¹⁾	19	16	5	11	51	91,1
Second marriages ²⁾	3	1	1	—	5	8,9
Total marriages	22	17	6	11	56	100,0
Percentage of total	39,3	30,4	10,7	19,6	100,0	

B. Polygamous Marriages				
	I.	II.	III.	Total
Frequency	2	4	2	8
Percentage	25,0	50,0	25,0	100,0

Explanatory notes:
A. Monogamous marriages:

- Datas give number of marriages by different groups.
- I. — Both spouses are full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.
 - II. — Husband is full-blood Rembranga, wife full-blood aboriginal from other tribe.
 - III. — Wife is full-blood Rembranga, husband full-blood aboriginal from other tribe.
 - IV. — Other marriages where at least one of spouses has part of Rembranga blood.

- ¹⁾ Both spouses are married for the first time.
- ²⁾ One spouses (or both) is married for the second time.

B. Polygamous marriages:

- I. — All wives are full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.
 - II. — At least one of wives is full-blood Rembranga Aboriginal.
 - III. — All wives are from other tribes.
- Husband is in all cases (I—II—III) full-blood Rembranga.

TABLE 8.

*Rembranga—
mixed marriages with
Aborigines from
other tribes*

Tribe	I.				II.				III.			
	M	F	Tot.	%	M	F	Tot.	%	M	F	Tot.	%
Aranta	1	—	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burera	—	1	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Djawun	—	1	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Djinba	1	2	3	6,6	1	—	1	12,5	—	—	—	—
Ganalbuingu	1	—	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jangman	1	—	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jingili	—	1	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nalakan	—	3	3	6,6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ngalkbun	2	7	9	20,1	2	—	2	25,0	1	—	1	100,0
Ngandi	1	4	5	11,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nunggaboju	—	1	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mangarei	1	—	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maiali	3	6	9	20,1	—	2	2	25,0	—	—	—	—
Mara	—	1	1	2,2	1	1	2	25,0	—	—	—	—
Rittharingo	2	3	5	11,2	1	—	1	12,5	—	—	—	—
Wandaran	—	1	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wogait	1	—	1	2,2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14	31	45	100,0	5	3	8	100,0	1	—	1	100,0

M — Males, F — Females, Tot. — Total, % — Percentage.

Explanatory notes:

- I. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with full-blood Aborigines from other tribes.
 II. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with the Aborigines having half of Rembranga blood and half blood of other tribe (one of parents was Rembranga and second one member of the other tribe).
 III. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with the Aborigines having prevailing part of Rembranga blood and part blood of some other tribe.
 Datas give number of husbands and wives from the other tribes (according to the groups I. — II. — III.) in mixed marriages of the Rembranga Aborigines.

TABLE 9.

*Rembranga marriage
rates*

Age Group of Man	No. of Wives per Man					Total Men	Total Husb.	Total Wives	Mean per Man	Wives per Husb.	Percent-age Polygyn-ist
	0	1	2	3	4						
16—20	16	5	—	—	—	21	5	5	0,24	1,00	—
21—30	6	16	1	—	—	23	17	18	0,78	1,06	5,8
31—40	2	15	1	—	—	18	16	17	0,94	1,06	6,2
41—50	2	14	2	1	—	19	17	21	1,11	1,24	33,3
51—60	3	3	—	1	1	8	5	10	1,25	2,00	40,0
61 +	2	3	—	—	1	6	4	7	1,16	1,75	25,0
Total	31	56	4	2	2	95	64	78	0,82	1,22	12,5

Explanatory notes:

Datas give number of marriages by different groups.

A. Monogamous marriages:

- I. — Both spouses are full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.
 II. — Husband is full-blood Rembranga, wife full-blood Aborigine from other tribe.
 III. — Wife is full-blood Rembranga, husband full-blood Aborigine from other tribe.
 IV. — Other marriages where at least one of spouse has part of Rembranga blood.
 1) Both spouses are married for the first time.
 2) One of spouses (or both) is married for the second time.

B. Polygamous marriages:

- I. — All wives are full-blood Rembranga Aborigines.
 II. — At least one of wives is full-blood Rembranga Aborigine.
 III. — All wives are from other tribes.
 Husband is in all cases (I. — II. — III.) full-blood Rembranga.

TABLE 10.

*Numbers of
co-wives among
Rembranga*

Age Group of Woman	Monogamous Wives	Polygamous Wives	Total Wives	Percentage Polygamist ¹⁾
11—15	5	—	5	—
16—20	13	2	15	13,3
21—30	10	7	17	41,2
31—40	19	7	26	26,9
41—50	6	6	12	50,0
51—60	3	—	3	—
61 +	—	—	—	—
Total	56	22	78	28,2

¹⁾ According to M. J. Meggitt (1965: 151) I am using "Polygamist" to refer to a woman married to a polygynist — that is, with one or more co-wives.

TABLE 11.

*Rembranga—
distribution of
male polygynists by age*

Group	Age Level of Husband						Total
	16—20	21—30	31—40	41—50	51—60	61+	
Polygamous Husbands							
Frequency	—	1	1	3	2	1	8
Percentage	—	5,9	6,3	17,7	40,0	25,0	12,5
Monogamous Husbands							
Frequency	5	16	15	14	3	3	56
Percentage	100,0	94,1	93,7	82,3	60,0	75,0	87,5
Total Husbands							
Frequency	5	17	16	17	5	4	64
Percentage	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

M — Males, F — Females, Tot. — Total, % — Percentage.

Explanatory notes:

- I. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with full-blood Aborigines from other tribes.
 - II. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with the Aborigines having half of Rembranga blood and half blood of other tribe (one of parents was Rembranga and second one member of the other tribe).
 - III. — Mixed marriages of full-blood Rembranga Aborigines with the Aborigines having prevailing part of Rembranga blood and part blood of some other tribe.
- Datas give number of husbands and wives from the other tribes (according to the groups I. — II. — III.) in mixed marriages of the Rembranga Aborigines.

During the study of the marital status of the Rembranga people we paid attention at the same time to the age and sex of the married, unmarried, divorced and widowed. In this study it is usual to work from an analysis of the marital status of those older than 15; in our case, however, this was possible only with males, while with females it was necessary to drop the age limit to 11, since some Aborigine females enter into marriage even at this age (in exceptional cases at an even younger age). The results of our investigation are summarized in Tab. 6. The percentage of married persons compiled from the sector of the population older than 16 (for women 11) is for the Rembrangas high (68.3 %), while the proportion of males and females is more or less equal (see Tab. 6/D). If we look at the distribution of married persons according to age (see Tab. 6A/2 and 6B/2), we find that more than three quarters (78 %) of the total married males are in the age range 21—50 (for females the

figure is lower, 70.6 %), while the percentage proportions in individual age groups of ten years (21 to 30, 31—40, 41—50) are in equilibrium (this does not hold true for females, where the proportions in individual groups fluctuate, and the highest value is reached in the group 31—40). Rembranga females enter into marriage earlier than males, which is confirmed by among other things the percentage of unmarried from the (figures for females over 11, 18.6 % (the figure for males over 16 is 28.4 %), while all the unmarried women are in the lowest age categories, i.e. 11—20 (with males 59.3 % of the total of unmarried ones belong to age category 16—20). The percentage of widows is much higher than that of widowers. Most of them are in the highest age group (over 40), and women of this age do not remarry among the Rembrangas (as opposed to men).

It seems to us essential to point out the diffe-

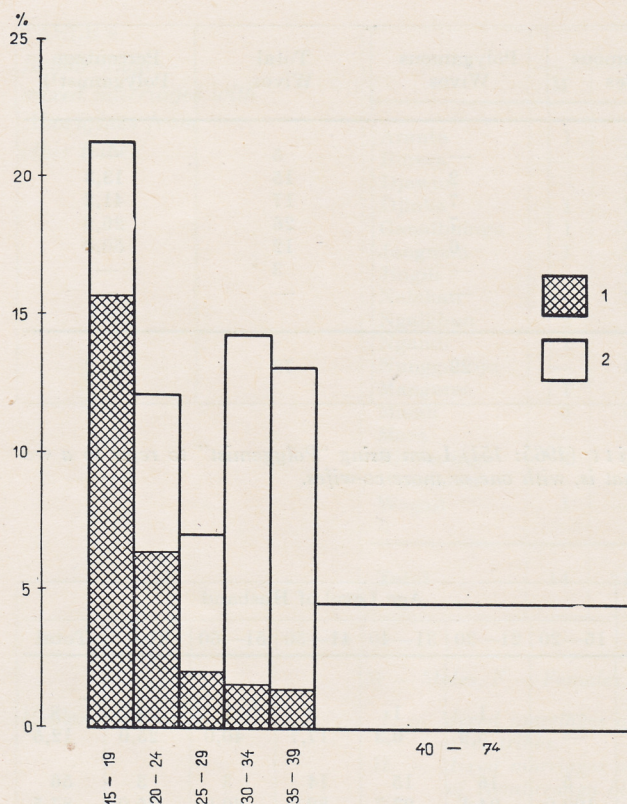


FIG. 6. Graph — Education of the Rembranga Aborigines by Age. The graph was drawn on the basis of the information from Tab. on p. The area of the columns in the diagram corresponds to the percentage representation of individual age groups among those studies ($n = 140$). Explanations: 1 — persons with basic education, 2 — persons without basic education.

rence between the numbers of married men and married women in the population studied. This difference (with women in the majority) is mainly caused by the existence of polygamous marriage, which is still widespread among the Rembranga people. This question is dealt with more closely in the next chapter, on marriage.

At the close of our brief interpretation of marital status among the Rembranga people we must emphasize that — as we have already said in some preceding sections — it is difficult to evaluate the results obtained without the possibility of placing them side by side with similar information for other Aboriginal populations. This is again true here. From the point of view of natural reproduction, in view of the proportion of the population living in the married state, we may regard the population studied somewhat critically.

Marriage.

From a demographical point of view any cohabitation of a man and woman may be considered as marriage; the legal view, however, is a different one, distinguishing several types of union. Three basic types of marriage are most commonly recognised: civil, church, and according to local cus-

tom. With the Rembrangas, as with all primitive populations, the last prevails (usually sealed by non-Christian ritual ceremonies). Only in the last few years have civil marriages, been performed in the government settlements, where there is no parochial office and church marriages mostly in the missions.

Among the Rembranga people, similarly as among the remaining tribes of Australian Aborigines, marriages according to custom are governed by complicated rules. But this problem belongs to the cultural or social-anthropological sphere, and has already been sufficiently dealt with (see e.g. A. P. Elkin, 1960) so that we may disregard it here.

Of the total of 64 marriages considered, most were monogamous (89.8% of the total). Most of the marriages were those where both partners are Rembrangas (39.3% of the total of monogamous and 25.0% of the total of polygamous marriages). Table 8 shows mixed marriages between Rembrangas and members of other tribes. Even up to the Second World War these marriages were comparatively rare, but with the end of hostilities between individual tribes and the advance of the process of Europeanization (acculturation) they became more and more common. It is understandable that the Rembranga people made more marriages with members of neighbouring tribes, with whom they were traditionally on good terms — the Ngalkbun, Maialli (see Fig. 2). Their post-war migration, when they began to penetrate into the territories of these tribes (see Fig. 7) is another factor involved. Marriages with members of the Rittharingo, Ngandi, Nalakan and Djinba tribes were also relatively common — all tribes whose territories neighboured on that of the Rembranga.

Tables 8–11 contain some statistical characteristics of Rembranga marriages. It would be interesting to compare this information with the similar data for the Walbiri tribe, compiled by N. J. Meggitt, but on account of the limited extent of our paper this is not possible. (We intend to devote an independent study to this question in a separate paper. (For comparison see N. J. Meggitt: Marriage among the Walbiri of Central Australia: A Statistical Examination. In: Berndt, R. M., Berndt, C. H. (edit.) (1965): Aboriginal Man in Australia, pp. 146–166. Sydney–London, Melbourne.)

2.2.3. Economic Activity.

The classification of the population according to economic activity is a socio-economic one. Part of our research was the making of this classification; but since it was not always possible to obtain the required information on those taking part in our investigation, to get answers to the appropriate questions in the questionnaire, we are obliged in this case to draw on a relatively small group (147 persons), and so our conclusions have only limited value. We limited ourselves to the basic classification of the population studied into economically

active (wage-earning) and economically inactive persons (the remainder), establishing for those economically active the nature of their work. We of course paid attention to the sex and age of the group investigated. The results are given in *Tab. 12*.

In the group studied ($n = 147$) the proportion of males and females was in relative equilibrium (76:71). The relation between the economically active and inactive was also fairly even (52.3%, 47.6%). While the economically active were predominant among men (71.1% of all males), the proportion is the opposite for women (67.6% of all females). Age distribution is evident from *Table 12*. In view of the small numbers in individual groups it is difficult to evaluate it.

The economically active members of the population were divided into three groups according to the type of work:

I. Unqualified, auxiliary work —

Males: keeping the settlement tidy, garbage disposal, keeping the settlement supplied with wood, auxiliary work in the kitchen and dining room, auxiliary work on the farm, etc.;

on cattle stations auxiliary work on the fencing of grazing land, maintenance of roads, supply of wood etc.

Females: both in the settlement and on the cattle stations as cleaners, auxiliary cooks, etc.

II. Stockmen — concerns men only.

III. Qualified work —

Males: head stockmen, craftsmen, drivers, police trackers, assistant teachers.

Females: auxiliary nurses, cooks.

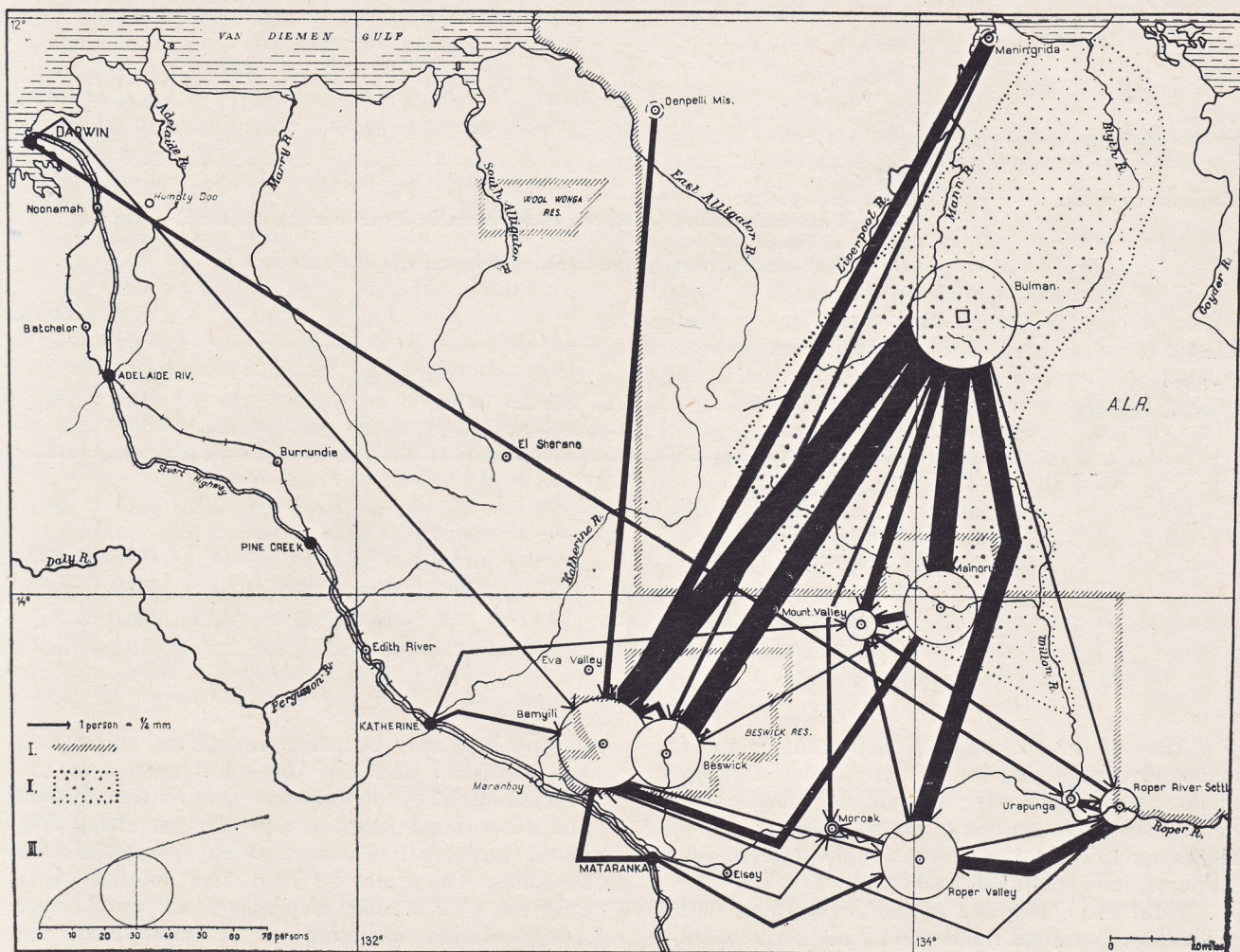


FIG. 7. Migration of the Rembranga Aborigines (including members of other tribes having a direct relationship and Aborigines having part Rembranga blood). The relation between place of birth and present domicile is shown on the map. The arrows indicate migration from place of birth to place of present domicile; circles indicate the number born in the place of present domicile (an exception is Bulman, or the historical tribal territory of the Rembranga). Explanations: 1 — boundaries of native reserves, 2 — tribal territory of the Rembranga people (in the wider sense), 3 — scale of the circles. Meningrida was not dealt with.

TABLE 12.
Rembranga, by occupation

n = 76

A. Males Occupation Group	Age Group					Total Persons
	14—19	20—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	
I.	2	8	8	4	4	26
II.	7	6	4	6	—	23
III.	—	—	4	1	—	5
Total in Work Force	9	14	16	11	4	54
Total not in Work Force	14	—	2	3	3	22
Total persons	23	14	18	14	7	76

n = 71

B. Females Occupation Group	Age Group					Total Persons
	14—19	20—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	
I.	8	4	5	3	1	21
II.	—	—	—	—	—	—
III.	—	1	1	—	—	2
Total in Work Force	8	5	6	3	1	23
Total not in Work Force	10	11	15	8	4	48
Total persons	18	16	21	11	5	71

Explanatory notes:

Occupation groups:

- I. — Unskilled workers (sweepers, char-women in home manadgement etc. — see text).
 II. — Stockmen.
 III. — Craftsmen, drivers, police-trackers, help-teachers, help-nurses.

TABLE 13.
Rembranga—
education by age

n = 140

Group	Age Group						Total Per- sons	%
	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40+		
Persons with basic education	22	9	3	2	2	—	38	27,1
Persons without education	8	8	7	18	17	44	102	72,9
Total persons	30	17	10	20	19	44	140	100,0
Percentage of total	21,5	12,1	7,1	14,2	13,6	31,5	100,0	

Most of the economically active males and females were employed in the occupations in group I (males also in group II). We did not find a single case in the group studied of an occupation requiring higher qualifications (as for example state registered nurse, fully qualified teacher, etc.).

Until the emergence of the government settlements for Aborigines the economically active section of the original population (including Rembranga) was concentrated only on the cattle stations. Until 1968 Aborigines in the government settlements received food and clothing free of charge; if they did work (within the settlement) they were unpaid. After receiving full civil and political rights, pre-

viously held only by white Australians, this system was abolished and the Aborigines must now buy everything. They do however receive free medical and educational facilities and can get cheap food in the settlement canteens, which operate on state subsidies. The grant of civil and political rights gave rise to a number of problems for the Aboriginal population, including one of employment. For some Aborigines (mostly on the cattle stations) previously worked according to unofficial, usually oral agreements, for relatively low wages, sometimes only for food, tobacco and clothing. But as soon as the Australian federal parliament ratified the law on the civil and political rights of the original po-

pulation, employers had to pay the Aborigines the same minimum wage as white Australians. A result of this was that the unqualified work of the Aborigines was uneconomical for them, and the employers lost interest in it. The cattle station owners were an exception; for them the work of the Aborigine stockmen is indispensable.

2.2.4. Education

Education is playing an important role in the acculturation process of the Aborigines. For this reason compulsory school attendance was introduced for Aboriginal children and basic schools were established in all government settlements and in the cattle stations (in places with a smaller number of Aborigines there is a single class school only). School attendance is compulsory for all Aboriginal children from 6 to 14 (from 4–6 years is the preschool education). Children who have absolved basic school have the opportunity to go to Secondary school. To this end the four-year Kormilda College for boarders was founded in Darwin. Similar middle schools are to be founded in some other towns in the Northern Territory. Evening courses are organized, in the basic schools, for adults, designed to give them a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. The language in schools of all grades in English.

During our research we established the number of persons with a basic education (i.e. knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic and a basic knowledge of English). We investigated the population over the age of 15, because all younger persons) in the age range 6–14) go to school. The results of our investigation are given in *Tab. 13*. Of the group studied ($n = 140$) only 21.1 % of the total number of persons investigated had a basic education. *Fig. 6* shows the division of the group studied into five-year age groups. Among those older than 40 there was not a single one with a basic education. During our investigation we also determined the degree of schooling. Not a single member of the Rembranga tribe had completed a middle school education when the research was finished.

Together with our investigation of the level of education among the Rembranga, we also considered knowledge of languages, both Aboriginal and English. The group studied was in this case even

smaller ($n = 110$). In spite of this we consider it to be sufficiently representative. The investigation was carried out for persons older than 15.

TABLE 14.
Rembranga, knowledge of Languages

$n = 110$

	No. of persons	%
I. Aboriginal Languages		
Knowledge of monther tongue only	85	77.3
Knowledge of one Aboriginal language (besides mother tongue)	18	16.4
Knowledge of two Aboriginal languages	6	5.4
Knowledge of more than two Abor. languages	1	0.9
	110	100.0
II. English		
Partial knowledge ¹⁾	79	71.8
Good knowledge ²⁾	31	28.2
	110	100.0

Explanations:
Note ¹⁾ — mostly Pidgin English.
Note ²⁾ — mostly persons with basic school education, either complete or incomplete, but with knowledge of reading and writing.

English acts as one of the unifying elements in the acculturation process of the Aborigines, even if most of them use Aboriginal languages in their mutual contact, and English only in their contact with white men, there is a growing number of cases where Aborigines speak English even among themselves. During our investigation we found three marriages where the partners spoke English with each other. These were partners from two different tribes who knew only their mother tongue and English, so that this was really their only means of communication in their mutual contact. In all three cases these were Aborigines who had absolved basic school.

Government bodies consider the educational process of the Aborigines a priority and try to include in it especially the younger and middle generations.

$n = 290$

TABLE 15.
*Rembranga—
birth lace by age*

Group	Age Group							Total Per- sons	%
	0—14	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40+		
Persons born in bush	—	4	9	7	18	13	44	95	32,7
Persons born in permanent settlements	150	26	8	3	2	6	—	195	67,3
Total persons	150	30	17	10	20	19	44	290	100,0
Percentage of total	51,7	10,3	5,9	3,4	6,9	6,6	15,2	100,0	—

2.3. Migration.

As we have already mentioned in the introduction to this paper, the incomplete data in the demographical questionnaires make it impossible to analyse certain populational processes. In addition we lack also important comparative data. We therefore decided to pursue these questions further and to deal with them in a special study.

We do however consider it essential to characterize at least in outline in our work the recent migrations of the Rembranga, for they have played, and still do play an important role in their acculturation.

For the Rembranga, as for the members of the other tribes of Arnhem Land, migrations are especially frequent. These are almost always internal migrations, that is within the limits of the northern part of the Northern Territory, and only in exceptional cases is there a move to other states or territories of Australia. We may distinguish here three basic forms of migration. The first, and oldest, form of migration is where Aborigines move from the bush into the government settlements. This form, which we might call long-term migration, has played an exceptional role in the acculturation process (see "Historical review"). We tried to reconstruct this form of migration and investigated the relation between place of birth and present domicile of members of the population studied. The group investigated was in this case large enough ($n = 290$) and can therefore be considered as completely representative. Of the total number of persons investigated, 57.3 % were already born in the permanent settlements, of which 51.7 % belonged to the youngest age group, 0–14 years. All of those over 40 who were investigated were born in the bush (see *Tab. 15*). The results of our investigation were also expressed graphically in *Fig. 7*. The first form of migration of the Rembranga (and of the remaining tribes of Arnhem Land) is already finished, since all the Aborigines ($\pm 1-2\%$) live in the permanent settlements. The second form of migration, which we might call short-term, is the current movement of Aborigines from one settlement to another. Owing to the short period of our research we were unable to find out how frequent these migrations are. Migrations of this type often arise from contact of the Aborigines with relatives (in most cases very distant relatives) living in another settlement or settlements, whom they like to visit frequently. After a certain time (varying from several weeks to several months) they usually return to their original domicile. The third specific form of migration is that where the Aborigines move from the permanent settlements into the bush. This is again short-term migration (from several weeks to several months).

We shall supplement our characterization of the migration processes with one of the travelling habits of the Rembranga people, since we established during our research the regions visited by individual persons. Of the group studied ($n = 110$), 85.5 % moved in the district Katherine — Darwin,

8.2 % in the remaining districts of the Northern Territory, 5.4 % outside the Northern Territory (other regions of Australia) and one person had been abroad.

3. GEOGRAPHY OF THE SETTLEMENTS

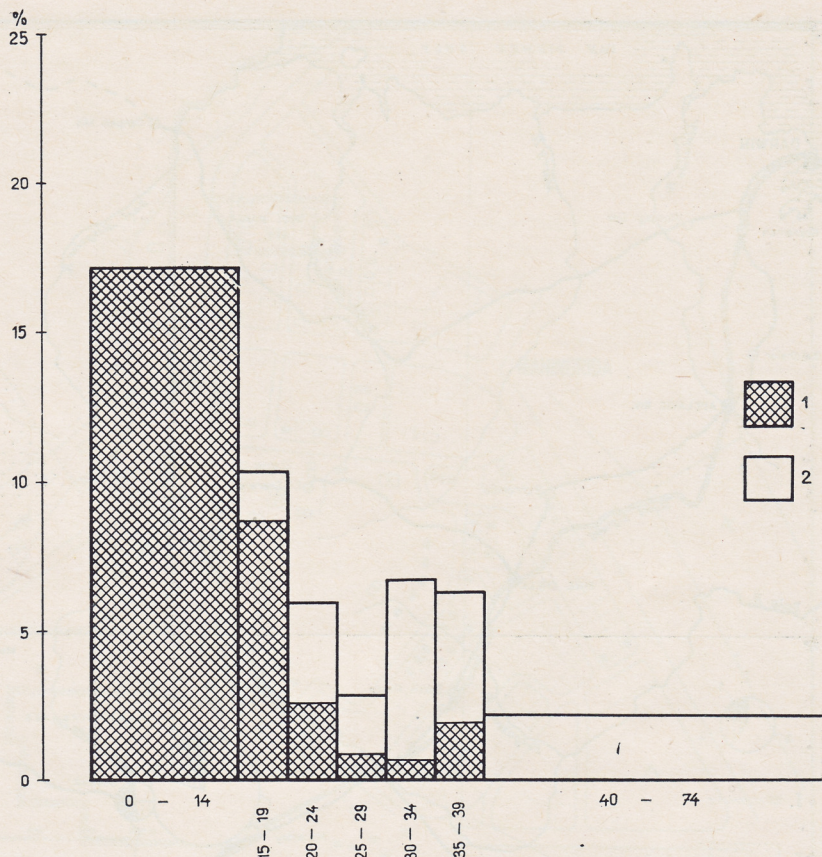
3.1. Acculturation Process of the Rembrangas and Changes in their Settlement Conditions

In the preceding sections of our paper we outlined the main features of the acculturation process of the Rembrangas (see "Historical review" and "Migrations of the Rembranga"). This process has also led to basic changes in their conditions of settlement. All the Rembrangas today live in permanent settlements ($\pm 1-2\%$). In the year 1969 it was estimated that in the whole of Australia only about 300 Aborigines still permanently lead their original way of life in the bush; today's estimate would certainly be much lower still. It is unlikely that any Rembranga Aborigines would still live in this way today. Some groups of Aborigines, including the Rembrangas even today prefer occasional life in the bush to permanent stay in the settlements. The members of this tribe adapted relatively quickly to the settled way of life in the permanent settlements, as is indicated by the results of our research on place of birth of members of the Rembranga tribe (*Tab. 15* and *Fig. 8*). While in the years 1944–1948 most of the Rembrangas were born in the bush (52.9 % of those born in that period) and only 47.1 % in permanent settlements, the proportion was reversed during the next five-year period (13.3 % to 86.7 %). From 1954 they were already all born in permanent settlements.

3.2 Present Structure of the Settlements.

Today, therefore, the Rembranga Aborigines live in permanent settlements — government communities, government and private cattle stations, mainly spread, around the perimeter of the Aboriginal Reserve of Arnhem Land, especially on its southern borders. In the reserve itself there are only two government settlements: Maningrida and Ngukurr. Ngukurr was until 1968 a mission (Roper River Mission), and was then taken under the administration of the Welfare Branch and renamed Roper River Settlement. In 1972 it was renamed Ngukurr. Two more government settlements — the Bamyili community and the Beswick cattle station, lie inside the Beswick Aboriginal Reserve. The Rembranga people live in these settlements for the most part with members of other tribes (see *Fig. 9*). During our research all settlement where more than 10 Rembrangas live were visited; the remaining settlements with a smaller number of Rembrangas were visited only where they happened to be en route. Research was carried out on nine settlements in all, in which in the year 1969 (during the research period, i.e. from July to October) there

FIG. 8. Graph — Birthplace of the Rembranga Aborigines by Age. The graph is drawn from the information in Tab. 15 on p. 191. The area of the columns in the diagram corresponds to the percentage representation of individual age groups among those studied ($n = 190$). Explanations: 1 — persons born in permanent settlements (i. e. native settlements, cattle stations, missions and towns). 2 — persons born in bush,



lived 406 members of the tribe, of whom 59.8 % were full-blood Rembranga and 40.2 % Aborigines of other tribes directly related (mixed marriages, where one partner is a Rembranga) to the Rembrangas, or having some Rembranga blood. The settlement structure of the tribe is evident from Table 2; the distribution of settlements is given in Map 1.

3.2.1. Typology of the Settlements.

The settlements in which the Rembranga people today live may be divided into two basic groups: 1. Permanent Settlements (i.e. government communities, government and private cattle stations, and towns), 2. Occasional or Seasonal Settlements (i.e. traditional shelters and simple huts in the bush.

3.2.1.1. The Permanent Settlements.

The permanent settlements may be divided into two groups, differing chiefly in function. The first is that of Government Settlements for Aborigines; the second, government and private cattle stations. The settlements of both groups have several common features. The Aborigines in both live in simple prefabricated houses and are provided with their own educational and medical facilities.

To the first group of permanent settlements belong the Government Native Settlements: Bamyili, Maningrida, and Roper River (now Ngukurr).

They are situated in the Aboriginal reserves and fall under the administration of the Darwin Welfare Branch. These settlements are run by government officials, most of them white; at their head is a superintendent.

The basic function of these settlements is to acquaint the Aborigines with the European way of life, to teach them community life and prepare them for various forms of employment. The government communities are well equipped. There is a hospital or health centre, in the charge of a doctor or state registered nurse, a basic school (school attendance is compulsory for Aboriginal children, adults may attend evening courses); a public canteen, in which almost all schoolchildren and some adults eat; a general store with a wide range of goods (from food-stuffs and clothing to furniture); various workshops, garages and stores, including a fuel store; a small generating station, where electricity is produced from diesel aggregate; the offices of the superintendent and the members of the community administration, and finally houses for the Aborigines and the white employees. There is usually a small farm attached to the community and producing vegetables, fruit, meat, eggs etc. for it. The groundplan and the function of individual buildings of the Maningrida government community are shown in Fig. 10.

The government communities were built according to plans prepared in advance in government planning centres. They are built on a regular

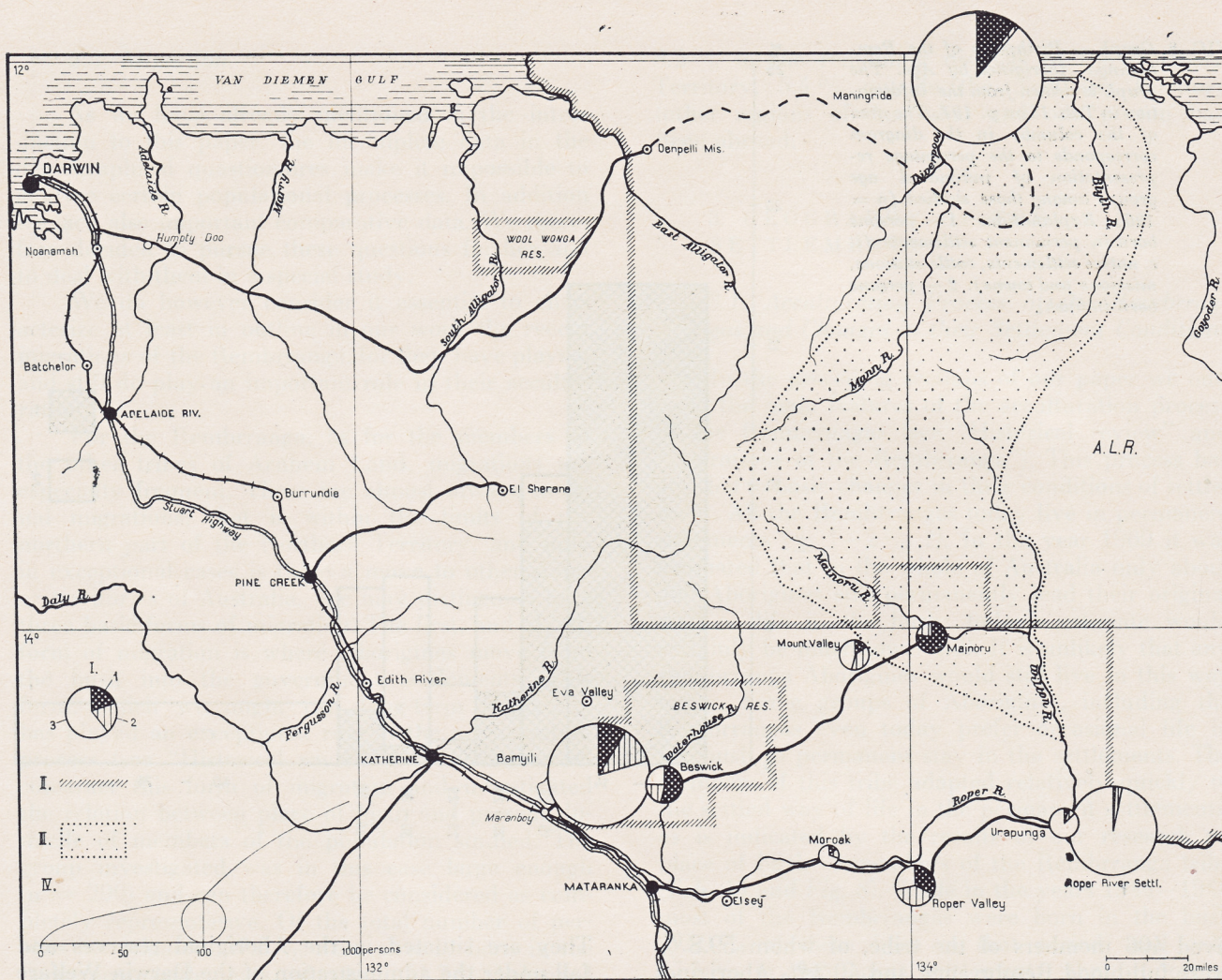


FIG. 9. Map of the number of Rembranga Aborigines in permanent settlements. The number of Aborigines living in individual permanent settlements is indicated by circles on the map. The segments in the circles show the proportion of Rembranga (full-blood, half, and members of other tribes with a direct relationship). Explanations: I — number of Aborigines living in the settlement. Of these: 1 — full-blood Rembranga Aborigines, 2 — Aborigines from other tribes directly related (mixed marriages where one of the spouses is Rembranga) or having at least partly Rembranga blood, 3 — Aborigines of other tribes. II — boundaries of native reserves, III — tribal territory of the Rembranga in the wider sense, IV — scale of circles.

groundplan, even though this regularity has sometimes been disrupted by the more or less random construction of simple Aboriginal shelters (as for example in Maningrida — see Fig. 10). In most of the communities it is possible to distinguish the Staff Quarters from the aboriginal Camp. The Aborigines live in houses of three basic types. The first, oldest, and simplest type is a house built of corrugated iron, measuring approximately 2—3.5 × 3—3.5 m., without any amenities and with an earth floor. The second, more modern, and now most widespread type is a house of stainless sheet aluminium with an open verandah, concrete foundations and floor, whose interior living space is somewhat larger than that of the preceding type. This type of house, which the Australians call "Superior Shelter Type", is also without any amenities — and therefore there are in the Aboriginal camp several sanitary blocks, with W.C., showers and laundries. The third type of house is no different in size and

interior fittings (kitchen, own W.C., bathroom or shower) from those in which the white employees live. These houses, also having electricity, which the other two do not, are given to Aborigines who become members of the community administration. The Aborigines can work in return for wages in the government settlements, but employment is not compulsory. Most of them do auxiliary work.

The second type of permanent settlement consists of the cattle stations, in which most of the Aborigines are employed — the men as stockmen, the women in auxiliary work in the kitchen (home management) etc. Here too the Aborigines live in simple houses, most of them made of corrugated iron, of various types, grouped in an Aboriginal camp, which is usually situated on the edge of the station. A single-class school and medical care in the form of a state-registered nurse or health officer, with the possible assistance of the Royal Flying Doctor Service, are provided. The Beswick govern-

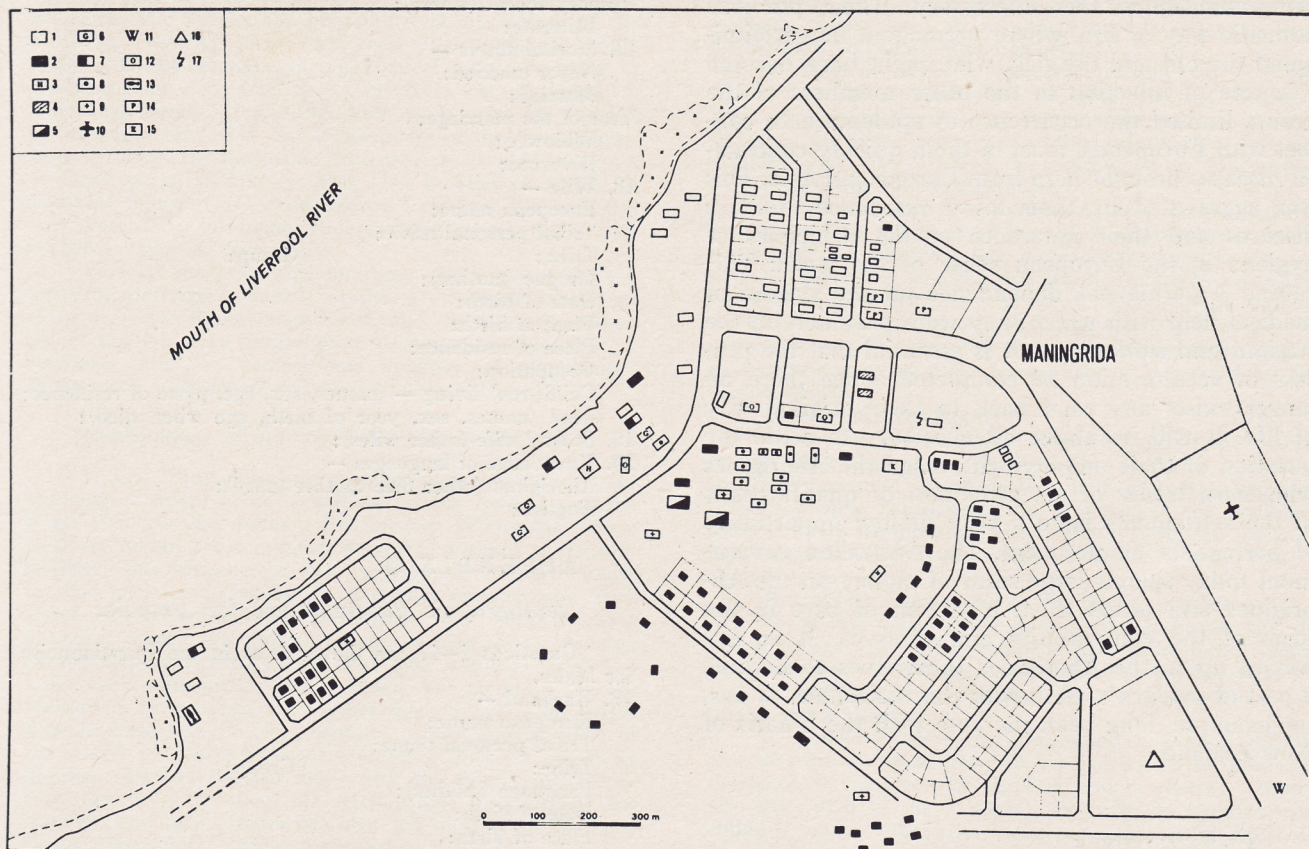


FIG. 10. Map of the Maningrida Settlement. 1 — Staff Quarters, 2 — Aboriginal Quarters (Camp), 3 — Clinic, 4 — Canteen, 5 — Kitchen, 6 — Garage, Workshops, 7 — Stores, 8 — School, 9 — Latrine- Ablution- Laundry Block, 10 — Airstrip, 11 — Pump, Water Tank, 12 — Offices, 13 — Fishing Plant, 14 — Police Station, 15 — Hall, 16 — Sawmill, 17 — Power Station.

ment cattle station prepares Aborigines for employment as stockmen.

One more type of permanent settlement inhabited by Aborigines may be added to those already mentioned, that of the permanent settlement with the white population in the majority (i.e. towns, townships and communities), on the edges of which the Aborigines build themselves simple huts or houses, usually grouped in a camp. In Darwin one of the city quarters has been reserved for them, having the status of an Aboriginal reserve (Bagot).

All types of permanent settlement are built near a water supply (permanent watercourse, the lakes or inundation river arms known as "billa-bongs" or artesian well). They all have also a landing strip for light aircraft. Each settlement or cattle station is also equipped with a transmitting and receiving station or has telegraphic communication. Most of the settlements also have suitable roads linking them with the nearest regional centre.

3.2.1.2. Occasional or Seasonal Settlements.

Occasional settlements — simple traditional huts covered with branches, leaves and tree bark — are built by the Aborigines in the bush in the neighbourhood (sometimes at a fair distance) of stations or communities. These sites are recreational (the

Aborigines spend the weekend there (or seasonal) some Aborigines leave to hunt in the bush for a certain time). The Aborigines build such huts or shelters singly, but often there are several in one place. They are always built near a water source.

4. CONCLUSION

The process of adaptation of the Australian Aborigines from a nomadic life to a settled way of life in one place — as we have shown, for example, with Rembrangas — seems to be almost finished, since nearly all Aborigines are today concentrated in permanent settlements. This process, whose origins go back for decades, did not of course take place without problems. We emphasized right at the beginning of our paper that the Aborigines had completely adapted to the harsh natural environment, and every change meant a serious upheaval in their way of life, their culture and customs. So, for example, acclimatization to clothing led at first to sensitivity and increased vulnerability to disease, since the Aborigines were not used to having to change clothing. Their switch to community life in closed houses was very difficult, since they were not used to tidying up and looking after the cleanliness of their surroundings — frequent changes of

camp site made this unnecessary. Their previous nomadic way of life, where permanent move eliminated the old and the sick, who might have become a source of infection to the other members of the group, limited the occurrence of epidemics. In contact with Europeans, most of them quickly contracted diseases brought here from Europe and Asia. This was aggravated by their lower resistance to these diseases and their ignorance of the principles of hygiene in the European sense of the word. This caused a permanent dependence on the system of medical help with which they were provided on the stations and settlements. It is essential that the process of acculturation be completed, since there no longer exists any road back to their original way of life. It will be above all necessary to settle the question of their employment, since the Aborigines who learn trades or get some sort of qualifications in the settlements have a very limited opportunity of permanent employment. The Australian government today spends large sums of money on the Aborigines and offers them a system of care in the form of the communities and reserves. It is, however, up to the Aborigines themselves to become a part of modern society with this assistance, as has, for example, long been the case with the Maoris of New Zealand.

APPENDIX I.

Demographic questionnaire for males.

1. Research number:
2. European name:
3. Tribal personal name:
4. Sex:
5. Tribe:
6. Group:
7. Language —
Mother tongue:
Usual language:
8. Date of birth:
9. Place of birth:
10. Father —
European name:
Tribal personal name:
Tribe: Group:
Year of birth:
Year of death (if dead):
Place of residence:
11. Mother —
European name:
Tribal personal name:
Tribe: Group:
Year of birth:
Year of death (if dead):
Place of residence:
12. Siblings —
Brother(s)-name(s), year of birth, place of residence:
Sister(s)-name(s), year of birth, place of residence:
Half-brother(s):
Half-sister(s):
13. Place of residence —
Previous:
Present:
14. Occupation —
Former:
Present:
15. Places visited:
16. Education —
Literate:

- Primary school (where):
Illiterate:
17. Marital status —
Never married:
Married:
Year of the marriage:
Widowed:
Divorced:
 18. Wife —
European name:
Tribal personal name:
Tribe: Group:
Langue (mother):
Date of birth:
Place of birth:
Place of residence:
Occupation:
Child(-ren) living — (names, sex, age, place of residence:
dead (names, sex, year of birth, age when died):
 19. Second wife (other wives):
 20. Knowledge of languages —
Aboriginal (other then mother tongue):
English:

APPENDIX II.

Demographic questionnaire for Females

Questions 1—17 are the same as in the Questionnaire for Males.

18. Husband —
European name:
Tribal personal name:
Tribe: Group:
Language (mother):
Date of birth:
Place of birth:
Place of residence:
Occupation:
19. Child(-ren) living — (names, sex, age, place of residence):
dead (names, sex, year of birth, age when died):
Stillbirths:
20. Knowledge of languages —
Aboriginal (other then mother tongue):
English:

APPENDIX III.

List of members of the Rembranga tribe.

The list includes members of the Rembranga tribe (full-blood: half-castes from Rembranga and members of other tribes: members of other tribes with whom the Rembranga are directly related) living in the permanent settlements (Native Settlements, cattle stations), whom we visited during our research between July and October, 1969.

(As has already been mentioned, we visited during our research all settlements where more than 10 Rembranga lived. The remaining settlements with a smaller number of Rembranga were visited only where they happened to be en route.) The list is divided into individual settlements, while the information in it always relates to the period when research was carried out in each settlement. The following table gives an idea of this:

Name of Settlement	Period when research was carried out there
I. Bamyili Settlement	9/7 — 17/8 1969
II. Beswick Station	22/7 — 27/9 1969
III. Mainoru Stn.	10/6 — 16/9 1969
IV. Maningrida Sett.	5/10 — 14/10 1969
V. Moroak	27/8 1969
VI. Mountain Valley Stn.	17/9 — 21/9 1969
VII. Roper Valley Stn.	18/8 — 23/8 1969
VIII. Roper River Settl.	24/8 — 25/8 1969
IX. Urapunga Stn.	26/8 1969

The list was compiled on the basis of demographical questionnaires. Unlike the official list of Aborigines of the Northern Territories from the years 1955–1962 (Schedule 1957) it is not arranged in alphabetical order according to the European names of the Aborigines, but according to individual families (separated from each other in the list by a simple line). The list of members of the Rembranga tribe living in the particular settlement is divided into two, or three, parts, as follows: Part I/A: families of which all members (parents and children) are full-blood Rembranga;

Part I/B: full-blood Rembrangas living alone (unmarried, widowed, divorced);

Part II: the remaining families, where one of the parents (or marriage partners) is either a full-blood Rembranga or has some Rembranga blood, and the other is a member of another tribe or has some Rembranga blood; half-casts from Rembranga and members of other tribes living alone (unmarried, widowed or divorced).

Explanations of individual data in the list.

1. List Number — every living person who was permanently resident in the settlement at the time of research is given in the list under a list number. Where the person is given under a list number only (i.e. without a research number) this means that the demographical questionnaire for this person was incomplete, but only presence and basic tribal appurtenance were established (this happened, for example, where the person concerned refused to undergo demographical investigation). The list numbers begin at 1 for each settlement. Where persons are given in the list without a list number, they either died or left (appropriate note in brackets). So, for example, where one member of the family lives in a different settlement from the others, he appears twice in the list, once with the family of his parents (in order to show his relationship) but without list number, and again under his own list number in the settlement where he is permanently resident.

2. European Name — most Aborigines have two, some three, names. They usually have their original tribal name (Tribal Personal Name) or "bush name" and a European name, received from the white Australians. The white men used to give the Aborigines either various nicknames, or, more often, christian names of English origin. Nicknames were previously used, but today only members of the older generation have them. In the government settlements and on some cattle stations it is the rule these days to give each new-born child a christian name not so far used among the Aborigines of the community or station. Some Aborigines, especially those of the middle generation, have taken a second European name, which they use instead of their tribal name as a surname; in this case the wife and all children have the name too. They then use their tribal personal name only on certain tribal occasions. This custom has recently spread rapidly, which considerably simplifies the question of Aboriginal names.

3. Tribal Personal Name — this name used today only by members of the middle and older generations; with school children it is usually not even mentioned. Tribal personal names often expressed a certain characteristic of the owner. In our list we have used English transcriptions of Aboriginal names.

4. Group — the appropriate marriage class is given here. Where the degree of acculturation of the Aborigines

is advanced the division of the tribe into brotherhoods and marriage classes loses all meaning, so it is not even used for children and those attending school.

5. Year of birth — wherever possible we used the official lists to establish date of birth (see Lit. Schedule 1957 registers in government communities and some cattle stations). In those cases where this information was not available the year of birth was estimated in conjunction with a physiological anthropologist.

6. Tribe — tribal appurtenance was determined for each person on the basis of that of the two parents, while system of cross-checking was meticulously applied (i.e. not only the person in question but also his relations and sometimes also other persons who know or knew the parents were asked). Unlike the official list of Aborigines we tried to express in our list even the degree of mixing of Rembranga with members of other tribes. This is expressed by the simple schema:

Rembranga/Ngalkbun

— on the left the tribal appurtenance of the father, on the right that of the mother. This indicates, therefore, that the person in question is a half-caste of a marriage between a male Rembranga and a female of the Ngalkbun tribe. A more complicated case is that where one (or even both) parents is of Rembranga blood mixed with that of another tribe:

Rittharingo (Rembranga) (Ngalkbun) Rembranga

— in this schema the double line indicates the division between the tribal appurtenance of the father (again given on the left) and that of the mother (on the right).

7. Sex — sex is expressed by the abbreviations: M (male) and F (female).

8. Notice — the main information in note is the degree of relationship of individual members of the family: H (husband, in families with children, unless otherwise stated, also the father of the children), W (wife, in families with children, unless otherwise stated, also mother of the children), CH (child, unless otherwise stated natural child of the parents given). Where necessary further information is also given, including cross-references.

9. Research Number — the given to a person during demographical and anthropological research (i.e. the number of the demographical and anthropological questionnaire or list). In our list this number has been given to all persons with whom the demographical questionnaire was filled in (in full or partly).

Abbreviations used:

M — male
F — female

H — husband
W — wife
CH — child
Remb. (Rem.) — Rembranga
Bur. — Burera
Dja — Djawun
Djin — Djinba
Nal — Nalakan
Ngal — Ngalkbun
Ng — Ngandi
Nun — Nunggaboju

marr. — married
marr. 2 — married
for 2nd time
1 H — first husband died
Man — Mangarei
Mai — Maiali
Mar — Mara
Ritt — Rittharingo
Jan — Jangman
W — Wandaran
Wog — Wogait

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Part I./A Willie Martin Lucy Martin Scott Martin Lynnette Martin Ewen Martin	JAILARMA REILWONGA	Balang Naritjan	1932 1930 1958 1961 1962	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M F M	H W CH CH CH	346 355 285 282 268
6. 7. 8. 9.	Ronnie Martin Peggy Martin Nancy Sandra Duncan	JIRIRA MOD-I-WONGA BILWANGA	Balang Naritjan Kaman	1947 1944 1954 1966 1968	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F F M	H W CH CH CH mar. 2; 1 H (Rem.) + mother Peggy, father + see Maimoru 31/480	352 356
10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.	Jacky Lena Wayne Shiela Mildred Tim	KALAKALA WILGARADJA	Gamarang Koitjan	1932 1946 1961 1962 1965 1967	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M F F M	H W CH CH CH CH	351 291 279 311
16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.	Mick Grove Eileen Dianne Victor Anna Grove David Grove Kathleen Grove Michael Mandy	WYJURRMUWUK KURABAU	Balang Bulamjan	1930 1936 1949 1952 1957 1960 1962 1963 1965	Remb.? Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F F M M F M F	H W CH CH CH CH CH CH CH	374 303 301 302 250
25. 26. 27. 28. 29.	Part I./B Slippery Jacky (Old) Less Jacky (Deaf) Jacky Malakut	BILAI-A-WONGA MURR-MURR MIRILULIEI LIRITJIWANGA	Bangardi Gela Gamarang Bangardi Gamarang	1920 1910 1936 1938 1948	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M M M M M	S S S S S	353 357 365 366 370

30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35.	Part II. David Daisy Stephen Princess Johnny Marcus	BLANADJI GOONANG-WANGA	Bangardi Wamutjan	1930 1930 1957 1959 1963 1965	Remb. Maiali Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai.	M F M F M M	H W CH CH CH CH	347 380 290 280 247 309
36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42.	Jimmy Weson Quennie Maureen Weson Audrey Weson Abraham Weson Bernadette Weson Cecelia Weson	BALK-BALK KANINGA	Koitjog Wamutjan	1939 1940 1957 1960 1963 1965 1967	Remb. Ngalkbun Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal.	M F F F M F F	H W CH CH CH CH CH	350 376/b 302 283 243 310
43. 44. 45. 46.	Johnny Weson Pancela Roper Samatha Judy	JANG-DANG URUMBA	Koitjog	1947 1951 1964 1969	Remb. Nunggaboju Remb./Nun. Remb./Nun.	M F F F	H W CH CH	372
47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52.	Billy Clara Ross Rosemary Maria Rebecca	LUKANOI WARTU	Naritj Kalidjan	1925 1930 1959 1962 1966 1967	Remb. Ngalkbun Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal.	M F M F F F	H W CH CH CH CH	362 288
53. 54. 55. 56.	Bill Doris Mary Alice	DULMAN BEINULWANGA	Naritj ?	1944 1951 1961 1965	Remb. Maiali Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai.	M F F F	H W CH CH	371
57. 58. 59.	Johnny Amy Ken	RUYUNGA POIDJEBAG	Balang ?	1943 1949 1966	Remb. Ngalkbun Remb./Ngal.	M F M	H CH CH	361
60. 61. 62. 63. 64.	Dick Janie Jean Amanda Ramsay	BRUMHILL NARAMUL	Nawagait Gela	1932 1937 1960 1962 1967	Remb. Ngalkbun Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal. Remb./Ngal.	M F F F M	H W CH CH CH	359 287 278

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribes	Sex	Notice	Research No.
65. 66. 67.	Norman Lawrence Ena Heltz Mervin	LIRUWANGA	Gela ?	1951 1951 1968	Remb. Jingili Remb./Jing.	M F M	H W CH	360
68. 69. 70. 71. 72.	Lawrence Urban Jinnie Marry Anne Urban Caroline Urban Garry Urban	? BALGUDJUK	Bangin ?	1920 1920 1958 1961 1963	Wogait Remb. Wog./Remb. Wog./Remb. Wog./Remb.	M F F F M	H W CH CH CH	289 277 246
73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80.	Sambo Anne Rita Mary Philip Ashley Joe Ashley Tebie Michael Kathleen	MINDULUAN GULUNWUNGA BIALWANGA MULURWANGA LIKUWANGA	Wamut Koijog Gojolon Balang Balang Balang	1924 1927 1943 1935 1951 1956 1968 1959	Remb. Remb. Maiali Maiali Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb./Mai.	M F F F M M M F	H W W W CH CH CH CH CH CH	368 354 373 349 296 281
81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88.	George Rita Nancy Elaine Maureen Abby Irene Karen	JUNGAURUNGA (JUNGANGWONGA) ARAR-PUN MAGUDARKE	Balang ? ?	1938 1939 1942 1959 1961 1963 1966 1968	Remb. Djinba Djawun Remb./Djin. Remb./Djin. Remb./Djin. Remb./Djin. Remb./Djin.	M F F F F M F F	H W W CH CH CH CH CH	348 367
89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95.	Friday (Nancy) Maureen Friday Johnny Friday (Mate) Christopher Friday Austin Friday Nelson Friday Rex Friday	MAINT-MORE MANDAWANGA	Gela Bulain	1910 1920 1951 1954 1956 1958 1962 1964	Ngalkbun Remb. Ngal./Remb. Ngal./Remb. Ngal./Remb. Ngal./Remb. Ngal./Remb. Ngal./Remb.	M F F M M M M M	H W CH CH CH CH CH CH	375 305 345 297 270 313

96.	George	JALKARAMA	?	1930	Djinba	M	H	299
97.	Alice	WAIALWANGA	?	1946	Remb.	F	W	298
98.	Christopher Jalkarama			1959	Djin./Remb.	M	CH	300
99.	Kenny Jalkarama			1961	Djin./Remb.	M	CH	266
100.	Janica Jalkarama			1962	Djin./Remb.	F	CH	
101.	Unice Jalkarama			1954	Djin./Remb.	F	CH	
102.	Joli	LAIWANGA	Gela	1925	Remb.	M	H	286
103.	Jinnie	NYANGA	?	1922	Ngalkbun	F	W	304
104.	Flora	NITAWANGA	?	1937	Ngalkbun	F	W	269
105.	Don Laiwanga			1955	Remb./Ngal.	M	CH	307
106.	Margaret Laiwanga			1958	Remb./Ngal.	M	CH	
107.	Dick Laiwanga			1956	Remb./Ngal.	F	CH	
108.	Graham Laiwanga			1961	Remb./Ngal.	M	CH	
109.	June Laiwanga			1963	Remb./Ngal.	F	CH	
110.	Colin Laiwanga			1965	Remb./Ngal.	M	CH	
111.	Evan Laiwanga			1967	Remb./Ngal.	M	CH	

II. Beswick Station

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
1.	Part I./A	JAKINIMBA	Wamut	1936	Remb.	M	H	542
2.	Victor	ARI-IMBURA	Koitjog	1930	Remb.	F	W	
3.	Teddy Kennedy			1954	Remb.	M	CH	527
4.	Roy Kennedy			1957	Remb.	M	CH	528
5.	Richard Kennedy			1960	Remb.	M	CH	
6.	Davis Kennedy			1963	Remb.	M	CH	
7.	Dexter Kennedy			1966	Remb.	M	CH	
8.	Rex Kennedy			1968	Remb.	M	CH	
9.	George	BAUL-DU	Koitjog	1930	Remb.	M	H	539
10.	Maudie	JAMARARU	Kaman	1920	Remb.	F	W	564
11.	Barry Weston			1956	Remb.	M	CH	321
12.	Mark Weston			1958	Remb.	M	CH	531
13.	Peter Weston			1960	Remb.	M	CH	532

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
14.	Dick	JINGALAN	Balang	1927	Remb.	M	H	520
15.	Nancy	GURRABA (GOORLA ?)	Bulainjan	1935	Remb.	F	W	560
16.	Ronnie Rixon	WURUNGURA	Wamut	1954	Remb.	M	CH in Mainoru?	537
17.	Steven Rixon		Wamut	1956	Remb.	M	CH	534
18.	Jaalky (Dianne) Rixon		Wamut	1958	Remb.	M	CH	535
19.	Alfred Rixon		Wamut	1961	Remb.	M	CH	536
20.	Robert Rixon		Wamut	1966	Remb.	M	CH	
	Daphne Rixon		Wamutjan	1969	Remb.	F	CH	
21.	Joe Patrick	BIRIWANGA	Bulain	1939	Remb.	M	H	519
22.	Rosalind	BIRI UWANGA	Bulainjan	1946	Remb.	F	W	561
23.	Part I./B Old Mary (Dick Norah Judy Alice	GUNDURA-WANGA (ADJARANG) UNA MILIRITJA BARALGAMA WILIRIJAN	Bangin ? ? ? Kalidjan	1895 ? ? ? 1935	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	F M F F F	W Widow H? Dedi CH CH CH see Beswick 27/549	550
24.	Ronnie Lindsay	WURRPAN	Ganarang	1947	Remb.	M	S Farther see Mainoru 13/472 Mother see Mainoru 14/473	
25.	Part II. Jacky	KYULAN (GAI-U-LAIN)	? Kalidjan	1925	Remb.	M	H	562
26.	Bessie	ALMANAKI	Kalidjan	1929	Maiali	F	W 1st wife	551
27.	Alice	WILIRIJAN (WILIRIAI)	Kalidjan	1935	Remb.	F	W 2nd wife	549
28.	Harold	AN-E-MA		1957	Remb.	M	CH Mother 2nd wife	522
29.	Irene	WATARARAH		1959	Remb.	F	CH Mother 2nd wife	523
30.	Alfie			1961	Remb.	M	CH Mother 2nd wife	524
31.	Ann			1963	Remb.	F	CH Mother 2nd wife	
32.	Cedric (Shadrack)			1966	Remb.	M	CH Mother 2nd wife	

33.	Jacky Ryan	DAI-WONGA	Ngartij Belin	1923	Remb. Ngalkbun Remb. Remb./Ngal.	M F M M	H W CH CH	Married for 2nd time, 1st wife (Rem.) + Mother Remb. + Mother Violet	546 547 526
34. 35. 36.	Violet Ryan Edward Ryan Lindsay Ryan			1954 1956 1969					
37. 38. 39.	Roger Sarah Sandra	MARANGU DUNULWUANGA	Bangardi Wamutjan	1938 1954 1968	Maiali Remb./Mai. Mai./Rem./Mai.	M F F	H W CH		518 552
40. 41.	Doley Mary Peter	GUNINGA TOOLMUL DILMUKA JAPULALA MUNARAWUNG	Bangardi Wamutjan	1898 1923 1950 1953 1955 1963	Remb. Maiali Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai.	M F M M M F	H W CH CH CH CH		565 557 339 533
44. 45. 46.	Jack Barbara Ray	LALINGAI DENUAWANGA	Bangardi Wamutjan	1926 1949 1969	Maiali Remb./Mai. Mai./Rem./Mai.	M F M	H W CH		521 559
47.	Pansy Banjo Barbara Sarah	JAMULA MALGARGA DENUAWANGA DUNULWUANGA	Bulainjan ? Wamutjan Wamutjan	1910 1915 1949 1954	Remb. Maiali Remb./Mai. Remb./Mai.	F M F F	W H CH CH	in Mataranka? see Beswick 45/559 see Beswick 38/552	554
48. 49.	Kevin Louis Champion	BRONGUR TUPUNGALA	Koitjog Kaman	1932 1947	Ngalkbun Remb.	M F	H W		540 548

III. Mainoru Station

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	Part I./A Larry Murray Dolly Susan Murray Annette Murray Sonia Murray Rowland Murray Kirsten Murray Cynthia	BURADUN GULAMBURA REILWANGA REILWANGA JIKALUNGA	Ngartij Balang Bangardi Bangardi	1915 1937 1954 1958 1960 1964 1966 1968	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F F F M M F	H W CH CH CH CH CH CH		470 481 462 459 460 461
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No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
9. 10. 11. 12.	Dick Murray Dorothy (Alice) Abbey Lawrence Bruce Murray Kenneth	BILWANGA KAMYAMA BATJUNGALA MILRUMAR MINGGINOORA	Hgaritj Balang Balang Bangardi Bangardi Bangardi	1920 1939 ? 1946 1954 1956	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Reamb.	M F F F M M	H W 2nd wife W 1st wife (Rem.) +) CH in Darwin, Morher 1st CH Mother 1st wife CH Mother 1st wife	487 485 wife 453
13. 14.	Chukaduck Lindsay Florrie Ronnie Lindsay	BRAI-WONGA KURI-KURI WURRPAN	Balang Ngaritjan Gamarang	1920 1928 1947	Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M	H W CH see Besqiek 24	472 473
15. 16. 17. 18. 19.	Smiler Martin Lorna Martin Ben Martin Michel Martin Norrie Martin	GU-NIA KOMERAU (CALIWUNGA) DALPIMARA	Balang Ngaritjan Gamarang	1938 1948 1959 1963 1967	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M F F	H W CH CH CH	471 475 456 483 466
20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.	Diver Bowen Rachael Bowen June Hazel Bowen Joanne Bowen Douglas Bowen Shane Bowen Dallas Bowen Lesley Bowen	MINYEL-LAUI BURULWUNGA TRIKUKU JALKI	Gela Bulainjan Wamutjan Wamutjan	1925 1935 1949 1953 1958 1961 1965 1967 1969	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F F F F F F M	H W CH see Mount. Vall. 17/500 CH CH CH CH CH CH CH	486 225 465 458 489 478
28.	Part I./B Old Willie Rosie William Janet	BAINGARAMA MILINYU-ANGA RINJALGNO WAIGAR	Balang Ngaritj Gamarang Gamarang	1910 1930 1948 1950?	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M F	H Divorced W Divorced, in Katherine CH see Mainoru CH where?	484
29.	Old Nellie Charlie Ida Bessie Peggy	JAU-AN-DU INGGISBAR TIKU-LA ARI-IMBURA YARINBULA	Kalijan Koitiog Koitiog Koitiog Koitiog	1910 1925 ? 1930 1936	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	F M F F F	W Widow; H + (Remb.) CH where? CH Yarrkala? CH see Beswick 2 CH see Mainoru 42/479	488

30. 31.	Judy Farrar Nancy Clayton	JAKABU BILWANGA	Gamain ?	1914 1954	Remb. Remb.	F F	W S Widow, no CH	474 480
32.	Part II. Paddles Moore Charlie	GWUDABA MUNUNGOU	Beling ?	1932 1928 1954	Remb. Djinba Rem./Djin.	F M	W Marr. 2, 1st H + H 1st H, died	482
33.	Paula Fuller			1957	Rem./Djin.	F	CH Father 1st H	223
34.	Pamela Fuller			1959	Rem./Djin.	F	CH Father 1st H	464
35.	Noel Fuller			1963	Rem./Djin.	M	CH Father 1st H	454
36.	Rory Fuller			1948	Remb.	M	CH Father 1st H	457
37.	William Moore	RINJALGNO	Gamarang	1966	Remb.	M	H 2nd H	
38.	Leanne Moore			1967	Remb.	F	CH Father 2nd H	467
39.	Fiona Moore			1968	Remb.	F	CH Father 2nd H	469
40.	Craig Moore					M	CH Father 2nd H	
41.	Billy Duguy	? YARINBULA	? Koijog	? 1936	Aranta Remb.	M	H	479
42.	Peggy Duguy			1957	Aran./Rem.	F	W	463
43.	Jill Duguy			1958	Aran./Rem.	F	CH	
44.	Kay Duguy			1960	Aran./Rem.	F	CH	
45.	Flossie Duguy			1962	Aran./Rem.	M	CH	455
46.	Ronnie Duguy			1964	Aran./Rem.	M	CH	476
47.	Brian Duguy					M	CH	
48.	Leo Duguy			1968	Aran./Rem.	M	CH	

IV. Maningrida Settlement

1. 2. 3.	Part I./A Jacky Topsy James	MIRIWULWUL GATTAJANG NYNGGONALITANGA MILLINGWARNGA KAPUWANGA WAKIWANGA MATIWANGA KAPAWANGA	Bangardi Wamutjan Ngaritj Naritjan Naritjan Naritjan Naritjan Naritjan	1930 1937 1952 1954 1956 1960 1962 1966 1969	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M F F F F F F	H W CH CH CH CH CH CH CH see Maningr. 15/608 see Maningr. 9/611	606 610 609
4. 5. 6. 7.	Marry-Ann (Row) Agnes Rita Norma Vera							585 588
8. 9. 10.	Wally Mary-Ann Russell	LIBUWANGA KAPUWANGA	? Naritjan	1939? 1956 1969	Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M	H W CH	611
11. 12. 13.	Paddy Mary Jessie	DALINGURA NYUTUWARNGA DAWALUMIR	Bangardi Gamarang	1939 1949 1964	Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F	H W CH	

51. 52. 53.	Stanley Iena Timothy James	GALWARI RUNGGUWANGA	?	1949 1954 1969	Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M	H W CH	
54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77.	Wally Rose Alice Mary Ruby Jacky David Mary Tom Hilda Dennis Dallas Charlie Mary Bill Lena Becky Lyn Kim George Eva Valentine Jeanie Bob Kay	MANDARG MAYALBI GUNDABURRBURR WILIRBANI BILILDJA BUNGANIYAL GALBUMA NJITAWANGA WOIDUNA GAIWANCA/MIJURRABANI DUMBIRI BEIANBI DADIWANGA YALWANGA RUNGGUAWNGA WARWALWANGA BANGAWA WAIDUNA BALIRDJA GANGGWIPA WIJWIJWANGA BIRRI	Ngaritj Ngaritjan Ngaritjan Ngaritjan Ngaritjan Gamarang Gamarang Gaman Gamarang Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman Gaman	1915 1925 1925 1923 1940? 1944 1947 1949 1951 1953/4 1963 1967 1969 1952 1954 1961 1964 1968 1957? 1962 1965 1953 1966 1967	Remb. (?) Remb.	M F F F F M M F F M F M F F F F F F F F F F F F F	H W W W W CH	604 603 583 602
78. 79.	(Old) Fred Captain Marie Carmel	MILMILKAMA BANGUTJA	Ngaritj Garijan	1914 1951	Remb. Remb.	M F	H W	
80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85.	Part II. Jacky (Row) Judy Janet Philipa Margaret Marie-Anne	MARBUMA MAMANGA GUMBIARR BIALWANGA MALEIR	Bulain Nalwulain Nalwamut Nalwamut Nalwamut	1927 1938 1958 1963 1966 1968	Remb. Burera Rem./Bur. Rem./Bur. Rem./Bur. Rem./Bur.	M F F F F F	H W CH CH CH CH	
86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91.	Jack (Row) Mary Marie Carmel Lorna Linda Gwenie Roy	MIYARKA GAMALLANGA BANGUTJA LANJIWARNGA JANGURGUR MININGALA NYINAWANGA	Wamut Bangin Garijan? ? ? ? ?	1932 1930 1951 1955 1942 1962 1966	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. ? Rem./? Rem./?	M F F F F F M	H W CH CH CH W CH CH CH	584

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribes	Sex	Notice	Research No.
92.	(Jimmy Laurie (Del) Chris	WUDAIGA DULNGORA MIJINIYA YAWIRYAWIR	Bangardi Wamutjan Naritjan Kaman	1918 1917 1938 1940	Remb. Remb. ?	M F F F	H Died) W 1st wife CH Died) W 2nd wife	
94. 95.	Paddy Fordham Amy (Rodney	WAMBURWANGA PUTA	Gela	1938 ? 1964	Remb. ? Rem./?	M F M	H W CH Died)	

V. Morook

1.	Part I./B Alice Harriet	BAADI JIENTBUTBUL	Ngaritj Bulainjan	1915? 1930 (28?)	Remb. Remb.	F F	W Widow, H (Remb.) + CH see Moroak 3/449	451
2.	Janie Lizzie	WINJUBA WULUMIR	Kaman Bulainjan	1905 1920	Remb. Remb.	F F	W Widow, H (Remb.)* CH see Roper Valley 8/417	450
3.	Part II. Harriet	JIENTBUTBUL	Bulainjan	1930 (28?)	Remb.	F	W Divorced, married for 2nd time 449	
4. 5. 6.	George Sandy Milton Jimmy David	JAUDUKU WARAIMBEKA BUBANA NIPBOORORU	Gela Wamut Wamut Djulama	1923 1951 1954 1918 1966	Rem./Ritt. Rem./Rem./Ritt. Rem./Rem./Ritt. Jangman Jan./Rem.	M M M M M	H 1st H, divorced, see Roper Valley 23/423 CH see Uropanga 5/446 W 2nd husband CH Father 2nd H	

VI. Mountain Valley Stn.

1.	Part I./A Roy Bessie August	WAIL-NU-IMBI ARI-IMBURA MARA-VANA	Wamut Koijog Balang Balang Balang	1920 1930 1951 1954 1957	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M M M	H Divorced W Divorced — see Beswick 2 CH CH see Beswick 3 CH see Beswick 4	512 513
2.	Teddy Kennedy Roy Kennedy							

3.	Part I./B Alma	NAITJIBU	Bangan	1925	Remb.	M	W Widow	508
4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.	Part II. Bandicoot Maudie Henry (Choppy) Gloria Robinson Dale Robinson Rosemary Robinson Elizabeth Robinson	WOL-PRU LANGGARA WADJALUN	Gamarang Bangin Gela Kaliian Kaliian Kaliian	1929 1930 1952 1958 1960 1966 1968	Rem./Djin. Wandaran Rem./Dj./W Rem./Dj./W Rem./Dj./W Rem./Dj./W Rem./Dj./W	M F M F F F F	H W CH CH CH CH CH	511 499 515 490 491 495 498
11. 12. 13. 14. 15.	Left Hand Lee Una Jennifer Lee Beth Lee Graham Lee	YALLUKUMMA JAULBA	Bangardi Gaman Koitan Koitan Bulain	1921 1936 1955 1958 1965	Remb. Djinba Rem./Djin. Rem./Djin. Rem./Djin.	M F F F M	H W CH CH CH	516 502 503 492 494
16. 17. 18.	Ricky Forbes June Richard Forbes	MILEI-PUMA TRIKUKU	Bangardi Wamutjan	1950 1949 1966	Ritharingo Remb. Ritt./Rem.	M F M	H W CH	514 500 496
19. 20. 21.	Frank Ashley Janie Rolf Ashley	BANDIAN MAIRARLAL	Gela Bulanjan	1951 1941 1965?	Ritharingo Rem./Ngal/Rem Ritt./Rem/Ngal/Rem	M F M	H W CH	517 501 497
22. 23.	Dick Jinny	REI-MILNGMA BANGGA-LANGGAL	Bangardi Kaman	1920 1912	Ganalbuingu Remb.	M F	H W	509 504

VII. Roper Valley Stn.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	Part I./A Billy Annie Linda Johnny Donald Ross	KURUPUMA BINDIN	Koitjog Wamutjan Ngaritjan Ngaritj Ngaritj	1924 1945 1962 1964 1965 1968	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F F M M M	H W CH CH CH CH	410 413 389 382
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No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
7. 8. 9. 10. 11.	George Mainoru Lizzie Arnold Reginald Ravian Laurel	GRANGGA-POI WULUMIR JARWIN NGARTU-TU	Gela Bulanjan Wamut Wamut Wamutjan Wamutjan	1917 1920 1949 1953 1956 1963	Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb.	M F M M F F	H W CH see Uropanga 3/443 CH CH CH	415 417 381 396/b 385
12. 13.	Part I./B NYM KODJAMARA — Lily	NGORDOG DAMBOILPA	Gamarang Wamutjan	1895 1900	Remb. Remb.	M F	S W Widow	418 432
14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.	Part II. Daylight Eileen Edward Mycombe Ncel Ian Pamela Kerry Hilda	NANGU GORMIRITDON NUNGUR	Burela Namumbula Nabunun Nabunun Nabunun Nabunun Nabunun Nabunun Nabunun	1935 1937 1952 1955 1959 1961 1963 1965 1967	Mangarei Rem./Mara Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar. Man./Rem./Mar.	M F M M M M F M F	H W CH CH CH CH CH CH CH	427 398 391 392 403
23. 24. 25. 26.	George Christian Silvia Margaret	JAUDUKU WULWUL	Gela Barjayin Wamutjan Wamutjan	1923 1948 1962 1966	Rem./Ritt. Rittharango Rem./Ritt./Ritt. Rem./Ritt./Ritt.	M F F F	H Married for 2nd time W 1st wife see Moroak 3/449 CH CH	423 420 387
27. 28. 29. 30.	Victor Esther Steven Roderick	MURIMBINI GARIK	Balang Bardin	1946 1950 1965 1969	Rem./Mara Nalakan Rem./Mar./Nal. Rem./Mar./Nal.	M F M M	H W CH CH	433
31. 32. 33. 34.	Show Ball Barbara Christian Simon	LAPUNGGARA MAI-IR-WORA	Ngaritj Namutjulu	1944 1952 1968 1969	Ngandi Rem./Mara Ng./Rem./Mar. Ng./Rem./Mar.	M F F M	H W CH CH	434 421

35.	Sandy Eileen Victor Barbara Christopher Leslie	BORTJOG GORMIRITDON MURIMBINI MAI-IR-WORA	Nangala Namumbula Balang Namutjulu Balang	1900 1937 1946 1952 1956 1961	Remb. Rem./Mara Rem./Mara Rem./Mara Rem./Mara	M F M F M M	H Widower, W (Mara) + CH see Roper Valley 15 CH see Roper Valley 27/433 CH see Roper Valley 32/421 CH CH	430
38. 39. 40.	Dick Ida Harris	KALBAR LALAPINGUDA	Barili ?	1931 1931? 1966	Rem./Ngal. Ngandi Rem./Ngal//Ng.	M F M	H W CH	
41. 42.	Billy Nancy Sammy	JAMALAMAL GOOJULUNA BULABUL	Ngamara? Balang ?	1895 1910 1942	Remb. Ngandi Rem./Ng.	M F M	H W CH in Nutwood Downs	411 414
43. 44.	Silver (Judy) Alice Janie Moses Timothy	BILAIWANGA BUKAMARANG YUNGURUJI MAIRARLAL JANGA-GARKI WOLAMADATU	Bangardi ? Gamarang Bulainjan Bulain Bulain	1907 1901 1929 1941 1946 1947	Rem./Ngal. Ngandi Remb. Rem./Ngal//Rem. Rem./Ngal//Rem. Rem./Ngal//Rem.	M F F F M M	H 1st wife, died 1967) W 2nd wife W CH see Mount. Vall. 20/501 CH Mother 2nd wife CH Mother 2nd wife see Rop. Riv. 1/435 CH Mother 2nd wife see Uropanga 4/444	424
45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56.	Doctor Mary Sarah Hagar Joe Judy Geoffrey Ruth Thomas David Matthew Laureen	YOPARI LAIKBURNA JIRITJIR LAIKBURNA LARBUNGALA BUPUANGA KOIKOIDON RUTUNGATA KUIKUJUN	Gela Bulainjan Bulainjan Bulainjan Wamutjan Wamut Wamutjan Wamut Wamut Wamutjan	1915 1919 1936 1951 1950 1953 1956 1958 1961 1966 1968	Remb. Remb. Remb. Rittharingo Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Remb. Rem./Ritt. Rem./Ritt.	M F F F M F M F M M M F	H 1st wife W 2nd wife W 3rd wife CH Mother 1st wife CH Mother 1st wife CH Mother 1st wife CH Mother 2nd wife CH Mother 2nd wife CH Mother 2nd wife CH Mother 3rd wife CH Mother 3rd wife	407 416 408 406 419 401 396/a 386
57.	Blind Jane Jimmy Beswick	NINGILPA KAMALUNGU	Bangin Gela	1905-10? 1934	Rittharingo Rem./Ritt.	F M	W Widow, H (Remb.) + CH	409 429

VIII. Roper River Settlement

No.	European Name	Tribal Personal Name	Group	Year of Birth	Tribe	Sex	Notice	Research No.
1. 2.	Moses Judith	JANGA-GARKI WANYILNILYIL	Bulain Bulainjan	1946 1953	Rem./Ngal./Rem Ngandi	M F	H W	435
3. 4.	Caesar Ada	LAPINADJI JABARD	Bangardi Wamutjan	1929	Remb.	M	H	436 438
5.	Matthew	KARDU-KARDU	?	1925	Ngandi	F	W	
6.	Michael	KARDU-KARDU	?	1952	Rem./Ng.	M	CH	
7.	Donald			1952	Rem./Ng.	M	CH	
8.	Julie			1956	Rem./Ng.	M	CH	
				1958	Rem./Ng.	F	CH	
9. 10. 11. 12.	Charlie Jessika Amy Jill	KOLOPANDI WANDI-MALUNGU JERA-GANDI DJURUN-DJURUN	Bangardi Nanaga ? ?	1934 1920 1954 1959	Remb. Nalakan Rem./Nal. Rem./Nal.	M F F F	H W CH CH	437 439 440 441

IX. Urapunga Stn.

1. 2.	Gilbert Harrah	DJALAWURAWORA KARITJI	Koitjog ?	1939 1948	Remb. Nalakan	M F	H W	445
3. 4. 5.	Arnold Timothy Sandy	JARWIN WOLAMADATU WARAIMBEKA	Wamut Bulain Wamut	1949 1947 1951	Remb. Rem./Ngal. Rem./Rem./Ritt.	M M M	S S S	443 444 446

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Dr. Josef Brinke, CSc.,
Department of Economic and
Regional Geography,
Faculty of Science,
Charles University, Prague.