



**NORTHERN
LAND COUNCIL**

Our Land, Our Sea, Our Life

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06 April 2022

Our ref: NLC-871-391-953

Senate Environment and Communications References Committee
PO Box 6100
Parliament House
Canberra ACT 2600

Attention: Stephen Palethorpe
Committee Secretary

By email only: ec.sen@aph.gov.au

Dear Mr Palethorpe

Inquiry into Oil and Gas Exploration and Production in the Beetaloo Basin – Answers to Questions Taken on Notice by the Northern Land Council

In this letter to the Senate Environment and Communications References Committee, the Northern Land Council (NLC) responds to a question taken on notice during the public hearing on 22 March 2022 in the Committee's inquiry into oil and gas exploration and production in the Beetaloo Basin. The response contained in this letter is suitable for publication.

Traditional Owners of the Beetaloo Basin

Question:

Senator BRAGG: I want to ask one probably silly question to the NLC—and thanks for your time today. Who are the traditional owners you think should be consulted for the purposes of this discussion?

Mr McDonald: It's a big area, the Beetaloo. Are you referring to any area in particular or are you referring to the entire Beetaloo basin?

Senator BRAGG: The Beetaloo basin, yes. That's the issue that's before the committee. I'm wondering whether you have any particular views about that. "Who are the traditional owners you think should be consulted for the purposes of this discussion."

Katherine	Jabiru	Nhulunbuy	Borroloola	Ngukurr	Tennant Creek	Timber Creek	Wadeye
P.O. Box 396 Katherine NT 0851 P: (08) 8971 9899 F: (08) 8972 2190	P.O. Box 18 Jabiru NT 0886 P: (08) 8938 3000 F: (08) 8979 2650	P.O. Box 820 Nhulunbuy NT 0881 P: (08) 8986 8500 F: (08) 8987 1334	P.O. Box 453 Borroloola NT 0854 P: (08) 8975 8848 F: (08) 8975 8745	P.M.B. 85 via Katherine NT 0851 P: (08) 8975 4755 F: (08) 8975 4601	P.O. Box 55 Tennant Creek NT 0861 P: (08) 8962 1884 F: (08) 8962 1636	43 Wilson St Timber Creek NT 0852 P: (08) 8975 0789 F: (08) 8975 0664	Lot 788 Kanarlida St Wadeye NT 0822 P: 0439 830 435

Response:

- The NLC's records of who are the traditional Aboriginal owners and native title holders is confidential. However, the NLC is able to advise the following.
- For the purposes of this response, the **Beetaloo Basin Area** is the area of the Beetaloo Sub-basin in Figure 1 of the Beetaloo Strategic Basin Plan¹, depicted in the map at **Attachment 1**.

Native title determinations and Aboriginal land in the Beetaloo Basin Area

- The majority of the Beetaloo Basin Area is subject to:
 - determinations of native title made by the Federal Court of Australia (**Federal Court**) under the *Native Title Act 1993* (Cth). The determination areas are shown in blue outline in Attachment 1; and
 - grants of freehold land under the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* (Cth) (**ALRA**) to Aboriginal Land Trusts. The areas owned by Aboriginal Land Trusts are shaded brown in Attachment 1.
- The traditional Aboriginal owners and affected groups, or native title holders have been identified by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner or Federal Court, respectively, with the exception of the Wubalawan Aboriginal Land Trust. The names of the groups who are the traditional Aboriginal owners and affected groups of the Wubalawan Aboriginal Land Trust are confidential.
- I attach:
 - tables containing details of these native title determinations, reports of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, and details for the establishment of the Wubalawan Aboriginal Land Trust at **Attachment 2**; and
 - copies of the native title determinations, records maintained by the National Native Title Tribunal, reports of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, and a Commonwealth Gazette Notice relating to Wubalawan Aboriginal Land Trust at **Attachment 3**.

Identification of traditional owners or native title holders prior to consultations

- I refer to the NLC's answers to questions taken on notice dated 23 August 2021, and those given in the public hearings on 2 August 2021 and 22 March 2022.
- Following a native title determination or grant of Aboriginal land, the NLC continues to research and consult with groups about membership to maintain contemporary records.
- Prior to undertaking a consultation in respect of a specific tenement or part of a tenement, the NLC undertakes a process of identifying the relevant traditional Aboriginal owners or native title holders for that area. This process involves the anthropological team undertaking a review of relevant Federal Court native title determinations, reports of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner and other NLC records. This is a time-consuming process because the area of interest for consultation purposes may not correspond to the boundaries of an Aboriginal Land Trust or native title determination. Further, while the native title determinations identify the

¹ *Unlocking the Beetaloo: The Beetaloo Strategic Basin Plan*, Australian Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources, <https://www.industry.gov.au/sites/default/files/January%202021/document/beetaloo-strategic-basin-plan.pdf>.

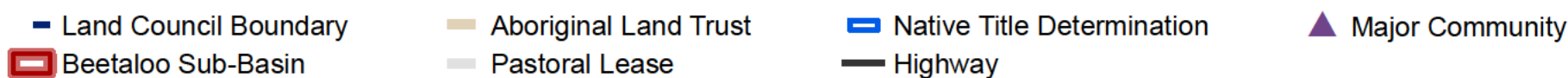
native title holders for the entire determination area, they do not identify the native title holders for specific parts of a determination area.

It is our sincere hope that the response contained in this letter is of assistance to the Committee in its inquiry.

Yours sincerely

Joe Martin-Jard
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

**NORTHERN
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Attachment 2: Native Title Determinations and Aboriginal Land Trusts

Table 1 – Native Title Determinations within the Beetaloo Sub-basin

No.	Name	Federal Court File No.	NNTT No.	Determination Date	Determination outcome	Case name
1.	Amungee Mungee Pastoral Lease	NTD17/2010	DCD2012/003	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Jackson v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 664
2.	Avago Pastoral Lease	NTD20/2011	DCD2013/004	29/10/2013	Native title exists in parts of the determination area	<i>Largut v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1070
3.	Beetaloo Pastoral Lease	NTD27/2010	DCD2012/012	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 683
4.	Birdum Creek Pastoral Lease	NTD41/2011	DCD2013/014	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1081
5.	Bloodwood Downs Pastoral Lease	NTD29/2011	DCD2013/012	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Johns v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1079
6.	Buchanan Downs Pastoral Lease	NTD26/2015	DCD2020/010	29/10/2020	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Dixon on behalf of the Narrwan, Ngayirrini and Kinbininggu Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2020] FCA 1544
7.	Cow Creek Pastoral Lease	NTD24/2011	DCD2013/007	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Johns v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1074

No.	Name	Federal Court File No.	NNTT No.	Determination Date	Determination outcome	Case name
8.	Forrest Hill Pastoral Lease	NTD19/2010	DCD2012/005	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 666
9.	Gorrie Pastoral Lease	NTD25/2011	DCD2013/008	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Johns v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1075
10.	Hayfield Pastoral Lease	NTD26/2010	DCD2012/011	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 672
11.	Hidden Valley Pastoral Lease	NTD25/2015	DCD2020/009	29/10/2020	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Dixon on behalf of the Narrwan and Badpa Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2020] FCA 1545
12.	Kalala Pastoral Lease	NTD24/2010	DCD2012/009	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Ellaga v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 670
13.	Larrimah Township Pastoral Lease	NTD49/2011	DCD2018/005	24/10/2018	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Wavehill (on behalf of the Wubalawun Group) v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2018] FCA 1602
14.	Larrizona Pastoral Lease	NTD26/2011	DCD2013/009	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Johns v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1076
15.	Maryfield Pastoral Lease	NTD18/2010	DCD2012/004	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Ellaga v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 665

No.	Name	Federal Court File No.	NNTT No.	Determination Date	Determination outcome	Case name
16.	Middle Creek	NTD46/2011	DCD2013/018	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1086
17.	Nenen	NTD43/2011	DCD2013/016	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Brown v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1083
18.	Newcastle Waters – Murrarji Determination	NTD6024/2000, NTD6008/2001, NTD6013/2002, NTD6017/2002, NTD6033/2002, NTD3/2004	DCD2007/002	26/09/2007	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>King v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2007] FCA 1498
19.	Nutwood Downs Pastoral Lease	NTD20/2013	DCD2020/002	09/09/2020	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Fulton on behalf of the Mambali Amaling-Gan, Murungun Igalumba, Murungun Milgawirri, Budal Yuwaran and Gyal Bardi Bardi Dumnyun-Ngatanyana Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2020] FCA 1271
20.	Shenandoah Pastoral Lease	NTD21/2010	DCD2012/007	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Jackson v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 668
21.	Sunday Creek Pastoral Lease	NTD28/2011	DCD2013/011	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Morgan v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1078
22.	Tandyidgee Pastoral Lease #2	NTD08/2013	DCD2014/007	06/03/2014	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Bates v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2014] FCA 156

No.	Name	Federal Court File No.	NNTT No.	Determination Date	Determination outcome	Case name
23.	Tanumbirini Pastoral Lease	NTD33/2012	DCD2013/019	31/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Fulton v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1088
24.	Tarlee Pastoral Lease	NTD19/2011	DCD2013/003	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Largut v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1069
25.	Ucharonidge Pastoral Lease	NTD22/2010	DCD2012/008	27/06/2012	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2012] FCA 669
26.	Western Creek Pastoral Lease	NTD22/2011	DCD2013/005	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Largut v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1072
27.	Wyworrie Pastoral Lease	NTD27/2011	DCD2013/010	29/10/2013	Native Title exists in parts of the determination area.	<i>Johns v Northern Territory of Australia</i> [2013] FCA 1077

Table 2 – Aboriginal Land Commissioner Reports for ALTs within the Beetaloo Sub-basin

No.	Land Trust	Report	Report Date
1.	Mangarrayi	Elsey Land Claim No. 132: Report and recommendation of the Aboriginal land Commissioner, Justice Gray, to the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory	28 November 1997
2.	Murranji	Murranji Land Claim Report No. 25 Report by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Mr Justice Kearney, to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory	7 October 1986
3.	Wubalawan	N/A – ALT established by notice in Commonwealth Gazette GN 46 27 November 1991 to hold title in NT Portion 2016, Plan No. S89/299A to S89/299J, listed in Schedule 1 to ALRA	N/A

Attachment 3: Copies of relevant documents

Please refer to zip file titled "Attachment 3 - Beetaloo Basin NTDs and ALTs"



Native Title Determination Details

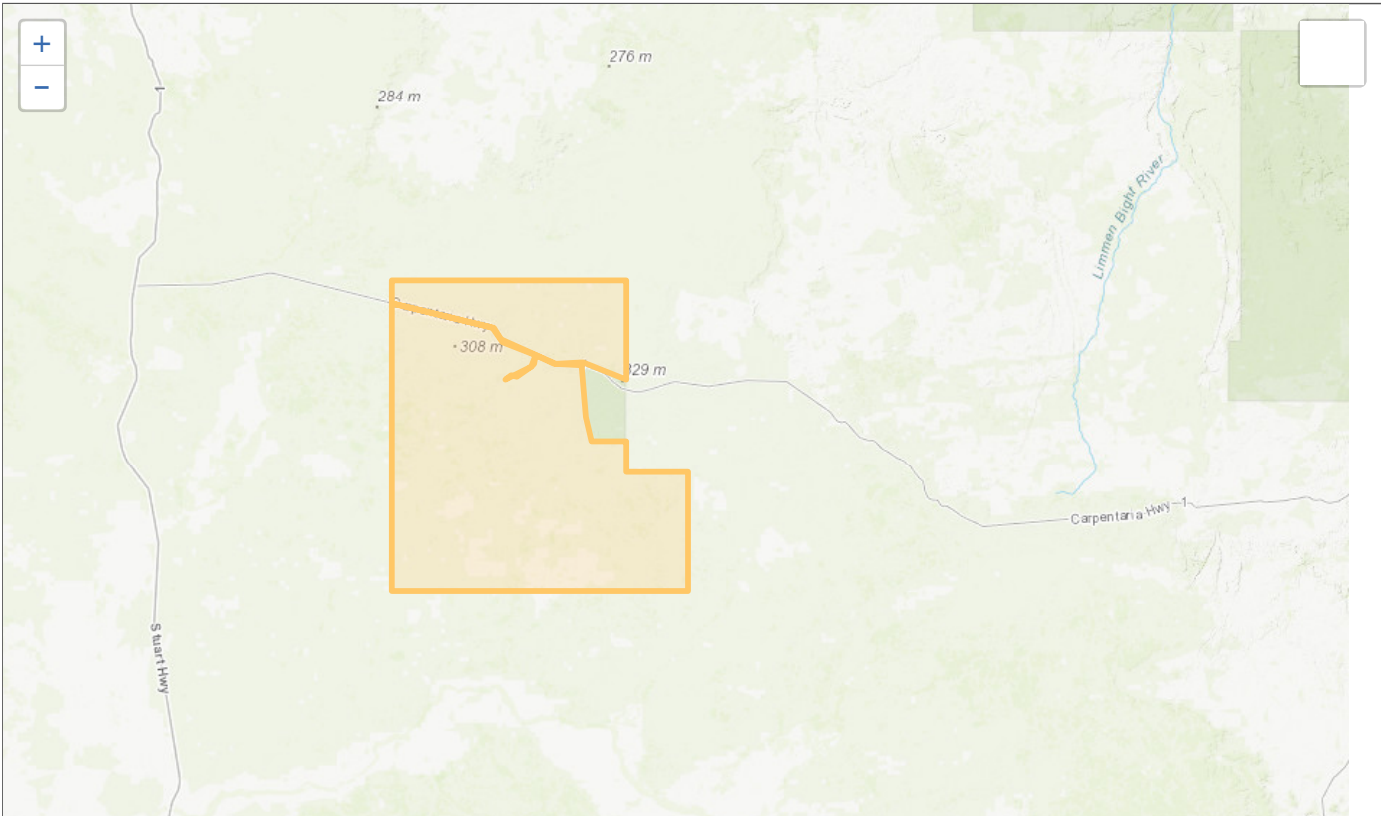
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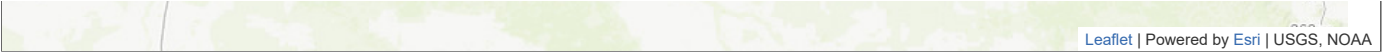
DCD2012/003 - Amungee Mungee Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/003
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD17/2010
Short name	Amungee Mungee Pastoral Lease
Case name	Jackson v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Amungee Mungee Pastoral Lease See Application details	11/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/013	NTD17/2010





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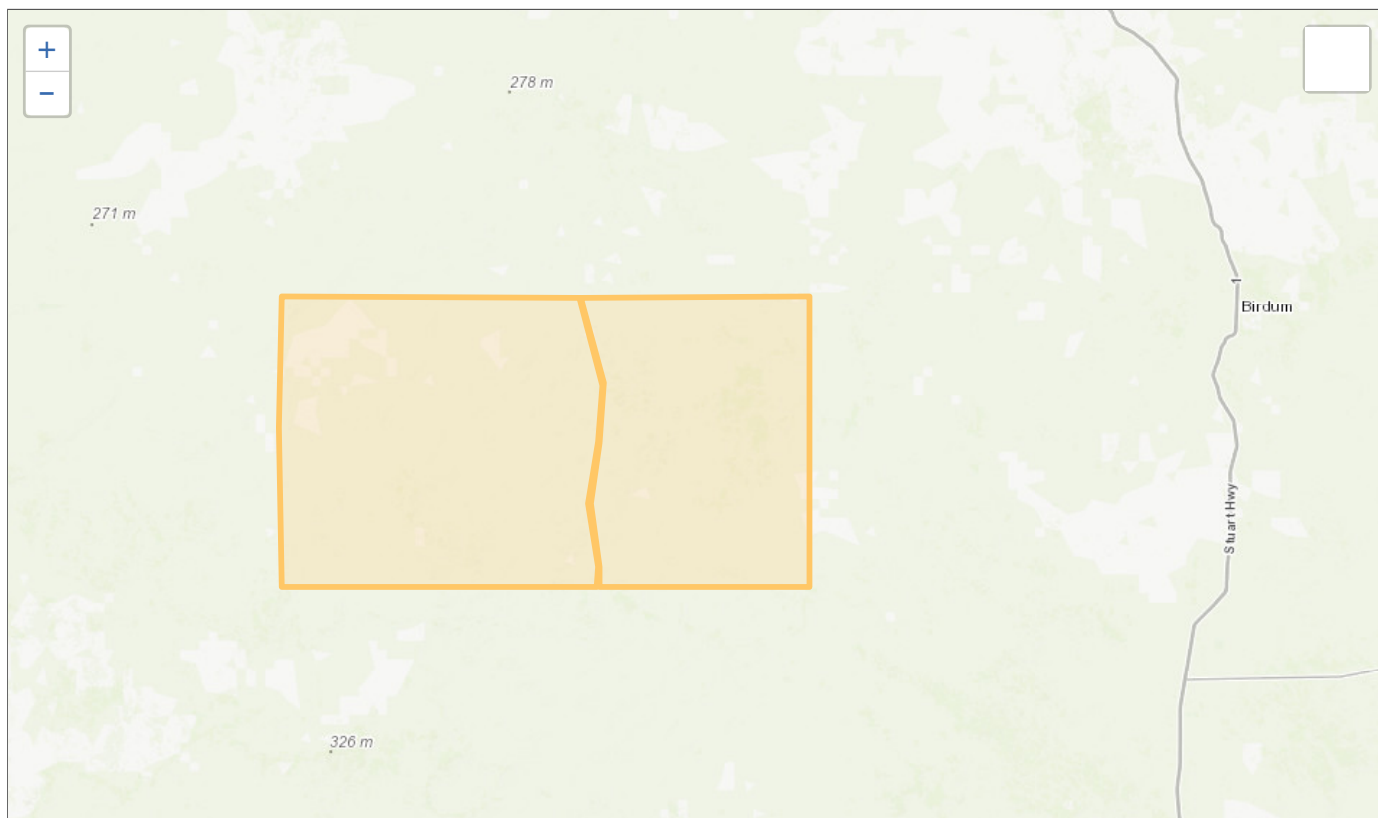
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DCD2013/004 - Avago Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/004
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD20/2011
Short name	Avago Pastoral Lease
Case name	Largut v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Avago Pastoral Lease See Application details	02/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/004	NTD20/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

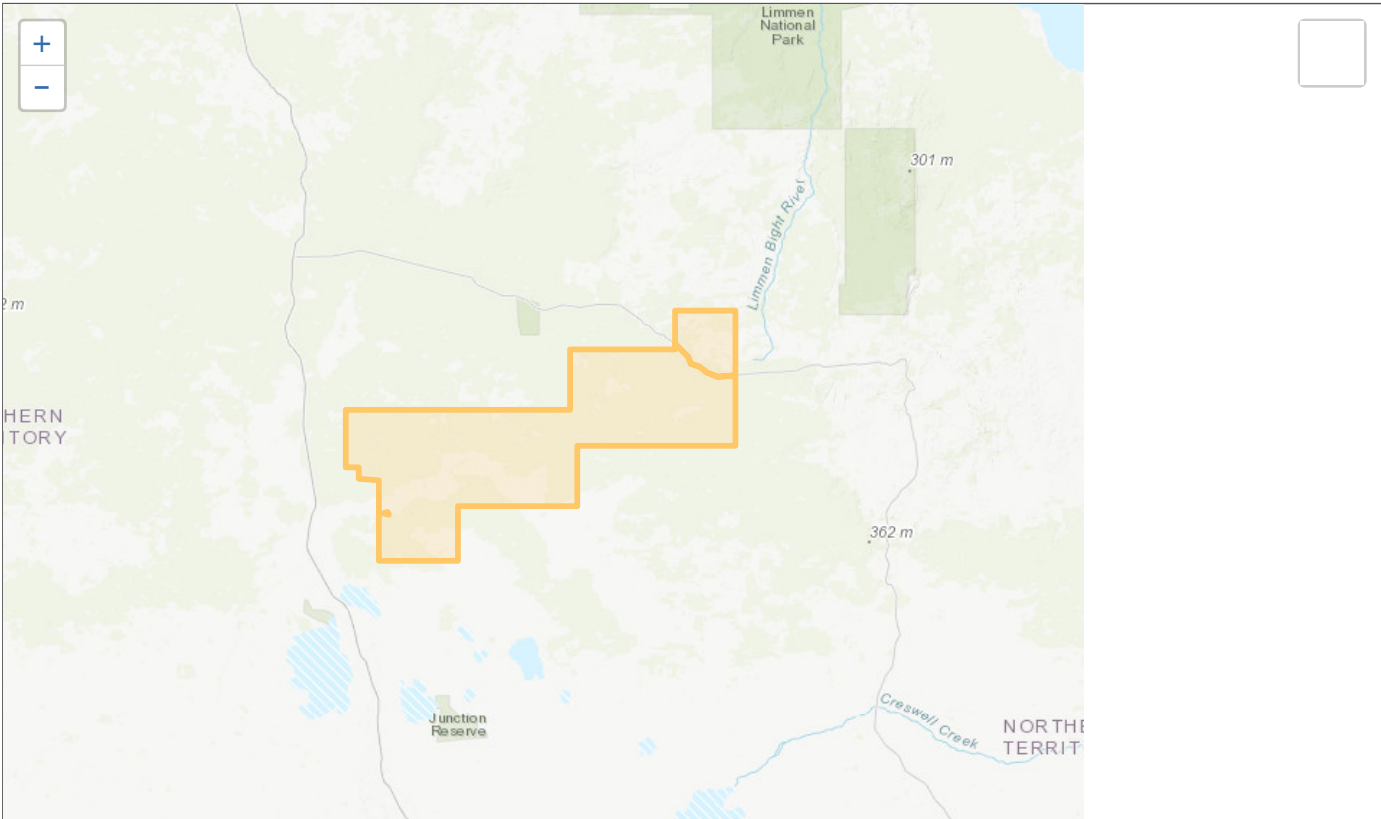
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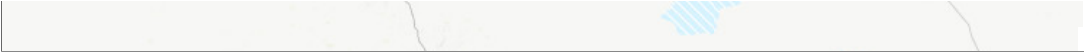
DCD2012/012 - Beetaloo Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/012
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD27/2010
Short name	Beetaloo Pastoral Lease
Case name	Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Barkly Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Beetaloo Pastoral Lease See Application details	13/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/023	NTD27/2010





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Native Title Determination Details

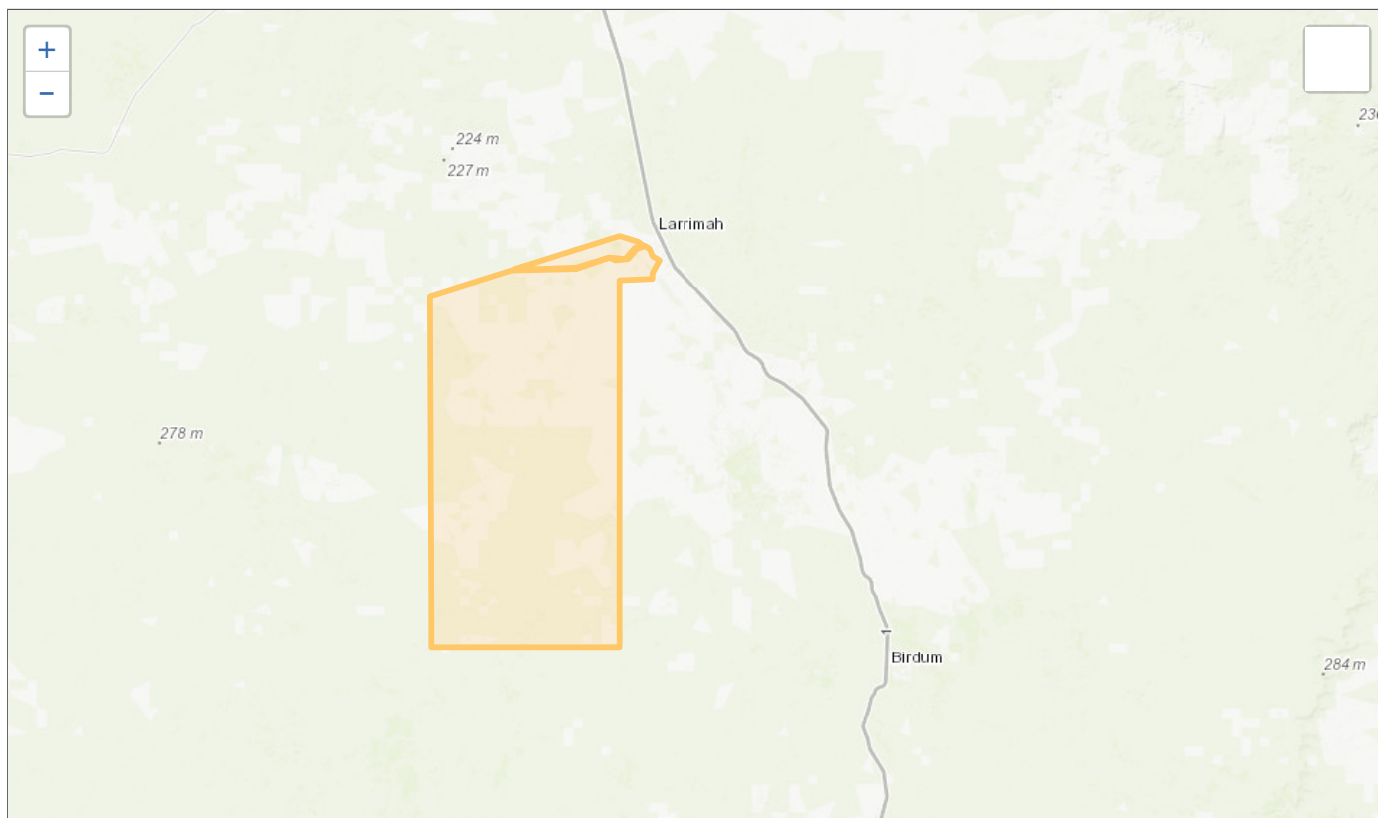
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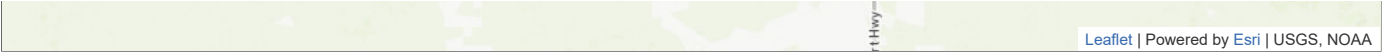
DCD2013/014 - Birdum Creek Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/014
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD41/2011
Short name	Birdum Creek Pastoral Lease
Case name	Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Birdum Creek Pastoral Lease See Application details	14/10/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/026	NTD41/2011





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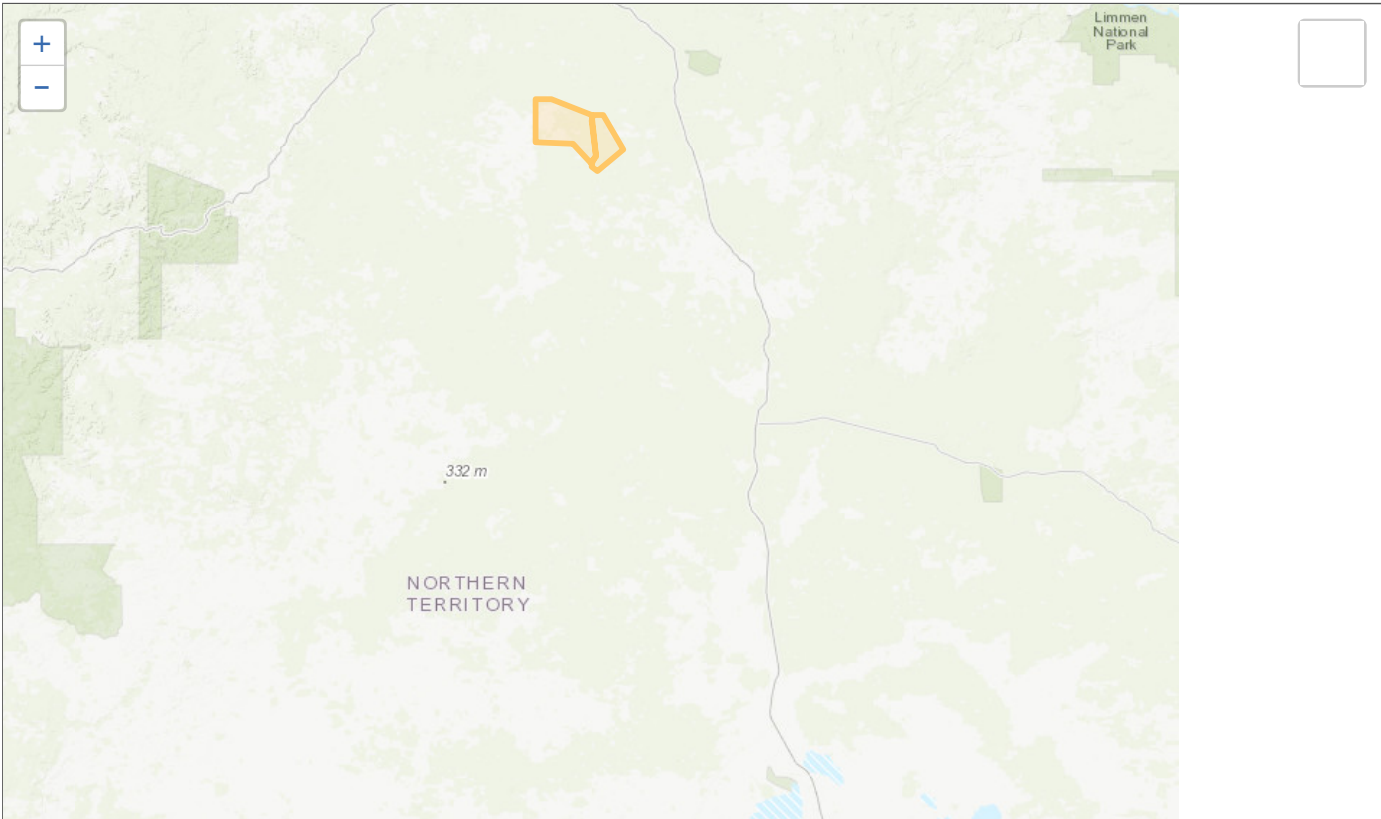
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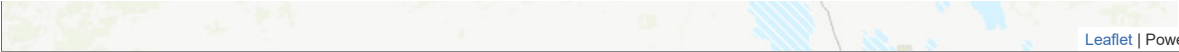
DCD2013/012 - Bloodwood Downs Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/012
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD29/2011
Short name	Bloodwood Downs Pastoral Lease
Case name	Johns v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Bloodwood Downs Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/013	NTD29/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

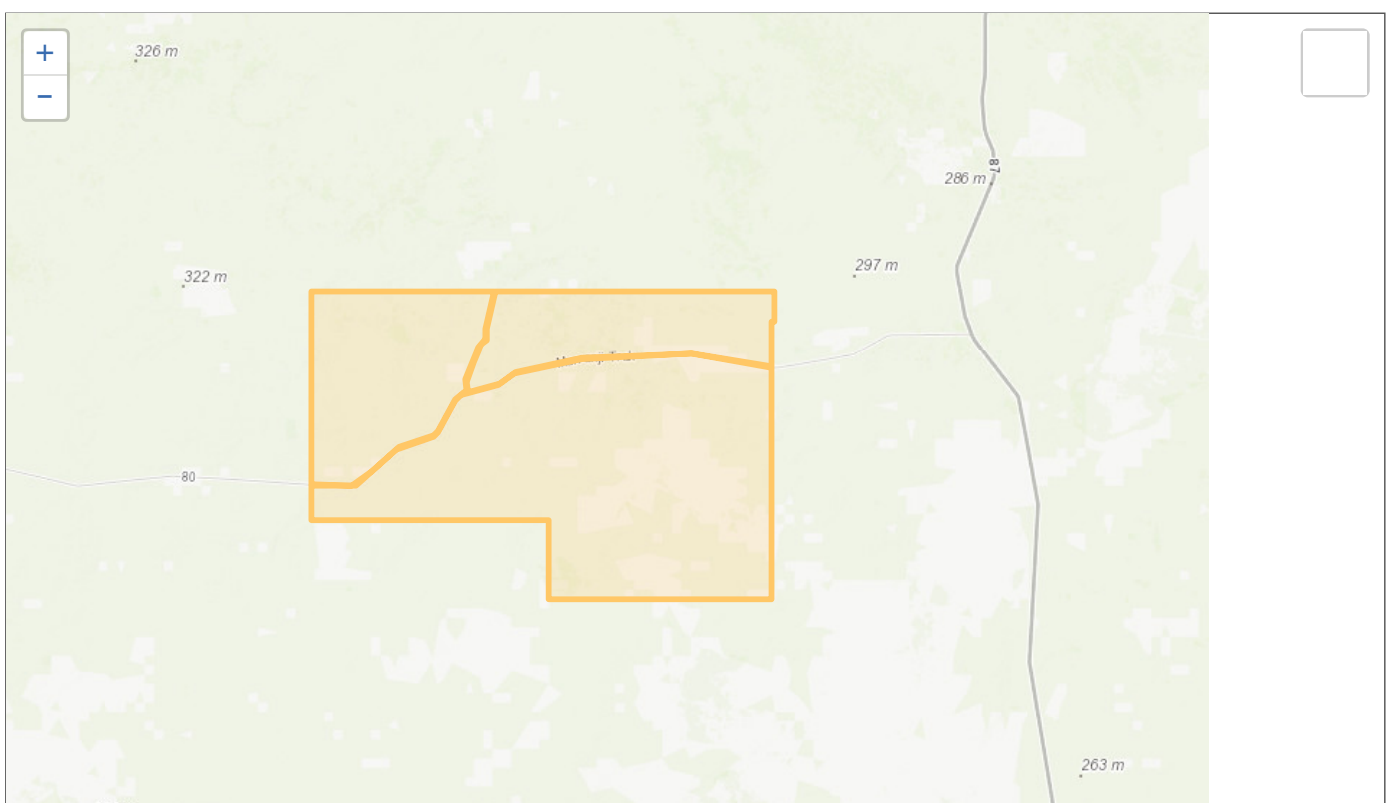
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DCD2020/010 - Buchanan Downs Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2020/010
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD26/2015
Short name	Buchanan Downs Pastoral Lease
Case name	Dixon on behalf of the Narrwan, Ngayirrimni and Kinbiningu Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2020
Date/s of effect	29/10/2020
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Buchanan Downs Pastoral Lease See Application details	25/05/2015	Claimant	Determined	DC2015/004	NTD26/2015





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Native Title Determination Details

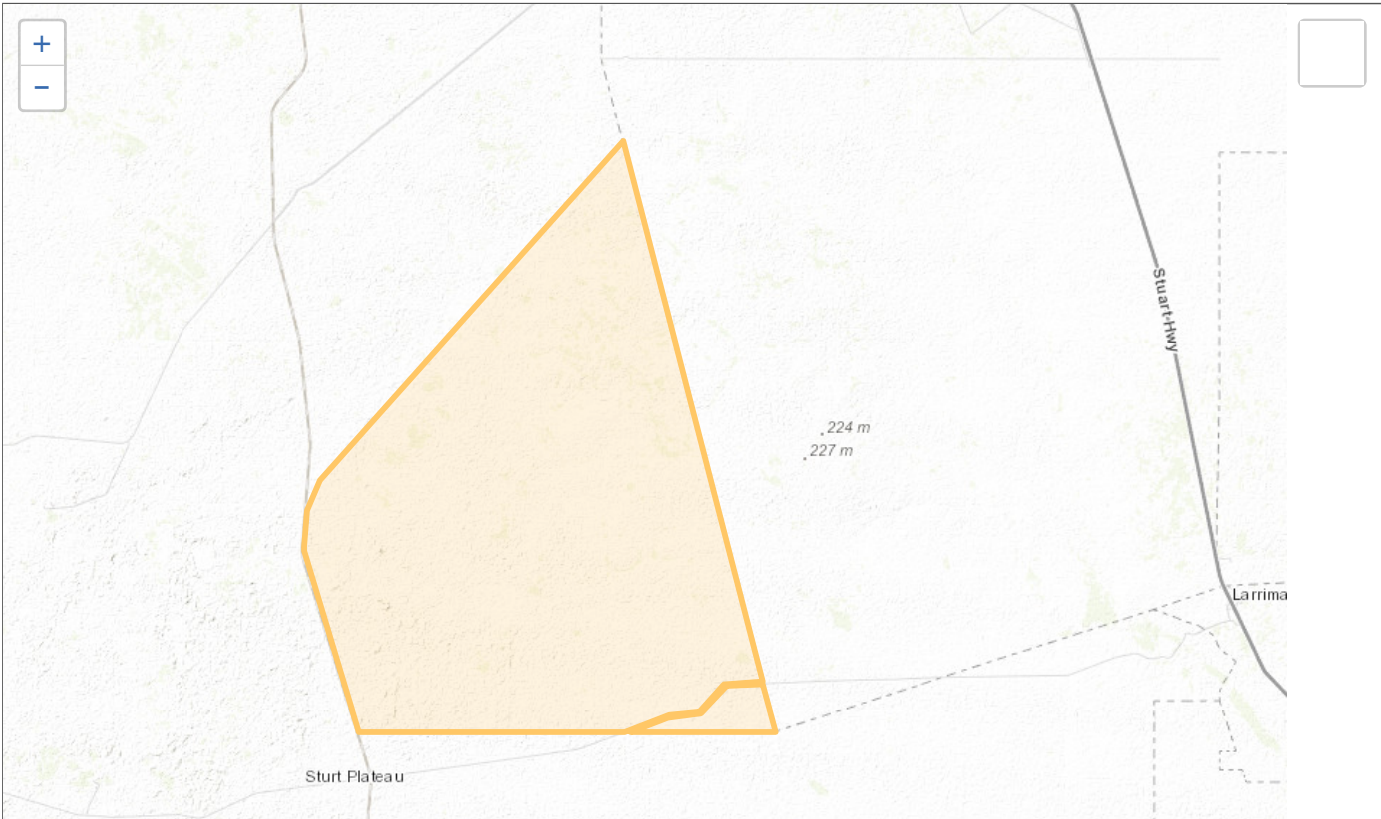
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DCD2013/007 - Cow Creek Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/007
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD24/2011
Short name	Cow Creek Pastoral Lease
Case name	Johns v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Cow Creek Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/008	NTD24/2011





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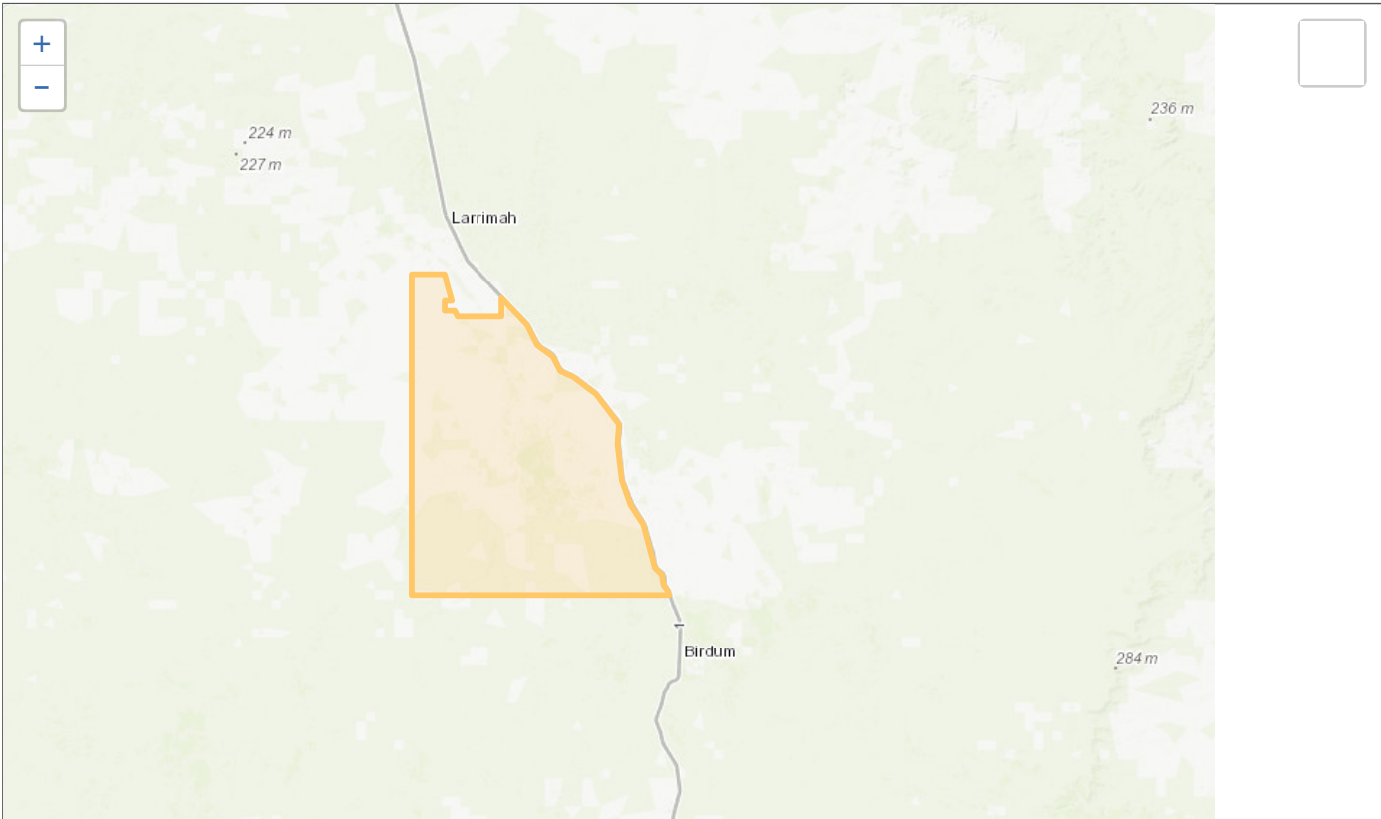
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DCD2012/005 - Forrest Hill Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/005
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD19/2010
Short name	Forrest Hill Pastoral Lease
Case name	Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Forrest Hill Pastoral Lease See Application details	12/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/015	NTD19/2010





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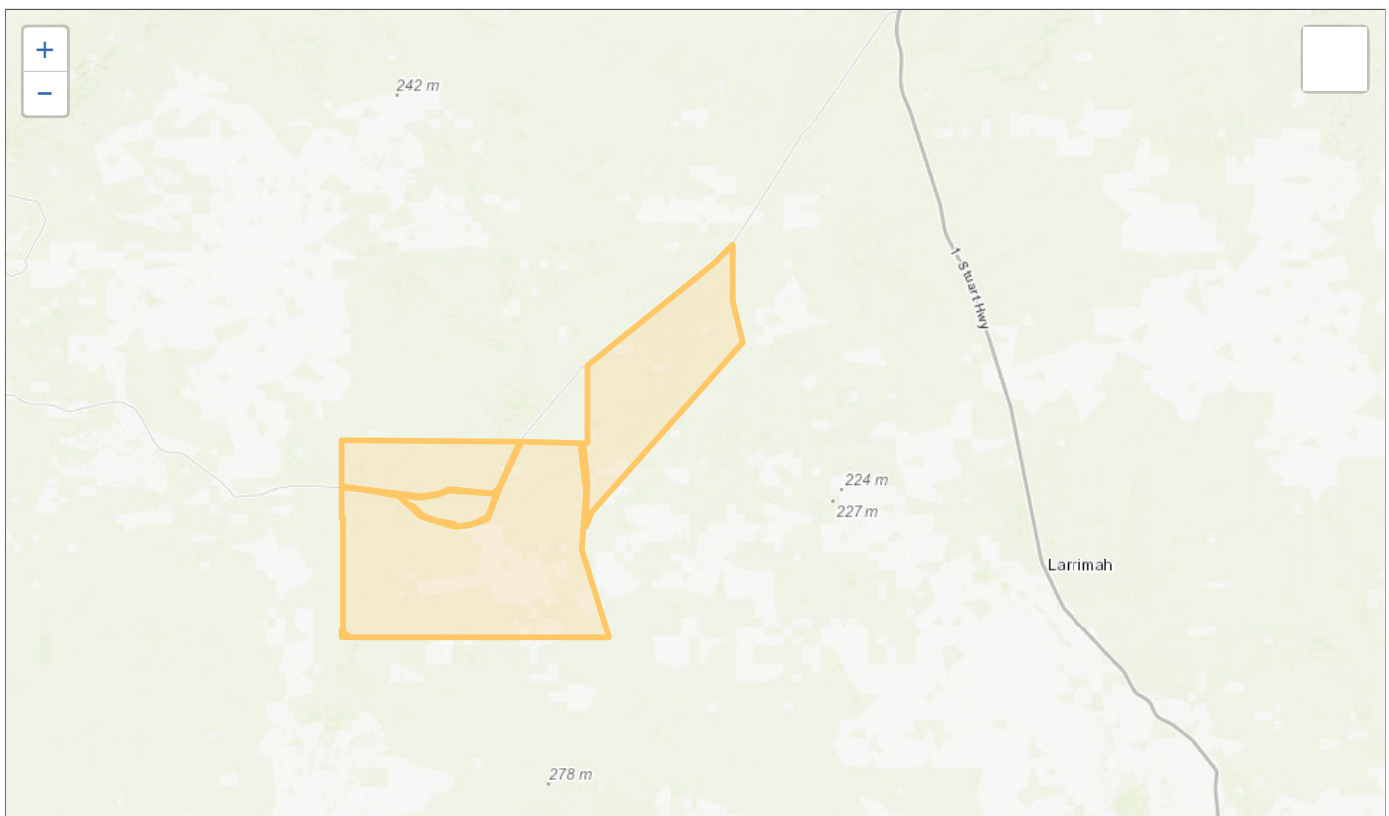
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DCD2013/008 - Gorrie Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/008
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD25/2011
Short name	Gorrie Pastoral Lease
Case name	Johns v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Gorrie Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/009	NTD25/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

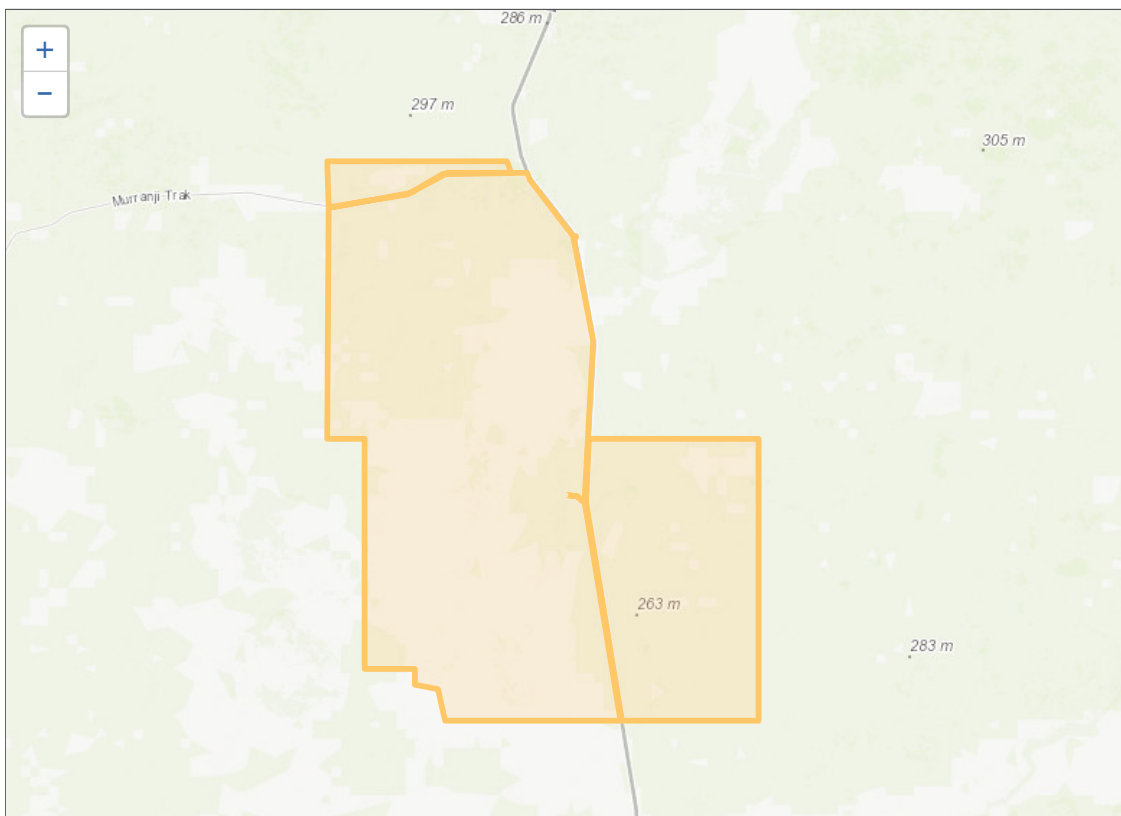
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DCD2012/011 - Hayfield Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/011
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD26/2010
Short name	Hayfield Pastoral Lease
Case name	Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Hayfield Pastoral Lease See Application details	13/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/022	NTD26/2010





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Native Title Determination Details

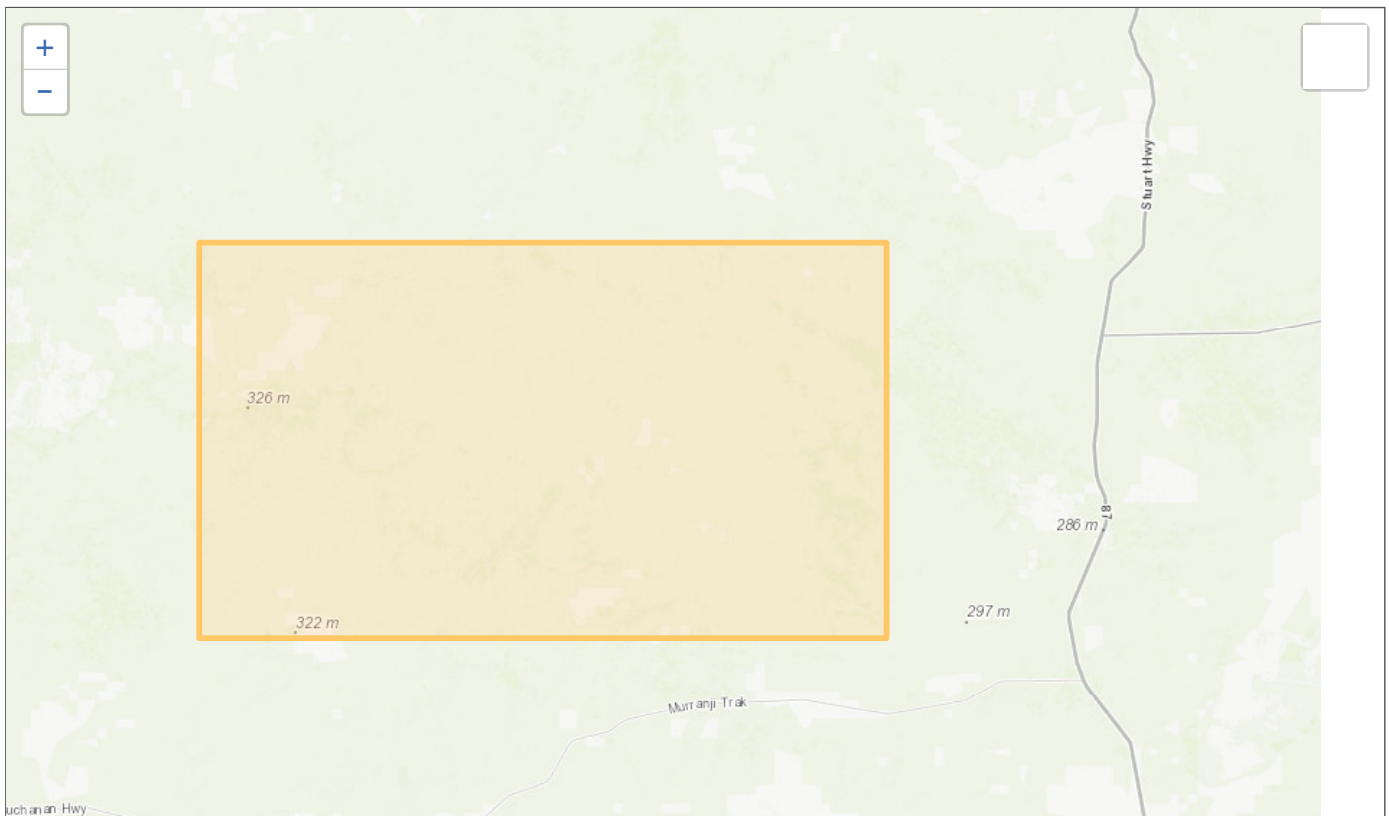
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DCD2020/009 - Hidden Valley Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2020/009
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD25/2015
Short name	Hidden Valley Pastoral Lease
Case name	Dixon on behalf of the Narrwan and Badpa Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2020
Date/s of effect	29/10/2020
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Hidden Valley Pastoral Lease See Application details	25/05/2015	Claimant	Determined	DC2015/003	NTD25/2015





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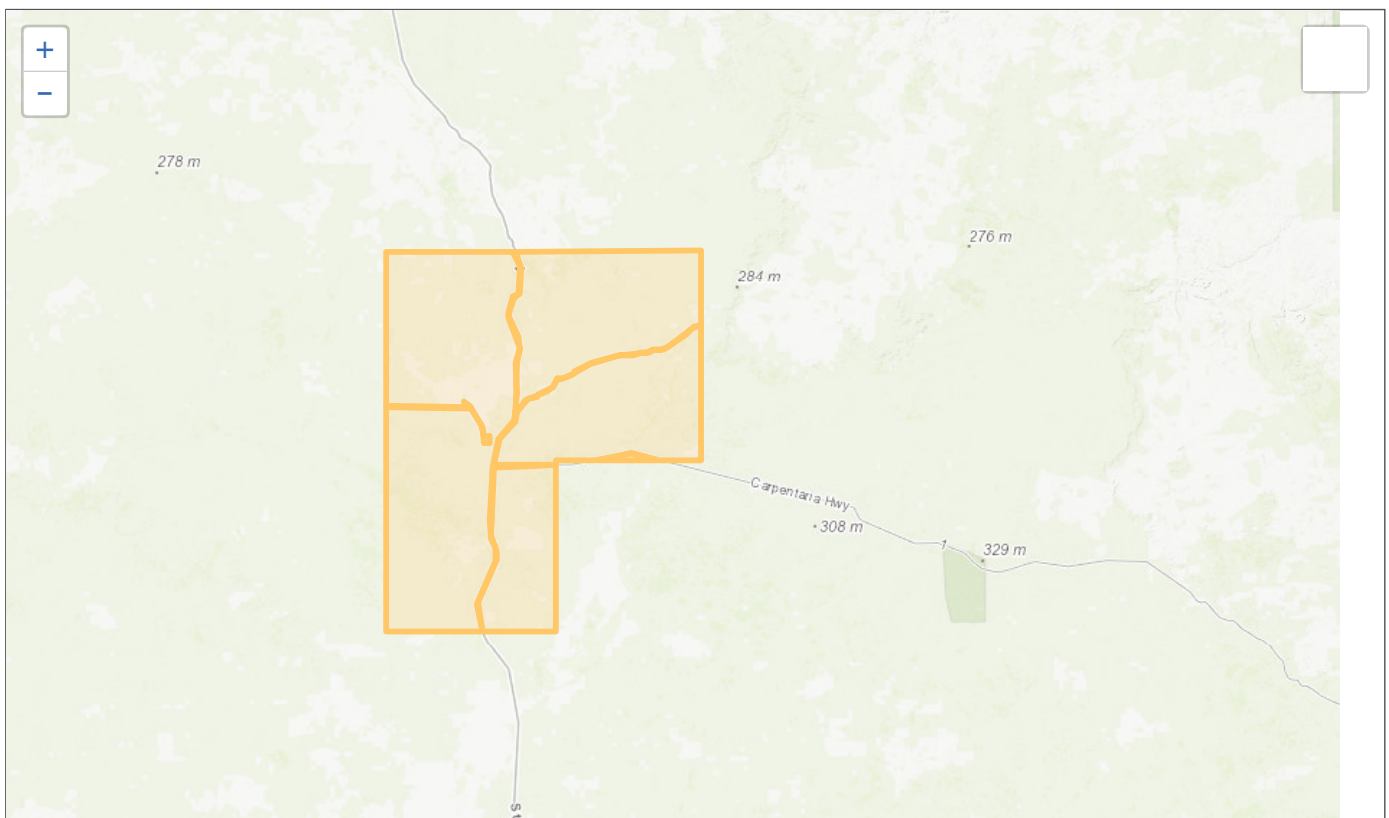
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DCD2012/009 - Kalala Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/009
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD24/2010
Short name	Kalala Pastoral Lease
Case name	Ellaga v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Kalala Pastoral Lease See Application details	13/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/020	NTD24/2010



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Native Title Determination Details

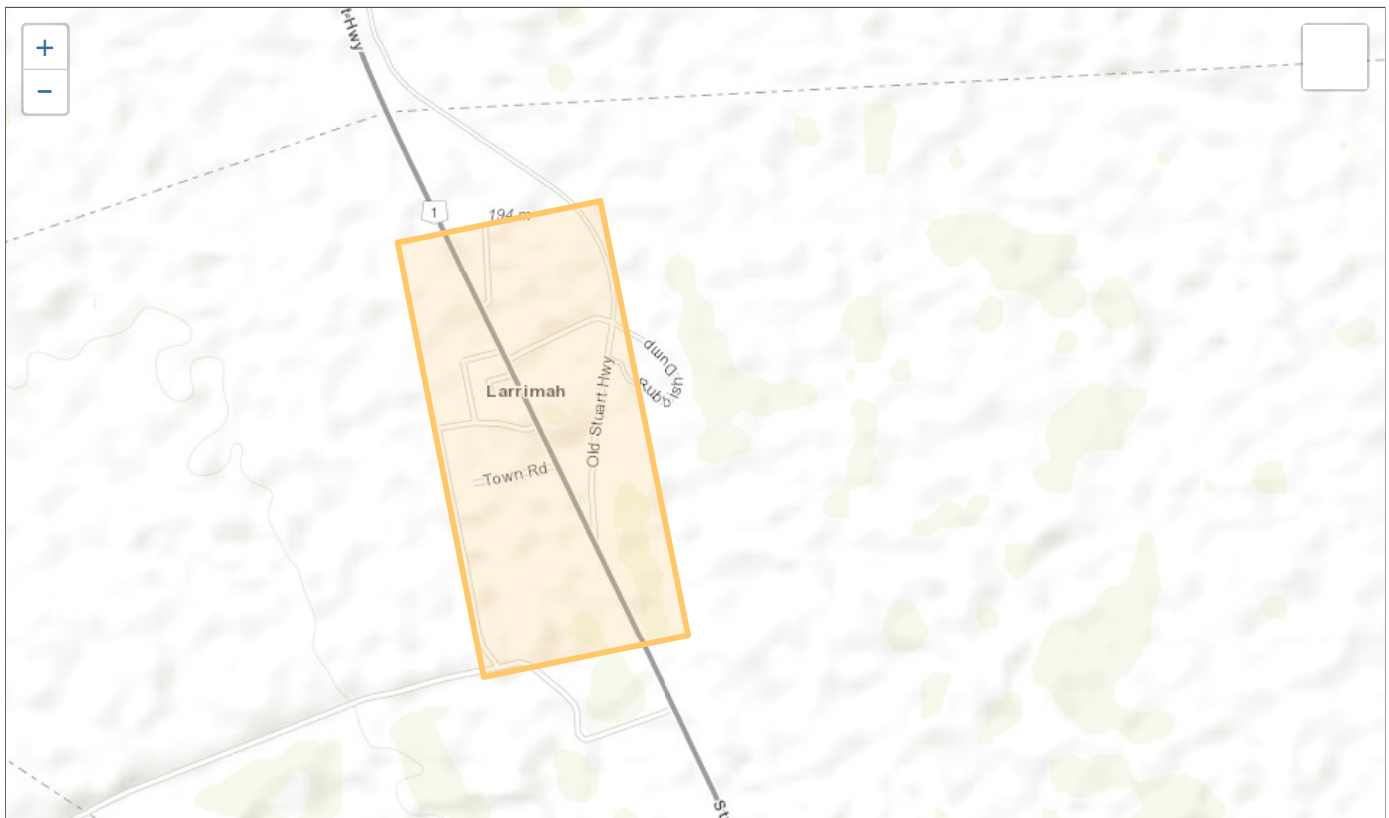
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DCD2018/005 - Larrimah Township Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2018/005
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD49/2011
Short name	Larrimah Township Pastoral Lease
Case name	Wavehill (on behalf of the Wubalawun Group) v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	24/10/2018
Date/s of effect	24/10/2018
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Larrimah Township Pastoral Lease See Application details	19/10/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/030	NTD49/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

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DCD2013/009 - Larrizona Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/009
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD26/2011
Short name	Larrizona Pastoral Lease
Case name	Johns v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Larrizona Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/010	NTD26/2011





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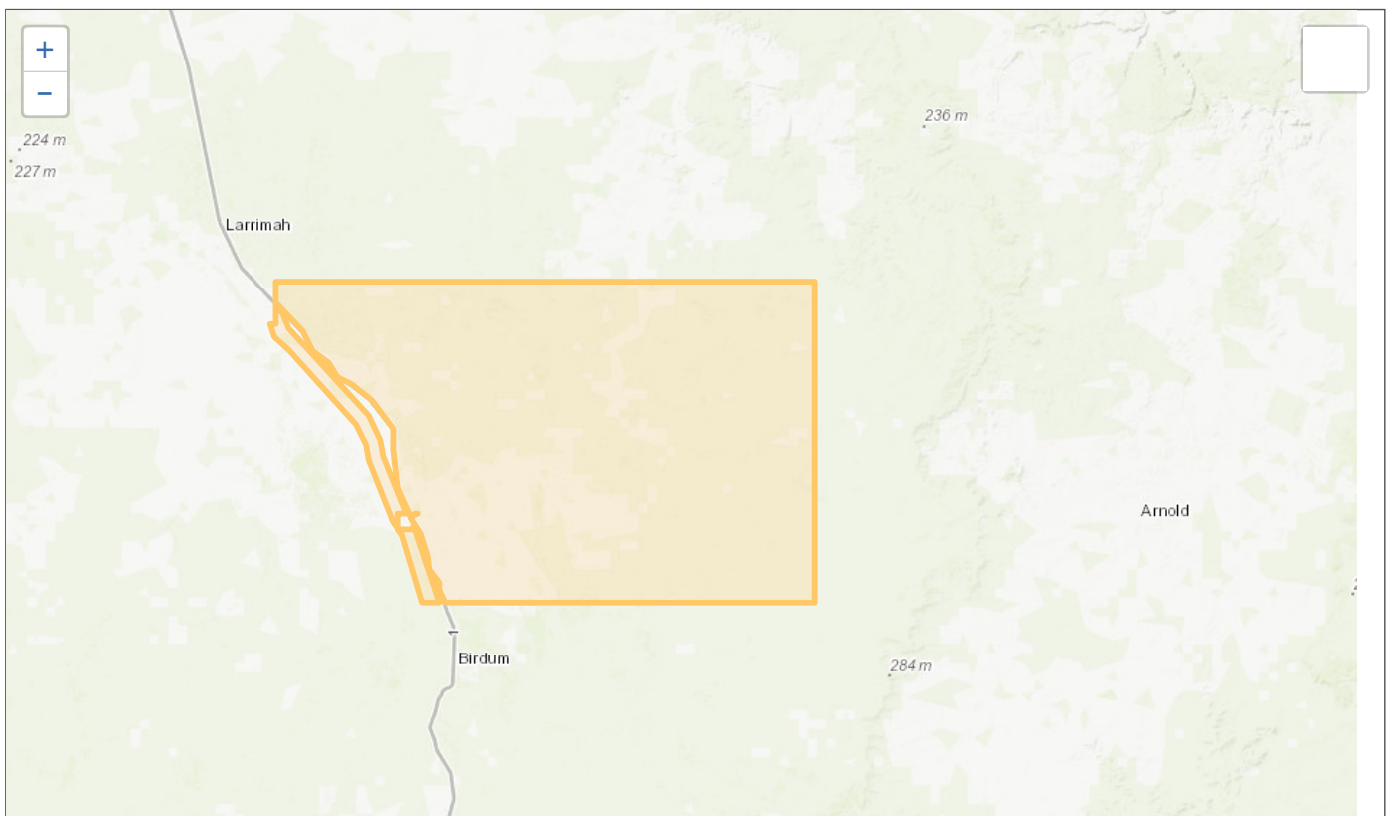
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DCD2012/004 - Maryfield Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/004
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD18/2010
Short name	Maryfield Pastoral Lease
Case name	Ellaga v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Maryfield Pastoral Lease See Application details	12/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/014	NTD18/2010



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Native Title Determination Details

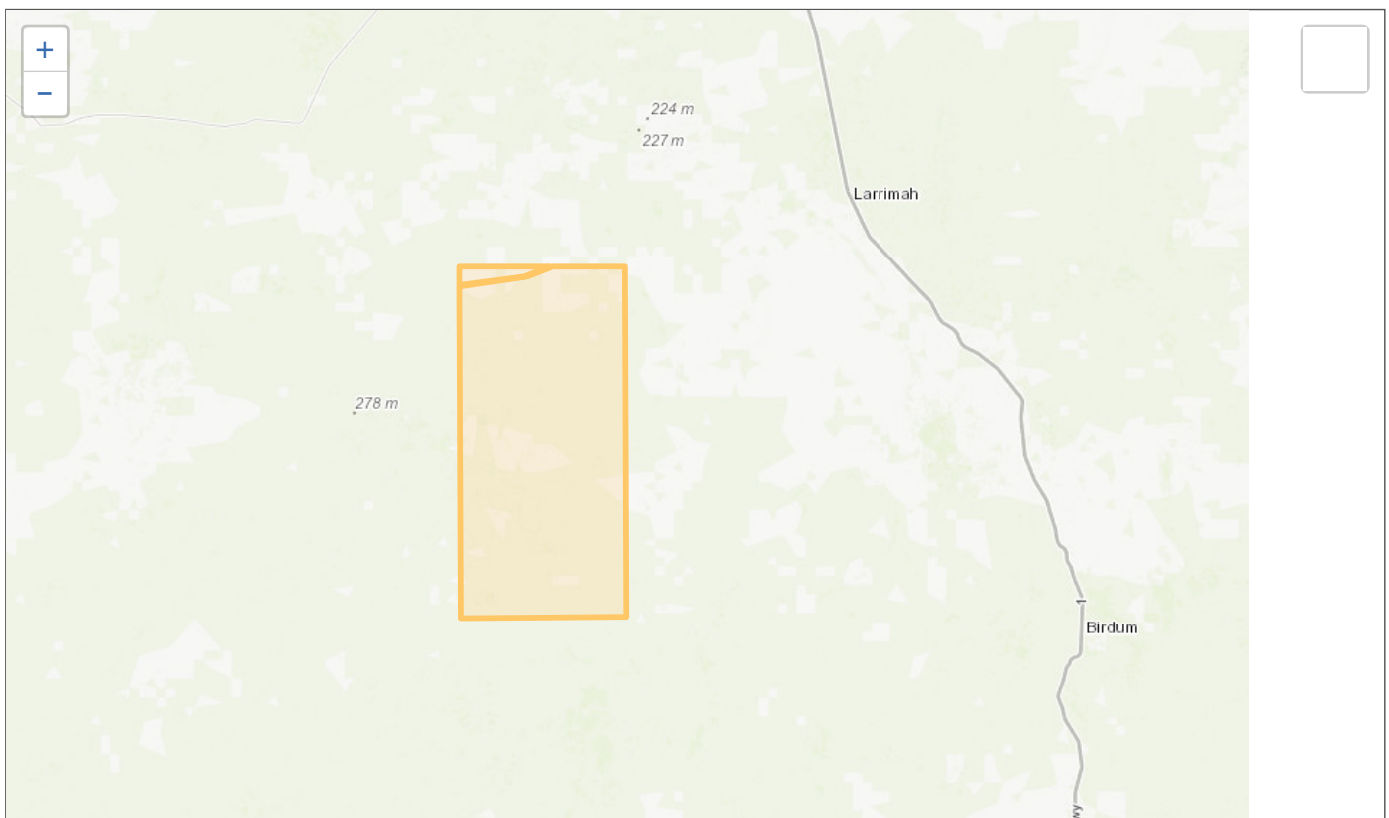
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DCD2013/018 - Middle Creek

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/018
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD46/2011
Short name	Middle Creek
Case name	Wavehill v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Middle Creek See Application details	14/10/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/021	NTD46/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

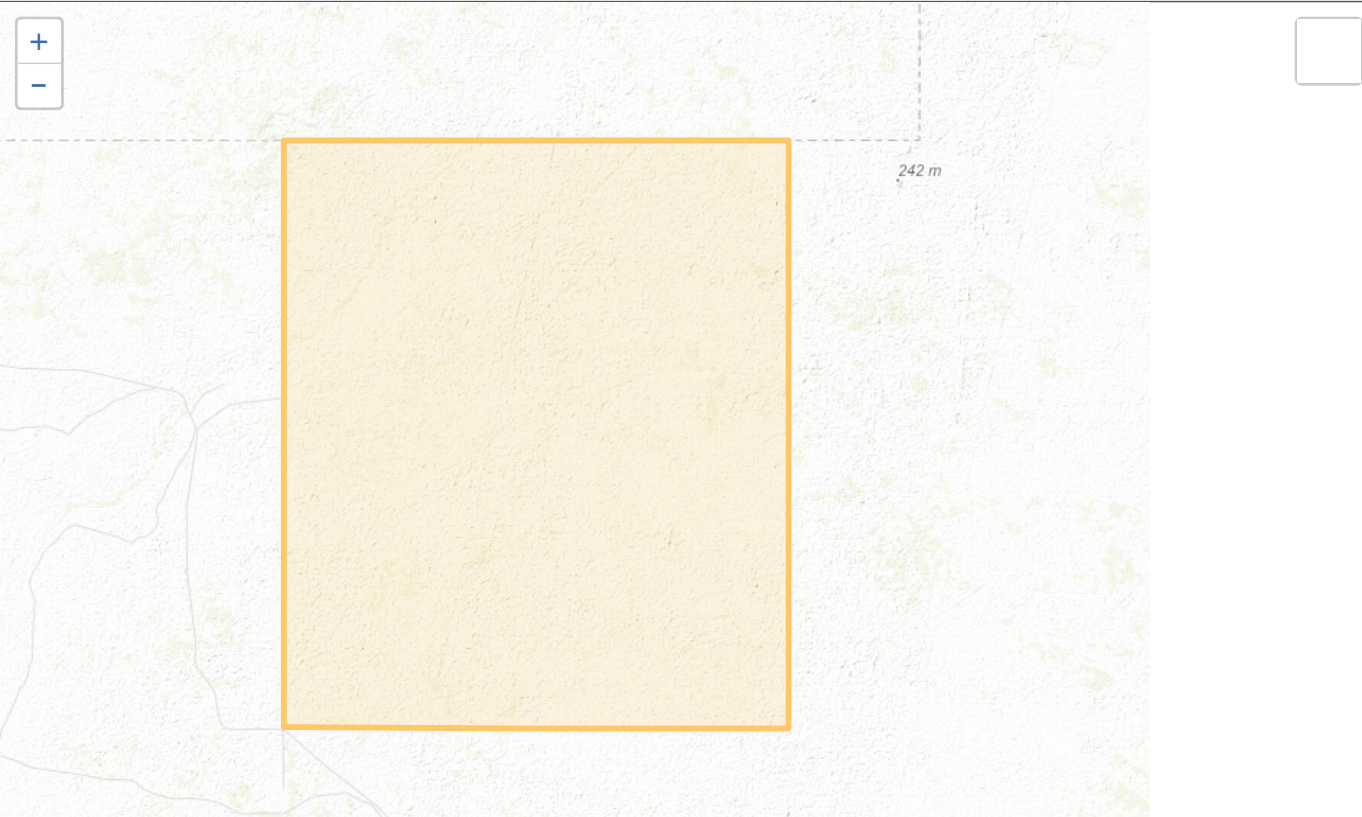
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DCD2013/016 - Nenen

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/016
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD43/2011
Short name	Nenen
Case name	Brown v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Nenen See Application details	14/10/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/024	NTD43/2011





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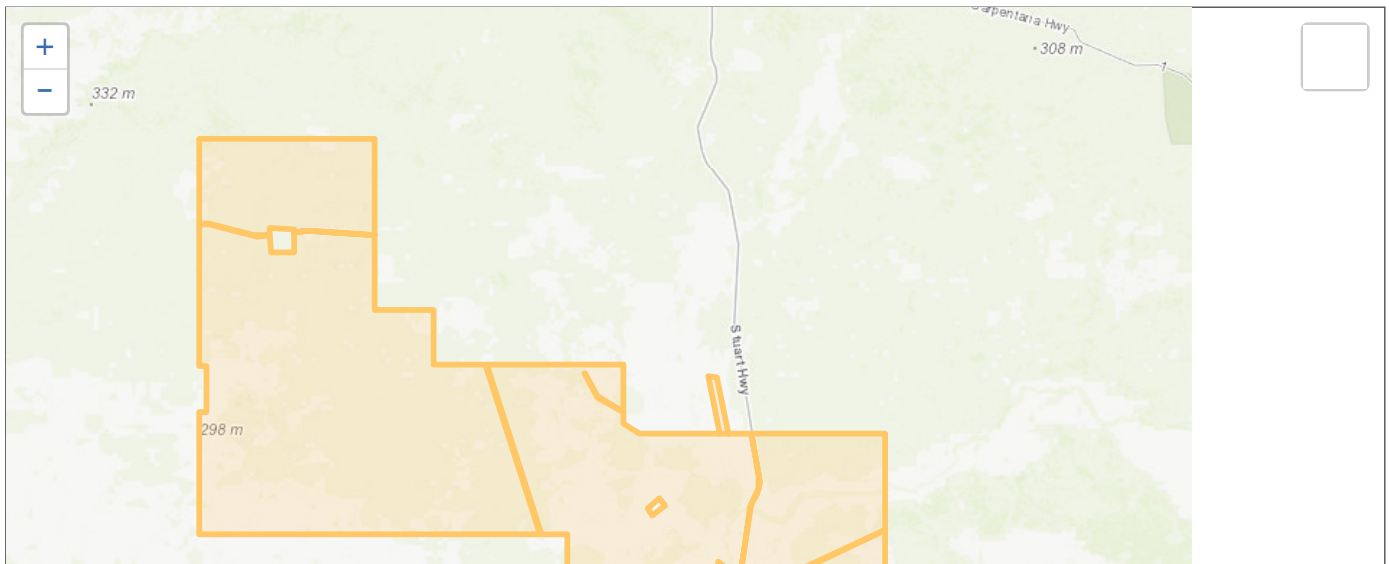
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DCD2007/002 - Newcastle Waters - Murrnaji Determination

Tribunal file no.	DCD2007/002
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD6024/2000, NTD6008/2001, NTD6013/2002, NTD6017/2002, NTD6033/2002, NTD3/2004
Short name	Newcastle Waters - Murrnaji Determination
Case name	King v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Litigated
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Barkly Region, Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	26/09/2007
Date/s of effect	26/09/2007
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Murrnaji See Application details	13/12/2000	Claimant	Discontinued	DC2000/022	NTD6024/2000
Newcastle Waters See Application details	01/02/2001	Claimant	Discontinued	DC2001/008	NTD6008/2001
Murrnaji No.2 See Application details	03/07/2002	Claimant	Determined	DC2002/012	NTD6013/2002
Buchanan Downs See Application details	03/07/2002	Claimant	Discontinued	DC2002/016	NTD6017/2002
Newcastle Waters #2 See Application details	07/11/2002	Claimant	Discontinued	DC2002/032	NTD6033/2002
Town of Newcastle Waters See Application details	10/02/2004	Claimant	Determined	DC2004/001	NTD3/2004





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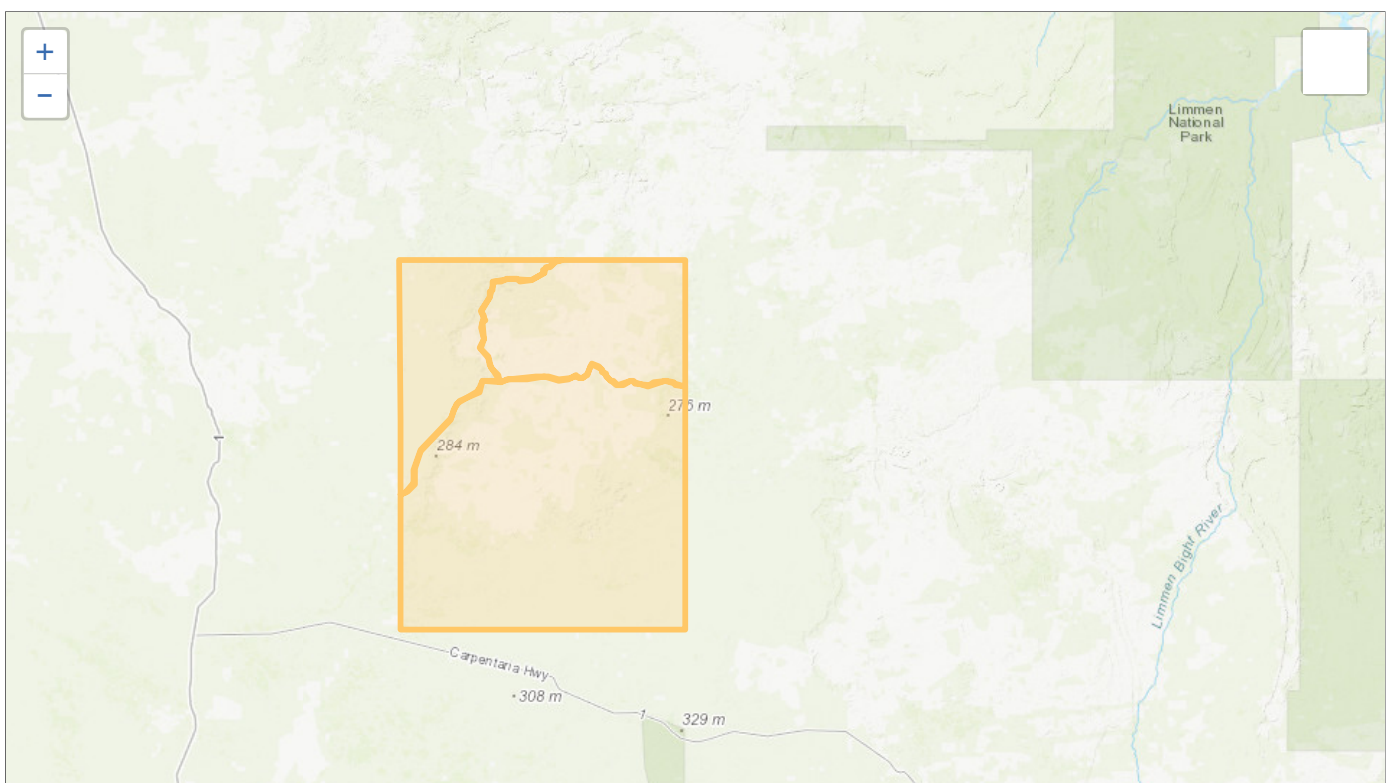
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DCD2020/002 - Nutwood Downs Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2020/002
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD20/2013
Short name	Nutwood Downs Pastoral Lease
Case name	Fulton on behalf of the Mambali Amaling Gan, Murungun Igalumba, Murungun Milgawirri, Budal Yuwaran and Guyal Bardi Bardi Dumnyun Ngatanyana Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	09/09/2020
Date/s of effect	9/09/2020
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Nutwood Downs Pastoral Lease See Application details	12/11/2013	Claimant	Determined	DC2013/004	NTD20/2013





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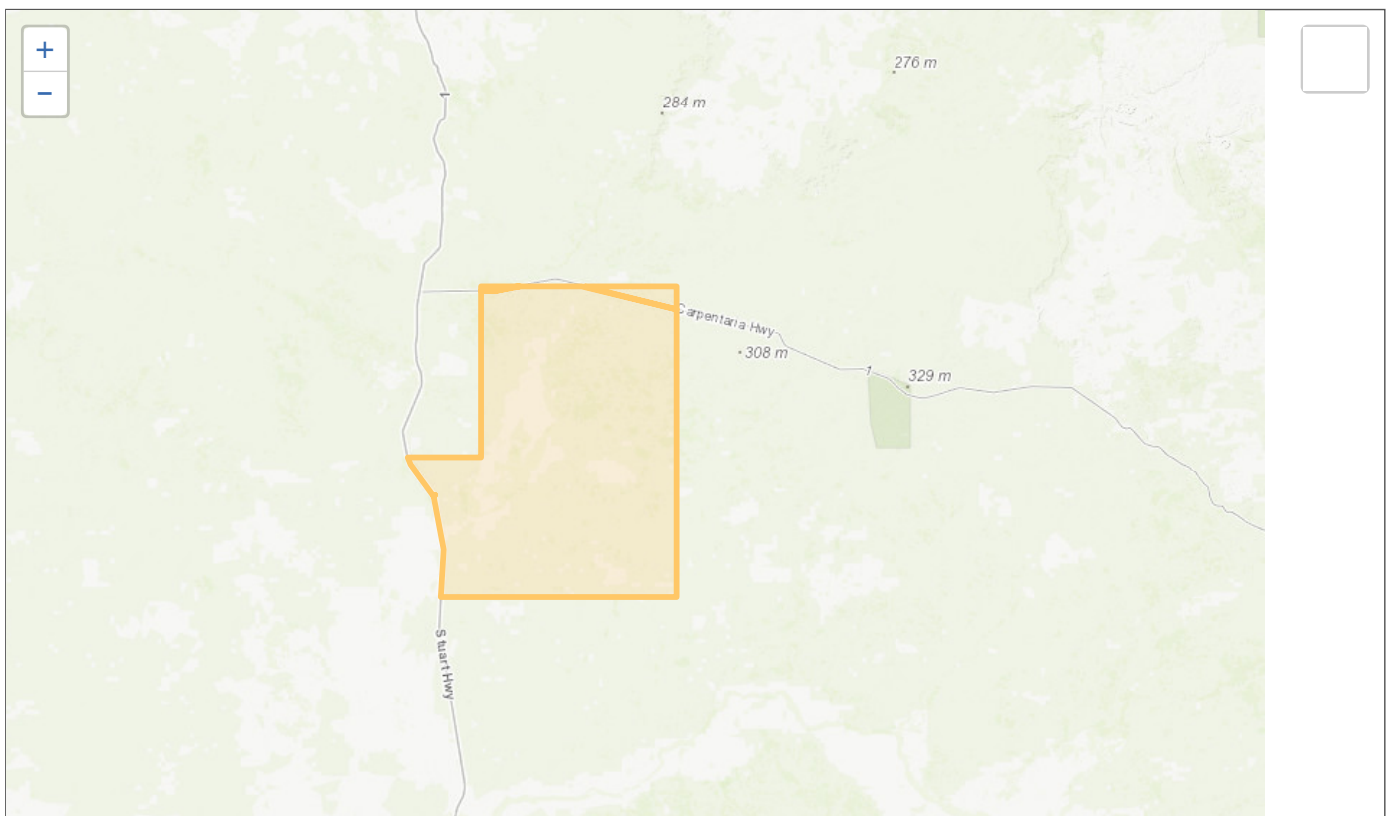
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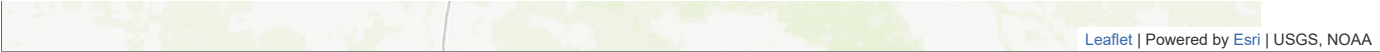
DCD2012/007 - Shenandoah Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/007
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD21/2010
Short name	Shenandoah Pastoral Lease
Case name	Jackson v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Shenandoah Pastoral Lease See Application details	13/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/017	NTD21/2010





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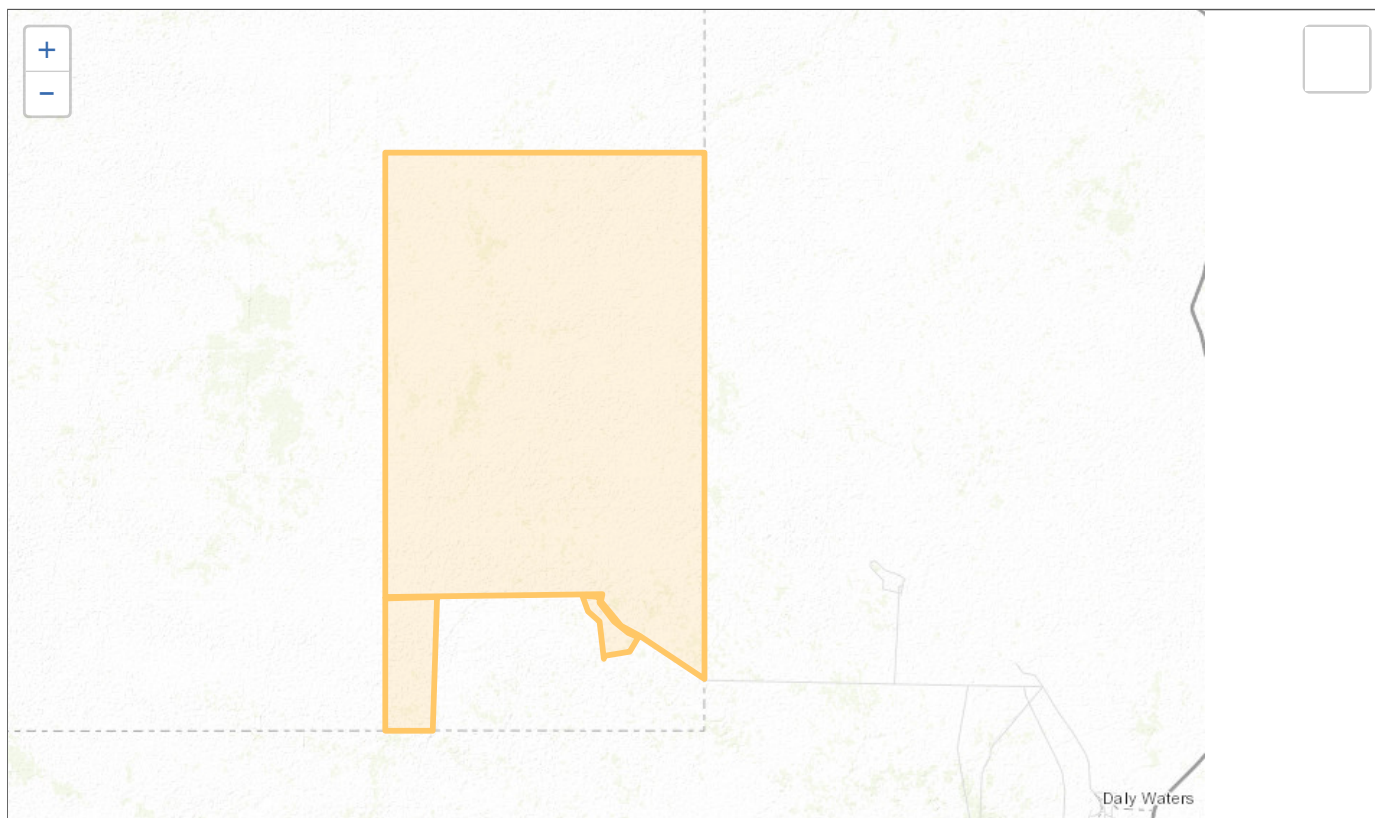
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DCD2013/011 - Sunday Creek Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/011
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD28/2011
Short name	Sunday Creek Pastoral Lease
Case name	Morgan v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Sunday Creek Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/012	NTD28/2011





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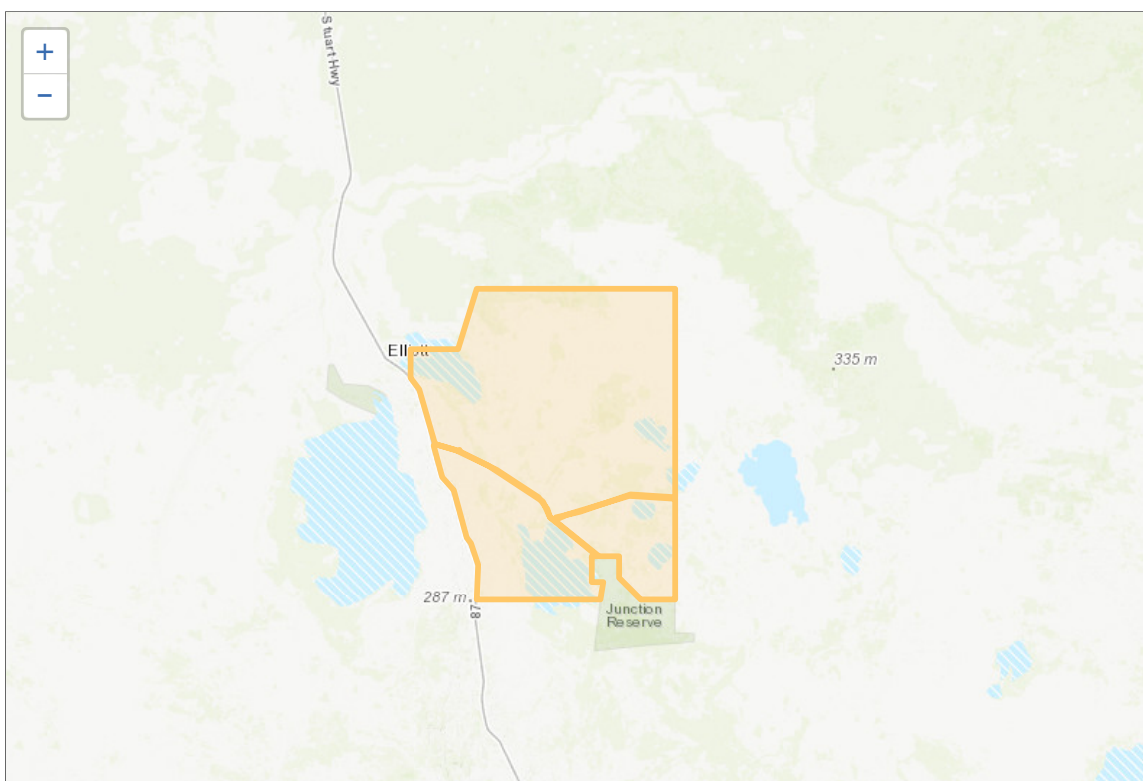
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DCD2014/007 - Tandyidgee Pastoral Lease #2

Tribunal file no.	DCD2014/007
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD8/2013
Short name	Tandyidgee Pastoral Lease #2
Case name	Harry Bates, Heather Wilson and William Kingston On Behalf Of The [Y]ijiparta, Gurungu/Kulumintini and Warranangku Estate Groups v Northern Territory of Australia, Consolidated Pastoral Company Pty Ltd and Telstra Corporation Limited
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Barkly Region
Determination date	06/03/2014
Date/s of effect	6/03/2014
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Tandyidgee Pastoral Lease #2 See Application details	25/06/2013	Claimant	Determined	DC2013/003	NTD8/2013





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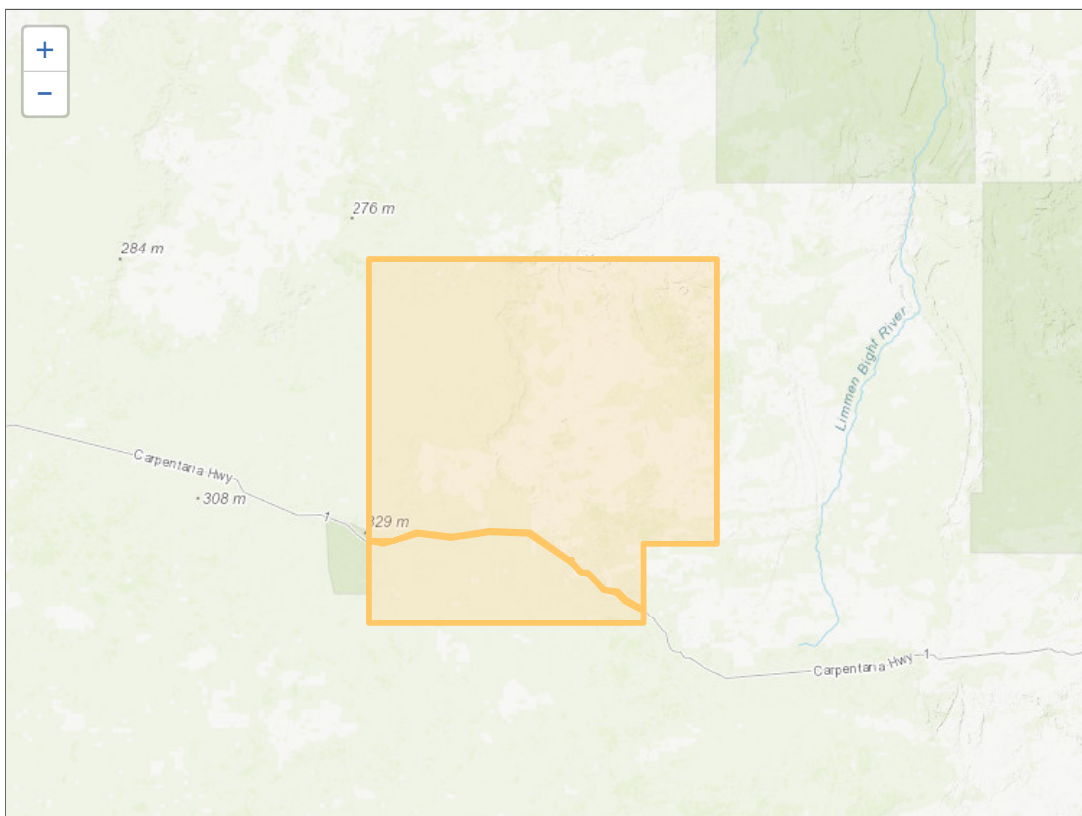
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DCD2013/019 - Tanumbirini Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/019
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD33/2012
Short name	Tanumbirini Pastoral Lease
Case name	Fulton v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Barkly Region, Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	31/10/2013
Date/s of effect	31/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Tanumbirini Pastoral Lease See Application details	15/10/2012	Claimant	Determined	DC2012/003	NTD33/2012





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Native Title Determination Details

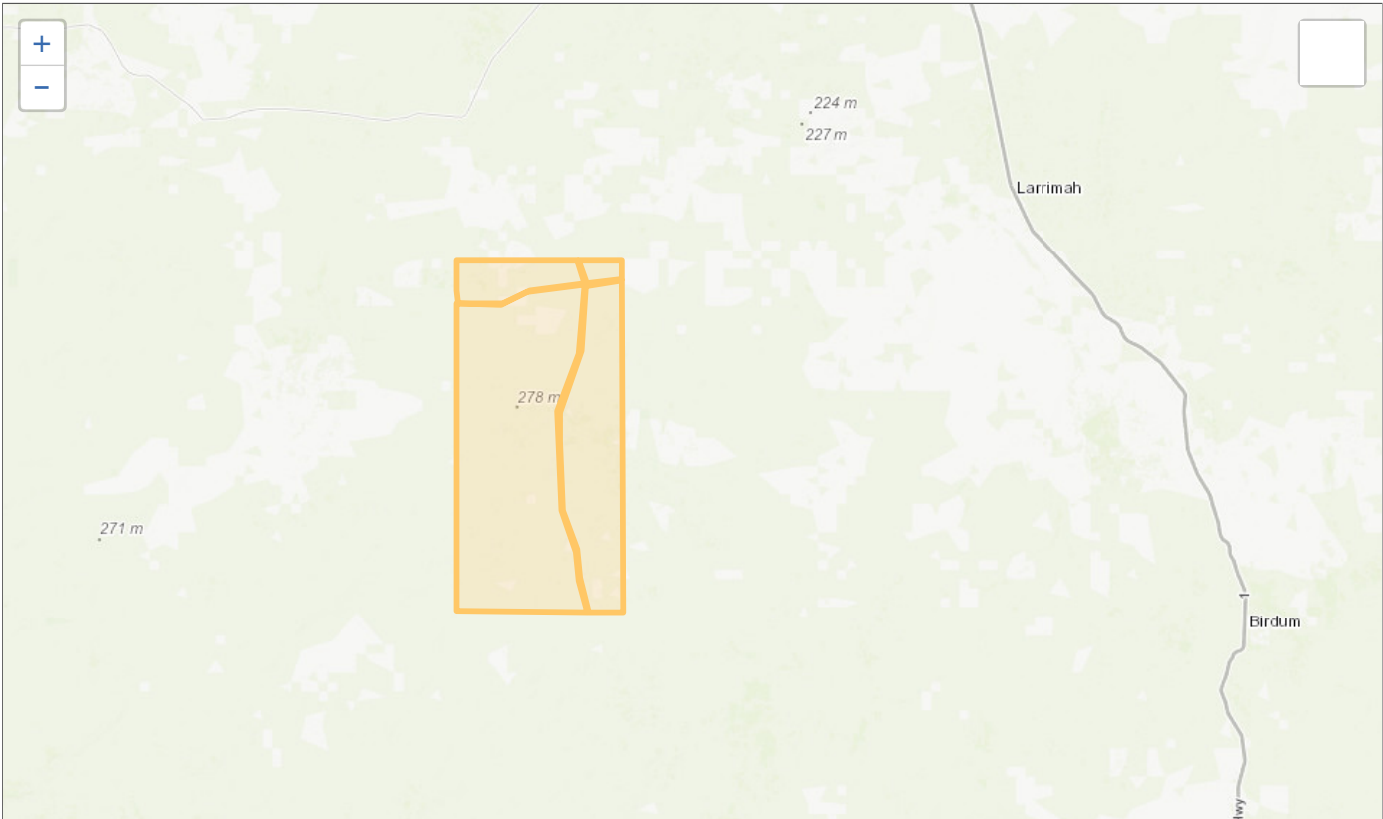
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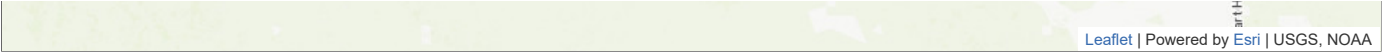
DCD2013/003 - Tarlee Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/003
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD19/2011
Short name	Tarlee Pastoral Lease
Case name	Largut v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Tarlee Pastoral Lease See Application details	02/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/003	NTD19/2011





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Native Title Determination Details

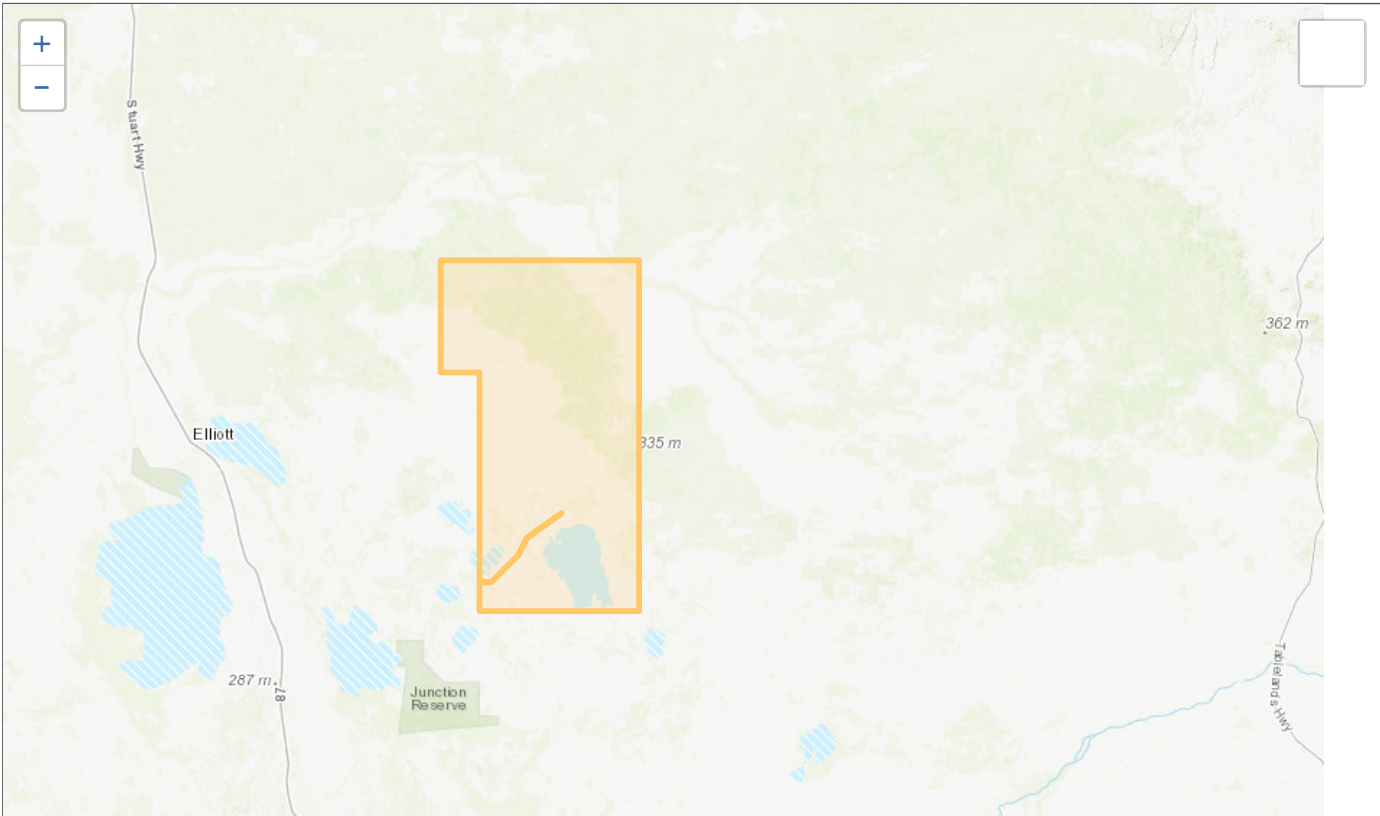
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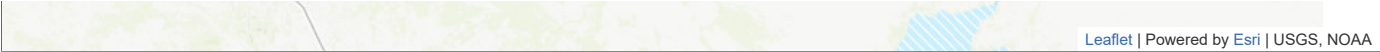
DCD2012/008 - Ucharonidge Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2012/008
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD22/2010
Short name	Ucharonidge Pastoral Lease
Case name	Raymond v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Barkly Region
Determination date	27/06/2012
Date/s of effect	27/06/2012
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Ucharonidge Pastoral Lease See Application details	13/08/2010	Claimant	Determined	DC2010/018	NTD22/2010





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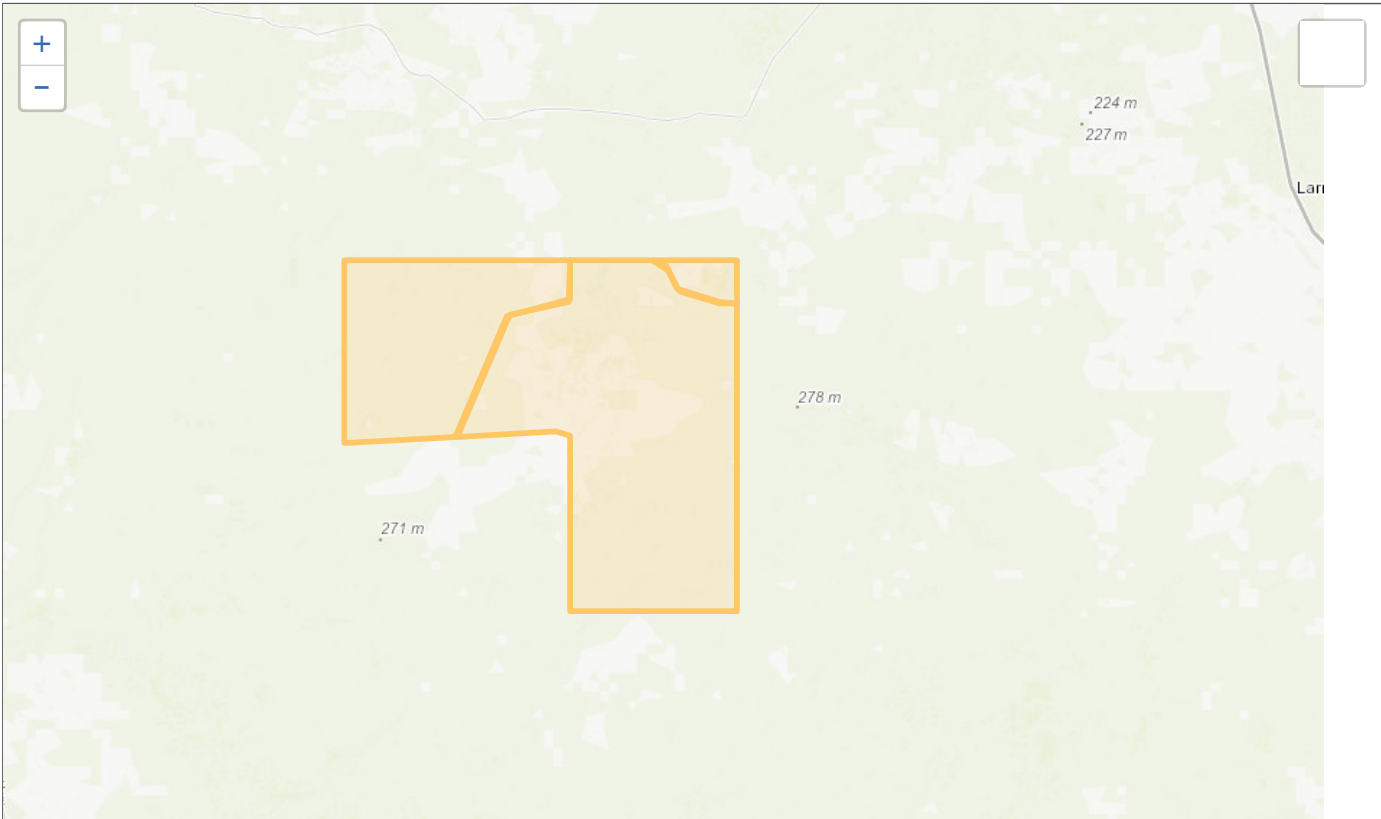
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DCD2013/005 - Western Creek Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/005
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD22/2011
Short name	Western Creek Pastoral Lease
Case name	Largut v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Western Creek Pastoral Lease See Application details	02/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/006	NTD22/2011





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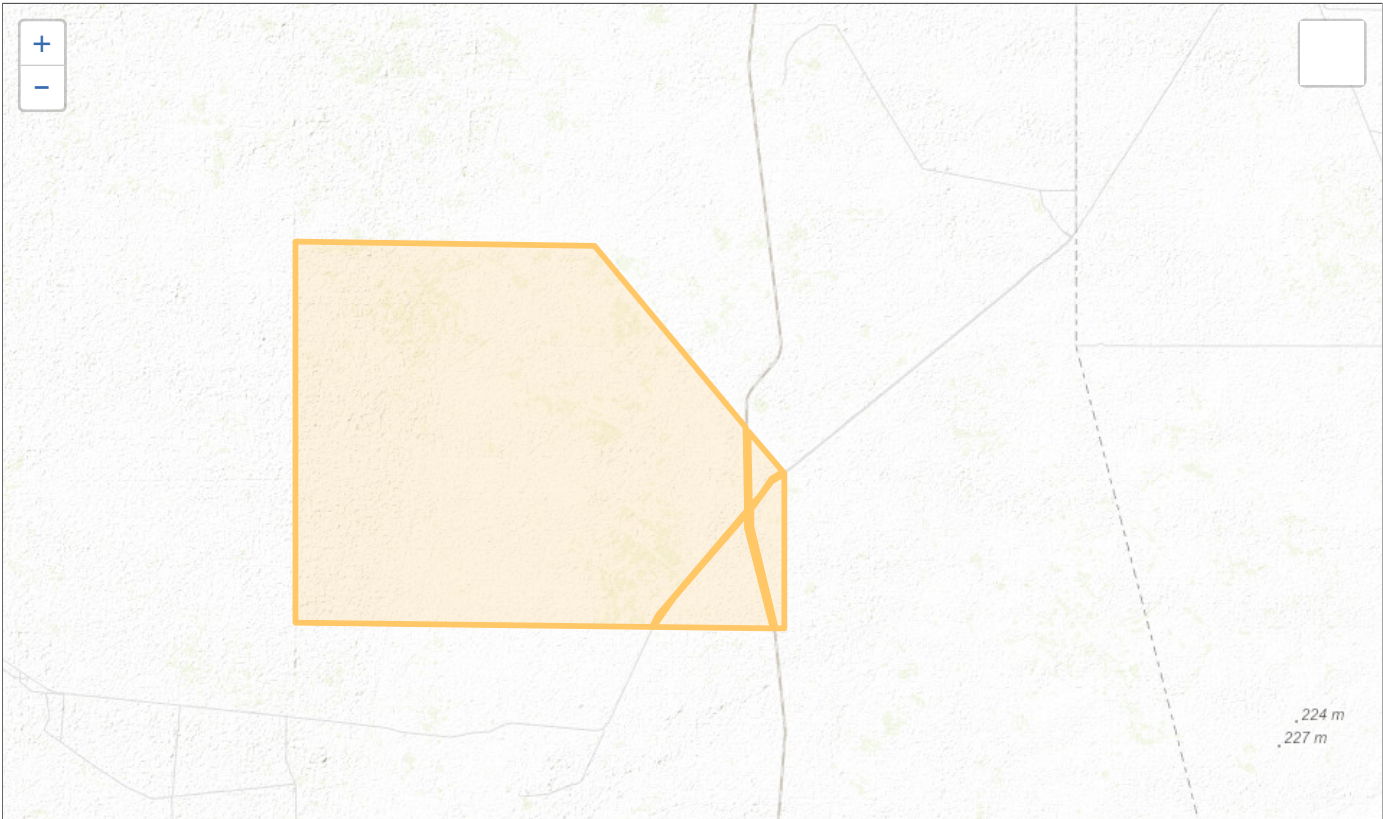
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DCD2013/010 - Wyworrie Pastoral Lease

Tribunal file no.	DCD2013/010
Federal Court file no(s)	NTD27/2011
Short name	Wyworrie Pastoral Lease
Case name	Johns v Northern Territory of Australia
Determination type	Claimant
State or Territory	Northern Territory
Legal process	Consent
Determination outcome	Native title exists in parts of the determination area
Representative A/TSI body area(s)	Northern Northern Territory
Local government area(s)	Roper Gulf Region
Determination date	29/10/2013
Date/s of effect	29/10/2013
Registered on National Native Title Register	Registered National Native Title Register details
Registered Native Title Body Corporate	Top End (Default PBC/CLA) Aboriginal Corporation RNTBC <i>Note: current contact details for the Registered Native Title Body Corporate are available from the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations www.oric.gov.au</i>

Application(s) affected by the determination

Short name	Date filed	Application type	Application status	NNTT file no	Federal Court file no
Wyworrie Pastoral Lease See Application details	08/09/2011	Claimant	Determined	DC2011/011	NTD27/2011





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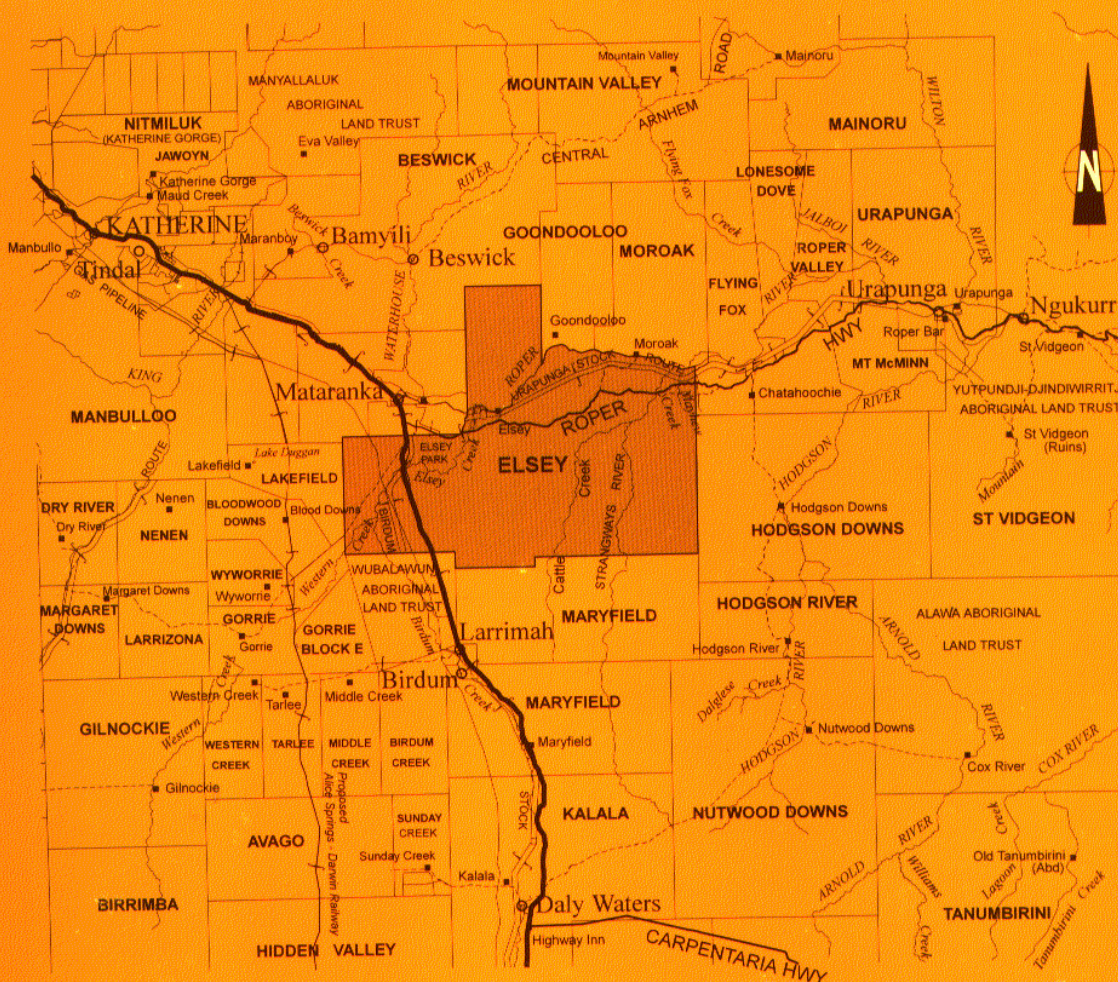




Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976

Elsey Land Claim No. 132

Report and recommendation of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner,
Justice Gray, to the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs
and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory



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Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission

Canberra

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DARWIN N.T. 0801

28 November 1997

Senator The Hon. John Herron,
Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait
Islander Affairs,
Parliament House,
Canberra
ACT. 2600.

Dear Minister,

Re: Elsey Land Claim No. 132

In accordance with the provisions of section 50(1) of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*, I present my report and recommendation on this claim.

As required by the Act, I have sent a copy of this report to the Administrator of the Northern Territory.

Yours sincerely,

PETER R. A. GRAY

A person deemed to continue to hold the office of Aboriginal Land Commissioner, pursuant to section 52(4) of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.



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G.P.O. Box 2289
DARWIN N.T. 0801

28 November 1997

His Honour Dr Neil Conn A.O.,
Administrator of the Northern Territory,
Office of the Administrator,
The Esplanade,
Darwin NT. 0800.

Your Honour,

Re: Elsey Land Claim No. 132

In accordance with the provisions of section 50(1) of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* 1976, I present my report and recommendation on this claim.

As required by the Act, I have sent a copy of this report to the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs.

Yours sincerely,

PETER R. A. GRAY

A person deemed to continue to hold the office of Aboriginal Land Commissioner, pursuant to section 52(4) of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* 1976.

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1 HISTORY OF THE CLAIM

1.1 Lodgment The Elsey Land Claim No. 132 is a traditional land claim, made pursuant to s. 50 of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* 1976 ("the Land Rights Act"). The application was received in the office of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner on 17 July 1991. It was lodged by the Northern Land Council, on behalf of a number of persons claiming to be traditional Aboriginal owners of Northern Territory Portion 645, and of those parts of the Birdum Stock Route and the Urapunga Stock Route lying within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645.

1.2 Listing for hearing The claim was listed for hearing on 27 September 1993, as part of my 1993 land claim program.

1.3 Advertisement Public notice of the claim hearing was given by the publication of advertisements in the *Weekend Australian* on 14 August 1993, the *NT News* on 14 August 1993, the *Tennant and District Times* on 20 August 1993, the *Centralian Advocate* on 17 August 1993, the *Katherine Times* on 18 August 1993 and *Land Rights News* in the October 1993 edition. Notices of the hearing were also sent to all persons whose names appear on the mailing list maintained in the office of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner and to the proprietors, lessees or managers of the surrounding properties referred to in para. 2.1, or such of them as then existed.

1.4 Parties Notices of intention to be heard or written submissions were received from the persons and organisations whose names appear in appendix 1, on the dates shown in that appendix.

1.5 The inquiry

1.5.1 The inquiry began at *Jilgmirn.gan* (site 37) (Jilkminggan community), which lies within the boundaries of Elsey Station, on 27 September 1993. I heard evidence on ten days from 27 September to 6 October, at or near 34 sites, which are listed in appendix 2. The inquiry resumed at Mataranka on 1 February 1994 and continued on 2 and 3 February, when I completed the hearing of evidence.

1.5.2 On the morning of 1 October 1993, counsel for the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory made the following statement:

"If your Honour pleases, it is 9.15 a.m. on Friday, 1 October, and we are on the Roper Highway at the turn-off to Jilkminggan, and I have asked your Honour to hear me briefly open and close my client's case on traditional ownership. It has been the case since the inception of the Act that the Territory government has been involved in every land claim. Certainly when the land claimed has been unalienated Crown land their interest is obvious; it is land which is held by the Crown in the right of the Territory for the benefit of all Territorians, and the role which the government takes in testing those claims hopefully adds to the public confidence in the administration of the Act.

There has in recent years been a proliferation of claims relating to pastoral leases and the government has come to the view that pastoral leases should perhaps be viewed in a somewhat different light to unalienated Crown land, because, in the situation of a pastoral lease, the Aboriginal people own the lease, and certainly under the new Pastoral Land Act have rights which are very close to ownership in any event. In those circumstances the Territory does not see itself as having the same role as it may have in relation to unalienated Crown land. There is no objection in principle to pastoral leases becoming Aboriginal land, subject to them remaining as operating cattle stations and subject to the usual types of land usage problems which arise from time to time in these claims, such as public roads and conservation aspects ... [s]tock diseases and the like ... Now, there certainly was unfortunately a history of pastoral leases which became Aboriginal land failing, but certainly with the Northern Land Council in recent times there seems to be a real desire to get these cattle stations continuing to operate as such. As I understand it, the claimants here on Elsey are very keen to continue the pastoral operations and that coincides with the government's interest as well. The pastoral industry is an important industry for the Territory. It adds a considerable amount both directly and indirectly to the Territory's gross national product and, accordingly, they do have an interest in ensuring that these properties, as far as possible, remain as viable cattle properties.

The other aspects in which the Territory have some concern in this claim are the usual road aspects, which no doubt your Honour will hear about in due course, and the other primary concern is one of the Conservation Commission. There is a concern to protect and conserve some unique and beautiful areas of wilderness that are located on the pastoral lease. Now, again, there is no reason why that interest should not coincide with the interest of the claimants who, I have got no doubt, are also interested in the protection and the conservation of their land, and it may well be that at the end of the day when your Honour comes to hear that aspect of the case which deals with land usage and detriment, that there really will be no detriment as such, that both the government and the claimants may have reached some agreement or accord as to what is the best way of protecting and conserving some of the really very unique places on this pastoral lease, such as the Red Lily Lagoon and other places which your Honour ... will see, no doubt, over the course of the next few days.

So, putting all that to one side, and having heard a day or two's evidence from these claimants, the Territory does not wish to further test the claim to traditional ownership. It does not wish to cross-examine the anthropologist. It does not wish to make submissions one way or the other on the question of traditional ownership. It is a matter where the Territory government will leave the function wholly to your Honour's discretion, and we know that we will be leaving it in good hands. And, as a final note, Mr Rowe will continue to appear for the Territory for the remainder of the hearing of traditional evidence, not to test traditional evidence, but simply to be present in case some issue arises in relation to the Territory's wider interests for roads, conservation and the like."

1.5.3 I received written submissions from those who wished to make them and written submissions in reply from those who wished to make them. The submissions were complete by 13 April 1995. In some cases, the written submissions included matters of evidence. In other cases, documents were tendered to me during the submission period and I accepted them as evidence. Despite the statement of his counsel, which I have quoted in para. 1.5.2, the written submissions on behalf of the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory included submissions to the effect that I had no power to deal with the claim in relation to the bulk of the land claimed, which are dealt with in para. 2.13, and submissions inviting me to refrain from making a recommendation, in accordance with s. 50(1)(a) of the Land Rights Act, for the granting of any part of the land to a land trust, which are dealt with in para. 7.3.

1.6 Previous history

1.6.1 Parts of the land the subject of this land claim were included in the land the subject of the Mataranka Area Land Claim No. 69. They were the area of the Urapunga Stock Route west of Jilkminggan to the nearest western boundary of Elsey Station, the area of the Urapunga Stock Route east of Jilkminggan to the eastern boundary of Elsey Station and the area of the Birdum Stock Route lying within the boundaries of Elsey Station.

1.6.2 Claim no. 69 was heard by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner (Mr Justice Maurice) from 1 December 1986 to 21 November 1988. The length of the hearing was largely the result of interruptions to it by legal proceedings, in which the issue of the availability for claim under the Land Rights Act of some areas of land the subject of the claim was litigated in the Federal Court of Australia. On 14 December 1988, his Honour delivered his report (Aboriginal Land Commissioner's report no. 29). He found that there were traditional Aboriginal owners of all of the areas of land remaining subject to the claim, including the three areas referred to in para. 1.6.1 above, and recommended that all of those areas be granted to a land trust (paras 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 of the report). In chapter 16 of the report, his Honour found that Banibi Pty Ltd, the holder of the pastoral lease of Elsey Station, would suffer substantial detriment if it were denied access to the adjacent parts of the Urapunga Stock Route.

1.6.3 By a deed dated 23 June 1989, between Banibi Pty Ltd, the Northern Land Council (purportedly on behalf of the claimants in the Mataranka Area Land Claim No. 69), Jilkminggan Community Incorporated and the Northern Territory of Australia, it was agreed that claim no. 69 would be withdrawn, so far as it related to the three areas of land described in para. 1.6.1 above. In return, Banibi Pty Ltd agreed to surrender certain designated parts of the land the subject of the pastoral lease of Elsey Station to the Northern Territory, which agreed to make grants of freehold estates in those parts to Jilkminggan Community Incorporated.

1.6.4 In accordance with the deed of 23 June 1989, a document dated 7 November 1989, entitled "Notice of Withdrawal of Claim", was forwarded to the Aboriginal Land Commissioner. It was signed on behalf of a person described as "Solicitor for the Claimants" and stated that:

"The Northern Land Council on behalf of Aboriginals claiming to have a traditional land claim to unalienated Crown land in the Mataranka region of the Northern Territory hereby applies for a withdrawal to parts of their claim."

Under the heading "Description of the Land Claimed", the document then contained descriptions of various areas of land, including those areas referred to in para. 1.6.1 above. A copy of this document was forwarded to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs by each of the Northern Land Council and the Aboriginal Land Commissioner.

1.6.5 By letter dated 25 May 1990, addressed to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, the Northern Land Council expressed the concerns of some claimants about the agreement the subject of the deed of 23 June 1989, contended that the minister had power to recommend the grant of the land concerned to a land trust and purported to withdraw the document dated 7 November 1989.

1.6.6 The validity and effect of the document dated 7 November 1989 were the subject of litigation in the Federal Court of Australia. In *Roberts v. Minister for Aboriginal Affairs* (1991) 29 FCR 38, the court held that the document amounted to a withdrawal of claim no. 69 in respect of those areas of land described in it, that the withdrawal was effective to prevent the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs taking any steps to act on the recommendation of Mr Justice Maurice in respect of those areas and that the claim could be reinstated only by means of a new application, not by withdrawal of the withdrawal.

1.6.7 Between the delivery of that judgment and the lodging of the application in land claim no. 132, Aboriginal interests acquired control of Banibi Pty Ltd, and therefore of the pastoral lease of Elsey Station, in the circumstances described in para. 2.1 below. It appears that no further step was taken to carry out the agreement the subject of the deed of 23 June 1989.

1.7 The appendices Appendix 1 to this report contains a list of the parties who gave notice of their intention to be heard, or provided written submissions, and the dates on which those notices or submissions were received. Appendix 2 contains a list of the sites at or near which evidence was taken. Appendix 3 contains a list of representatives of the parties and the name of my consulting anthropologist. Appendix 4 contains a list of witnesses who gave evidence in the course of the inquiry. Appendix 5 contains a list of exhibits tendered to me in the course of the inquiry. Appendix 6 contains a map of the claim area, showing the approximate locations of the sites referred to in appendix 2 and a number of other sites and features referred to in this report. The sites are designated by numbers. I have used the numbers allocated to the sites on the site maps, which became exhibit NLC9, and in the site register, which became exhibit NLC8, in the inquiry.

2 THE LAND CLAIMED

2.1 Northern Territory Portion 645

2.1.1 The land claimed all falls within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645, which is an irregularly shaped area of land. It is bounded by a number of other properties. Beginning from the northernmost boundary of Northern Territory Portion 645, and moving clockwise, they are:

- (a) Northern Territory Portion 1636, which is Aboriginal land, held by the Beswick Aboriginal Land Trust, pursuant to a deed of grant made under the Land Rights Act on 30 May 1980;
- (b) Northern Territory Portion 1287, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 752 and is known as Goondooloo Station;
- (c) Northern Territory Portion 1288, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 751 and is known as Moroak Station;
- (d) Northern Territory Portion 916, which is alleged to be unalienated Crown land; it was the subject of land claim no. 69 (referred to in para. 1.6), was withdrawn from that claim and is now the subject of the Mataranka Area (NT Portion 916) Land Claim No. 129;
- (e) Northern Territory Portion 712, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 632 and is known as Roper Valley Station;
- (f) Northern Territory Portion 671, which is known as Hodgson Downs Station and is Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act, having been added to the lands described in schedule 1 to the Land Rights Act by Act No. 37 of 1995, which came into operation on 12 April 1995; it is held by the Alawa 1 Aboriginal Land Trust;
- (g) Northern Territory Portion 699, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 665 and is known as Maryfield Station;
- (h) Northern Territory Portion 2016, which is Aboriginal land, held by the Wubalawun Aboriginal Land Trust, pursuant to a deed of grant made under the Land Rights Act on 27 March 1992;
- (i) Northern Territory Portion 2732, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 944 and is part of Bloodwood Downs Station;
- (j) Northern Territory Portion 2731, which is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 943 and is known as Lakefield Station;
- (k) Northern Territory Portion 2255, which is the subject of Crown Lease Perpetual No. 197 to the Northern Territory Land Corporation;

- (l) Northern Territory Portion 4343, which was excised from Northern Territory Portion 2255 after the commencement of the hearing of the claim, and on 3 March 1994 became the subject of a Crown Lease Term held by B. M. and L. S. MacFarlane;
- (m) Northern Territory Portion 3069, which is the subject of Crown Lease Perpetual No. 600 to the Conservation Land Corporation and is known as Elsey National Park; and
- (n) Northern Territory Portion 3960, which is the subject of Crown Lease Term No. 1045, originally granted to the Northern Territory Land Corporation and subsequently transferred to Cave Creek Station Pty Ltd.

It should be noted that the boundary between the subject land and Northern Territory Portions 1287 and 1288 is the Roper River. Otherwise, the boundaries are artificial lines. The boundaries of the land claimed and the adjacent boundaries of the other lands to which I have referred are shown on the map in appendix 6.

2.1.2 Northern Territory Portion 645 is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 593, originally granted to The Elsey Station Ltd on 9 November 1960, for a term of fifty years, commencing on 1 July 1960. On 15 May 1985, Banibi Pty Ltd became the registered proprietor of the pastoral lease. Banibi Pty Ltd is a company incorporated in New South Wales. There are two issued shares in the company, one held by Jessie Roberts, an Aboriginal person who is one of the claimants, the other by Michael John Dodson, an Aboriginal person who was, at the time of his acquisition of the share, the Director of the Northern Land Council. Each of Jessie Roberts and Michael John Dodson executed a declaration of trust dated 1 July 1991 in respect of her or his share, pursuant to which each holds that share as trustee for Mangarrayi Aboriginal Corporation. Mangarrayi Aboriginal Corporation is an Aboriginal association, incorporated pursuant to the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act* 1976. Rule 8.1 of its rules provides that "Traditional Aboriginal Owners of any land in the Region, are eligible to be members of the Association". Rule 2.1 defines "Region" as "the land within Pastoral Lease No. 593 known as Elsey Station, Northern Territory" and provides that "Traditional Aboriginal Owners" has the same meaning as in the Land Rights Act.

2.1.3 Counsel for the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory submitted that, in these circumstances, Banibi Pty Ltd does not hold its estate or interest in the pastoral lease "on behalf of" Aboriginal people, within the meaning of s. 50(1)(a) of the Land Rights Act, and that therefore Northern Territory Portion 645 is not within those classes of land available for claim. The submission sought to distinguish between the holding of the shares in Banibi Pty Ltd on trust for an Aboriginal corporation, and through it for the benefit of its members, and the holding by Banibi Pty Ltd of its estate or interest in the pastoral lease, which is not the subject of any declaration of trust. It was submitted that the ownership arrangement was different from that which was the subject of *R v. Toohey; Ex parte Attorney-General for the Northern Territory* (1980) 145 CLR 374, in which the High Court of Australia interpreted the phrase "on behalf of" in s. 50(1)(a) very generously. In that case, the Aboriginal Land Fund, a

statutory corporation established under the *Aboriginal Land Fund Act 1974*, held a pastoral lease. Its statutory functions were given to it for the purpose of enabling indigenous people, including both Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders, to occupy land. A majority of the High Court held that the corporation held its estate or interest "on behalf of" Aboriginal people. Banibi Pty Ltd lacks the specific statutory functions of the Aboriginal Land Fund; it is an ordinary corporation which, in theory, could decide to deal with its estate or interest in Pastoral Lease No. 593 otherwise than for the benefit of Aboriginal people. It is, however, firmly under the control of Aboriginal people. As I have said, the two shareholders are Aboriginal people who hold their shares as trustees for a corporation the members of which must be Aboriginal people. The majority of the directors are Aboriginal persons, representing the leading families of claimants, and are residents of the Jilkminggan community. The other director is an employee of the Northern Land Council. The purchase of the shares in Banibi Pty Ltd was undertaken with money advanced from the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account (a body established under the Land Rights Act), for the purpose of making the land available to Aboriginal people. In these circumstances, it would be unrealistic to say that Banibi Pty Ltd did not hold its estate or interest "on behalf of" Aboriginal people.

2.1.4 Pastoral Lease No. 593 is subject to a mortgage to Jilkminggan Community Incorporated, an association incorporated on 16 July 1975, pursuant to the *Associations Incorporation Act* (NT), as Djembere Community Incorporated, which changed its name to its present name on 15 August 1984. By rule 7 of the constitution of the association, the membership of the association is restricted to "Aboriginals who are for the time being accepted by the Council as members". There is no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that Jilkminggan Community Incorporated holds its estate or interest as mortgagee "on behalf of" Aboriginal people.

2.1.5 Save for the access easement, to which I refer in para. 2.9.2, there are no other estates or interests in Northern Territory Portion 645.

2.2 Areas excluded from Northern Territory Portion 645 Northern Territory Portion 645 is the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 593. In that lease, the land is described as:

" ... all that piece or parcel of land in the Darwin and Gulf District containing an area of two thousand and sixty four square miles or thereabouts and being Northern Territory Portion No. 645 which said land is delineated in the plan hereon ..."

In the body of the lease, "four" has been deleted in "sixty four" by being struck through with several lines and "two" has been entered above it. There is a similar alteration in a notation on the plan; the figures "2064" have been deleted by being struck through with several lines and the figures "2062" have been inserted above them. The notation on the plan then reads:

"2062 Sq. M. ex Stock Routes, Cemetery, Old Homestead, Railway, O.T. Line and Stuart Highway"

The intention appears to be to exclude from Northern Territory Portion 645 the areas of land referred to in the notation. It is necessary to deal with each of these areas.

2.3 The stock routes

2.3.1 The stock routes referred to in the notation set out in para. 2.2 are the Urapunga Stock Route and the Birdum Stock Route. By notice published in the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* on 17 August 1933, pursuant to s. 113 of the *Crown Lands Ordinance* 1931, the Minister of State for the Interior declared a number of areas to be routes for the passage of travelling stock and "recognized routes" for the purposes of s. 20 of the *Stock Diseases Ordinance* 1927-1930. Each such route was to be one mile wide, i.e. half a mile on either side of lines described in the schedule to the notice, except where station fences limited the width on one side or the other. The schedule included the two stock routes to which I have referred.

2.3.2 The Urapunga Stock Route follows a generally east-west direction, entering the subject land from Northern Territory Portion 3069, across the Elsey Creek, and leaving it at its boundary with Northern Territory Portion 712. In the vicinity of the present homestead, the stock route passes close to the Roper River; the significance of this is dealt with in para. 6.14. The relevant portion of the Urapunga Stock Route is shown on the map in appendix 6.

2.3.3 That part of the Birdum Stock Route that crosses the subject land is also shown on the map in appendix 6. It follows a generally north-south route, in a straight line, through the western end of Northern Territory Portion 645.

2.3.4 Being excluded from the area the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 593, by delineation on the plan on that lease, each of the stock route areas is within the definition of "unalienated Crown land" in s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act. By s. 50(2D), the Aboriginal Land Commissioner is required not to perform, or continue to perform, a function under s. 50(1)(a) of the Land Rights Act in respect of land reserved, dedicated or otherwise set aside as a stock route. By s. 50(2E), however, the relevant provision of s. 50(2D) does not apply in relation to a stock route that is, along each of its two longer boundaries, contiguous to land to which an application relates. Subsection (2E) applies to the area of the Urapunga Stock Route and to the area of the Birdum Stock Route within Northern Territory Portion 645.

2.3.5 It should be noted that an area proclaimed as a stock route is not thereby an area over which there is a road over which the public has a right of way. This was decided by the Full Court of the Federal Court of Australia in *Re Maurice's Application; Ex parte Attorney-General for the Northern Territory* (1987) 18 FCR 163 and *Banibi Pty Ltd v. Aboriginal Land Commissioner* (1987) 76 ALR 655. The latter decision related specifically to that area of the Birdum Stock Route which was included in the land the subject of claim no. 69 (see para. 1.6) and is included in the present claim.

2.4 Northern Territory Portion 270: the cemetery The notation on the plan which is part of Pastoral Lease No. 593, quoted in para. 2.2, made reference to "Cemetery". There is an area of approximately 4.14 hectares excised from Northern Territory Portion 645 and known as Northern Territory Portion 270. By notice published in the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* on 22 March 1967, Northern Territory Portion 270 was reserved for a cemetery,

pursuant to the *Crown Lands Ordinance* (NT). The present claim does not include Northern Territory Portion 270.

2.5 Old homestead and O.T. line

2.5.1 Apart from the notation on the plan which is part of Pastoral Lease No. 593, quoted in para. 2.2, there appears to be nothing to indicate precisely what is excluded from the land the subject of that pastoral lease in respect of the "Old Homestead". There have been two old homesteads within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645. The earlier one, in use at the time when Aeneas Gunn was manager of Elsey Station and Jeannie Gunn was living there, gaining the experience which she was to document in *We of the Never-Never* and *The Little Black Princess*, was situated in the west of the subject land, near Warloch Ponds. It was abandoned after Aeneas Gunn's death, in favour of a site towards the east of the claim area, which was in turn abandoned in favour of the present site, near the Roper River. The present homestead stands not on the land the subject of Pastoral Lease No. 593, but on the Urapunga Stock Route. Each of the two old homestead sites and the present homestead site are shown on the map in appendix 6.

2.5.2 I take the reference to the "O.T. Line" to mean the overland telegraph line, which was established many years ago to link Darwin with places in the south of Australia. Nothing in Pastoral Lease No. 593, or elsewhere, discloses any dimensions or other description or depiction of any specific area of land related to the overland telegraph line. It is possible that the line was close to the old alignment of the Stuart Highway (see para. 2.7).

2.5.3 To the extent to which any land is excluded from Northern Territory Portion 645 solely by the references in the notation on the plan to "Old Homestead" and "O.T. Line", it would be unalienated Crown land. It is not included in the claim, which is framed by reference to the land included in Northern Territory Portion 645. I have been unable to determine the extent of the exclusions.

2.6 Northern Territory Portion 3672: the former railway

2.6.1 The reference to "Railway" in the notation quoted in para. 2.2 is a reference to the disused North Australia Railway between Darwin and Birdum. It has nothing to do with the proposed railway linking Darwin and Alice Springs, the intended route for which lies entirely outside the claim area, to the west of it. The former railway passed through the western part of the claimed land, on an approximate north-south alignment, much of which was close to the Stuart Highway. In his written submissions, counsel for the claimants sought to include the old rail corridor in the land claimed, on the basis that there is no definition of any land excluded.

2.6.2 In 1916, when the line of the North Australia Railway was surveyed, drawings were prepared, showing a corridor 600 links wide. In 1989, these drawings were used in the preparation of survey plans of the boundaries of an area which became Northern Territory Portion 3672. In other words, the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 3672 are identical with the boundaries of the corridor of the former railway. They enclose a strip of land 120.7 metres wide, the equivalent of 600 links. Northern

Territory Portion 3672 is the subject of Crown Lease Perpetual No. 902, held by the Northern Territory Land Corporation. The lease was executed on 24 May 1989 and came into operation on 26 May 1989, well before the present claim was lodged. It has been registered in the Register Book, pursuant to the *Real Property Act* (NT), as volume 201 folio 71. By s. 69 of that Act, the registered proprietor has absolute and indefeasible title, subject to the exceptions referred to in the section, none of which is applicable. The exclusion by the notation on the plan in Pastoral Lease No. 593, coupled with the definition of Northern Territory Portion 3672, is enough to exclude that area from the land claimed in the present claim. The alignment of Northern Territory Portion 3672 is shown on the map in appendix 6.

2.7 The Stuart Highway The exclusion of "Stuart Highway" effected by the notation on the plan in Pastoral Lease No. 593, quoted in para. 2.2, appears to relate to an earlier alignment of the highway, rather than its existing one. Again, counsel for the claimants contended that the absence of sufficient definition of the land excluded was sufficient to preserve the highway as land available for claim. I disagree, on the basis that the claim is limited to the land included in Northern Territory Portion 645. I am unable to determine how much land is excluded, but the question is academic; a grant of land to a land trust must exclude land over which the public has a right of way (see s. 12(3) of the Land Rights Act). In para. 7.2.2, I determine that both the former Stuart Highway and the present Stuart Highway answer that description, and deal with the issue of the appropriate width of a road reservation to be excluded from a grant of the land claimed to a land trust.

2.8 Northern Territory Portion 1508: the Jilkminggan community Lying entirely within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645 is Northern Territory Portion 1508, an area of approximately 587.3 hectares, the boundaries of which are shown on the map in appendix 6. This was the subject of a grant in fee simple to Djembere Community Incorporated on 24 November 1983. The land had been excised from Northern Territory Portion 645, as a result of a partial surrender of Pastoral Lease No. 593, and from the Urapunga Stock Route. On 15 August 1984, Djembere Community Incorporated changed its name to Jilkminggan Community Incorporated. Northern Territory Portion 1508 is not claimed.

2.9 Northern Territory Portion 1434: Telstra repeater station and access easement

2.9.1 In the south-west of the claim area, west of the Stuart Highway, is an area of approximately 8 460 square metres, excised from Northern Territory Portion 645, which is Northern Territory Portion 1434. It was the subject of a grant of an estate in fee simple to the Commonwealth of Australia on 22 May 1984. In the Register Book, there is recorded a transfer to Australian Telecommunications Commission on 31 October 1986. By s. 11 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991, which came into operation on 1 February 1992, all property and rights of Australian Telecommunications Commission (which had by then had its name changed by statute to Australian Telecommunications Corporation) became vested in Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Ltd, which changed its name to Telstra Corporation Ltd on 13 April 1993. Northern Territory Portion 1434 is used for a microwave repeater station, as part of the national telecommunications system. No claim is made to this area.

2.9.2 The plan on the certificate of title also shows an "access easement", approximately twenty metres wide, 433.56 metres long on one side and 431.27 metres long on the other, from the eastern boundary of Northern Territory Portion 1434 to a point approximately fifty metres west of the centre line of the Stuart Highway. This strip of land is claimed, on the ground that the holder of the estate or interest in the easement is the Commonwealth of Australia, and therefore the Crown. For the reasons given in para. 2.10, I reject this argument. Telstra Corporation Ltd has an estate or interest in the access easement which it does not hold on behalf of Aboriginal people, and the area is therefore not available for claim.

2.10 Northern Territory Portion 3713

2.10.1 Northern Territory Portion 3713 is an area of land covering approximately 2.25 hectares, used by Telstra Corporation Ltd for a digital radio concentrator as part of the national telecommunications system. It is situated on the northern side of the Roper Highway, in the central area of the land claimed. It is shown on the map in appendix 6. Within the area is a steel mast approximately seventy metres high erected on a concrete block, a solar-panel array and an equipment cabinet erected on a concrete block, housing batteries and radio equipment.

2.10.2 By a document dated 20 October 1989, entitled "Authorisation", to which its common seal is affixed, Banibi Pty Ltd agreed to surrender its interest in what became Northern Territory Portion 3713 to Australian Telecommunications Corporation, together with free and unrestricted right of access over Northern Territory Portion 645, in consideration of a payment of \$500. The document contemplated construction of an access road and contained a grant of a permissive occupancy for the purpose of construction works, "pending finalisation of the transfer arrangements". By a further document of the same date, to which the common seal of Banibi Pty Ltd was also affixed, it agreed to grant to Australian Telecommunications Corporation and its agents, servants, workmen and contractors, without consideration, a free and unrestricted right of way and access at all times over Elsey Station for the purposes of providing and maintaining telecommunications equipment located within the leasehold boundaries. The document is entitled "Deed of Licence for Access by Telecom over Crown Land under Lease" and further provides:

"It is understood that a defined access is not practical due to variations in topographical and climatic conditions prevailing from time to time over the terrain and that Telecom Australia will endeavour at all times to use the shortest practical route available and to minimise disturbance to the land and our operations thereon."

Neither document is executed by or on behalf of Australian Telecommunications Corporation.

2.10.3 By letter dated 9 May 1990, a delegate of the Minister for Lands and Housing announced that he had "approved the grant of Estates in Fee Simple to the Australian Telecommunications Corporation over the areas" referred to in the letter, which included Northern Territory Portion 3713. The letter indicated that partial surrender documents would be forwarded to lessees for their endorsement. It appears that

Banibi Pty Ltd did not execute any surrender of Pastoral Lease No. 593 in respect of Northern Territory Portion 3713. No grant of an estate in fee simple was made.

2.10.4 Counsel for the claimants conceded that the arrangements made between Banibi Pty Ltd and Australian Telecommunications Corporation gave rise to an equitable estate or interest in land and that such an estate or interest falls within the meaning of the expression "all estates and interests" in s. 50(1)(a) of the Land Rights Act. Nevertheless, it was submitted that Northern Territory Portion 3713 was available for claim because, at the date when the claim was lodged, the estate or interest was held by the Crown.

2.10.5 In *Bolwell v. Australian Telecommunications Commission* (1982) 61 FLR 154, especially at pp. 157-8, Smithers J held that Australian Telecommunications Commission was "... the Crown or an agency or emanation thereof and that it is the intention of Parliament that it be entitled to the immunity of the Crown ..." By s. 11 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Act* 1991, which came into operation on 1 February 1992, all property and rights of Australian Telecommunications Corporation (as it was by then known) were vested in Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Limited ("AOTC"). Section 26 of that Act made it clear that this corporation, which is a company incorporated under the *Corporations Law* of the Australian Capital Territory, was intended not to be the Crown or an instrumentality or emanation of the Crown. AOTC later changed its name to Telstra Corporation Ltd.

2.10.6 The question is whether this transfer of property from the Crown to a corporation, after the date of the making of the application in the present claim, could change the status of the land claimed, by creating an estate or interest in it in favour of an entity which is not the Crown, and thereby remove it from the reach of the claimants. At first sight, the affirmative of this proposition is startling. The High Court of Australia, in *R v. Kearney; Ex parte Northern Land Council* (1983) 158 CLR 365, held that the scheme of the Land Rights Act was such that the lodging of an application in a traditional land claim was the date at which the status of the land claimed was to be determined. No action to change the status of the land thereafter could take away the jurisdiction of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner to deal with the claim. What was involved in that case was a regulation, made under an ordinance operating in the Northern Territory, which purported to make the land the subject of a claim land in a town, and thereby beyond the reach of the Land Rights Act. In *Attorney-General for the Northern Territory v. Hand* (1989) 25 FCR 345, the Full Court of the Federal Court made it clear that the making of an application for a traditional land claim, pursuant to the Land Rights Act, was sufficient to prevent the Northern Territory Government from creating any interest in the land concerned after that date. In the meantime, the Land Rights Act had been amended by the addition of s. 67A, which provides that any grant of an estate or interest in land purportedly effected after the making of an application and before the claim is finally disposed of shall be of no effect.

2.10.7 It is plain that the Northern Territory Parliament, or any of its ministers or officers, could not grant any valid interest in the land the subject of the present claim after the date when the application was lodged. The same can be said in respect of any

minister or officer of the Commonwealth. It is equally plain, however, that the Commonwealth Parliament could legislate to amend the Land Rights Act and to create interests in land which was the subject of claims and (subject to the provision of just terms for acquisition of property, in accordance with s. 51(xxxi) of the Constitution) to remove the right to claim land which had already been claimed. This power has not been exercised expressly, but there is a question whether this result has been accomplished by s. 11 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991. There can be no doubt that there is an inconsistency between the Land Rights Act, particularly s. 67A(2), and the later provision in s. 11 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991, in their application to Northern Territory Portion 3713. Both cannot apply.

2.10.8 Counsel for the claimants submitted that the situation is one in which the provisions of a later, general statute should be held not to prevail over those of an earlier, particular statute. The fundamental question is whether there is inconsistency, so that the earlier enactment must be taken to have been repealed impliedly, to the extent of the inconsistency, by the later. The principle that a later general statute will be held not to derogate from an earlier particular enactment only provides assistance in resolving this question. An examination of the two sections makes it difficult to characterise either as general or particular. Section 67A is particular in that it applies only to traditional land claims in the Northern Territory. It is general in that it applies to all such land claims. Section 11 is particular in that it applies only to the property and rights of Australian Telecommunications Corporation. It is general in that it applies to all such rights, of whatever nature, in all parts of Australia. The application of the principle is not as easy as it was, for example, in *Sarris v. Penfolds Wines Pty Ltd* [1962] NSW 801, in which a statutory provision permitting a landlord to terminate a lease of premises being used for illegal gambling was held not to have been repealed impliedly by a later Act codifying the grounds on which a landlord could serve notice to quit on a tenant.

2.10.9 An examination of s. 11 in the context of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991 as a whole assists in resolving the question of inconsistency. Section 26 provided:

"AOTC is taken for the purposes of the laws of the Commonwealth, of a State or of a Territory:

- (a) not to have been incorporated or established for a public purpose or for a purpose of the Commonwealth; and
- (b) not to be a public authority or an instrumentality or agency of the Crown; and
- (c) not to be entitled to any immunity or privilege of the Commonwealth;

except so far as express provision is made by this Act or any other law of the Commonwealth, or by a law of a State or of a Territory, as the case may be."

Section 29 provided:

"Subject to section 26, the laws of the Commonwealth apply to AOTC according to their tenor, and so far as they are capable of applying, except to the extent that AOTC is exempted from the application of a particular law or class of laws by express provision of this Act or of any other law of the Commonwealth."

The next three sections contained specific provisions that the *Lands Acquisition Act* 1989, the *Public Works Committee Act* 1969 and specified sections of the *Corporations Law* of the Australian Capital Territory did not apply to AOTC. Sections 33 and 34 excluded from application certain classes of State and Territory laws. Section 38 provided for the manner in which AOTC could become registered as the proprietor of interests in land under State and Territory systems of registration of title. Finally, s. 41 provided for AOTC to pay reasonable compensation:

"Where, but for this section, the operation of this Act would result in the acquisition of property from a person otherwise than on just terms ..."

2.10.10 The combination of these provisions appears to me to make it clear that Parliament intended to override s. 67A of the Land Rights Act. It is true that s. 29 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991 provided for the continued application of Commonwealth laws to AOTC and that no provision exempted specifically s. 67A of the Land Rights Act. Section 29, however, was made expressly subject to s. 26. It was s. 26, which removed AOTC from the sphere of the Crown, in conjunction with s. 11, which effected a transfer of all property from Australian Telecommunications Corporation to AOTC, which created estates or interests in land which were not those of the Crown. To hold that s. 29 preserved some of those estates and interests as estates and interests of the Crown would be to read s. 26 as subject to s. 29, the opposite of what the Act requires. Further, s. 41 gives a right to compensation where these provisions result in acquisition other than on just terms, a right which might well be available to the claimants, who have lost their right to claim Northern Territory Portion 3713 under the Land Rights Act, in consequence of the operation of the Act.

2.10.11 I am therefore of the view that, after the date when the present claim was lodged, Northern Territory Portion 3713 became subject to an estate or interest owned by AOTC, which did not hold it "on behalf of" Aboriginal people. Because s. 67A of the Land Rights Act is impliedly repealed by the later provisions in ss. 11 and 26 of the *Australian and Overseas Telecommunications Corporation Act* 1991, to the extent of the inconsistency between them, Northern Territory Portion 3713 can no longer be claimed.

2.10.12 I have considered whether the two documents executed by Banibi Pty Ltd on 20 October 1989, referred to in para. 2.10.2, taken together, or either of them, created an easement over Northern Territory Portion 645 in favour of Australian Telecommunications Corporation. If that were the case, the reasoning which I have applied to Northern Territory Portion 3713 would be applicable to so much of

Northern Territory Portion 645 as was affected by the easement. I am of the view that no such easement was created. The vagueness of the language used to specify the right given, in particular the choice not to specify a route or a range of possible routes, the use of the word "Licence" in the title of the second document, and the failure of either document to make any provision for execution by the grantee, all make it clear that what was created was a mere licence. The right is to be distinguished from the right to use all of a garden, held to be an easement in *Re Ellenborough Park* [1956] Ch 131. What was intended was clearly a right of access to Northern Territory Portion 3713; there would be absurdity in holding that Banibi Pty Ltd was granting unrestricted rights to move over any part of the land over which it held a pastoral lease. The question of access to Northern Territory Portion 3713 is dealt with in para. 6.10.

2.11 The energy supply easement

2.11.1 Within the claim area is also an energy supply easement, created under s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT), now repealed and replaced by s. 63 of the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT). The easement does not exceed thirty metres in width and crosses the western end of the subject land from its southern boundary with Northern Territory Portion 2016 to its boundary with Northern Territory Portion 2255. It is approximately 36.8 kilometres long. Its location is shown on the map in appendix 6.

2.11.2 The determination of the status of the energy supply easement is a matter of some complexity. I dealt with it in my report relating to the Warlmanpa (Muckaty Pastoral Lease) Land Claim No. 135 but, since the details in the present claim differ in some respects, I deal with it again. To some extent, what appears in this report in relation to that issue involves repetition of what I said in the previous report. Most of the parties affected are the same as those affected by my findings in the earlier report, and the submissions are the same for the most part. I deal with the issues completely in this report for convenience. I note that my report in relation to claim no. 135 was forwarded to the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory on 18 March 1997. It was distributed to other parties, including NT Gas Pty Ltd, the banks referred to in para. 2.11.7 and the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory, within a few days thereafter. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no legal proceeding commenced for the purpose of challenging the correctness of my conclusions on the issues relating to the energy supply easement.

2.11.3 The easement is an easement in gross, which exists for the purpose of a pipeline conveying natural gas from gas fields in Central Australia to Darwin and places en route. In June 1985, the Northern Territory, by its Power and Water Authority, entered into a contract with a company called NT Gas Pty Ltd, whereby the latter would construct and maintain the pipeline.

2.11.4 By an agreement in writing, dated 6 June 1986, Banibi Pty Ltd (described in the agreement as "the Grantor") granted to NT Gas Pty Ltd (described as "the Company") certain rights. The agreement recites that the Grantor:

"at the request of the Northern Territory of Australia ('the Territory') . . . is agreeable to permitting the construction, operation and maintenance of a pipeline, pipelines, apparatus, works and for matters ancillary in accordance with the provisions of the Energy Pipelines Act 1981 ('the Act') on the land".

The exact nature of the rights granted is the subject of controversy between the parties to the claim, so it is necessary to set out in full the major operative clauses of the agreement:

- "(1) The Grantor agrees to grant under Section 36D of the Crown Lands Act an energy supply easement (called 'the pipeline easement') for the purposes specified in Schedule 4 over a piece or parcel of land identified in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement (which piece or parcel of land is called 'the pipeline easement').
- (2) (1) The Grantor grants to the Territory together with agents servants engineers contractors and other persons authorised by the Territory a right of access to the land for the purposes of carrying out such survey work tests and investigations as may be required in the opinion of the Territory or the Company so as to determine the location and boundaries of the pipeline easement and the Territory or the Company shall be at liberty to place upon the land such markers as may be necessary in the opinion of the Territory or the Company to locate or identify the land that is to be subject to the pipeline easement.
- (2) For the purposes of Sub-clause (1) the Company together with agents, servants, engineers, contractors and other persons authorised by the Company shall be deemed to be, for the purpose only of access, an agent of the Territory.
- (3) Upon identification of the land to be subject to the pipeline easement and notwithstanding that the Memorandum of Grant of Easement may not have been executed by the Grantor or even if executed may not have been registered in accordance with provisions of the Real Property Act the Grantor agrees that:
 - (a) The Company may commence and proceed with the construction operation and maintenance of the pipeline and associated works in accordance with the proposed terms, being the terms set out in Schedule 4, of the pipeline easement; and
 - (b) the Company shall have the right to enter upon such parts of the Grantor's land immediately adjacent to the land to be subject to the pipeline easement as may reasonably be required to facilitate the construction operation and maintenance of the pipeline and associated works and to place on such land equipment not of a permanent nature."

2.11.5 So far as is relevant, s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) then provided:

"An easement in gross may be granted to the Territory, the council of a municipality constituted under the *Local Government Act* or any prescribed statutory public authority by -

(b) the lessee of a Crown lease, over land comprised in that Crown lease."

The *Crown Lands Act* was repealed and re-enacted as the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT); the former s. 36D is now s. 63. Section 108 of the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT) in general preserves the effect of all titles, licences, rights, privileges, obligations and liabilities arising under the repealed Act, and the effect of all legislative and administrative instruments made under the repealed Act, as if they arose or were made under the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT) or the *Pastoral Land Act* 1992 (NT).

2.11.6 On 13 December 1985, the Northern Territory of Australia granted to NT Gas Pty Ltd a licence, pursuant to s. 15 of the *Energy Pipelines Act* (NT). The licence authorised NT Gas Pty Ltd:

"for the period from 13 December 1985 to 12 December 2006 both inclusive to construct, operate and maintain a pipeline for the conveyance of Licensed products as defined in the Schedule between the Palm Valley gas field and Channel Island, along the route and within the licence area more particularly described in the Schedule . . ."

The expression "Licence area" was defined in the schedule to the licence as meaning a corridor 1 000 metres wide and extending 500 metres to each side of a line described in an appendix to the agreement.

2.11.7 NT Gas Pty Ltd proceeded to construct the pipeline, including that section across the land the subject of this claim. It obtained finance from a consortium of banks. In December 1986, a series of documents was executed which constituted a sale and lease-back of the pipe. The result is that the pipe is owned by ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd, as nominee and agent of Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited, Commonwealth Bank of Australia, National Australia Bank Limited and Westpac Banking Corporation. The terms of the lease make it clear that any risk of loss is borne by the lessee, NT Gas Pty Ltd. In some events, the lessor has resort to the Northern Territory to ensure payment of the amounts required by the lease. Construction of the pipeline was completed in January 1987.

2.11.8 On 19 August 1988, Banibi Pty Ltd executed a memorandum of grant of easement. This instrument provided that Banibi Pty Ltd:

"under Section 36D of the Crown Lands Act and IN CONSIDERATION of the sum of FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS (\$400.00) DO HEREBY GRANT to the Northern Territory of Australia . . . an Energy Supply Easement within

the meaning of Section 36EA of and Schedule 2 to the Crown Lands Act affecting that part of the land that is shown described as Energy Supply Easement on the plan annexed hereto and more particularly shown on the Plans numbered S86/212A, S86/212B and S86/336 deposited at the Lands Titles Office (hereinafter called 'the Easement Land') and without in any way whatsoever limiting the generality of the foregoing full and free right for the Northern Territory of Australia and its assigns their servants and agents and all persons authorised by it or them to act on its or their behalf at all times and from time to time:

- (a) to lay, construct, repair, maintain, renew, use, operate and remove pipeline, pipelines, apparatus or works within the meaning of the Energy Pipelines Act for the conveyance of any substance whether in a gaseous, liquid or solid state and for purposes incidental thereto under the Energy Pipelines Act through in and along the easement land, and
- (b) to cause or permit to flow or be conveyed through and along the said pipelines any such substance, and
- (c) with or without vehicles, plant and equipment to enter and be in and upon the easement land for the purpose of exercising any rights granted to it or them hereunder, and
- (d) to perform or carry out any act incidental to any of the aforesaid purposes."

The consideration of \$400 referred to in the instrument was paid to Banibi Pty Ltd by NT Gas Pty Ltd, by cheque dated 18 November 1988.

2.11.9 Section 36EA of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) then provided:

- "(1) Without limiting the power that he may have under any other law in force in the Territory, but subject to section 36G, the proprietor of an easement or easement in gross of a type described in a certificate of title or Crown lease registered under the *Real Property Act* by a description in Schedule 2 shall have the use and benefit of the easement or easement in gross for the purposes specified in relation to that use.
- (2) A pipe, duct, wire, pole or other thing attached to or constructed on land to which an easement or easement in gross referred to in subsection (1) relates for or in relation to a relevant purpose described in Schedule 2 shall be deemed not to be a fixture to the land for the purpose of giving the proprietor of the land a proprietary interest in it."

The provision is now found in s. 65 of the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT).

2.11.10 Schedule 2 to the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) as in force at the relevant time (now schedule 1 to the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT)) contained the following provisions in relation to an energy supply easement:

"Description

Energy supply easement.

Purpose

Supplying or conveying to, through or across the land gas, liquid fuels or water or other liquids in such a form as to be capable of conveying energy.

Power

To break the surface of, dig, open up and use the land for the purpose of laying down, fixing, taking up, repairing, relaying or examining pipes for the purposes of the easement and of using and maintaining those pipes, and to enter the land at any time (if necessary with vehicles and equipment) for the purposes of the easement or exercising these powers."

2.11.11 The land described in the memorandum of grant of easement referred to in para. 2.11.8 as the easement land is that which is shown on the map in appendix 6 to this report as the energy supply easement. On 16 November 1988, the energy supply easement was registered pursuant to the *Real Property Act* (NT).

2.11.12 By instrument dated 18 May 1988, the Northern Territory of Australia granted to NT Gas Pty Ltd certain rights. Again, there is a dispute in relation to the present claim as to the nature of those rights, so it is necessary to set out the provisions of the instrument. The recital clauses read as follows:

"WHEREAS:

- A. N.T. Gas is the holder of Pipeline Licence Number 4 under the Energy Pipelines Act 1981 in relation to the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline.
- B. The Territory is the grantee of certain easements in gross being Energy Supply Easements within the meaning of Section 36EA of and Schedule 2 to the Crown Lands Act granted for the purposes of and in connection with the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline.
- C. Further easements in gross will be granted to the Territory from time to time.
- D. The Territory has agreed to grant to NT Gas and NT Gas has agreed to accept the full and free right to use the easements in gross granted or to be granted to the Territory for the purposes of the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline, subject to the terms of this Deed."

The operative provisions of the instrument read as follows:

"1. In this Deed unless otherwise specified:

- (a) 'Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline' means the pipeline constructed and to be operated by NT Gas under the Licence granted pursuant to the Energy Pipelines Act 1981 for the purposes of conveying natural gas from the Amadeus Basin to Darwin and includes apparatus, works, and facilities ancillary to the pipeline.
- (b) 'Servient land' means that land affected or to be affected by easements in gross granted to the Territory for the purposes of or
in connection with the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline.

2. NT Gas shall be entitled to the same extent as the Territory in relation to the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline to the full and free right for it and its assigns, its and their servants and agents and all persons authorised by it or them to act on its or their behalf at all times and from time to time:

- (a) to lay, construct, repair, maintain, renew, use, operate and remove pipeline, pipelines, apparatus or works within the meaning of the Energy Pipelines Act for the conveyance of any substance permitted by the aforesaid Pipeline Licence Number 4 and for purposes incidental thereto under the Energy Pipelines Act through in and along the servient land, and
- (b) to cause or permit to flow or be conveyed through and along the said pipelines any such substance, and
- (c) with or without vehicles, plant and equipment to enter and be in and upon the servient land for the purpose of exercising any rights granted to it or them hereunder, and
- (d) to perform or carry out any act incidental to any of the aforesaid purposes.

3. NT Gas shall be responsible for all damage caused by NT Gas its servants agents engineers contractors and other persons authorised by it to the servient land including any property whether of a real or personal nature situated thereon occurring by reason of the operation or maintenance of the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline.

4. NT Gas shall keep the Territory indemnified against all actions claims costs and damages (whether in respect of damage to real or personal property or personal injury) that may be lawfully brought made or claimed against the Territory by any person in relation to or in

connection with the easements in gross granted or to be granted to the Territory (for the purposes of or in connection with the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline) or any matter or thing done or purported to have been done pursuant to it.

5. The Territory shall at all times ensure the continuance of tenure conferred by the aforesaid easements in gross and shall take all action necessary to ensure such continuance notwithstanding changes of ownership of or title to the servient land for the purposes of or in connection with the Amadeus Basin to Darwin natural gas pipeline for the term of Pipeline Licence Number 4 or any extension or replacement thereof."

2.11.13 So far as the Northern Territory of Australia is concerned, the source of power for entering into an agreement of this nature appears to have been s. 36EB of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) (now s. 66 of the *Crown Lands Act* 1992 (NT)), which provided:

"A person to or for whom an easement in gross is granted or reserved under this Division may allow any other person (himself or by his agents, servants or workmen) to enter on and do anything on the land to which the easement relates that the person to or for whom it was granted or reserved can do as the proprietor of the easement, and the proprietor of the land shall not hinder or obstruct a person entering on or doing anything on the land in pursuance of the authority of the proprietor of the easement."

2.11.14 Counsel for the claimants adopted the argument, put by counsel for the claimants in claim no. 135, that an easement in gross is not an estate or interest in land, for the purposes of s. 50 of the Land Rights Act. The argument called in aid the judgments of Mason J and Wilson J in *R v. Toohey; Ex parte Meneling Station Pty Ltd* (1982) 158 CLR 327, at pp. 342-3 and 351 respectively. The effect of those passages is that the phrase "estate or interest" in the definition of "unalienated Crown land" in s. 3(1), and the phrase "estates and interests" in s. 50, of the Land Rights Act are to be construed so as to cover only proprietary interests of the kinds traditionally recognised by the law as legal and equitable estates and interests. It was argued in consequence that, because an easement of the kind known to the common law was an estate or interest which required both a dominant and a servient tenement, an easement in gross, which has no dominant tenement, was not an estate or interest for the purposes of the Land Rights Act. The argument gains support from *Commissioner of Main Roads v. North Shore Gas Co. Ltd* (1967) 120 CLR 118, especially at p. 133 in the judgment of Windeyer J; *Gas & Fuel Corporation of Victoria v. Barba* [1976] VR 755, at p. 763; and *Harada v. Registrar of Titles* [1981] VR 743. That which is properly called an easement, for the purposes of the common law, would not include an easement in gross. I am prepared to accept, however, that the energy supply easement is an estate or interest for the purposes of the Land Rights Act. It is open to a legislature to create estates or interests which do not have all of the characteristics of those which are recognised traditionally. In *North Shore Gas*, Windeyer J recognised that a form of easement could be created by statute without the need for a dominant tenement. Nothing in the judgments in *Meneling* suggests

that a novel form of right created by legislation cannot be an estate or interest for the purposes of the Land Rights Act. Indeed, the High Court of Australia examined in detail the nature of a grazing licence before determining that it did not constitute an estate or interest; the grazing licence was not rejected simply on the ground of novelty. There is no reason why an easement lacking only a dominant tenement should not be regarded as an estate or interest.

2.11.15 If the energy supply easement were the only estate or interest created as a result of the transactions to which I have referred, it would have no effect on the claim. The easement in gross itself was granted to the Northern Territory of Australia. It is therefore held by the Crown, and does not affect the status of the land claimed as alienated Crown land in which all estates and interests not held by the Crown are held by or on behalf of Aboriginal people. It was contended on behalf of NT Gas Pty Ltd, the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory and the four banks referred to in para. 2.11.7 that other estates or interests of various kinds had been created, which were held neither by the Crown nor by or on behalf of Aboriginal people. I turn now to this question.

2.11.16 In the first place, it was contended that Banibi Pty Ltd had created an easement or an "equitable interest" in favour of NT Gas Pty Ltd, by the agreement of 6 June 1986. Plainly, this could not be so. That agreement created no common law easement itself. It could not do so, because it referred to no dominant tenement, which is an essential characteristic of a common law easement (see the authorities referred to in para. 2.11.14). An equitable easement could not be something of a kind inferior to a common law easement; it would only arise from an inchoate attempt to create a common law easement. By s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT), an easement in gross could only be created in favour of the Northern Territory of Australia, a municipal council or a prescribed statutory public authority. NT Gas Pty Ltd fell within neither of the last two categories. The law would not recognise as an estate or interest in land an attempt to create an easement in gross in its favour. Neither would equity. In any event, the obligation which Banibi Pty Ltd undertook to NT Gas Pty Ltd by the agreement was to grant an energy supply easement under s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT). This is plain enough from clause (1) of the agreement, which I have set out in para. 2.11.4. It is emphasised by clause (7), which I have not quoted, in which Banibi Pty Ltd undertook certain obligations "pending the formal granting or vesting of the pipeline easement" in the Northern Territory. No estate or interest in the land other than an easement in gross is contemplated. The rights of access and to perform works, which NT Gas Pty Ltd acquired under clauses (2) and (3), clearly amount to no more than a licence. Indeed, those arising under clause (2) appear to be derivative from rights of access given to the Northern Territory. It is clearly established that a licence to enter land and perform activities on it is a personal right and does not amount to an estate or interest in land. This, in substance, was the conclusion of the High Court of Australia in *Meneling*.

2.11.17 One argument raised was that NT Gas Pty Ltd was the assignee of the estate or interest of the Northern Territory in the energy supply easement. The assignment was said to have occurred by the instrument dated 18 May 1988, the text of which is set out in para. 2.11.12. This argument must fail for a number of reasons. The language of the instrument is not that of assignment. It recites an agreement to grant

and accept "the full and free right to use the easements in gross". The text confirms this; the subject of the grant by the Northern Territory is the rights which are incidents of the energy supply easement, not the easement itself. The source of power for the Northern Territory to enter into the agreement, s. 36EB of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT), which is set out in para. 2.11.13, did not contemplate the assignment of the easement in gross itself. It authorised the Northern Territory to grant to others the incidents of the easement in gross, not the easement in gross itself. If assignment of the easement in gross were permitted, the restriction imposed by s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) on the classes of proprietors of easements in gross would be rendered irrelevant.

2.11.18 Next, it was argued that NT Gas Pty Ltd had acquired an equitable interest by way of resulting trust, arising from its payment of the \$400 consideration for the grant of the energy supply easement to the Northern Territory. Where one person pays for the purchase of an interest in land, but the interest is conveyed or granted to another person, the law presumes that the latter holds the interest on trust for the former. It must be emphasised that there is only a presumption of a resulting trust. The presumption may be rebutted by the existence of circumstances showing an intention that the provider of the purchase money is not to benefit by way of a trust. The fact that the purchase was intended as a gift would be an obvious rebutting circumstance. In the case of the energy supply easement, the circumstances rebut the presumption emphatically. The relevant transactions were carried out in furtherance of the statutory scheme, constituted by the *Energy Pipelines Act* (NT) and the *Crown Lands Act* (NT), whereby the Northern Territory Government could license private enterprises to deliver or distribute energy, or the resources to generate it. As part of the execution of the scheme, NT Gas Pty Ltd carried out the task of negotiating with landowners and leaseholders for the creation of energy supply easements. Without the statutory scheme, NT Gas Pty Ltd would have been unable to acquire easements because it could not have related them to any dominant tenement. The clear intention of the statutory scheme is that the Northern Territory is to hold the beneficial interest in the energy supply easement, licensing its use under s. 36EB of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT). Because NT Gas Pty Ltd is the profit-maker, as licensee, builder and operator of the pipeline, it was sensible that it should pay the costs involved in procuring the energy supply easements. It must be remembered that s. 36D of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT) permitted the creation of easements in gross only in favour of the Northern Territory itself, municipal councils and prescribed statutory public authorities. The statute did not contemplate that those in whose favour such easements could not be created would become beneficial owners of them by resulting trust, arising from the provision of purchase money.

2.11.19 A further contention was that NT Gas Pty Ltd was granted an estate or interest in the land the subject of the claim as a result of the rights given to it by the licence granted under s. 15 of the *Energy Pipelines Act* (NT), referred to in para. 2.11.6, or the instrument dated 18 May 1988, set out in para. 2.11.12, or both. In para. 2.11.17, I have rejected the argument that the latter instrument amounted to an assignment of the easement in gross. The argument that either the licence or the instrument gave to NT Gas Pty Ltd rights which amounted to an estate or interest in land must be rejected similarly. The language of each document is not the language of

the creation of estates or interests in land, but the language of the grant of personal rights, or licences. The documents are formal, legal documents. The familiar language of the grant of estates or interests could have been used, if this were intended. Undoubtedly, a reason why this was not done is that any attempt by the Northern Territory to grant estates or interests in land, inconsistent with the pastoral lease held by Banibi Pty Ltd, would have lacked the necessary statutory authority. That authority is not to be found in the provisions to which I have referred, dealing with the creation and use of the energy supply easement. The *Crown Lands Act* (NT) contained no provision authorising the carving of lesser interests out of an easement in gross. The only relevant provision was s. 36EB, which did not empower the Northern Territory either to assign the easement in gross or to grant lesser interests out of it. Section 22 of the *Energy Pipelines Act* (NT) made it clear that a licence granted under s. 15 gave rise to no proprietary interest in any land, nor to any licence to enter land; s. 22 is the source of a power to grant leases, easements and licences over Crown land to the holder of a licence under s. 15, to enable the holder of that licence to enter land for the purpose of constructing and maintaining the pipeline for which the s. 15 licence is held. That power would have been entirely unnecessary if the licence under s. 15 itself amounted to an interest in land.

2.11.20 For its right to go onto the land claimed and carry out any activities there, NT Gas Pty Ltd had to rely on its agreement with Banibi Pty Ltd until 18 May 1988 and then upon its agreement with the Northern Territory with respect to the use of the energy supply easement. In each case, the rights it acquired were personal, not estates or interests in the land.

2.11.21 In their written submissions, the banks referred to in para. 2.11.7 attempted to argue that ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd had acquired an interest in the land by having acquired ownership of the pipe. The argument was based on the proposition that the pipe, being buried in the soil, had become a fixture. On the application of ordinary principles, there must be some doubt whether this is so. A chattel becomes a fixture, and part of the real estate, if annexed to land to a sufficient degree and with the object of the better enjoyment of the land. See *Holland v. Hodgson* (1872) 7 LRCP 328, at pp. 334-5 and *Reid v. Smith* (1905) 3 CLR 656, at pp. 663 (per Griffith CJ), 678 and 680 (per O'Connor J). There can be no doubt about the degree of annexation of the pipe; it is buried seventy-five centimetres beneath the surface. In claim no. 135, Glenn Bott, the Administrative Manager of NT Gas Pty Ltd, gave evidence to the effect that the purpose of burying the pipe was to safeguard the pipe itself. The pipe is not constructed so as to benefit the land, but simply because it must exist to enable natural gas to be conveyed across the land.

2.11.22 Even if the pipe were a fixture, however, the acceptance of the banks' submission would turn the whole law relating to fixtures on its head. If a chattel becomes a fixture, the consequence is that the owner of the chattel loses ownership and the owner of the land to which it is annexed acquires ownership. There are many cases, of which *Brand v. Chris Building Co. Pty Ltd* [1957] VR 625 is an example. There is no case of which I am aware which holds that the owner of a chattel which becomes a fixture acquires an estate or interest in the land to which the chattel is annexed. This rule explains the various provisions which are designed to ensure that, even if a pipe within an energy supply easement would otherwise become a fixture, it

does not do so for the purpose of giving the owner of the land any interest in the pipe. These provisions are found in clause (8) of the agreement dated 6 June 1986, referred to in para. 2.11.4, s. 36EA(2) of the *Crown Lands Act* (NT), quoted in para. 2.11.9, and s. 59 of the *Energy Pipelines Act* (NT).

2.11.23 Further, the submission is inconsistent with the decision of the High Court of Australia in *Commissioner of Main Roads v. North Shore Gas Co. Ltd* (1967) 120 CLR 118, in which the court held that the rights of the owner of gas mains and service pipes embedded in the soil were neither land nor an interest in land, for the purposes of a statutory scheme providing for compensation for people deprived of land, or of interests in land, as a result of the acquisition of the land for the building of a freeway. The court held that ownership under statutory authority of a buried pipe did not give rise to ownership of land, despite the fact that the pipe occupied space to which the owner of the land would otherwise have been entitled.

2.11.24 The Attorney-General for the Northern Territory made an attempt to argue that some equitable interest existed on the application of the principles of estoppel, acquiescence and unconscionable conduct. The attempt fails. Apart from its other deficiencies, the argument cannot be sustained for lack of evidence that NT Gas Pty Ltd was ever led by Banibi Pty Ltd, or by the Northern Territory Government, to believe that it would acquire any entitlement which it did not acquire. The submission of the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory that Banibi Pty Ltd is estopped from giving its consent to the making of the land claim is dealt with in para. 2.13.

2.11.25 In the result, I am of the view that, apart from Pastoral Lease No. 593, the only possible estate or interest in the land the subject of the energy supply easement is that easement in gross itself, and that it is held by the Crown. In chapter 6, I deal with the consequences of this conclusion for NT Gas Pty Ltd, ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd and the banks referred to in para. 2.11.7.

2.11.26 My conclusion makes it unnecessary to deal with the argument, adopted by counsel for the claimants, that the easement in gross is a "mining interest", within the meaning of s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act, and, by virtue of s. 3(2)(a), is therefore to be disregarded as not being an estate or interest. It also precludes any question of estates or interests in the land arising from any rights of access across other parts of the land to that part of it which is subject to the energy supply easement. There could be no question of an easement of necessity for access to the land the subject of the energy supply easement, because access is available from adjoining land on both the north and the south, along the track which runs along the energy supply easement itself, as well as from the Gorrie Station access road, referred to in para. 7.2.2.

2.12 Land available for claim

2.12.1 I therefore find that:

- (a) Northern Territory Portion 645, including the energy supply easement referred to in para. 2.11, but excluding the undefined areas of the old homestead and the old telegraph line referred to in para. 2.5, the undefined area of the old alignment of the Stuart Highway referred to

in para. 2.7, the area covered by the easement providing access to

Northern Territory Portion 1434 referred to in para. 2.9, and Northern Territory Portion 3713 referred to in para. 2.10, is alienated Crown land in which all estates and interests not held by the Crown are held by, or on behalf of, Aboriginal people, and is available for claim;

- (b) the parts of the Urapunga Stock Route and the Birdum Stock Route which lie within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645 referred to in para. 2.3 are unalienated Crown land and are available for claim;
- (c) Northern Territory Portion 3672 referred to in para. 2.6, the area covered by the easement providing access to Northern Territory Portion 1434 referred to in para. 2.9, and Northern Territory Portion 3713 referred to in para. 2.10 are neither unalienated Crown land, nor alienated Crown land in which all estates and interests not held by the Crown are held by, or on behalf of, Aboriginal people, and are not available for claim; and
- (d) Northern Territory Portion 270 referred to in para. 2.4, the undefined areas of the old homestead and the old telegraph line referred to in para. 2.5, the undefined area of the old alignment of the Stuart Highway referred to in para. 2.7, Northern Territory Portion 1508 referred to in para. 2.8, and Northern Territory Portion 1434 referred to in para. 2.9 are not the subject of the claim as it is expressed in the application.

2.12.2 I note that, in written submissions made on behalf of the Northern Territory Land Corporation, it is said that, on 29 November 1994, the Northern Territory Surveyor-General made an amendment to Survey Plans S89/165G and S89/165H, pursuant to s. 49 of the *Licensed Surveyors Act* (NT), and that the amendment:

"altered the position of the northern and southern boundaries of Pastoral Lease No 593 on the Survey Plans so that they coincide with the northern and southern boundaries of Elsey Station."

The submission is supported by evidence in the form of a written statement of David James Jeffery, made on 23 December 1994. Mr Jeffery said he "detected an error" in the survey plans. I am not sure of the significance of this evidence. There is no indication of the alterations which were made to the survey plans, other than that they purportedly altered the position of the boundaries. It is necessary to point out, however, that s. 67A(2) of the Land Rights Act has the effect of preventing the grant of any estate or interest in any part of the land the subject of the claim after the lodgment of the application. No amendment of any survey plan could have been effective to accomplish the creation of any estate or interest in any part of the land claimed in November 1994.

2.13 Consents of those holding estates or interests

2.13.1 Section 50(2C) of the Land Rights Act requires that, where an estate or interest in land the subject of a claim is held by, or on behalf of, Aboriginal people, the Aboriginal Land Commissioner not perform, or continue to perform, a function in relation to that land unless the Aboriginal people who hold that estate or interest have, or the body which holds it on their behalf has, consented in writing to the making of the application. Banibi Pty Ltd, the holder of the estate or interest constituted by Pastoral Lease No. 593 in Northern Territory Portion 645, consented in writing to the making of the application by a document dated 1 July 1991, to which the common seal of Banibi Pty Ltd is affixed. Jilkmिंगgan Community Incorporated, the holder of the estate or interest constituted by the mortgage referred to in para. 2.1.4, consented in writing to the making of the application by a document, also dated 1 July 1991, to which the common seal of Jilkmिंगgan Community Incorporated is affixed. Both documents were lodged with the application.

2.13.2 Counsel for the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory submitted that Banibi Pty Ltd was estopped from consenting to the land claim by reason of the agreement between it and NT Gas Pty Ltd referred to in para. 2.11.4 and the grant of the energy supply easement referred to in para. 2.11.8. There are several reasons why this submission cannot be accepted. When exercising my powers as Aboriginal Land Commissioner, I am not exercising judicial power and not functioning as a court. Estoppel is a form of defence to (and on occasions foundation for) a claim made in a court of law, which must be pleaded; if the plea is made good, the court will decline to afford to a party a right otherwise available to that party. I do not have that kind of jurisdiction. I have a statutory duty to deal with an application if I have the written consent of a body holding an estate or interest on behalf of Aboriginal people. As a matter of fact, I have such a consent (see para. 2.13.1). I cannot treat it as a nullity, even if it be the case that the consent was given in breach of some obligation on the part of that body not to give it.

2.13.3 In any event, I doubt that NT Gas Pty Ltd could succeed in raising an estoppel if the issue were litigated. It is even more unlikely that the Northern Territory Government could do so. This is because Banibi Pty Ltd afforded to NT Gas Pty Ltd all of the rights which it promised, pursuant to the agreement dated 6 June 1986 referred to in para. 2.11.4. It granted the energy supply easement to the Northern Territory (see para. 2.11.8). In the meantime, NT Gas Pty Ltd was able to exercise its rights to enter the land and to construct and maintain the pipeline. Once the agreement of 18 May 1988 between NT Gas Pty Ltd and the Northern Territory, referred to in para. 2.11.12, came into existence, NT Gas Pty Ltd depended on that for its right of entry. As its terms make clear, the agreement of 6 June 1986 was intended as an interim measure, to provide rights of access until the energy supply easement was created and the Northern Territory delegated its rights under that easement to NT Gas Pty Ltd. The fact that the law, in the form of the Land Rights Act, has intervened to curtail those rights, because the relevant estate or interest is held by the Crown, cannot be relied upon to suggest that Banibi Pty Ltd has acted unconscionably.

2.14 Physical features of the land claimed The land is situated in the upper Roper River Valley. The Roper River is a permanent stream which is fed by limestone aquifers. In turn, the river feeds a number of lagoons and swamps within the claim area. Its major tributaries within the claim area are Elsey Creek, Cave Creek, Cattle Creek, the Chambers River and the Strangways River. Near Elsey Creek is a small, but important, ephemeral waterway, known as Salt Creek. The Roper River flows east, towards the Gulf of Carpentaria. In the north-west, the claim area is hilly, with limestone areas. In the south, it is flatter. Vegetation varies from lush tropical, where there is permanent water, to tropical savanna away from the Roper River and the permanent lagoons and swamps. The climate is monsoonal, so that much of the area is inaccessible during the wet season.

3 LOCAL DESCENT GROUPS

3.1 Relevant language groups The subject land lies partly within country recognised as that of the Mangarrayi language group and partly within country recognised as that of the Yangman language group. The interface between the two countries is in the vicinity of Salt Creek. Although a language group can constitute a local descent group for the purposes of the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in the Land Rights Act, the groups advanced as local descent groups in the present claim are not the language groups, but smaller groups. Indeed, some of those groups include people from both of the language groups.

3.2 Composition of groups advanced as traditional Aboriginal owners The groups advanced as traditional Aboriginal owners are composed of *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlnyin*, who are recognised as having responsibility for particular groups of sites associated with particular dreamings, and for the land around those sites. To understand the way in which the groups are constructed, it is necessary to know something of the kinship system which prevails among the claimants.

3.3 The claimants' kinship system

3.3.1 That kinship system is based on a form of the moiety system, which involves the division of people, land, dreamings and other creatures and phenomena into separate moieties and within those moieties. Each moiety is divided into four subsections. Each person is a member of a particular subsection. For each subsection, there is an appropriate subsection of the opposite moiety to which a marriage partner should belong, giving rise to a notion of an ideal, or "straight", marriage. Children of such a marriage will acquire membership of a particular subsection in the same moiety as that of their father. Subsection identities are passed back and forth in the patriline from generation to generation, so that a man's father and son will be of the same subsection, which will be different from that of the man himself. Thus, two subsections form what is called a father-child patricouple or semimoiety.

3.3.2 The eight subsections, by their names in the Mangarrayi language, are Burrala, Gamarra, Jamijin and Gangila, which make up one moiety, and Ngarrijbalan, Bangariyn, Balyarriyn and Burlayn, which make up the other moiety. The ideal marriages are Burrala-Ngarrijbalan, Gamarra-Balyarriyn, Jamijin-Bangariyn and Gangila-Burlayn. Children of a Burrala man will be Gamarra and children of a Gamarra man will be Burrala. One patricouple or semimoiety is, therefore, known as Gamarra-Burrala. The other semimoieties are constructed in a similar way. They are Gangila-Jamijin, Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan and Balyarriyn-Burlayn.

3.3.3 This kinship system is of universal application among the claimants, so that the mere possession of a particular subsection identity will not result in membership of a particular land-holding group. To be *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* or *darlnyin* with respect to particular sites and land, it is necessary generally to be able to trace one's lineage from a particular male ancestor who stood in the role of *mingirringgi* with respect to those sites and that land. Descendants of that ancestor in the patriline will be *mingirringgi* for that land-holding group. Those who stand in the role of *junggayi* will trace their lineage either through their mothers to a member of the patriline, or through

their fathers' mothers, to a member of the patriline. Those who are *darlнын* for the particular land-holding group will trace their lineage through their mothers' mothers to a member of the patriline. Thus, it is said that *mingirringgi* take country from their fathers and fathers' fathers; *junggayi* take country from their mothers and mothers' fathers, or from their fathers' mothers and fathers' mothers' fathers; and *darlнын* take country from their mothers' mothers' fathers (sometimes stated as mothers' mothers' brothers, who ought in any event to have the same semimoiety as their fathers).

3.3.4 Based on ideal marriages, the following table shows the semimoieties to which *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlнын* respectively will belong. The first column shows the semimoiety to which an area of country is considered to belong. The other three columns show the semimoiety identities of *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlнын* respectively.

Country affiliation	<i>Mingirringgi</i>	<i>Junggayi</i>	<i>Darlнын</i>
Gamarra-Burralla	Gamarra-Burralla	Balyarriyn-Burlyayn Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan	Gangila-Jamijin
Gangila-Jamijin	Gangila-Jamijin	Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan Balyarriyn-Burlyayn	Gamarra-Burralla
Balyarriyn-Burlyayn	Balyarriyn-Burlyayn	Gangila-Jamijin Gamarra-Burralla	Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan
Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan	Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan	Gamarra-Burralla Gangila-Jamijin	Balyarriyn-Burlyayn

It will be seen that each of the semimoieties appears four times in the table in relation to people. Any particular person may stand in a relationship to different areas of country in four different ways. A person will be *mingirringgi* in respect of country of which his or her father and father's father are or were *mingirringgi*; *junggayi* in respect of country for which his or her mother and mother's father are or were *mingirringgi*; *junggayi* in respect of country for which his or her father is or was *junggayi* and father's mother's father is or was *mingirringgi*; and *darlнын* in respect of country for which his or her mother is or was *junggayi* and mother's mother's father is or was *mingirringgi*.

3.3.5 The complexity of the system is increased by the recruitment into land-holding groups of persons from outside the normal descent lines. The simplest case of such recruitment is adoption, which often occurs when a child is "grown up" by a parent who is not the child's natural parent and is treated as having acquired the subsection identity which would have been appropriate for a natural child of the adoptive parent. There are more complex methods of recruitment, which often occur when a land-holding group is perceived to be short of numbers or of senior and respected members of one or more of the categories making up the group. In such cases, persons of the

appropriate semimoiety will become regarded as having the appropriate responsibilities for the particular sites and land of the land-holding group. The process may take some time. It usually involves the recruitment of someone whose existing ceremonial responsibilities match those of the required *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* or *darlnyin*, as the case may be. The nature of these roles is explained in paras 4.16.3 and 4.16.4. The recruitment of a person in this manner usually results in members of the person's family being regarded as having the appropriate roles within the land-holding group to which the person has been recruited. There have been instances in relation to some of the groups in the present claim of recruitment of persons who originated in distant places, but who came to work in the area of the subject land and who were accepted into the land-holding system by the ancestors of the claimants.

3.3.6 Another method by which a land-holding group may be formed is by succession. If a land-holding group becomes extinct, its responsibilities for the particular sites and land may simply be assumed by another group whose members have the semimoiety identities appropriate for the roles of *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlnyin* with respect to those sites and that land. The relatively long (for the Northern Territory) European history of Elsey Station has led to past disruption of the Aboriginal spiritual landscape to the extent that succession has been a factor in the construction of the present land-holding groups.

3.3.7 There is always the possibility of marriages between people who are not of the ideal subsections for marriage. There is also the possibility of marriages with people from outside the claimants' kinship system altogether, including non-Aboriginal people. Non-ideal marriages have the potential to disrupt such a system. The possibility of disruption is minimised by a general rule that the father's subsection prevails, so that the child will inherit membership of the father's semimoiety. In the case where the father does not have a subsection identity, the child will usually be allocated the subsection identity which the child would have inherited if the mother had taken a husband of the appropriate subsection. These rules may not be followed in cases of adoption (see para. 3.3.5).

3.4 The meaning of "local descent group" In determining what constitutes a "local descent group" within the meaning of the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act, I have followed what was said by the Full Court of the Federal Court of Australia in *Northern Land Council v. Olney* (1992) 34 FCR 470, at pp. 478-85. It is unnecessary for me to repeat any part of that judgment in this report.

3.5 Descent criteria In determining who are members of each of the land-holding groups, I have regarded the primary criterion as descent, by which *mingirringgi* acquire their membership of the group from their fathers and fathers' fathers, *junggayi* acquire their membership from their mothers and mothers' fathers, or from their fathers and fathers' mothers' fathers, and *darlnyin* acquire their membership from their mothers and mothers' mothers' fathers. Where the evidence justifies it, I have accepted as members of land-holding groups those who have become so by adoption and those who, or whose ancestors, have been recruited in the manner referred to in para. 3.3.5. In the attribution of particular sites and a particular area of land to a particular group, succession in the manner described in para. 3.3.6 has also been relevant.

3.6 Eleven groups The claim was put on the basis that there are eleven site complexes, with surrounding areas of land, wholly or partly within the claim area, and that a land-holding group is affiliated to each such site complex and area of land. In some cases, the land-holding group for one site complex and area of land is almost identical in composition to that for another site complex and area. The site complexes and areas of land were identified for the purposes of the Mataranka Area Land Claim No. 69. Each of the areas the subject of that claim was given a number. The same numbers were used in the material presented as part of this claim. As not all of the areas the subject of the former claim are the subject of this claim, the numbers are misleading and I have elected not to use them. Rather than increase the confusion by allocating a new set of numbers, I have preferred to refer to the areas of land, and consequently to the land-holding group said to be affiliated to them, by the name of a major site to which the members of the group are affiliated. Whilst the groups may not be known by these names in common parlance, it is obvious that they would not be known by numbers either.

3.7 Difficulties in determining composition of groups

3.7.1 It has not been easy to make definitive findings as to the membership of the land-holding groups. The material presented in support of the claim includes group lists and claimant genealogies. There is not, as is sometimes the case, a separate genealogy for each group. Rather, the genealogies are on a family basis and each group consists of several families. There was also in evidence a detailed list of the personal particulars of most of the claimants. There are instances of inconsistencies between the information contained in the group lists, the genealogies, the personal particulars and the evidence given. In some cases, the group lists have contained names in particular roles which I understand to be inconsistent with the criteria to which I have referred in para. 3.5. For instance, persons were listed as *darlnyin* whose fathers (but not mothers) were listed as *junggayi*. My understanding is that *darlnyin* take exclusively through their mothers. I have endeavoured to resolve the inconsistencies as best I can. At the end of the day, it is often necessary to accept assertions by or about people as to their entitlement to membership of particular groups. Where such assertions have been made clearly, and are consistent with the evidence as to the criteria referred to in para. 3.5, I have accepted them. The lists of members of land-holding groups which follow in this chapter are constructed on this basis.

3.7.2 There is also a tendency in the evidence for senior people to be named as *junggayi* or *darlnyin* for a particular group, even though not shown on the group list as filling that role for that group. This is the result of the fact that the terms have more than one meaning; they have ceremonial and social connotations as well as land tenure connotations. There are instances, therefore, of the naming of senior individuals of the appropriate semimoieties, in response to questions as to who are *junggayi* or *darlnyin* for particular places, when those persons fulfil those roles in a wider context but not necessarily in relation to the particular site and dreaming. It is not always easy to interpret such evidence, but I have endeavoured to distinguish between cases in which a person is *junggayi* or *darlnyin* in the restricted, land tenure, sense, and cases in which a person has one or other of those roles in another sense.

3.8 The Guyanggan group

3.8.1 The **Guyanggan** group is said to be affiliated to sites and land in the vicinity of the present Elsey Station homestead. It consists of several important families and senior individuals. The central families are the Daylight and Roberts families, who are descendants of a common male ancestor named Gelwanggin; the Lirrawi family; and the family of Mary Nurniyn. There are also descendants of a man who was called Bongoyi. The appropriate semimoiety for *mingirringgi* for the **Guyanggan** group is Gamarra-Burralla.

3.8.2 Daylight Ngayunggu, Bobby Ngayunggu and Brian Manyita are brothers, whose late father, Elsey Dick, was a son of Gelwanggin. They are *mingirringgi*, together with their children. Daylight's children are Michael, Noel, Ian, Kerry, Patrick James, Hilda (whose "bush" name is Gamajarr), Pamela and Edward Daylight. Also among the *mingirringgi* is Jonathan Daylight, who appears in the genealogy under Bobby. The evidence is that Bobby is not Jonathan's natural father and that Jonathan has been "grown up" by Daylight, so I have included him as a child of Daylight. Bobby's children are Evelyn and Craig Ngayunggu. Brian's children are Tanya, Terrence and Loretta Manyita. The children of male children are also *mingirringgi*. Noel Daylight has Razak, Justin, Larissa and Jeremiah Daylight. Ian Daylight has Ozzie, Tina, Hilda (whose bush name is Yirrinini) and Ian Junior Daylight. Kerry has two children, a natural son named Ryanold Daylight and an adopted son named Owen Daylight, who is recognised as his child. Edward Daylight has three children, who appear to be adopted, but are recognised as his. They are Bruce Daylight, Samuel Daylight and Shirley Daylight (also known as Shirley Roy). Bruce Daylight has three children, Natasha, Desmond and Braden Daylight. Samuel Daylight has a son, Lucas Daylight.

3.8.3 Children of female children of Daylight are *junggayi*. Hilda Daylight Gamajarr has Deleneon and Felicia Watson. Pamela Daylight has Adrian, Lindsay, Tanya, Lee and Neil Doctor. Edward's daughter, Shirley Daylight (also known as Shirley Roy), has Rhonda Wanta, Selda Wilfrid and Lewis Roy.

3.8.4 Slim Roberts, Clive Roberts, Marjorie Hall, Marianne Roberts, Paula Roberts (also known as Paula Hall), Valmay Roberts (also known as Valmay Daniels), Douglas Leslie Roberts and Joshua Roberts are all children of the late Clancy Roberts, who was a son of Gelwanggin. They are all *mingirringgi*, along with the children of the males. Clive has Daniel, Warren and Maretta Roberts. Douglas has Tiffany Rae Paula Roberts and Joshua has Edwina Roberts. Children of females in that family are *junggayi*. Marjorie Hall has Lindsay, Rodney, Bernadette, Dianne and Selma Hall. Marianne Roberts has Joelene, Janita and Lorraine Beatrice Russell (who are also known by the surname Gaykamangu). Paula Roberts has Martina Hall, Matthias Rogers, Maceuan Rogers and Martika Rogers. Valmay Roberts has Gene Clancy Daniels and Anthea Glynnis Daniels.

3.8.5 Jessie Roberts, Sheila Conway and Betty Lardy are daughters of Gelwanggin. They are *mingirringgi*. Their children are *junggayi*. Jessie has Faye Roberts, Roger Roberts, Deirdre Newman (also known as Deirdre Roberts), Gary Roberts, Elaine James (also known as Elaine Roberts) and Jocelyn James. Sheila Conway has Edna

Farrar, Michael Miller, Christine Conway, Phyllis Conway and Robert Conway. Betty Lardy was taken away to Croker Island as a child. After seventeen years' absence, she returned to live at Jilkminggan. She has four children, Cheryl, Helena, Anna Marie and Josephine Lardy. Children of female *junggayi* are *darlnyin*. Faye Roberts has Robert Smiler, Stanley Smiler, Jessie Smiler and Karen Groves. Deirdre Newman has Stephanie John (also known as Stephanie Daniels), Steven John and Julie John. Elaine James has Josiah Albert, Harry Albert Junior and Zachariah Albert. Jocelyn James has Joanne James, Nicole James, Anthea Margaret Joe and Antoinette Joe. Edna Farrar has Rosalyn, Susan and Trudy Farrar. Christine Conway has Derrick Conway, Cecily Conway, Janet Ellis and Peter Ellis Junior. Phyllis Conway has Serita Conway (also known as Serita Moore), Anton Conway (also known as Anton Moore), Matthew Conway and Simone Baker.

3.8.6 Talbot Hood is the son of the late Olga Gamajarr, a daughter of Gelwanggin and sister of Elsey Dick. He is *junggayi* through his mother's father.

3.8.7 The next family which is included with this group is composed of the descendants of the late Paddy Shadforth, who had three children, only one of whom survives. Paddy's deceased daughter Erica Lake is survived by three children, Barbara, Bruce and Ricky Lake, who are *junggayi* through their mother's father. Barbara's children, Cecilia, Jeffrey, Georgina and Nevron Andrews, are *darlnyin*. The surviving son of Paddy Shadforth is Jackeroo Lirrawi. He and his children are *mingirringgi*. They are Kevin Lirrawi, Colleen Lirrawi, Josephine Lirrawi, Frances Lirrawi, Theresa McDonald, Janet Lirrawi, Ross Lirrawi, Sandra Hodgson and Estelle Hodgson. The last two are adopted children, recognised as members of the group. Three of Jackeroo's daughters have children, who are *junggayi* through their mothers' father. Colleen has Dinulla and Alan Morgan. Josephine has Trisha and Gregory Marsland. Theresa has Shirley, Andrew, Anne Marie, Fabian, Lisa and Leonie McDonald.

3.8.8 The third child of Paddy Shadforth was the late Biddy Farrell. Her children are *junggayi* for this group. They are Shirley, Ray, Johnny, Rosina, Susan, Carol, Dennis, Jackie, Ambrose, Maria and Hilda Farrell. Children of those female *junggayi* are *darlnyin*. Shirley has Desmond Farrell (who is adopted and recognised as her child), Virginia Farrell, Jimmy Farrell and Con Farrell Junior. Rosina has Gary Albert, Sebastian Avalon, Melissa Albert, Yvonne Albert, Terrence Albert and Harold Albert Junior. Susan has Lisa, Alison, Andrea, Aaron and Alister Andrews. Carol has Andrew, Adam and Abraham Andrews. Maria has Simone and Marissa Watson. Hilda has Nathan and Keisha Burns.

3.8.9 Lulu Jilimbirrnga is included in the list of those claiming to be *junggayi* for this group. Lulu is the daughter of a deceased man named Gudirr. She is of the Balyarriyn subsection, for whom the appropriate subsection for father's mother is Gamarra, a proper subsection for *mingirringgi* for this group. I have included her as *junggayi* through her father's mother.

3.8.10 Mary Nurniyn is a member of the Yangman language group and the daughter of the late Jungle Dick, who in turn was the son (perhaps adopted) of a man called Goggle-Eye, to whom there are references in the works of Jeannie Gunn. Mary is

mingirringgi for the **Guyanggan** group. Her daughters are *junggayi*. They are Joy Birtjara, Margaret James, Christine James and Sandra James. The first three have children, who are *darlнын*. Joy has Terrence Willy Senior and Betty Willy. Margaret has Elizabeth Fredericks, Robyn Fredericks, Terrence Fredericks, Priscilla James and William Driver. Christine has Troy Friday, Betty Friday and Josephine John. A deceased sister of Mary is survived by four children, who are *junggayi*. They are Teddy, Rosemary, Mandy and Josephine Bulga. The children of those female *junggayi* are *darlнын*. Rosemary has Zarak Yirmul, Zoe Yirmul and Razak Bulga. Mandy has Reenie Barraway, and Josephine has Mervyn Martin.

3.8.11 The remaining *mingirringgi* for this group are descendants of a man called Bongoyi. Amy Dirngayg is his surviving daughter. Rita Raymond and Caroline Willy are daughters of the late Fred Jigjig, a son of Bongoyi. The children of Rita and Caroline are *junggayi*. Rita has Megan, Tanya, Michael, Marcus, Maggie and Max Raymond. Caroline has Terrence Willy Junior, Clinton Willy and Tony Willy.

3.8.12 There are three groups of siblings who are *junggayi* for this group through their fathers' mothers. All are of the Ngarrijbalan subsection; their ideal fathers' mothers would have been Burrala, which is an appropriate subsection for *mingirringgi* for this group. First is Joseph Garadji, Beryl Gordon (also known as Beryl Munul or Beryl Garadji), James Garadji, Rachel Thompson, Ivan Garadji and Alexandra Garadji. They are the children of a deceased man called Garadji, whose mother was Wandjimari. The second set is Sybil, Stewart and Ricky Ranch, children of the late Frank Ranch, whose mother was called Morlminga. The third set is Sebina and Loretta Willy, whose father was the late David Willy, the son of Queenie Warlirli, a daughter of a deceased sister of Lulu Jilimbirnga.

3.8.13 Included in the group list as *darlнын* for this group were the sisters Pancy Gibbs, Annabelle Daylight and Maria Gibbs. Their inclusion does not appear to be in accordance with the principle that *darlнын* take through their mothers' mothers' fathers. According to the genealogies, their mother is Sadie Gibbs, who is not shown as a *junggayi* for this group. They are of the Balyarriyn subsection, whose ideal mothers' mothers' father is of the Ngarrijbalan subsection, which is not part of the semimoietty to which *mingirringgi* for this group belong. My understanding of the descent principle applied with respect to *darlнын* is that it is applied strictly, so I have not included these three as members of the group.

3.8.14 At one point, Daylight Ngayunggu named Joey McDonald as *junggayi* and Splinter Harris and his nephews as *darlнын* for this group. They are of the appropriate semimoieties for these roles, but the context suggests that they fill them in the broader sense of the roles, referred to in para. 3.7.2, so I have not included them.

3.8.15 The following is a list of the members of the **Guyanggan** group. *Mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlнын* are listed in separate columns. In the *mingirringgi* column, the names of children whose fathers are alive are shown indented below the names of their fathers. In the *junggayi* and *darlнын* columns, where possible, the names of children are shown on the lines immediately below the names of their mothers.

*Mingirringgi**Junggayi**Darlnyin*

Daylight Ngayunggu

Michael Daylight

Noel Daylight

Razak Daylight

Justin Daylight

Larissa Daylight

Jeremiah Daylight

Ian Daylight

Ozzie Daylight

Tina Daylight

Hilda Daylight Yirrinini

Ian Daylight Jr

Kerry Daylight

Ryanold Daylight

Owen Daylight

Patrick James Daylight

Hilda Daylight Gamajarr

Deleneon Watson

Felicia Watson

Pamela Daylight

Adrian Doctor

Lindsay Doctor

Tanya Doctor

Lee Doctor

Neil Doctor

Edward Daylight

Bruce Daylight

Natasha Daylight

Desmond Daylight

Braden Daylight

Samuel Daylight

Lucas Daylight

Shirley Daylight (Roy)

Rhonda Wanta

Selda Wilfrid

Lewis Roy

Jonathan Daylight

Bobby Ngayunggu

Evelyn Ngayunggu

Craig Ngayunggu

Brian Manyita

Tanya Manyita

Terrence Manyita

Loretta Manyita

Slim Roberts

Clive Roberts

Daniel Roberts

Warren Roberts

Maretta Roberts

Marjorie Hall

Lindsay Hall

Rodney Hall

Bernadette Hall

Dianne Hall

Selma Hall

Marianne Roberts

Joelene Russell (Gaykamangu)
 Janita Russell (Gaykamangu)
 Lorraine Beatrice Russell (Gaykamangu)

Paula Roberts (Hall)

Martina Hall
 Matthias Rogers
 Maceuan Rogers
 Martika Rogers

Valmay Roberts (Daniels)

Gene Clancy Daniels
 Anthea Glynnis Daniels

Douglas Leslie Roberts

Tiffany Rae Paula Roberts

Joshua Roberts

Edwina Roberts

Jessie Roberts

Faye Roberts

Robert Smiler
 Stanley Smiler
 Jessie Smiler
 Karen Groves

Roger Roberts

Deirdre Newman (Roberts)

Stephanie John
 (Daniels)
 Steven John
 Julie John

Gary Roberts

Elaine James (Roberts)

Josiah Albert
 Harry Albert Jr
 Zachariah Albert

Jocelyn James

Joanne James
 Nicole James
 Anthea Margaret Joe
 Antoinette Joe

Sheila Conway

Edna Farrar

Rosalyn Farrar
 Susan Farrar
 Trudy Farrar

Michael Miller

Christine Conway

Derrick Conway
 Cecily Conway
 Janet Ellis
 Peter Ellis Jr

Phyllis Conway

Serita Conway (Moore)
 Anton Conway (Moore)
 Matthew Conway
 Simone Baker

Robert Conway

Betty Lardy

Cheryl Lardy
 Helena Lardy
 Anna Maria Lardy
 Josephine Lardy

Talbot Hood

Barbara Lake

Cecilia Andrews
 Jeffrey Andrews
 Georgina Andrews
 Nevron Andrews

Bruce Lake
 Ricky Lake

Jackeroo Lirrawi

Kevin Lirrawi

Colleen Lirrawi

Dinulla Morgan
 Alan Morgan

Josephine Lirrawi

Trisha Marsland
 Gregory Marsland

Frances Lirrawi

Theresa McDonald

Shirley McDonald
 Andrew McDonald
 Anne Marie McDonald
 Fabian McDonald
 Lisa McDonald
 Leonie McDonald

Janet Lirrawi

Ross Lirrawi

Sandra Hodgson

Estelle Hodgson

Shirley Farrell

Desmond Farrell
 Virginia Farrell
 Jimmy Farrell
 Con Farrell Jr

Ray Farrell
 Johnny Farrell
 Rosina Farrell

Gary Albert
 Sebastian Avalon
 Melissa Albert
 Yvonne Albert
 Terrence Albert
 Harold Albert Jr

Susan Farrell

Lisa Andrews
 Alison Andrews
 Andrea Andrews
 Aaron Andrews
 Alister Andrews

Carol Farrell

	Andrew Andrews Adam Andrews Abraham Andrews
Dennis Farrell Jackie Farrell Ambrose Farrell Maria Farrell	Simone Watson Marissa Watson
Hilda Farrell	Nathan Burns Keisha Burns
Lulu Jilimbirrnga	
Mary Nurniyn	
Joy Birtjara	Terrence Willy Sr Betty Willy
Margaret James	Elizabeth Fredericks Robyn Fredericks Terrence Fredericks Priscilla James William Driver
Christine James	Troy Friday Betty Friday Josephine John
Sandra James	
Teddy Bulga Rosemary Bulga	Zarak Yirmul Zoe Yirmul Razak Bulga
Mandy Bulga	Reenie Barraway
Josephine Bulga	Mervyn Martin
Amy Dirngayg Rita Raymond	
	Megan Raymond Tanya Raymond Michael Raymond Marcus Raymond Maggie Raymond Max Raymond
Caroline Willy	Terrence Willy Jr Clinton Willy Tony Willy Joseph Garadji Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji) James Garadji Rachel Thompson Ivan Garadji Alexandra Garadji

Sybil Ranch
Stewart Ranch
Ricky Ranch

Sebina Willy
Loretta Willy

3.9 The Dirlirlin group

3.9.1 *Mingirringgi* for the **Dirlirlin** group are of the Gangila-Jamijin semimoiety. The senior *mingirringgi* is Splinter Harris, son of the late Jack Wuluynjawun and grandson of a man known as Gardener George. Splinter's son, Kenneth Harris, is *mingirringgi*. The late Elsey Willy was also a son of Splinter's father. He is survived by Hannah Moore, Betty Willy and Terrence Willy Senior, who are *mingirringgi*. Sebina and Loretta Willy, also known as Sebina and Loretta Moore, are daughters of Hannah and are *junggayi*. Sebina's daughter, Bianca Hazel Collin, is *darlнын*. Sylvester Weekend and Antoinette Willy, children of Betty Willy, are *junggayi*. Terrence Willy Junior, Clinton Willy and Tony Willy are children of Terrence Willy Senior and are *mingirringgi*. Another son of Splinter's father, also deceased, was Archie Moore. He is survived by Richard, Samuel, Bessie and Nicole Moore, who are *mingirringgi*.

3.9.2 June Gardinen and Judy Carew are half-sisters of Splinter Harris, but through their common mother. June and Judy's father was Nyilb, from whom they take their *mingirringgi* status. They are of the Gangila subsection. Their children are *junggayi*. June has David, Barbara, William and Shirley John. Judy has Josephine, Trevor, Steven, Sylvia and David Carew. In the case of this family, children of the male *junggayi* are *junggayi*, through their fathers' mothers. David John has Anita John, Jeff Fred John and Cheyenne John. William John has Josephine John and a daughter whose name was not revealed by the evidence. Trevor Carew has Randall and Sharon Carew, and Steven Carew has Alfonso Carew. Children of the daughters of June and Judy are *darlнын*. Barbara John has Sandra, Shaun and Sally Anne Dick. Shirley John has Clifford, Samantha and Winnie Duncan. Josephine Carew has Casey and Jessica Smiler. Sylvia Carew has Marissa Ponto, Germaine Ponto and Zachariah Sandy.

3.9.3 There are several persons who take their status as *junggayi* for this group from their deceased mothers and the father of those mothers, who was the father of Splinter Harris. Joey McDonald, Wendy Daylight, Audrey Waller and Barbara Anderson are all surviving children of Eva Morgan. Shirley Thomas, Tania Gaston, Kathy Baker, Wilton McDonald, Pamela Hood and Charles Morgan are all surviving children of Rita Morgan. The children of those female *junggayi* are *darlнын*. Wendy Daylight has Shirley Daylight (also known as Shirley Roy), Bruce Daylight and Samuel Daylight. Audrey Waller has Ronald Lirrawi (also known as Ronald Waller), Stephanie Waller, Sophia Waller, Jonathan Waller and Kenny Waller Junior. Barbara Anderson has Joanne, Joyce and Regina Anderson. Shirley Thomas has Tanya McInnes, Eric Thomas and Joshua Thomas. Tania Gaston has Robert, Steven, Michael, Wayne and James Gaston. Kathy Baker has Wendy, Patricia, Timothy, Shaun, Shane and Patrina Baker. Pamela Hood has Evelyn Jimberri.

3.9.4 In the list of claimants advanced as *junggayi* for this group are the same set of Garadji siblings and the same set of Ranch siblings as are listed in the group list for the **Guyanggan** group. Although the three female members of the Garadji set have children, none is listed as *darlnyin*. I infer from this that the persons listed in both sets take their *junggayi* status from their fathers' mothers, rather than from their mothers' fathers. If this is the case, I do not understand how they can have the same status for both groups. All are of the Ngarriybalan subsection for whom the ideal father's mother would be Burrala, a subsection consistent with their *junggayi* status for the **Guyanggan** group, but not for this group. There is no specific evidence of their entitlement to be treated as *junggayi* for both groups, so I have omitted them from this group.

3.9.5 I have also not included Lulu Jilimbirrnga, who was not included in the group list. On two occasions in her evidence, Lulu said that she was *junggayi* for sites to which members of this group are affiliated, namely *Balburran* (site 31) and *Munggug* (site 150). On one occasion, she named the Roberts and Daylight families as *darlnyin*. Whilst the semimoieties would be appropriate, I have taken these claims to relate to the roles in their wider senses, to which I have referred in para. 3.7.2.

3.9.6 The following is a list of the members of the **Dirilirlin** group, arranged in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

<i>Mingirringgi</i>	<i>Junggayi</i>	<i>Darlnyin</i>
Splinter Harris Kenneth Harris		
Hannah Moore	Sebina Moore (Willy) Bianca Hazel Collin Loretta Moore (Willy)	
Betty Willy	Sylvester Weekend Antoinette Willy	
Terrence Willy Sr Terrence Willy Jr Clinton Willy Tony Willy		
Richard Moore Samuel Moore Bessie Moore Nicole Moore		
June Gardinen	David John Anita John Jeff Fred John Cheyenne John Barbara John	Sandra Dick Shaun Dick Sally Anne Dick

Judy Carew	William John	
	Josephine John	
	Unnamed daughter of William John	
	Shirley John	Clifford Duncan
		Samantha Duncan
		Winnie Duncan
	Josephine Carew	Casey Smiler
		Jessica Smiler
	Trevor Carew	
	Randall Carew	
	Sharon Carew	
	Steven Carew	
	Alfonso Carew	
	Sylvia Carew	Marissa Ponto
		Germaine Ponto
		Zachariah Sandy
	David Carew	
	Joey McDonald	
	Wendy Daylight	Shirley Daylight
		(Roy)
		Bruce Daylight
		Samuel Daylight
	Audrey Waller	Ronald Lirrawi
		(Waller)
		Stephanie Waller
		Sophia Waller
		Jonathan Waller
		Kenny Waller Jr
	Barbara Anderson	Joanne Anderson
		Joyce Anderson
		Regina Anderson
	Shirley Thomas	Tanya McInnes
		Eric Thomas
		Joshua Thomas
	Tania Gaston	Robert Gaston
		Steven Gaston
		Michael Gaston
		Wayne Gaston
		James Gaston
	Kathy Baker	Wendy Baker
		Patricia Baker
		Timothy Baker
		Shaun Baker
		Shane Baker
		Patrina Baker

Wilton McDonald
 Pamela Hood

Evelyn Jimberri

Charles Morgan

3.10 The Maynjurn.gan group

3.10.1 The ideal semimoiety for *mingirringgi* of the **Maynjurn.gan** group is Balyarriyn-Burlayn. Joey McDonald, who is shown in the genealogies as the son of a man called Galburdie Nym, and whose stepfather was Alex McDonald, is recognised as the senior *mingirringgi*. Joey has an adopted son, Alec McDonald, and says that this adopted son will follow him, so I have named Alec McDonald as *mingirringgi*. Wilton McDonald's natural father was Alex McDonald. He is also regarded as *mingirringgi*.

3.10.2 The remaining *mingirringgi* for this group are descendants of the late Ginger Birrmaj, the late Nyil and the late Gudirr. Pancy Gibbs, Annabelle Daylight and Maria Gibbs are all children of the late Johnson Gibbs, a son of Ginger Birrmaj. Each of them has children, who are *junggayi*. Pancy has Clifford and Martika George. Annabelle has Ryanold and Owen Daylight. Maria has Ethan, Antonella and Anton Martin.

3.10.3 Surviving children of Ginger Birrmaj are Faye Roberts, Roger Roberts, Deirdre Newman (also known as Deirdre Roberts), Gary Roberts, Elaine Roberts (also known as Elaine James), Jocelyn Roberts (also known as Jocelyn James), Edna Farrar and Michael Miller. They are all *mingirringgi*. Children of the males are also *mingirringgi*. Gary Roberts has Kerry-Anne, Roberta, Raylene and Regina Roberts. Michael Miller has Maxie, Jodie, Donovan, Natalie and Antonella Miller. Children of the female *mingirringgi* are *junggayi*. Faye Roberts has Robert, Stanley and Jessie Smiler and Karen Groves. Deirdre Newman has Stephanie John (also known as Stephanie Daniels), Steven John and Julie John. Elaine Roberts has Josiah Albert, Harry Albert Junior and Zachariah Albert. Jocelyn Roberts has Joanne James, Nicole James, Anthea Margaret Joe and Antoinette Joe. These four children were not included in the group list for this group but the omission may have been due to an error in one of the genealogies, directing attention to a different genealogy for Jocelyn from that on which she, her siblings and their children appear. In accordance with the usual principle of descent relating to *junggayi* through one's mother and mother's father, referred to in para. 3.3.3, I have included them as *junggayi*. Edna Farrar has Rosalyn, Susan and Trudy Farrar. Children of female *junggayi* in this family are *darlnyin*. Jessie Smiler has Nicholas and Warwick Roberts. Stephanie John (also known as Stephanie Daniels) has Danielle and Belinda Daniels. Rosalyn Farrar has Virginia Kruger, Lachlan Farrar and Dionne Farrar.

3.10.4 Doreen, Susan and Nita Morton are all daughters of the late Happy Morton, who was the son of Nyil. They are all of the Balyarriyn subsection and are *mingirringgi* for this group. Two of them have children, who are *junggayi* for this group. Doreen's children are Daphne Smiler, Larry Ryan, David Ryan and Simeon Ryan. Nita Morton's children are Katrina Roy, Calvin Roy and a son whose name was not revealed by the evidence.

3.10.5 Lulu Jilimbirrnga is the surviving daughter of Gudirr, whose origins lay elsewhere, but who was accepted into the local kinship and land tenure systems (see para. 3.3.5). Lulu is *mingirringgi* from him. Daylight Ngayunggu is the son of Lulu Jilimbirrnga and is *junggayi* through his mother's father, Gudirr. Jackeroo Lirrawi is the son of the late Long Fanny, a sister of Lulu and daughter of Gudirr. Jackeroo is also *junggayi*. The children of Jackeroo's two deceased sisters are *darlnyin*, through their mothers' mother's father, Gudirr. Jackeroo's full sister was the late Erica Lake, who was the daughter of the late Long Fanny and the late Paddy Shadforth, referred to in para. 3.8.7. Erica is survived by Barbara, Bruce and Ricky Lake. Jackeroo's half-sister was the late Biddy Farrell, who was the daughter of Lulu and Paddy Shadforth. She is survived by Shirley, Ray, Johnny, Rosina, Susan, Carol, Dennis, Jackie, Ambrose, Maria and Hilda Farrell.

3.10.6 Lulu Jilimbirrnga's late brother, Hickey Hood, is survived by his two sons, Talbot and Joseph Hood. They are *mingirringgi*, taking from Hickey and Gudirr. The late Sandy Hood was the eldest son of Hickey Hood. He is survived by five natural children, Pamela, Phillip, Gregory, Carol and Andrew Hood, and by two adopted sons, Matthew and Dominic Hood, who are recognised as members of the group. All are *mingirringgi*. Phillip Hood has three children, who are also *mingirringgi*. They are Sheena, Darien and Janelle Hood. Pamela Hood's daughter, Evelyn Jimberri, is *junggayi*, as are Carol's two children, Randall and Naomi Jackson. Talbot Hood has six children, who are also *mingirringgi*, through Talbot and Hickey. They are Angela, Melba, Josephine, Deirdre, Vita and Charmaine Hood. Three of them have children, who are *junggayi*. Angela has Steve Russell Owen Brown, Glenys Brown and Harold Brown. Melba has Ian Avalon, Sharalee Avalon, Kim Avalon, Whitney Hood and Matt Hood. Josephine has Damien William Fuller.

3.10.7 Another family of *junggayi* through their mothers' father are the descendants of a man called Bardjabarran. June Bunajun is a daughter of Bardjabarran's deceased daughter Jambarlbarl, who was known as Bunny. June's daughter, Ellen George, is *darlnyin*. Jennifer Doctor is the daughter of a deceased woman called Jane, whose mother was Bunny. She is *darlnyin*. Paul, Brendan, Anthony and Mary Allen are the children of the late Katie Gabud, another daughter of Bunny. They are also *darlnyin*.

3.10.8 The children of the late Clancy Roberts are *junggayi* for this group, through their father's mother, Maudie Manbulloo. They are Slim Roberts, Clive Roberts, Marjorie Hall, Marianne Roberts, Paula Roberts (also known as Paula Hall), Valmay Roberts (also known as Valmay Daniels), Douglas Leslie Roberts and Joshua Roberts. I note that Marianne Roberts and Joshua Roberts were not listed in the group list as *junggayi* for this group. The fact that both are children of Clancy suggests to me that they should appear in the list also and I have included them on this basis.

3.10.9 Listed as *darlnyin* for this group are Joseph Garadji, Beryl Gordon (also known as Beryl Munul or Beryl Garadji), James Garadji, Rachel Thompson, Ivan Garadji and Alexandra Garadji. They are all siblings. The genealogies provide no information as to the identity of their mother's mother's father. Joey McDonald gave evidence of their entitlement to be *darlnyin* for this group. Also listed are Sybil, Stewart and Ricky Ranch. Although their mother's mother is Phylis Wiynjorrotj, a member of the

Jawoyn language group, their entitlement to be *darlnyin* for the **Maynjurn.gan** group was verified by Joey McDonald. Included in the group list for this group as *darlnyin* are Sebina and Loretta Willy. I am at a loss to understand their inclusion, as their mother is Hannah Moore, who is not listed as *junggayi*. In the genealogies, Hannah Moore's mother is shown as Dinah. There is no specific evidence about Dinah, so I have omitted Sebina and Loretta from this group.

3.10.10 The following is a list of the members of the **Maynjurn.gan** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

<i>Mingirringgi</i>	<i>Junggayi</i>	<i>Darlnyin</i>
Joey McDonald Alec McDonald Wilton McDonald		
Pancy Gibbs	Clifford George Martika George	
Annabelle Daylight	Ryanold Daylight Owen Daylight	
Maria Gibbs	Ethan Martin Antonella Martin Anton Martin	
Faye Roberts	Robert Smiler Stanley Smiler Jessie Smiler	Nicholas Roberts Warwick Roberts
	Karen Groves	
Roger Roberts Deirdre Newman (Roberts)	Stephanie John (Daniels)	Danielle Daniels Belinda Daniels
	Steven John Julie John	
Gary Roberts Kerry-Anne Roberts Roberta Roberts Raylene Roberts Regina Roberts Elaine Roberts (James)	Josiah Albert Harry Albert Jr Zachariah Albert	
Jocelyn Roberts (James)	Joanne James Nicole James Anthea Margaret Joe Antoinette Joe	
Edna Farrar	Rosalyn Farrar	

		Virginia Kruger Lachlan Farrar Dionne Farrar
	Susan Farrar Trudy Farrar	
Michael Miller Maxie Miller Jodie Miller Donovan Miller Natalie Miller Antonella Miller		
Doreen Morton	Daphne Smiler Larry Ryan David Ryan Simeon Ryan	
Susan Morton Nita Morton	Katrina Roy Kalvin Roy son of Nita Morton	
Lulu Jilimbirrnga	Daylight Ngayunggu Jackeroo Lirrawi	
		Barbara Lake Bruce Lake Ricky Lake
		Shirley Farrell Ray Farrell Johnny Farrell Rosina Farrell Susan Farrell Carol Farrell Dennis Farrell Jackie Farrell Ambrose Farrell Maria Farrell Hilda Farrell
Pamela Hood	Evelyn Jimberri	
Phillip Hood Sheena Hood Darien Hood Janelle Hood Gregory Hood Carol Hood		
	Randall Jackson Naomi Jackson	
Andrew Hood Matthew Hood Dominic Hood		

Talbot Hood

Angela Hood

Steve Russell Owen Brown

Glenys Brown

Harold Brown

Melba Hood

Ian Avalon

Sharalee Avalon

Kim Avalon

Whitney Hood

Matt Hood

Josephine Hood

Damien William Fuller

Deirdre Hood

Vita Hood

Charmaine Hood

Joseph Hood

June Bunajun

Ellen George

Jennifer Doctor

Paul Allen

Brendan Allen

Anthony Allen

Mary Allen

Slim Roberts

Clive Roberts

Marjorie Hall

Marianne Roberts

Paula Roberts (Hall)

Valmay Roberts (Daniels)

Douglas Leslie Roberts

Joshua Roberts

Joseph Garadji

Beryl Gordon (Munul)

(Garadji)

James Garadji

Rachel Thompson

Ivan Garadji

Alexandra Garadji

Sybil Ranch

Stewart Ranch

Ricky Ranch

3.11 The Barlyurra group

3.11.1 *Mingirringgi* for the **Barlyurra** group come from the Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan semimoiet. The senior *mingirringgi* are the children of the late Garadji, who was the son of a man called Gamburrinyin. They are Joseph Garadji, Beryl Gordon (also known as Beryl Munul or Beryl Garadji), James Garadji, Rachel Thompson, Ivan Garadji and Alexandra Garadji. The children of those male siblings are also

mingirringgi. Joseph has Tracey Anne, Ian, Leonna, Kerry-Anne and Jerry Joe Garadji. James has Mark Stewart Garadji. Ivan has Shayleigh Garadji. Children of the female siblings are *junggayi*. Beryl has Evelyn Lansen, Rosanne Gordon, Stewart Gordon and Steven Rankin. Evidence was given by Joseph Garadji that Jeremiah Harrison is a child of Beryl Gordon. The relevant genealogy shows him as the child of a former wife of Beryl's husband. Without evidence that he has been accepted into the group as *junggayi*, I have not included him. Rachel Thompson has Fabian, Richard Noel, Joseph and Hannah Thompson. Alexandra Garadji has Richard Whitlam. The children of Evelyn Lansen and Rosanne Gordon are *darlnyin*. Evelyn has Melissa, Chaunelle, Justin and Leah Lansen. Rosanne has Reginald Gordon, Debbie Watson and Juan Watson. The group list for this group included as *darlnyin* the children of Stewart Gordon and Steven Rankin. I have excluded them, on the basis of my understanding that the category of *darlnyin* is confined strictly to children of female *junggayi*, being *junggayi* who take through their mothers' fathers. They may be *junggayi*, on the basis that their father's mother's father was Garadji, who was *mingirringgi*, but they were not advanced as *junggayi* and I have not included them.

3.11.2 The descendants of a man called Wajirriga are also members of this group. Sybil, Stewart and Ricky Ranch are grandchildren of Wajirriga, through their father, the late Frank Ranch, and are *mingirringgi*. Dorothy Rankin is a daughter of Wajirriga and is *mingirringgi*. Her children, Bronwyn, Gloria, Matthew and Elisa Rankin, are *junggayi*. Children of Bronwyn, Gloria and Elisa are *darlnyin*. Kenneth Harris, who is the son of Bronwyn Rankin and Splinter Harris, was not shown in the group list as *darlnyin* but I am not aware of any reason why he should be excluded when his cousins are included. I have therefore included him as *darlnyin*, along with Gloria's son, Joseph Hood, and Elisa's children, Lucas and Eddie Rankin.

3.11.3 The remaining *mingirringgi* for this group are children of the late David Willy, whose father was a man known as Larrikin. Lorna Yiwirnbil (also known as Lorna Lirrawi) is a daughter of David Willy. Her children, Kevin Lirrawi, Colleen Lirrawi, Josephine Lirrawi, Frances Lirrawi, Theresa McDonald, Janet Lirrawi, Ross Lirrawi, Sandra Hodgson and Estelle Hodgson, are *junggayi*. The last two are adopted children and are accepted as members of the group. Children of Lorna's daughters are *darlnyin*. Colleen has Dinulla and Alan Morgan. Josephine has Trisha and Gregory Marsland. Theresa has Shirley, Andrew, Anne Marie, Fabian, Lisa and Leonie McDonald. Sebina and Loretta Willy are also daughters of the late David Willy and are *mingirringgi*.

3.11.4 A woman by the name of Noreen Althouse was shown in the group list as *mingirringgi* for this group. The relevant genealogy does not disclose the basis on which she is said to have this status. There are two references to her in the evidence, neither of which gives any information about her. I have therefore not included her.

3.11.5 *Junggayi* through their mother's father include Jessie Roberts, Sheila Conway and Betty Lardy, whose mother was Maudie Manbulloo and whose mother's father was Waywaygulduy. The children of Jessie, Sheila and Betty are not included in the group list as *darlnyin*; their absence is not explained by the evidence, but I have not included them. Mary Nurniyn is *junggayi* through her late mother, Topsy Ngadugan, and Topsy's father, Jamgurriga. Mary's children are *darlnyin*. They are Joy Birtjara,

Margaret James, Christine James and Sandra James. Also *darlnyin* are the children of the late Rosie Norman, whose mother was Topsy Ngadugan. They are Teddy, Rosemary, Mandy and Josephine Bulga.

3.11.6 Splinter Harris is apparently *junggayi* through his mother, Malindirri. Splinter is of the Gangila subsection. Assuming correct marriages, his mother's father would have been of the Ngarrjbalan subsection and capable of being *mingirringgi* for this group. June Gardinen and Judy Carew are daughters of the same mother as Splinter and are Gangila; they are included on the same basis.

3.11.7 Hannah Moore, Betty Willy and Terrence Willy Senior are children of Elsey Willy, whose mother was Malindirri. Richard, Samuel, Bessie and Nicole Moore are all children of Archie Moore, a deceased son of Malindirri. They are all included as *junggayi* through their fathers' mother.

3.11.8 Also members of this group as *junggayi* are Daylight Ngayunggu and Jackeroo Lirrawi, through their fathers' mothers.

3.11.9 The following is a list of the members of the **Barlyurra** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

<i>Mingirringgi</i>	<i>Junggayi</i>	<i>Darlnyin</i>
Joseph Garadji		
Tracey Anne Garadji		
Ian Garadji		
Leonna Garadji		
Kerry-Anne Garadji		
Jerry Joe Garadji		
Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji)		
	Evelyn Lansen	
		Melissa Lansen
		Chaunelle Lansen
		Justin Lansen
		Leah Lansen
	Rosanne Gordon	
		Reginald Gordon
		Debbie Watson
		Juan Watson
	Stewart Gordon	
	Steven Rankin	
James Garadji		
Mark Stewart Garadji		
Rachel Thompson		
	Fabian Thompson	
	Richard Noel Thompson	

	Joseph Thompson Hannah Thompson	
Ivan Garadji Shayleigh Garadji Alexandra Garadji	Richard Whitlam	
Sybil Ranch Stewart Ranch Ricky Ranch		
Dorothy Rankin	Bronwyn Rankin	Kenneth Harris
	Gloria Rankin	Joseph Hood
	Matthew Rankin Elisa Rankin	Lucas Rankin Eddie Rankin
Lorna Yiwirnbi (Lirrawi)	Kevin Lirrawi Colleen Lirrawi	Dinulla Morgan Alan Morgan
	Josephine Lirrawi	Trisha Marsland Gregory Marsland
	Frances Lirrawi Theresa McDonald	Shirley McDonald Andrew McDonald Anne Marie McDonald Fabian McDonald Lisa McDonald Leonie McDonald
	Janet Lirrawi Ross Lirrawi Sandra Hodgson Estelle Hodgson	
Sebina Willy Loretta Willy	Jessie Roberts Sheila Conway Betty Lardy	
	Mary Nurniyn	Joy Birtjara Margaret James Christine James Sandra James
		Teddy Bulga Rosemary Bulga

Mandy Bulga
Josephine Bulga

Splinter Harris
June Gardinen
Judy Carew

Hannah Moore
Betty Willy
Terrence Willy Sr

Richard Moore
Samuel Moore
Bessie Moore
Nicole Moore

Daylight Ngayunggu

Jackeroo Lirrawi

3.12 The Nganawirdbird group

3.12.1 The composition of the **Nganawirdbird** group is exactly the same as for the **Guyanggan** group, with the exception that all of the descendants of the late Biddy Farrell (referred to in para. 3.8.8) have been omitted from the group list. This is odd, as Biddy's deceased sister's descendants and living brother and his descendants are included. The omission is not explained by any evidence, but I have omitted the Farrells from the list.

3.12.2 Although there is substantial identity of membership between the **Guyanggan** group and the **Nganawirdbird** group, I detect from the evidence a difference in emphasis as to which members of the group are regarded as the senior *mingirringgi*. In the former group, the senior person seems to be Daylight Ngayunggu, whereas in the **Nganawirdbird** group, Jessie Roberts and Sheila Conway seem to fill that role. My listing of the members of this group in the same order as I have listed them in the **Guyanggan** group is not to be taken as any form of comment on this issue of seniority; it is for convenience only.

3.12.3 There are references in the evidence to Splinter Harris as *darlnyin* for this group, but I have not included him in the list. Although he is of the appropriate semimoiety, he was not included in the group list and the references to him appear in context to describe him as *darlnyin* in the broader sense, to which I have referred in para. 3.7.2.

3.12.4 The following is a list of the members of the **Nganawirdbird** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Daylight Ngayunggu

Michael Daylight

Noel Daylight

Razak Daylight

Justin Daylight

Larissa Daylight

Jeremiah Daylight

Ian Daylight

Ozzie Daylight

Tina Daylight

Hilda Daylight Yirrinini

Ian Daylight Jr

Kerry Daylight

Ryanold Daylight

Owen Daylight

Patrick James Daylight

Hilda Daylight Gamajarr

Deleneon Watson

Felicia Watson

Pamela Daylight

Adrian Doctor

Lindsay Doctor

Tanya Doctor

Lee Doctor

Neil Doctor

Edward Daylight

Bruce Daylight

Natasha Daylight

Desmond Daylight

Braden Daylight

Samuel Daylight

Lucas Daylight

Shirley Daylight (Roy)

Rhonda Wanta

Selda Wilfrid

Lewis Roy

Jonathan Daylight

Bobby Ngayunggu

Evelyn Ngayunggu

Craig Ngayunggu

Brian Manyita

Tanya Manyita

Terrence Manyita

Loretta Manyita

Slim Roberts

Clive Roberts

Daniel Roberts

Warren Roberts

Maretta Roberts

Marjorie Hall

Lindsay Hall

Rodney Hall

Bernadette Hall

	Dianne Hall	
	Selma Hall	
Marianne Roberts	Joelene Russell (Gaykamangu)	
	Janita Russell (Gaykamangu)	
	Lorraine Beatrice Russell (Gaykamangu)	
Paula Roberts (Hall)	Martina Hall	
	Matthias Rogers	
	Maceuan Rogers	
	Martika Rogers	
Valmay Roberts (Daniels)	Gene Clancy Daniels	
	Anthea Glynnis Daniels	
Douglas Leslie Roberts		
	Tiffany Rae Paula Roberts	
Joshua Roberts		
	Edwina Roberts	
Jessie Roberts	Faye Roberts	
		Robert Smiler
		Stanley Smiler
		Jessie Smiler
		Karen Groves
	Roger Roberts	
	Deirdre Newman (Roberts)	
		Stephanie John
		(Daniels)
		Steven John
		Julie John
	Gary Roberts	
	Elaine James (Roberts)	
		Josiah Albert
		Harry Albert Jr
		Zachariah Albert
	Jocelyn James	
		Joanne James
		Nicole James
		Anthea Margaret Joe
		Antoinette Joe
Sheila Conway	Edna Farrar	
		Rosalyn Farrar
		Susan Farrar
		Trudy Farrar
	Michael Miller	
	Christine Conway	
		Derrick Conway
		Cecily Conway
		Janet Ellis
		Peter Ellis Jr
	Phyllis Conway	
		Serita Conway (Moore)
		Anton Conway (Moore)

		Matthew Conway Simone Baker
Betty Lardy	Robert Conway	
	Cheryl Lardy Helena Lardy Anna Maria Lardy Josephine Lardy	
	Talbot Hood	
	Barbara Lake	Cecilia Andrews Jeffrey Andrews Georgina Andrews Nevron Andrews
	Bruce Lake Ricky Lake	
Jackeroo Lirrawi Kevin Lirrawi Colleen Lirrawi		
	Dinulla Morgan Alan Morgan	
Josephine Lirrawi	Trisha Marsland Gregory Marsland	
Frances Lirrawi Theresa McDonald		
	Shirley McDonald Andrew McDonald Anne Marie McDonald Fabian McDonald Lisa McDonald Leonie McDonald	
Janet Lirrawi Ross Lirrawi Sandra Hodgson Estelle Hodgson		
Mary Nurniyn	Lulu Jilimbirrnga	
	Joy Birtjara	Terrence Willy Sr Betty Willy
	Margaret James	Elizabeth Fredericks Robyn Fredericks Terrence Fredericks Priscilla James William Driver
	Christine James	Troy Friday Betty Friday Josephine John
	Sandra James	
	Teddy Bulga Rosemary Bulga	Zarak Yirmul

		Zoe Yirmul Razak Bulga
	Mandy Bulga	
	Josephine Bulga	Reenie Barraway Mervyn Martin
Amy Dirngayg Rita Raymond	Megan Raymond Tanya Raymond Michael Raymond Marcus Raymond Maggie Raymond Max Raymond	
Caroline Willy	Terrence Willy Jr Clinton Willy Tony Willy Joseph Garadji Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji) James Garadji Rachel Thompson Ivan Garadji Alexandra Garadji Sybil Ranch Stewart Ranch Ricky Ranch Sebina Willy Loretta Willy	

3.13 The Gunduburun group

3.13.1 The **Gunduburun** group is another for which *mingirringgi* are from the Gangila-Jamijin semimoiety. It consists of the same people as the **Dirilirlin** group, except that the *darlнын* for the **Gunduburun** group are strengthened by the addition of senior members of the Roberts and Daylight families and Jackeroo Lirrawi, who are of the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety, the appropriate one for *darlнын* in Gangila-Jamijin country. I have also added to the group list Lulu Jilimbirnga as *junggayi*. She is of the appropriate semimoiety for the role of *junggayi* through her mother's father. Her own evidence is that she is *junggayi* for this group. It would be odd if her son, Daylight Ngayunggu, and the son of her deceased sister, Jackeroo Lirrawi, were to be named as *darlнын* but Lulu were to be omitted.

3.13.2 The following is a list of the members of the **Gunduburun** group, arranged in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Splinter Harris
Kenneth Harris

Hannah Moore

Sebina Moore (Willy)
Bianca Hazel Collin
Loretta Moore (Willy)

Betty Willy

Sylvester Weekend
Antoinette Willy

Terrence Willy Sr
Terrence Willy Jr
Clinton Willy
Tony Willy

Richard Moore
Samuel Moore
Bessie Moore
Nicole Moore

June Gardinen

David John
Anita John
Jeff Fred John
Cheyenne John
Barbara John

Sandra Dick
Shaun Dick
Sally Anne Dick

William John
Josephine John
Unnamed daughter of William John
Shirley John

Clifford Duncan
Samantha Duncan
Winnie Duncan

Judy Carew

Josephine Carew

Casey Smiler
Jessica Smiler

Trevor Carew
Randall Carew
Sharon Carew
Steven Carew
Alfonso Carew
Sylvia Carew

Marissa Ponto
Germaine Ponto
Zachariah Sandy

David Carew

Joey McDonald
Wendy Daylight

Shirley Daylight
(Roy)

Audrey Waller	Bruce Daylight Samuel Daylight
	Ronald Lirrawi (Waller) Stephanie Waller Sophia Waller Jonathan Waller Kenny Waller Jr
Barbara Anderson	Joanne Anderson Joyce Anderson Regina Anderson
Shirley Thomas	Tanya McInnes Eric Thomas Joshua Thomas
Tania Gaston	Robert Gaston Steven Gaston Michael Gaston Wayne Gaston James Gaston
Kathy Baker	Wendy Baker Patricia Baker Timothy Baker Shaun Baker Shane Baker Patrina Baker
Wilton McDonald Pamela Hood	Evelyn Jimberri
Charles Morgan	Marjorie Hall Marianne Roberts Paula Roberts (Hall) Valmay Roberts (Daniels) Douglas Leslie Roberts
Lulu Jilimbirrnga	Joshua Roberts
	Jessie Roberts Sheila Conway Betty Lardy
	Daylight Ngayunggu
	Jackeroo Lirrawi

3.14 The Mirmiridji group

3.14.1 The **Mirmiridji** group has *mingirringgi* from the Balyarriyn-Burlayn semimoiety. The group is largely composed of the descendants of Gudirr, to whom reference is made in para. 3.10, where they are detailed as members of the **Maynjurn.gan** group. The senior *mingirringgi* is Lulu Jilimbirrnga. Her son, Daylight Ngayunggu, is *junggayi*. For the **Mirmiridji** group, Daylight's brother, Bobby Ngayunggu (whose mother was not Lulu), is also included as *junggayi*. So is Jackeroo Lirrawi, the son of Lulu's deceased sister and the late Paddy Shadforth. The children of the late Biddy Farrell are included as *darlнын*, because Lulu was her mother. The children of the late Erica Lake are also included as *darlнын*, although they were not included in the group list; Erica was a full sister of Jackeroo, and Erica's mother, Long Fanny, was Lulu's sister. Lulu gave specific evidence of Bruce Lake's entitlement to be counted among the *darlнын* for this group. The remaining *mingirringgi* are descendants of the late Hickey Hood, who was also a son of Gudirr. They are already detailed in para. 3.10.6 and I do not need to repeat their descent qualifications. The children of female *mingirringgi* are *junggayi*.

3.14.2 There are three additional *junggayi* for this group. Slim Roberts and Clive Roberts are brothers from the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety. I assume that they are *junggayi* for this group through their mother's father. Their mother was Margaret, but the genealogies do not disclose the identity of her father. Assuming preferred marriages, their mother's father would have been a Burlayn man, of the correct semimoiety to be *mingirringgi* for this group. The remaining *junggayi* is Splinter Harris, who is apparently included as *junggayi* for this group through his father's mother. He is of the Gangila subsection and his ideal father's mother would have been Burlayn.

3.14.3 The following is a list of the members of the **Mirmiridji** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Mingirringgi

Lulu Jilimbirrnga

Junggayi

Daylight Ngayunggu

Bobby Ngayunggu

Jackeroo Lirrawi

Darlнын

Barbara Lake

Bruce Lake

Ricky Lake

Shirley Farrell

Ray Farrell

Johnny Farrell

Rosina Farrell

Susan Farrell

Carol Farrell

Dennis Farrell

Jackie Farrell

Ambrose Farrell

Pamela Hood	
Phillip Hood	Evelyn Jimberri
Sheena Hood	
Darien Hood	
Janelle Hood	
Gregory Hood	
Carol Hood	
	Randall Jackson
	Naomi Jackson
Andrew Hood	
Matthew Hood	
Dominic Hood	
Talbot Hood	
Angela Hood	
	Steve Russell Owen Brown
	Glenys Brown
	Harold Brown
Melba Hood	
	Ian Avalon
	Sharalee Avalon
	Kim Avalon
	Whitney Hood
	Matt Hood
Josephine Hood	
	Damien William Fuller
Deirdre Hood	
Vita Hood	
Charmaine Hood	
Joseph Hood	
	Slim Roberts
	Clive Roberts
	Splinter Harris

3.15 The Lurdurdminyi group

3.15.1 The **Lurdurdminyi** group is another group for which *mingirringgi* belong to the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety. The senior *mingirringgi* is Amy Dirngayg. She and the other descendants of the late Bongoyi are members of this group on the same principles of descent as they are members of the **Guyanggan** group (see para. 3.8.11). Similarly, with the exception of Daylight Ngayunggu, his brothers, and their families, the descendants of Gelwanggin, who are dealt with in paras 3.8.2 to 3.8.6 in relation to the **Guyanggan** group, are members of the **Lurdurdminyi** group. Jackeroo Lirrawi and his descendants, whose ancestry is described in para. 3.8.7 in relation to the **Guyanggan** group, are also members of the **Lurdurdminyi** group. The members of the Lake family and the Farrell family, children of Jackeroo's two deceased sisters, described in paras. 3.8.7 and 3.8.8, were not included in the group list for this group, but, on Sheila Conway's evidence that they are *junggayi*, I have included them.

3.15.2 Although other members of the Daylight family are not included, Bruce Daylight, Samuel Daylight and Shirley Daylight (also known as Shirley Roy) are *mingirringgi* for this group. I assume that they become so from their natural father, Jabiru George. They are also *mingirringgi* for the **Guyanggan** group. They have been "grown up" by Edward and Wendy Daylight. They are of the Burralla subsection, presumably both from their natural father and from Edward. Bruce Daylight's three children have been included as *mingirringgi*. They are Natasha, Desmond and Braden Daylight. Samuel Daylight's son, Lucas Daylight, is also included. Shirley Daylight's three children are included as *junggayi*. They are Rhonda Wanta, Selda Wilfrid and Lewis Roy.

3.15.3 The descendants of Lennie Mangaboryi have been included in this group, through him. Jennifer Doctor is the daughter of a deceased woman called Jane, a daughter of Lennie. Paul, Brendan, Anthony and Mary Allen are children of the late Katie Gabud, also a daughter of Lennie. They are *junggayi*, through their mothers' father. Ellen George is also *junggayi*, on the same basis; she is the daughter of June Bunajun, a surviving daughter of Lennie. June was not included in the group list, but I have included her as *mingirringgi*. Jennifer Doctor's children and Ellen George's children are included as *darlnyin*. Jennifer's children are Mandy and Jeffrey Doctor. Ellen's children are Alfie George, Georgina George, Desmond George, Warren Smiler, Luke Doctor and Kimberley George.

3.15.4 *Junggayi* through their fathers' mothers for this group are the children of the late Garadji, as well as Sybil Ranch and her two brothers, and Sebina and Loretta Willy. The descent lines of these people have been dealt with in para. 3.8.12, in relation to the **Guyanggan** group, to which they succeed on the same basis as they succeed for this group.

3.15.5 The group list for the **Lurdurdminyi** group lists as *darlnyin* Splinter Harris; his son, Kenneth Harris; his sisters, June Gardinen and Judy Carew; and his nephews and niece, Richard Moore, Samuel Moore and Bessie Moore. Also listed are Hannah Moore, Betty Willy and Terrence Willy Senior. All are of the Gangila-Jamijin semimoiety, which is the appropriate semimoiety for *darlnyin* in a group whose *mingirringgi* are from the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety. The genealogies do not enable the ascertainment of the identity of the mother's mother's father of any of these persons, but I have included them. Nicole Moore is not included with Richard, Samuel and Bessie as her mother was not the same as theirs.

3.15.6 The following is a list of the members of the **Lurdurdminyi** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Amy Dirngayg

Rita Raymond

Megan Raymond
 Tanya Raymond
 Michael Raymond
 Marcus Raymond
 Maggie Raymond
 Max Raymond

Caroline Willy

Terrence Willy Jr
 Clinton Willy
 Tony Willy

Slim Roberts

Clive Roberts

Daniel Roberts

Warren Roberts

Maretta Roberts

Marjorie Hall

Lindsay Hall
 Rodney Hall
 Bernadette Hall
 Dianne Hall
 Selma Hall

Marianne Roberts

Joelene Russell (Gaykamangu)
 Janita Russell (Gaykamangu)
 Lorraine Beatrice Russell (Gaykamangu)

Paula Roberts (Hall)

Martina Hall
 Matthias Rogers
 Maceuan Rogers
 Martika Rogers

Valmay Roberts (Daniels)

Gene Clancy Daniels
 Anthea Glynnis Daniels

Douglas Leslie Roberts

Tiffany Rae Paula Roberts

Joshua Roberts

Edwina Roberts

Jessie Roberts

Faye Roberts

Robert Smiler
 Stanley Smiler
 Jessie Smiler
 Karen Groves

Roger Roberts
 Deirdre Newman (Roberts)

Stephanie John
 (Daniels)
 Steven John
 Julie John

Sheila Conway	Gary Roberts	
	Elaine James (Roberts)	Josiah Albert Harry Albert Jr Zachariah Albert
	Jocelyn James	Joanne James Nicole James Anthea Margaret Joe Antoinette Joe
	Edna Farrar	Rosalyn Farrar Susan Farrar Trudy Farrar
	Michael Miller Christine Conway	Derrick Conway Cecily Conway Janet Ellis Peter Ellis Jr
	Phyllis Conway	Serita Conway (Moore) Anton Conway (Moore) Matthew Conway Simone Baker
	Robert Conway	
	Cheryl Lardy Helena Lardy Anna Maria Lardy Josephine Lardy	
	Barbara Lake	Cecilia Andrews Jeffrey Andrews Georgina Andrews Nevron Andrews
	Bruce Lake Ricky Lake	
Jackeroo Lirrawi Kevin Lirrawi Colleen Lirrawi	Dinulla Morgan Alan Morgan	
Josephine Lirrawi	Trisha Marsland Gregory Marsland	
Frances Lirrawi Theresa McDonald	Shirley McDonald Andrew McDonald Anne Marie McDonald Fabian McDonald	

	Lisa McDonald Leonie McDonald	
Janet Lirrawi Ross Lirrawi Sandra Hodgson Estelle Hodgson		
	Shirley Farrell	Desmond Farrell Virginia Farrell Jimmy Farrell Con Farrell Jr
	Ray Farrell Johnny Farrell Rosina Farrell	
		Gary Albert Sebastian Avalon Melissa Albert Yvonne Albert Terrence Albert Harold Albert Jr
	Susan Farrell	Lisa Andrews Alison Andrews Andrea Andrews Aaron Andrews Alister Andrews
	Carol Farrell	Andrew Andrews Adam Andrews Abraham Andrews
	Dennis Farrell Jackie Farrell Ambrose Farrell Maria Farrell	
		Simone Watson Marissa Watson
	Hilda Farrell	Nathan Burns Keisha Burns
Bruce Daylight Natasha Daylight Desmond Daylight Braden Daylight Samuel Daylight Lucas Daylight Shirley Daylight (Roy)	Rhonda Wanta Selda Wilfrid Lewis Roy	
	Jennifer Doctor	Mandy Doctor Jeffrey Doctor
	Paul Allen Brendan Allen	

Anthony Allen
Mary Allen

June Bunajun

Ellen George

Alfie George
Georgina George
Desmond George
Warren Smiler
Luke Doctor
Kimberley George

Joseph Garadji
Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji)
James Garadji
Rachel Thompson
Ivan Garadji
Alexandra Garadji

Sybil Ranch
Stewart Ranch
Ricky Ranch

Loretta Willy
Sebina Willy

Splinter Harris
Kenneth Harris
June Gardinen
Judy Carew

Richard Moore
Samuel Moore
Bessie Moore

Hannah Moore
Betty Willy
Terrence Willy Sr

3.16 The Beyward group

3.16.1 The evidence relating to the persons who make up the **Beyward** group is most confusing. In the Mataranka Area Land Claim No. 69, the group advanced as the traditional Aboriginal owners for *Beyward* (site 149) and associated sites was a group whose *mingirringgi* were of the Balyarriyn-Burlayn semimoiety. This claim was continued in the anthropologist's report for the present claim. In the course of preparation for the hearing of the present claim, and in the course of the evidence, there was revision of the claim, resulting from the acquisition of information that a particular dreaming thought to have been associated with *Beyward* (site 149) did not travel as far as that site. The consequence is that the claim to that area is now put on the basis that the appropriate group is a group whose *mingirringgi* are of the Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan semimoiety.

3.16.2 This position having been reached, the group list advanced in evidence for the particular group causes further confusion. Joseph Garadji and his siblings are listed as

the senior *mingirringgi*. The children of those female siblings (Beryl Gordon, also known as Beryl Munul or Beryl Garadji, Rachel Thompson and Alexandra Garadji) are listed as *junggayi*, with the exception of Stewart Gordon, a son of Beryl Gordon, who is not listed at all. His children, along with those of his brother, Steven Rankin, are listed as *darlnyin*, along with the children of his two sisters, Evelyn Lansen and Rosanne Gordon. Even more strangely, none of the children of Joseph Garadji or his male siblings are listed as *mingirringgi*. In the end, I have reached the conclusion that the only sense that can be made out of this situation is to list the Garadji family in the same way as I have for the **Barlyurra** group, in the absence of evidence justifying the exclusion of those who do not appear in the group list and the inclusion of the children of male *junggayi* as *darlnyin*. It should be noted that I have also omitted Jeremiah Harrison, for the reasons which are set out in para. 3.11.1, in relation to the **Barlyurra** group.

3.16.3 Included in the group list as *mingirringgi* for the **Beyward** group are Sybil, Stewart and Ricky Ranch. I have included them; they are of the Ngarriybalan subsection, and therefore of the appropriate semimoiety for *mingirringgi* for this group. Their descent is dealt with in para. 3.11.2, in relation to the **Barlyurra** group.

3.16.4 Barbara, Bruce and Ricky Lake are also *mingirringgi* for the **Beyward** group. Their father's name was Bob Lake. Barbara's children, Cecilia, Jeffrey, Georgina and Nevron Andrews, are *junggayi*. Bruce has children, Bruce Lake Junior and Braden Lake, who are not included in the group list. I have included them as *mingirringgi*, on the same basis as that on which I have added in the children of the Garadji men.

3.16.5 The children of the late Clancy Roberts are *junggayi* for this group, through their father's mother, Maudie Manbulloo. They are Slim Roberts, Clive Roberts, Marjorie Hall, Marianne Roberts, Paula Roberts (also known as Paula Hall), Valmay Roberts (also known as Valmay Daniels), Douglas Leslie Roberts and Joshua Roberts.

3.16.6 Lulu Jilimbirrnga and Talbot Hood are advanced as *darlnyin*. They are of the Balyarriyn-Burlayn semimoiety, whose mothers' mothers' fathers would have been of the Bangariyn-Ngarriybalan semimoiety, the appropriate semimoiety for *mingirringgi* for this group. I have therefore included Lulu and Talbot.

3.16.7 The following is a list of the members of the **Beyward** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Mingirringgi

Junggayi

Darlnyin

Joseph Garadji

Tracey Anne Garadji

Ian Garadji

Leonna Garadji

Kerry-Anne Garadji

Jerry Joe Garadji

Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji)

Evelyn Lansen

Melissa Lansen

Chaunelle Lansen

	Justin Lansen Leah Lansen
Rosanne Gordon	Reginald Gordon Debbie Watson Juan Watson
Stewart Gordon Steven Rankin	
James Garadji Mark Stewart Garadji Rachel Thompson	Fabian Thompson Richard Noel Thompson Joseph Thompson Hannah Thompson
Ivan Garadji Shayleigh Garadji Alexandra Garadji	Richard Whitlam
Sybil Ranch Stewart Ranch Ricky Ranch	
Barbara Lake	Cecilia Andrews Jeffrey Andrews Georgina Andrews Nevron Andrews
Bruce Lake Bruce Lake Jr Braden Lake Ricky Lake	Slim Roberts Clive Roberts Marjorie Hall Marianne Roberts Paula Roberts (Hall) Valmay Roberts (Daniels) Douglas Leslie Roberts Joshua Roberts
	Lulu Jilimbirrnga Talbot Hood

3.17 The Bobobinnga group

3.17.1 *Mingirringgi* for the **Bobobinnga** group are of the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiet. The group consists of three families. The first is the descendants of a deceased man called Yibelgun. The senior *mingirringgi* are David and James Daniels, whose father, the late Jimmy Daniels, was a son of Yibelgun. The two children of James, Danielle and Belinda Daniels, are also *mingirringgi*. Dorothy Rankin is a daughter of a deceased woman called Ngirrwirlij, whose father was Yibelgun. Dorothy is therefore *junggayi* through her mother's father. Her children are *darlnyin*. They are Bronwyn, Gloria, Matthew and Elisa Rankin. Sybil, Stewart and Ricky

Ranch are children of the late Frank Ranch, whose mother was Morlminga, a daughter of Yibelgun. Sybil, Stewart and Ricky are therefore *junggayi* for this group, through their father's mother.

3.17.2 The second family consists of the descendants of the late Jungle Dick. Mary Nurniyn is the surviving *mingirringgi*. Her daughters are *junggayi* through Mary and her father. Three of those daughters have children, who are *darlnyin*. One son and three daughters of Mary's deceased sister, Rosie Norman are also *junggayi*, through their mother's father. The children of the three daughters are *darlnyin*. I have dealt with the descent of this family in para. 3.8.10, in relation to the **Guyanggan** group.

3.17.3 The third family making up this group is Daylight Ngayunggu, Bobby Ngayunggu and Brian Manyita and their descendants. I have dealt with the descent of this family in paras 3.8.2 and 3.8.3, in relation to the **Guyanggan** group.

3.17.4 The following is a list of the members of the **Bobobinnga** group, arranged in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

<i>Mingirringgi</i>	<i>Junggayi</i>	<i>Darlnyin</i>
David Daniels		
James Daniels		
Danielle Daniels		
Belinda Daniels		
	Dorothy Rankin	
		Bronwyn Rankin
		Gloria Rankin
		Matthew Rankin
		Elisa Rankin
	Sybil Ranch	
	Stewart Ranch	
	Ricky Ranch	
Mary Nurniyn		
	Joy Birtjara	
		Terrence Willy Sr
		Betty Willy
	Margaret James	
		Elizabeth Fredericks
		Robyn Fredericks
		Terrence Fredericks
		Priscilla James
		William Driver
	Christine James	
		Troy Friday
		Betty Friday
		Josephine John
	Sandra James	
	Teddy Bulga	
	Rosemary Bulga	
		Zarak Yirrmul
		Zoe Yirrmul

		Razak Bulga
	Mandy Bulga	Reenie Barraway
	Josephine Bulga	Mervyn Martin
Daylight Ngayunggu		
Michael Daylight		
Noel Daylight		
Razak Daylight		
Justin Daylight		
Larissa Daylight		
Jeremiah Daylight		
Ian Daylight		
Ozzie Daylight		
Tina Daylight		
Hilda Daylight Yirrinini		
Ian Daylight Jr		
Kerry Daylight		
Ryanold Daylight		
Owen Daylight		
Patrick James Daylight		
Hilda Daylight Gamajarr		
	Deleneon Watson	
	Felicia Watson	
Pamela Daylight		
	Adrian Doctor	
	Lindsay Doctor	
	Tanya Doctor	
	Lee Doctor	
	Neil Doctor	
Edward Daylight		
Bruce Daylight		
Natasha Daylight		
Desmond Daylight		
Braden Daylight		
Samuel Daylight		
Lucas Daylight		
Shirley Daylight (Roy)		
	Rhonda Wanta	
	Selda Wilfrid	
	Lewis Roy	
Jonathan Daylight		
Bobby Ngayunggu		
Evelyn Ngayunggu		
Craig Ngayunggu		
Brian Manyita		
Tanya Manyita		
Terrence Manyita		
Loretta Manyita		

3.18 The Ngurrin group

3.18.1 The **Ngurrin** group has its *mingirringgi* from the Balyarriyn-Burлайн semimoiet̪y. Lulu Jilimbirrnga is the senior *mingirringgi*. Her son, Daylight Ngayunggu, is *junggayi*, through Lulu and her father. Jackeroo Lirrawi is *junggayi*, through his mother's father; his mother was Long Fanny, Lulu's sister. The members

of the Farrell family, children of the late Biddy Farrell, who was Lulu's daughter, are *darlnyin*. So are the children of the late Erica Lake, who was a daughter of Long Fanny. It is unnecessary for me to repeat the names of the members of those families here; they are set out in para. 3.10.5 and in the list of the members of the **Maynjurn.gan** group in para. 3.10.10. Daylight's brother, Bobby Ngayunggu is also *junggayi*, through his mother's father.

3.18.2 The members of the Hood family are also *mingirringgi*. I have dealt with their descent in para. 3.10.6, in relation to the **Maynjurn.gan** group. The group list in evidence for the **Ngurrin** group did not include two of the children of Angela Hood, Glenys Brown and Harold Brown. No explanation was given for their omission, so I have included them as *junggayi*, through their mother and her father, Talbot Hood. The group list also omitted Dominic and Matthew Hood, who were "grown up" by Sandy Hood, the deceased father of some of the *mingirringgi*. Again, in the absence of any explanation for this omission, I have included them as *mingirringgi*. They have been included in the **Maynjurn.gan** group.

3.18.3 Wendy Daylight, Audrey Waller and Barbara Anderson are daughters of the late Felix Morgan and are *mingirringgi*. Their children are *junggayi*, through their mothers' father. Wendy has Bruce and Samuel Daylight. Audrey has Ronald Lirrawi (also known as Ronald Waller), Stephanie Waller, Sophia Waller, Jonathan Waller and Kenny Waller Junior. Barbara has Joanne, Joyce and Regina Anderson.

3.18.4 The name of Charles Morgan appeared on the group list as *mingirringgi* for this group. The only relevant evidence about him is that he is the son of Timmy Morgan, who was shown on the relevant genealogy as deceased, but was the subject of evidence that he is still alive. Charles has two children, Dinulla and Alan Morgan. I am unable to understand why, if Charles is to be included as *mingirringgi*, neither his father, from whom he would have to take that status, nor his children, to whom he would pass it, have been included. I have therefore omitted him.

3.18.5 Also shown on the group list for this group, as *darlnyin*, were Robert Smiler, Stanley Smiler, Jessie Smiler and Karen Groves. Their mother is Faye Roberts, the oldest daughter of Jessie Roberts. Jessie is not shown as *mingirringgi*, Faye and her siblings are not shown as *junggayi*, and none of the children of Faye's siblings appears as *darlnyin*. Robert, Stanley, Jessie and Karen are all of the Jamijin subsection, whose mother's mother's father would be Burrala, which is not one of the subsections making up the appropriate semimoiety for *mingirringgi* for this group. There is no evidence justifying the inclusion of these four in this group, so I have excluded them.

3.18.6 The following is a list of the members of the **Ngurrin** group, organised in a similar fashion to the list in para. 3.8.15.

Lulu Jilimbirrnga

Daylight Ngayunggu
Bobby Ngayunggu

Jackeroo Lirrawi

Barbara Lake
Bruce Lake
Ricky Lake

Shirley Farrell
Ray Farrell
Johnny Farrell
Rosina Farrell
Susan Farrell
Carol Farrell
Dennis Farrell
Jackie Farrell
Ambrose Farrell
Maria Farrell
Hilda Farrell

Pamela Hood

Evelyn Jimberri

Phillip Hood

Sheena Hood

Darien Hood

Janelle Hood

Gregory Hood

Carol Hood

Randall Jackson
Naomi Jackson

Andrew Hood

Matthew Hood

Dominic Hood

Talbot Hood

Angela Hood

Steve Russell Owen Brown
Glenys Brown
Harold Brown

Melba Hood

Ian Avalon
Sharalee Avalon
Kim Avalon
Whitney Hood
Matt Hood

Josephine Hood

Damien William Fuller

Deirdre Hood

Vita Hood

Charmaine Hood

Joseph Hood

Wendy Daylight

Bruce Daylight
Samuel Daylight

Audrey Waller

Ronald Lirrawi (Waller)
Stephanie Waller
Sophia Waller
Jonathan Waller
Kenny Waller Jr

Barbara Anderson

Joanne Anderson
Joyce Anderson
Regina Anderson

3.19 Local descent groups Each of the groups to which I have referred in this chapter answers the description of a local descent group for the purposes of the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act. Each group is local, in the sense that it is associated with a particular area of land. The connection between each group and an area of land, so far as it affects this claim, is dealt with in chapter 4. Each group is made up of Aboriginal people who satisfy the criteria of descent accepted by the claimants for the purposes of their system of land tenure.

4 COMMON SPIRITUAL AFFILIATIONS, PRIMARY SPIRITUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND RIGHTS TO FORAGE

4.1 Groups connected with areas of the land claimed Each of the groups described in chapter 3 is connected with part of the land claimed. The areas on which the separate groups focus are not necessarily completely separate. Parts of the claim area are rich in sites of significance, while sites are sparse or non-existent in other parts. The area along the Roper River is particularly rich, no doubt because it has always offered abundant resources for survival in all seasons. There are also sites to be found along other watercourses, particularly at permanent waterholes. In some places, different groups share sites or have adjacent sites, with a consequent overlap between the areas claimed by those groups. There is also a tendency for land between sites to be the subject of overlapping claims, or for it to be unclear into the estate of which group it falls.

4.2 The nature of the connection

4.2.1 The connection between a group and a particular site of significance is provided by entities which are glossed as "dreamings" in the English language. These are creatures which participated in the formation of the landscape, the naming of its features and the imparting to humans of the things which make up the law for a particular group, namely language, culture, song and ceremony. Dreamings may once have adopted human form but now appear as animals or other phenomena. Their continued presence and influence is acknowledged and the connection between dreamings, people and country is maintained through ceremony and song.

4.2.2 The major dreamings involved in the present claim are travelling dreamings, some of which travel over quite long distances. Different parts of the tracks followed by long-distance travelling dreamings belong to different groups of people. A group will have responsibility for a defined part of a dreaming track. The sites along that part of the track and the country surrounding them will belong to that group. It is common for people to say that they take a dreaming from another (often named) group at a particular site and carry it through their country to hand it on to another group at another named site. The handover points, in a sense, will mark the boundary of the estate of a particular group.

4.2.3 It follows that the acquisition of both membership of a land-holding group and rights to a particular dreaming in respect of particular sites and land is a matter of descent. The descent criteria are those to which I have referred in para. 3.5.

4.3 The test for common spiritual affiliations

4.3.1 The proper approach to the determination of that element of the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act which requires common spiritual affiliations to a site or sites on the land was laid down by the Full Court of the Federal Court of Australia in *Northern Land Council v. Olney* (1992) 34 FCR 470, at pp. 487-8. It is unnecessary for me to set out that passage in full. The court drew attention to the need to ascertain the existence of spiritual affiliations on the part of individual members of a group and then to inquire whether those

affiliations are common to the members of the group or some of them. Reference was made to the exclusion of members of a group who lack the requisite spiritual affiliation because of age or otherwise. This does not appear to have been intended to add age as an element of the statutory definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners". Above all, the court recognised, at p. 487, that the task of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner "must vary depending upon the way the evidence is presented".

4.3.2 The present claim was presented on the basis that the acquisition of spiritual affiliations is a matter of descent. If a person acquires them by birth or adoption, those spiritual affiliations will give rise to rights which may be invoked at any time during the life of that person. The existence of the affiliations is not dependent upon any particular age or any particular level of knowledge.

4.3.3 Knowledge in Northern Territory Aboriginal cultures is recognised widely as a commodity which is imparted progressively to people who possess the requisite affiliations and have attained sufficient maturity and responsibility to be trusted with a particular level of knowledge. There are cases in which senior people, widely acknowledged as capable of safeguarding and not misusing knowledge, are the repositories of enormous amounts of knowledge relevant to whole regions. Such persons perform useful functions, particularly in safeguarding the knowledge for the benefit of those who are entitled to it. They can be trusted not to use the knowledge for their own purposes by claiming to have it in the capacity of those with particular affiliations. In the present claim, Jessie Roberts demonstrated broad knowledge of the dreamings for groups of which she does not claim to be a member. Joey McDonald also demonstrated a detailed knowledge of dreamings and ritual, extending from the claim area in a southerly direction to the area around Larrimah, including those for which he does not have specific rights.

4.3.4 It might be possible for persons born or adopted into a descent group, and thereby acquiring spiritual affiliations, to reject or abandon them. In the absence of rejection or abandonment, the overwhelming likelihood is that the members of the local descent groups to which I have referred in chapter 3 will be drawn into the ritual life of the claimants generally in relation to the country of the particular group.

4.3.5 For these reasons, I have reached my findings as to the spiritual affiliations of the members of the various groups without regard to their ages or to any level of knowledge which they might or might not possess. I have based my findings on the proposition that they, as members of the groups, have acquired their affiliations by birth or by the other descent criteria to which I have referred. Unless they show an inclination not to pursue the rights which those affiliations give them, they will in due course acquire such knowledge as they have the capacity to acquire.

4.4 Guyanggan country The **Guyanggan** group is connected with a number of sites along the Roper River through the dreaming known as *Wanggij*, loosely translated as child or piccaninny. The dreaming travelled from *Gandirrgiyan* (site 76) (Wagon Wheel Lagoon) and *Birliynbirliyn* (site 74) up the river. It visited *Guwarlmbarlg* (site 59), *Marlurra Yirr? Wa-warag* (site 58), *Wangganggij garlg garlg wa-buni* (site 42) (where there is a limestone formation resembling a dam, said to have been made by, and to bear the marks of the hands of, the dreaming children), *Guyanggan* (site 40),

Na-Gurnjan (site 39) and *Jembere* (site 38). Several of these sites have trees which are regarded as sacred. The dreaming completed its travels at *Jilgmirn.gan* (site 37), near the Jilkminggan community. This dreaming track intersects that of the *Garawi*, or plains kangaroo, held by the **Nganawirdbird** group, *mingirringgi* for which are of the same semimoiety as *mingirringgi* for the **Guyanggan** group. It also intersects the track of the *Gurrawgurrawg*, or storm bird, dreaming of the **Maynjurn.gan** group.

4.5 Dirlirlin country The **Dirlirlin** group takes its name from a major site associated with a bird dreaming. Splinter Harris described it as a little white bird with a black eye. It was referred to as a chicken-hawk, but is apparently not the same dreaming as that associated with the **Gunduburun** group. The dreaming is associated with two sites on Elsey Creek, *Dirlirlin ngawurr ngawurr wa-yinyi* (site 30) (where it made a well) and *Balburran* (site 31). At each of those sites is a limestone formation. The group is also associated with the *Nagarran* dreaming, which is rendered in English as "devil devil". That dreaming is found at *Gulun* (site 158), upstream on Elsey Creek from the two *Dirlirlin* sites, at a place known as Longreach Point, and also at *Munggug* (site 150), a spring in the valley of the Strangways River. The name of *Gulun* (site 158) is a reference to the making of a well at that place by the dreaming.

4.6 Maynjurn.gan country The principal dreaming of the **Maynjurn.gan** group is the *Gurrawgurrawg*, or storm bird. *Jawumbungan* (site 49) is the northernmost site associated with this dreaming. At the site, which is on the left bank of the Roper River, is a large forked tree which symbolises the meeting of the *Gurrawgurrawg* with the *Wargwargmin* (crow) dreaming and their agreement to travel in different directions away from that point. Joey McDonald described the tree as representing the "granny together" relationship of the two dreamings. Also on the river and associated with the *Gurrawgurrawg* dreaming is *Maynjurn.gan* (site 46) (known as the Two Mile), where there are also sacred trees associated with the dreaming. Other sites in the vicinity visited by the *Gurrawgurrawg* are *Wagurragmayn* (site 47), *Na-Mimarn Ja-ni* (site 44) and *Yarrayg Gal?ma Wa-niyn* (site 43). The dreaming then travelled away from the river to the south, visiting One Tree Yard (site 138) and Greenhart's Yard (site 139) before travelling to the south of the claim area. The **Maynjurn.gan** group retain responsibility for the dreaming until it is well off the claim area. Close to *Maynjurn.gan* (site 46) is another site, not shown on the site map, which is associated with the *Jamorlmorl* dreaming, which is a lizard. The members of the **Maynjurn.gan** group also have affiliations to that site through that dreaming.

4.7 Barlyurra country The *Barlyurra* is a site complex rather than a specific site. It straddles the Roper River in the region of Red Lily Lagoon and upstream. It includes the sites *Warrwarrag* (site 198), *Garawi Yirrij Wa-gardjag* (site 50), *Ngalarrg* (site 188), *Na-Yumbunggan* (site 187) and *Lunjan* (site 182). The members of the **Barlyurra** group are affiliated with these sites through the *Wijwij*, or possum, dreaming. Amy Dirngayg told a story of the possum making a hair belt. There is also a snake dreaming, the detail of which is secret to men and therefore the subject of restricted evidence. *Na-Yumbunggan* (site 187) is a ceremony ground for men's ceremony, although Jessie Roberts said that the presence of tourists using the river has caused the cessation of ceremonies on that site. The area is Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan country, which meets with Gamarra-Burralla country somewhere to the west of *Guwarlmbarg* (site 59).

4.8 Nganawirdbird country

4.8.1 The principal dreaming of the **Nganawirdbird** group is *Garawi*, or plains kangaroo. This is a major dreaming of the claim area. Its track enters the claim area from the direction of Mataranka. The first site visited by the dreaming on the claim area is *Gorowan* (site 25), on Salt Creek. The dreaming then visited *Na-Burl* (site 28) (Elsey Falls), *Murrwale* (site 29) and *Barlmarrag* (site 32), all on the Roper River. Between *Murrwale* (site 29) and *Barlmarrag* (site 32) is a waterhole, into which the *Garawi* jumped and in which it submerged. It travelled underground to the north and re-emerged at *Nganawirdbird* (site 33).

4.8.2 *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) is a place of great significance. It consists of a large sinkhole and limestone cave at the top of a hill. Inside, various limestone features have been painted; they represent the internal organs of the plains kangaroo. The site is on the register of the national estate, pursuant to the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*.

4.8.3 The cave is a place which should only be visited by initiated males. When it was visited during the hearing, the women stayed outside. Jackeroo Lirrawi gave evidence that he had not been allowed to enter the cave when he visited it as a child. It is said to be a dangerous place. The story was recounted of Aeneas Gunn's death from a fever which was said to have been the result of his exploration of the cave.

4.8.4 From *Nganawirdbird* (site 33), the *Garawi* crawled to *Gurlurndurnyi* (site 34), where it lay down and made a lagoon in the bed of Cave Creek. It then moved on to *Ngabardangiyn* (site 35), a little way down Cave Creek, where it interacted with the *Ngorlomorro*, or left-hand kangaroo, dreaming. The *Ngorlomorro* made a stone knife or spearhead at that site. There is a song for the *Ngorlomorro*, part of which was sung by Jessie Roberts at the site.

4.8.5 From there, the *Garawi* travelled to the Roper River, which it crossed at *Garawi Yirrij Wa-gardjag* (site 50), which is within the *Barlyurra* site complex. At that place, the *Garawi* interacted with the *Wijwij*, or possum, dreaming and with a cockatoo dreaming. The *Garawi* then proceeded to *Na-ni-nawung-gan* (site 53) at Little Red Lily Lagoon.

4.8.6 From there, the *Garawi* travelled in a generally eastward direction, visiting *Ngarmirn.gan* (site 56) (on Little Red Lily Lagoon), *Gurndarlawung.gan* (site 57) (near Little Red Lily Lagoon, where there used to be a tree representing the kangaroo standing up and looking back; there is another tree representing the kangaroo nearby), *Barlarlbab* (site 60), *Gilagilagi* (site 146) (Daken Harts Lagoon), *Ganyjirraman* (site 152) and *Warlangarrayi* (site 151), before leaving the claim area onto Hodgson Downs Station. In the course of parts of its journey, it was chased by two dingoes, called *Barlarlbab* (the name of site 60) and *Ganyjirraman* (the name of site 152), and accompanied by a wallaby, which took a short cut at one point and rejoined the kangaroo at *Gilagilagi* (site 146). There is a song concerning the two dingoes which is sung in ceremonies for the initiation of young men.

4.9 Gunduburun country

4.9.1 The evidence established connections between the members of the **Gunduburun** group and two areas of country within the claim area. The first is an area that extends from the northern boundary of the claim area in the Chambers River Valley south-east to the Roper River. The members of the group are connected with sites in this area through a dreaming known as *Garrmarnin*, or chicken-hawk. This dreaming was the bringer of stone spearheads. It is celebrated in ceremonies to do with male initiation. At the site called *Garrmarnin* (site 159), the chicken-hawk fell on its back. The chicken-hawk can still be seen lying there on its back. On the Roper River at *Garrgarrga* (site 65), the chicken-hawk heard a big noise. It saw a ceremony taking place at nearby *Wurluguguwan* (site 62), around which there had been burning with a firestick. The other site visited by the chicken-hawk dreaming is *Jirrgijaji* (site 67), on the Roper River, where it made camp.

4.9.2 The other area of country associated with this group is in the region where the Roper River meets the eastern boundary of the claim area. It includes the site *Gunduburun* (site 95), in the vicinity of Mole Hill. There is a ceremony ground used for secret men's ceremony at that site. Nearby, covering a significant area, is *Yumbuyan* (site 97). This is associated with a complex dreaming story of a crane, which was seeking to catch a fish in a small billabong. In the course of the story, the billabong became larger.

4.9.3 The precise connection between the two areas of country was not made clear by evidence. The area lying between them appears to be associated with other groups.

4.10 Mirmiridji country The **Mirmiridji** group has affiliations to sites on the claim area through two different dreamings. One is *Gurrwandan*, rendered in English as two quiet (i.e. non-venomous) snakes. This dreaming travelled from *Warraja* (site 93), where the Strangways River and the Roper Highway intersect, up the Strangways River almost as far as *Beyward* (site 149), and then returned to *Warraja* (site 93). The other dreaming is *Jab*, or whirlwind. This visited *Garwarran* (site 84), *Miwarlan* (site 83) and *Mirmiridji* (site 81), forming the rocky features of Mount Sir James. There is secret men's business associated with those dreamings and with *Mirmiridji* (site 81). The *Jab* then travelled to *Ngurrin* (site 137), where it is associated with the **Ngurrin** group.

4.11 Lurdurdminyi country The **Lurdurdminyi** group takes its name from site 89, the principal site of the rain dreaming. At the site is permanent water, known as Crescent Lagoon. There is also a sacred tree associated with the rain dreaming and another plant which, if touched, can cause sickness and death. In the claim material, the rain dreaming is called *Garnan*, but Jessie Roberts in her evidence gave it what she described as "the old name", *Jawayway*. As well as *Lurdurdminyi* (site 89), the dreaming is associated with *Merremeng* (site 90), *Marnmong* (site 88), *Gurrayan* (site 73), which is on Goondooloo Station just outside the eastern boundary of the claim area, and *Guwarlmbarlg* (site 59). The members of the group are affiliated to all of these sites by way of the rain dreaming.

4.12 Beyward country

4.12.1 There is a substantial area of land in the south-east of the claim area associated with the Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan semimoiety and, in particular, with the **Beyward** group. It includes *Beyward* (site 149) (at which there is a lagoon); *Guywarran* (site 145) and *Garlayarr* (site 148) (both on Cattle Creek); and *Jalburrgiji* (site 157) (on the Strangways River near Mais Bluff). The area extends eastwards into Hodgson Downs Station. The degree to which it extends to the west is unclear, but the principal dreaming of the group has a connection with *Guyurriyan* (site 135) and *Gulun* (site 158), both on Elsey Creek.

4.12.2 An eagle dreaming, of the Bangariyn-Ngarrijbalan semimoiety, stole flying foxes, of the Gangila-Jamijin semimoiety, from *Gulun* (site 158) and cooked them in a stone oven at *Guyurriyan* (site 135). There is a mound at the latter site, which represents the stone oven. Because of the theft of the flying foxes, *Nagarran* (devil devil) sent a rain dreaming, of the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety, to pursue the eagle. The rain caused lightning, which chased the eagle. The eagle put the flying foxes in a bag and flew to *Jalburrgiji* (site 157), by way of *Garlayarr* (site 148). The lightning struck the rock at Mais Bluff and made it red. It is clear from this story that *Guyurriyan* (site 135) has connections with several groups.

4.12.3 There is a local dreaming at *Guywarran* (site 145) which is called *Gargunyja*. Splinter Harris translated it as a bird. The site register renders it as a nankeen night heron (also known as a rufous night heron). There is also a dreaming, secret to men, about which I heard evidence in restricted session, which connects *Beyward* (site 149) with *Jalburrgiji* (site 157).

4.13 Bobobinnga country The area of country in the western part of the claim area has particular associations with the Yangman language group and is regarded as country of the Gamarra-Burralla semimoiety. It is the country of the **Bobobinnga** group, which has affiliations to a complex of sites along Elsey Creek, in the vicinity of Warloch Ponds and downstream from there. The focal site is *Bobobinnga* (site 124), which is associated with a sugarbag dreaming. At the site is a white rock formation which, according to Daylight Ngayunggu, is linked with a dreaming called *Junguj*, which he described as "tiger snake". *Garlyag* (site 118) and *Nayn.jagan* (site 120) are both associated with a devil devil called *Jambarlaw*. There is a localised dreaming at *Buriyn.gan* (site 119); it is a file snake dreaming. *Mabirling* (site 134) takes its name from a dreaming which Daylight Ngayunggu described as a little rock kangaroo with a red eye and which the site register describes as a hare-wallaby. Other sites within the complex are *Bardbaru* (site 122) and *Na-Gunyjan* (site 136). The members of the **Bobobinnga** group have affiliations to the various sites through the dreamings to which I have referred.

4.14 Ngurrin country

4.14.1 The members of the **Ngurrin** group have affiliations to sites on the claim area through two main dreamings. The first is the *Jab*, or whirlwind, which travelled from *Miwarlan* (site 83) and *Mirmiridji* (site 81) (see para. 4.10). The dreaming visited *Ngurrin* (site 137) on its way to a complex of three sites on or near Elsey Creek. They are *Ngadibarn.gan* (site 125), at which the dreaming created a swamp, *Jarraji* (site

126) and *Warlarlaji* (site 127). At the last-mentioned of these sites, there is a tradition that Lulu Jilimbirnga's father, Gudirr, left a footprint in the ground. From these sites, the *Jab* travelled to a place near the town of Mataranka.

4.14.2 The other major dreaming of the **Ngurrin** group is *Warrba*, or catfish. This dreaming is associated with *Dunggurlan* (site 140) and *Marlwan* (site 141), both of which are near a bore known as Drum Bore or No. 1 Bore, and with *Ganybunyi* (site 142), where a small creek intersects the Roper Highway.

4.15 Common spiritual affiliations It follows from what I have said that the members of each of the groups to which I have referred have common spiritual affiliations to sites on the land claimed, as well as in some cases to sites on nearby land which are associated with the land claimed. The spiritual affiliations of the members of each group are held in common with the other members of that group. They are so held as a result of the acquisition of rights and responsibilities in respect of those sites, through the dreamings relating to those sites, by the principles of descent referred to in para. 3.5.

4.16 Primary spiritual responsibility

4.16.1 The affiliations to which I have referred in para. 4.15 give rise to spiritual responsibility on the part of the members of each group for the sites concerned and for the land that surrounds them. In order to satisfy the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act, this spiritual responsibility must be "primary". In the case of each group, the spiritual affiliations to the sites to which I have referred give rise to a spiritual responsibility which is primary, in the sense that it is ahead of that of any other people who hold the same dreaming. In respect of dreamings which travel from or to areas outside the land claimed, the evidence identifies the members of the relevant claimant groups as those who have primary spiritual responsibility for those portions of the dreaming tracks which enter or pass through the land claimed.

4.16.2 Spiritual responsibility for sites and land involves ceremonial activity related to those sites and that land. There is abundant evidence of the performance of ceremonies related to sites on the land claimed and the dreamings which are connected with those sites. At some sites on the land claimed, there are places at which ceremonies are still performed. Much of the evidence relating to ceremonial activity is restricted because it concerns ceremonies which are secret to men. In the course of evidence, songs celebrating dreamings in respect of particular sites were sung. Jessie Roberts was a particularly valuable singer in the course of the hearing: at *Ngabardangiyn* (site 35), she sang part of a song relating to the left-hand kangaroo (*Ngorlomorro*); at *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) and at *Gorowan* (site 25), she sang parts of a song relating to the plains kangaroo (*Garawi*); and at *Bobobinna* (site 124), she sang part of a song relating to the *Jambarlawa* devil devil. As is common in Aboriginal land tenure systems in the Northern Territory, senior members of the groups take leading roles in the performance of ceremonies. The evidence suggests that, as they acquire age and status, younger members of the groups will take their rightful places in those performances. Again, as is common, senior members of the groups are recognised as those having the authority to speak about sites, dreamings and land. In time, junior members will acquire that authority.

4.16.3 As I have said in chapter 3, each group consists of *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlнын*. A question therefore arises whether one or more of these subgroups has or have responsibility which is primary as against the other or others. *Mingirringgi* and *junggayi* fulfil roles in relation to ceremonies and land management which are consistent with those usually found in societies which are organised according to moiety systems. A person will usually have responsibilities as *mingirringgi* in respect of country belonging to one moiety, that to which that person's father and father's father belong or belonged. The same person will usually have responsibility as *junggayi* in respect of country belonging to the opposite moiety, that from which his or her mother and mother's father, and father's mother and father's mother's father, came. The complementary nature of the roles of *mingirringgi* and *junggayi* in both ceremony and land management can thus be understood easily. They are sometimes described in English as the roles of owner and manager. Sometimes the role of *junggayi* is referred to as that of a policeman. These descriptions do not capture the full significance of the roles. The evidence discloses that *mingirringgi* have obligations to care for country. They may require the permission of *junggayi* to carry out acts of land management. In turn, *junggayi* exercise a supervisory role, to ensure that the necessary acts are carried out. If damage occurs to a significant feature of the country concerned, *mingirringgi* have obligations to pay *junggayi*, even if the damage did not result from the deliberate act or neglect of *mingirringgi*. Nowadays, payment is exacted in cash or in the provision of tobacco or items of food. Ceremonies celebrating dreamings and sites and land can only be undertaken if *mingirringgi* and *junggayi* are both present and fulfilling their respective roles. Thus, in every sense, *mingirringgi* and *junggayi* exercise complementary roles in relation to the exercise of spiritual responsibility for, and the management of, land.

4.16.4 The concept of *darlнын* is unusual in my experience. *Darlнын* take their status from their mothers' mothers' fathers. In other words, they will be of the same moiety (but a different semimoiety within that moiety) as those from whom they take their status. The evidence discloses that they function as a sort of extra *junggayi*, with supervisory and permissive roles which are exercised as backup for, and in consultation with, *junggayi*; Joey McDonald said, "We can't go without a *darlнын*", in the context of evidence about land management. They have ceremonial roles which complement those of *mingirringgi* and *junggayi*. They share in payments which *mingirringgi* are required to make in the event of damage. On the evidence, there is no difficulty in recognising that *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlнын* together exercise primary spiritual responsibility in respect of the sites of the various groups and the land surrounding them.

4.16.5 Another issue as to the primacy of responsibility arises because of the lack of bounded estates within the claim area. There is a heavy concentration of sites along the Roper River, where permanent water is available. Other sites tend to be associated with permanent waterholes in the ephemeral waterways. There is no neat pattern of dreaming tracks associated with the sites. Rather, dreaming tracks intertwine. In para. 4.9, I refer to the two separate areas of land to which the members of the **Gunduburun** group are affiliated and to the country of other groups in between them. The *Barlyurra* site complex contains sites of more than one group. There are some cases of groups sharing responsibility for sites. *Guyurriyan* (site 135) and *Gulun* (site

158), the complex story relating to both of which is recounted in para. 4.12.2, are good examples (see the reference to *Gulun* in para. 4.5). *Guwarlmbarl* (site 59) is referred to in para. 4.4 in relation to the child dreaming and in para. 4.11 in relation to the rain dreaming. This means that there are areas of land over which more than one group will claim to exercise responsibility. In such cases, the evidence does not suggest any element of competition between those groups. Rather, it is recognised that the members of more than one group are able to exercise joint or shared primary spiritual responsibility for the shared areas.

4.17 Rights to forage The right to forage over the areas of land associated with the sites of the various groups was asserted on many occasions in the evidence. It was often supported by evidence, both oral and tangible, of the availability of bush tucker and other requirements. Thus, the seeds of the lotus lily were gathered and eaten during the hearing at Little Red Lily Lagoon and freshwater mussels were gathered, cooked and eaten at *Beyward* (site 149). Lily roots were gathered in several places. As is often the case, the class of those entitled to hunt and gather in particular areas was broader than the members of the group with particular responsibility for that area. It was clear, however, that *mingirringgi*, *junggayi* and *darlnyin* with responsibility for particular areas of land have the right to forage over that land. There are instances of restrictions on that right in the immediate vicinity of sites. At *Gilagilagi* (site 146), there was evidence that no-one is permitted to hunt or gather at the site itself, although all members of the **Nganawirdbird** group were able to hunt and gather as of right in the surrounding country. These restrictions were not such as to deny the existence of a general right in members of each of the groups to forage over the areas of the land claimed for which those groups have responsibility.

4.18 Traditional Aboriginal owners The following is a list of all those who, according to the evidence, fall within the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" of any part of the land claimed. Most, if not all, belong to more than one group. I have listed each person only once and have listed them in alphabetical order. Where the name of a child has not been given in evidence, I have listed that child under the name of his or her parent.

Gary Albert
 Harold Albert Jr
 Harry Albert Jr
 Josiah Albert
 Melissa Albert
 Terrence Albert
 Yvonne Albert
 Zachariah Albert
 Anthony Allen
 Brendan Allen
 Mary Allen
 Paul Allen
 Barbara Anderson
 Joanne Anderson
 Joyce Anderson
 Regina Anderson
 Aaron Andrews
 Abraham Andrews

Adam Andrews
Alison Andrews
Alister Andrews
Andrea Andrews
Andrew Andrews
Cecilia Andrews
Georgina Andrews
Jeffrey Andrews
Lisa Andrews
Nevron Andrews
Ian Avalon
Kim Avalon
Sebastian Avalon
Sharalee Avalon
Kathy Baker
Patricia Baker
Patrina Baker
Shane Baker
Shaun Baker
Simone Baker
Timothy Baker
Wendy Baker
Reenie Barraway
Joy Birtjara
Glenys Brown
Harold Brown
Steve Russell Owen Brown
Josephine Bulga
Mandy Bulga
Razak Bulga
Rosemary Bulga
Teddy Bulga
June Bunajun
Keisha Burns
Nathan Burns
Alfonso Carew
David Carew
Josephine Carew
Judy Carew
Randall Carew
Sharon Carew
Steven Carew
Sylvia Carew
Trevor Carew
Bianca Hazel Collin
Anton Conway (Moore)
Cecily Conway
Christine Conway
Derrick Conway

Matthew Conway
Phyllis Conway
Robert Conway
Serita Conway (Moore)
Sheila Conway
Anthea Glynnis Daniels
Belinda Daniels
Danielle Daniels
David Daniels
Gene Clancy Daniels
James Daniels
Annabelle Daylight
Braden Daylight
Bruce Daylight
Desmond Daylight
Edward Daylight
Hilda Daylight Gamajarr
Hilda Daylight Yirrinini
Ian Daylight
Ian Daylight Jr
Jeremiah Daylight
Jonathan Daylight
Justin Daylight
Kerry Daylight
Larissa Daylight
Lucas Daylight
Michael Daylight
Natasha Daylight
Noel Daylight
Owen Daylight
Ozzie Daylight
Pamela Daylight
Patrick James Daylight
Razak Daylight
Ryanold Daylight
Samuel Daylight
Shirley Daylight (Roy)
Tina Daylight
Wendy Daylight
Sally Anne Dick
Sandra Dick
Shaun Dick
Amy Dirngayg
Adrian Doctor
Jeffrey Doctor
Jennifer Doctor
Lee Doctor
Lindsay Doctor
Luke Doctor

Mandy Doctor
Neil Doctor
Tanya Doctor
William Driver
Clifford Duncan
Samantha Duncan
Winnie Duncan
Janet Ellis
Peter Ellis Jr
Dionne Farrar
Edna Farrar
Lachlan Farrar
Rosalyn Farrar
Susan Farrar
Trudy Farrar
Ambrose Farrell
Carol Farrell
Con Farrell Jr
Dennis Farrell
Desmond Farrell
Hilda Farrell
Jackie Farrell
Jimmy Farrell
Johnny Farrell
Maria Farrell
Ray Farrell
Rosina Farrell
Shirley Farrell
Susan Farrell
Virginia Farrell
Elizabeth Fredericks
Robyn Fredericks
Terrence Fredericks
Betty Friday
Troy Friday
Damien William Fuller
Alexandra Garadji
Ian Garadji
Ivan Garadji
James Garadji
Jerry Joe Garadji
Joseph Garadji
Kerry-Anne Garadji
Leonna Garadji
Mark Stewart Garadji
Shayleigh Garadji
Tracey Anne Garadji
June Gardinen
James Gaston

Michael Gaston
Robert Gaston
Steven Gaston
Tania Gaston
Wayne Gaston
Alfie George
Clifford George
Desmond George
Ellen George
Georgina George
Kimberley George
Martika George
Maria Gibbs
Pancy Gibbs
Beryl Gordon (Munul) (Garadji)
Reginald Gordon
Rosanne Gordon
Stewart Gordon
Karen Groves
Bernadette Hall
Dianne Hall
Lindsay Hall
Marjorie Hall
Martina Hall
Rodney Hall
Selma Hall
Kenneth Harris
Splinter Harris
Estelle Hodgson
Sandra Hodgson
Angela Hood
Andrew Hood
Carol Hood
Charmaine Hood
Darien Hood
Deirdre Hood
Dominic Hood
Gregory Hood
Janelle Hood
Joseph Hood
Josephine Hood
Matt Hood
Matthew Hood
Melba Hood
Pamela Hood
Phillip Hood
Sheena Hood
Talbot Hood
Vita Hood

Whitney Hood
Naomi Jackson
Randall Jackson
Christine James
Elaine James (Roberts)
Joanne James
Jocelyn James
Margaret James
Nicole James
Priscilla James
Sandra James
Lulu Jilimbirrnga
Evelyn Jimberri
Anthea Margaret Joe
Antoinette Joe
Anita John
Barbara John
Cheyenne John
David John
Jeff Fred John
Josephine John
Julie John
Shirley John
Stephanie John (Daniels)
Steven John
William John
unnamed daughter of William John
Virginia Kruger
Barbara Lake
Braden Lake
Bruce Lake
Bruce Lake Jr
Ricky Lake
Chaunelle Lansen
Evelyn Lansen
Justin Lansen
Leah Lansen
Melissa Lansen
Anna Maria Lardy
Betty Lardy
Cheryl Lardy
Helena Lardy
Josephine Lardy
Colleen Lirrawi
Frances Lirrawi
Jackeroo Lirrawi
Janet Lirrawi
Josephine Lirrawi
Kevin Lirrawi

Ronald Lirrawi (Waller)
Ross Lirrawi
Brian Manyita
Loretta Manyita
Tanya Manyita
Terrence Manyita
Gregory Marsland
Trisha Marsland
Anton Martin
Antonella Martin
Ethan Martin
Mervyn Martin
Alec McDonald
Andrew McDonald
Anne Marie McDonald
Fabian McDonald
Joey McDonald
Leonie McDonald
Lisa McDonald
Shirley McDonald
Theresa McDonald
Wilton McDonald
Tanya McInnes
Antonella Miller
Donovan Miller
Jodie Miller
Maxie Miller
Michael Miller
Natalie Miller
Bessie Moore
Hannah Moore
Loretta Moore (Willy)
Nicole Moore
Richard Moore
Samuel Moore
Sebina Moore (Willy)
Alan Morgan
Charles Morgan
Dinulla Morgan
Doreen Morton
Nita Morton
son of Nita Morton
Susan Morton
Deirdre Newman (Roberts)
Bobby Ngayunggu
Craig Ngayunggu
Daylight Ngayunggu
Evelyn Ngayunggu
Mary Nurniyn

Germaine Ponto
Marissa Ponto
Ricky Ranch
Stewart Ranch
Sybil Ranch
Bronwyn Rankin
Dorothy Rankin
Eddie Rankin
Elisa Rankin
Gloria Rankin
Lucas Rankin
Matthew Rankin
Steven Rankin
Maggie Raymond
Marcus Raymond
Max Raymond
Megan Raymond
Michael Raymond
Rita Raymond
Tanya Raymond
Clive Roberts
Daniel Roberts
Douglas Leslie Roberts
Edwina Roberts
Faye Roberts
Gary Roberts
Jessie Roberts
Jocelyn Roberts (James)
Joshua Roberts
Kerry-Anne Roberts
Maretta Roberts
Marianne Roberts
Nicholas Roberts
Paula Roberts (Hall)
Raylene Roberts
Regina Roberts
Roberta Roberts
Roger Roberts
Slim Roberts
Tiffany Rae Paula Roberts
Valmay Roberts (Daniels)
Warren Roberts
Warwick Roberts
Maceuan Rogers
Martika Rogers
Matthias Rogers
Kalvin Roy
Katrina Roy
Lewis Roy

Janita Russell (Gaykamangu)
Joelene Russell (Gaykamangu)
Lorraine Beatrice Russell (Gaykamangu)
David Ryan
Larry Ryan
Simeon Ryan
Zachariah Sandy
Casey Smiler
Daphne Smiler
Jessica Smiler
Jessie Smiler
Robert Smiler
Stanley Smiler
Warren Smiler
Eric Thomas
Joshua Thomas
Shirley Thomas
Fabian Thompson
Hannah Thompson
Joseph Thompson
Rachel Thompson
Richard Noel Thompson
Audrey Waller
Jonathan Waller
Kenny Waller Jr
Sophia Waller
Stephanie Waller
Rhonda Wanta
Debbie Watson
Deleneon Watson
Felicia Watson
Juan Watson
Marissa Watson
Simone Watson
Sylvester Weekend
Richard Whitlam
Selda Wilfrid
Antoinette Willy
Betty Willy
Caroline Willy
Clinton Willy
Loretta Willy
Sebina Willy
Terrence Willy Sr
Terrence Willy Jr
Tony Willy
Zarak Yirmul
Zoe Yirmul
Lorna Yiwirabi (Lirrawi)

5 STRENGTH OF ATTACHMENT

5.1 Assessing strength of traditional attachment The Land Rights Act requires that the Aboriginal Land Commissioner make an assessment of the strength of traditional attachment of the people who claim to be traditional Aboriginal owners of land the subject of a claim. Such an assessment, of a group as a whole, is difficult; inevitably, the traditional attachment of some claimants will be stronger than that of others. The Land Rights Act apparently requires that the assessment be made in a vacuum. There is no requirement that the Commissioner attempt to compare the strength of attachment of particular claimants with that of claimants in another land claim or other land claims. The only measure to be applied appears to be whether there is sufficient strength of traditional attachment to justify a recommendation that the land the subject of the claim, or part or parts of it, be conveyed to a land trust or land trusts.

5.2 Abundance of evidence The present claim does not involve any consideration of a narrow balance on the issue of strength of traditional attachment. To the contrary, there is abundant evidence of a powerful and continuing traditional connection between the claimants and the land claimed.

5.3 Historical association

5.3.1 The claimants and their forebears have maintained a continuous presence within the claim area throughout its pastoral history. Each of the three Elsey Station homesteads (see para. 2.5.1) had its nearby camp for Aboriginal employees and their families. In the course of the hearing, I visited the site of the camp near the present homestead. Although living conditions in that camp had obviously been very hard, and work requirements very arduous, the visit occasioned some nostalgia on the part of the older claimants.

5.3.2 A number of claimants worked on Elsey Station while it was controlled by non-Aboriginal pastoralists. Amy Dirngayg and Lulu Jilimbirrnga both did housework at the homestead. Daylight Ngayunggu, Jackaroo Lirrawi, Splinter Harris, Roger Roberts and Joey McDonald were all involved in cattle work on the claim area and on nearby stations. Jessie Roberts and Sheila Conway also worked, both on Elsey and other stations in the area.

5.3.3 In 1974, the manager of the station attempted to drive the Aboriginal people who were then living in the camp near the present homestead off the station permanently. This attempt was resisted. Claimants and their forebears returned to the land and camped at what is now the site of the Jilkminggan community. Later, they retrieved sheets of iron from the shelters in which they had lived at the camp near the homestead and began rebuilding at Jilkminggan. Their insistence on living within the claim area and their determination not to be moved led to the excision from the pastoral lease of what is now the freehold area of the Jilkminggan community. There is now a well-established settlement within that area, which includes well-appointed houses, a store, a school, a pump for water supply, a bank of solar panels for power generation, a backup diesel generator, fences and gardens. The school is a substantial building, with a concrete slab and cement-brick walls. Designs representing some of

the dreamings connected to sites on the claim area have been worked into the brickwork of the school building. Inside, the floors are carpeted and the rooms are airconditioned. No doubt the credit for the amenity of the Jilkminggan community area must go to many people, but the contribution of Jessie Roberts should be mentioned.

5.4 Where the claimants live Over 130 of the persons I have found to be traditional Aboriginal owners live at Jilkminggan. They include substantial numbers of the Roberts and Daylight families. Betty Lardy returned to live there, seventeen years after being taken away to Croker Island as a child. Members of the **Gunduburun** group have established a separate community living area at Mole Hill, on the land claimed. Others of the traditional Aboriginal owners live not far from the claim area on other stations, or at places such as Mataranka, Ngukurr, Katherine and Barunga.

5.5 Spiritual life The modern amenity at Jilkminggan contrasts with the traditional Aboriginal lifestyle which the claimants tend to lead. There are numerous speakers of the Mangarrayi language among them. As I have indicated in para. 3.3, there is a staunch adherence to the traditional kinship system. The spiritual life of the claimants is active and real. For them, the dreamings are not matters of history but have relevance in daily lives. Inappropriate behaviour at or near some sites is believed to cause sickness and death. An example is *Nganawirdbird* (site 33), to which I have referred in paras 4.8.2 and 4.8.3. Recent damage to a tree at the Two Mile was the cause of evidence of concern. *Na-Liwu-Jaji* (site 72) is a mosquito increase site, at which inappropriate behaviour can cause plagues of mosquitoes. Such prohibitions on inappropriate behaviour are observed by the claimants. There are sites to which *mingirringgi* will not go without being accompanied by *junggayi* and *darlnyin*. At *Buriyn.gan* (site 119), Jessie Roberts gave evidence that *mingirringgi* needed to be accompanied by *junggayi* and *darlnyin* in order to walk around safe from the *Jambarlawa* (see para. 4.13). Prohibitions on eating the animal form of a dreaming of the same semimoiety as the person concerned are observed. For instance, at *Gurlurndurnyi* (site 34), Splinter Harris gave evidence that he could not eat a goanna because it was of the Gangila-Jamijin semimoiety, the same semimoiety to which Splinter belongs. In paras 4.16.3 and 4.16.4, I have referred to local Aboriginal law concerning the payment by *mingirringgi* to *junggayi* in the event of damage to the land or its features and the sharing of that payment with *darlnyin*. Joey McDonald gave evidence that payment has been exacted from him as *mingirringgi* from time to time.

5.6 Ceremonial activity Claimants participate regularly in regional ceremonies, in which they celebrate their dreamings in relation to sites on the claim area, by the use of body designs and songs. Sacred objects for use in ceremonial activity used to be stored in crevices in limestone quite near the road which leads from the Roper Highway to the present Elsey Station homestead. The storage places have now been destroyed by limestone-quarrying operations (see para. 6.12.6). The loss of those places and of some sacred objects has been the cause of considerable distress amongst claimants. In chapter 4, I have referred to places in the claim area which are used for ceremonies. The currency of songs celebrating the dreamings was demonstrated by Jessie Roberts, who sang portions of songs relating to the *Garawi* dreaming at *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) and *Gorowan* (site 25), the *Ngorlomorro* dreaming at *Ngabardangiyn* (site 35) and the *Jambarlawa* dreaming at *Bobobinna* (site 124).

5.7 Site protection On a number of occasions, concern was expressed to protect the traditional connection between the claimants and sites on the land. In particular, there was evidence that claimants were worried about the impact of tourists in sensitive areas. Examples are the expressions of concern by Sheila Conway at *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) and *Na-Burl* (site 28) (Elsey Falls) and by Jessie Roberts at Little Red Lily Lagoon. Jessie also referred to a ceremony ground at *Na-Yumbunggan* (site 187), which she said is no longer used because it can be seen by tourists using the Roper River. Steps have already been taken to protect some places. *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) is on the Register of the National Estate, pursuant to the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*. An area along and near the Roper River from the Two Mile to near *Garawi Yirrij Wa-gardjag* (site 50) has been registered for protection under the *Northern Territory Aboriginal Sacred Sites Act 1989* (NT). I am satisfied that a major element of the desire to have the claimed land placed under the control of a land trust is the wish to gain control over access to the land, for the purpose of protecting sensitive sites.

5.8 Traditional use of resources The traditional use of the resources of the land was the subject of oral evidence, and was also demonstrated during the hearing. The land claimed is used by the claimants for hunting, fishing and gathering food and other resources, such as bush medicines and white clay for ceremonial purposes. During the hearing, freshwater mussels were gathered and cooked at *Beyward* (site 149), lily roots were found at several places and lily seeds were gathered and eaten at *Gurndarlawung.gan* (site 57), at Little Red Lily Lagoon.

5.9 Passing on knowledge It is clear that there is a desire to pass on knowledge to younger generations. Daylight Ngayunggu gave evidence to this effect. There is restricted evidence that it is being done in relation to young men. Children are taught the Mangarrayi language in the school at Jilkminggan; they demonstrated their knowledge of the language by singing in it during the hearing. There is every indication that a way of life which is strongly traditional will continue to be the norm among those claimants who live within the claim area and nearby.

5.10 Attendance at the hearing Attachment to the land concerned was indicated by a large attendance at the hearing. Although this can be explained in part by the number of claimants who live at Jilkminggan, the enthusiasm of the claimants generally for the pressing of their claim was apparent. The major part of the hearing took place over ten continuous days. What had been scheduled as a rest day in the middle of the hearing was in fact used for a demonstration and evidence by Douglas Collins of the boat cruise which he conducts for tourists on the Roper River and Red Lily Lagoon (see para. 6.14). A number of claimants attended on this day as well. In late September and early October, the weather was hot. Much of the hearing involved long vehicle trips, sometimes on very rough tracks. The days were long. Despite this, claimants, including the elderly, maintained their commitment to the success of the hearing.

5.11 Strength of attachment high As this summary of the evidence indicates, the strength of traditional attachment of the claimants must be regarded as very high.

6 MATTERS FOR COMMENT

6.1 Numbers advantaged

6.1.1 The total number of persons whom I have found to fall within the definition of "traditional Aboriginal owners" in the Land Rights Act is 410. There are four classes of persons who can be said to have traditional attachments to the land claimed but who do not fall within that definition. They are:

- (a) those who are married to traditional Aboriginal owners;
- (b) children of male *junggayi* and of *darlnyin* who are not traditional Aboriginal owners through other parents;
- (c) persons with responsibility for parts of relevant dreaming tracks falling outside the claim area, who will usually be members of the same semimoieties as the traditional Aboriginal owners who have responsibility for the portions of those dreaming tracks within the claim area; and
- (d) non-claimant members of the Mangarrayi and Yangman language groups.

Persons belonging to each of these classes would be advantaged if the claim were acceded to in whole or in part. In his written submissions, counsel for the claimants sought a similar finding in relation to a fifth group, namely those whose parents or other close relatives are known to have died on the claim area. There is no evidence to suggest that there are such people or, if there are, that they have traditional attachments to the land claimed. I have therefore been unable to make a finding in relation to that class.

6.1.2 The numbers in the first two classes, spouses and children who are not traditional Aboriginal owners, are not large, because of the close nature of the community to which the traditional Aboriginal owners belong and their tendency to marry in accordance with the dictates of the kinship system. Members of the other two classes have ties of kinship, language, ceremonial obligation and attachment, and dreaming affiliation which link them with the traditional Aboriginal owners. Some people will belong to more than one class. Jimmy Conway is a very good example. He is married to Sheila Conway, a prominent member of several of the groups and of the Jilkminggan community. Jimmy himself is also a prominent member of that community and plays an important role in regional ceremonies. On several occasions, he was named as *junggayi*, in the broad sense to which I have referred in para. 3.7.2, in respect of several groups. Such overlapping makes assessment of numbers advantaged difficult. The estimate provided on behalf of the claimants is that the total number of Aboriginal people with traditional attachments to the land claimed who would be advantaged if the claim were acceded to in whole or in part could be as high as 800, including the traditional Aboriginal owners. This estimate is probably reasonably accurate.

6.2 Nature and extent of the advantage

6.2.1 The most obvious advantage to those with traditional attachments to the land claimed would be the benefit of the land being held under inalienable freehold title. Once the land is conveyed to a land trust, in accordance with ss. 11 and 12 of the Land Rights Act, s. 19 operates to prevent the land trust from dealing with or disposing of the land. Section 67 prevents the resumption, compulsory acquisition or forfeiture of the land under any law of the Northern Territory. Such a title is more secure than that which is presently available in respect of the land claimed under the laws of the Northern Territory. Thus, a grant of the land claimed to a land trust would have the effect of preserving the land for those with traditional attachments to it and their descendants. The conduct of a pastoral enterprise on the land could not lead to a loss of title, even if it were unsuccessful as a result of bad seasons, loss of markets or even inadequate management.

6.2.2 Those with traditional attachments to the land claimed would also be advantaged by having greater control of its management if it became Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act. The protection of sites and areas of spiritual and cultural significance would be easier because of the ability of the Northern Land Council, in consultation with those with traditional attachments, to control access to the land under the *Aboriginal Land Act* (NT). Part IV of the Land Rights Act would give to the traditional Aboriginal owners and others with traditional attachments to the land some control of the activities of any persons who might seek to engage in mining exploration on the land and some possibility of benefit if mining were to occur.

6.2.3 The greater control over the management of the land would assist in giving security of occupation to those who have established a community at Mole Hill, if it is the wish of those with traditional attachments that the community should continue.

6.2.4 There would also be considerable intangible advantage if the land became Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act. A grant of land to a land trust is recognition of the traditional rights of people whose forebears were dispossessed. It is a recognition at the highest level of Australian society. The Attorney-General for the Northern Territory submitted that the status of the claimants as people with traditional entitlements to the land had already been recognised by the purchase of the shares in Banibi Pty Ltd on their behalf. By choosing not to make submissions contesting the entitlement of the claimants in the present claim, the Northern Territory Government has acknowledged their entitlement. Valuable though these gestures may be, they do not amount to the equivalent of the recognition which Aboriginal entitlements receive by way of a grant of land to a land trust. Such a grant carries with it an affirmation of the value of traditional rights and of places of cultural significance. It enables the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land and others with traditional attachments to it to use the land as a focus for the further development of their community spirit and the maintenance and increase of their self-esteem. The importance of such an acknowledgment and such a focus for modern Aboriginal communities should not be underestimated.

6.3 Detriment: the gas pipeline

6.3.1 In para. 2.11.25, I have reached the conclusion that neither NT Gas Pty Ltd, nor ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd and its consortium of banks which own the gas pipeline, has an estate or interest in the land the subject of the claim. This raises the possibility that, if the claim were to be successful and the land claimed were to become Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act, NT Gas Pty Ltd, ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd or the banks could not assert any right to continue to operate and maintain the pipeline. The likelihood is that the combination of legislation of the Northern Territory, to which I have referred in para. 2.11, would not be "capable of operating concurrently" with the Land Rights Act, within the meaning of s. 74 of the Land Rights Act. The Northern Territory legislation would be overridden by the Land Rights Act if the land trust, acting on the directions of the Northern Land Council, after consultation in accordance with s. 23(1)(c) of the Land Rights Act, resolved not to permit the continued use of the pipeline across the subject land. The result of such a determination would be detriment to NT Gas Pty Ltd, ANZ Leasing (NT) Pty Ltd and the consortium of banks, consumers of the gas conveyed by the pipeline and consumers of electricity generated by the gas conveyed by the pipeline. In the first instance, NT Gas Pty Ltd is liable to the banks in respect of any loss; in some circumstances, the Northern Territory Government may have to make good loss suffered. The loss suffered by consumers will usually be borne by those consumers themselves.

6.3.2 The extent of this detriment would depend upon the outcome of negotiations for a lease of the pipeline easement or some other form of authorisation by the land trust of the continued use and maintenance of the pipeline. If no such agreement were to be reached, the estimated cost of the re-routing of the pipeline around the subject land is \$13.5 million. In addition, there would be disruption to the use of the pipeline involved in such re-routing, although any right which the land trust had to prevent the continuance of a trespass involved in the use of the pipeline would be subject to the allowance of a reasonable period (often described in the authorities as a "packing-up period") for the making of other arrangements. NT Gas Pty Ltd would also be liable for continued rental payments in respect of the unused portion of the pipeline; over the remaining period of the lease, these could amount to \$18.5 million.

6.3.3 The far more likely prospect is that agreement for a lease of the pipeline easement would be reached and the detriment suffered would be limited to the amount of any rent and any other amount or amounts payable under the lease. Such agreements have been reached between NT Gas Pty Ltd and a number of Aboriginal land trusts, including the Wubalawun Aboriginal Land Trust, which holds land immediately to the south of the land claimed, through which the gas pipeline easement runs. Negotiations in respect of such a lease, and the completion of an agreement for such a lease, could take place between NT Gas Pty Ltd and the Northern Land Council prior to any grant of the land to a land trust, pursuant to s. 11A of the Land Rights Act. Counsel for NT Gas Pty Ltd expressed great concern as to the likely outcome of negotiations, in the event of a recommendation that the land be conveyed to a land trust; he argued that his client would be at a considerable disadvantage, in that it would have to pay whatever was demanded as the price of continuing to use the pipeline. It is no part of my function to comment on the way in which negotiations should be

conducted or the matters which should be discussed. The claimants made it clear in their submissions that they do not propose to require the re-positioning of the pipeline and that they are amenable to entering into an agreement for a lease of the pipeline easement, to enable the continued use and maintenance of the pipeline. In my view, that is the most likely outcome and any detriment suffered will be limited to amounts payable under the lease which results.

6.4 Detriment: access to the gas pipeline In para. 2.11.26, I expressed the view that NT Gas Pty Ltd has no estate or interest in the land claimed which would provide it with a right of access across other portions of the land to the energy supply easement. If the land claimed became Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act, NT Gas Pty Ltd would lose the benefit of any licence it may now have to use any access track across the land claimed. There is one such track, which is used to assist employees of NT Gas Pty Ltd in maintaining the pipe, including monitoring its cathodic protection. Access is also available by way of the Gorrie Station access road (a road over which the public has a right of way - see para. 7.2.2). Biannual inspections are undertaken. There is also a scraper station located within the boundaries of the land claimed, which provides access to the pipe for the insertion of a "pig" to clean the inside of the pipe. Employees performing inspection and maintenance and wishing to use the access track would require permits under the *Aboriginal Land Act* (NT) in order to continue using the access track. If permits were denied, and access could not be achieved conveniently by other means, such as the Gorrie Station access road, NT Gas Pty Ltd would suffer detriment accordingly. In turn, detriment might be suffered by those who depend on the continued functioning of the pipeline if there should be any interference with that functioning by reason of lack of proper maintenance.

6.5 Detriment: land not available as security for loans The traditional Aboriginal owners of the land claimed, and others with traditional attachments to it, would suffer detriment in one respect if the claim were to be acceded to. The pastoral enterprise which the claimants desire to conduct on the land will no doubt require working capital. It would not be possible to raise such capital by borrowing on the security of the land itself, because of its inalienable title, resulting from ss. 19 and 67 of the Land Rights Act. This detriment would be offset in a number of significant ways. Money for working capital may be available from the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account, established pursuant to Part VI of the Land Rights Act. There is a considerable cooperative effort between agencies of the Commonwealth of Australia, agencies of the Northern Territory, the Northern Land Council and the Central Land Council to ensure that Aboriginal pastoral enterprises in the Northern Territory operate successfully. It is unlikely that the pastoral enterprise on the land claimed would fail for want of working capital. In any event, I regard this detriment as being outweighed by the advantages to which I have referred in para. 6.2.

6.6 Detriment: loss of value of the pastoral lease The submissions on behalf of the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory drew attention to the fact that, if the claim were acceded to, the pastoral lease covering the land claimed would lose its value altogether. It was submitted that this would result in detriment to Banibi Pty Ltd and to the claimants. The submission is correct, in a technical sense. It must be remembered, however, that the interest in Banibi Pty Ltd, which holds the pastoral lease, has been purchased with money provided by the Aboriginals Benefit Trust Account, not for the purpose of being held as a saleable asset, but for the purpose of providing secure access to and occupation of the land for the claimants. There is no suggestion that the purchase is by way of investment, or that there is or will be

any intention to sell the asset. In these circumstances, to replace the asset by a more secure form of title does not give rise to significant detriment.

6.7 Detriment: the pastoral industry

6.7.1 In para. 6.16, I deal with the proposal of the claimants to conduct a pastoral enterprise on the land claimed. At the time of the hearing, this enterprise was in operation, with approximately 6 000 cattle grazing on the land claimed. Edward Arthur Easton, Senior Project Officer, Pastoral Branch, of the Department of Lands, Housing and Local Government of the Northern Territory, estimated the total safe carrying capacity of the claim area as 18 694 cattle. Neville Norman Trout, who was managing the cattle enterprise on the land claimed, saw the property as capable of supporting 8 000 breeding cattle and 2 000 to 5 000 cattle purchased for fattening and sale. If the proposal of the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory to preserve the Elsey Creek and Red Lily Lagoon areas (see para. 6.9) were to be accepted, Mr Easton's estimate of the carrying capacity would be reduced by approximately 2 450. In any event, Mr Easton considers that the Red Lily Lagoon area, which is subject to annual flooding and contains permanent swamps and braided channels as well as the principal bed of the Roper River, is unsuitable for the grazing of livestock in accordance with modern management practices. It follows that the estimate of the safe carrying capacity should be reduced accordingly. It appears that the Elsey Creek area is not presently used for grazing in any event.

6.7.2 The concern expressed by Mr Easton is the detriment which it is suggested would follow from the abandonment of the proposal to conduct a pastoral enterprise on the land claimed. On the basis of a herd of 3 500 to 4 000 cattle (which was his estimate at the time of the hearing), Mr Easton estimates an annual loss to the gross domestic product of the Northern Territory of \$210 000 if the project were to be abandoned. If the figure for the total estimated safe carrying capacity of 18 694 is used, the annual loss to the Northern Territory's gross domestic product arising from the non-use of the claim area for grazing would be \$1 402 200.

6.7.3 Whilst it may be that the estimated safe carrying capacity is not achieved, or is not always achieved, it does appear most likely that the claim area will continue to be used for the grazing of cattle for beef production, thereby negating or reducing the suggested detriment.

6.8 Detriment: inapplicability of Northern Territory legislation

6.8.1 Section 74 of the Land Rights Act provides:

"This Act does not affect the application to Aboriginal land of a law of the Northern Territory to the extent that that law is capable of operating concurrently with this Act."

The Attorney-General for the Northern Territory alleges that detriment to persons or communities might result if the claim were acceded to, because of the inapplicability of some laws of the Northern Territory to the land claimed, once it became held by a land trust. Examples of legislation given included the *Stock Diseases Act* (NT), the

Stock Routes and Travelling Stock Act (NT), the *Fences Act* (NT), the *Noxious Weeds Act* (NT), the *Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation Act* (NT), the *Bushfires Act* (NT)

and the *Fisheries Act* (NT). As an example, the Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign has been implemented in the Northern Territory, largely through the *Stock Diseases Act* (NT). The ability to control outbreaks of stock diseases is obviously an important aspect of such a campaign.

6.8.2 It is impossible for me to specify in advance which aspects of any legislation of the Northern Territory may or may not be capable of operating concurrently with the Land Rights Act. Specific circumstances would need to be considered in each instance. Separate consideration would have to be given to each relevant provision of each Act in relation to such a specific situation. Detriment of the kind contemplated by s. 50(3)(b) of the Land Rights Act would occur only if whoever is charged with the management of the pastoral enterprise on the land claimed should refuse to cooperate with the authorities of the Northern Territory in relation to some specific issue involving a provision of a law of the Northern Territory, and it were to be found that that provision was not capable of operating concurrently with the Land Rights Act. It cannot be said that such an occurrence is very likely. I note that there has already been assistance given by the Northern Territory Government in the management of the pastoral enterprise on the land claimed. There are fifteen photo-monitoring points established within the claim area, as part of the rangeland monitoring program conducted by the Pastoral Land Board pursuant to the *Pastoral Land Act* 1992 (NT). It is unlikely that the traditional Aboriginal owners, who desire to conduct a successful cattle enterprise on the land, will refuse to cooperate with the authorities of the Northern Territory, which are also interested in the success of such an enterprise.

6.8.3 The submission on behalf of the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory suggested that I should make any recommendation for a grant of land conditional on the acceptance of the operation of Northern Territory land management legislation. Any attempt to impose such a condition would be beyond my power. In any event, such a condition would be unenforceable; the Land Rights Act provides no machinery for the revocation of a grant of land to a land trust. Future generations of people entitled to the benefits of the land under the Land Rights Act would not be bound by any such condition.

6.9 Detriment: conservation

6.9.1 In evidence tendered by the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory, the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory expressed interest in the land claimed. The commission has provided assistance in the operation of Elsey Station in the past, including advice about irrigated cropping, cattle numbers in paddocks along the Roper River, soil types, the siting of access roads and dealing with problems of noxious weeds. In 1991, a basic property management plan was produced by the commission, consisting of maps with overlays showing land systems and infrastructure developments. Informal, practical advice has been given about locating fencelines and planning paddocks. The involvement of the commission has occurred both before and after the claimants acquired control of Banibi Pty Ltd.

6.9.2 Areas of the land claimed have high conservation values. The Conservation Commission identifies fourteen vegetation communities of biological significance, the presence of significant native fauna, interesting tufa formations and crystallised salt deposits, limestone outcrops containing fossils and the presence of a major fault line marking the interface between sandstone country to the north and limestone country to the south. Conservation problems identified include susceptibility to damage by fire if burning occurs too often or at inappropriate times of the year, noxious weed infestation (particularly the presence of para grass, a variety introduced for pasture, which threatens to choke the access channel to Red Lily Lagoon), feral animals (particularly pigs in the wetlands areas and donkeys elsewhere) and uncontrolled visitor access.

6.9.3 The commission has particular interest in two areas. One lies between Elsey Creek and the boundary of the land claimed with Northern Territory Portion 3069 (Elsey National Park) and extends a short way north of the Roper River. The other lies immediately to the north of the Urapunga Stock Route, extending from the vicinity of the Two Mile Yard to the eastern boundary of the claim area. This second area extends north of the Roper River both within and to the east of the claim area. It includes Red Lily Lagoon and a large area of the flood plain of the Roper River. In his evidence, to which I have referred in para. 6.7, Mr Easton detailed a specific plan to fence this second area, using existing fencing, natural barriers and some proposed new fences. The commission has notionally allocated \$250 000 for fencing. The purpose of such proposed fencing would be to prevent cattle and feral animals from gaining access to the area.

6.9.4 The Conservation Commission wishes to be involved in the management of these two areas. Its preferred option is that a land trust lease the two areas to the Northern Territory Government for management by the Conservation Commission as a national park. It suggests that this course would provide a number of benefits for those for whom the land trust holds the land. It would enable the areas to be managed for tourism and conservation in a manner compatible with the desire of those who wish to maintain their traditional access to and use of the land. Visitor access could be managed to avoid intrusion into areas of importance in a traditional sense. Opportunities would exist for economic benefits by the provision of services to visitors and the Conservation Commission; a particular instance given was that, if the second area were to be fenced, the commission would seek to engage local Aboriginal people to construct the fences and would provide them with the necessary training. In addition, there would be opportunities for economic benefits from cultural tourism, with traditional Aboriginal owners of the land controlling the information which was presented to tourists and the manner of its presentation. The skills, resources and legislative authority of the commission would be available to assist in the management of those areas of the land. The commission would provide greater priority to the elimination of feral animals in areas which constitute a national park than would be the case if those areas were used for pastoral purposes.

6.9.5 In all of this evidence, no real issue of detriment arises. If the land claim were acceded to, no doubt negotiations would take place between the Conservation Commission and those able to speak on behalf of traditional Aboriginal owners and others with traditional attachments with respect to the management of the areas of

interest to the commission. It would be a matter for the Aboriginal people concerned to evaluate the benefits to them of any proposal by the commission. It might be said that vesting the land claimed in a land trust would remove from the commission any opportunity to use powers of compulsory acquisition in order to achieve its objectives. There has been no proposal in the past to use such powers to acquire the areas of interest, so it does not appear that detriment flowing from the inability to use such powers would be significant.

6.10 Detriment: Telstra Corporation Ltd

6.10.1 In para. 2.9, I expressed the view that the access easement to Northern Territory Portion 1434, owned by Telstra Corporation Ltd, is not available for claim, because the access easement is an estate or interest held by Telstra Corporation Ltd, which is not the Crown and which does not hold the estate or interest on behalf of Aboriginal people. If that conclusion is incorrect, in the event that the claim were acceded to, access to Northern Territory Portion 1434 would be preserved by s. 70(4) of the Land Rights Act, given that Northern Territory Portion 1434 would be an island within Aboriginal land.

6.10.2 In para. 2.10, I expressed the view that Northern Territory Portion 3713 is not available for claim, because Telstra Corporation Ltd holds an estate or interest in it which it does not hold on behalf of Aboriginal people. If that conclusion is incorrect, Telstra Corporation Ltd would suffer detriment in the event that the claim were acceded to. There is a digital radio concentrator on Northern Territory Portion 3713, which is part of the national system of telecommunications. The detriment would be inability to continue to use the repeater station without entering into a lease, or some similar arrangement, with the land trust. Any rental or other money paid for use and occupation of the land would constitute detriment in those circumstances.

6.10.3 In para. 2.10, I also expressed the view that Telstra Corporation Ltd has no estate or interest in the land claimed in consequence of the agreement to allow it and its servants and agents to have access to Northern Territory Portion 3713 across the land claimed. In any event, if Telstra Corporation Ltd has or acquires an estate or interest in Northern Territory Portion 3713, s. 70(4) of the Land Rights Act would ensure that it has a right of access to that land if the land claimed becomes Aboriginal land. It would suffer no detriment in this regard.

6.11 Detriment: mining

6.11.1 The Attorney-General for the Northern Territory provided information from the Department of Mines and Energy of the Northern Territory in relation to mining on the land claimed. There has been considerable exploration for lime and cement-grade limestone. In para. 6.12, I deal with the interests of Northern Cement Ltd, which mines lime and limestone on the land claimed. In addition to those interests, the area is considered highly prospective for lime and cement-grade limestone. There has also been exploration for diamonds in the region, and the claim area is considered to have significant potential for them. The discovery of a natural bitumen occurrence at Wagon Wheel Lagoon led to exploration for petroleum. Eight petroleum exploration wells have been drilled in the region within the last few years, two of them within the

claim area. Traces of oil and gas have been recovered, but no potentially economic accumulation of petroleum has been discovered. Again, the area is considered to have significant potential for petroleum.

6.11.2 As at the time of the hearing, there were several mining exploration licences and exploration licence applications affecting the land claimed. EL 7713 was granted to Dennis John Campbell on 10 July 1992 and is due to expire on 9 July 1998. It covers an area straddling Elsey Creek, east of the Stuart Highway. EL 7610 was granted to Geoffrey Robert Orridge on 31 January 1992 and was due to expire on 30 January 1997. I am unaware whether it has been renewed pursuant to s. 29A of the *Mining Act (NT)*. The area covered by this exploration licence is primarily on Hodgson Downs Station, to the east of the claim area, but extends a short distance across the eastern boundary of the claim area. Two exploration licence applications, designated ELA 8274 and ELA 8275, were made by Ashton Mining Ltd on 30 June 1993. The areas covered are in the east of the claim area, south of the Roper Highway. Stockdale Prospecting Ltd applied on 22 August 1988 for an exploration licence to an area on Northern Territory Portion 1636. The evidence is not entirely clear, but the area concerned might intrude slightly into the claim area along its western boundary with Northern Territory Portion 1636. The area is designated ELA 6282.

6.11.3 An existing exploration licence is not affected by the making of the claim and would not be affected by the vesting of the land in a land trust; it is protected by a combination of ss. 66 and 70(2), and the definition of "mining interest" in s. 3(1), of the Land Rights Act. Section 67A of the Land Rights Act does not prevent the granting of a mining exploration licence pending the determination of a claim (see *Attorney-General for the Northern Territory v. Kearney* (1990) 25 FCR 408, at pp. 412-3). The maker of an exploration licence application would suffer detriment if the application had not been dealt with prior to the land concerned becoming Aboriginal land. Section 40 of the Land Rights Act would prevent the granting of an exploration licence unless the land council and the applicant had entered into an agreement of a kind contemplated by Part IV of the Land Rights Act. The holder of an exploration licence granted before the land became Aboriginal land might also suffer detriment in that the renewal of the licence, which would otherwise be possible under s. 29A of the *Mining Act (NT)*, would not be available without an agreement under Part IV of the Land Rights Act. In addition, the holder of an existing exploration licence might suffer detriment in that, by virtue of s. 45 of the Land Rights Act, a mining interest cannot be granted in respect of Aboriginal land without an agreement with the relevant land council. All of these possible instances of detriment are theoretical; none of the holders of the existing exploration licences or exploration licence applications gave evidence of actual detriment that might result if the claim were acceded to in whole or in part.

6.12 Detriment: Northern Cement Ltd

6.12.1 Northern Cement Ltd is the holder of mineral claims nos MCN 674, MCN 685, MCN 2548, MCN 2549, MCN 2550, MCN 2551, MCN 2552 and MCN 2574, all located on the land claimed. The locations of those mineral claims are shown on the map in appendix 6. During the hearing, there was controversy over the location of MCN 674, because a map provided by the Department of Mines and Energy showed

the claim as further east than where it was actually pegged. It has since been confirmed that the location shown on that map was incorrect and the pegged area is correct. MCN 674 is four hectares in area.

6.12.2 The validity of the mineral claims is not affected by the making of the claim and would not be affected if the land claimed became Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act. The right to renew the mineral claims, which exists under s. 90 of the *Mining Act* (NT), is also preserved by s. 3(4) of the Land Rights Act.

6.12.3 MCN 674, which is located near the Two Mile Yard, is close to a site of major significance to the claimants. The site is a registered sacred site, registered pursuant to the *Northern Territory Aboriginal Sacred Sites Act* 1989 (NT). The mineral claim is within the boundaries of that registered site. By letter to the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority, dated 15 October 1992, Northern Cement Ltd did not object to the registration of that site, despite acknowledging that this involved loss of its limestone reserves.

6.12.4 The remaining mineral claims are grouped together, south of the Elsey Station homestead. At the time of the hearing, operations had been confined to two of the mineral claims. On MCN 685, they consisted of a quarry, "scalps" heaps and an office. On MCN 2549 was an agricultural lime pit and a dump.

6.12.5 Northern Cement Ltd operates a processing plant for lime on freehold land abutting the Roper Highway near its junction with the Stuart Highway. The company requires continued supplies of quarried lime to keep its processing plant in operation. Provided that it is able to renew its mineral claims, it has many years of potential supplies. MCN 685, on which the current mining operations are situated, is twenty hectares in area. MCN 2548 is seven hectares; MCN 2549 is eighteen hectares; MCN 2550, MCN 2551 and MCN 2552 are each twenty hectares; and MCN 2574 is eight hectares.

6.12.6 An earlier holder of the same mineral claims caused great distress to senior claimants when it destroyed the remains of people buried in the area and a storage place for sacred objects. Quarrying has taken place where men's ceremonies used to be conducted. Northern Cement Ltd has done much to repair relations with the Jilkminggan community. It consults with senior claimants resident at that community in relation to significant changes to mining direction and methods. It has agreed to avoid using MCN 674 if possible.

6.12.7 The primary concern of Northern Cement Ltd is that it continue to gain access to its mineral claims. The road leading to the homestead from the Roper Highway passes through MCN 2549, MCN 685 and MCN 2548. It is a road over which the public has a right of way (see para. 7.2.5). Employees and contractors of Northern Cement Ltd are therefore entitled to use it in their capacity as members of the public. Access will not be a problem. The company has taken action to ensure that its employees do not attempt to gain access to other areas of the land claimed without permission from senior members of the Jilkminggan community. Access to MCN 674, if it is ever to be mined, would be preserved by s. 70(4) of the Land Rights Act; for the purposes of sections including s. 70, s. 66 defines "estate or interest" as

including a mining interest, which in turn is defined in s. 3(1) in terms that would include a mineral claim.

6.12.8 Northern Cement Ltd is also concerned to ensure that it has access to water supplies for use in the amenities portion of its office building and for dust suppression in the quarry site and on the road. At present, the company pumps from the Roper River through a pipe, under an arrangement with station management and the Jilkminggan community which is satisfactory to all. I have no reason to believe that such an arrangement will not continue.

6.12.9 I am therefore of the view that Northern Cement Ltd will not suffer detriment if the claim is acceded to.

6.13 Detriment: public access, tourism, boating and recreational fishing

6.13.1 The Mataranka Community Government Council, and a number of people who gave evidence, expressed concern about lack of access to the land claimed in the event that the claim were acceded to. This issue is bound up with the question of roads on the claim area over which the public has a right of way, with which I deal in para. 7.2.

6.13.2 The Mataranka Community Government Council identifies as the most popular recreational areas on the land claimed the following areas:

- (a) Elsey Falls, a beauty spot very attractive for swimming and fishing;
- (b) Duck Creek Crossing, for camping, swimming and boating, including access by boat to Elsey Falls;
- (c) the Two Mile Yard, for camping, boating and waterskiing;
- (d) Wagon Wheel Lagoon, for fishing;
- (e) waterholes on the Moroak Station access road, for fishing, camping and boating;
- (f) Crescent Lagoon, for fishing, boating and camping;
- (g) McCrackens Lagoon, for fishing, boating and camping; and
- (h) an area known as the "57 Mile", five kilometres off the Roper Highway, near Mole Hill, described as very popular with locals and tourists.

These areas are shown on the map in appendix 6.

6.13.3 There was evidence from the Fisheries Division of the Department of Primary Industry and Fisheries of recognition by the Northern Territory Government of the value of recreational fishing as a source of enjoyment to residents of the Northern

Territory and of its importance for tourism and, consequently, to local businesses. The department has produced a Northern Territory Recreational Fishing Development Program. As part of the program, arrangements have been made with pastoral lessees for access to waterways. A map has been produced, for distribution to tourists, providing information on available fishing spots and conditions of access. The map does not show any place on the land claimed as an accessible spot, but the department appears to want to add such spots. The results of a survey, tendered to demonstrate usage of various fishing locations, showed the Roper River as being less used than any other area surveyed in the Northern Territory, with the possible exception of the Victoria River. The evidence of David Field, Executive Assistant of the Fisheries Division, identified Goose Lagoon, McCrackens Lagoon and the 57 Mile as the most popular spots for recreational fishing on the claim area.

6.13.4 All of the places of concern to the Mataranka Community Government Council and the Fisheries Division involve perennial water. Section 79 of the *Pastoral Land Act* 1992 (NT) presently gives to any person, without the specific permission of a pastoral lessee, a right to be on perennial natural water, or on land within fifty metres of such water, including a right to camp for up to two weeks. By s. 9 of the *Water Act* 1992 (NT) (and previously by s. 3 of the *Control of Waters Act* (NT)), property in and the rights to the use, flow and control of water flowing or contained in a waterway are vested in the Northern Territory. The present claim is limited to the alienated Crown land contained within Northern Territory Portion 645 and the unalienated Crown land contained within the relevant portions of the two stock routes which cross that land. It does not purport to be a claim in respect of water. The right of members of the public to be on water would continue to exist with respect to all perennial natural waters within the claim area if the claim were acceded to. The right of access to land within fifty metres of such water would disappear and would be replaced by a prohibition of entry on the land without a permit under the *Aboriginal Land Act* (NT), subject to the exceptions referred to in s. 70 of the Land Rights Act. Only where access to water is available directly from a road over which the public has a right of way would the members of the public be able to use effectively their right to be on waters. Public detriment would result.

6.13.5 To some extent, this possible detriment is not as great as might be expected, because it does not appear that members of the public are presently able to gain access to most of the perennial waters within the claim area. Section 79 of the *Pastoral Land Act* 1992 (NT) permits a pastoral lessee, within twelve months after the commencement of the Act, to nominate a reasonably practicable route across land the subject of the pastoral lease from a public road to perennial water, and confines members of the public, without the specific permission of the pastoral lessee, to access to that water by that route. Banibi Pty Ltd has purported to act in reliance on this provision by nominating the Moroak Station access road as a reasonably practicable route to the Roper River. I have some doubt whether this is a proper reliance on s. 79, as the Moroak Station access road is itself a public road (see para. 7.2.2), and the legislation requires that the reasonably practicable route be across the land the subject of the pastoral lease, from a public road to the water. This issue was not argued, and I do not have to decide it. The consequence of a pastoral lessee failing to nominate a reasonably practicable route to water under s. 79 is that the Pastoral Land Board acquires the power to nominate such a route. So far as the evidence before me goes,

neither Banibi Pty Ltd nor the Pastoral Land Board has nominated any reasonably practicable route to any of the lagoons which the evidence identifies as popular spots for tourists and residents of Mataranka and Katherine to visit. The consequence must be that, at present, members of the public have no right to cross the land the subject of the pastoral lease to visit those places without the permission of Banibi Pty Ltd. This conclusion accords with the recollections of a number of witnesses that the availability of access to those places had diminished in recent years.

6.13.6 With the exception of land within fifty metres of perennial natural water, the situation would be unchanged from the present if the land claim were acceded to. Members of the public would be able to exercise their right to be on the water only if they were able to gain access to it from roads over which the public has a right of way, or with permission. The method of obtaining permission would change if the land were vested in a land trust, as it would be necessary to apply to the Northern Land Council for a permit, instead of seeking oral permission from a servant or agent of Banibi Pty Ltd.

6.14 Detriment: Brolga Tours

6.14.1 The question of access is of particular importance to the business conducted under the name Brolga Tours by Colmeed Pty Ltd. Douglas Alfred Collins is the manager of that business. Since 1983, Mr Collins has been conducting commercial cruises from the Two Mile Yard area to Red Lily Lagoon and back. He provides a commentary which contains a good deal of interesting historical material and an account of the flora and fauna of the area. A number of those engaged in the hearing took part in one such cruise on Sunday, 3 October 1993, in the course of the hearing, before Mr Collins gave evidence. The business is based in Mataranka and draws some of its customers from people who visit the area as independent tourists and the balance from linking with package tours. In 1993, up to 22 October, according to figures supplied by Mr Collins, approximately 400 independent tourists and approximately 700 package tourists undertook the cruise. There is a purpose-built boat afloat in the Roper River, moored near the Two Mile Yard, said to be worth \$90 000. The business also owns vehicles, said to be worth \$25 000, and other equipment.

6.14.2 Whether Mr Collins and his customers presently have a right of access to the mooring point was a question of some controversy. Typically, tour parties are brought by road, by way of the Stuart Highway, the Roper Highway, the Elsey Station homestead access road and a track leading to the Two Mile Yard, and thence to the river bank. Originally, the tours were conducted with the permission, if not the agreement, of the holder of the pastoral lease. When Banibi Pty Ltd acquired the pastoral lease and explored the possibility of setting up a "dude ranch", it proposed that Mr Collins limit his operations to its clients. Mr Collins was unwilling to do this. He has since been asserting a right to access to the river bank. At present, he asserts that the Elsey Station homestead access road is a public road, and the track between it and the Two Mile Yard is along the Urapunga Stock Route, which he claims is bounded by the water's edge at that point. Alternatively, he claims that the track is part of the old Elsey-Roper Valley Road (see paras 7.2.7 and 7.2.8), which he claims is a road over which the public has a right of way.

6.14.3 The fact that the track is on a stock route may not be of great help to Mr Collins. An area of land does not become a road over which the public has a right of way merely by virtue of being declared a stock route (see the cases referred to in para. 2.3.5). The pastoral lessee may not have authority to prevent passage over the stock route by Mr Collins and his tour participants, but it does not follow that they pass and repass along the track as of right. Nor is it clear that Mr Collins is correct in his contention that the stock route takes him to the edge of the water, or even to within fifty metres of the edge of the water, so as to enable him and his customers to take advantage of the public rights given by s. 79 of the *Pastoral Land Act* 1992 (NT). The presence on the land of equipment of the business, including the means of boarding the boat, a table and a barbecue plate, and possibly the mooring of the boat on the bank itself, would exceed the rights available to members of the public under that section in any event. In paras 7.2.7 and 7.2.8, I deal with the question whether the old Elsey-Roper Valley Road is a road over which the public has a right of way. The route of that road is uncertain. It is by no means clear that the track used by Mr Collins follows the course of that road. I am not able to make a positive finding that Mr Collins and his tour parties have any present right, other than by permission of Banibi Pty Ltd, to gain access to the Roper River at the point at which the boat is moored. In a technical sense, Colmeed Pty Ltd would not suffer detriment by being required to obtain a permit for such access.

6.14.4 It is perhaps more significant that Mr Collins presently gains access without serious challenge; if the land claimed became Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act, he would require a permit to operate the business which he now operates. As I have said in para. 6.13.4, he would lose the benefit of the public right to be on land within fifty metres of perennial water. Even if the track to the Two Mile Yard is a road over which the public has a right of way, it does not take the tour parties to the water's edge. Colmeed Pty Ltd would suffer detriment if it is unable to obtain a permit, or if it is subjected to conditions in order to obtain a permit. The conduct of the river tours is not the sole business of the company, which also conducts a charter service, chiefly providing transport between Aboriginal communities and towns such as Mataranka and Katherine. The service is used by communities as far afield as Ngukurr, further down the Roper River than the claim area. That aspect of the business would not sustain the company, which, although not greatly profitable, appears to provide a living for Mr Collins. If Colmeed Pty Ltd had to cease the tour business, it would very likely cease business altogether and would be faced with the difficult problem of realising the boat, which is purpose-built and situated in a remote place.

6.14.5 Assessing the prospects of Mr Collins's continuing to conduct his tours if the land becomes Aboriginal land is not easy. On the one hand, he professes to have good relations with members of the Jilkminggan community; on the other, he is quick to assert what he believes to be his rights if there is any suggestion that he needs permission to continue. There is evidence that members of the Jilkminggan community have expressed interest about being involved in a joint venture. Mr Collins would like to see this occur, because it would provide an added element of Aboriginal culture for his tourists, but the business needs to attract more tourists than at present for it to be able to support more people working in it. All that can be said is that there is a prospect that Colmeed Pty Ltd could avoid suffering any detriment by

obtaining a permit to enable it to obtain secure access to the Roper River to continue to conduct its tours.

6.15 Detriment: gravel pits and bores used for road maintenance

6.15.1 There are gravel pits and bores on the land claimed which are used by the Department of Transport and Works of the Northern Territory for the purpose of road maintenance. One bore and four gravel pits are near the Stuart Highway. Two bores and ten gravel pits are near the Roper Highway. The Jilkminggan access road has a bore near the Roper River and a gravel pit not far from its junction with the Roper Highway. There are two bores associated with the Moroak Station access road, both being near the Roper River. There is also a bore near the Elsey-Roper Valley Road, to the west of Mount Sir James, and the department draws water directly from Crescent Lagoon for use in road maintenance operations. The location of each of the gravel pits and bores is shown on the map in appendix 6.

6.15.2 The use of those gravel pits and bores, and the use of the land involved in drawing water from Crescent Lagoon, would be preserved by s. 14 of the Land Rights Act in the event that the land claimed was transferred to a land trust. Section 15 would oblige the Crown in right of the Northern Territory to pay to the Northern Land Council for that use amounts in the nature of rent, fixed by the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, having regard to the economic value of the land. Section 15 would apply because the gravel pits and the bores concerned are used in the maintenance of the Stuart Highway and the Roper Highway, so it could not be said that their use is for a community purpose, as defined by s. 3(1) of the Land Rights Act, namely a purpose that is calculated to benefit primarily the members of a particular community or group. In *Attorney-General for the Northern Territory v. Hand* (1991) 172 CLR 185, the High Court of Australia held that this definition was not capable of referring to persons engaged in the cattle industry generally. Since the Stuart Highway and the Roper Highway are roads over which the public has a right of way, and are likely to be used by tourists from afar and long-distance transport operators as well as local residents, the maintenance of those highways is unlikely to amount to a purpose calculated to benefit primarily the members of a *particular* community or group. The Crown in right of the Northern Territory would suffer detriment to the extent of the rent fixed for the use of the gravel pits and the bores.

6.16 Effect on existing or proposed patterns of land use

6.16.1 The existing and proposed pattern of land usage in the region of the land claimed is primarily for the pastoral industry. The land claimed is being used for this purpose. Banibi Pty Ltd operates a pastoral enterprise, as it has done for some years. At the time of the hearing, it employed Neville Norman Trout and Annette Trout as its managers. The board of directors consists of members of the Jilkminggan community and representatives of the Northern Land Council. Claimants are employed where possible in the conduct of the enterprise. Marjorie Hall is the bookkeeper for the company. There is a training program, which is intended to result in the repair and servicing of all mechanical equipment being carried out on the land claimed by mechanics who are local Aboriginal people. As is usually the case in the pastoral

industry, much of the employment is seasonal, but its availability is of clear benefit to the Jilkminggan community.

6.16.2 The traditional Aboriginal owners of the land claimed have indicated an overwhelming desire to continue to operate the pastoral enterprise. There is a substantial program conducted jointly by the Commonwealth, the Northern Territory, the Northern Land Council and the Central Land Council to ensure the proper management and, if possible, the financial success of Aboriginal cattle stations in the Northern Territory. The claimants will benefit from this plan. Assuming that proper management techniques are adopted and continued, acceding to the claim either in whole or in part would have no significant effect on the existing or proposed patterns of land usage in the region in this respect.

6.16.3 The use of the land for hunting and foraging by Aboriginal people is also a significant existing use. So is the use for the performance of ceremonies of significance to Aboriginal people. The granting of the land claimed to a land trust would be expected to enhance these uses.

6.16.4 It would be wrong to deal with patterns of land usage in the region without dealing with the issue of conservation. The Elsey National Park (Northern Territory Portion 3069) adjoins the land claimed. In para. 6.9.4, I have referred to the proposals of the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory to create a national park in two areas of the land claimed. As I have said, acceding to the claim will have little effect in relation to those proposals, because their outcome will depend in any event upon negotiation between the Conservation Commission and the traditional Aboriginal owners and others with traditional attachments to the land claimed.

6.16.5 It does not appear that the stock routes which are part of the claim area continue to be used for the purpose for which they were gazetted. Stock are commonly moved by road transport nowadays, so that stock routes generally have fallen into disuse. The transformation into Aboriginal land of the portions of the Urapunga Stock Route and the Birdum Stock Route which are claimed would therefore have no effect on patterns of land usage in the region.

6.17 No cost of acquiring interests Although the claim relates to alienated Crown land, there would be no cost of acquiring the interests of any persons in the land concerned. Banibi Pty Ltd, which holds the pastoral lease, is controlled by the claimants and holds the pastoral lease for the purpose of ensuring that the land claimed is converted into Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act. Jilkminggan Community Incorporated, which holds the mortgage, holds it for a similar purpose. Neither is likely to seek compensation for the loss of value of its interest if the land becomes Aboriginal land.

7 OTHER MATTERS

7.1 Acquisition of secure occupancy The question of the acquisition of secure occupancy is not of prime importance in the determination of the claim. In part, this is because of the existence of the Jilkminggan community on freehold land within the boundaries of the claim area. In part, it is because of the control by the claimants of the pastoral lessee. Nonetheless, the principle is important in two respects. First, there is the desire to conduct a pastoral enterprise on the land claimed, to which I have referred in para. 6.16. In the future, this is likely to involve some of those who are working in the pastoral enterprise in living on the land claimed, as distinct from living in the Jilkminggan community. The occupancy of such persons will be more secure if the land claimed becomes Aboriginal land under the Land Rights Act than if it remains subject to the pastoral lease. I have dealt with the issue of greater security in para. 6.2.1. The second area of application of the principle is in relation to the informal settlement established near Mole Hill by some members of the **Gunduburun** group, referred to in para. 5.4. At present, the persons living in that community do so by way of permissive occupancy at best. If the land were to become Aboriginal land, those persons would, as traditional Aboriginal owners, have a greater entitlement to live on the land.

7.2 Roads over which the public has a right of way

7.2.1 The land claimed is traversed by a number of roads. The status of some of them as roads over which the public has a right of way is controversial. In resolving the controversies, I have applied two principles. The first is that people using a road to cross the land claimed, or part of it, to an area which is not part of the land claimed, generally do so as members of the public: a road used as a thoroughfare is generally a public road. The second is that once a road has been a road over which the public has a right of way, unless it is the subject of formal closure according to law, it retains its status.

7.2.2 The roads which are conceded to be those over which the public has a right of way are as follows:

- (a) the Stuart Highway, which traverses the western part of the land claimed in a roughly north-south direction;
- (b) the Roper Highway, which leaves the Stuart Highway south of Mataranka and crosses the land claimed in a broadly east-west direction;
- (c) the Gorrie Station access road, which heads south-west from the Stuart Highway to the western boundary of the land claimed;
- (d) the Moroak Station access road, which runs north from the Roper Highway, curving to the east round Mount Sir James and then to the north-east across the Roper River to Moroak Station; and
- (e) that portion of the old Stuart Highway from its northern intersection with the present Stuart Highway to the Elsey Cemetery.

A road reserve of 200 metres (100 metres each side of the existing centre line) would provide sufficient room for services, drainage and detours during future maintenance in respect of the Stuart Highway. For the Roper Highway, a reserve of 150 metres for similar purposes is sought by the Northern Territory Government and is appropriate. For the other three roads referred to in this paragraph, a reserve of 100 metres is adequate.

7.2.3 The controversial roads are as follows:

- (a) the Elsey Station homestead access road, which runs in a northerly direction from the Roper Highway to the homestead, which is adjacent to the Roper River;
- (b) the Goondooloo Station access road, which runs from the Roper Highway north-west to Little Red Lily Lagoon then north-east past Rendezvous Hill, to where it swings north and north-west and again north, across the Roper River to Goondooloo Station;
- (c) the Jilkminggan access road, which runs north from the Roper Highway to the Jilkminggan community;
- (d) that portion of the old Stuart Highway from its southern intersection with the present Stuart Highway to the Elsey Cemetery;
- (e) the Elsey-Roper Valley Road, as to the location of which, see paras 7.2.7 and 7.2.8; and
- (f) the Crescent Lagoon Road, which runs from the Roper Highway to Crescent Lagoon, near the Strangways River.

7.2.4 Of these, the Goondooloo Station access road and the Jilkminggan access road are both clearly roads over which the public has a right of way. Each is used as of right by persons wishing to cross the subject land to other land. The Goondooloo Station access road is not maintained at the public expense and is also used by a number of fishermen and tourists, seeking access to various lagoons on the land claimed. It is a dry-weather-only road to Goondooloo Station and, as such, only an alternative method of access to the more usual road from the north. Nonetheless, those who cross the land claimed to Goondooloo Station on this road do so as of right as members of the public. Similarly, those who travel from the Roper Highway to the Jilkminggan community area do so as members of the public. It was submitted on behalf of the Mataranka Community Government Council that the Jilkminggan access road was a public road as far as Duck Creek Crossing. This argument cannot be supported; the road as a public road postdates the establishment of the Jilkminggan community and its status as a road over which the public has a right of way arises from its use by the inhabitants of that community, and those having business with them, as a thoroughfare. My finding as to the status of the road relates only to that part of it that lies between the Roper Highway and the Jilkminggan community.

7.2.5 The case of the Elsey Station homestead access road is somewhat similar. It is used by the employees and contractors of Northern Cement Ltd to access the limestone quarry to which I have referred in para. 6.12. It is also used by those having business with the Elsey Station homestead. The road is maintained by the Department of Transport and Works of the Northern Territory, as well as by Northern Cement Ltd and Banibi Pty Ltd. Although the quarry is not separate from the land claimed, the road is used as a thoroughfare by those who use it to travel to and from the quarry. I am satisfied that it is a road over which the public has a right of way.

7.2.6 The road from the Stuart Highway to the Elsey Cemetery from the south was once the Stuart Highway. When the present carriageway of the Stuart Highway was constructed further to the west, the Department of Transport and Works took steps to close this southern portion of the old road. After advertisement of an intention to close the road, the department received numerous objections and did not continue with the closure. It has broken up part of the surface of the road, in an effort to discourage people from using it, but it has not formally closed the road. In consequence, the road remains one over which the public has a right of way. The bridge which links the southern portion of the old Stuart Highway with the northern portion, referred to in para. 7.2.2(e), is not maintained and is unsafe for use by vehicles. It has barriers to prevent access by vehicles. During dry weather, however, it is possible for four-wheel-drive vehicles to cross the bed of the Elsey Creek immediately beside the bridge without departing from whatever road reserve was dedicated to the Stuart Highway, so that it is possible to travel along the old Stuart Highway to the Elsey Cemetery from either the north or the south.

7.2.7 The most difficult decision is as to the Elsey-Roper Valley Road. This road was used by those travelling from Mataranka down the Roper Valley, prior to the construction of the Roper Highway. It entered the land claimed from the west. The terms in which the Urapunga Stock Route was gazetted refer to it as following:

"the Roper Valley road for a distance of about 15 miles to the old Queensland crossing over Elsey Creek; thence easterly along the said road for about 14 miles to Little Red Lily Lagoon".

The road has been closed formally at Northern Territory Portion 1508, within which the Jilkminggan community stands, through which it formerly passed. Otherwise, it remains open and is used by those wishing to gain access for fishing and tourism purposes. There was a dispute as to whether this road was ever one over which the public had a right of way. It is clear that there was a public road from Mataranka down the Roper Valley. The difficulty is the discernment of its exact route. A number of old maps were tendered on behalf of the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory, showing various different alignments of a road leading down the Roper Valley, as follows:

- (a) On a pastoral map dated 1930, the road was shown passing south of Mount Ross and well south of Mount Sir James, leading into Hodgson Downs Station, then turning north-north-east to Roper Valley Station.
- (b) Public Plan 3/800, said to have been in use from 1930 to 1951, shows the road diverging from the Urapunga Stock Route to pass south of Mount Ross.

- (c) On the 1944 Army Survey map, the road curves away from the Roper River south of Little Red Lily Lagoon, then turns north-east, passing to the north of Mount Ross and, according to a notation on the margin, proceeding to Roper Valley Station.
- (d) The adjoining 1944 Army Survey sheet shows a "Roper Valley Road and Stock Route", on an alignment similar to the present route of the road in the eastern part of the claim area.
- (e) The alignment shown on Public Plan 3/800, said to have been in use from 1951 to 1960, shows an alignment similar to that on the earlier public plan, namely south of Mount Ross.
- (f) The 1964 Australian Survey Corps map showing the eastern end of the claim area shows a "road unimproved earth" following the approximate route of the present road in that part of the claim area; to the west of Mount Sir James, the line is marked "Stock Route" and between Crescent Lagoon and Mole Hill, it is marked "Approximate Position".
- (g) The 1965 Australian Survey Corps map of the western part of the claim area shows an unformed earth road, following the Urapunga Stock Route and passing to the north of Mount Ross.

7.2.8 It would appear from this evidence that the road has varied in its route in different eras of its history. At or near *Gorowan* (site 25), Sheila Conway referred to the "old Roper Road", which had been used to go to Mataranka. At *Lurdurdminyi* (site 89) (Crescent Lagoon), counsel for the claimants referred to the "old road" on which those engaged in the hearing had just travelled from *Gunduburun* (site 95). Jessie Roberts said, "That been Roper River Road". At about *Garawi Yirrij Wagardjag* (site 50), Jessie Roberts described the "old road, that buggy road" on the other side of the Strangways River. These comments suggest recognition by the claimants of the existence of a road. In the course of the hearing, the convoy of vehicles carrying those engaged in it travelled along part of what is said to have been this old road. It is possibly the roughest road on which I have ever travelled. It crosses a black-soil plain which is obviously flooded during wet seasons and would therefore be impassable at those times. It is likely that the road has changed its course from time to time, both on a seasonal basis and over longer terms, as its users have sought to find a better route in the conditions then prevailing. The ascertainment of the correct route of a public road is therefore likely to be problematic. I am bound to make a finding that there is a road over which the public has a right of way, known as the Elsey-Roper Valley Road, but I am not able to make a finding as to precisely where it is. It is not maintained and there is no likelihood that it will be maintained in the future. If it is to be excluded from the land vested in a land trust, only the narrowest of road reserves (perhaps twenty metres) could be justified.

7.2.9 The evidence relating to the Crescent Lagoon Road suggests that it is not a road over which the public has a right of way. It has been used by employees of the Department of Transport and Works to draw water from the lagoon for road maintenance purposes. This use is not indicative of a road over which the public has a

right of way. There is evidence that it has also been used occasionally by those seeking fishing and camping in the region of Crescent Lagoon, but no clear evidence that it has been so used as of right by members of the public. It is not maintained and there is evidence that it is difficult to use. It leads nowhere other than a point on the land claimed. The evidence is at least equivocal about whether casual users of the road have sought permission. There was a tendency on the part of some witnesses to suggest that they advised the manager at the homestead of their intention to use this and other roads on the land claimed merely as a matter of courtesy, but cross-examination of those witnesses tended to suggest that they did not see themselves as having a right to use those roads without permission. On balance, I find that the Crescent Lagoon Road is not a road over which the public has a right of way.

7.2.10 A road reserve of 100 metres would be appropriate for the Elsey Station homestead access road and the Jilkminggan access road. Since the Goondooloo Station access road and the southern portion of the Old Stuart Highway are not maintained, and there is no evidence of the likelihood of them being maintained in the future, a fifty-metre reserve would be appropriate, to accommodate necessary detours by vehicles using the roads when conditions require.

7.3 Land trust or pastoral lease? The Attorney-General for the Northern Territory submitted that I should not make a recommendation of the kind contemplated by s. 50(1)(a)(ii) of the Land Rights Act in relation to the land claimed, because the claimants already have sufficient security of title in the form of the pastoral lease held by Banibi Pty Ltd. If this submission is made on the assumption that the pastoral lease is a perpetual pastoral lease, by virtue of the *Pastoral Land Act 1992* (NT), it is necessary to point out that the assumption is incorrect. The *Pastoral Land Act 1992* (NT) came into operation after the lodging of this land claim; by virtue of s. 67A of the Land Rights Act, no legislation of the Northern Territory could then operate to create any interest in the land claimed. The pastoral lease held by Banibi Pty Ltd remains a lease for a term expiring on 30 June 2010 (see para. 2.1.2). It is clear that an inalienable estate in fee simple, held by a land trust, offers much greater security of tenure. In paras 6.2, 6.5 and 6.6, I have dealt with the advantages and disadvantages, from the point of view of the claimants, of the continuation of the pastoral lease and the granting of the land claimed to a land trust. I am of the view that the latter offers a form of title superior to, and therefore security of tenure greater than, the former.

7.4 Single land trust

7.4.1 I have considered whether more than one land trust should be established to hold portions of the land. It will be recalled that the traditional Aboriginal owners belong partly to the Mangarrayi language group and partly to the Yangman language group. It is also apparent from chapter 4 that the various groups whose members are listed in chapter 3 have focuses on different parts of the land claimed. It is also the case that the groups referred to in chapter 3 do not affiliate as groups with either of the languages concerned; some of the groups consist of persons from both language groups. It is equally apparent from chapter 4 that no clear line can be drawn anywhere separating the estates of particular groups. Indeed, there is a tendency for dreaming tracks to intersect and interact, for sites to be shared between groups and for estates to overlap. There is considerable overlap in the membership of the groups, with a number of claimants belonging to several.

7.4.2 The largest single body of claimants resides at Jilkminggan. It cannot be claimed that they do so without internal tension, but such tension does not correspond to any division between land-holding groups or languages. Indeed, the obligations of indigenous law, as they bear upon the responsibilities of the members of the different groups, compel people who are sometimes in disagreement with each other about other matters to cooperate in the management of the land. Mechanisms for resolving differences exist within the indigenous system and should be allowed to operate. The obligations of the Northern Land Council to consult with traditional Aboriginal owners and others with traditional interests in the land should ensure that decisions are taken after proper opportunities have been given to all relevant people to have input into those decisions.

7.4.3 For these reasons, I am of the view that a single land trust should be established, to hold the whole of the claim area.

7.5 Effect on the national estate

7.5.1 In considering whether to make a recommendation of the kind contemplated by s. 50(1)(a)(ii) of the Land Rights Act, I have had regard to the provisions of s. 30 of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, particularly subss. (2) and (3). Parts of the land the subject of this land claim are on the Register of the National Estate under that Act. In para. 5.7, I have referred to the fact that *Nganawirdbird* (site 33) is on the register. The area known as Strangways Crater - a circular area with a radius of ten kilometres, which is of considerable geological interest - has also been registered. This area is shown on the map in appendix 6.

7.5.2 Under s. 30 of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, an authority of the Commonwealth is prohibited from taking any action that adversely affects, as part of the national estate, a place that is in the register of the national estate, unless the authority is satisfied that there is no feasible and prudent alternative, consistent with any relevant laws, to the taking of that action and that all measures that can reasonably be taken to minimise the adverse effect will be taken. The provisions also require that, before an authority of the Commonwealth takes any action that might affect to a significant extent, as part of the national estate, such a place, the authority must inform the Australian Heritage Commission of the proposed action and give the commission a reasonable opportunity to consider and comment on it. By s. 30(4), the making of a recommendation is deemed to affect a place adversely if the adoption of the recommendation would affect the place adversely.

7.5.3 There can be no doubt that the Aboriginal Land Commissioner is an authority of the Commonwealth for this purpose. The view I have formed, however, consistently with my conclusion in my earlier reports, is that the adoption of a recommendation of the kind contemplated by s. 50(1)(a)(ii) of the Land Rights Act would not affect adversely the land claimed, as part of the national estate. It also appears unlikely that even the acceptance of a recommendation and the granting of the land claimed to a land trust would produce any effect, either adverse or significant, on the land claimed as part of the national estate.

8 RECOMMENDATION

8.1 Recommendation Consequent upon the findings set out in this report, and having regard to the other matters to which I have referred, I recommend that the whole of the land comprising Northern Territory Portion 645, so much of the Urapunga Stock Route and of the Birdum Stock Route which lie within the boundaries of Northern Territory Portion 645, excluding the areas referred to in para. 2.5 as the "Old Homestead" and the "O.T. Line", and excluding the Stuart Highway, the Roper Highway, the Gorrie Station access road, the Moroak Station access road, the Old Stuart Highway, the Elsey Station homestead access road, the Goondooloo Station access road, the Jilkminggan access road and the old Elsey-Roper Valley Road (if its correct alignment can be ascertained), all referred to in para. 7.2, be granted to a single land trust for the benefit of Aboriginal people entitled by Aboriginal tradition to the use or occupation of that land, whether or not the traditional entitlement is qualified as to place, time, circumstance, purpose or permission.

APPENDIX 1**PARTIES FILING NOTICES OF INTENTION TO BE HEARD
OR WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS**

Name of party	Date received
Brolga Tours	18 August 1993
Travel North	1 September 1993
Katherine Region Tourist Association Incorporated	5 September 1993
Telstra Corporation Ltd	6 September 1993
NT Gas Pty Ltd	6 September 1993
Mataranka Community Government Council	6 September 1993
Northern Cement Ltd	6 September 1993
Attorney-General for the Northern Territory	8 September 1993
Northern Territory Land Corporation	1 October 1993
Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited, Commonwealth Bank of Australia, National Australia Bank Limited and Westpac Banking Corporation	28 February 1994

APPENDIX 2**LIST OF SITES AT OR NEAR WHICH EVIDENCE WAS TAKEN**
(in order of sites visited)

Jilgmirn.gan (37)
Ngabardangiyn (35)
Gurlurndurnyi (34)
Nganawirdbird (33)
Maynjurn.gan (46)
Jawumbungan (49)
Lunjan (182)
Na-Yumbungan (187)
Garrmarnin (159)
Jirrgijaji (67)
Guwarlmbarlg (59)
Dirlirlin ngawurr ngawurr wa-yinyi (30)
Balburran (31)
Warangayn.gu (24)
Na-Burl (28)
Gilagilagi (146)
Gaynjirraman (77)
Beyward (149)
Munggug (150)
Gunduburun (95)
Yumbuyan (97)
Lurdurdminyi (89)
Miwarlan (83)
Mirmiridji (81)
Guyurriyan (135)
Ngadibarn.gan (125)
Bobobinnga (124)
Buriyn.gan (119)
Gurndarlawung.gan (57)
Ngarmirn.gan (56)
Garawi Yirrij Wa-gardjag (50)
Wa-gurragmayn (47)
Wangganggij garlg garlg wa-buni (42)
Guyanggan (40)

APPENDIX 3**LIST OF APPEARANCES**

Counsel for the claimants:	Robert Blowes
Solicitor for the claimants:	Brett Midena, Senior Legal Advisor, Northern Land Council
Counsel for the Attorney- General for the Northern Territory:	Vance Hughston and Christopher Rowe
Solicitor for the Attorney- General for the Northern Territory:	Solicitor for the Northern Territory
Counsel for NT Gas Pty Ltd:	John Stewart
Solicitors for NT Gas Pty Ltd:	Ward Keller
Counsel assisting the Aboriginal Land Commissioner:	Tony Neal
Counsel for Northern Cement Ltd:	Danny Masters
Solicitors for Northern Cement Ltd:	Cridlands
Counsel for the Mataranka Community Government Council:	Danny Masters
Solicitors for the Mataranka Community Government Council:	Cridlands
Solicitors for Telstra Corporation Ltd:	Australian Government Solicitor
Solicitors for the Northern Territory Land Corporation:	Philip & Mitaros
Solicitors for Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited, Commonwealth Bank of Australia, National Australia Bank Limited and Westpac Banking Corporation:	Blake Dawson Waldron

**CONSULTANT ANTHROPOLOGIST TO THE
ABORIGINAL LAND COMMISSIONER**

Dr John Avery

APPENDIX 4**LIST OF WITNESSES****(in the order in which they gave their first evidence)**

Mary Nurniyn
Lulu Jilimbirrnga
Talbot Hood
Jessie Roberts
Jackeroo Lirrawi
Daylight Ngayunggu
Hilda Daylight Gamajarr
Eileen Daylight
Joey McDonald
Hannah Moore
Sylvia Carew
Barbara John
Bessie Moore
Shirley Daylight (Roy)
Roger Roberts
Splinter Harris
Edward Daylight
Sheila Conway
Jimmy Conway
Slim Roberts
Marjorie Hall
Gary Daylight
Amy Dirngayg
Phylis Wiynjorrotj
Billy Fulton
Dicky Darwin
Kevin Lirrawi
James Garadji
Judy Burdibin
Huey Watson
Prof. John Bern
Shirley Thomas
Neville Norman Trout
Douglas Alfred Collins
William Hall
Noel Daylight
Kerry Daylight
Michael Daylight
Pamela Daylight
Emily (surname unknown)
Lorna Yiwirambi (Lirrawi)
Betty Lardy
Joseph Garadji

Jennifer Doctor
Ellen George
Sadie Gibbs
Ambrose Farrell
Harriet Daniels
Dr Francesca Cordelia Merlan
Peter Leslie Watters
Mark Joseph Joraslafsky
Warren Roy Minnett
Shona Maree Whitfield
Lindsay Bryceson
Brian Frank Burke
Richard Buckley
Bryan Peter Walsh
Cheryl Margaret Birch
Michael Raymond Steer Garland
Charles Thomas Kerwin
Glenn Gordon Bott

APPENDIX 5**LIST OF EXHIBITS**

Note: Exhibits marked "R" are subject to restrictions on access and use, by direction of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner.

Exhibits NLC1-NLC17 were tendered by counsel for the claimants.

Exhibits ALC1-ALC19 were tendered by counsel for the Aboriginal Land Commissioner.

Exhibits NCL1-NCL9 were tendered by counsel for Northern Cement Ltd.

Exhibits NTG1-NTG9 were tendered by counsel for NT Gas Pty Ltd.

Exhibits NT1-NT31 were tendered by counsel for the Attorney-General for the Northern Territory.

Exhibits MCC1-MCC2 were tendered by counsel for the Mataranka Community Government Council.

Exhibit no.		Description of exhibit
NLC1		Yellow folder entitled "Developments following the Mataranka Area Land Claim"
NLC2		Green covered folder entitled "The Land Claim Applications, Title Documents, Gazette Notices, Trust Deeds and Public Plans"
NLC3	R	Anthropologist's report by Dr F Merlan dated July 1993
NLC4	R	Report of Dr Merlan relating to the Mataranka Land Claim dated 1986
NLC5	R	Claimant genealogies
NLC6	R	Personal particulars of claimants dated September 1993
NLC7		List of claimants dated September 1993
NLC8	R	Site register dated September 1993
NLC9	R	Site maps nos 1 and 1A
NLC10	R	Confidential men's report prepared by Professor John Bern and dated 15 May 1986

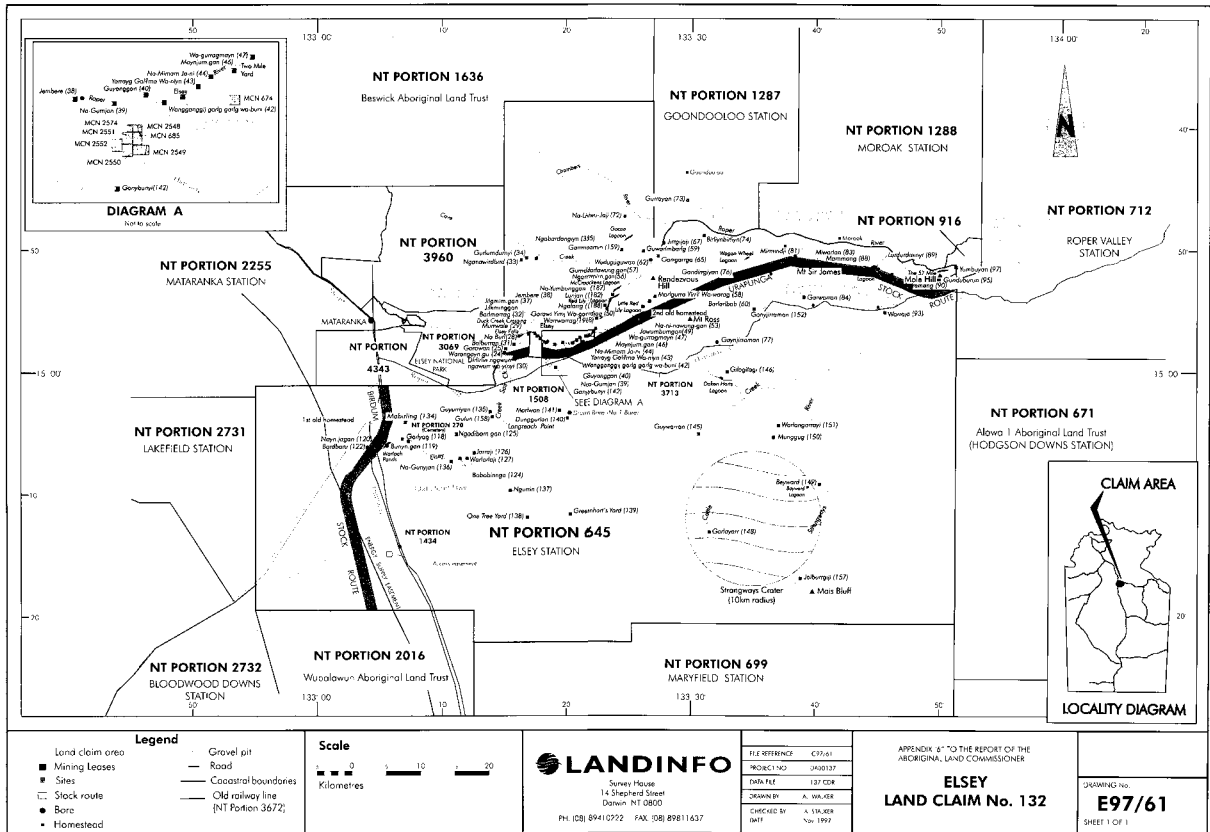
121	
NLC11	Curriculum vitae of Professor John Bern
NLC12	Letter dated 28 September 1993 from the Northern Land Council to the Northern Territory Land Corporation
NLC13	Letter dated 1 October 1993 from Philip & Mitaros to the Northern Land Council
NLC14	Letter dated 5 September 1986 from Brolga Tours to the Senior Research Officer to Justice Maurice, Aboriginal Land Commissioner
NLC15	Letter dated 7 January 1993 from Department of Lands and Housing to Banibi Pty Ltd
NLC16	Statement of Ross Coburn dated 28 January 1994
NLC17	Letter dated 2 February 1994 from Philip & Mitaros to the Northern Land Council
ALC1	Map prepared by Mr Collins and accompanying description of route taken by tour
ALC2	Letter dated 22 October 1993 from Mr Collins to Mr Bird
ALC3	Page numbered 11 and entitled "The Explorers"
ALC4	Map entitled "Early exploration of the Northern Territory"
ALC5	Centre pages of souvenir brochure entitled "Borroloola Centenary Year 1985"
ALC6	A page bearing the headings "Recent Settlement" and "Grazing"
ALC7	Document headed "Crown Lands, Division 5 - Pastoral Leases, 37 Terms and Conditions of Pastoral Leases"
ALC8	Two photographs showing signs on or near gates
ALC9	Telex dated 6 June 1986 to Mr Collins from the Honourable N. M. Dondas, Minister for Lands
ALC10	Letter dated 24 October 1985 from John Coleman, Regional Director, Department of Lands, to Brolga Tours
ALC11	Page numbered 19 entitled "Resident Magistrate McMinn"
ALC12	Page numbered 13 entitled "The Overlanders"

ALC13	Photocopy map of portion of Elsey Station with handwritten notation
ALC14	Document entitled "Notes of a droving trip with cattle from Queensland to Northern Territory during the years 1880-1881 to stock hitherto unoccupied country"
ALC15	Letter dated 5 September 1993 from Sharyn Innes, General Manager, Katherine Region Tourist Association Incorporated, to Mr Bird
ALC16	Topographic map Mataranka 5568 1:100 000 as marked by Mr Garland
ALC17	Statement of evidence and submissions on behalf of Telstra Corporation Ltd
ALC18	Letter dated 1 September 1993 from Werner Sarny of Travel North to Mr Bird
ALC19	Letter dated 21 January 1994 from Philip & Mitaros to Mr Bird
NCL1	Certificate of incorporation of Northern Cement Ltd
NCL2	Bundle of search certificates of mineral claims
NCL3	Certificate of Title Volume 175 Folio 44 relating to Northern Territory Portion 3337
NCL4	Letter dated 7 October 1992 from Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority to Northern Cement Ltd, attached map and reply from Northern Cement Ltd dated 15 October 1992
NCL5	Hand-drawn map of seven mineral claim areas
NCL6	Typewritten rendition of diary entry made by Mr Joraslafsky of meeting of 18 June 1992
NCL7	Draft notice to all employees and contractors signed by Mr Joraslafsky
NCL8	Map showing mining claims of Northern Cement Ltd
NCL9	Letter dated 31 January 1994 from Cridlands to the Northern Land Council, and attachments
NTG1	Outline of evidence of NT Gas Pty Ltd
NTG2	Submission on detriment by NT Gas Pty Ltd

NTG3	Memorandum of grant of easement by Banibi Pty Ltd dated 19 August 1988
NTG4	Agreement for pipeline easement and rights of access between Banibi Pty Ltd and NT Gas Pty Ltd
NTG5	Cheque drawn by NT Gas Pty Ltd in favour of Banibi Pty Ltd dated 18 November 1988
NTG6	Statement of account of NT Gas Pty Ltd with ANZ Banking Group Ltd, Darwin, dated 28 November 1988
NTG7	Pipeline licence no. 4 dated 13 December 1985
NTG8	Deed dated 18 May 1988 between Northern Territory of Australia and NT Gas Pty Ltd
NTG9	Letter dated 18 November 1988 from Williams Brothers - CMPS Engineers to Ridgeway Clements, Solicitors
NT1	Three topographical 1:100 000 survey maps, Moroak 5668, Mataranka 5568 and Gorrie 5567, as marked by Mr Bryceson
NT2	Sketch map of claim area showing roads claimed to be public roads
NT3	Statement of Lindsay Bryceson dated 25 January 1994 and annexures A and B
NT4	Copy of Elsey Pastoral Lease
NT5	Two gazette notices, dated 16 November 1928 and 17 August 1933, relating to the Urapunga stock route
NT6	Pastoral map of North and Central Australia dated 1930 and a blown-up portion of that map
NT7	Extract of Public Plan 3/800 dated 1930
NT8	Certified copy extract from a topographical map - Katherine 4 miles to 1 inch, 1944 edition
NT9	Certified copy extract from a topographical map - Urapunga 4 miles to 1 inch, 1944 edition
NT10	Public Plan 3/800 dated 1951-1960
NT11	Topographical map dated 1964, entitled Urapunga 1:250 000

- NT12 Topographical map dated 1965, entitled Katherine 1:250 000
- NT13 Advertisement of proposed road closure dated 16 August 1989, *Northern Territory Government Gazette* G32 of 16 August 1989; *Northern Territory Government Gazette* G2 of 17 January 1990; advertisement from *NT News* dated 8 January 1990; and survey plan S88/343A
- NT14 Letter dated 3 August 1993 from Kitty Kahn, Department of Mines and Energy, and attachments
- NT15 Statement of Catharina Louisa Kahn dated 25 January 1994
- NT16 Statement of Kirk Whelan dated 25 January 1994
- NT17 Statement of Brian Leslie Radunz dated 25 January 1994
- NT18 Statement of David Frederick Field dated 25 January 1994, and attachments
- NT19 Statement of Brian Burke dated 25 January 1994
- NT20 Photocopy map of Elsey land claim with markings made by Mr Burke
- NT21 Statement of Brian Pascall dated 25 January 1994
- NT22 Statement of Timothy Capes dated 19 January 1994
- NT23 Statement of Maryanne Martin dated January 1994
- NT24 Statement of Richard Buckley dated 31 January 1994
- NT25 Video entitled "An introduction to the conservation values of Elsey Station"
- NT26 Statement of Bryan Peter Walsh dated 1 February 1994
- NT27 Statement of Cheryl Birch dated 1 February 1994
- NT28 Statement of Douglas Alfred Collins dated 27 January 1994
- NT29 Sign bearing the inscription "To Roper Bar"
- NT30 Statement of Edward Arthur Easton dated 25 January 1994, and attachments

NT31	Communique dated 25 February 1994 from the Council of Australian Governments, Hobart
MCC1	Copies of Mataranka and Moroak maps marked by Mr Minnett
MCC2	Undated letter from Deanne Sisarich of Clearwater Canoes and Camping



<p>Legend</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land claim area Mining Leases Sites Stock route Bore Homestead Gravel pit Road Coastal boundaries Old railway line (NT Portion 3672) 	<p>Scale</p> <p>0 10 20</p> <p>Kilometres</p>	<p>LANDINFO</p> <p>Survey House 14 Shepherd Street Darwin NT 0800</p> <p>PH (08) 8941022 FAX (08) 89811637</p>	<p>FILE REFERENCE C37/61</p> <p>PROJECT NO J450137</p> <p>DATA FILE 137 CDK</p> <p>DRAWN BY A. WILKIN</p> <p>CHECKED BY A. WILKIN</p> <p>DATE Nov 1997</p>	<p>APPENDIX 8 TO THE REPORT OF THE ABORIGINAL LAND COMMISSIONER</p> <p>ELSEY</p> <p>LAND CLAIM No. 132</p> <p>DRAWING No.</p> <p>E97/61</p> <p>SHEET 1 OF 1</p>
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Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976

Murranji Land Claim

Report No. 25

Report by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner,
Mr Justice Kearney, to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs
and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory

Australian Government Publishing Service

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Office of the
ABORIGINAL LAND COMMISSIONER
Supreme Court
Darwin.
Telephone 819326.
7 October 1986

The Hon Clyde Holding, M.P.
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs
Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT 2600

Dear Minister

MURRANJI LAND CLAIM

In accordance with s.50(1) of the Aboriginal Land Rights
(Northern Territory) Act 1976 I present my report on this
claim.

As required by the Act I have sent a copy of my report to
the Administrator of the Northern Territory.

Yours sincerely

z
W.J. Kearney



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His Honour Commodore E.E. Johnston A.M., O.B.E.,
Administrator of the Northern Territory
Government House
DARWIN NT 5790

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W.J. Kearney



Dottie Holtze gives evidence

Photo courtesy NLC

Dottie Holtze gives evidence Photo - courtesy NLC.
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The hearing of the claim

1. On 26 April 1978, the Northern Land Council lodged an application under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act on behalf of certain Aboriginals who claimed to be the traditional owners of the claim area shown on the map in Appendix 1.
2. When the claimants were ready to proceed the inquiry opened at Murrniji Bore in the claim area on 9 August 1983. Over the next four days certain sites were visited and the claimants gave evidence at those sites. Senior claimants gave accounts of their early life on the claim area. In various places women claimants demonstrated how to identify and prepare various types of 'bush tucker'. A site visit was made to the extreme west of the claim area, along the Murrniji Track. Ceremonies restricted to initiated men were performed and explained; certain objects were shown and demonstrated, rituals were performed and explained, and songs were sung. Further site visits were made, and evidence in both open and restricted sessions was taken. At a general 'sit-down' session at Murrniji Bore evidence was given and various documents submitted. Evidence was taken separately from women as to their role in ceremony. There was a further session restricted to initiated men at which two ceremonies relating to Dreamings were performed. Finally, some evidence was taken at the site of a proposed outstation and at a site north of the claim area.
3. In February 1984, evidence was taken at Darwin from persons who had assisted the claimants to present their case. In March 1984, evidence was taken at Daly Waters from nine persons who wished to be heard in relation to the claim generally and on detriment which they might suffer if the claim were acceded to. Consultant anthropologist Dr Williams prepared a report and gave evidence in Darwin in July 1984. Submissions were then made by counsel for the claimants, the National Railway Commission, the Northern Territory Government and by counsel assisting the inquiry. Some further written materials were received in August and the inquiry concluded in September 1984.

The claim area: location, topography and recorded history

4. The land claimed is about 90 kilometres Northwest of Elliott. It consists of the whole of the land within the boundaries of Portions 1109, 2023 and 2024 as shown on the map Appendix 1. Portion 1109 is unalienated Crown land; Portion 2033 is a Travelling Stock Reserve; and Portion 2024 is a Stock and Quarantine Reserve. Part of the Murrniji Stock Route lies within those reserves. For the purposes of the Act, these reserves and the stock route are claimed as unalienated Crown land. The claim area in all is about 780 square kilometres. It is surrounded by the pastoral leases Hayfield, Hidden Valley and Murrniji. To the east lies the Sturt Plain which extends for some 50 kilometres from Murruynialangu (No. 10 Bore on the Murrniji Stock Route: see Appendix 8). S.W. Herbert saw it in 1871 and described it is:

... a vast stubble field thirty by twenty miles in extent, covered with tall dry grass, and not a tree to be seen looking southward.

It is now a major part of the cattle-raising area of Hayfield Station and carries up to 9000 head. The land in the vicinity of the claim area was described in the early days of non-Aboriginal settlement as hostile, forbidding, useless and barren. It comprises part of the Sturt Plateau, gently undulating country with little surface drainage, comprising sandy soils and black soil plains.

5. The reserves which constitute part of the claim area were created to assist the movement of stock along the Murrniji Stock Route. This stock route is important in the

history of the Northern Territory as a link to the cattle stations in the West. John McDouall Stuart tried several times in 1861 and 1862 to get through from Newcastle Waters and Howell's Ponds to the Camfield River in the west, he was defeated by the heat, the heavy going on the Sturt Plain, lack of water and impenetrable scrub. The dense lancewood and hedgewood (bullwaddy) scrub on the western edge of Sturt Plain was not penetrated by non-Aboriginals until July 1886 when Nat Buchanan was guided by Mudburas westwards some 80 kilometres from Warlirra (Frew's Pond) across Sturt Plain to a soakage called 'Murrnaji' by the Aboriginals and thence another 80 kilometres to Binjacootra (Yellow Waterhole) (see Appendix 3). Buchanan's route became the basis of the Murrnaji Track and the line of the Murrnaji Stock Route, extending some 225 kilometres from the headwaters of the Armstrong River at Yingawunarri (Old Top Springs) in the west to Newcastle Waters in the east. The description in Commonwealth Gazette No. 48 of 17 August 1933, p. 1168 (Exhibit 4) shows that the Murrnaji Stock Route was generally one mile in width, followed the Murrnaji Track, and formed part of the stock route link from the Western Australia border through Newcastle Waters to Queensland and South Australia (see Appendix 2).

6. The Victoria and Ord River stations had been stocked in the late 19th century by cattle brought from Queensland by the Gulf route (see the map of the old stock routes at Appendix 2). Victoria River Downs was stocked by 1883. The opening of the Murrnaji in 1886 greatly improved the access to the eastern market for these stations. It will be seen from Appendix 2 that the Murrnaji cut some 640 kilometres from the former journey from the Victoria and Ord River stations by the Dry River Stock Route to railheads in northern South Australia and western Queensland. The Murrnaji nevertheless was extremely arduous and hazardous; the heat and terrain were fierce. Cattle on the hoof need water every 25 to 30 kilometres to maintain their condition but the Murrnaji Stock Route was very badly watered in dry seasons. Hence the epic accounts of flogging the cattle through: in 1919, 1 000 head were brought across in eight nights without loss over a



Bullwaddy scrub, Murrnaji Track 1926 (Schultz Collection).
Photo: NTRS 234

Bullwaddy scrub, Murrnaji Track 1926 (Schultz Collection).
Photo: NTRS 234

dry stage of 175 kilometres. Cattle had to be moved during the early part of the Dry. The three main soakages - the Bucket (Wirntirrkuiji), the Murrnaji and Yellow Waterhole (Binjacootra) - usually lasted until midyear; but in one out of three years they were dry. The water available meant that less than 10 000 head were able to travel the route in a normal year. The state of the stock routes was for many years the major factor affecting turnoff from the cattle stations; cattle were marketed only if the condition of the routes permitted it. The need to provide permanent water to relieve the bad conditions on the Murrnaji was recognised in 1895 but work was not commenced until 1922; nine bores were sunk and the distance between water was then never more than 29.5 kilometres. Considerable numbers of cattle were thereafter brought across annually from the west e.g. 12 000 head in May 1948, 5 000 more in June, and more later in the year. Aboriginals were employed as drovers on the route.

7. The Murrnaji Stock Route remained an important market link for 70 years, and Newcastle Waters a thriving centre, until the trucking of cattle gradually replaced droving in the 1960's (see Table 2). With the completion of the Buchanan Highway in 1962 the Murrnaji Stock Route and the Murrnaji Track fell into disuse. At transcript pp. 39-52 Dick Scobie of Hidden Valley gives his personal recollections of the Murrnaji over the last forty years.

The structure of the claim

A. The claimants and the claim area: The historical record

8. The first non-Aboriginal presence in the region was that of John McDouall Stuart in 1861 and 1862. In his attempts to get through to the Victoria River region from Newcastle Waters, he encountered Aboriginals in the region of the claim area. When the Adelaide-Darwin telegraph line was being constructed in the 1870's the Aboriginals in this region were described as 'numerous and hostile'. There was a considerable amount of armed conflict. It is clear:

... that Aborigines put up a strong resistance to European intrusion, and defended their country generally ... (Claim Book, p. 13)

As the Government Resident reported in 1885, this was to be expected as the Aboriginals at Newcastle Waters would 'regard themselves as robbed of their inheritance'.

9. The claimants are Mudburas and Djingilis. Spencer and Gillen in 1901 recorded aspects of the lives of the Mudbura and Djingili-speaking people near the claim area. Gillen recorded traditional stories, including a Djingili myth of the creation by the Honey Bee Dreaming of a waterhole called Karntularra at Beetaloo east of the claim area (see para. 73). Spencer recommended that a 200 square mile Aboriginal reserve be created at Lake Woods (Appendix 3), and stocked with cattle; however this recommendation was not accepted. Other historical accounts of Aboriginal life in the region are collected in the Claim Book at pp. 42-4.

10. Cattle were brought north from South Australia along the route cleared for the telegraph line; Newcastle Waters Station was stocked by the 1870's. Many of the Mudburas and Djingilis eventually went to work on the stations, or congregated there. Dick Scobie said that in 1943 the Aboriginals from the region of the claim area were at Newcastle Waters and Montejinni:

... they were the only ones from here. When I came here first (in 1943)... I was asking the old black fellow (at Newcastle Waters) and he was telling me all about the country and that is how I got to know it; none of us knew it ... (transcript. p. 41)

Appendix 3 gives some idea of the distribution of Mudbura and Djingili by the 1970's. Mudbura country, to the west of the telegraph line, was generally inferior land for pastoral purposes, and so Mudbura traditional lifestyle was to some degree protected; the drovers of the Murrarji were the only non-Aboriginal intrusion into their country for many years, Hidden Valley and Murrarji stations not being created until World War II. The heavy use of the Murrarji waterholes by cattle during the Dry however must have been a serious matter for the original inhabitants though their own major use of the area was probably in the Wet (see transcript p. 396). While some Mudbura still lived a largely traditional life in the bush until World War II, by 1920 their traditional patterns of life had been generally disrupted and changed to meet the impact and needs of station and cattle work. The Djingili people had a much greater percentage of their traditional country stocked with cattle, and for a longer time. Nevertheless the open range nature of pastoral enterprise in the Northern Territory, the relatively small number of non-Aboriginals on the stations, and the annual 2-4 month 'walkabout' in the Wet, meant that Aboriginals from the region employed on the stations could still maintain to some degree a traditional lifestyle, and keep in contact with their country. As the Claim Book says:

... pastoralism ... as it was developing in the Northern Territory, had a strong element of nomadism. It demanded frequent travel over vast areas of land, with many makeshift camps en route, and ample opportunity, for the reinforcement of bush skills. (p. 27)

11. During the forty years since World War II Government initiatives in the welfare field led to a closer control over Aboriginal lives. This control was strengthened by the institution for some time of a policy of assimilation into the larger Australian community. With the introduction of award wages for Aboriginals in 1968, and increasing use of road transport to move stock, Aboriginal employment on cattle stations and in droving declined. Many of the claimants now reside in Elliott.

12. Tindale considers that Mudbura speakers were found south of Top Springs and east along the Murrarji Track, Djingili speakers being then encountered in the vicinity of the present-day Murrarji Station (see also Appendix 3). In 1892 Ravenscroft described the Djingili traditional territory more or less in terms of the map at Appendix 4. By 1972 there were 179 Djingili speakers. The Mudbura were said to travel widely, because of the aridity of their country; they ranged from the upper Victoria River in the west to Newcastle Waters in the east and north to the Katherine River (see also paras 12-16 of the Yingawunarra [Old Top Springs] Mudbura Report and Appendix 3). The census of 1955 showed 102 Mudbura speakers; by 1972 there were 280.

B. The basis of the claim

1. The claimants

13. Five local descent groups called for the purposes of the claim by the names of the principal sites on their respective estates - Narlwan, Jalapirri, Ngayirrini, Walamarnta and Karntularra - are presented as the traditional owners of those estates, which are said to lie partly within the claim area. The claimants are affiliated to one of two main language groups, Mudbura and Djingili. Three local descent groups claiming estates in the west of the claim area speak Mudbura, while two groups claiming estates in the east speak Djingili. The claimants are multilingual.

2. The claimants' social organisation

14. Those sub-groups of the claimant groups whose members' life-styles are more in the traditional mould use a system of social categories of the Warlpiri type. Tables I A and I B constitute an anatomy of that system; they are identical in structure, but the Mudbura

Claimants' social organisation — Mudbura

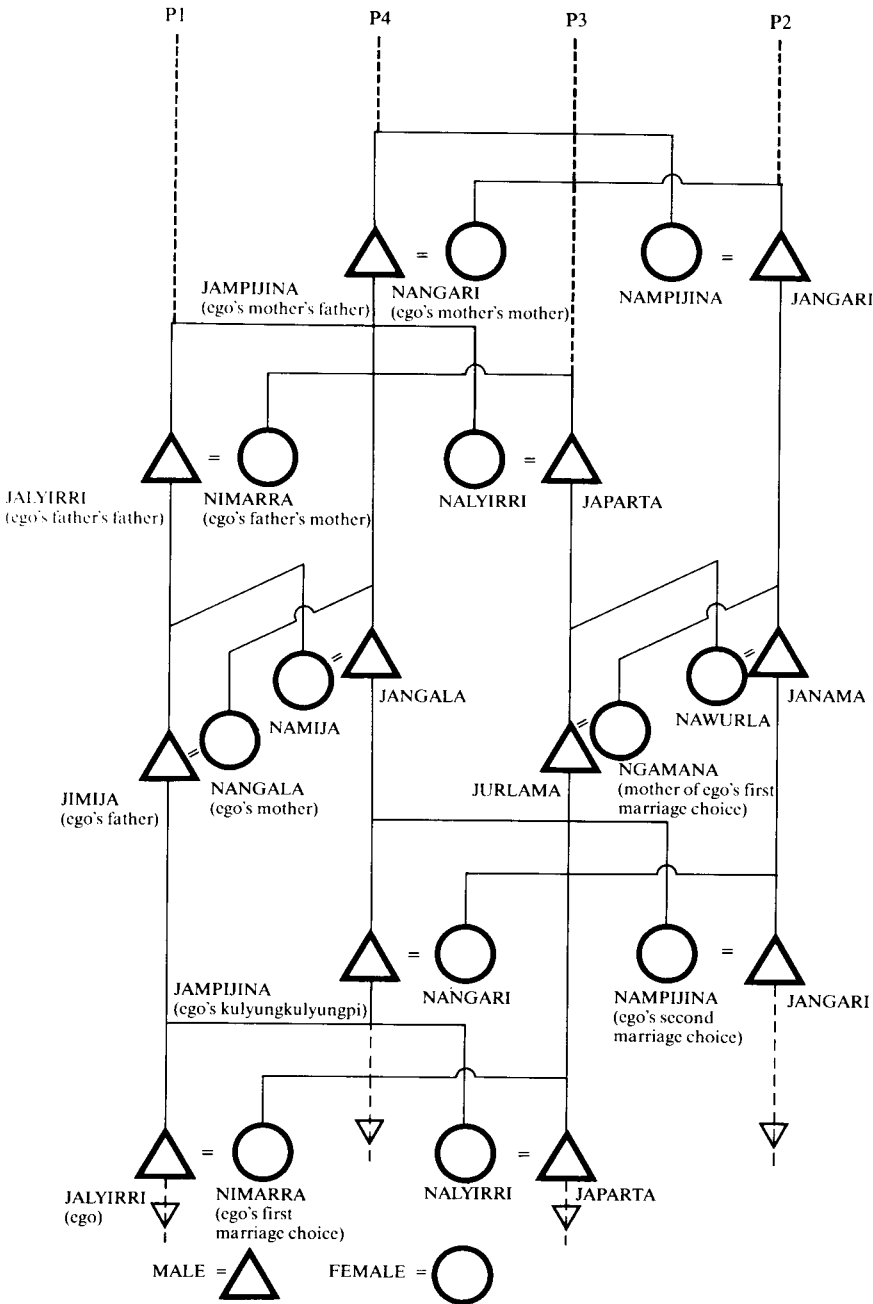


Table 1A: Kinship structure of the Mudbura claimants, showing lines of patrilineal descent, the 4 subsection couples P1 to P4, and the 8 subsections; 'preferred' (first choice) marriages are shown by 'equals' sign. A Jalyirri is taken as an example, and his important kin and marriage links are named. Subsection couples P1 and P2 constitute one patrilineal moiety of society, Wilyuku; P3 and P4 the other moiety, Liraku.

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Table A: Kinship structure of the Mudbura claimants showing lines of patrilineal descent. the 4 subsection couples P1 to P4. and the 8 subsections; 'preferred' (first choice) marriages are shown by 'equals' sign. A Jalyirri is taken as an example, and his important kin and marriage links are named. Subsection couples P1 and P2 constitute one patrilineal moiety of society. Wilyuku; P3 and P4 the other moiety, Lirraku.

Claimants' social organisation — Djingili

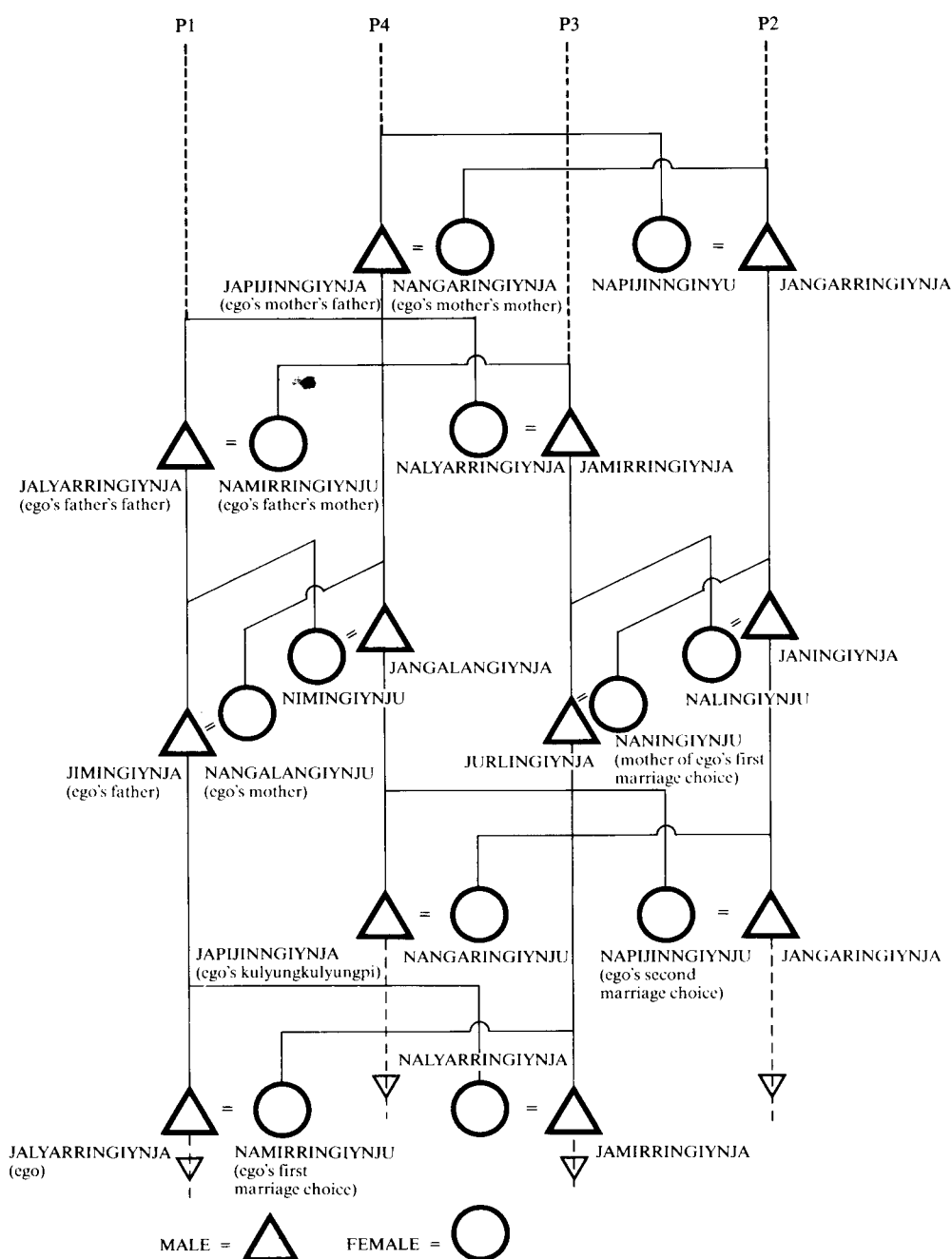


Table 1B: Kinship structure of the Djingili claimants, showing lines of patrilineal descent, the 4 subsection couples P1 to P4, and the 8 subsections; 'preferred' (first choice) marriages are shown by 'equals' sign. A Jalyarringinyja is taken as an example, and his important kin and marriage links are named. Subsection couples P1 and P2 constitute one patrilineal moiety of society, Wilyiji; P3 and P4 the other moiety, Liriji.

Table 1B. Kinship structure of the Djingili claimants, showing lines of patrilineal descent, the 4 subsection couples P1 to P4, and the 8 subsections, 'preferred' (first choice) marriages are shown by 'preferred' (first choice) marriages are shown by 'equals' sign. A Jalyarringinyja is taken as an example, and his important kin and marriage links are named. Subsection couples P1 and P2 constitute one patrilineal moiety of society, Wilyiji, P3 and P4 the other moiety, Liriji.

terminology differs from the Djingili. The system is discussed at paras 17-19 of the Yingawunarra (Old Top Springs) Mudbura Report. Social organisation is intimately linked to a society's system of land tenure; however, the Warlpiri structure has been fully explained in previous reports (e.g. Mount Allan Report, paras 26 and 27), so only a few points need be made here. The Mudbura terms will be used.

15. Table 1A shows that the whole of society is seen as divided into two (patri)moieties, each consisting of two subsection couples. Viewed patrilineally, each person belongs to one of the eight named subsections; if marriages conform to the ideal patterns there indicated, a person's subsection is that of his father's father (or her father's father's sister). That is to say, members of each alternate generation within a local descent group as defined in para. 17, are in the same subsection. It can be seen that each local descent group, as so defined, must belong to a particular subsection couple; according to the Claim Book so do its patrilineal Dreamings and its estate. Subsection affiliation is determined by that of the mother. If a marriage does not conform to the ideal pattern, the children are treated as belonging to two subsections, but the subsection to which they are assigned within their patrilineal local descent group is their subsection for ritual and land-related matters (see para. 79 for an example). The division of society into two named patrimoieties, Wilyuku and Lirraku, is vital to ceremonial organisation; in this claim, all members of the claimant groups belong to the same patrimoiety, Wilyuku, except for certain children whose fathers are non-Aboriginal (see transcript, p. 416).

3. The local descent group

16. I agree with Dr Williams' comment that in general:

... it is inconceivable to Aborigines that they do not have, as Aborigines, some tie or ties to land. That is a crucial element in Aboriginality. It is given its innateness through the idiom of what we call kinship. (transcript, p. 541)

17. In the Claim Book it is contended that in this region the traditional Aboriginal owners of land consist of a local descent group which is in general:

... a small group of actual or classificatory agnates which ... is patrilineally recruited, and identified with one or more principal patrilineal Dreamings (totems) and the country those Dreamings mythologically inhabit. (Claim Book, p. 65)

This contention was varied considerably later (see para. 21). This local descent group, the members of which belong to a particular subsection couple, is said to have a primary interest in ceremonies relating to certain sites and to its Dreamings. It is not contended that the members of the group have a common ancestor. Apart from actual biological descent, group membership can be acquired by socially recognised descent, by way of adoption by a member.

18. The sites in which the group has this primary interest are collectively termed its 'estate'. One site is the principal site (the 'main place') for the group's estate; its name is used to identify the estate and the group, for the purposes of the claim (transcript pp. 399-400). Thus 'Karntularra' is said to be the name of the 'main place' within the Karntularra estate claimed by the Karntularra group. A group's strength of affiliation to a particular site on its estate is said to vary according to a number of factors such as the site's degree of identification with a Dreaming, its distance from the principal site, its material utility, historical associations, and so on.

19. The members of a group are said to have interests in adjacent estates across which the tracks of their estate's Dreamings pass; their group co-operates in ceremony with the traditional owners of these estates. The practical consequence is that adjacent groups may have several sites in common and share a primary spiritual responsibility for those sites.

20. It is said that certain individuals may belong to two local descent groups: that is, to the group of their actual father, and to the group of their half-siblings with whom they were in fact brought up. An individual is also said to have secondary interests in his mother's estate and her patrilineal Dreamings (see para. 43).

21. Dr Sutton co-author of the Claim Book, identified from his field work three basic requirements for membership of a claimant local descent group, ascertained as a matter of reality from his observations rather than as theory.

22. The first related to the principle of descent; as Mr Justice Toohey pointed out in para. 94, of the Alligator Rivers Stage H Report the Act requires that a principle of descent must be found to exist which unites a group of Aboriginals into a local descent group. Membership of a group is said here to be acquired mainly by patrilineal descent; it is the ideologically dominant means of reckoning descent. As Dr Sutton put it, this principle:

... is a kind of cultural norm or a fundamental preference, all other things being equal.
(transcript, p. 374)

At transcript pp. 374-8 1, Dr Sutton identifies subsidiary descent principles; these apply when all other things are not equal. They include adoption by a parent-member, either in the sense of being reared by that person, or in the sense of being 'under [him] for country' (transcript p. 397); recruitment by socially recognised descent to the group of mother's husband (where he is not one's father); recruitment to mother's father's group; and recruitment to mother's country, which may be mother's mother's country (as is the case with Eileen Sambono's grandchildren), though there is said to be no ideology of matrilineal descent as regards country. In Dr Williams' words, these 'means of reckoning':

comprise the multi-pronged principle of descent that Murranji claimants use in determining membership in a local descent group. (Exhibit 34, p. 13)

The situation appears to bear some similarity to that described in paras 137-9 of the Finnis River Report. The fact that a person falls within the scope of one of these means of reckoning descent does not, however, automatically entitle that person to membership of the group; as Dr Sutton put it:

They are principles which are relied upon, but they might be vitiated by some over-riding considerations. (transcript, p. 421)

23. The second basic requirement for membership put forward by Dr Sutton is that the individual be publicly identified with particular Dreamings, so as to have the rights to the songs and to the places with which those Dreamings are known to be associated.

24. The third requirement is that the individual be a member of one of certain social categories; for some of the claimants the category is defined by the persons bearing a particular surname e.g. 'Holtze', while for others it is defined by subsection membership.

In the result, in Dr Sutton's words:

We have a complex model, a model of descent, which consists of a cluster of principles, one of which is patrilineality. (transcript, p. 347)

... all of these principles are recognised by the claimants as legitimate and also as Aboriginal principles. (transcript, p. 376)

25. In summary, the basis of a group's claim to its estate is said to be that its members belong to a particular main Dreaming and to a particular ceremony which belongs to the area inhabited by the Dreaming (see para. 29). All members of the descent group irrespective of sex, belong to that estate and are spiritually bound to it. Children who are fostered ('grown up') may acquire membership of their Aboriginal foster-father's group. Children with a non-Aboriginal father - and non-Aboriginals have been in the area for

100 years - may be either 'grown up' in this way and acquire membership of their foster-father's group, or become members of their mother's local descent group (examples are given at p. 91 of the Claim Book). See also para. 77. The principle appears to be that in the absence of some patrilineal basis of attribution to country, the mother's country is taken; in general, where neither parent is non-Aboriginal, it is said that there is a very frequent use of the patrilineal principle.

26. The genealogies of the five claimant groups are in Exhibit 18. The Jalapirri group consists of only one person, Trigger Morgan. There are three sub-groups in the Narlwan local descent group, two in Ngayirri, two in Karntularra and three in Walamarnta; these are examined in paras 105-15.

4. Names and name trees

27. The Aboriginal names of claimants are words from songs relating to the activities of Dreamings at various sites; the naming of a person thus indirectly links him with a site associated with his subsection couple and on or near his estate, and with ceremonial activity at the site.

28. There are said to be at least five trees in the claim area each of which is named for a person now dead. They represent those people, and, as Aboriginals believe that spiritual identities circulate through the generations, they also constitute a reference for the living namesakes (see para. 53). It is forbidden to destroy these trees as they are considered to have been left by the Dreamings. When a name tree falls, the name is transferred to another tree (see generally the photographic Exhibit 22).

5. The Dreamings

29. It is said that each claimant group has as its Dreamings those mythic beings which were active in the creation of its estate; and that the Dreamings, the estate and the group belong to the same subsection couple. Each group has a 'main Dreaming', one which stayed largely within that group's estate 'all the time'. The main Dreamings for each of the five groups are said to be:

Group	Main Dreaming	Subsection couple	Patrimoiety
Narlwan	Kilikilika/ Wajilarn (Galah)	jimija/jalyirri	Wilyuku
Karntularra	Tarliwa (Blue Crane)	jimija/jalyirri	Wilyuku
Ngayirri	Panangkula/ Kunurtjarri (Two Quiet Snakes)	jimija/jalyirri	Wilyuku
Jalapirri	Kurrawkurrawka (Storm Bird) Kunurtjarri (Quiet Snake)	jimija/jalyirri	Wilyuku
Walamarnta	A. Karnanganju (Emu) B. Wirriwurna (Grey Parrot) C. Mulyukuna (Carpet Snake) D. Parnangka (Night Hawk)	jangari/janama	Wilyuku

30. Dreamings are said to be of three types. Travelling Dreamings are those which went on long travels, crossing several estates. Their songs and rituals often involve a meeting of several different groups. Estate Dreamings are those which travelled generally within the estate of a group. Localised Dreamings are those which moved only in a certain locality within an estate; they are usually associated with a particular geographical feature.

Individual members when speaking are said to tend to identify themselves with the Dreamings, and the leading men of their group with the main Dreaming for their estate. Each group has its own ceremony (Ngajakura) for its main Dreaming (see para. 60).

31. The cult of the Storm Bird, a major travelling Dreaming is said to be owned by the Wilyuku patrimoiety, so in a sense it is a major Dreaming for all of the groups, though specifically associated with the Jalapirri group. Some details of the Dreamings listed in para. 29 are at Claim Book pp. 124--44 and their tracks are shown on Appendix 8.

6. Estates and sites; boundaries

32. The Claim Book defines an 'estate' as:

... the picture of territorial interests which emerges from an analysis of each site as a focus of attention within the society. (p. 97)

The general spatial location of the estates claimed within the claim area can be seen from Appendix 5 read in conjunction with the Dreaming tracks shown at Appendix 8. It will be noted that two other non-claimant groups Kajalanguju and Warninki are also marked on Appendix 5; it is said that in certain contexts the groups and estates Walamarnta, Kajalanguju and Warninki are 'all one', as similarly are Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirrimi (see paras 56 and 57). A group's major interest is in its sites. Here, as elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia, traditional ownership is expressed in terms of mythic/ ritual statements (see the discussion of sites and estate at para. 18). The land between its sites is also the subject of the group's interest. In the result the concept of an estate which is presented is not one of a parcel of land the boundaries of which can be two-dimensionally mapped. Dr Sutton made it clear that the only way to delineate the traditional interests on a map:

... is really to indicate these mythological paths [see Appendix 8] and then to have an extensive discussion which tells you what they [i.e. the Dreamings] did there and why they did it. transcript, pp. 367-70)

33. Most of a group's sites are in the same general area; its estate is 'mapped' by considering matters such as the ownership of songs relating to Dreamings, and, in the case of a travelling Dreaming where a song is partly owned, the place in the song from which another group takes over. The structure of its estate is determined by the links between its sites; these involve the movements and activities of the Dreamings, the pattern of which determines the bounds of the estate. A group's estate traditionally also was its major living and history area, so its bounds are also defined by matters such as main camps, physical features, places of refuge, dialectal differences and the type of food found there. Despite the problems about mapping boundaries, it is to be noted as Dr Williams put it:

What needs recognising is that the means exist whereby Aborigines can make such boundedness as precise as the purpose requires ... (Exhibit 34, p. 9)

34. There are said to be 12 sites of significance within the claim area. Seven are in the vicinity of Murranji bore and are shown on Appendix 6. Five are in the south-east of the claim area, and are shown on Appendix 7. A thirteenth site, Jakilirrawurru, just off the claim area to the north-west, is shown on Appendix 8. These sites, together with the Dreamings with which they are associated, and the local descent groups which are said to have primary spiritual responsibility for them, are identified in the Claim Book as

amended by Dr Sutton, as follows:

Sites	Dreamings	Groups
1. Jakilirrawurru	Two Quiet Snakes	Narlwan, Ngayirri
2. Narlwan	Storm Bird, Two Quiet Snakes, Galah, Poison Snake	Narlwan, Jalapirri Ngayirri
3. Mulmulka	Two Quiet Snakes, Storm Bird, Mirirripini Bird, Galah	Narlwan, Jalapirri Ngayirri
4. Panganyi	Two Quiet Snakes, Galah	Narlwan, Ngayirri
5. Site F on Appendix 6	Green Parrot, Galah	Narlwan, Ngayirri
6. Site B on Appendix 6	Galah, Blue Crane	Narlwan, Jalapirri, Ngayirri, Karntularra
7. Putjutji	Blue Crane	Karntularra
8. Site E on Appendix 6 (Jamakula)	Galah, Storm Bird	Narlwan, Jalapirri
9. Kurntalngalarni	Galah, Blue Crane	Narlwan
10. Milakurmini	Galah, Blue Crane	Narlwan
11. Kiwulu	Blue Crane, Galah	Narlwan
12. Murruynjalangu	Blue Crane	Walamarnta
13. Warratankujku	Black-headed Python	Walamarnta

7. The claimants' kulyungkulyungpi

35. Certain rights and duties in ritual matters are said to be divided between the members of the local descent group and others called their kulyungkulyungpi. The latter are found in the opposite moiety of society to that of the group members; their role in ritual is somewhat akin to that of the kurdungurlu and djunggaiyi referred to in earlier claims. In several previous reports (e.g. Willowra para. 108; Daguragu para. 64; Kaytej, Warlpiri and Warlmanpa, para. 106), the kurdungurlu or djunggaiyi (or 'workers') were put forward as members of claimant groups and were found to be traditional owners. This claim is not presented in that way; the kulyungkulyungpi are not, as such, presented as claimants.

36. The term 'kulyungkulyungpi' is used in three senses: to describe relationships between individuals, between local descent groups and between the two patrimoieties of society. I deal with these in the next three paragraphs.

37. At the level of individual relationships a person's kulyungkulyungpi are said to be usually found amongst those persons classified as his cross-cousins (see Claim Book, p.

101). However, they are recruited on a number of different principles. From Table 1A it can be seen that a Jalyirri would in general find his kulyungkulyungpi amongst Jampijinas. These would be Jampijinas from nearby estates with a consanguineal link (e.g. his father's sister's sons) or a marriage link (e.g. the brother of his wife, if a Nampijina). Dr Sutton states:

Appropriate patrimoiety membership, generation level and cross-cousinship appear to be preconditions for the relation. (Claim Book, p. 103)

However, prominence in ritual matters may be an over-riding qualification; thus it is put that Nugget Collins of the Jirrarnku group shown on Appendix 5 is the main kulyungkulyungpi for most of the leading men of all five claimant groups (Claim Book, p. 105). The evidence bore this out. It also showed that in many cases the primary kulyungkulyungpi for individuals in a group were persons whose mothers were not members of that group, that is, many persons were exercising the role of kulyungkulyungpi in relation to country other than their mother's country. The Claim Book acknowledges that:

... as far as overt action is concerned, these primary kulyungkulyungpi are essential to the religious system which maintains and validates a local descent group's basic land rights. (p. 68)

One effect of the marriage rules is that kulyungkulyungpi do not necessarily inherit that role in relation to a particular estate over several generations.

38. At the second level, a local descent group may be said to be kulyungkulyungpi for another such group, the groups being referred to as cross-cousins. However since the members of a local descent group may marry members of more than one other group the kulyungkulyungpi for a local descent group in this sense may be several other groups.

39. The third sense in which the term is used is to describe the reciprocal, if diffuse, relationships between the two patrimoieties of society, Wilyuku and Lirraku (see for example, paras 36-8 of the Cox River Report). Kulyungkulyungpi are members of the patrimoiety opposite that of the person for whom they are kulyungkulyungpi; thus here all the kulyungkulyungpi should be in the Lirraku moiety (see para. 15).

40. In the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu claim to land south of Murranji Station, the Mudbura claimant groups C2 and D4 included kulyungkulyungpi. They were found to be members of the claimant local descent groups and traditional owners (see paras 104-28 and 237 of that report). Further, in that claim, a claimant local descent group B2, which included members of the present Walamarnta group as ngurramarla (kirda) and named Walamarnta as its principal place, included kulyungkulyungpi among its members (see the Claim Book filed in the claim and paras 175-9 of the report). Accordingly, the absence of kulyungkulyungpi as claimants in this claim would appear to require explanation; the Claim Book's attempts to provide one is discussed in the next four paragraphs.

41. It is said that the claimants have some familiarity with the system of land claims. Several gave evidence in the Yingawunarri (Old Top Springs) Mudbura claim, which involved land further west along the Murranji Track; in that claim, unlike the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu claim to the south, it was not suggested that the kulyungkulyungpi should be included as traditional owners. Mr Justice Toohey commented on the different approach and presentation of the two claims, at paras 123 and 124 of the latter report. While the claimants are aware of those claims in which the kulyungkulyungpi or their equivalent have been put forward as being included as traditional owners, they:

... nevertheless clearly stated that kulyungkulyungpi were to be excluded from the list of claimants (in this claim). (Claim Book p. I 10)

42. The Claim Book states that if an Aboriginal from the claim area is asked: 'Where do you really come from?' or 'Where is your home country?', he will not give the name of the estate for which he is kulyungkulyungpi. It contends that the essence of the kulyungkulyungpi relationship is contractual; it is sometimes filiative, but never lineal. It is a relationship with:

... other persons [i.e. the claimants] who are identified in spirit with the Dreamings who inhabit and travel in that land, whose names belong to that country, whose subsection membership is the same as that of the [country's] principal Dreamings ... (Claim Book, p. 110)

The Claim Book contrasts a lineal relationship to land, as one which goes to the individual's personal essence, with the kulyungkulyungpi relationship as one principally of duties to perform certain acts.

43. The Claim Book acknowledges that kulyungkulyungpi have a strong interest in the estate of the local descent group for which they are kulyungkulyungpi; it is often their mother's estate. It contends, however, that this is a secondary interest; and that, as far as concerns links on their mother's side, individuals from this area are more strongly linked to certain 'ngurlu' Dreamings they acquire through their mother, than to her patrilineal Dreamings. Although these ngurlu Dreamings are not related to estates - there are no ngurlu sites - they may well explain why kulyungkulyungpi are not here presented as claimants; a few words about the institution are therefore required.

44. If the traditional marriage links shown in Table 1A are traced through the female line it is apparent that society is also composed of two matrilineal moieties, each consisting of four subsections: these are the Nangari-Nangala-Nalyirri-Nawula moiety on the one hand and the Nampijina-Ngamana-Nimarra-Namija moiety on the other. Each of these two matrilineal moieties is said to have certain distinct Dreamings (ngurlu) associated with it (they are listed at p. 114 of the Claim Book). Each individual in society has a ngurlu; during the taking of evidence I noted that each witness named his/her ngurlu without hesitation. Just as an individual derives his subsection affiliation from his mother so he also inherits his ngurlu from her. The traditional marriage rules in this society are said to involve strict ngurlu exogamy; that is, persons must not marry others of the same ngurlu. This was confirmed in evidence by a senior claimant Pharlap Dixon who explained simply - 'That's the law' (transcript, p. 211). Further, the preferred marriage partner of a person with a certain ngurlu should be found amongst persons with a specific (different) ngurlu. It is said that the strength of the ngurlu institution in this region and the fact that its effect is to emphasise the linking of persons not of the same country is an important factor which militates against the inclusion of kulyungkulyungpi as claimants in this claim.

The traditional evidence

45. I have indicated in paras 8-44 the broad structure of the claim; I turn now to the claimants' evidence given during the inquiry. The two Djingili-speaking groups, Karntularra and Walamarnta, gave their evidence as separate groups. The three Mudbura-speaking groups, Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri, gave their evidence collectively, apart from the separate evidence at Parnjak about the Jalapirri estate, at para. 75. It became very apparent that these three groups, while maintaining separate structural identities, all had overlapping interests in the Narlwan estate within the claim area. While they do not collectively constitute a single local descent group they have a considerable unity of interest in Narlwan (see paras 50, 52, 53 and 55-57). Nevertheless the differing emphasis of their respective Interests in Narlwan was reflected in the

different spokesmen at different sites within that estate, and the differing lists of Dreamings. I now deal with the traditional evidence relating to each of the four estates, Narlwan, Walamarnta, Karntularra and Jalapirri. Ngayirri can be conveniently included with the estate Narlwan for the purposes of the claim; all of its sites within the claim area are within Narlwan. Photographs collected in Exhibit 32 constitute a visual record of the gathering of this information. The most prominent witness was Pharlap Dixon, the most senior man in the Narlwan group and the most senior man in the area.

A. The men's evidence

1. Narlwan estate

46. Evidence was taken at various places - usually small open depressions - on this estate. It was given by the three groups Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri, usually through a few spokesmen. At the site Narlwan shown on Appendix 6, the claimants who were present are shown in the list of witnesses. The principal spokesman was Pharlap Dixon the senior member of the Narlwan local descent group; it was evident that he was frequently treated by members of all three groups as speaking for them all, at various sites; as mentioned in para. 45 the three groups have a unity of interest in this estate, and this unity was apparent in the taking of evidence (see, for example, para. 57). Pharlap Dixon's evidence was to the following effect. The place was the site Narlwan and was affiliated to the Na Jimija -N Jalyirri subsection couple. The Dreaming associated with the site was Kilikilika (Galah); Dreaming and site had the same subsection couple affiliation. This site was the 'main place' for Kilikilika, a localised Dreaming and the place for its ceremony Ngajakura. I noted that Pharlap Dixon, when giving evidence, conferred with his kulyungkulyungpi Nugget Collins, whom he called 'boss'; he said: I got to ask him, boss. I don't want to get in trouble from boss. (transcript, p. 28) He recounted that the Kurrawkurrawka (Storm Bird) Dreaming passed through Narlwan, and took part of the ceremony Ngajakura to the south (see Appendix 6). The Dreaming called Paningkula (also called Kunurtjarri) (Two Quiet Snakes) also moved through this site. Pharlap Dixon identified two name trees at the site as Kulpirimpirra and Larriyingali, and said that they also were affiliated to the same subsection couple as the site (see Exhibit 22, nos. 1, 2 and 5-7).

47. Further evidence was given at the site Mulmulka (Appendix 6). Pharlap Dixon was again a principal spokesman: he identified the site, its localised Dreaming Kunurtjarri (Quiet Snake), its ceremony Ngajakura, and a name tree at the site as Kuwanyungu (Kuwanguynji in Djingili; see Exhibit 22, nos. 8, 9). These were all of the Na/Jimija-N/Jalyirri subsection couple. Kuwanguynji was the Aboriginal name of George Holtze, a deceased member of one line in the Narlwan group claimants (see Exhibit 18, Narlwan I B). Pharlap Dixon identified a nearby creek as one made by the Dreaming Paningkula/ Kunurtjarri in his travels. Other prominent witnesses were from the Ngayirri local descent group.

48. At the site Panganyi (Appendix 6), Bandy Jones of the Ngayirri group spoke first; I accept the symbolic importance of his doing so, though the actual recounting of the details of the spiritual significance of the site was by his kulyungkulyungpi Nugget Collins, and by Pharlap Dixon. (See the analysis at transcript p. 328.) The Dreaming was again Kunurtjarri, the 'skin' for the Dreaming and place being Na/Jimija-N/Jalyirri. Pharlap Dixon said that Kunurtjarri came from Ngayirri, from the south, and travelled east (see Appendix 6).

49. At the site Putjutji (Appendix 6), Pompey Raymond the senior member of the Karntularra group identified the site, and said it was affiliated to the N/Jalyarringiyja-



Evidence by Pharlap Dixon standing on the old Murrarji Track pointing westward
Photo courtesy NLC

Evidence by Pharlap Dixon standing on the old Murrarji Track pointing westward
Photo courtesy NLC

Na/Jimingiynja subsection couple (identical with the N/Jalyirri-Na/Jimija couple in Mudbura terminology). He said the Dreaming there was Jikimi (Wild Yam) which had been brought there by the Dreaming Tarliwa (Blue Crane). Members of the Karntularra group present appear in the list of witnesses.

50. At site E on Appendix 6, Trigger Morgan of the Jalapirri group was the principal spokesman; he said the site was called Jamakula, its Dreaming was Kurrawkurrawka, and their subsection affiliation was Na/Jimija-N/Jalyirri. He said that Pharlap Dixon and 'all of us' held the Dreaming Kurrawkurrawka, naming various members of the Ngayirri group. He related the encounter of Kurrawkurrawka with Kilikilika at this site. Pharlap Dixon of the Narlwan group said that kulyungkulyungpi had to be present when the songs were sung. He identified a name tree Jamakula of the same subsection as the site (see Exhibit 22, nos. 3 and 4). The persons present are in the list of witnesses.

51. Evidence was taken in restricted session at site F on Appendix 6, in the presence of some initiated men from the Narlwan, Jalapirri, and Karntularra groups (see restricted Exhibit 39A pp. 1-7 and restricted Exhibit 14A, p. 55).

Pharlap Dixon identified the site and its Dreaming by name, and said that their subsection affiliation was Na/Jimija-N/Jalyirri. He named members of the Narlwan and Ngayirri groups as persons who held the Dreaming. He referred to the ceremony and songs for the site, and indicated a name tree which he said was cared for by the kulyungkulyungpi, who bore responsibility for its safekeeping. Again, in giving his evidence, Pharlap Dixon discussed matters with his kulyungkulyungpi, Nugget Collins.

52. Evidence in restricted session was taken at the depression marked A on Appendix 6 from the initiated men from Narlwan, Jalapirri and Karntularra. Pharlap Dixon related an encounter of Dreamings at the place and its outcome. He named senior members of the Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups as the owners of that place; he said they were 'all the same' (see generally restricted Exhibit 39A, pp. 13, 14, 17 and restricted Exhibit 14A, pp. 55-6). The last time a ceremony was held at the place was many years ago, a ceremony was last held for this site, at Elliott, about 1965.

53. Evidence was taken in restricted session at the depression marked B on Appendix 6, from the same initiated men. Pompey Raymond of the Karntularra group named the Dreamings which met at this place; one of them, Tarliwa, left its ceremony there and returned to Karntularra. He identified a name tree at the site. Pharlap Dixon gave a similar account, emphasising that the Dreaming Kilikilika was there first and the importance of a second name tree at the site. They agreed that both the Karntularra and Narlwan groups owned the site. As I understood it, the trees signify that the persons whose names they bear are regarded as intrinsically linked to the Dreamings at that site; the names refer to deceased members of the relevant local descent group. As Dr Williams put it, the trees are 'more than simply mnemonic devices' (Exhibit 34, p. 4); they 'stand' for those people and also for the Dreaming. They also indicate the affiliation of the descent group to that site; as names of people, like subsection affiliations, are cycled through alternate generations, this identification of environmental features with individuals represents strikingly a perceived continuity of links between man, Dreaming and place.

54. Evidence was taken at Jakilirrawurru, a ridge on the western edge of the open plain shown on Appendix 8. Persons named in the list of witnesses were present. Pharlap Dixon identified the site, and said it belonged to the Jimija-Jalyirri subsections, being affiliated only to the male subsections of that couple. He recounted how at this place a Dreaming Kunurtjarri of Jimija subsection came from Narlwan, and met another Kunurtjarri from Nurlka in the south-west, of Jalyirri subsection. They went away from the claim area, turning into Purumana (Poison Snake) (see Appendix 8). Pharlap Dixon sang the song for the place, identified a name tree as Jakilirra (Exhibit 22, no. 10) and said it was the duty of another of his kulyungkulyungpi, Albert Crowson, to look after the place. Jakilirrawurru is outside the western boundary of the claim area; Pharlap Dixon said that Narlwan country extends to Payiwi (Number 11 Bore), some 10 kilometres to the west, where the Kunurtjarri became Purumana:

They been stand up there, this tree - tartaka, big tree. Him been stand up and look Narlwan.

Well, him been say 'Goodbye, my land. I been go different land. I got to keep moving.'

(Transcript, p. 90)

Albert Crowson, kulyungkulyungpi, said that his country was at Montejinni, to the west; it may be noted that in 1979 he was found to be a traditional owner of land claimed in that vicinity (see the Yingawunarra (Old Top Springs) Mudbura Report, para. 61).

Westwards from Jakilirrawurru the Murrarri Track appears to be not used and overgrown.

55. At the site Kurntalngalarni on Appendix 7 Pharlap Dixon of the Narlwan group, in the presence of persons named in the list of witnesses, identified a tree by that name (Exhibit 22, no. 11) and said that the Dreaming there was Wajilarn (Kilikilika). He associated both tree and Dreaming with the Na/ Jimija-N/Jalyirri subsection. The place was cared for by his kulyungkulyungpi, Albert Crowson. He identified male and female members of the Narlwan group, as well as members of the Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups, as persons who held the Dreaming; they were all said to:

... belong Narlwan ... all from Narlwan. (transcript, p. 107)

He then recounted the movements and activities of the Dreaming Wajilarn at the place explaining that it was here that Wajilarn met Tarliwa. He sang the song which Wajilarn had left at the place. He appeared to indicate that Kurntalngalarni marked the eastern boundary of the Narlwan estate, the adjoining estate on the east being Walaranta; this was confirmed by Albert Crowson, his kulyungkulyungpi. However, it later became clear that the groups with interests in the Narlwan estate have interests further to the east, at Kiwulu (see paras 56 and 63, and transcript p. 372).

56. Evidence was taken at Kiwulu (see Appendix 7). Pharlap Dixon of the Narlwan group, identified the place by referring to a particular tree; its Dreaming was Wajilarn (Kilikilika) and their affiliations were to the N/Jimija-N/Jalyirri subsection couple. He said that this was Narlwan country; that Wajilarn had come here to hunt, and had hunted as far north as Parnjak, which is a rockhole on Hidden Valley station, about 12 kilometres north of the claim area (see para. 75). Pharlap Dixon named various members of the Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups as having the song and ceremony (Ngajakura) for Kiwulu; he said:

We all along of that Ngajakura one mob. (transcript, p. 143)

Pompey Raymond of the Karntularra group said that Tarliwa came from Karntularra to Kiwulu, though merely passing through on his way to Murrniji; by this he indicated that his group had an interest in the area. The subsection affiliation of Tarliwa was the same as that of Wajilarn.

57. At a formal 'sit-down' session at Murrniji Bore attended by about thirty-five senior members of the claimant groups, the members of the Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups present (see list of witnesses) gave their evidence together. It was clear that for the purpose of matters concerning the estate Narlwan, they regarded themselves as having a united interest, 'all the same' in Pharlap Dixon's words (transcript, p. 222), 'Wall in one' in Trigger Morgan's words (transcript, p. 225, see also para. 45). No doubt this impression was strengthened by the context in which the evidence was given (see transcript, pp. 397-9).

58. Pharlap Dixon identified the surrounding area as Narlwan, its major Dreaming being Wajilarn (Kilikilika), and inheritance being through the father; all present agreed. He identified the subsection couple Na/Jimija-N/Jalyirri. He named eleven persons as his kulyungkulyungpi. One, Albert Crowson he called parnkuti (cousin); another, Nugget Collins, he called ngurnparna (brother-in-law); a third, Peter Jackson, he called jawiji (grandson). Nugget Collins, kulyungkulyungpi, said that his own country was Jirrnaku, and named twelve senior men from the claimant groups (except Karntularra) as his kulyungkulyungpi. It may be noted that in the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu claim, Jirrnaku was located at No. 9 Bore on the Murrniji stock route south-east of the claim area (see Appendix 5), and Nugget Collins was found to be ngurramarla (kirda) for the claimant group D4; Lady Dixon, wife of Pharlap Dixon, was also found to be a ngurramarla (kirda) for that group, her children (claimants in this claim) being there listed as kulyungkulyungpi members of group D4 and, as such, among the traditional owners (see p. 64 of the report).

59. Both Trigger Morgan of Jalapirri and Bandy Jones of Ngayirri said their country was Narlwan. Trigger Morgan identified the name Jalapirri as referring both to the small place Jamakula within a quarter of a mile of the site Narlwan, site E on Appendix 6, and also to a larger area about twelve kilometres to the north-east (see para. 75 and Appendix 5).

60. I attended a restricted men's session at site B on Appendix 6, at which two Ngajakura were performed. The Ngajakura is a ceremony peculiar to this region, associated with the Narlwan, Jalapirri, Ngayirri and Karntularra groups, which are all of the Jimija/ Jalyirri subsection couple. On this occasion the Storm Bird Ngajakura and Storm Bird/ Galah Ngajakura were performed. Senior members of the four groups and their kulyungkulyungpi took part. Varying body designs were painted on the bodies of participants by kulyungkulyungpi and their significance was explained; songs were sung which related to the travels and activities of the two Dreamings. I noted that members of the Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups bore the Galah design, with some variations, while the Karntularra members bore the Blue Crane design.

61. In the course of the proceedings, senior men from the four groups recited at speed lists of sites, personal names and Dreamings associated with particular estates. The ritual involved certain trees which were linked to the Dreamings. A detailed description of these ceremonies is in restricted Exhibit 14A, pp. 23-54; and photographs are collected in restricted Exhibit 31.

62. Evidence was taken from Pharlap Dixon of his early life 'foot-walking' in the claim area, leading a foraging life style with his parents: it appears that as an adult he went droving twice over the Murranji route after World War II. He said he had been taught about the Dreamings for this area by his grandfather (kaku) and his father. Other senior men also recounted their early days in the claim area (see restricted Exhibit 39A, pp 11-12).

2. Walamarnta estate

63. Evidence was taken near Murruynjalangu (see Appendix 7). Some six members of the Walamarnta local descent group and others were present (see the list of witnesses). The principal speaker, John Sandy, named some twenty persons as members of the Walamarnta group-, he said that the children of his half-sister Eileen Sambono, now deceased, were members since:

They take over their mother's country. (transcript, p. 119)

These children had a non-Aboriginal father as did Eileen Sambono. Although a brief reference at transcript p. 233 may suggest that they were also said to be kulyungkulyungpi for Walamarnta, I think that that is not what John Sandy intended to convey at the time, elsewhere he lists the various kulyungkulyungpi for Walamarnta, and does not include these persons. He identified the Dreamings for the Walamarnta estate as Karnanganju (Emu), Parnangka (Night Hawk), Wirriwurna (Grey Parrot) and Mulyukuna (Black-headed Python), and said that the members of the Walamarnta group held these Dreamings. He identified the place as Liyartu, otherwise known as Murruynjalangu (No. 10 Bore), and said it was owned by his group as being within Walamarnta country. It



(R to L) Front: John Sandy, Elaine Sandy, Nola Austral, June Woods.
(R to L) Rear: Hughie Jackson, Samuel Sandy, Gail Sandy.

Photo courtesy NLC

(R to L) Front: John Sandy, Elaine Sandy, Nola Austral, June Woods. Photo courtesy NLC
(R to L) Rear: Hughie Jackson, Samuel Sandy, Gail Sandy.

seems that there may have been some confusion in John Sandy's mind at the time about the name Liyartu, or it may have been a matter of a Djingili name instead of a Mudbura; in any event he later agreed that the site was called Murruynjalangu (see transcript pp. 117-24). He said that the place and the group were affiliated to the Ngamana/Janama-N/Jangari subsection couple. He described the nature of the Dreamings and recounted their travels from the site Walamarnta - the 'main place' for the estate - to the boundary of Hayfield Station in the east (see the Dreaming tracks on Appendix 8). Although he identified the site Kiwulu to the west as belonging to Narlwan, he said that his Dreamings had travelled further west to Milakurmini before turning back to Walamarnta.

64. In a session at the same place restricted to men, John Sandy with some assistance from Nugget Collins, his kulyungkulyungpi, explained that it was a place for ceremony, identified a name tree at the site, and described the functions of kulyungkulyungpi in ceremony as preparing the place and applying the paint to the dancers (see restricted Exhibit 39B, pp. 1-3). He had attended ceremonies there.

65. Evidence was taken at the site Purrukularni, shown on Appendix 7; the persons present are in the list of witnesses. John Sandy said that this place had the same subsection couple affiliation and Dreamings as Murruynjalangu, and belonged to the Walamarnta group. He recounted the activity of the Dreaming Mulyukuna at this site. He had himself not attended ceremonies at the place, but was familiar with it from the time he had worked on the Murranji Stock Route, repairing bores; he had also learned about it from his father.

66. At a session at Purrukularni restricted to men, evidence relating to a ceremony involving Mulyukuna at that place was given by John Sandy, assisted by his kulyungkulyungpi, Nugget Collins. The work of the kulyungkulyungpi in preparing the dancers was described (see restricted Exhibit 39C pp. 1-3).

67. Evidence was taken at the site Warratannguja (Warratankujku, in Mudbura); see Appendix 7. The site in fact appears to be outside the claim area; it is a soakage, with an outcrop of ochre. John Sandy gave evidence of the subsection affiliations of the site and Dreamings, similar to those described in para. 63. He affirmed that this site lay within Walamarnta traditional country.

68. Further to the south west, just off the claim area and within Murranji station, evidence was taken at the site Walamarnta (see Exhibit 7 for an approximate location and also transcript p. 400). Some forty one adult Aboriginals were present. John Sandy identified the site, its four Dreamings and their affiliation to the Ngamana/Janama-N/Jangari subsection couple. The main Dreaming here was Wirriwurna. He affirmed that this site lay within the traditional country of his group, and was the 'main place' for their estate. I noted once again his consultations with his kulyungkulyungpi, Nugget Collins, when giving evidence.

69. At a 'sit-down' session at Murranji Bore, seven senior members of the Walamarnta group and three of their kulyungkulyungpi gave evidence as a group (see the list of witnesses). Their evidence as to their estate's Dreamings was consistent with that in para. 63; inheritance was said to be patrilineal. Other members of the group were named.

70. John Sandy, the senior member, named five of his kulyungkulyungpi, one a cousin and another an uncle. He said that Robin Woods, a claimant and a son of his mother by another marriage, had been 'grown up' by his father. He recounted his early life, stating that the claimants had ceased to live on their traditional lands prior to his birth in 1932.

71. Hughie Jackson, his kulyungkulyungpi, identified his own country as Lilaki, well to the south of the claim area; this is supported by paras 200 and 202-37 of the Warlmanpa

Warlpiri Mudbura and Warumungu Report, where he was found to be a kirda and a traditional owner of that land. It will be recalled that John Sandy and some other members of the Walamarnta group had also claimed in the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu claim, as ngurramarla (kirda) for country in the northern part of that claim area (see para. 40 above). Their claim had failed, probably on the basis that none of the sites they relied on, including Walamarnta, lay within that claim area (see paras 175-9 of the report).

3. Karntularra estate

72. At a 'sit-down' session at Murrniji Bore, separate, evidence, was given by eight of the senior members of the Karntularra group and two of their kulyungkulyungpi (see the list of witnesses).

73. Pompey Raymond, the senior man, identified the group's country as Karntularra and its main Dreaming as Tarliwa. He said that the estate's 'main place', Karntularra, was about thirty miles east of Beetaloo, many miles to the east of the claim area (see Appendix 3). Though much of the estate was now occupied by the pastoral property Beetaloo, he said that it extended as far west as Putjutji (see Appendix 6). He had been to the claim area only twice, he said he had been taught the estate's songs by his grandfather. He gave the estate's subsection couple affiliation and named his four kulyungkulyungpi, of whom one, Taffy, was his cousin and another, Nugget Collins, his brother-in-law. The group said that they inherited their country through the patrilineal line.

74. A kulyungkulyungpi, Taffy, said that his own country was to the north; he named several of the Karntularra group as his kulyungkulyungpi.



(L to R) Nugget Collins (rear), Leo Anderson, Pharlap Dixon, Trigger Morgan, Shannon Dixon.
Photo courtesy NLC

(L to R) Nugget Collins (rear), Leo Anderson, Pharlap Dixon, Trigger Morgan, Shannon Dixon.
Photo courtesy NLC

4. Jalapirri estate

75. Trigger Morgan, the sole member of the Jalapirri group, as well as claimants from other groups, gave evidence of the Jalapirri group's interests in the Narlwan estate (see paras 50, 52, 55-7, 59 and 60). Trigger Morgan also gave evidence at Parnjak, a rockhole some twelve kilometres north of the claim area. He identified that area as Jalapirri country; its subsection couple affiliation was Na/ Jimija-N/ Jalyirri, which was also his own. He said there were songs for Parnjak, and its Dreaming Kurrawkurrawka. He recounted the activities of Kurrawkurrawka and Mulyupuna at Parnjak, explaining that the former then went on to the site Jalapirri (about half a kilometre away), and thence to Jamakula on the claim area (Appendix 6). Apart from some recent visits in connection with the claim, Trigger Morgan had been to Parnjak only once in his life; it lies within Hidden Valley station.

B. The women's evidence

76. Women claiming to be members of the Narlwan, Ngayirri, Karntulara and Walamarnta groups, gave evidence both individually and as a separate women's group at Murranji Bore (they appear in the list of witnesses). The effect of their evidence may be summarised as follows.

77. They inherited rights to the estates their respective groups claim, through their fathers; the rule of traditional law they propounded and illustrated was that 'children follow their father for country'. This general rule appeared to apply where group members married Aboriginal men. So, for example, Elaine Sandy of the Walamarnta group said that her son Owen took country in Arnhem Land, following his father (transcript p. 182); Elizabeth Dixon of the Narlwan group said that her children took Karntularra country through their father; and Bessie Jones' daughter, Rhonda, takes her father's country in Longreach. The general rule, however, did not necessarily apply to the children of casual relationships with Aboriginal men (see transcript, p. 408). It was said, by way of exception to the general rule, that where a female member of a group married a non-Aboriginal, their children inherited rights to country from their mother's father (see transcript pp. 166-7, 183). Eileen Sambono, now deceased, whose father was non-Aboriginal, claimed rights to her mother's (other) husband's country, Walamarnta. and said that her children inherited rights through her. I am satisfied that the evidence is sufficient to show that this multi-pronged principle of descent, commonly followed in Aboriginal society these days, is one deemed relevant by the claimants for recruitment to their respective local descent groups (see also transcript, pp. 339-42, para. 21 above and the discussion in paras 152-59 of the Finnis River Report).

78. They named various members of their respective groups, and identified Dreamings and their subsection couple affiliations. Each named her particular matrilineal totem, or ngurlu, as had the male witnesses. Several explained the women's role in ceremony. I attended a Yawulyu rain ceremony performed by some of the women claimants and others at Murranji Bore (it is accurately described in transcript pp. 404-5 and Exhibit 24 pp. 18-15, 20-2, and 27-8 and graphically illustrated in photographic Exhibit 25). I accept Ms Bauman's evidence that other women's Yawulyu ceremonies had been fairly recently performed in the claim area. The Yawulyu has significance at several levels and is similar in that respect to the Jarata ceremony (see Exhibit 24 pp. 3-6 and the discussion of the Jarata in the Cox River report, paras 41-3). It is, however, difficult to see its specific relevance to the claim area.

79. Elizabeth Dixon of the Narlwan group, an impressive witness, said that the Narlwan, Jalapirri and Ngayirri groups were all one country (transcript, p. 168).



Yama digging for yams (transcript, pp.126-27).
Photo courtesy NLC

Yama digging for yams, (transcript. pp.126-27).
Photo courtesy NLC

Bessie Jones of the Ngayirrimi group said that her group was 'level with' the Narlwan group for the country called Narlwan (see transcript, p. 174). Bessie Jones explained her own dual subsection affiliation, arising from the fact that the marriage of her mother, a Nampijina, to a Jalyirri man was a 'second choice' marriage, as can be seen from Table 1A. Through her mother she was of Nanaku (Ngamana) subsection, the social category for the child of a Nampijina whose marriage (to a Jangari) followed the ideal pattern; but for the purposes of the rights to land which she inherited through her father, she was of Namija subsection, the social category for the child of a Jalyirri whose marriage (to a Nimarra) followed the ideal pattern (see para. 15 and transcript, p. 172). None of the women claimants appeared to have any lengthy period of contact with the claim area; Elizabeth Dixon, for example, had been there once (transcript, p. 198), and Yama of the Karntularra group had been driving through the area.

Conclusions from the traditional evidence

80. I turn next to consider the conclusions which should be drawn from the traditional evidence. I record here that in addition to assistance from Counsel in analysing the traditional evidence I was assisted by some independent research by Mrs Dyer of Hayfield Station, who also analysed the historical material in the Claim Book and the traditional evidence; there was also the very helpful and impressive evidence of Dr Sutton. It was apparent that Dr Sutton had carried out field work with great care: he had identified those Aboriginals with associations with the claim area, located some 189 sites in the general region, recorded in detail myths relating to sites and examined the social organisation of the claimants. His analysis was cogent and compelling as was his explanation and clarification of certain aspects of the traditional evidence (see transcript, pp. 284-93, restricted Exhibit 14A and Exhibit 17).

A. Local descent groups

1. Basis of recruitment

81. The basic view expressed by Mr Justice Toohey at para. 161 of the Finnis River Report was that recruitment to local descent groups was on a principle of descent deemed relevant by the claimants; the Commissioner considered that the application of that principle in that claim permitted the inclusion of members in a claimant group by patrilineal descent, patrification and matrification. At para. 169 the Commissioner said:

It is not any principle that may be deemed relevant, only a principle of descent. The group may be constituted by a patriline or a matriline or be one in which both patrification and matrification play some part. It may, in particular cases, permit the incorporation of individuals who would not qualify in terms of any of the principles just mentioned.

I consider that I should adopt that basic approach to the question of recruitment. In this claim the principle of descent which the claimants deem relevant is multi-pronged as set out in paras 21, 25 and 77 and embraces patrilineal descent, social patrification by adoption, and matrification (particularly where the father is non-Aboriginal). The evidence shows that recruitment to the claimant groups is by one or other of these means (see the illustrations from the evidence, conveniently collected at pp. 10-13 of Exhibit 37A).

82. It is clear that the five distinct local descent groups listed in para. 29 are associated with the claim area. I accept that the members of these groups are recruited by the multi-pronged principle of descent as set out earlier, this being the principle of descent which they consider relevant for membership of their respective groups.

2. The Jalapirri group; a special case

83. Although the Jalapirri group is a local descent group in terms of Aboriginal tradition, I consider that currently it does not meet what the Act requires of a local descent group to qualify for traditional ownership. The definition of 'traditional Aboriginal owners' in s.3(1) of the Act is so worded that a local descent group must consist of more than one member to qualify and, currently, the only living member of the Jalapirri group is Trigger Morgan. Trigger Morgan has a son, but he is not put forward as a member of the Jalapirri group, this being, I accept, a case where the patrilineal descent principle is subject to an 'over-riding consideration', as mentioned in para. 21 - in this case, the fact that the son was born and brought up far away and has a local identity in that other place (transcript, p. 42 1). The view that the Act requires that a group has more than one member accords with that expressed by Mr Justice Toohey at paras 161 and 171 of the Alligator Rivers Stage 11 Report. I accept that from the viewpoint of Aboriginal law the fact that the Jalapirri group is presently reduced to one member may not affect that group's existence or its traditional rights. From that viewpoint, it may be that a local descent group should be regarded as a complex abstract entity, with a corporate identity separate and distinct from its members, as suggested by Dr Sutton at transcript pp. 415-6 and 418-25 and by Dr Williams at p. 31 of Exhibit 34. See also the diagram indicating a cyclical descent system involving the dead, the living and the unborn, at p. 85 of the Claim Book; this is a common conception in systems of customary law around the world though I understand that anthropologists differ sharply as to whether corporate descent groups exist in Aboriginal societies.

84. However this maybe, the meaning of the expression 'local descent group' as used in the Act must be ascertained from its statutory context; it is not there used as an anthropological term of art. The language used in the statutory definition of 'traditional Aboriginal owners', and the context in which that expression is used in s.50(1) (a) and other provisions of the Act, indicate that Parliament considered that for a local descent

group to qualify as 'traditional Aboriginal owners' under the Act. it must consist of a number of living individuals, that is, of Aboriginals with common spiritual affiliations of a certain quality to a site on the land, and possessing a traditional right to forage. The references throughout the Act contemplate only a plurality of members. There is no scope. I think, for the application of para. (b) of s.23 of the Acts Interpretation Act; and the application of ss 15AA and 15AB of that Act does not lead to a different construction. The requirement of plurality does not yield an absurd result. It means that Parliament intended to vest certain statutory rights in groups of traditional Aboriginal owners but not when a group was so far reduced as to number just one person. The majority of the High Court stated very generally the basic purpose of the Land Rights Act in R 1, Toohey: ex p. Attorney General for the Northern Territory (1980) 28 ALR 27 at p. 38:

Crown land away from towns and not reserved for public purposes was to be available for claim by traditional Aboriginal owners in proceedings before the Commissioner, so long as no white man held an interest in it.

The Act focuses upon the group as it is composed at a particular point in time. It is implicit in the foregoing that I agree with the view of Mr Justice Toohey at para. 236 of the Finniss River Report that:

When the Act speaks of a local descent group ... it is not referring to something which has a corporate existence independent of the members who comprise it.

Since the Act requires that the group consist of individuals, united by a relevant principle of descent, the Jalapirri group does not presently qualify and I exclude it from further consideration in this claim.

B. The position of the kulyungkulyungpi

85. For the reasons discussed in paras 35-44 the claimants' kulyungkulyungpi are not presented as claimants. Nevertheless I must consider whether they should be included as members of the local descent groups claiming traditional ownership in this claim. The general point may first be made that the composition of a local descent group is to be determined from the evidence elicited in the particular claim; there are no immutable qualifying rules of descent. There can be no doubt that the kulyungkulyungpi have strong spiritual affiliations to sites on estates within the land claimed (see transcript pp. 295-6). In the Warlmanpa Warlpiri Mudbura and Warumungu Report the spiritual responsibilities of kulyungkulyungpi were seen to be just as important as those of persons in the category of the present claimants. Though the points of distinction with that claim are not entirely clear, the exclusion of kulyungkulyungpi from this claim, I think, is due to the obvious strength of the ngurlu institution referred to in para. 35, in the world-view of the Aboriginals in this area. It is significant that although senior kulyungkulyungpi were present, they did not seek to be included as claimants; as Mr Justice Toohey pointed out in a similar context at para. 70 of the Yutpundji-Djindiwirritj (Roper Bar) Report:

... what [claimants and kulyungkulyungpi] say on the matter ... may give context to the language and concepts of the definition [in the Act].

Further, as mentioned in paras 40, 41, 58 and 71, several of the senior claimants and kulyungkulyungpi have had experience in earlier land claims to nearby areas, and are well aware of the issues involved; so it is not a matter of ignorance of the consequences. In the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu Report, for example, the Walamarnta group is discussed at paras 175-9; and Hughie Jackson, a primary kulyungkulyungpi in this claim, was found to be an owner (p. 55), as were Nugget Collins and Lady Dixon (p. 64), and others.

86. On the evidence presented I share the view of Dr Williams (Exhibit 34,p.8) that in this claim:

Lineality was shown to be a dominant means of reckoning descent in the ideology of attachment to land.

This was strikingly the case with the more traditional sub-groups of the claimant groups. The primary kulyungkulyungpi frequently were carrying out their roles in ritual for groups with whom they lacked a genealogical connection (see para. 37). Because they lacked the lineal relationship to the land referred to in paras 17, 21, 25 and 77 and for the other reasons mentioned in para. 85 the kulyungkulyungpi in my opinion rightfully did not present as claimants and do not qualify for consideration as traditional owners in this claim.

C. The boundaries of the estates

87. The claim of each group for an estate must be dealt with on its merits independently of the claims of other groups. It is clear that the two Mudbura-speaking groups Narlwan and Ngayirriini, have overlapping and intersecting traditional interests in sites which are contained within the estate Narlwan; in this sense the groups are closely related and have a unity of interest in Narlwan, though they retain their separate identities as distinct local descent groups exercising primary spiritual responsibilities towards particular sites and sharing those responsibilities towards others.

88. The estates claimed and their suggested delineation are described generally in paras 18 and 32; the geographical spread is indicated on Appendix 5. The Jalapirri claim is excluded for the reasons set out in para 73. The claimants' evidence indicated, as is usual, where their land 'began' and where it 'stopped'. I consider Dr Sutton's approach at Claim Book p. 97 to determining the boundaries of estates is legitimate and helpful:

There is no point in attempting to draw a line around a parcel of land ... The 'estate' is best defined as the picture of territorial interests which emerges from an analysis of each site as a focus of attention ... Areas between sites are not 'no-man's land' so much as areas of ... interests ... of members of local descent groups in the vicinity.

See also transcript, p. 367. It is accordingly not possible to map the boundaries of the four estates in the usual way. In practical terms, as it turns out, this should be of no consequence. The evidence establishes the tracks of the Dreamings referred to in para. 29 and the mythic events at the sites on those tracks. It seems clear that the traditional delineation of country has primarily a ceremonial basis; see, for example, para. 38 of the Kaytej report. Thus Kilikilika, whose main place is the site Narlwan, hunted south-east to Kiwulu, and west to Jakilirrawurru (see Appendices 6 and 7). Paningkula, Kunurtjarri travelled north from Ngayirriini to the site Narlwan, and was active in the vicinity of Mulmulka and Panganyi (see Appendix 6). Tarliwa travelled west from Beetaloo to Kiwulu, Putjutji and back to Karntulara (see Appendices 6 and 7). Kurrawkurrawka came from the north through Parnjak to Jalapirri, Jamakula and Mulmulka and thence to Newcastle Waters (see Appendix 6). The four Walamarnta Dreamings travelled from Walamarnta east to Purrukularni, thence north-west to Murruynjalangu -and Mila-kurmini, thence north-east to Hayfield station, and then back to Walamarnta. Some conception of these Dreaming tracks can be gathered from Appendix 8. It is apparent that excluding Jalapirri, the three estates claimed comprise the whole of the claim area and extend beyond it (see para. 96). In this sense the boundaries of the estates are sufficiently delineated for the purposes of this claim.

D. Common spiritual affiliation to sites

89. To qualify as traditional Aboriginal owners, the members of a local descent group must establish that they have common spiritual affiliations of a certain quality to a site, that is, to a place of spiritual significance, on their traditional estate. General aspects of this requirement are discussed at para. 131 of the Alligator Rivers Stage H Report and paras 70-2 of the Nicholson River (Waanyi/ Garawa) Report.

90. The senior members of the relevant groups explained the spiritual significance of the sites in the Dreamings and how their own group was affiliated to them. This explanation was given by song cycles in which the myth was recounted, by body-painting which represented the Dreaming, by dance, and by recounting the travels of the Dreamings. and the significance of name trees at the sites. It was also supported by the evidence that certain sub-groups of the claimant groups maintained the traditional social organisation described in paras 13 and 14; Dreamings, like individuals, are affiliated to sub-section couples and thus the affiliation of the estate and the claimants' relationship to the land are inextricably intertwined with their social organisation.

91. Knowledge and ritual status were major determinants in the prominence of the part taken by individual witnesses. Thus the evidence as to sites for the Narlwan group was given by Pharlap Dixon, the senior man. He also indicated the Ngayirrimi interest in the site Narlwan by referring to the encounter there between Wajilarn and Kunurtjarri.

92. As a result of hearing and seeing the claimants at the sites and considering their evidence, summarised at paras 46-79, I am satisfied that the members of each of the four claimant groups have established, both by oral evidence and by physical demonstration and explanation of ceremony, that they have in common spiritual associations with sites on their respective claim areas and share beliefs about the spiritual significance of those sites. Sometimes these spiritual affiliations to sites are held in common with the members of other groups. The groups possess different rights in particular songs though the whole song for a particular Dreaming and site may be owned by a particular group. It is clear that all the individual members of a group explicitly identify themselves with particular Dreamings and that this is an important public index of their membership of the group (see para. 25). Of course, not every member of a group has the same spiritual affiliation; differences are due to factors such as age, sex, opportunities to learn and interest in learning. The particular sites within the claim area to which the groups have shown that they have common spiritual affiliations, are as follows:

Sites	Local descent groups members of which have common spiritual affiliations to those sites
Narlwan	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi
Mulmulka	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi
Panganyi	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi
Site A. Appendix 6	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi
Site B. Appendix 6	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi, Karntularra
Putjutji	Karntularra
Jamakula	Narlwan
Site F. Appendix 6	Narlwan, Ngayirrimi
Kurtaalngalarni	Narlwan, Karntularra
Milakurmini	Narlwan, Karntularra, Walamarnta
Kiwulu	Narlwan, Karntularra, Walamarnta
Murruynjalangu	Walamarnta

E. Primary spiritual responsibility

93. A group must show that its spiritual affiliations to a site are such as to place it under a primary spiritual responsibility for the site and for the land, in the sense of the claimants' traditional estate. The concept of primary spiritual responsibility has been discussed in many previous reports. It involves a responsibility to the ancestral Dreamings and it is discharged by the performance of ceremonial ritual related to those Dreamings, and by the care and maintenance of sites. In Aboriginal English, it is encompassed by the phrase 'looking after country', though that expression has other meanings (see para. 103 of the Alligator Rivers Stage H Report). As to the distinction between sites and land in the definition of 'traditional Aboriginal owners' I adopt the view of Mr Justice Toohey at paras 69-71 of the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji Report, particularly that:

... sites should be thought of as places usually possessing some particular features such as a hill, creek or waterhole but not delineated by the precise amount of space occupied by that feature.

Within the claim area there is a relative density of sites and thus a considerable interaction of Dreamings and sharing of responsibilities for sites and land. The result, as Dr Williams put it, is that:

... there are bundles of interests for most groups in most sites and ... the groups share responsibilities for the sites. The ways in which they share responsibilities they can specify precisely on the basis of the behaviour of the dreaming figures. (Exhibit 34, p. 21)

94. There was ample evidence of the performance of ceremonies and rituals for specific sites, by certain claimants; and of the obligations they felt to control the access to sites and to have them physically cared for. It was also clear from my observations that senior and knowledgeable claimants accepted and carried out the duty of ensuring that the younger claimants were instructed in ritual and ceremonial matters, and educated in the mythology of the land. Quite apart from any proposed economic activity on the claim area, it was clear that a major reason for the making of the claim was the desire to carry out spiritual responsibilities towards the sites.

95. I consider that it is clear that members of the groups named in para. 92 as having common spiritual affiliations to the sites therein listed against their groups, also have primary spiritual responsibility for those sites arising from the presence of their respective Dreamings at those sites, and the significance of the events at those sites in which those Dreamings are believed to have engaged. Where groups are listed as sharing common spiritual affiliations to a site, the evidence establishes that those groups share primary spiritual responsibility for that site.

96. Sites are not limited to a precise amount of space (see para. 93). I adopt the approach of Mr Justice Toohey in para. 72 of the Uluru report that:

... ordinarily once primary spiritual responsibility has been established for a number of sites, the inference of that responsibility for the general area in which the sites exist may readily be drawn.

It is clear in my opinion from an analysis of each group's sites and the tracks of their Dreamings, shown on Appendix 8, that the inference which should be drawn is that each group has a primary spiritual responsibility for the general area of those sites, and that this general area extends to the whole of the claim area and beyond it; that is, the whole of the claim area is comprised within the estates of these four claimant groups.

F. Entitlement to forage

97. The next question in determining whether members of a local descent group constitute traditional Aboriginal owners within the meaning of the Act, is whether they are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to forage as of right over the estate they claim. I adopt the analysis and general approach to this statutory element of traditional ownership set out by Mr Justice Toohey at paras 100 and 101 of the Uluru report. Foraging includes hunting, gathering food, collecting firewood and obtaining water-, in short, it involves the process of day-to-day material subsistence.

98. The members of the groups asserted that in general all the claimants could forage as of traditional right over the whole of the claim area-, this was subject to the restriction that only properly qualified persons in terms of gender and ritual status could approach certain sites. There were no assertions to the contrary. I accept that in general Aboriginal people do not enter the country of a group other than their own without some prior contact with that group, though this is a rule of courtesy.

99. A good deal of foraging took place during the hearing of the claim. The women claimants showed a particularly detailed knowledge of 'bush tucker', and its preparation; many different items were described and noted. For example, they located 'sugarbag', the honey of the wild bee and gave the Aboriginal names for the trees where it was found. They showed how seeds of a species of grass could be ground and cooked into damper. They identified edible red berries, the passion-fruit 'papingin', wild bananas, wad oranges, and 'miyaka' nuts, like peanuts. They showed how to locate and dig out yams. They explained the use of bush medicine, and the songs to drive away sickness. Some of the leading women are named in the list of witnesses. In general the observed fauna and flora of the claim area supported the list at pp. 149 and 151 of the Claim Book; there appear to be ample material resources. I am satisfied that all of the claimants have, as a matter of traditional entitlement, a right to forage over their own estates and over the whole of the claim area.

G. Summary of conclusions

100. It is appropriate at this point to summarise the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence (paras 81-99). There are sites within each of the three estates Narlwan, Karntularra and Walamarnta within and outside the claim area which are spiritually significant to the four local descent groups Narlwan, Ngayirrini, Karntularra and Walamarnta. The Narlwan and Ngayirrini groups have a unity of interest in the Narlwan estate. The members of each group share common spiritual affiliations to sites within their group's estate. Those affiliations are such as to place each local descent group as a whole under a primary spiritual responsibility for those sites and its estate. The members of each group are entitled to forage as of right over the whole of the claim area. The estates claimed encompass the whole of the claim area.

Strength of traditional attachment

101. Under s.50(3) of the Act, I am required to assess and take into account the strength or otherwise of the traditional attachment by the members of the four groups to the three estates within the claim area, and give weight to that assessment as a fundamental element in deciding whether to recommend a grant to a Land Trust. That is clear from *Re Toohey*; exp. *Meneling Station* (1982) 44 ALR 63. But an assessment of the strength of traditional attachment, I think, may also be relevant when carrying out the prior duty to

make a finding as to traditional Aboriginal ownership. Mr Justice Mason appears to take this view of s.50(3) of the Act, at p. 70 of Meneling Station. Mr Justice Brennan points out in that case:

Aboriginal ownership is primarily a spiritual affair rather than a bundle of rights. (p. 87)

The strength of the putative traditional owners' spiritual affiliation and responsibility is the measure of the extent to which the deprivation of that land would leave or has [quoting Stanner] 'left [the] local band bereft of an essential constant that made their plan and code of living intelligible'. (p. 88)

When spiritual affiliation and spiritual responsibility are the determinants of traditional Aboriginal ownership, a finding of ownership necessarily involves an evaluation of the strength of that affiliation and responsibility. (p. 89) (emphasis mine)

His Honour makes it clear at p. 89 that the Commissioner should examine the strength of traditional attachment, in the sense of the strength of the group's spiritual affiliations and responsibilities, in order to reach a finding on traditional Aboriginal ownership. In previous claims the strength of traditional attachment has been treated as relevant only to the later question of the recommendations to be made; in Meneling Station (*supra.*) at pp. 78-80 Mr Justice Wilson considered that this approach was correct. As a practical matter the outcome of the claims has not been affected. But in this claim the structure of the local descent groups and the nature of the traditional evidence are such that it is convenient to assess the strength of traditional attachment when considering whether a finding of traditional Aboriginal ownership should be made. Accordingly, I now turn to consider the strength of attachment. I follow the approach set out at paras 220-2 of the Nicholson River (Waanyi/ Garawa) Report.

102. The factors which go to the existence of spiritual affiliations and responsibility are also relevant to some degree to the measurement of the strength of traditional attachment. Some of the other relevant matters are discussed, for example, at paras 210-12 and 215-22 of the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji Report. They include matters such as the degree of continuing contact between the people and their country; the desire to be buried in their country, and the worry of dying away from there; the extent and vitality of ceremonial life both generally and in relation to sites of significance within the claim area; the desire to 'look after' sites; the preservation of secret objects; and the constant talking about country, and the expression of concern for it. Strength of attachment is linked with the purposes for which a local descent group exists, in the citation from Stanner at para. 67 of the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji Report.

103. In general terms, it was clear that certain senior claimants in all groups had a good knowledge of the claim area and were steeped in the spiritual significance of sites on the land and of ceremonies relating to them. This appeared particularly clearly in the men's restricted evidence. There do not appear to be extant any sacred objects specifically associated with the claim area though there are objects of significance in cults to which the claim area is important (see para. 61). While the senior claimants in all estates are clearly very knowledgeable about matters of ceremony, there does not appear to have been much ceremonial life actually conducted within the claim area in the years preceding the claim; on the other hand, it is clear that among certain sub-groups of claimants there is a strong ceremonial life. The women's Yawulyu ceremony referred to in para. 78 did not appear to be specifically related to the claim area. The evidence did not disclose any frequent visits by the claimants to the claim area, or to sites, in the years since their fathers had left the area; on occasions there had been visits in conjunction with work, and some of the older claimants had been there as children. Members of all groups said they were teaching their children about country.



Ronnie Holtze is questioned by Vance Hughston. Timmy Morgan looks on.
Photo courtesy NLC

Ronnie Holtze is questioned by Vance Hughston. Timmy Morgan looks on.
Photo courtesy NLC

104. Against that general background I turn to consider the strength of attachment of each claimant group to its estate. It is necessary to examine the composition of the groups in some detail. As to the membership of the groups the genealogies of the claimants were examined in detail by the anthropologists and lawyers present and I am satisfied that the genealogies now set out in Exhibit 18 are as accurate as is practicable.

A. The Narlwan group

105. There are three sub-groups of the Narlwan local descent group, listed as A, B and C simply for the purposes of the claim. The members of sub-group A, headed by Pharlap Dixon, live at Elliott in the general vicinity of the claim area. Their life-style appears to be more traditional than those of the members of the other sub-groups B and C, who live at Katherine, Darwin and elsewhere. That is to say, there is ample evidence of the participation of senior members of sub-group A in ceremonial matters, they are knowledgeable about traditional aspects of life, their relation to the land is clearly spiritual, and they adhere to traditional patterns of social organisation. I have accepted that these three sub-groups are members of the local descent group Narlwan, though they are clearly distinct sub-groups of that group. The application of the principles of descent to which the sub-groups adhere differ markedly in practice, due presumably to differing life-styles. Within sub-group A the general approach of taking country from one's father is usually followed. In the other sub-groups, descent is traced on the broader basis discussed in para. 21 (see transcript pp. 340-5). 'Wallaby' Holtze was a white man. His son by an Aboriginal woman, George Holtze (Kuwanguynji), now deceased, founded the B sub-group. I accept that George Holtze was adopted into the Narlwan group; that occurred long ago, and it is impossible to establish the precise details. Nevertheless the members of sub-group A accept that this occurred and they are clearly the core sub-group of the Narlwan descent group. Ronnie Holtze, the senior member of sub-group C was another son of 'Wallaby' Holtze, by a different Aboriginal mother. I accept that he

was adopted by Pharlap Dixon's father into the Narlwan group. Although it is said in Exhibit 18 that these adoptions were 'for country business' I do not consider that that should be treated as constituting some limitation on the adoptions for the purposes of the land claim. For present purposes, I consider it is established that both George and Ronnie Holtze were adopted into and became members of the Narlwan group. On this aspect I accept Dr Sutton's realistic view:

One is dealing with people's present understanding of the past because that is what confers rights and obligations, so whatever actually happened actually is irrelevant to the forming of the anthropological model. The basis of the model is people's culture, namely their present understanding of what in the past gave them what they have now. (transcript, p. 343)

106. It appears however that the life-styles of the members of the three sub-groups of the Narlwan group may have diverged over the years. In any event very little evidence of traditional attachment came from the members of the B and C sub-groups. Dottie Holtze the senior claimant in the B sub-group said she had visited the claim area when she was a very small girl; she had been with her father George Holtze who was there working stock. She said she had visited the claim area since then and wished to live there (see transcript pp. 158-62). She has lived most of her life in Darwin. Ronnie Holtze, head of the C sub-group, an elderly man, had been twice on the land as a small boy (see transcript pp. 226-8). This was the limit of the evidence from members of the B and C sub-groups of past physical and spiritual connection with Narlwan. There was no evidence of the participation of members of those sub-groups in ceremonies for the claim area over the years. None of the members of those sub-groups were shown to have an Aboriginal name; and of both sub-groups, only Ronnie and Dottie Holtze were shown to have a sub-section affiliation. The significance of this is that the Claim Book stressed at pp. 92-3, and I accept, that the continuing bestowal of Aboriginal names indicates a continuing strength of attachment to land. There was no evidence of a general strength of traditional life over any period of time, among members of the B and C sub-groups.

107. In the result while I think it is clear that the traditional attachment of members of sub-group A of the Narlwan group to the estate Narlwan has remained strong, evidence 1J. lacking that the members of sub-groups B and C have at this time a traditional attachment to the land of such strength as to warrant a finding that they are included amongst the traditional Aboriginal owners for the purposes of the Act. Against this background, I do not consider that the members of those sub-groups can rely upon the strong traditional attachment of senior members of sub-group A to carry their case. In reaching that conclusion I bear in mind that all the claimants present at the hearing displayed an enthusiasm for the claim area and that, as Mr Justice Toohey put it at para. 107 of the Borroloola Report:

There is no satisfactory yardstick by which such a subjective and intangible concept as traditional attachment to land can be measured.

I do not consider, however, that on the evidence placed before me and in the words of Mr Justice Brennan in *Meneling Station* (supra.), the members of sub-groups B and C at this time:

... would be deprived of a 'stable base of life', culturally and socially, if they were not permitted their traditional access to and use of the land. (p. 8S6)

As his Honour pointed out (p. 89) the strength of Aboriginal tradition may be renewed with the passing of time; it appears that traditional attachment is now commencing to strengthen among members of the B and C sub-groups.

108. What I have called sub-group A itself constitutes in terms of the Act a local descent group for Narlwan, the members of which have clearly demonstrated common spiritual

affiliations to sites on the estate such as to place that sub-group under a primary spiritual responsibility for those sites and the Narlwan estate. They have a traditional right to forage over the estate and the claim area; and they have a strong traditional attachment to the estate Narlwan. I consider that sub-group A meets the requirements of the Act in relation to traditional ownership of the estate Narlwan.

B. The Ngayirrimi group

109. The Ngayirrimi local descent group consists of two sub-groups A and B, which are separate and distinct lineages. That is to say, the present members have not stated that they believe their lineages to have stemmed from a common human ancestor, though both are affiliated to the same Dreamings. On the approach adopted by Mr Justice Toohey in paras 93-5 of the Alligator Rivers Stage II Report, these two sub-groups should be treated as separate local descent groups for the purposes of the Act. To do so, however, may not accord with Aboriginal social reality; for example, Hiatt and Keen have both described traditional land holding units in Arnhem Land composed of a number of distinct lineages. In a later analysis, at paras 172-7 of the Daly River (Malak Malak) Report, Mr Justice Toohey accepted that certain claimants in that claim who did not look to a common ancestor, identifiable or notional, were not a collection of small unrelated descent groups but a single group:

... which depends for its identity upon its members being born as Malak Malak and recognised as such. (para. 177)

110. I consider the later approach is applicable to the two Ngayirrimi sub-groups, and I accept that they constitute a single local descent group. I bear in mind the shallowness of Aboriginal generational memory. I consider that these lineages would in any event have originated in classificatory siblings and as Dr Sutton pointed out (transcript, p. 335):

... what happens to classificatory siblings in retrospect, is that they are normally classified as blood siblings after a certain number of generations have passed.

111. I noted at paras 45 and 57 a strong unity of interest which the Narlwan and Ngayirrimi group have in the estate Narlwan within the claim area. It was clear that when Pharlap Dixon recounted myth and song in relation to sites, and spoke for Narlwan, he frequently did so on behalf of this 'wider' Narlwan group, including the Ngayirrimi group. I am satisfied on the evidence set out in paras 46-W, on applying the tests referred to in para. 102, that the Ngayirrimi group has a strong traditional attachment to the

Narlwan estate.

C. The Karntularra group

112. The Karntularra local descent group consists of two sub-groups A and B, together with a further branch of sub-group B said to be 'under [John] Whitefoot for country business' (Exhibit 18). It was clear from restricted men's sessions that John Whitefoot is the senior man of this group in ceremonial matters. As with the two Ngayirrimi sub-groups, members of these two sub-groups do not believe that they have a common human ancestor, though they are affiliated to the same Dreamings. For the same reasons as those stated in para. 110 I accept that the two sub-groups constitute a single Karntularra local descent group. John Whitefoot is a member of sub-group B. There has been no satisfactory explanation for the inclusion of the persons said to be under him for country business' other than Yama who appears to have been adopted (transcript p. 179). Dr Sutton explained the inclusion of the others as involving a 'placement of authority' not an adoption (transcript, p. 357). In view of the uncertainty I exclude these persons, excepting Yama, from consideration for inclusion in sub-group B.

113. The leading spokesman for Karntularra was a senior man, Pompey Raymond. He gave most of the evidence for this group. It is clear that he is very knowledgeable about ceremonial matters as are other senior and initiated men in the group and that their traditional life is strong. The greater part of the Karntularra estate is off the claim area to the east. Despite the lack of prior visits to the Karntularra sites within the claim area, I am satisfied that the members of this group have a strong traditional attachment to the whole of their estate, including that part of it which lies within the claim area.

D. The Walamarnta group

114. The Walamarnta local descent group consists of three sub-groups; John Sandy's, Robin Woods' and the late Eileen Sambono's. John Sandy's sub-group claims the country through his father, in the patrilineal line. Robin Woods had the same mother as John Sandy but a different father, as a result of her earlier marriage to another Aboriginal man, Kangkamarilla. Robin Woods is said to have been brought up by John Sandy's father, a common occurrence and a foundation for group membership. However, it appears that Robin Woods also takes his father's country at Hodgson River (transcript, p. 358). It will be recalled that the rule of taking country through the father, had been said to apply to Walamarnta (see para. 77). Robin Woods was not present during the claim and only two members of his line appeared; one seemed to endorse a system of patrilineal descent (transcript, pp. 232, 235 and 243). In view of the lack of evidence from this line as to the basis of the claim for inclusion I exclude Robin Woods' sub-group from membership of the Walamarnta group, for the purposes of considering traditional ownership in this claim. The third sub-group is Eileen Sambono's; she was the daughter of John Sandy's mother and a white man. I have accepted that the basis of her sub-group's membership of the local descent group - inheritance through mother's Aboriginal husband's line where father is white - is a principle of descent deemed relevant by the group (see paras 21 and 77). The only members of this sub-group to give any evidence were Brian and Nola Austral, though others affirmed by their presence during group evidence, and Eileen Sambono was knowledgeable about foraging. It was clear that Nola Austral was engaged in a learning process about the land and the Djingili language; she had not been on the claim area before. Brian Austral had little to say, and appeared to be learning under John Sandy. It appears that the lifestyles of members of the Karntularra sub-groups may have diverged over the years. For reasons similar to those set out in paras 106 and 107 I consider that evidence is lacking that members of Eileen Sambono's sub-group have a traditional attachment to the Walamarnta estate of such strength that they should be included as traditional owners for the purposes of the Act. It appears that traditional attachment is commencing to strengthen among members of this sub-group.

115. I consider that John Sandy's sub-group has demonstrated through him a strong traditional attachment to the Walamarnta estate, including that portion of the estate within the claim area. The fact that John Sandy's previous visits as an adult to sites in the claim area had been 'in the course of his work weakens the case, but the evidence of ceremonial involvement in the Walamarnta estate, knowledge of the spiritual significance of the country and the desire to live there was convincing. I reach the same! conclusion about John Sandy's sub-group in relation to the Walamarnta estate, as those expressed in para. 108 about sub-group A of Narlwan in relation to the Narlwan estate.

Formal findings

116. As a result of the inquiry and for the purposes of s.50(1) of the Act I find that:
- A. The claim area described in para. 4 is unalienated Crown land, for the reasons set out in paras 153 and 159.
 - B. They are Aboriginals, who as members of four local descent groups, are the traditional owners of three estates which collectively encompass the whole of the claim area.
 - C. The names of these traditional owners, as far as can be practicably ascertained, are set out below, under their respective estates.
 - D. The traditional owners so named are each entitled to the use or occupation of their respective estates and the whole of the claim area, although that entitlement may be qualified as to place, time, circumstance, purpose or permission.

Narlwan Estate

1. Narlwan local descent group
 - Pharlap Dixon (Tilpkarri)
 - Shannon Dixon (Kulnyaynkarri)
 - Rodney Dixon (Ngirkangkku)
 - Garry Dixon (Ngarranjarlu)
 - Scottie Dixon (Kilwarnakarri)
 - Bernie Dixon (Yarrirna)
 - James Dixon
 - Regina Dixon
 - Diane Dixon
 - Janet Dixon
 - Melissa Dixon
 - Sue Dixon (Kininiyngali)
 - Julie-Anne
 - Betty-Anne
 - Angus Dixon (Partkuwarra)
 - Sonya Anne-Maree Dixon
 - Elizabeth Dixon (Wartaya)
 - Geoffrey Dixon (Manawurnta)
 - Todman Dixon (Wuraji)
 - Raymond Dixon (Mungkurrungu)
 - Sylvia Dixon (Jinimiynngali)
 - Robert Dixon (Tiyimakarri)
 - Kalamparnwarra (m)
 - Milinkulkarri (m)
 - Larriyingali (f)
 - Narwirli (f)

Notes-

The last four named are the children of the deceased brother of Pharlap Dixon, Ngarranjarlu.

2. Ngayirriini local descent group
 - Sub-group A
 - Bandy Jones (Purrangana)
 - Joshua

Jeremy
Harry Jones (Kumalarri)
Mabel (Miyamiya)
Trevor (Mirripuwa)
Colin (Wayparanga)
Kim (Yiwulangkakarra)
Julie (Warijingali)
Lucy (Larrparpi)
Daisy (Malangkama)
Jemima (Ngalarrangku)
Dulcie (Tumaya)
Sub-group B
Felix Morgan (Lamurrkarri)
Wendy (Takaya)
Audrey (Yaparlwarri)
Timmy Morgan (Tangkurtangka)
Charles Morgan (Lijinwarra, Jarriynjawuna)
Emily Morgan
Ashwood Anderson (Yurrumpu)
Andrew Anderson (Marwirrikarra)
Simon Anderson (Mitpirrinyungu)
Carol Anderson (Puruntuma, Nawulyi)
Eunice Anderson (Larriyingali, Milingini)
Teresa Anderson (Warlalwaya)
Sadie Jackson (Kurmanganta)
Bessie Jones (Ngarrurlungali)
Agnes (Wungunngali)
Bobby Campbell (Wurnararra)
Carol
Beryl
Daniel
Trevor
Ralph
Elizabeth Campbell
Leo Anderson (Malkapanyungu)
Barbara Anderson (Namiyngali, Karntalkunguynji)
Deborah Anderson (Putjutji)
Dennis Anderson (Karrimarla)
Barney Anderson (Jarranguwara)
Steven Anderson (Turrutpungu)
Rosie Anderson (Kulyulyungali)

Karntularra Estate
Karntularra local descent group
Sub-group A
Thelma Holt (Mawukartini)
Sharon Holt
Melicia Holt
Tara Holt (m)

Harold Yooloomurry (Jirrpkarri)
Sallyanne
Ronald
Lena Nietsche (Yarmiyarmini)
Fiona Nietsche
Angela Nietsche
Jodie Nietsche
Ralph Yooloomurry
Helena Yooloomurry
Vanessa Yooloomurry
Anne-Maree Yooloomurry
Philip Yooloomurry
Heather Yooloomurry
Dorothy Yooloomurry
James Yooloomurry
Malcolm (Pitara)
Sandy (f)
Pompey Raymond (Takamajpi)
Lewis Raymond (Pinjimajpi)
Darren Raymond
Michael Raymond
Rosemary Raymond (Jikarrampini)
Mark Raymond (Murrulunguynji)
Samantha Raymond
Lennie Raymond (Wapirtku)
Raymond Raymond (Jintipingara)
Margaret Wilson (Mankirrimanya)
Powder (Yunpula)
Sean (Walalay)
Cleaver Bruce (Lirrimpinanguynji)
Maryanne (Tilapini)
Christine (Turkaynpini)

Notes:

Thelma's children and Lena's children and Christine take the country through their mothers, as their mothers' husbands are non-Aboriginal. Margaret Wilson is included despite some doubt (see transcript p. 355).

Sub-group B

Frank (Parluntu)
John Whitefoot (Yakurra)
Bruce Whitefoot (Kururrukunguynji)
Lazarus (Walurturrmajji)
Luke (Nyalipatanguynji)
Donald
Douglas
Lula (m)
Leo Whitefoot (Jarlukana)
Stephen
Davis
Freddie
Dominic

Aaron
Yama (Punjirri) (f)
Walamarnta local descent group
John Sandy
Danny Sandy
 Janita Sandy
 Daniel Sandy
 Delphine Sandy
Janet Nugget
Elaine Fesko
Samuel Sandy
Gail Sandy
Jeannie Yooloomurry (KaaJanpa)
 Walamarnta Estate

Living on traditional country

117. When deciding what recommendations to make, I am required to observe the principles in s.50(4) of the Act.

118. As to the first principle - that Aboriginals living by choice at a place on their traditional country within the claim area without a right to do so, should where practicable be able to obtain secure occupancy - it appears that Pharlap Dixon is living, at least from time to time, at Narlwan (see transcript pp. 208-9). I adopt the comments of Mr Justice Toohey at paras 110, 114, 115 and 118 of the Borrooloola Report on the concepts of living and secure occupancy. The claimants in general live at Elliott, Katherine or Darwin.

119. The second principle in s.50(4) has more practical application: several traditional owners presently living away from the claim area have expressed a desire to live at a place on their traditional country within the claim area. Thus Pompey Raymond wishes to build a house at Putjutji, though presumably on higher ground. Pharlap Dixon said that all of his group would move to Narlwan, where he intended to set up an outstation and run horses and cattle nearby. He said:

That's we country, we get this country back to live in ... for ceremony and looking after.
(transcript, p. 214)

Members of other groups also expressed a desire to live on their country (see transcript pp. 236, 242 and 252). The Act requires that where practicable such persons be enabled to acquire secure occupancy of a place to live on their traditional country. How realistic their desires to live there prove to be depends on the level of financial aid and support in terms of educational and medical facilities and transport which can be made available. At the moment, there is only the water available from Murranji Bore. I consider that any movement of people to a form of outstation life on the claim area is likely to be gradual and wholly dependent upon assistance forthcoming of the type mentioned.

120. The possible economic use to which they might put the claim area is discussed in Exhibit 2 1. It appears that an area around Murranji Bore could carry sufficient cattle to provide a community there with two killers per week; however this would require a large capital input for fencing and an improved water supply. Although the whole of the claim area could theoretically carry several thousand head of cattle, the lack of a reliable water supply is a limiting factor. Mr Ottens of the neighbouring Hidden Valley Station considered that good portions of the claim area could be made highly productive: downs

type grazing land could support 1000 head of cattle, though this would entail bores, fencing and re-stocking. There was a possibility of crop farming as well, perhaps of guar bean, though this was speculative.

Recommendations

121. I recommend;

- (a) in light of the findings at para. 116 that there is traditional Aboriginal ownership of estates comprising the whole of the claim area, and as to the identity of the traditional owners as far as can be practicably ascertained;
- (b) having regard to the conclusions at paras 108, 111, 113 and 115 that the traditional owners have a strong traditional attachment to their respective estates;
- (c) in view of the fact that the traditional Aboriginal owners are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to the use and occupation of the whole of the claim area; and
- (d) having regard to the principles set out in s.50(4) of the Act in the light of the matters discussed in paras 118 to 120.

that the unalienated Crown land described in para. 4 be granted to a single Land Trust for the benefit of the Aboriginals entitled by tradition to its use or occupation, whether or not that traditional entitlement is qualified as to place, time, circumstance, purpose or permission. A grant to a single Land Trust would avoid the practical difficulties involved in mapping internal boundaries of the estates.

122. I should add that if strength of attachment were taken into account only when considering the question of the recommendations to be made, the recommendation set out in para. 121 would be unchanged. That is to say, for the reasons set out in paras 105-115 I consider that only the local descent groups of traditional Aboriginal owners listed in para. 116 have such strength of traditional attachment as to warrant the recommendation of a grant for their benefit.

Matter for comment - number of Aboriginals advantaged and nature and extent of advantage

123. I am required to comment on the number of Aboriginals with traditional attachments to the claim area who would be advantaged, and the nature and extent of that advantage, if the claim were acceded to either in whole or in part. It is not possible to specify the number precisely. Included amongst them are the traditional owners listed in para. II 6; they number 129. If the claim were acceded to these persons would have legal protection for the exercise on the land of their traditional rights, spiritual and material, and would acquire statutory power under ss 19(5), 23(3), 48 and 68 of the Act to control dealings with the land. Should financial and technical assistance render it feasible, they would be enabled to reside there and possibly put the land to some economic use. In general terms, they would have a secure right of residence on their traditional land, and they would be able to engage freely in a full ceremonial life there. The younger generation could then be better taught to identify with their traditional country and sites could be better protected.

124. In addition to the traditional owners there are some 148 members of groups described in paras 105, 112 and 114 as Narlwan sub-groups B and C, a branch of Karntularra sub-group B, and Robin Woods' and Eileen Sambono's Walamarnta

sub-groups. These persons are regarded by the traditional owners listed in para. 116 as having traditional attachments to the land and as being entitled by tradition to its use and occupation. They would benefit if a grant were made, by being enabled to exercise those traditional rights under s.71(1); and their groups would have a right to be consulted under provisions such as ss 19(5) (b), 23(1) (c), 23(3) (b), 48(b) and 68(2) (b) and to express views in relation to matters concerning the land.

125. Accordingly it would appear that at least 277 Aboriginals would be advantaged in the varying ways set out above, if a grant were made to a Land Trust. In addition, persons who are kulyungkulyungpi to traditional owners would be better enabled to carry out their responsibilities towards sites and in ceremonial matters.

Matter for comment - detriment

126. Under s.50(3) (b) of the Act I am required to comment on the detriment to persons or communities, including other Aboriginal groups, which might result if the claim is acceded to in whole or in part. The concept of detriment should be given a broad meaning, while any detriment which may reasonably result to particular persons or communities should be considered and evaluated so as to assist in the assessment of the detrimental effect of acceding to the claim.

127. There is no evidence to suggest that any other Aboriginal group might be detrimentally affected if a grant is made as recommended. The detriment which might result to others is discussed in paras 128-145.

A. The Alice Springs - Darwin Railway Corridor

128. The Australian National Railways Commission provided a plan which shows the surveyed route of a proposed Alice Springs to Darwin railway link as far as concerns the claim area (see Appendix 9). The land actually required would be a strip 200 metres wide.

129. The desirability of a railway link between Darwin and Adelaide has been generally accepted by successive Australian governments since Federation (see the environmental impact study at Exhibit 26, pp. 1-6, 15). It has been seen as a key both to future development of the Territory and to the defence of Australia. The Commonwealth decided in 1981 to complete the link by constructing the Alice Springs-Darwin section using the Railways Commission. The route has now been largely surveyed. In doing so one objective has been that it have as little adverse impact as practicable upon Aboriginal communities and sites (see Exhibit 26, pp. 47-8, and 60- 1). Following the Hill Inquiry in 1984 which reported adversely on the railway's economic viability, it is at this time uncertain whether construction by the Commission is to proceed. However, the lengthy history of the project, its importance for the Territory and for purposes of national defence and the possibility that the Northern Territory Government may proceed with the construction of some form of railway on its own, indicate that the need to use land in the claim area for the railway still qualifies for consideration as detriment when the question whether the claim should be acceded to is considered. That is to say, the construction of a railway is not so remote a possibility as to amount to mere speculation, and comment is accordingly required.

130. If the Railways Commission later proceeds with the project the detriment which it may suffer should a grant be made is measured by the amount it may be required to pay to secure the rights necessary to enable it to construct and maintain the permanent way within the claim area and to enable rolling stock to pass and re-pass along that permanent

way during the life of the railway. Six comments may be made. First, those rights would be secured without cost and any potential detriment would cease to exist, if the railway route shown on Appendix 9 were excised from a grant. Second, the rights could legally be secured by obtaining a very long-term lease (or licence) and easement from a Land Trust under s. 19(4), following a grant. It appears however from s. 16 of the Australian National Railways Act that the Commission would have to seek to acquire the whole of the Land Trust's fee simple interest in the 200 metre wide strip. If this approach by way of negotiation were preferred, a recommendation under s. 11(1) (e) could be deferred until it appears that agreement is likely to be reached. Third, if the Commission is unable to obtain the rights it requires by agreement it has power compulsorily to acquire those rights under s.63 of its Act, on just terms. Fourth, ss 19 and 23 of the Land Rights Act render it impossible for the Northern Land Council to enter into a legally binding commitment to grant the necessary rights prior to a grant to a Land Trust. Fifth, it is too early to say whether any informal agreement can be reached. The initial view of the claimants was that they would prefer not to have the railway cross the claim area, lest the construction phase adversely affect sites and the completed permanent way constitute a physical barrier to movement across the claim area. Sixth, it is too early to quantify at this time the cost of securing the necessary rights by agreement or by compulsory acquisition; accordingly, no assessment can be made of the extent of the Commission's financial detriment. It may however fairly be said that any such cost would be small; the strip of land required and the surrounding land are both unimproved, the restriction on alienation of Aboriginal land imposed by s. 19(1) probably renders it less valuable than other freeholds for the purposes of compensation, and the existence of s.23(3) of the Lands Acquisition Act may in the circumstances well reduce the amount to be paid.

131. In general the comments made in para. 130 apply should a railway be constructed and operated by the Northern Territory along the route indicated, and not by the Commission. The important difference is that s.67 of the Land Rights Act prevents any compulsory acquisition of the necessary rights under a Northern Territory Act. The detriment to the Northern Territory of a grant may be minimised in one of three ways. First, the designated railway route to the appropriate width could be excluded from any grant of the claim area; this would prevent any detriment from arising. Second, a recommendation to the Governor-General for a grant could be deferred until it appeared that agreement was likely to be reached on the terms of a grant of the necessary construction rights and right of way. Third, should agreement not be reached the Commonwealth may be able compulsorily to acquire the strip required, provided the requirements of s.66A(1) (b) of the Lands Acquisition Act are met; the extent of the Commonwealth power compulsorily to acquire land in the Northern Territory is limited, for the reasons discussed in paras 316 and 317 of the Finnis River Report where, however, the implications of s.66A were not dealt with. The cost of acquiring the necessary rights should be small, for the reasons set out in para. 130.

B. - Mining

132. Because it appeared from geological information that the claim area had a low potential for economic mineral deposits and petroleum, it attracted almost no exploration activity until 1983 when Ashton Mining Limited evinced a general interest as part of the Australian Diamond Exploration Joint Venture. The company was granted Exploration Licence No. 4269 over the whole of the claim area for a term of up to six years from 23 November 1983 (see Exhibit 30, p. 4). It was on notice that the land was already subject to a land claim, but did not seek to be heard during the inquiry. I am therefore unable to comment on any detriment which it might face if the claim were

acceded to. The mere existence of Part IV of the Act cannot constitute a detriment. The exercise by the company of its rights under E.L. 4269 are protected by s.70(2).

C.- Bores on the stock route

133. The Northern Territory has three bores-two at No.10 bore, and the Murrniji bore - on the stock route, with associated tanks and troughs. The Murrniji bore is serviceable, and the whole of the assets could be made useable readily if required. The Territory is entitled under s. 14 of the Act to continue to occupy and use these assets for such period as it requires to do so, and during that period those improvements are deemed to be its property; the use to which the assets can be put appears from paras 288-91 of the Daly River (Malak Malak) Report. The right of access by Territory officers to the assets is protected by s.70. There was no suggestion that land was required for additional bores on the stock route. As the user is clearly very limited, and there is no present likelihood of increased user, its statutory rights appear to give the Territory sufficient protection, and there is no need for an area around the bores to be excised from any grant. In any event the claimants are willing to discuss with the Territory any future use to which the Territory may wish to put the bores.

D.- Disease control

134. The Territory is concerned about the effect of a grant on its program for the eradication of disease amongst cattle. The owners of Hidden Valley Station are well advanced with a program for the eradication of tuberculosis and brucellosis from their herd, and are putting their clean stock close to the claim area; they considered fencing a top priority as well as the de-stocking of scrub cattle from the claim area. Hayfield Station is brucellosis free, almost free of tuberculosis, and is concerned that the BTB program be implemented in the claim area. Murrniji Station has similar concerns, for similar reasons. Should the claim be granted it will be necessary that the Land Trust through the Northern Land Council observe the requirements of the program for the eradication of brucellosis and tuberculosis from the Territory cattle herd, whether or not any cattle are run on the claim area. Acceding to the claim cannot affect the BTB eradication program nor should it put neighbouring herds in any greater peril than they are now. Under s.74 of the Land Rights Act the Stock Diseases Act (N.T.) applies to Aboriginal land and gives government inspectors comprehensive powers to take all steps necessary to ensure that disease is controlled. The Northern Land Council has always co-operated in implementing the Territory's BTB eradication program. There will have to be considerable expenditure by way of fencing or a complete de-stocking, but acceding to the claim will not cause any detriment to the Territory or adjoining owners as far as concerns the BTB program.

135. The Territory seeks on general principle that all existing Quarantine Reserves be retained for emergency purposes should stock being moved along a stock route require immediate isolation for some reason. Accordingly, it is contended that the grant of the existing Stock and Quarantine Reserve (Portion 2024) would cause detriment. The possible use of the Quarantine Reserve for this purpose is connected with the possible future use of the stock route for travelling stock, discussed in paras 160-5.

136. Since the stock route will only be used, if at all, when the travelling stock are clean' as well as the herds they pass through, it appears unlikely that the Quarantine Reserve would be required for quarantine purposes. There is no history of its use for that purpose, as far as I can ascertain. In any event, s. 12 of the Stock Diseases Act applies to Aboriginal land in my opinion and permits any such land to be declared a quarantine area when

necessary to prevent the spread of disease. A grant of the Quarantine Reserve is unlikely to cause detriment, as far as concerns the purpose of quarantine.

E.- Fire risk

137. Mr Ottens of Hidden Valley Station considered that a grant would result in an increased risk to Hidden Valley of uncontrolled fires emanating from the claim area, the direction of prevailing dry season winds, unless it were heavily stocked. I do not consider that it is likely to be stocked to any substantial degree. The risk of fire would be sharply reduced by purposeful controlled burning. It is particularly important to Hidden Valley to keep down the risk of fire because they have a major investment in fencing and yards immediately to the north of the claim area.

138. Mr Dyer of Hayfield Station gave an account of disastrous bushfires sweeping into Hayfield through the claim area from the west. This was however before the Bushfires Council was set up and this had greatly reduced the incidence. He estimated that Hayfield spent about \$25 000 per year on fire control measures. The taking of proper fire control measures in the claim area was what was sought.

139. There is no reason to believe that the traditional owners would not fully co-operate in the control of fire risk from the claim area, under the aegis of the Bushfires Council and would give an undertaking to that effect. In any event I consider that the Bushfires Act (N.T.) applies to Aboriginal land and provides an effective legal regime to prevent and suppress bushfires. Proper burning-off on the claim area should be regularly undertaken under the control of the Bushfires Council.

F.- Access to land by Government officers

140. The Territory has a need for Government officers to have free and unrestrained access to the land for the purpose of carrying out their official duties. Section 73(l) (b) of the Act authorised the passing of Territory laws regulating the entry of persons on Aboriginal land; pursuant to that provision the Aboriginal Land Act (N.T.) was passed. It provides in s.6 that the responsible Minister may issue permits to Government officers to enter on Aboriginal land to carry out their duties. This system is in force and obviates any detriment suggested under this head.

G.- Hidden Valley Station

141. Mr Ottens of Hidden Valley Station raised various aspects of detriment. Many of these assumed that the claim area would not be stocked and run as a cattle-raising operation; it is likely that the assumption will prove correct, at least for a considerable time. I have dealt with the concern about disease control and fire risk at paras 134 and 137-9.

142. As a matter of necessity in running a cattle station Hidden Valley requires virtually unrestricted access to the claim area to recover wandering stock, on the same reciprocal basis as is the general rule amongst pastoral properties in the Territory. There is no reason to believe that practical arrangements along these lines would not be entered into, should a grant be made. It amounts to waiving the prior notice otherwise required under s.43(l) of the Summary Offences Act, which in my opinion applies to Aboriginal land. Mr Ottens considered that Hidden Valley's common boundary with the claim area, a length of some 56 kilometres, should be fenced; the cost is estimated at about \$720 per kilometre. A grant would in fact ameliorate the present position in that respect for Hidden Valley: the Fences Act does not bind the Crown and accordingly while the claim area remains Crown land Hidden Valley cannot require the Territory to contribute to the

cost of fencing. I consider that the Fences Act applies to Aboriginal land with the result that Hidden Valley and the Northern Land Council (pursuant to s.26 of the Land Rights Act) would contribute equally to the cost. The fact that if the claim were acceded to, Mr Ottens would no longer have an opportunity to incorporate the claim area into Hidden Valley Station via a long term lease does not amount to detriment. It is a quarrel with the existence of the Act, not with a grant under the Act, because it is a necessary general consequence in all cases when a grant is made that the land ceases to be available to others. The present owners were aware of the land claim when they purchased Hidden Valley and took it into account at the time.

H.- Hayfield Station

143. Mr and Mrs Dyer run a cattle enterprise on Hayfield and Shenandoah Stations. The aspects of detriment to that enterprise related to the risk of fire and questions of disease control and the use of the stock route; these have been dealt with in paras 134-9, and 160-5.

I.- Murranji Station

144. Mr Roy Beebe runs several thousand head of cattle on Murranji Station. He is a very experienced cattleman and knows the area well; he was droving on the Murranji in 1950. He has been using part of the claim area under some informal arrangement with the relevant Government department; in that connection he constructed about 30 kilometres of fencing within the claim area. The cost of that fencing cannot be regarded as a source of detriment because it was erected without authority. Other aspects of detriment raised related to the need for the control of disease on the claim area since Murranji Station is provisionally clean, the use of the stock route, and the use of the Murranji Track and the track north from Murranji Bore as a wet-weather exit; these aspects are dealt with in paras 134 to 136, 154 to 157, and 161 to 165. Mr Beebe will suffer detriment should he be deprived of his present use of the track north from Murranji Bore as a wet-weather access.

J.- Mr and Mrs Sutton

145. Mr and Mrs Sutton of Maryfield Station. who have had long experience in the pastoral industry and wished to acquire some land of their own, made several approaches over the years since 1978 seeking to take up a lease over the claim area. If a grant is made they lose the possibility of obtaining a lease. For the reasons stated in para. 142 this does not amount to detriment under the Act.

Matter for comment -

effect on patterns of land usage

146. I now comment on the effect that acceding to the claim may have on the existing or proposed patterns of land usage in the region. As with detriment, the approach must be broad. The pattern of existing land usage outside the claim area would not be affected by a grant. The claim area has not been used for the purpose of moving stock for many years. It is necessary to consider its possible future use for that purpose; see paras 158 -65. The other aspect of land usage which requires consideration is the effect of a grant upon roads; see paras 147-57.

A. Roads

1. General

147. Section 11(3) provides that a grant does not include any 'road over which the public has a right of way', that is, that it does not include a public road, or highway. As a corollary, s. 12(3) provides that the deed of grant must identify any such road and expressly exclude it. Accordingly, to provide some practical assistance to the Minister, it is desirable to comment on the evidence relating to any possible public roads within the claim area, to express a view as to whether that evidence establishes that any public roads exist, and, if so, to identify those public roads on the ground. The question ultimately remains one for the Courts to decide should a contest arise as to the existence of a public road.

148. The legal characteristic of a public road is that all members of the public may pass and repass along it on their lawful occasions: see *City of Keilor v O'Donohue* (1972) 46 AU R 93 at 95, per Windeyer J. They may pass on foot, or ride or drive, with or without animals.

2. The Murrniji Stock Route - a public road?

149. A question arises as to whether the Murrniji Stock Route is a public road for the purposes of the Act. The Murrniji Stock Route exists because it was declared under s. 113(f) of the Crown Lands Act, on 11 August 1933, to be a route for the passage of travelling stock (see Gazette of 17 August 1933, Exhibit 4 and para.8). At that time, s. 113(l) enabled travelling stock routes to be declared only through 'any land held under lease or licence'; there is no suggestion that the claim area was so held at that time. The declaration did not affect the title to the land over which the stock route was declared; it simply defined a route and s. 113(2) then applied the provisions of the Stock Diseases Act 1927 to drovers who used that route. Section 37 provided for pastoral leases to contain a covenant that the lessee would not 'obstruct any public roads, paths or ways' or interfere with their user, and would not 'interfere with travelling stock lawfully passing through the leased land'. Section 103(l)(c) provided that unalienated Crown lands (such as the claim area) could be reserved for any of a number of specified purposes, which included 'roads', 'travelling stock reserves' and 'any other public purpose which (the Governor-General) thinks fit'. Section 103(l)(d) provided that any such reservation could be revoked. Section II 3 did not provide until 1955 that stock routes could be declared over all lands of the Territory. In 1964 s. 103 took its modern form and provided that unalienated Crown lands could be reserved for stock routes and travelling stock.

150. It may be that s. 113(l) was not an adequate head of power in 1933 to provide for the creation of that part of the Murrniji Stock Route which crosses the claim area. It is not suggested that the route within the claim area was reserved at any time under s. 103. For the reasons discussed in paras 124-6 of the Mount Allan Report the result may be that no legally constituted stock route exists within the claim area and the route as shown on Appendix I is simply unalienated Crown land and may be granted. However, the route was clearly widely known and used as a stock route for many years prior to 1933 and the correct position may well be that its status as a stock route in the claim area is established in law; see para. 177 of the Yutpundji-Djindiwirritj (Roper Bar) Report which appears to proceed upon that view.

151. Against that background no submission was made that the mile-wide Murrniji Stock Route (as opposed to the Murrniji Track) constitutes 'a road over which the public has a right of way', within the meaning of ss II (3) and 12 (3) of the Land Rights Act. Whether or not it does constitute such a road depends on whether Parliament intended that a stock route be included within the meaning of the phrase, when it passed the Act in

the mid- 1970's. A distinction has usually been drawn in previous reports between a public road in the ordinary everyday sense in which that is understood these days in Australia, and a stock route; it is clear that the former meaning has usually been attributed to the phrase in s. 11(3) and s. 12(3). The record of the debates in the Parliament appears to suggest that Parliament intended the phrase to encompass only what is ordinarily understood these days as a public road (see Hansard, House of Representatives, 17 June 1976, p. 2817; and 1 December 1976, pp. 3058-9, 3062, and 3065-6).

152. The existence of an extensive system of inter-linking stock routes right across Australia is unique to this country, a product of its pastoral history over the last 150 years. Those routes constituted for an earlier era the 'beef roads' of today. In the common law it appears that for certain limited purposes lands reserved for stock routes were treated as roads (see *In re Henderson* (1904) 14 L.C.C.83, and the cases there cited). On the other hand, subject to meeting the requirements of the specific legislation relating to travelling stock, a 'road' reserved under s.103 may be used by persons driving stock (see *Hogan v Brasier* (1917) 17 S.R. (NSW) 559). The laws of the Territory provide different legal regimes for stock routes and for roads (see the Stock Routes and Travelling Stock Act and the Control of Roads Act).

153. I think that the better view is that a distinction exists between public roads and stock routes, both for the purposes of the Crown Lands Act (NT) and the Land Rights Act, and that a stock route is not a 'road over which the public has a right of way' within ss 11(3) and 12(3) of the Land Rights Act, and may be the subject of a grant. Taking that approach, it is unnecessary to consider whether in the common law of Australia apart from the Act a stock route is a type of public road. Historically, stock routes appear to have been closely associated with the main thoroughfares in the Territory, they were created along the line of the main tracks, as might be expected when all haulage was by animals and watering places were essential.

3. Public roads

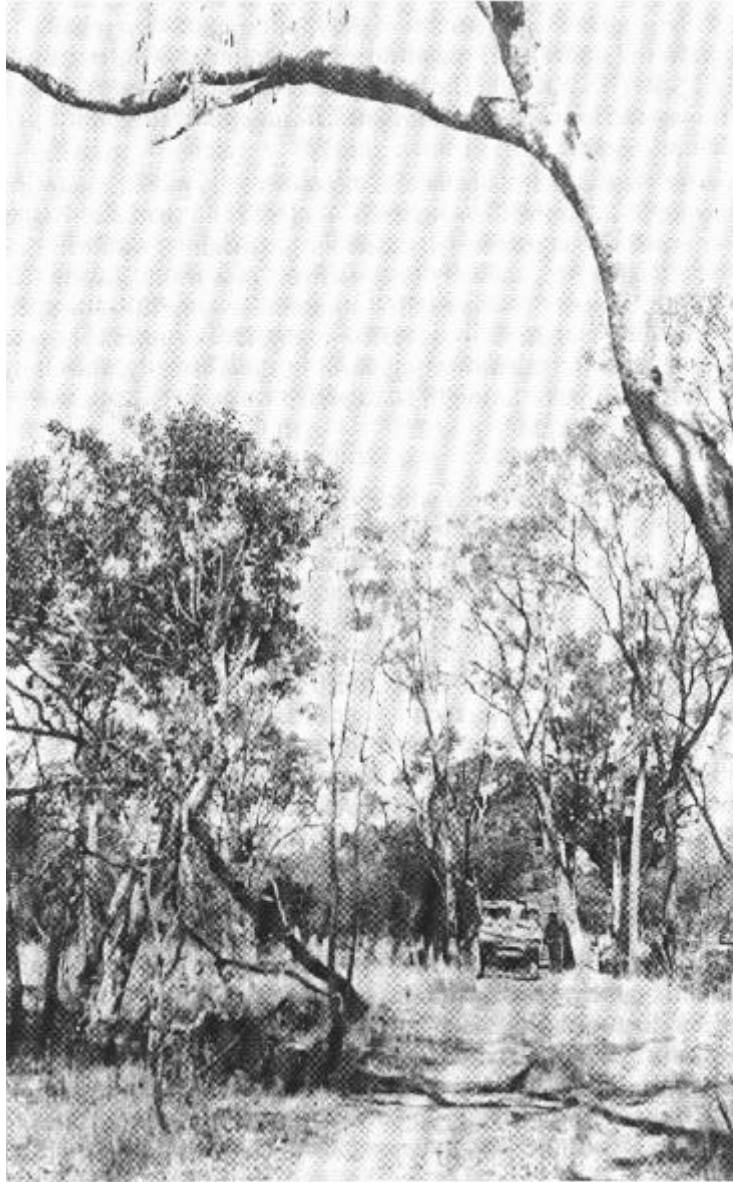
154. There are no roads within the claim area which are currently maintained by the Northern Territory. However the Territory contends that the vehicular track shown on Appendix 10 which provides access from Murrniji Station to the Buchanan Highway through the claim area and Hidden Valley Station, is a public road some 45 kilometres long. The section of the track which extends generally south-east from Murrniji Bore to the Murrniji Station Homestead is quite well defined and is clearly part of the historic Murrniji Track. The section which extends generally north from Murrniji Bore to the Buchanan Highway was made by Mr Scobie, then owner of Hidden Valley Station, in 1945 (transcript, pp. 45-6). He used it two or three times a year and maintained it occasionally. The owners of Murrniji Station use the Murrniji Track to Murrniji Bore and the track north from there to the Buchanan Highway as their only wet weather means of entry and exit to and from their property. I accept that the track also provides access from the Buchanan Highway to two bores and is used by Bush Fires Council personnel when maintaining fire breaks, though there is no evidence of how frequently this is done.

155. It is clear that the Murrniji Track is a public road, and has been for many years from before the days of motor vehicles. Before the Buchanan Highway was constructed, it was the east-west road link between Newcastle Waters and Top Springs. Mr Nissen, who has lived in the Territory since 1929, used to maintain the bores on the Murrniji Track four or five times a year over a period of five years; he said the Track used to be graded every year as far as Bore 13 (transcript, p. 464). I agree with Mr. Justice Toohey's conclusion at paras 145 and 146 of the Yingawunarra (Old Top Springs) Mudbura Report:

In the 1950s and 1960s the Murrnji track was sufficiently used and by a wide enough range of people to constitute it a road over which the public had a right of way. It seems to have been used little since the Buchanan Highway was made. On the principle that 'once a highway always a highway'(Halsbury 3rd ed.vol. 19 para. 130), and no statutory change having taken place, I am of the opinion that the Murrnji track is a road over which the public has a right of way-

There is little prospect of the road being used in the future and if it is excluded from a grant there is no need for the usual reserve width of 100 metres.

156. I consider that the track north from Murrnji Bore to the Buchanan Highway is not a public road. The track itself is clearly enough defined on the ground but it appears at best to have very occasional use by a few people for particular purposes. It is not used



Murrnji Track 1926
(Schultz Collection).

Photo: NTRS 234
Northern Territory
Archive Service

Murrnji Track 1926
(Schultz Collection).
Photo: MRS 234
Northern Territory
Archive Service

by the members of the general public as a thoroughfare nor is it dedicated or otherwise established as a public road. I consider that its user is properly characterised as private use. The general comments in para. 117 of the Mount Allan Report are applicable. I consider that the portion of it which lies within Hidden Valley Station is an internal station access road, while the portion within Portion 2023 is not a public road over Crown land. I note that Hidden Valley intends to fence along its southern boundary and if arrangements are to be made for the continued use of the track a gate or grid will need to be made.

157. In the result I consider that that part of the Murranji Track which lies within the claim area shown on Appendix 10 is a public road, and should be excluded from any grant, while the track extending to the north from Murranji Bore need not be excluded from any grant.

B. Stock route, travelling stock reserve,
and stock and quarantine reserve

158. The Murranji Stock Route runs through the claim area as shown on Appendix 1. It was first gazetted in 1920. When it was re-gazetted as a route for the passage of travelling stock on 17 August 1933, together with many other Northern Territory stock routes, all previous declarations of Territory stock routes were cancelled (see Exhibit 4). The Murranji Stock Route was included as part of the stock route from the Western Australia border to Newcastle Waters, and thence east and south; it was described as extending to half a mile on each side of the Murranji Track from Top Springs to the waterhole at Newcastle Waters Head Station.

159. The Travelling Stock Reserve (Portion 2023) and the Stock and Quarantine Reserve (Portion 2024) appear to have been reserved for those purposes administratively; no proclamation has been cited which refers to either of them. Whether proclaimed or not they constitute unalienated Crown land for the purposes of the Land Rights Act. It is not suggested that they have ever been used for the purposes for which they were reserved.

160. Historically, the Murranji was one of the notable early stock routes (see paras 5-7 and the map at Appendix 2). The extensive system of stock routes throughout Australia is unique; it provided a slow, simple and inexpensive means of moving cattle from one place to another and was vital to the pastoral industry. In the Northern Territory, certain routes came to be used for droving cattle, following the sources of water, and were used for many years. Since all movement involved animals, stock routes lay along the main thoroughfares, though not until 14 August 1920 were any routes gazetted; the Murranji was one of the first. The routes remained essential to the pastoral industry until after the mid-1950s; Table 2 shows why their use then rapidly declined, reflecting the reduced relative cost of trucking cattle from the late 1950s, due to the introduction of road trains on the beef roads.

161. The Murranji has not been used as a stock route in recent years, due to the opening of the Buchanan Highway and the use of the road trains (according to Mr Ledger it was last used about 1967). The Department of Primary Production considered that while it was unlikely that the route would be required to move stock on the hoof in the near future, it could be required for that purpose at some time (Exhibit 29, p. 29). For example, a severe drought or an economic downturn could compel pastoralists to move cattle on hoof, while for other reasons mobs might be moved on hoof between nearby stations on the route. Mr Hill of Hidden Valley Station considered that as stock were quietened down as a result of changes in cattle management resulting from the BTB

Table 2

Movement of cattle in the Northern Territory

Year	% moved by road	Year	% moved by road transport
1956/57	3%	1966/67	75%
1957/58	18%	1967/68	83%
1958/59	25%	1968/69	95%
1959/60	39%	1969/70	92%
1960/61	45%	1970/71	96%
1961/62	46%	1971/72	97%
1962/63	42%	1972/73	99%
1963/64	56%	1973/74	99%
1964/65	76%	1974/75	99%
1965/66	74%		

This table shows the percentage of total cattle movement effected by road transport 1956-75. The other major means of moving cattle was via the stock routes, the use of which declined in inverse proportion over this period.

Source: T. McKnight - The Long Paddock (Dec. 1977).

eradication campaign, they would be better suited to being moved on hoof; Hidden Valley Station might then wish to use the route to drive cattle to the sale yards at Elliott.

162. It is not practicable or permissible for cattle to be driven on the stock routes until the herds which pass and the cattle through which they pass, are disease free. Consequently the possibility of using the Murrniji Stock Route again is likely to arise only after the BTB campaign has been successfully concluded in about six years' time. A long-term view must be taken but the likelihood of droving cattle on the route thereafter is difficult to assess. A good deal of speculation as to the future is involved - capital costs of plant, changes in trucking costs, market prices, numbers of cattle, the distance involved and general economic conditions. Some of the considerations which indicate that a future use of the route to move cattle is unlikely are set out by Mr Ledger in Exhibit 21: the destocking of cattle resulting in the reduction in the size of the Territory herd, the bad condition of the bores and other facilities on the route, the fact that the route is overgrown, the risk of poisoning certain cattle unused to the Cooktown Ironwood which grows there, and the lack of droving plant. These are in turn subjected to criticism by Mr Warriner of Newcastle Waters Station, an experienced cattleman and drover, at transcript, pp. 465-71. He gave examples of recent use of stock routes in the Barkly region to move store cattle for at least part of their journey to fattening properties. Another experienced cattleman, Mr Dyer of Hayfield Station, shared Mr Warriner's views and considered that the use of horses on properties to work cattle would increase. Mr Beebe of Murrniji Station considered that if a railhead was built nearby (see para. 163) he would walk stock to it west along the stock route. It would of course be necessary to restore the bores to operating condition, but Mr Warriner considered that that would not involve great expense. He considered that droving contractors with the necessary horses and equipment would reappear if a demand for droving arose.

163. Another matter which has some bearing on whether the Murrniji Stock Route should be kept open to move cattle in the future, is the possibility that if the Darwin-Alice Springs railway is built, a railhead for cattle might be established at the intersection of the stock route and the railway. However it seems more likely that any such railhead would be built near the intersection of the railway and the Buchanan Highway.

164. A further matter for consideration is that the stock route no longer links with other stock routes at Top Springs to the west, as a result of the grant following the successful Yingawunarra (Old Top Springs) land claim. The better view is, I think, that the section of the Murrarji Stock Route which lay within that claim area ceased to exist when the land was granted (see the discussion of the point by Mr Justice Toohey at paras 130-5 of that report). If so, the break in the chain of stock routes to the west means that the utility of the rest of the Murrarji route for any movement of stock is greatly reduced, though Montejinni, Dungowan and Murrarji stations still have direct access to it from the west and the links to the stock route to the east of the claim area are unbroken. It is not legally possible, I think, for cattle from other properties to be driven through what is now Aboriginal land as a result of that grant to link with the Murrarji Stock Route, relying on s.27 of the Stock Routes and Travelling Stock Act. The reasons are set out in para. 131 of the Mount Allan Report.

165. Viewed against this uncertain background I consider that while it is possible that the stock route may be needed in the future to move cattle, it cannot be said at this point that the need is likely to arise. On the other hand, it may prove a source of valuable assistance in time of drought. There is no existing user of the route for the movement of cattle; it has not been used for that purpose for some nineteen years. There are no firm proposals to use it for that purpose in the future, but the possibility of a future need cannot be discounted. The greatest benefit of trucking cattle is speed, with a consequent faster financial return, but speed is less important when moving store cattle as opposed to fat cattle, and it appears from Exhibit 21 that direct droving costs are less than direct trucking costs. The issues may need to be considered in the light of some general policy involving the future use, if any, to which it is considered the stock route system as a whole should be put. If it is considered that the desirability of preserving what is left of the Murrarji Stock Route should yield to the claim, a grant of the claim area will achieve that end. To preserve the route, a grant should be made subject expressly to its continued existence. If the claim area were larger the continued existence of a stock route across it which is not likely to be much used in the future would not present a major problem to traditional owners; but here, as Exhibit I indicates, the route occupies a reasonable proportion of the claim area and is so located that even occasional user would possibly create difficulties for resident owners.

Summary of findings,

Recommendations and Comments

- A. The claim area, comprising Northern Territory Portions 1109, 2023 and 2024, is unalienated Crown land (para. 116A).
- B. There are traditional Aboriginal owners of the whole of the claim area; those identified at the hearing are listed in para. 116 under their respective estates which encompass the whole of the claim area (para. 116B and Q).
- C. Those traditional Aboriginal owners are each entitled by Aboriginal tradition to the use or occupation of the whole of the claim area although that entitlement may be qualified as to place, time, circumstance, purpose or permission (para. 116D).
- D. The traditional Aboriginal owners have a strong traditional attachment to their respective estates within the claim area (para. 121(b)).
- E. Some of the traditional owners desire to live on the claim area (para. 119).

- F. I recommend that there be a grant of the claim area to a single Land Trust for the benefit of Aboriginals entitled by Aboriginal tradition to the use or occupation of the land, whether or not the traditional entitlement is qualified as to place, time, circumstance, purpose or permission (para. 121).
- G. The number of Aboriginals with traditional attachments to the claim area who would be advantaged if the claim were acceded to, is at least 277 (para. 125).
- H. Those advantages are: legal protection for the exercise on the claim area of traditional rights, spiritual and material; the gaining of legal title under the Act with consequent control of dealings with the land, and the possibility of residing there and putting the land to economic use; better opportunities for younger generation to identify with traditional country (paras 123, 124).
- I. No other Aboriginal group is likely to be detrimentally affected by a grant (para. 127).
- J. Either the Australian National Railways Commission or the Northern Territory may suffer some financial detriment from a grant, if the construction of the Alice Springs - Darwin Railway proceeds (paras 128-3 1).
- K. No detriment has been shown to be likely to result to mining interests, if the claim is acceded to (para. 132).
- L. The Territory has sufficient statutory protection to ensure its continued access to bores on the claim area, if the claim is acceded to (para. 133).
- M. A grant of the land will not affect the application of the BTB campaign to the claim area, or put neighbouring herds in any greater peril from disease (para. 134).
- N. A grant of the Quarantine Reserve (Portion 2024) is unlikely to cause detriment, as regards the use of that land for quarantine purposes.
- O. The Bushfires Act applies to the claim area and a grant should not result in any detriment to adjoining owners as regards increased fire risk, if the Act is applied.
- P. Hidden Valley Station needs continued access to the claim area to recover wandering stock. Practical arrangements will need to be entered into, to avoid detriment. A grant would reduce the cost to Hidden Valley of boundary fencing (para. 141).
- Q. Murrniji Station will suffer detriment if it loses its wet-weather access to the Buchanan Highway through the claim area (para. 144).
- R. The Murrniji Stock Route is not a road over which the public has a right of way, within the meaning of the Act (paras 149-5 1).
- S. That part of the Murrniji Track which lies within the claim area, shown in Appendix 10, is the only public road within the claim area (para. 155), and should be excluded from any grant (para. 157).
- T. It is not likely that the Murrniji Stock Route will be needed in the future to move cattle, but there remains a possibility that it will be needed for that purpose (paras 160-5).

Darwin

7 October 1986

Legal Representatives

Mr G. Niemann, Mr R. Blowes and Miss J. Thomson for the claimants

Mr G. Hughston, Mr S. Lewis and Mr J. Hassett for the Government of the Northern Territory

Mr P. Tiffin, Counsel assisting the Commissioner

Mr P. McNab, for the Commonwealth of Australia and the Australian National Railways Commission

Consultant Anthropologist

Dr N. Williams

List of Witnesses

Individual witnesses

Richard Scobie

Peter John Sutton

Lenore Coltheart

Toni May Bauman

Dean Lynton Ottens

Brian Arthur Hill

Clifford Haydn Nissen

Kenneth Hammond Warriner

Valmai Dorothy Dyer

Sharon Florence Margaret Sutton

Albert John Dyer

Roy Alfred Beebe

Barry Randolph Utley

Group Witnesses present at site visits

A. Persons present at Narlwan (para. 46), Mulmulka (para. 38) and Panganyi (para. 48):

Narlwan sub-group A

Pharlap Dixon Elizabeth Dixon

Angus Dixon

Shannon Dixon

Narlwan sub-group B

Alec Hayes Dottie Holtze

Georgie Holtze

Narlwan sub-group C

Ronnie Holtze

Ngayirrini sub-group A

Bandy Jones Lucy

Harry Jones Dulcie

Ngayirrini sub-group B

Felix Morgan Bessie Jones

Timmy Morgan Sadie Jackson

Leo Anderson Barbara Anderson

Karntularra sub-group B

John Whitefoot

Kulyungkulyungpi

Nugget Collins

Hughie Jackson

B. Persons present at Putjutji (para. 49) were those listed in A. above together with:

Karntularra, sub-group A

Pompey Raymond Yama

Cleaver Bruce

Kulyungkulyungpi

Taffy

C. Persons present at Jamakula, site E on Appendix 6 (para. 50):

Narlwan sub-group A

Pharlap Dixon

Shannon Dixon

Narlwan sub-group B

Georgie Holtze

Narlwan sub-group C

Ronnie Holtze

Karntularra sub-group A

Cleaver Bruce

Karntularra sub-group B

John Whitefoot

Leo Whitefoot

Kulyungkulyungpi

Taffy

Nugget Collins

Jalapirri group

Trigger Morgan

Ngayirrini sub-group A

Bandy Jones

Harry Jones

Ngayirrini sub-group B

Felix Morgan

Leo Anderson

Timmy Morgan

Ashwood Anderson

Kulyungkulyungpi

Hughie Jackson

Ronald Hughes

D. Persons present at Jakilirrawurru (para. 54)

Narlwan sub-group A

Pharlap, Dixon

Shannon Dixon

Kulyungkulyungpi

Albert Crowson

Jalapirri group

Trigger Morgan

Karntularra sub-group A

Pompey Raymond

Ngayirriini sub-group B

Timmy Morgan

Leo Anderson

E. Persons present at Kurntalngalarni (para. 55)

Narlwan sub-group A

Pharlap Dixon

Narlwan sub-group B

Francis Hayes

Georgie Holtze

Narlwan sub-group C

Ronnie Holtze

Karntularra sub-group A

Pompey Raymond

Karntularra sub-group B

John Whitefoot

Leo Whitefoot

Jalapirri group

Trigger Morgan

Ngayirriini sub-group A

Bandy Jones

Ngayirriini sub-group B

Felix Morgan

Timmy Morgan

Leo Anderson

Walamarnta sub-group A

John Sandy

Kulyungkulyungpi

Nugget Collins

Albert Crowson

F. Persons present at Murruynjalangu (para. 63)

Walamarnta - John Sandy's sub-group

John Sandy Elaine Fesko

Samuel Sandy Gail Sandy

Janet Nugget

Walamarnta - Eileen Sambono's

sub-group

Brian Austral

Walamarnta - Robin Woods' sub-group
 June Woods
 Narlwan sub-group A
 Pharlap Dixon
 Karntularra sub-group A
 Pompey Raymond
 Karntularra sub-group B
 John Whitefoot
 Kulyungkulyungpi
 Nugget Collins
 G. Persons present at Purrukularni (para. 66):
 Walamarnta - John Sandy's sub-group
 John Sandy Elaine Fesko
 Walamarnta - Robin Woods' sub-group
 June Woods
 Narlwan - sub-group A
 Pharlap Dixon
 Narlwan sub-group B
 Francis Hayes
 Georgie Holtze
 Narlwan sub-group C
 Ronnie Holtze
 Karntularra sub-group A
 Pompey Raymond
 Karntularra sub-group B
 John Whitefoot
 Jalapirri group
 Trigger Morgan
 Ngayirrimi sub-group A
 Bandy Jones
 Ngayirrimi sub-group B
 Felix Morgan
 Timmy Morgan
 Leo Anderson
 Kulyungkulyungpi
 Nugget Collins
 Albert Crowson
 Taffy
 H. Persons present at Murrnji Bore (paras 57, 69 and 72):
 Elizabeth Dixon
 Narlwan sub-group A
 Pharlap Dixon
 Shannon Dixon
 Narlwan sub-group C
 Ronnie Holtze

Jalapirri group
Trigger Morgan
Ngayirri sub-group A
Bandy Jones Lucy
Harry Jones Daisy
Ngayirri sub-group B
Felix Morgan Bessie Jones
Timmy Morgan Sadie Jackson
Leo Anderson Barbara Anderson
Karntularra sub-group A
Pompey Raymond Margaret Wilson
Cleaver Bruce Maryanne Bruce
Mark Raymond
Karntularra sub-group B
John Whitefoot Yama
Leo Whitefoot
Walamarnta - John Sandy's sub-group
John Sandy Gail Sandy
Samuel Sandy Elaine Fesko (Sandy)
Walamarnta - Eileen Sambono's
sub-group
Brian Austral Nola Austral
Walamarnta - Robin Woods' sub-group
June Woods
Kulyungkulyungpi
Nugget Collins
Hughie Jackson
Ronald Hughes
Taffy
Wendy Hughes

1. Women present at Murrnji Bore in separate women's session (para. 76):

Narlwan sub-group A
Elizabeth Dixon
Ngayirri sub-group A
Lucy
Ngayirri sub-group B
Bessie Jones
Sadie Jackson
Karntularra sub-group A
Margaret Wilson
Karntularra sub-group B
Yama
Walamarnta - John Sandy's sub-group
Elaine Fesko

Walamarnta - Eileen Sambono's

sub-group

Nola Austral

J. Leading women present during foraging sessions (para. 99):

Narlwan sub-group A

Elizabeth Dixon

Narlwan sub-group B

Dottie Holtze

Ngayirrimi sub-group A

Lucy

Ngayirrimi sub-group B

Sadie Jackson

Wendy

Bessie Jones

Karntularra sub-group A

Margaret Wilson

Karntularra sub-group B

Yama

Walamarnta - John Sandy's sub-group

Elaine Fesko

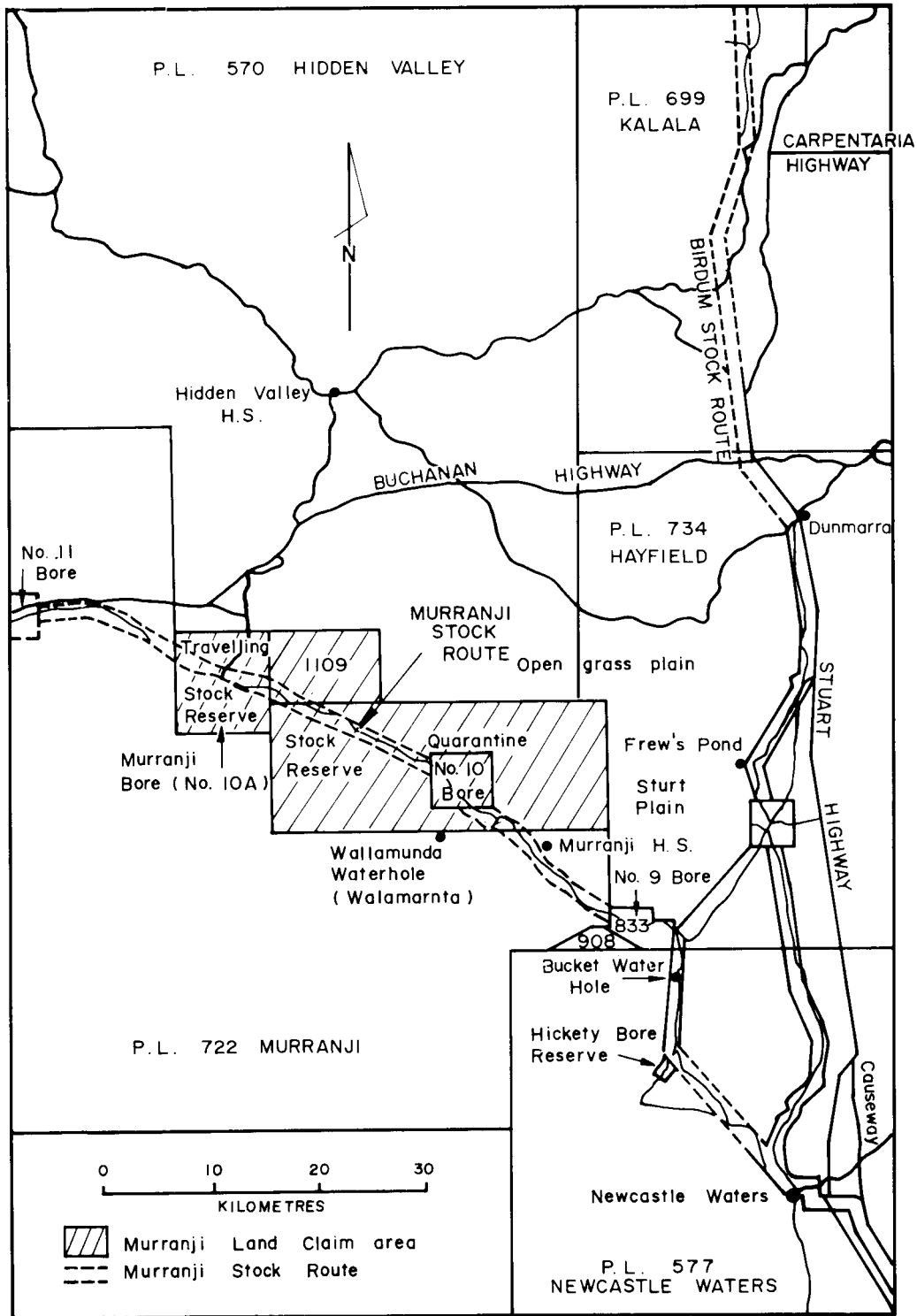
Walamarnta - Eileen Sambono's sub-group

Eileen Sambono (now deceased)

List of exhibits

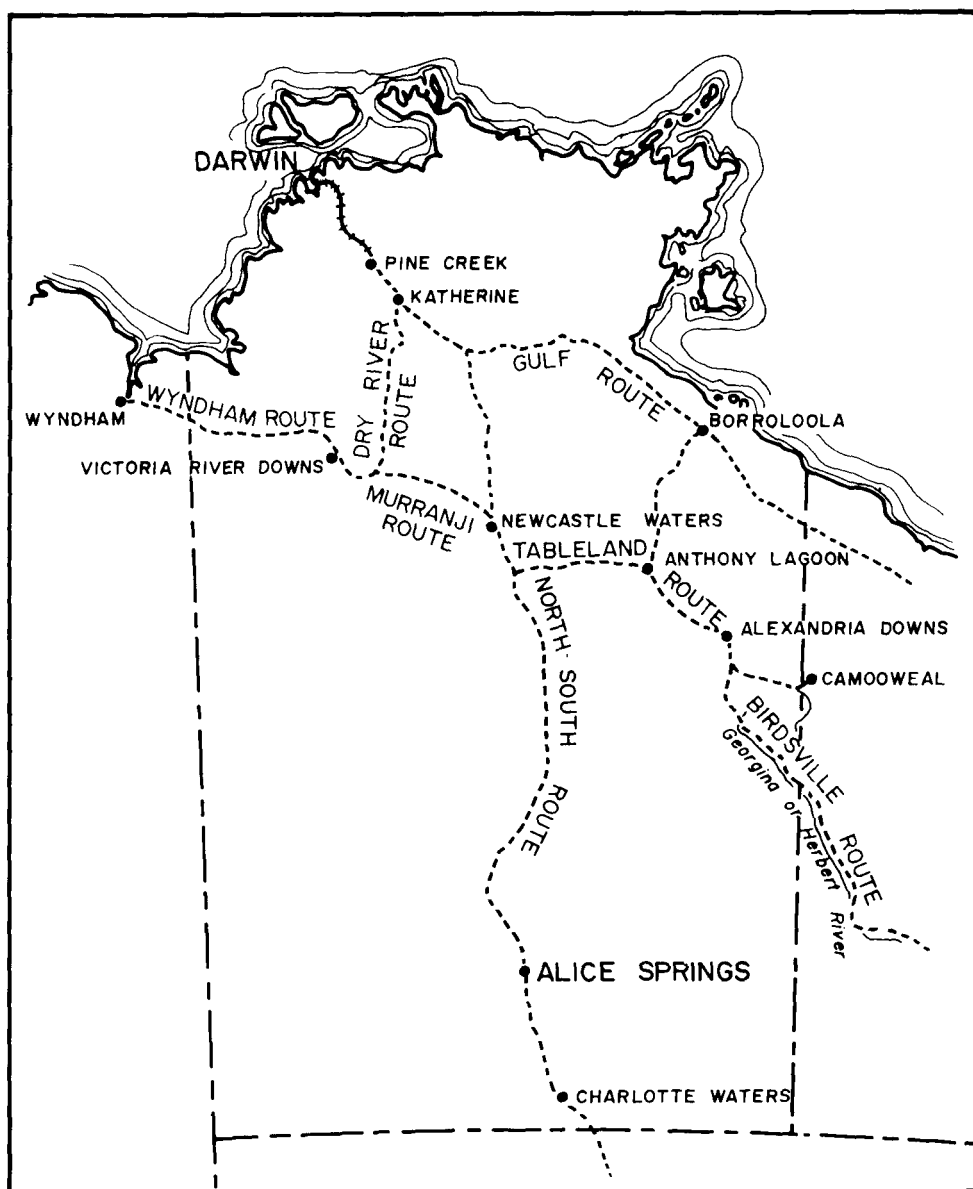
1. Claim Book: Murranji I-and Claim; by Dr P. Sutton, Dr L. Coltheart and A. McGrath, 1983.
2. Affidavit of compliance with directions: J.A. Thomson 27 July 1983.
- 3A. Certified copy of (surrendered) P.L. 722 and P.L. 855 (Murranji Pastoral Lease, Portions 851 and 908).
- 3B. Certified copy of P.L. 570 (Hidden Valley Pastoral Lease, Portion 583).
- 3C. Certified copy of P.L. 734 (Hayfield Pastoral Lease, Portion 1077).
4. Commonwealth Government Gazette No. 48, 17 August 1933.
5. Copy correspondence between Bureau of the Northern Land Council and Department of Aboriginal Affairs relating to the claim, April 1975-April 1976.
6. Preliminary list of claimants (see also Exhibit 16).
- 7-12. Photographs of stone axe, small stone axe, head of a stone axe, stone for crushing seed, round stone for pounding Miyaka nuts and stone knife.
13. Provisional genealogies of claimants (see also Exhibit 18).
14. Curriculum vitae. Dr P. Sutton.
- 14A. Dr P. Sutton: submission on ceremonies; RESTRICTED EXHIBIT, Northern Land Council.

15. Map of Dreaming tracks within, and in the vicinity of, the claim area; Dr P. Sutton.
16. Final list of claimants (see also Exhibit 6).
17. Site list; Dr P. Sutton and Dr F. Merlan.
18. Revised genealogies of claimants (see also Exhibit 13).
19. Curriculum vitae: Dr L. Coltheart.
20. Curriculum vitae: R.S. Ledger.
21. Viability of the stock route and possible use of claim area: R.S. Ledger.
22. Album of photographs of 10 name trees.
23. Curriculum vitae: T.M. Bauman.
24. Women's Ritual: T.M. Bauman.
25. Women's Ritual, Appendix 11: Photographic submission.
26. Draft Environmental Impact Statement on construction of Darwin-Alice Springs railway: 2 volumes (see also Exhibit 41).
- 27A. Map of proposed railway corridor 10 kilometres wide over claim area.
- 27B. Map of proposed railway corridor 200 metres wide over claim area.
28. Extract from transcript of evidence of D.P. Smith in Jawoyn Land Claim hearing, 6 December 1983.
29. Supplementary documents: Northern Territory Government.
30. Further supplementary documents: Northern Territory Government.
31. Album of 45 photographs relating to ceremonies: RESTRICTED EXHIBIT, Northern Land Council.
32. Six photographs taken during the hearing: Northern Land Council.
33. Extracts from the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu Claim Book and the Yingawunarri (Old Top Springs) Claim Book.
34. Report on anthropological aspects of Murrniji land claim: Dr N. Williams.
35. Curriculum vitae: Dr N. Williams.
- 36A. Northern Territory Government: written submissions.
- 36B. Northern Territory Government: further written submissions.
- 37A. Northern Land Council: final written submissions.
- 37B. Northern Land Council: corrections to final written submissions (Exhibit 37A).
38. Northern Land Council: index to transcript and list of exhibits.
- 39A. Transcript of proceedings on 9 August 1983, pp. 1-29: RESTRICTED EXHIBIT.
- 39B. Transcript of proceedings on 11 August 1983, pp. 1-3(12.40pm):RESTRICTED EXHIBIT.
- 39C. Transcript of proceedings on 11 August 1983, pp. 1-3 (2nd session): RESTRICTED EXHIBIT.
40. Copy of Exhibit 4.
41. Final Environmental Impact Statement on Alice Springs-Darwin standard gauge railway (see also Exhibit 26).
42. Statutory Declaration relating to advertisement of claim hearings: P.W. Thomson, 28 June 1985.

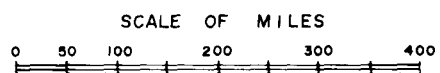


APPENDIX 1 : The Claim Area.

APPENDIX 1 The Claim Area.

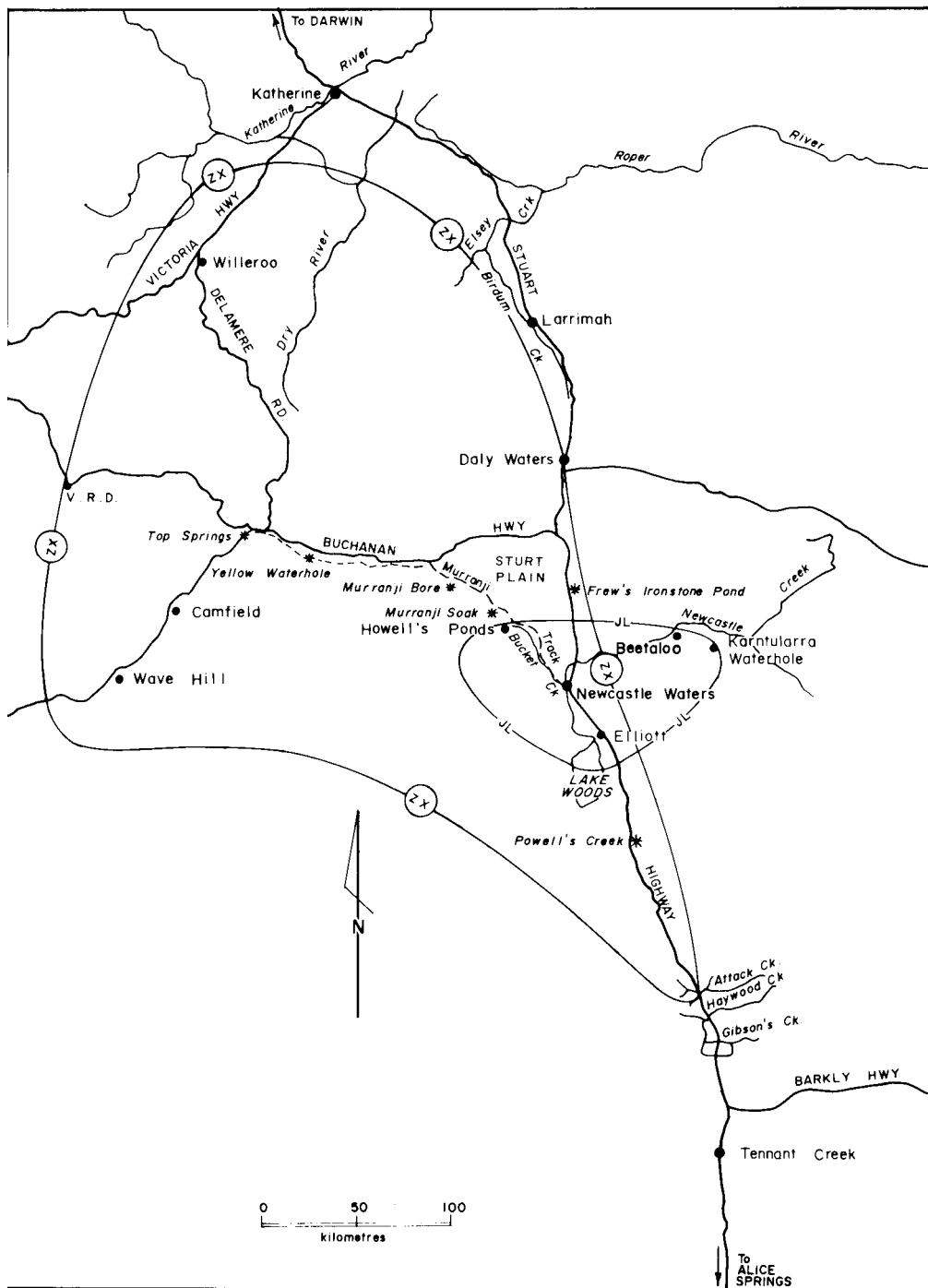


STATE BOUNDARIES ————
 RAILWAY ———+———
 STOCK ROUTE ————



APPENDIX 2 : 19 th Century stock routes

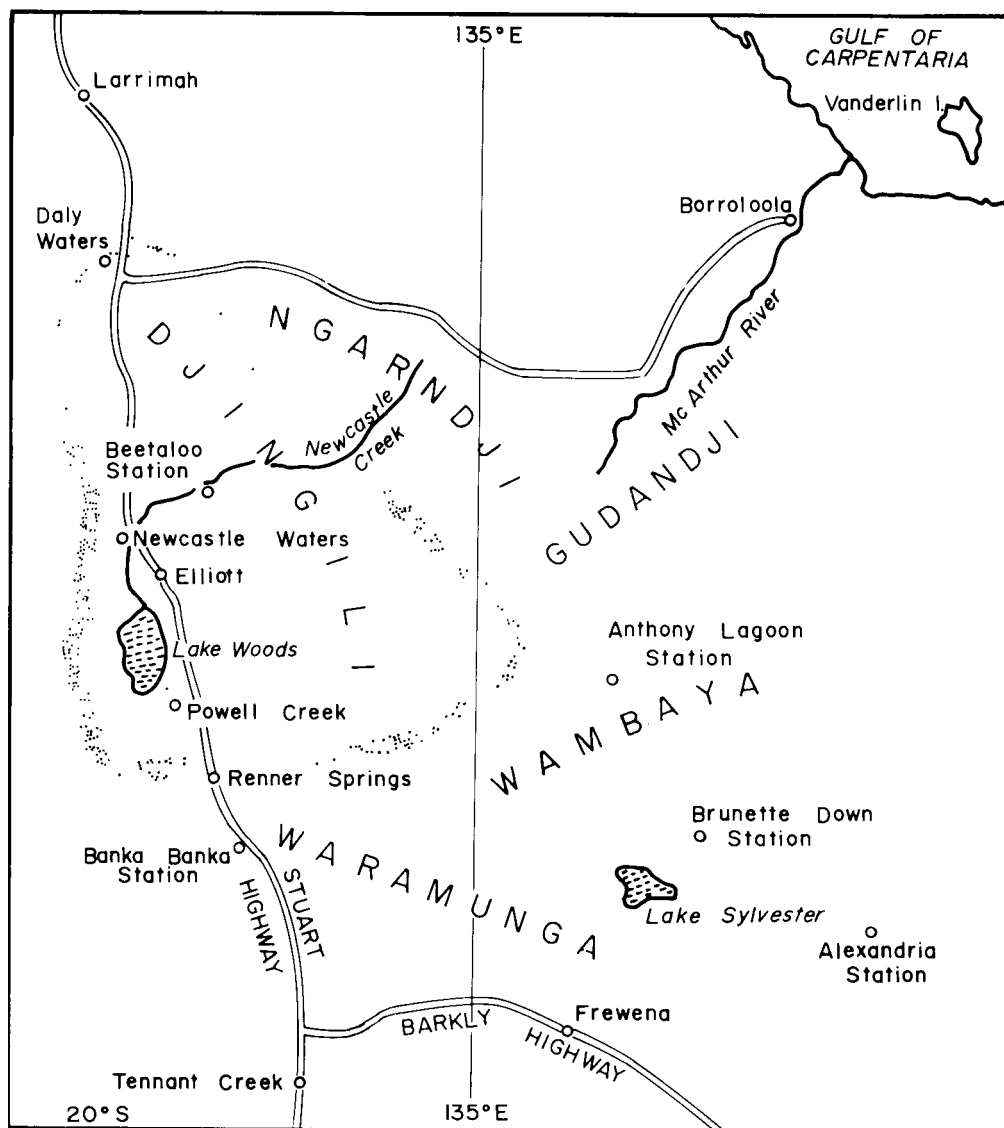
Appendix 2 - 19th century stock routes



APPENDIX 3: Schematic distribution of Mudbura (ZX) and Djingili (JL) - speaking people in 1972 ; Mudbura and Djingili speakers numbered 280 and 179 respectively.

Source : E.P. Milliken's chapter in "Tribes and boundaries in Australia" (edit. N. Peterson, 1976), with map showing Aboriginal language distribution in the Territory.

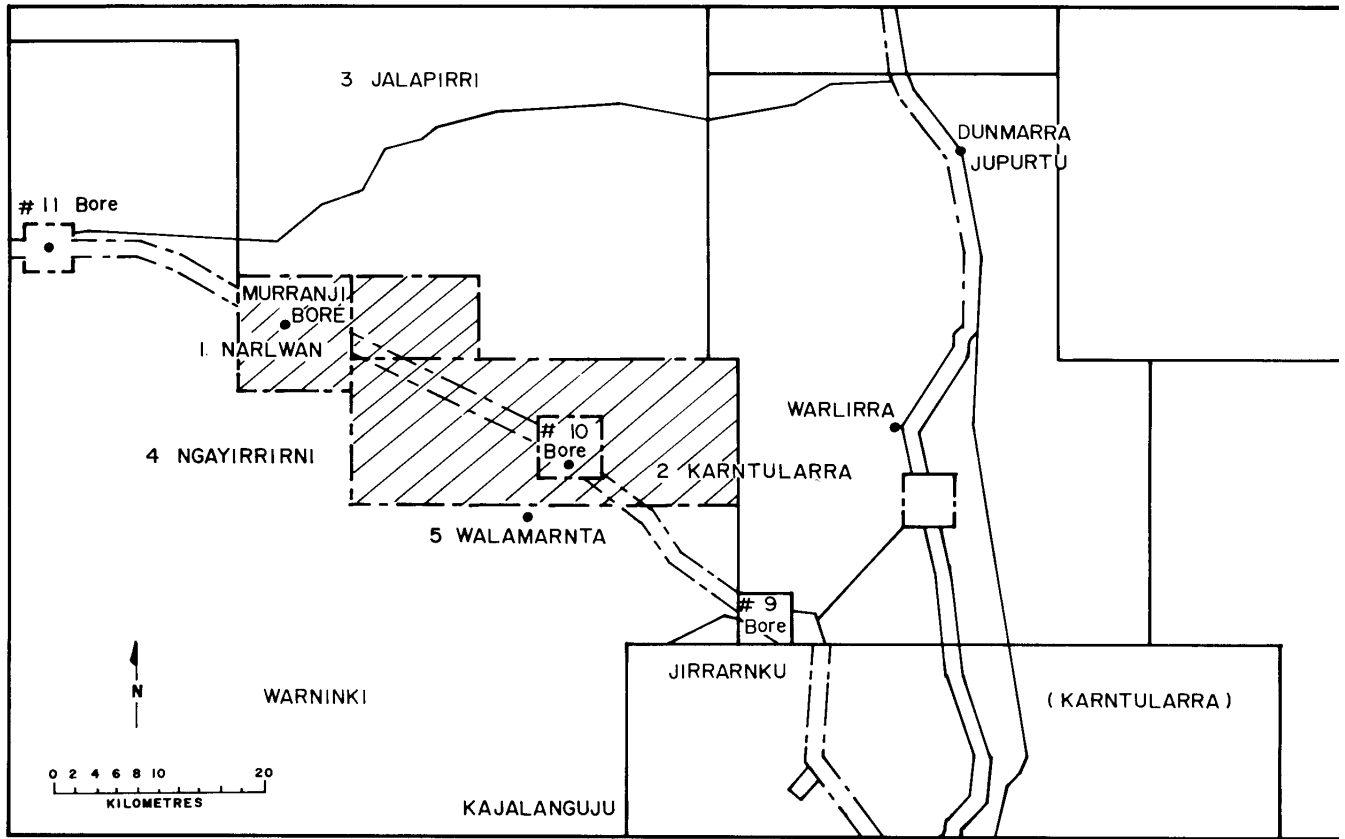
Appendix 3 - Schematic distribution of Mudbura and Djingilis in 1972



APPENDIX 4 : Map showing location of Djingili traditional territory in 1892, as described by Ravenscroft .

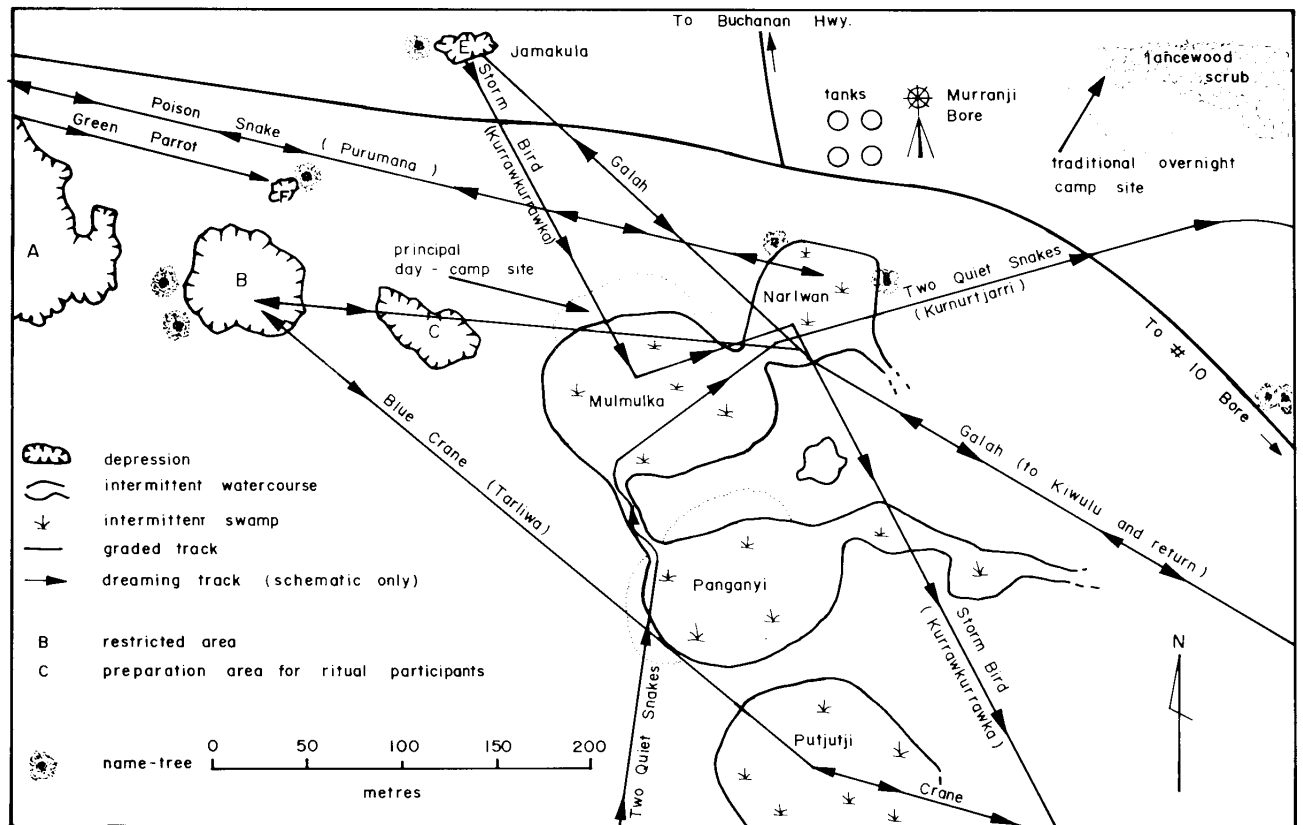
Sources : A descriptive study of the Djingili language :
 N. Chadwick, 1975
 Some habits and customs of the Chingalee tribe,
 Northern Territory : A.G.B. Ravenscroft, 1892 .

Appendix 4 - Map showing location of Djingili traditional territory in 1892



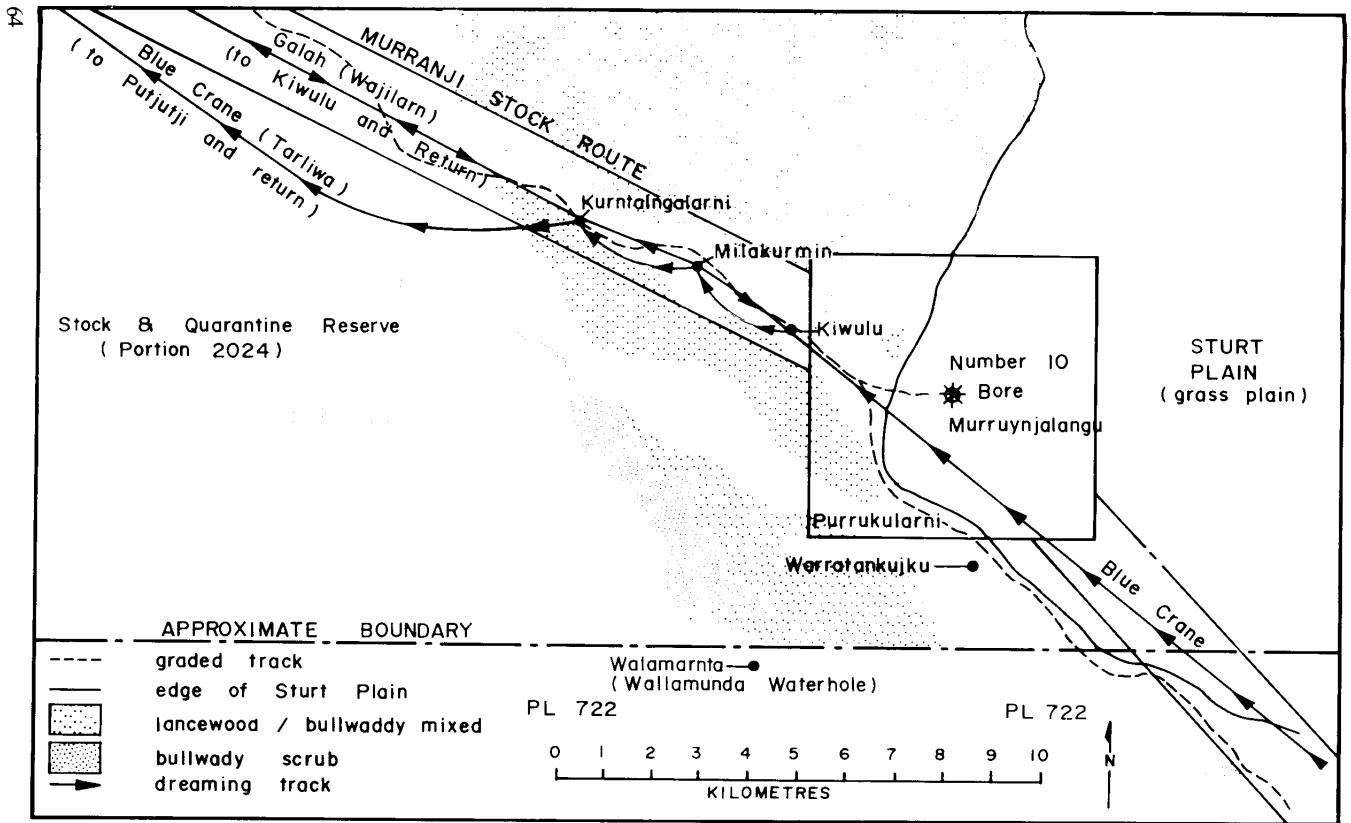
APPENDIX 5 : Geographical Spread of the Estates Claimed

Appendix 5 - Geographical spread of the five estates claimed



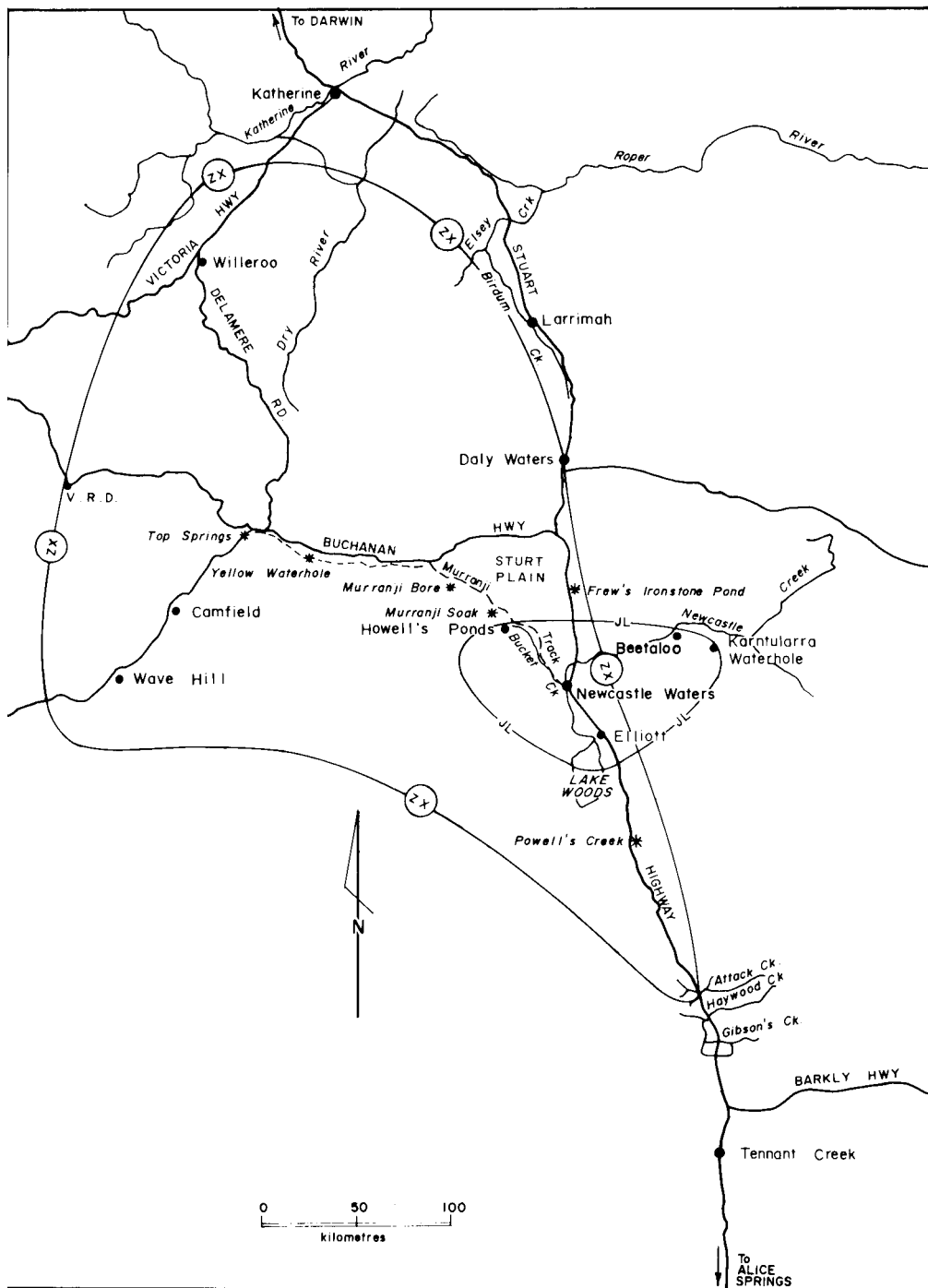
APPENDIX 6 : Sketch map of sites in Murrnaji bore area - Narlwan , Mulmulka, Panganyi , site B , site E (Jamakula) and site F Putjutji.

Appendix 6 - Sketch map of sites in area of Murrnaji Bore



APPENDIX 7 : Sites in south-east of claim area - Kurntalingalarni , Milakurmini , Kiwulu , Murruynjalangu and Warratankujku

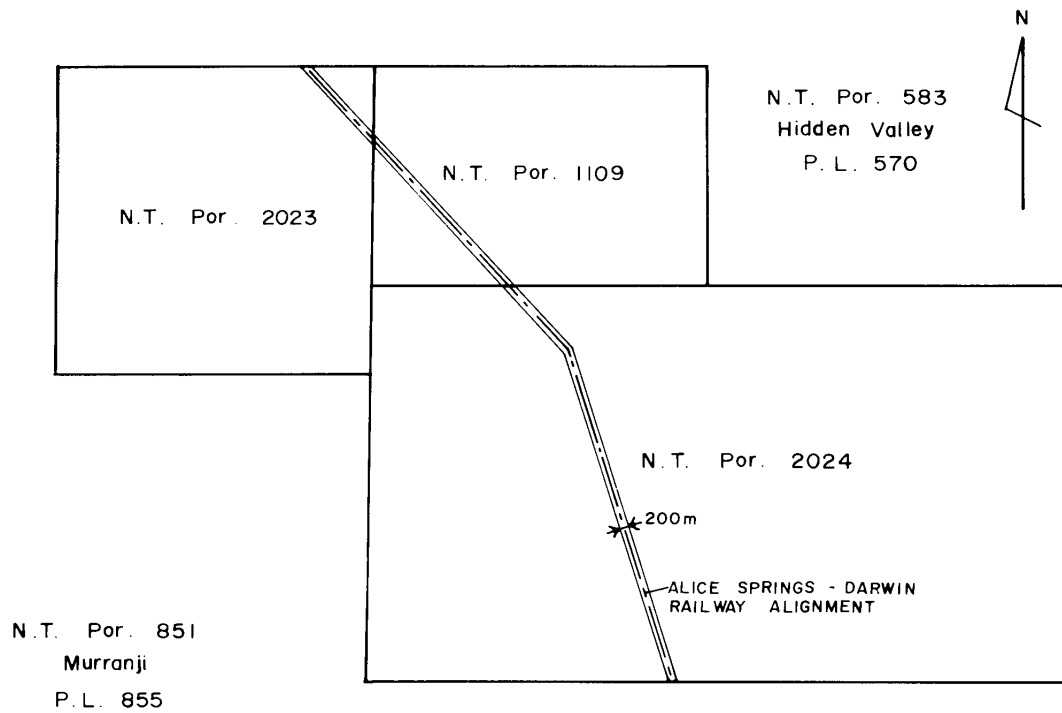
Appendix 7 - Sites in south-east of claim area



APPENDIX 3: Schematic distribution of Mudbura (ZX) and Djingili (JL) - speaking people in 1972 ; Mudbura and Djingili speakers numbered 280 and 179 respectively.

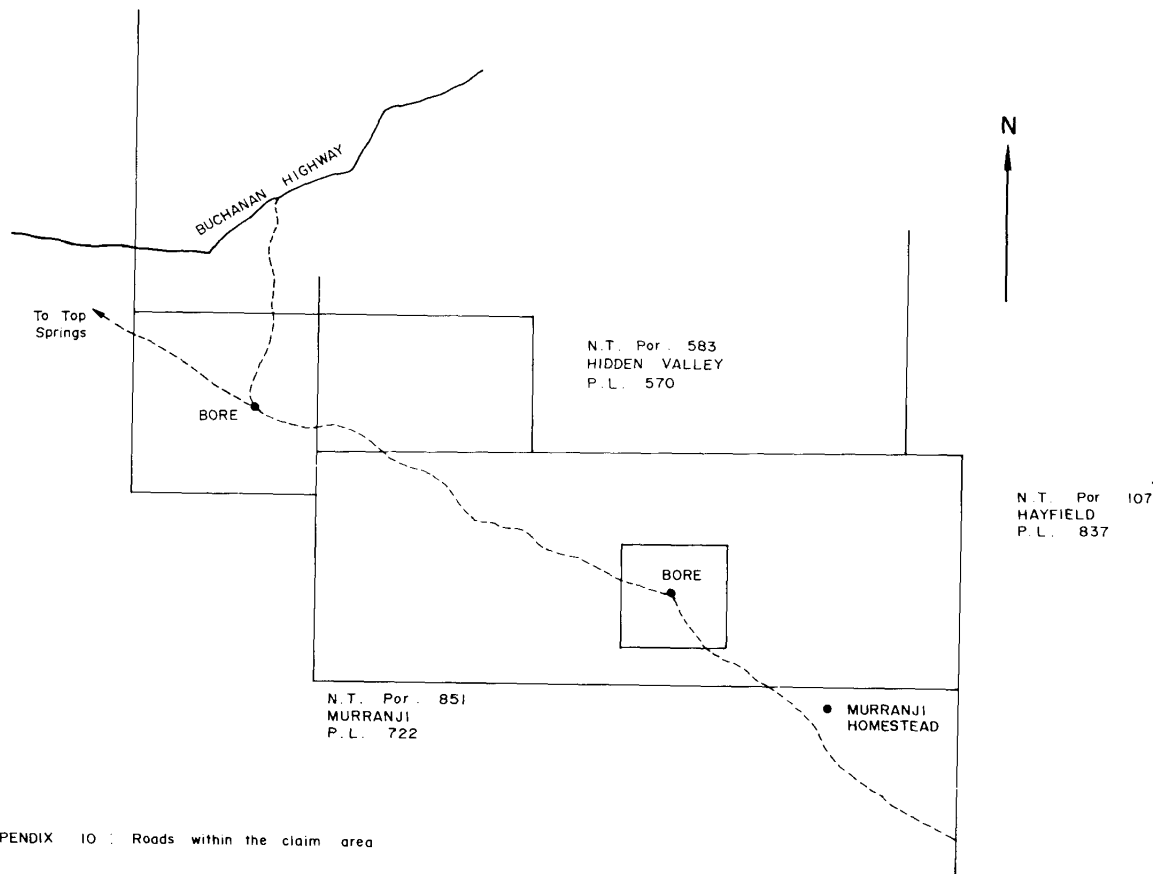
Source : E.P. Milliken's chapter in "Tribes and boundaries in Australia" (edit. N. Peterson, 1976), with map showing Aboriginal language distribution in the Territory.

Appendix 8 - Dreaming Tracks within the claim area



APPENDIX 9 : Proposed railway alignment within the claim area.

Appendix 9 - Proposed alignment of railway within claim area



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APPENDIX 10 : Roads within the claim area

Appendix 10 - Roads within the claim area

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Employment, Education and Training

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA**ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS (NORTHERN TERRITORY) ACT 1976****ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABORIGINAL LAND TRUST****NOTICE**

I, ROBERT EDWARD TICKNER, Minister of State for Aboriginal Affairs, pursuant to subsection 4(1) of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, hereby establish an Aboriginal Land Trust by the name of Wubalawun Aboriginal Land Trust to hold title to land in the Northern Territory for the benefit of Aboriginals entitled by Aboriginal tradition to the use or occupation of the land concerned, being land described as Northern Territory Portion 2016 the boundaries of which are set out in Survey Plans S.89/299A to S.89/299J lodged with the Registrar-General of the Northern Territory.

Dated *11th November* 1991

Minister of State for
Aboriginal Affairs

9152124