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&
Cicatrices as Tribal Indicators
among the Tasmanian Aborigines

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Cover: *Alphonse, the Tasmanian* [portrait of Mannalargenna].
Thomas Napier (from an engraving) (Bonwick, 1870, p.124.)

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THE TASMANIAN TRIBES

STRUCTURE OF THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINAL POPULATION

The basic problem in the recording of information about the Tasmanians was the lack of real contact with them, in which an ignorance of their languages was a major factor. It came slowly to be recognised that there was a division into groups among them, but this was as far as any understanding developed: it had come about largely because it was found that there were differences between the languages spoken in different regions. In accordance with word-use at that time, such groups of people were spoken of as tribes.

For information about the Aboriginal groups in Tasmania, reliance can be placed on only one source, the papers of George Augustus Robinson. Even there particulars are often vague; and as well it must be remembered that Robinson made contact with the people only after they had been much reduced in numbers as a result of their contact with the European settlers.

N.B. Tindale (1974), has dealt with the divisions of the Australian Aborigines in his masterly book *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. He has shown clearly that there were three levels of organisation of a community: the family, the clan or horde, and the tribe.

The family:

The family or hearth group was the smallest unit of the free-living people and comprised usually not more than ten persons who lived together, that is parents, their children, relatives of the parents, grandchildren and their mothers, and perhaps other relatives. In composition the family was exogamous. The activities of the family were such that they could live together with little or no help from outsiders, and in pursuing their activities they kept within a specific territory, that of the tribe. (Tindale, 1974.)

There are few records of individual families among the Tasmanian Aborigines: perhaps the best is the family group seen by Péron at Port Cygnet. This comprised the young woman Ourê-Ourê, her parents, a young married couple and their four children, a total of nine persons. As for the young married couple, the man would probably have been Ourê-Ourê's brother, his wife coming from another family to live as a member of her husband's family (Plomley, 1983).

Another statement about the composition of a small group of Aborigines in Tasmania is that of the gardener's assistant on the *Bounty* (Bligh, 1788). He met a group consisting of an old man, a young woman and two or three children. It seems likely that this group was not the full family, lacking at least a young man and perhaps the wife of the old man.

No other clear record of the composition of a Tasmanian family has been noticed. A search for such records should be directed more to the era of the marine explorer than to the years of European settlement, if only because there was increasing disturbance of the natural population as time went on.

The clan or horde:

Students of the Australian Aborigines have used several terms to designate associations of families who conduct their activities together within the tribal territory. They have therefore sometimes been called *local groups*. These associations are loose in that one or more families may choose to live apart for longer or shorter times. The words *clan* and *horde* point to possession of a common ancestor, and because of this they claim ownership of a particular part of the tribal territory.

Clans and hordes do not seem to have had specific names, but were certainly distinguished by special naming within the tribe. Such naming related them either to the boundaries of the part of the tribal territory they occupied; or to some feature of it, such as a water-hole; or to special food gathering activities; or to some other special characteristic of themselves or the locality where they lived. (Tindale, 1974.)

Among the Tasmanian Aborigines there is no information about the composition of hordes, although it is evident from the records of the marine explorers that they existed. It therefore seems preferable to apply Tindale's word *local group* to the Tasmanian group of families, this stipulating no more than association, and evading the question of a common ancestor in the composition of the group.

The tribe:

With the Australian Aborigines the members of a tribe share a common bond of kinship and claim a common territory. They are a community with common interests, even if they seldom meet as a whole, but when they do so they feel themselves to be members of a single group inhabiting a territory having known boundaries. The members of the tribe follow the same procedures in food gathering and have the same customs and the same religious basis for living; and they have a common language of communication. They feel they are a single people, distinct from other peoples living outside their territory, who are separated from them by language, activities and religious life. Tribes are known among themselves by specific names and they are also known by name to other tribes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE DEALING WITH TASMANIAN TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

In reviewing the literature dealing with Tasmanian territorial divisions it will be as well to keep firmly in mind the words available in the English language to describe them. We must take into account particularly that the only terms of everyday use until anthropologists began to re-define the old terms and introduce new ones in this century, were *family*, *tribe* and *race*. We are not concerned here with *race*, but only with the meaning of the words *family* and *tribe*. It must therefore be conceded that the used of the word *tribe* in all except recent works on the territorial divisions of the Tasmanians referred merely to a recognisable group of people, and the *tribe* of the old literature may or may not have been one according to modern anthropological terminology.

Although several of the marine explorers gathered vocabularies of Tasmanian Aboriginal words, none of them recorded any information about territorial divisions among the people. Most of their observations related to groups of Aborigines in a small part of south-eastern Tasmania. Péron, who visited Maria Island in 1802 with

the Baudin Expedition, found only the smallest differences between the people he met there and those of Bruny Island.

With the coming of the European settlers at the beginning of the 19th Century differences among the Aborigines were noted and were described in terms either of the language spoken or the territory occupied. From about 1824 several groups of Aborigines were given names by the settlers, and these names referred to the localities in which they lived or from where they had come. These names are found commonly in the newspapers and public records after 1824, but they do not seem to have been in use earlier, being related to the time of the Black War of 1824-1831. There is no evidence that these names were based upon Aboriginal names for territorial tribes. They were, in fact, no more than names used by the settlers for groups of Aborigines living in particular areas, and this is made clear by the names themselves - Big River Tribe, Oyster Bay Tribe, Stony Creek Tribe, Ben Lomond Tribe, and so on. Moreover, with the breakdown of Aboriginal culture and decrease in numbers - this had been taking place from the time of the first European settlements, but may have been occurring more rapidly after 1824 - these so-called tribes were conglomerates made up of the survivors of more than one group who had come together so that they would be able to live, and act, as a group. Evidence for this is to be found when the data on the Aboriginal/Settler clash between 1824 and 1834 are analysed and the sites of these clashes mapped (Plomley, in press).

The first attempt to relate language to the locality where it was spoken, was made by Charles Sterling, G.A. Robinson's clerk from 1829 until 1832, using words obtained by Robinson and by himself from the Aborigines with whom they were associated. Sterling's lists are to be found among the Robinson Papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (A7085) and were first published by Curr in 1886/87, and re-published by Ritz (1911) under the name 'Norman Vocabulary' (see Plomley, 1976). In the original manuscript in the Robinson Papers Sterling tabulated his words in four columns - (a) Tribes on the Southern Coast, comprehending Bruny Island, D'Entrecasteaux Channel and the S.W. Cape, (b) Tribes of the Western Coast, (c) Tribes of the Eastern Coast, comprehending Great and Little Swanport, Oyster Bay, etc., and (d) Tribes of the Northern Coast, comprehending Port Dalrymple.

The next attempt, and the first to be published, was the posthumous vocabulary of Jorgen Jorgenson (1842). Jorgenson had been transported to Tasmania, where he arrived on 26 April, 1826. Later that year he was selected by Edward Curr, Manager of the Van Diemen's Land Company, to find an overland route between Hobart and the Company's properties in north-western Tasmania, and in September and October he attempted to do so but in fact got no further than the Great Lake Plateau. In January 1827 Curr sent him to north-western Tasmania where he took part in at least one exploring trip. He left the Company in June 1827 and after several months in Hobart engaged in literary work, he joined the field police in March 1828, serving under Thomas Anstey in the Oatlands district. There he became involved in the organisation of the Roving Parties and in their work in the field; and late in 1830 in the arrangements for the Black Line. Thereafter Jorgenson lived mostly in Hobart, where he died early in February 1841 (Plomley, 1991).

In July 1842 a list of Tasmanian Aboriginal words compiled by Jorgenson from documents in the Colonial Secretary's Office was published in the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*. To Jorgenson's list had been added some words supplied by Thomas Dove and a vocabulary collected by the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition. Some of

Jorgenson's material was published later by Braim (1846). In the preamble there is the following comment -

It would appear that there are four dialects, one used in the eastern districts, a second spoken among the western tiers, a third used in the neighbourhood of Port Davey, and a fourth by the tribe inhabiting the Circular Head district.

The list itself divides the words into (1) Eastern Language, (2) Western, (3) Southern, (4) Northern, and (5) Uncertain.

The next contribution came from Joseph Milligan. He had arrived in Tasmania in February 1831 as Surgeon to the Van Diemen's Land Company in north-western Tasmania and remained with them for eleven years. During that time he could not have had much contact with the free-living Aborigines, almost the last of whom had been removed from the district by November 1832. From February 1844 until October 1847, with a break between March 1846 and June 1847, he was in charge of the Aborigines at the Aboriginal Settlement on Flinders Island. With the removal of the Aborigines from that settlement to Oyster Cove in October 1847, Milligan was in charge of them there until July 1855, when he was dismissed. During this time he did not live at Oyster Cove but at Hobart, from where he visited the Oyster Cove station infrequently.

Milligan's place in the study of the Tasmanian Aborigines is based upon his vocabulary of their languages, because until the publication of G.A. Robinson's vocabularies (Plomley, 1976) it was the only extensive list of words available. Milligan (1857, 1859) classified the words in his lists into three groups - (a) tribes from Oyster Bay to Pittwater, (b) tribes about Mount Royal, Brune Island, Recherche Bay and the south of Tasmania, and (c) North West and Western Tribes, that is, he had based his different languages upon the tribes inhabiting particular regions rather than the region where the language was spoken. This may sound something of a quibble, but it did mark a shift away from geography to the territorial divisions of the people.

Although Milligan holds such an important place in Tasmanian Aboriginal studies, the question can now be asked whether his work was of a high standard. Milligan's contacts with the Aborigines were close only when he was Superintendent of the Aboriginal Settlement at Flinders Island, a period of about thirty months. His contacts with them while he was with the Van Diemen's Land Company could have been no more than slight, and his contacts at Oyster Cove few. For his thirty months at Flinders Island his published studies include short sentences, some place names, names of men and women, three songs, a legend of the origin of fire, all of which were associated with the vocabulary (Milligan, 1859A). As well, there was a separate article on the dialects and language (Milligan, 1859B). He also supplied various writers with information about the way of life of the Tasmanians, and arranged exhibits dealing with them for international expositions.

At best it can be said of Milligan's ethnological work that it was superficial. The time he spent at Flinders Island should have been sufficient for him to make extensive enquiries on a wide range of topics relating to the Aborigines, but he produced little and what he did produce is flawed. Both his sentences and his article on the languages give the impression that he did not understand the structural basis of the Tasmanian languages. Even Milligan's understanding of his own language, English, seems flawed, as seen for example in the many different English words he used when translating the Aboriginal words for devil (Plomley, 1976). Milligan recorded only

three songs, but other writers have recorded many more. His sixty-five place names are less than one-tenth of those recorded by G.A. Robinson (Plomley, 1991). *Not a single name of an Aboriginal tribe is mentioned.* Although by the time Milligan went to Flinders Island the Aborigines had been there from twelve to fifteen years and during that time members of different tribes had lived together and their natural way of life had largely been destroyed, Milligan could have obtained very much more information than he did by careful study and analysis.

Thirty years after Milligan, J.B. Walker published further material relating to the territorial divisions of the Aborigines based upon original observations (Walker, 1898). Walker was the son of George Washington Walker, a Quaker, who visited Tasmania with the Quaker missionary James Backhouse between 1832 and 1834. The two men had come to the Australian colonies from England to visit Quakers there. They went to the Aboriginal Settlement on Flinders Island twice, the first time in October and November 1832, and the second in December 1833 and January 1834. Both men made a number of important observations on the Aborigines, but at the time only Backhouse published anything dealing with them (Backhouse, 1843; Backhouse and Tylor, 1862). About forty years after his father's death and using his manuscripts, J.B. Walker published the observations made by G.W. Walker .

In dealing with territorial divisions, J.B. Walker (1898) based his work on that of Milligan, but subdividing one of them and adding a fourth - (a) Southern Tribes [Milligan's "Tribes about Mount Royal, Brune Island, Recherche Bay, and the South of Tasmania"], (b) Western Tribes [Milligan's "North West and Western Tribes"], (c) Central Tribes [Milligan's "Tribes from Oyster Bay to Pittwater"], which he subdivided into the Oyster Bay Tribe and the Big River Tribe, and (d) Northern and North-eastern Tribes, which he subdivided into the Stony Creek tribe, the Port Dalrymple tribe, the Ben Lomond Tribe and the North-East Coast Tribes. Here again the tribes are named for the territories they occupied. Not one of them is related to an Aboriginal name. Moreover, the sub-tribes are given the names in popular use by the settlers, such as Big River Tribe, Oyster Bay Tribe, and so on.

Ling Roth (1899) brought together all the information then available. In the section on language he used Milligan's three tribal divisions as a basis for differentiation, and he published a map of Tasmania on which he marked place names and the regions occupied by the tribes, as modified by Walker from Milligan.

Knowledge of the territorial divisions of the Tasmanians did not advance further until the journals kept by G.A. Robinson during his journeys in search of the Aborigines between 1829 and 1834 were published (Plomley, 1966). These journals name and describe the territorial locations of groups of Aborigines whom Robinson referred to as "tribes" or "nations". Later, Rhys Jones (1974) re-examined Robinson's data and came to the conclusion that his "tribes" and "nations" were no more than "bands", and he used the terminology of Milligan and Walker in grouping these into tribes, that is, Jones gave English names to his tribes. In the present paper additional information about territorial groupings has been extracted from Robinson's field notes and vocabularies, presenting a picture of them which is more complete. All the information found is summarised in the Appendix, and locations are marked on the Map.

It remains, then, to consider what the data mean in terms of territorial divisions among the Tasmanian Aborigines. It is clear from the start that the situation among the Tasmanians differed in some aspects at least from that among the Australian tribes

as outlined by Tindale (1974). At first sight, Robinson's "tribes" and "nations" were tribes in the Tindale sense because they had Aboriginal names, whereas the "tribes" of the settlers were not so named.

THE STATUS OF TERRITORIAL GROUPS AMONG THE TASMANIANS

A decision must now be made about the relationships between the territorial groups of the Robinson record. This means, in effect, deciding whether the Tindale classification of the Australian Aborigines into clan and tribe is appropriate to the Tasmanians.

The clan or horde.

Tindale's terminology of clan or horde cannot be applied to the Tasmanians because, although they were exogamous, little is known about the relationships of the families comprising their groups. Something may come to light in the future by a detailed analysis of the Robinson record, but he was probably too late an observer to see the natural horde, except perhaps on the West Coast. To obviate this ignorance about the composition of the Tasmanian horde, it is preferable to use the neutral description *local group* instead of clan or horde for the groups of families who carried out their activities together.

The records of the marine explorers, who were the only Europeans to meet the Tasmanians in their natural state, mention groups of different size and composition met in the field. The clearest records are those of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition (Labillardière, 1802) and the Baudin Expedition (Plomley, 1983), but there is also information about such groups in the records of Cock's visit in 1777, and Bligh's visits in 1788 and 1792. These groups were not single families, nor were they complete tribes.

The above records show that local groups could comprise more than one hearth group or parts of them. Thus, on one occasion Labillardière met a group of forty-eight persons comprising ten men, fourteen women and twenty-four children who, being grouped around seven fires, probably belonged to seven hearth groups. Other records of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition refer to smaller numbers of people and smaller groups of huts. The Baudin record (Plomley, 1983) and other pre-settlement records reporting meetings with parties of Aborigines and numbers of huts seen together show a wider range of numbers.

The tribe.

Among the Australian Aborigines, according to Tindale (1974), the highest order of population group is the tribe, and the tribe is differentiated from other groups by having a specific territory, by having a name for itself, and by keeping itself distinct from other tribes by its members marrying among themselves.

The Tasmanian tribe resembled the Australian tribe by having its own name(s), by having a specific territory, but not by restricting marriage to its members, it being clear that marriage did occur between different territorial groups in Tasmania. Robinson gives enough instances of the latter for there to be some likelihood that it was a normal practice, even if the extent to which it occurred is unknown.

The information in the Robinson Papers concerning Tasmanian tribes is set out in the Appendix and their territories are shown on the Map.

The data show that each tribe had two names, one presumably being the name by which its members referred to it and the other the name by which the tribe was known to others. This duality of naming is stated certainly in some cases, can be inferred in others from person or territory being the same, or has some degree of likelihood in others, evidence either pointing strongly to the association or suggesting it intuitively.

Two types of tribe can be distinguished, "coastal" tribes whose territories had a frontage on the seashore, and "inland" tribes which had no direct contact with the sea. The "inland" tribes fall into two series, those of the Midlands and their northward extension, and those of western and south-western Tasmania. For neither series is the record satisfactory, partly because Robinson's journeys were mostly along coastlines, so that anything he learnt of the "inland" tribes was what he was told by the Aborigines travelling with him, and partly because the people of the Midlands were very much reduced in numbers or the tribes were extinct by Robinson's day, this being a region which was settled early by Europeans. The imprecision and vagueness of most of the information about such tribes has made it difficult to assign territories to them.

The "inland" tribes had a different economy from that of the "coastal" tribes, marine foods being absent from their diet except at times when the "coastal" tribes permitted them to cross their territories to visit the coast. The circumstances under which permission was given them to do so are quite unknown. One feature of the arrangement was that defined pathways were used. Presumably, some "payment" had to be made, and in one case at least this seems to have been to permit access to an ochre mine, as in the case of the famous Mount Gog site (Plomley, 1966).

The territories of the "coastal" tribes are often fairly well defined, but there is always one boundary which is unknown, the inland boundary. Little more can be said of this boundary than it would have been adjacent to one of the "inland" tribes and that it was determined probably by some geographical feature such as a range of hills or other unproductive region.

Both "coastal" and "inland" tribes were closely associated with a river system. This is not surprising, because the basic feature of a hunter/gatherer way of life is the availability of water. Moreover, a food supply must not only be available but it must be obtainable in sufficient quantity. It is surprising, therefore, that no real attempt has been made to study the historical distribution of the vegetation in Tasmania. There are statements that this area or that was heavily forested, but nothing has been published about their relationship with Aboriginal man. It is the old story that anthropologists in Australia think only in terms of people, not of the ecology as a whole. The environment in which a people lives controls their lives, and to deal with a people without dealing with their environment, particularly in relation to food supplies, leaves much to be desired. Particulars of the natural environment in Tasmania can be obtained from the records of the explorers, the writings of settlers and so on, yet it has never been studied in depth. Even the "coastal" tribes have not received much attention in regard to the principal marine foods utilised, which vary in distribution and abundance from place to place. And how can the question of the eating of scaled fish be dealt with adequately when the ecology of those fish and their distributions are unknown?

The "inland" tribes would have been much more restricted in their use of their territories than the "coastal" tribes. Heavy timber would have been an unsuitable environment for food gathering, and so it seems likely that they would have kept to the more open country of the river valleys, the sub-alpine plateaus and, in the south-west, the buttongrass plains. Vague as the evidence is, "inland" tribes do seem to have been related to the river systems. The want of information about the distribution of vegetation in Tasmania and the places where open country might be found is, as has been pointed out, a serious hindrance to the interpretation of tribal distribution.

Now that a basic statement has been made concerning the number and distribution of Tasmanian tribes, it is possible to deal with their composition and characteristics. The first of these needing comment is the size of the Tasmanian tribe.

NUMBER OF PERSONS COMPRISING THE TRIBE

There is some indication from the records of the marine explorers that the Tasmanian tribe numbered a little less than one hundred men, women and children. The evidence for this is as follows -

- (a) Duclesmeur, Marion du Fresne's lieutenant, remarks of the natives lining the shore at Marion Bay at the time of the expedition's first contact with them, that they appeared to live "in bands of fifty or sixty, men and women all together" (Plomley, 1966 - the French word *troupes* was translated there as *bands*, but it has no specific meaning, only the general one of a large number of people associated together). The purpose of the gathering at that time is unknown - obviously it was not to repulse the Frenchmen - and the number seems a little on the low side as a count of the full tribe.
- (b) Meetings between members of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition and the natives probably never involved a complete tribe, the largest number of people seen together being forty-two on one occasion and forty-eight on another (Plomley, 1983).
- (c) The members of the Baudin Expedition gained an idea from their meetings with the natives as to the numbers of Aborigines living at Bruny Island and at the Derwent (Plomley, 1983).

At one of several meetings at Great Taylor Bay, Bruny Island, a large number of men, women and children was seen. This number was variously reported as being more than one hundred (Brevedent), about sixty (Leschenault), and more than fifty (Baudin); Baudin reported officially later that seventy or eighty were seen. It should be noted that only Leschenault's record was that of an actual observer; he was a competent one as well. In summarising events at D'Entrecasteaux Channel, Baudin remarks that the largest number of natives seen together was fifty-five men, women and children. While the numbers of natives seen together on some occasions probably approached the tribal number, the apparent absence of infants and very old people suggests that the full tribe was never seen. It must be pointed out also that no member of the Baudin Expedition made contact with the natives in their camp. The size of the Bruny Island tribe was therefore of the order of one hundred persons, and less rather than more.

The only other information about the number of persons who could have

made up a single tribe comes from two observations by Péron relating to groups of dwellings found on the western shore of the Derwent River. One of these was finding eight shelters together in the region of North West River; the other was seeing fourteen dwellings grouped together in the vicinity of Limestone Hill, on the bank of the river opposite Bridgewater. Those at North West River could well have housed a complete tribe, while those at Limestone Hill suggest an association of two tribes (see below).

It must not be thought that the number of persons making up a tribe was the same in all. The number is likely to have been related to the extent of the territory occupied and to its capacity to produce food. Regions providing an abundant food supply, such as those around Cape Portland in the north-east and Cape Grim in the north-west, had several tribes each occupying small territories (see Map). On the other hand, the tribes of coastal south-western Tasmania had large territories, this evidently related to the much smaller food supply obtainable from them. Whether there was a concomitant reduction in tribal numbers in the latter is not known.

Taking all the above information into consideration and that of the Baudin Expedition in particular, a figure of seventy men, women and children has been chosen as the average size of the Tasmanian tribe.

SIZE OF THE TRIBAL TERRITORY

Plomley (1966) suggested an average figure of about fifteen miles (24 km) for the length of coast occupied by the Tasmanian tribes having such a boundary to their territories. The present more complete study indicates an average figure of about thirty-nine kilometres for the thirty-five "coastal" tribes.¹

The average territorial area of the "coastal" tribes is unknown because there are no data relating to the depth of the territory, that is, its extent inland. From a general consideration of topography and the location of the "inland" tribes, it is reasonable to suppose that the average depth of "coastal" territory was not great -

			x3	x4
(1) Depth	12.5 km x 39 km	area 488 km ²	1464	1952
	19.0 km	741 km ²	2223	2964
	25.0 km	975 km ²	2925	3900

These figures receive some support from an attempt to calculate the average territorial area occupied by the "inland" tribes. The total "inland" area, that is, the whole area of Tasmania less that occupied by the "coastal" tribes is -

¹ Area of Tasmania, 26,383 sq. miles (68,332 km²). Coastline 900 miles (1449 km), less about 50 miles (80 km) (Mersey River to Sisters Hills) where there were no "coastal" tribes. All land measurements from Tasmanian Year Book, No. 1 - 1967, those given in miles being converted to kilometres - 1 mile = 1.6 km, 1 sq. mile = 2.59 km².

(2) Area of Tasmania		68,332 km ²	
less areas of Flinders and King Islands	3,090 km ²		
less say 15% for dense and uninhabitable forest	10,250 km ²		
less total area occupied by 35 "coastal" tribes			Area occupied by "inland" tribes
depth 12.5 km	17,080 km ²	30,420 km ²	37,912 km ²
depth 19.0 km	25,935 km ²	39,275 km ²	29,057 km ²
depth 25.0 km	34,125 km ²	47,465 km ²	20,867 km ²

Using the above figures, some calculations can be made in regard to the possible average territorial areas occupied by the "inland" tribes -

(3) "coastal" depth	area occupied by "inland" tribes	unit area occupied by each "inland" tribe		
		22 tribes	33	44
12.5 km	37,912 km ²	1723 km ²	1149 km ²	862 km ²
19.0 km	29,057 km ²	1321 km ²	881 km ²	660 km ²
25.0 km	20,867 km ²	949 km ²	632 km ²	474 km ²

Although the above calculations are little more than playing with figures, they do not diverge wildly from the situation in Tasmania. Tindale (1974, p.112) remarks that "a position on the seashore seems to afford a territorial advantage of a factor between three and four". In these terms, there is a reasonable fit for an average territorial depth of 12.5 km for the "coastal" tribes and the "inland" tribes numbering a few more than twenty-two (ref. (1) columns on right hand side.)

POPULATION

There are no data concerning the size of the Aboriginal population of Tasmania at the time Europeans began to settle the island in 1803. From time to time students have made guesses, inspired and uninspired, as to the size of that population, based upon some impression gained from their studies. The estimate of population used by most students at present is one of 4,000 to 6,000 persons. How do these figures fit in with the above information relating to the size and number of tribes?

Number of tribes	total	<i>population on a basis of an average number of persons per tribe</i>		
		50	70	100
35 "coastal" plus				
22 "inland"	57	2850	3990	5700
33 "inland"	68	3400	4760	6800
44 "inland"	79	3950	5530	7900

These figures are in fair agreement with the 4,000 to 6,000 persons estimated on the basis of a tribal size of 70-100 persons and a total of 57 tribes, but they suggest that an upper limit of 5,500 may be more realistic.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribal associations.

There are several references in the literature to people seen together in numbers larger than the tribe, but most of these relate to the period of the Black War and are therefore unreliable, being either exaggerations or relating to conglomerates comprising the remnants of several tribes. However, two references in the early literature are of interest. The first of these was that incident at Risdon on 3 May, 1804, when the soldiers there fired upon a party of Aborigines which included men, women and children. According to Surgeon Mountgarret, quoted by Knopwood in his diary, there were 500-600 Aborigines. In the minutes of evidence to the Broughton Committee in 1830, Captain James Kelly gave the number as 400-500, of whom 40-50 were killed; while Edward White saw 300. Only White was a spectator, Mountgarret and Kelly repeating what they had been told. It seems likely that there were not more than 300 Aborigines in the party.

Knopwood also reported that the harbourmaster at Hobart, William Collins, saw at the Huon River during a visit there on 21 June, 1804, a native "town", where there were "about twenty families", that is, 150-200 Aborigines.

There is also some evidence in the Robinson Papers for the association of tribes into larger groups. One of these is a statement that the PANG.HER.NING.HE tribe was associated with the NUE.NON.NE, TUR.RER.ER.QUON.NE and PYE.DARE.RER.ME peoples of south-western Tasmania. Another was an association between the LOO.MIN.DE.WITH.ER.ROKE and PAN.NER.BUKE.ER peoples, who inter-married; they fought the BEE.LAR people.

As well there are some other matters which may point to some degree of tribal association, though they may represent little more than similarities of language. Thus, in the case of the eastern tribes the words MAIR.REE.NER and PAIR.RE.NER are added to the tribal name. These words, however, seem to have been used in the sense of "people". Similarly, many of the tribes of the north-west coast have the word PANER added to the tribal name, and again this seems to have been a word meaning "people". Some of the "inland" tribes of western Tasmania have the prefix BRAYL to their names, a word which seems to mean "bush".

Warfare:

It was an affirmation of faith on the part of the settlers to say that the tribes engaged in a bloody warfare which decimated them.

There are many references to warfare between groups of Aborigines in the record, and this subject may need to be considered in relation to tribal association. However, no case can be made out for natural warfare: aggression must largely have been the result of social disruption, especially that of displacement - a potent cause of warfare among hunter/gatherer peoples - for which the settlers were themselves responsible. Some information in the Robinson record does draw attention to a natural cause of warfare. His reports of aggression between tribes show that this occurred between coastal and inland peoples, and gives point to the presence of roads between one territory and another. Quarrels relating to access could well have been a cause of aggression. The whole matter needs careful study.

The Robinson record provides evidence for mass attacks by one group upon another, as with raids for women, but it seems to have been more usual for warfare between groups to have been a ritual in which the death of one marked the end of hostilities.

Trespass:

There were well marked native roads which traversed the country and gave access either to tribal territories generally or to specific parts of them. General access might have been given to egging lagoons near the sea coast, and restricted access to such a site as the Mount Gog ochre mine. Visits took place at regular times in respect to food-gathering at least, when there was a glut of food; and perhaps to ochre mines and stone quarries at particular periods of the year. Probably there was always some sort of regulation and visits became trespass only when they took place irregularly.

Language:

According to Tindale's definition of the tribe, its members have a common language (with perhaps dialectal variants). It will be remembered that in Tasmania tribal differences were associated with differences of language when vocabularies were being assigned to different groups of people (Jorgenson, Milligan and others), and in preparing them they were doing no more than adhering to G.A. Robinson's remark that he had to learn four languages to make himself understood by all the Aborigines he met. Robinson's understanding of language, including his own, was not great and probably it would be realistic to say that with a smattering of four languages he could make himself understood by all, those speaking some dialect of a particular language being able to understand him through common words. It will be remembered also that Jorgenson prepared his vocabularies from written records and not from the experience of speaking the language; while Milligan prepared his vocabularies at the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement more than ten years after the tribal remnants had been brought together there, and it is clear he had no idea of dialectal differences.

Robinson's records of vocabulary (Plomley, 1976) show that there were many dialects among the Tasmanian languages. They also show that in some cases a word might be used by many tribes living along a particular stretch of country, such as the West Coast, but that along that same stretch there were some tribes using different words having the same meaning or nearly so. It is to be deplored that no one has yet made a thorough analysis of this record.

THE AUSTRALIAN TRIBE AND THE TASMANIAN TRIBE COMPARED

Among the differences between the Australian tribe and that of Tasmania, three features stand out, (a) the difference in the size of the tribes, (b) the difference in the size of their territories, and (c) the freedom of movement between tribes.

Size of tribes.

The number of persons constituting the Tasmanian tribe was about seventy. Australian tribes, on the other hand, ranged in size from about 100 individuals to more than 1,000, with the average about 450 persons (Tindale, 1974). Birdsell (1983) revised Tindale's figures, concluding that tribal size ranged between 200 and 800, and the average was about 500 persons.

Size of territory.

The areas occupied by the Australian tribes varied considerably, ranging between about 50 km² and 140,000 km². The small territories were those producing a large supply of food, while the largest areas were deserts producing a very scarce supply. This can be visualised in the following rough classification -

50 - 750 km ²	islands, sea coast
750 - 2,500 km ²	coastal rivers, sea coast
2,500 - 13,000 km ²	inland rivers
13,000 - 25,000 km ²	inland dry
above 25,000 km ²	arid to desert

Although the area of Bruny Island, about 260 km², is within the Australian range for an island, both the size of the Tasmanian tribe and the size of its territory were much less than those of the Australian tribe. Consider the tribes of Victoria (Tindale, 1974), southern Victoria and northern Tasmania being somewhat similar ecologically. The coastline of Victoria extends for about 1730 km and supported twelve tribes, that is, the average length of coastline per tribe was about 144 km. The Aboriginal population of Victoria in 1788 has been estimated as about 15,000 persons (Smith, 1980), and Tindale lists a total of thirty-four tribes occupying the whole territory, that is, the average size of the tribes was about 440 persons, just on the average for the whole of Australia. The Victorian tribe, therefore, was about six times larger than the Tasmanian tribe, and on average it occupied an area of 18,968 km², this about twice that occupied by the Tasmanian tribe, suggesting that food gathering in Tasmania was not nearly so efficient as that in Victoria.

<i>Number of Tasmanian tribes in area of 54,992 km²</i>	<i>Unit area per tribe</i>
35 + 22 = 57	9648 km ²
35 + 33 = 68	8087 km ²
35 + 44 = 79	6961 km ²

COMMENTARY

It will be as well first to consider Jones' study of the Tasmanian tribes (Jones, 1974). His thesis breaks down on two particular points, one the absence of Aboriginal names for his "tribes", which are no more than the names applied by the European settlers to indeterminate groups of Aborigines who came under their notice. The other point of breakdown is his indiscriminate combination of "coastal" and "inland" tribes into the groups he calls "tribes". The absence of Aboriginal names for Jones's "tribes" is quite contrary to Tindale's postulate; and the lumping of "coastal" and "inland" tribes is unjustifiable because they had different economies. Moreover, contact between "coastal" and "inland" tribes may have been restricted by natural barriers.

The data discussed above bring out differences between the organisation of the population amongst the Tasmanians and that among the Australians. It must be remembered that not only had the Tasmanians been separated from the Australians for 8,000 to 10,000 years, but there had been independent genetic and social change in both during that time. In Tasmania, while territorial boundaries were definite, there seems to have been much more freedom in crossing them. It is well to bear in mind here Péron's remark that two men and a woman he met at Partridge Island were seen

later on the mainland at North West Bay, and when the Baudin Expedition visited Maria Island afterwards he met them again there (Plomley, 1983); and also to take particular note of the well-established and well-used roads.

Attention must also be directed to the small size of the Tasmanian tribe, about seventy men, women and children. Could a tribe of this size, containing no more than twenty breeding pairs, have been self-maintaining? In this connection, attention may be directed to the populations of the Furneaux and King Islands at the time of their isolation. Recent research suggests that they may not have continued for many generations after separation (Sim, 1990). On Kangaroo Island, a very much larger area (4,400 km²), the isolate is considered to have survived until no later than 2,500 BP (Lampert, 1981).

The Tasmanian situation could be resolved, however, if the whole population is considered as a single interbreeding group. Quite apart from the movement of people between one tribal territory and another, regulated though it probably was, it is known that spouses were sought outside the tribe (Plomley, 1966).

Apart from mere distance, and perhaps language, there were some restraints upon free movement between tribes as a whole. The most important of these was the limited contact which the tribes of the West Coast had with the central and eastern tribes. Because the former were hemmed in on their eastern boundary by nearly impassable ranges of mountains, contact with the other tribes was limited to two passageways, a southern one along the south coast of Tasmania, and a northern one inland from the coast - the dense forest along the north coast between the Sisters Hills and the Mersey river made a coast route difficult in the region. This limitation of access seems to have given rise to some degree of differentiation between the West Coast peoples and the others.

To summarise, the whole Tasmanian tribal system seems to have been much simpler than the Australian, with easier access between tribes, less differentiation of language, and less complex material and social culture, with the whole population as the interbreeding unit rather than the individual tribes.

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APPENDIX: TASMANIAN TRIBES

A summary of information in the papers of George Augustus Robinson (coll. Mitchell Library, Sydney).

Sources are indicated by -

- (1) a date, e.g. 7.v.30 (7 May, 1830), which is that of the entry in *Friendly Mission (FM)* for the day on which the data are recorded.
- (2) sources R/A and R/B, which refer to compilations by this author derived from entries on the end pages of the notebooks in which Robinson wrote his diaries and entries in Robinson's vocabularies and elsewhere, so that R/B 35, for example, signifies page 35 of notes R/B.

Robinson's use of the words "nation" and "tribe" to describe natural groups of people have both been retained in compiling the list which follows, the entries being either quotations from Robinson's originals or summaries of them which retain the same form of words. Robinson uses the words "nation" and "tribe" synonymously, and both are equivalent to present use of the word tribe.

1. LE.TER.RE.MAIR.RE.NER

LE.TER.RE.MAIR.RE.NER: Port Dalrymple tribe; KARN.TER.PER.LANG.-ER.NER chief. [R/B 35]

PY.HE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

PY.HE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: Port Dalrymple tribe; UMARRAH chief. [R/B 35]
 PYE.EN.MAIR.EN.NER PAIR.EN.ER: nation at Pipers River; UMARRAH's country. [R/A 54; R/B 56]

Comment: UMARRAH, apparently a corruption of Hugh Murray, in whose household he lived, had the native names KAN.NE.HER.LARGENNER and MOLE.TE.HE.ER.LARGENNER, and is mentioned as being the chief of more than one tribe, that is, LE.TER.RE.MAIR.RE.NER (1) and TREE.WE MAIR.RER.-NER.PAIR.RE.NER (15), but there is no certain evidence as to which one. It does seem clear that all his associations were with eastern tribes: UMARRAH was involved in the spearing of Mrs Cunningham of East Arm (*FM* p.455), and all other references to him concern eastern Tasmania (except that his wife WOOL.-LAY.TOO.PIN.NE.YER was a Big River woman). It can be concluded that the LE.TER.MAIR.RE.NER was a tribe of the eastern Tamar, not its western parts.

2. PEE.BER.RANG.NER

PEE.BER.RANG.NER: tribe near Port Dalrymple to which Jock the TYRELORE woman belongs. [R/A 140, 144; R/B 117]

POOR.RER.MAIR.RE.NER

POOR.RER.MAIR.RE.NER: nation at Piper River (15.xi.30); WORE.TER.-LET.TE.LARN.NEN.NE chief. [R/B 42]

PORE.MAIR.RE.NER: Piper River tribe (?).

PONE.NE.MAR.RE.NER: tribe inhabiting country between the Tamar and Piper Rivers; Fanny's nation.

PAIR.MAIR.HE.ME.NER: Brid tribe; NUR.NE.PAT.TEN.ER [R/A 150]

Comment: Fanny and Jock were the same woman, her native name

PLORE.NER.NOOP.PER.NER. She is variously stated to have been a native of George Town and Piper River. Suggested territory - between Piper River and Brid River.

3. LEE.NER.RER.TAR

LEE.NER.RER.TAR: nation inhabiting the PLEE.MOOM.MER.ER.WAY country at Boobyalla River. [R/B 58]

PLEE.MOOM.MER.ER.WAY

PLEE.MOOM.MER.ER.WAY: Jumbo's nation at Boobyally River. [R/B 58]

Comment: Jumbo also said to have belonged to tribes at Cape Portland and Little Swanport, the latter probably an error. Suggested territory - between Brid and Ringarooma Rivers (FM p.463, note 182.)

4. LEE.MOON.NER.KAN.NER

LEE.MOON.NER.KAN.NER: nation at Cape Portland; Jumbo's nation. [R/A 54; R/B 56]

LEE.MOON.NER.LAN.NER: Jumbo's nation on north coast.

LE.MOON.NER.CAN.NER: Jumbo's nation on north coast. [R/A 42]

Comment: The only information about this tribe of the Cape Portland region is that it was Jumbo's nation, though she is also mentioned in connection with the LEE.NER.RER.TAR. Evidently the two tribes had adjacent territories, with the territory of the LEE.MOON.NER.KAN.NER between the Ringarooma River and Cape Portland, fronting on Boobyalla Beach. The two tribes are perhaps not to be separated.

5. PARE.RE.BEEN.NE

PARE.RE.BEEN.NE: Jumbo's nation. [R/A 45]

PAIRREBEENNE: country extending along coast from Ringarooma Point (= Cape Portland) to the river LARN.NER.RANG.HE.NER (= Great Musselroe River). [R/A 46; R/B 50]

PAIR.RE.BEEN.NE: MOLE.LER.TEE.LAG.GER.NER (= UMARRAH) chief. [R/A 51]

PORE.RE.BEEN.NER: Jumbo's nation. [R/B 49]

TRAW.WOOL.WAY

TRAW.WOOL.WAY: nation of the country of Big Mussel Roe (19 and 31.iii.31); country extending along coast from Big Mussel Roe to Cape Portland and as far back as the hills where I found MAN.NE.LER.GEN.NE

(= region of Ansons River, 1.xi.30); name of country LOOM.MER.RER.NET.-TEN.NA. [R/B 49, 58]

Comment: Again Jumbo is named as belonging to this tribe. Its territory is said to have extended from Cape Portland inland as far back as the hills where GAR found MAN.NE.LER.GEN.NE, that is, around the headwaters of the Great Musselroe River, so that it probably extended inland as far as the Mount Cameron hills.

4. PIN.TER.RAIR.ER

PIN.TER.RAIR.ER: Tib's nation. [R/A 121; R/B 142]

Comment: Tib (TARE.NOO.TAIR.RER) was a native of the LAY.RAP.PEN.THE country at Mussel Roe (11.xii.30). It is suggested that this is the second name of Jumbo's nation, LEE.MOON.NER.KAN.NER.

6. PY.EM.MAIR.RE.NER PAIR.RE.NER

PY.EM.MAIR.RE.NER PAIR.RE.NER: nation of country north-east of Ben Lomond and south-east of Mount Horror (6.vii.31).

PYE.EN.MAIR.EN.NER PAIR.EN.NER: nation at Piper River.

PY.EM.MAIR.RER.NER PAIR.RE.NER: nation of the country to the south of the peaked hill on the coast (= Mount Horror) and to the north of Ben Lomond; name derived from word PY.EM.YER.LEE, meaning "thunder". [R/A 92]

Comment: Note that MAIR.RER.NER.PAIR.RER.NER means "plenty of them". Suggested territory - upper reaches of the Ringarooma River, from Mount Cameron south-westwards.

7. PLANG.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER

PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: MANNALARGENNA's tribe. [R/A 127]

PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: nation of the man TER.LAN.DER.REEN.NER. [R/A 64]

PLANG.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER: nation at Ben Lomond (15.xi.30).

PLANG.EN.MAIR.RER.WANE.NER: one of two nations inhabiting country from Georges River to Eddystone Point; other PLEN.NER.RER MAR.RE.MEN.NER. [R/A 55; R/B 57]

PLIN.DER.MAIR.HE.ME.NER

PLIN.DER.MAIR.HE.ME.NER: tribe at or near Ben Lomond. [R/A 187, 195]

Comment: Suggested territory - along South Esk River, particularly to the south of Ben Lomond massif, that is, in the St Marys Valley.

8. LEE.NETH.MAIR.RE.NER

LEE.NETH.MAIR.RE.NER: nation of the DRORE.CROP.PEN.NE country (= headwaters of the Great Musselroe River) (31.x.30).

LE.NETH.MAIR.RE.NER: nation of the DRORE.CROP.PEN.NE country.
[R/A 60]

PAN.PE.KAN.NER

PAN.PE.KAN.NER: nation inhabiting the country of the Bay of Fires.
[R/A 54; R/B 56]

Comment: The DRORE.CROP.PEN.NE country lay in the region of Littlechilds Creek, north-west of Mount Pearson. Suggested Territory - between Eddystone Point and Cape Naturaliste.

9. PLANG.EN.MAIR.RER.WANE.NER

(1) PLANG.EN.MAIR.RER.WANE.NER (2) PLEN.NER.RER MAR.REM.-EN.NER: name of two nations who inhabit the country from Georges River to Eddystone Point, and the natives whom I visited in October 1830. [R/A 55]
PALE.LER.WIN.NE: Cape Portland nation or tribe to which Timmy belongs (= Ringarooma River/Georges Rocks inland).

PLEN.NER.RER MAR.REM.EN.NER

PLEN.NER.RER MAR.REM.EN.NER: as above (1, 2). [R/B 57]
PLEE.HEN.NER.PEN.NE: Timmy's nation, as above.

Comment: The entries are confusing. GAR states that the PLANG.EN.MAIR.-RER.WANE.NER and PLEN.NER.RER MAR.REM.EN.NER were "two nations", but it seems more likely that these are the two names of the same tribe and that PALE.LER.WIN.NE is a variant spelling of the first. There is little record of the location of "Timmy's nation": it is stated to have been the north-east coast at Georges Rocks ("Timmy" = MAUL.BOY.HEEN.NER). Suggested territory - southwards from Eddystone Point.

10. PLAIR.RY.MER.REEN.NER

(1) PLAIR.RY.MER.REEN.NER (2) TEE.BROOK.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER: nation inhabiting the country called KAL.LERE.NE.NAN.NE.NER at the two peaked hills near Georges River; MAN.NE.LAR.GEN.NER a native of this country. [R/B 41]
PLAIR.RY.MER.REEN.NER: nation inhabiting the PUN.TE.HAN.NER country near Georges River and the two-peaked hill. [R/B 32]

TEE.BROOK.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER

TEE.BROOK.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER: as above.

Comment: The "two peaked hills near Georges River" are likely to be hills some seven kilometers west and south-west of The Gardens (FM 5.i.31, and p.445, note 93), that is, in the vicinity of Mount Pearson. This would place the territory to the south of that of the LEE.NETH.MAIR.RE.NER, that is - southwards from The Gardens as far as Georges Bay.

11. LEEN.NE.RAT.TE.MIN.NE.NER

LEEN.NE.RAT.TE.MIN.NE.NER: nation whose country begins at the river LEE.ER.BAIR.RER and extends to St Patricks Head (11.i.31); PANGUM's nation. [R/A 64; R/B 63]

LEE.TER.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

LEE.TER.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: begins at the river LEE.ER.BAIR.RER and extends north to St Patricks Head; PANGEM's nation (11.i.31). [R/A 64; R/B 63]

Comment: The river LEE.ER.BAIR.RER is probably Douglas River. PANGEM's nation is said to have occupied the KOAN.NER.WE country, which is apparently that of Mount Morrison (but see comment on PEEN.RY.MAIR.RE.NER). The country of the tribe may have extended inland to Lake Leake. Suggested territory - between Georges Bay and Douglas River.

12. PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.NE.NER

PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.NE.NER: country extends from Great Swanport River round the point to the river LEE.ER.BAIR.RER; at this river the LEEN.-NE.RAT.TE.MIN.NE.NER nation begins (11.i.31).

PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.MER.NER: as above.

PLANG.UM.MAR.RE.MIN.NER: as above. [R/B 63]

PLANG.ER.MAIR.REEN.NER: nation of Ben Lomond, TOO.RER.BEEN.-NER country. [R/B 42]

Comment: Suggested territory - from Douglas River to north-eastern aspect of Moulting Lagoon.

13. LOON.TITE.TER.MAIR.RE.LE.HOIN.NER

LOON.TITE.TER.MAIR.RE.LE.HOIN.NER: nation in the region of Waterloo Point (= Swansea); the TROY.HE.LEEN.NER river (opposite Mr Cotton's residence) is the south-western boundary; and Great Swanport River is the boundary with the PLANG.UM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nation. [11.i.31; R/A 63]

LOON.TITE.MAIR.RE.LEE.HOIN.NER: the river at Meredith's stock hut or Great Swanport River is the boundary of this nation and the PLANG.UM.-MAIR.RE.MER.NER nation. [R/A 64]

LOON.TI.TER.MAR.RE.LEE.HOIN.ER: as above. [R/B 63]

(1) KEY.EN.YOU.MAIR.RE.ME.NER (2) LOON.TYE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER. [R/B 65]

LUNE.TY.MAIR.RE.MER: nation belonging to the PAR.RER.WORE.RER.-NER country at the west point of Swan Bay (9.i.31).

LUNE TI.MAIR.RE.MER.NER: country at west point of Swan Bay. [R/B 62]

LUNE.TINE.MAIR.RE.NER: a Little Swanport nation. [R/A 51]

LUNE.TITE.ER: nation at Little Swanport; confederates of the PARE.DARE.-RE.ME and PYE.DARE.RE.ME nations. [R/A 41]

LUNE.TINE.MAIR.RE.NER: Little Swanport nation. [R/B 54]

LOONTEMAIRRENER: nation of Little Swanport (11.iii.31).

LINE.TE.MAIR.RE.NER: Great Swanport tribe. [R/B 35]

KEY.EN.YOU.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

KEY.EN.YOU.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above.

KAR.NING.HE: Great Swanport tribe; TRUGGENNE belongs to this tribe.
[R/B 37]

KAR.NING.HE: the other tribe at Little Swanport. [R/B 35]

Comment: There is some confusion here because some of the localities are given as Little Swanport. The woman TRUGGENNE was a native of Port Esperance. Suggested territory - from Kelvedon Creek northwards to the Swan River and Moulting Lagoon.

14. MAY.ER.LOW.ER MAIR.RER.NER PAIR.RER.NER

MAY.ER.LOW.ER MAIR.RER.NER PAIR.RER.NER: nation at the point of the Schoutens. [8.i.31; R/B 62]

MAY.ER.LOW.ER.MAIR.RER.NER.PAIR.RER.NER: as above. [R/A 62, 63; R/B 61]

TOO.RER.NO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

TOO.RER.NO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: tribe inhabiting the country at the Schouten Island who fed partly on seal. [R/A 196]

POO.RER.NO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above. [R/A 187]

Comment: Suggested territory - Freycinet Peninsula as far northwards as the eastern aspect of Moulting Lagoon.

15. MAR.WE.MAIR.RE.NER

(1) MAR.WE.MAIR.RE.NER (2) TRUE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: the country near Campbell Town "where my horse was lost" (18.x.31);

KARNEBUTCHER's tribe. [R/A 141]

MAR.WE.MAIR.ER: one of three tribes of country at Ellinthorp Hall.

MUR.WIN.YE.LOON.ER: the name of Sall's tribe.

TRUE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

TRUE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above. [R/A 141]

TRULNER.MAIR.ER.ME.NAIR: tribe at Ross Bridge.

TREE.WE MAIR.RER.NER.PAIR.RE.NER: UMARRAH's nation. [R/A 116]

Comment: The country near Campbell Town "where my horse was lost" lay to the south-west of Lake Leake, north of Mount Connection. Suggested territory - to the eastwards of Ross.

16. PEEN.RY.MAIR.ME.NER

PEEN.RY.MAIR.ME.NER: tribe inhabiting the KOAN.NER.WE country (= lagoons 14 miles east of Campbell Town, at Lake Leake).

PEENG.RY.MAIR.ME.MER: as above. [R/A 181]

Comment: The KOAN.NER.WE country was in the region of Glen Morriston,

east of Campbell Town. PANGUM's tribe is said to have been the LEEN.NE.-RAT.TE.MIN.NE.NER, but this is probably a mistake and hers was this tribe of the Glen Morrision region, the other being a coastal tribe. Suggested territory - Glen Morrision region.

17. TARE.ER.NO.TEM.ME.TER

TARE.ER.NO.TEM.ME.TER: nation of the Hanging Sugar Loaf (= Ellinthorp, Ross), so called by the Cape Portland nation; speak the same dialect as LACKLAY; called the PYER.NOO.HE.PER.NEL.LE by the Cape Grim natives. [R/A 110]

TANNERTEMMETER: (2.ix.31).

TEREERMOTEMMOTE: (10.ix.31).

TAREHENOTEMMETER: (12.xii.31).

TARE.RE.NO.TEM.ME.NER: (21.xi.30).

PARE.TER.NO.TEM.ME.TER: WALYER, NING.ER.NOO.PUT.TEN.ER and ME.MER.LAN.NE.LAR.GEN.NE belong to the same country (10.ix.31).

TY.ER.RER.NO.TE.PAN.NER

TY.ER.RER.NO.TE.PAN.NER: nation inhabiting the country at Campbell Town (20.x.31).

TY.ER.RE.NOTE.TER.PAN.ER: nation of ME.MER.LAN.NE.LAR.GEN.NER (6.xi.31).

TYERANOTAPANNER: (4.xii.31).

TYRA.NOTE.PANNER: (4.xii.31).

TYERHENOTERPANER: (5, 10 and 12.xii.31).

TYERENOTEPANER: Western Tier natives (8.xii.31).

TYERRENOYERPANER: (17.xii.31).

TYREHENOTEERPAN: MALETEHERBARGENER the chief (9.xii.31).

TYERENOTEHEPANER: (5.xii.31).

TYRERNOTEPANNER: (8.xii.31).

TYERHENOTEHEPANER: (8.xii.31).

TARERERNOTENHUTE: (9.xii.31).

TY.ER.RER NOTE.PAIR.NER: MAN.NE.LE.LARGENER's nation at Campbell Town. [R/A 116]

(1) TY.YE.NO.YE.PEN.NER (2) MAR.WE.MAIR.ER (3) ROLE.MAIR.RE: tribe belonging to country at Ellinthorp Hall (WABE.BEN.NER); country of MEMULUNULARGER. [R.A 181]

PYER.NOO.HE.PER.NEL.LE: see above. [R/A 110]

Comment: The TY.YE.NO.YE.PEN.NER, MAR.WE.MAIR.ER and ROLE.MAIR.RE were three different tribes of the region of Ellinthorp Hall, that is, the Ross area, either to the east or to the west of the Macquarie River. The name MAN.NE.LE.LARGENER is a mistake for ME.MER.LAN.NE.LARGENER. These people being referred to as "Western Tier natives", their territory probably lay to the westward of the Macquarie River near Ross and taking in the Lake River. This tribe was probably the most northern of the three, occupying a territory to the south-west of Campbell Town.

18. ROLE.MAIR.RE

ROLE.MAIR.RE: one of three tribes belonging to the country around Ross -

see comment above. Territory perhaps to the southward of the TY.ER.RER.-NO.TE.PAN.NER, with a western boundary at Lakes Sorell and Crescent.

19. PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

(1) PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER (2) PORT.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: the eastern nation to which KICK.ER.TER.POL.LER belongs. [R/A 65; R/B 63]
 PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above; joins the MOO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nation of Pittwater.
 PYE.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.MER.NER: Prosser River its boundary with the LAIR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nation. [R/A 68]
 PINE.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: Territory extends from Prosser River to East Bay Neck (11.i.31), and as far back as the Big Lagoons. [R/B 63]
 PINE.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: its country begins at the river TEE.BE.LEB.-BER.RER, and extends to East Bay Neck and back to the big lagoons. [R/A 64]
 PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: Prosser River the country of this and the LAIR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nations (15.i.31).
 PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: TOE.GER.LONG.EN.TER chief.
 PY.EN.RE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: Oyster Bay nation. [R/A 116]
 PYENREMAIRREMENE: TONGELONGTER chief (27.xii.31).
 PYERRAYMAIRNEMENE: Oyster Bay people (8.xii.31).

PORT.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

PORT.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above.
 PARE.DARE.RE.ME: associated with LUNE.TINE.MAIR.RE.NER and PYE.-DARE.RE.ME nations. [R/A 51]
 PARE.DARE.RER.ME: associated in war with PYE.DARE.RE.ME and LOON.-TIM.MAIR.RE.NER nations; KICK.ER.TER.POL.LER one of this nation (25.x.30).
 PORE.DARE.RE.ME: TOE.GER.LONG.ER.TAR chief of this nation when KICKERTERPOLLER with his people. [R/A 50; R/B 54]
 PARE.DAIR.ER.ME: country belonging to the PY.EN.RE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nation of Oyster Bay.
 PORE.DARE.ME: another Oyster Bay tribe. [R/B 33]

Comment: Suggested territory - southwards from the territory LARE.MAIR.RE.-ME.NER as far as Prosser River.

20. PAN.NE.NEVE.ER.NOKE.ER

PAN.NE.NEVE.ER.NOKE.ER: name of the tribe at the Eastern Marshes (?). [R/B 143]

TOOL.TE.ER.LAR.GEN.ER

TOOL.TE.ER.LAR.GEN.ER: name of the nation at the Peak (? = Eastern Marshes). [R/B 142]

Comment: The Eastern Marshes lie to the south-west of Tooms Lake, in the region of the upper reaches of the Little Swanport River. Suggested territory - Eastern Marshes.

21. LARE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

LARE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: their country begins at the stream TROY.HE.LEEN (opposite Mr Cotton's), which is the south-west boundary of the LOON.TITE.TER.MAIR.RE.LE.HOIN.NER nation, and extends south-west as far as Prosser River. [R/A 63]

LARE.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: their country begins at the stream TROY.HE.LEEN on the east coast and extends south-west as far as Prosser River (11.i.31).

LAIR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: boundary with PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER at Prosser River (15.i.31). [R/B 63]

LAIR.MAIR.REEN.ER: (8.ix.31).

LAIR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: Prosser River the boundary between this nation and the PYE.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.MER.NER. [R/A 68]

LAY.MAIR.RE.ME: east or Little Swanport tribe. [R/B 35]

LAY.MAIR.RE.NER: Little Swanport tribe. [R/B 37]

Comment: Suggested territory - from Kelvedon Creek southwards to the territory of the PY.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER.

22. PO.TIC.WE.LADE.DY

PO.TIC.WE.LADE.DY: tribe belonging to Maria Island (19.xi.37).

TI.ER.RE.MAIR.RE.MER.LOW

TI.ER.RE.MAIR.RE.MER.LOW./TI.ER.RE.MAIR.RE.MER.LUNE.NE: tribe inhabiting Maria Island. [R/B 66]

TYE.REN.MAIR.RE.MER.NER.TROWN.TER: nation at Maria Island. [R/B 66]

TIE.ER.RE.MAIR.RE.MER: nation at Maria Island.

TYERENMAIRREMERNER TROUN.TER: nation at Maria Island. [R/A 67]

TY.RED.DE.ME: the Maria Island tribe. [R/B 33]

TI.ER.RE.MAIR.RE.MER: nation at Maria Island; attacked by Brune natives. [R/A 67]

Comment: Maria Island alone could not have supported a tribe so that its main territory must have been on the mainland and visits made to Maria Island periodically. Suggested territory - from the region of Sandspit Rivulet to Marion Bay and Blackmans Bay.

23. PYE.DARE.RER.ME

PYE.DARE.RER.ME: nation of Tasman Peninsula (25.x.30).

PY.DARE: speared white men in Hobart region at time of first settling (11.vii.31).

PYDAREME: at Eaglehawk Neck (15.vii.31).

PY.DAIR.RE.ME: at Eaglehawk Neck (15.vii.31).

PYDAYREMER: an eastern tribe (3.vii.32).

PY.DAIR.RER.ME: inhabit (1) NAL.LER.WANE.NE (2) TORE.KAN.NER country at Tasman Peninsular. [R/B 55]

PYE.DAIR.RER.ME: nation belonging to Maria Island; in league with PORE.DAIR.RER.ME; warred with PYEDAIRRERME and NUENONNE. [R/A 53]

PY.DARE.HE.MAY: East Bay Neck natives. [R/B 33]

TYDAIRENER: natives of Tasmania Peninsula (15.xii.31).

TYE.DARE.REE.MEE: nation at Maria Island; in confederation with the PAIR.DAIR.RE.ME warred with the PYE.DAIR.RE.ME and NUN.NE. The entry is confused, and contains also the following statement - used to war with the NUE.NON.NE, TUN.ER.HE.QUON.NE, PANG.ER.NING.HE and NEED.WON.NE at KRIB.BIG.BER.RER or Coxes Bight, invading those countries and taking away the women; used to war with the TY.DARE.RE.-ME at Maria Island, which was in league with the PARE.DARE.RE.ME; the NUE.NON.NE warred with the TYE.DARE.REE.ME. [R/B 56]

Comment: Suggested territory - Forestier and Tasman Peninsulas; visits to Maria Island not likely to have occurred normally.

24. MOO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

(1) MOO.MAIR.RE.ME.NER (2) PANG.EM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: nation at Pittwater; joins the country of the PYE.EN.DAY.MAIR.RE.ME.NER nation. [R/A 65; R/B 65]

MOO.MAIR.RE.MER.NER: nation at Kangaroo Point. [R/A 50]

PANG.EM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER

PANG.EM.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: as above.

Comment: Suggested territory - southwards from region of Richmond, via Cambridge and Lauderdale to South Arm.

25. MOU.HE.NEEN.NER

MOU.HE.NEEN.NER: nation at Hobart Town. [16.i.31; R/B 60]

MON.HER.NEEN.NER: natives of Hobart Town (15.vi.31).

MON.HER.NEE: natives of Hobart Town (15.vi.31).

MOU.HER.NEEN.NER: nation of country at Hobart Town; this nation buried their dead, cutting the body in a prescribed way; interred and heaps of stones raised on the spot; when decomposed amulets made from bones. [R/A 70; R/B 60]

MOWERNEE: afraid of the MELUKERDEE nation (15.xii.31).

TUN.ER.QUON.NE

TUN.ER.QUON.NE: attack MEL.LUKE.ER.DE on Mount Wellington.

TUN.NER.QUON.NE: confederated with PYE.DARE.RER.ME and PANG.ER.NING.HE.

TUR.RER.ER.QUON.NE: as above.

TUR.RER.HE.GON.HE: Portrey (sic) Island tribe. [R/B 33]

Comment: "Portrey Island" not identified - either an error of transliteration, or perhaps refers to an association with the Bruny Island people. Suggested territory - along the western shore of the Derwent River from as far north as about Bridgewater to as far south as Tarooma or North West Bay.

26. MELUKERDEE

MELUKERDEE: their practice to steal women, especially those of the MOWERNEE (15.xii.31).

MELUKEHEDEE: WOORRADY (Bruny native) tells of his brother's marriage to woman of this nation (19.vi.34).

MELLUKARDEE: fight against NEEDWONNEE.

MELLUKERDEE: as above.

MELLERKERDEE: at war with the Brune. [R/A 71]

MELERKEKERDEE: fight against MOUHERNEENNER. [R/A 71]

MEL.LUKE.ER.DE: name of Kit's nation. [R/B 34]

MELUKE.ER.DE: place their dead on clear ground; TRUGGERNANNA's tribe went to the Big Hill and killed the MEL.LUKE.ER.DE and took away the women. [R/B 34]

MELL.ER.KER.DEE: fight against NEED.WON.NEE.

Comment: An "inland" tribe which apparently occupied the country of the southern bank of the Derwent River above New Norfolk, the little information being consistent with such a location.

27. NUE.NON.NY

NUE.NON.NY: name of Brune natives. [R/B 33]

NUE.NON.NE: in confederation with TUR.TER.ER.QUON.NE and PANG.-ER.NING.HE nations.

Comment: Suggested territory - Bruny Island.

28. LY.LUE.QUON.NY

LY.LUE.QUON.NY: the Port Dentrecaesteaux (? = Esperance) and Huon River tribe. [R/B 34]

Comment: Suggested territory - Dentrecaesteaux Channel (southern shore) between the Huon River and Port Esperance.

29. PANG.HER.NING.HE

PANG.HER.NING.HE: the natives of Recherche Bay. [R/B 33]

PANG.ER.NING.HE: in confederation with the NUE.NON.NE and TUR.-RER.ER.QUON.NE nations.

Comment: Suggested territory - Southport and Recherche Bay.

30. LAIR.BRN.HURN.ME

LAIR.BRN.HURN.ME: a tribe at the Huon River at the lakes beyond Hobart Town at the head of the Huon. [R/A 200]

Comment: Suggested territory - headwaters of the Huon River.

31. KUM.TE.MAIR.RE.NER

KUM.TE.MAIR.RE.NER: nation of the LOE.WON.TIME.ME.TER country west of the Huon River and north of the Arthur Mountains, and frequenting the Huon River (9.xi.30).

(1) KUM.DE.MAIR.RE.MER.NER (2) LOO.HAY MAIR.RE.MER.NER: name of the nation inhabiting the country at the Arthur Mountains.

[R/A 71; R/B 59]

(1) KUM.TE.MAIR.RE.MER (2) LAR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: names of two nations inhabiting the LOW.WON.TUME.ME.TER country west of the Huon River and north of the Arthur Mountains. [RB 39]

(1) LUE.RY (2) GUM.NER.MARE.ER.ME: name of the tribe that visits the south coast; have two names. [R/B 34]

LOO.HAY MAIR.RE.MER.NER

LOO.HAY. MAIR.RE.MER.NER: as above.

LUE.RY: as above.

Comment: Suggested territory - from the Cracroft and Picton Rivers south to the coast, that is, at the New River Lagoon.

32. PE.LANG.VER

PE.LANG.VER: inland tribe visiting south coast by pass through mountains. [R/B 34]

Comment: Probably one of the southern group of "inland" tribes, access to the coast "by pass through mountains" being the more likely in the south of the island. Suggested territory - from upper reaches of Gordon River south-eastwards.

33. LUE.BER.KO.YER.RUN.NY

LUE.BER.KO.YER.RUN.NY: another inland tribe visiting the south coast by pass through mountains. [R/B 34]

Comment: Suggested territory of band - adjacent to that of the PE.LANG.VER.

34. LEE.NOW.WEN.NE

LEE.NOW.WEN.NE: name of natives inhabiting the country at New Norfolk; at war with the MOU.ER.NEEN.NER. [R/A 71; R/B 60]

LEEN.NOW.WEN.NE: nation at New Norfolk. [R/B 60]

Comment: Suggested territory - around New Norfolk and perhaps extending westwards up the Derwent River.

35. BRAYLWUNYER

BRAYLWUNYER: tribe inhabiting region of Peak of Teneriffe (= Wylds Craig); now extinct (20.xi.31).

BRAYL.WUN.YER: as above. [R/A 118]

Comment: Suggested territory - upper reaches of the Derwent River north and north-east of Wylds Craig.

36. BRAYL.ER.ME

BRAYL.ER.ME: Western Tier tribe. [R/B 35]

BRAIL.ER.ME: Western Tier tribe. [R/B 35]

BRAYLENY: an inland tribe (10.iii.34).

(1) BRAYLEE (2) TAM.MY.GINNE: natives who dwell in the interior in the woods and frequent the Hampshire Hills. [R/A 172]

Comment: It is not clear where the territory of this tribe was situated. Three tribes, BRAYLWUNYER, BRAYL.ER.ME and BRAYHELUCQUONNE, have the initial syllable BRAYL, which might signify some association, or it might be no more than a descriptive term meaning "inland" applied to these tribes by others to distinguish them from coastal tribes - but compare other "inland" tribes such as the PE.LANG.VER and LUE.BER.KO.YER.RUN.NY. Much of the West Coast, and particularly the area extending south from the Pieman River to below Macquarie Harbour, was heavily forested and therefore unlikely to have provided suitable territories for the Aborigines, especially in relation to food gathering. It is suggested, therefore, that there were three groups of "inland" tribes, a southern comprising 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 43, a north-eastern comprising tribes 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 40, 41, 42 and a north-western group comprising tribes 36, 37, 38, 39, 56. Of the north-western group, the territory of the BRAYHELUCQUONNE may have been located around the headwaters of the Arthur River, while that of the BRAIL.ER.ME lay to the south of it around the upper waters of the Pieman River. On this interpretation, the last entry in the BRAYL.ER.ME series is distinguishing the BRAYLEE AND TAM.MY.GINNE. Suggested territory - headwaters of the Pieman River.

37. BRAYHELUCQUONNE

BRAYHELUCQUONNE: an inland nation of southern Tasmania (15.vii.31).

BRAILWY LUCQUONNE: the TOMMEGIN PAN.ER or bush natives of the west coast (30.viii.32).

TOM.ME.GIN.ER

TOM.ME.GIN.ER: tribe inhabiting the country at RY.BOONER (= Detention River). [R/A 129; R/B 109]

TOMMEGIN PAN.ER: as above.

TOM.ME.GIN or TOM.ME.GIN.NE: inland natives; three of tribe listed. [31.xii.32; R/A 162]

TOM.ME.GIN.NE: inland or bush natives. [4.ix.33; R/A 165]

TOM.ME.GIN: inland natives.

TOMMYGINNY: fought with TARKINE natives (28.ii.34).

TAM.MY.GINNE: as above.

TOMMY.GINNY: dress their hair like the LARMAIRRENER (28.ii.34).

TOMMYGINNY: buried their dead (30.iii.34).

TOMMYGINNY: GAR took one of them at the Inglis River on his first expedition (10.iii.34).

TOMMEGIN PANER: bush natives, that is, BRAILWY LUKEWONNE (30.viii.32).

TOMMYGINNY: killed brother to LOETHGIDDIC (7.iv.34).

Comment: For a commentary see that for BRAYL.ER.ME. Suggested territory - headwaters of the Arthur River.

38. NARE.ER.LUKE.QUON.NE

NARE.ER.LUKE.QUON.NE: name of the natives in the bush. [R/A 38]

Comment: Another "inland" tribe of the West Coast. There are no data upon which to locate this territory and all that can be suggested is that it may have been one of the northern group of such tribes, a suggestion which is based solely on the common ending QUON.NE of the names of this and the BRAYHELUKEQUONNE.

39. PAR.LOING.ER.MAIR.HE.TO.HE

PAR.LOING.ER.MAIR.HE.TO.HE: Little Jemmie's nation; a second name is given, NOE.TEEL.ER.

PAR.HOIN.YE.PAIR.RE.TOR.HE: tribe that inhabited the Surrey Hills. [R/A 192]

NOE.TEEL.ER

NOE.TEEL.ER: as above.

Comment: Another of the northern "inland" tribes, its territory being the Surrey Hills country of the Van Diemen's Land Company, that is, the region of St. Valentines Peak and Guildford and the river systems thereabouts, such as the Hellyer River. This territory would have been located to the east of that of the BRAYL.ER.ME. It is possible that the tribe had access to the coast in the region of Emu Bay (Burnie).

40. PAN.NIN.HER

PAN.NIN.HER: Penny Royal Creek (= Liffey River) tribe; fought the Oyster Bay tribe, having quarrelled about red ochre and beads. [R/B 35]

Comment: The territory of this tribe lay around the Liffey River, a tributary of the South Esk River which drains the north-eastern slopes of the Central Plateau.

41. TORE.RER.PUN.MAIR.IN.NER.PAIR.ENER

TORE.RER.PUN.MAIR.IN.NER.PAIR.ENER: nation once inhabiting the country at the Great Lake. [R/A 118]

GORE.RER.PUN.MAIR.IN.NER.PAIR.EN.NER: nation once living in country of Great Lake (13.xi.31).

TOR.ER.PUN.MAIR.RE.NER.PAIR: MAR.KAM.NAIR.HE.NER's tribe. (Census, March 1832.)

POO.EN.ER.ME.BUN.ER: MOO.MER.ER.IN.ER: thin man, Big River tribe. [R/A 152]

Comment: The territory of this tribe now extinct, is said to have been the country of the Great Lake. However, in winter this country would largely have been under snow, and so it is suggested that the tribe occupied a lowland territory adjacent to the Great Lake, that it, one lying to the westward of the Liffey River and south of the Mersey River.

42. LUG.GER.MAIR.RER NER.PAIR.RER

(1) LUG.GER.MAIR.RER NER.PAIR.RER (2) NOE.BER.RER.KOWN.YER.-PAIR.RER.NER: the nation at the Great Lake. [R/A 52; R/B 55]

NOE.BER.RER KOWN.YER.PAIR.RER.NER

NOE.BER.RER KOWN.YER.PAIR.RER.NER: as above.

NOBURRERER: shot by white men (1.ix.33).

NO.BUR.HONE.YE: tribe that inhabited the Lakes. [R/A 192]

NO.BER.ER.O.YER.NER: Census, March 1832. [R/A 148]

NO.HER.ER.O.YER.NER: Big River tribe. [R/A 149]

(1) NO.PER.NO.YER.PANE.NER (2) LAR.MAIR.RE.NER: name of tribe to the westward.

Comment: Another "Great Lake" tribe, to which the same general remarks apply as to the TORE.RER.PUN.MAIR.IN.NER.PAIR.ENER. It is not at all clear where the territory of this tribe was located, but it is suggested very tentatively that it was the country to the west of Mole Creek.

43. LAIR.MAIR.RE.NER PAIR.RE.NER

LAIR.MAIR.RE.NER PAIR.RE.NER: Big River tribe (30.x.31).

LAIRMAIRRENER: vanquished LAR.MARE.RE.TOR.HE (24.i.34).

LAIRMAIRRENER: nation of the country on the west bank of the Ouse River occupied by Jamieson, Triffet, Clark, etc., (19.xi.31).

LARMAIRENE: these natives spear Jenny, WALYER (1.vii.32).

LARMAIREE: Jenny travels from their country (27.vi.34).

(1) KUM.TE.MAIR.RE.MER (2) LAR.MAIR.RE.ME.NER: name of two nations inhabiting the LOE.WON.TUME.ME country west of the Huon River and north of the Arthur Mountains (9.xi.30).

LAR.MOR.RE.NE: nation inhabiting the LOE.WON.TUME.ME.TER country.

LARMAIRRE: an inland country (28.vi.34).

LAIRMAIRERN: Big River tribe. [R/A 117]

LAR.MAIR.RE.TOR.HE: PROBELATTENER's tribe. [Error.]

LAR.MAIR.HE.TOR.HE: the PARLIT.TORRE call the Big River tribe LAR.-MAIR.HE.TOR.HE.

(1) NO.PER.NO.YER.PANE.NER (2) LAR.MAIR.RE.NER: name of tribe to the westward.

Comment: This tribe had so declined in numbers by the late 1830s that it had gathered up the remnants of other tribes, especially those to the northward. Suggested territory - along the Ouse River, a northern tributary of the upper Derwent River.

44. NEED.WON.NE

NEED.WON.NE: fight against the MELLUKARDEE. [R/A 52]
 NEEDWONNE: made large catamarans and went to England (13.vii.31).
 NEED.WUN.NE: the Coxes Bight natives. [R/B 34]
 NEED.WON.NE: nation of Coxes Bight. [R/A 173]
 NEEDWONNE: visit De Witt Islands (15.vii.31).
 NEEDWONNE: natives of the De Witts or Coxes Bight (15.xii.31).
 NEEDWONNEE: country around Coxes Bight. [R/A 53]
 NUENONNE: take parts of dead body to Brune for amulets (15.xii.31).
 NEED.WON.NE: nation of New Harbour; NO.BUR.RIC.ER a native.
 [R/A 164]
 NEED.WON.NE: KRIB.BIG.GER.RER country at or about Coxes Bight.
 [R/B 55]

Comment: Suggested territory - neighbourhood of Cox Bight.

45. NINE.NE

NINE.NE: nation inhabiting the country north-west of Port Davey. [R/B 33]
 NINE.NEE: nation of Port Davey. [R/A 154]
 NINE.NE: Port Davey tribe. [R/A 154]
 NINENE: kill many prisoners from Macquarie Harbour (2.x.32).
 NINE.NE: cut off the tails of their dogs (19.vi.32).

Comment: Suggested territory - the neighbourhood of Port Davey.

46. LOW.REEN.NER

LOW.REEN.NER: killed by PEE.WRAP.PER nation (26.vii.30).
 LOWREN: in league with and partly related to Port Davey natives (6.vii.33).
 LOW.REN TOM.MER.NING: nation at MEEBERLEE (= Macquarie Harbour),
 and not TOOGEE. [R/A 38]
 LOW.REEN.NE: tribe at Rocky Point. [R/A 38; R/B 24]
 LOWREN: wild natives south of Macquarie Harbour (12.vii.33).
 LORE.REEN.NER: nation at WOO.NAT.VE.CAR. [R/B 6]

Comment: Suggested territory - region of Low Rocky Point, south-western Tasmania.

47. TOOGEE

TOOGEE: their country at Birches Rocks (14.vi.33).
 TOO.GEE: nation of the settlement. [R/B 33]
 TOOGEE: travel to Cape Grim (19.vi.32).

Comment: Suggested territory - from Macquarie Harbour southwards as far as the territory of the LOW.REEN.ER people, that is, to High Rocky Point or thereabouts.

PE.TER.NID.IC

PE.TER.NID.IC: tribe inhabiting the country inland and living in the bush

between Pieman River and Macquarie Harbour; fought with the TARKINE.
[22.vi.34; R/A 200]

Comment: Probably alternative name of NARE.ER.LUKE.QUON.NE (38).

48. LOO.MIN.DE.WITH.ER.ROKE

LOO.MIN.DE.WITH.ER.ROKE: tribe at Pieman River. [R/A 138]

TAR.KINE.NER

TAR.KINE.NER: nation at Pieman River; in league with the PEEWRAPPER at West Point and intermarry with them. [R/A 120]

TARKINE: [4.ix.33; R/A 173]

TARINER: to fight Robbins Island natives; also referred to as TARKINER.-PANER (19.vi.32).

TARKINER.PANER: also TARKINER (14.vii.32).

TARKINE PANEER: (1.vii.32).

TARKINE: had fought with the TOMMY.GINNY (28.ii.34).

TARKINENENER: attack on TOMMYGINNY (28.ii.34).

TARKINE.PANE.ER: (30.viii.32).

TARKINE: burn their dead (30.iii.34).

TARKINE: Sandy Cape natives; LOETH.DID.ER.BOPE chief (7.iv.34).

Comment: The term PAN.NER appears to be a general one for the Aborigines in this region. Suggested territory - the lower reaches of the Pieman River its centre, but extending southwards from there.

49. NON.GOR

NON.GOR: name of tribe at Sandy Cape. [R/B 18, 142, 147]

ROIN.GIN

ROIN.GIN: tribe at PADE.RID.DIC, "the point before reaching Sandy Cape".
[R/A 140, 144]

Comment: Suggested territory - region of Sandy Cape.

50. MANE.GIN

MANE.GIN: the Arthur River tribe. [R/A 140, 144; R/B 116]

WAD.DER.BIM.DER.ROKE.HER

WAD.DER.BIM.DER.ROKE.HER: tribe inhabiting the Arthur River country.
[R/A 138; R/B 114]

Comment: Suggested territory - coastal region south of the Arthur River.

51. PAN.NER.BUKE.ER

(1) PAN.NER.BUKE.ER (2) PEE.RAP.PER: name of the West Point tribe.
[R/B 17]
PAN.ER.MOOK.ER: [R/A 139]

PEE.RAP.PEE

PEE.RAP.PEE: as above.
PEE.WRAP.PEE: the natives who killed the bullocks (29.vi.30).
PEEWRAPPER: nation at West Point; in league with the TAR.KINE.NER
and intermarry with them.
PEE.WRAP.PER: nation at West Point. [R/B 38]

Comment: Two tribes are said to have occupied territory at West Point, the other being the NON.GINE.HER. Probably their territories met at West Point, and in the absence of clear information it is suggested that the NON.GINE.HER was the more southerly one. This view is supported by the statement that the PEE.RAP.PER people were those who killed the bullocks, an event associated with the VDL Company's Woolnorth settlement. Suggested territory - coastal region northwards from West Point.

52. NON.GINE.HER

NON.GINE.HER: tribe at NONGOREHER (= West Point). [R/A 144]
NONGOHER: PAN.ER.BUKE one of tribe. [R/A 139]

RADE.DE

RADE.DE: name of tribe at West Point. [R/B 38]

Comment: This tribe and the PAN.NER.BUKE.ER are both recorded from West Point, but it is possible that the NON.GINE.HER belonged to Green Point, GAR having been confused about locality names in the region. Suggested territory - from the Arthur River as far north as West Point.

53. WAD.DE.KIN.ER.ROKE.HER

WAD.DE.KIN.ER.ROKE.HER: tribe that inhabit Mount Cameron.
[R/A 138; R/B 114]

WOB.BER.ER.PEN.DUR.RER

WOB.BER.ER.PEN.DUR.RER: tribe that inhabit Mount Cameron. [R/B 18]
PANE.NER: name of the Mount Cameron tribe; fought with the West Point
and Cape Grim tribes. [R/B 16]

Comment: The distinction between the WAD.DE.KIN.ER.ROKE.HER and MANE.GIN is evident from the recording of the two separately on the same page of the notes. Suggested territory - between Mount Cameron and Bluff Point.

54. MIME.ME.GIN.ER

MIME.ME.GIN.ER: nation once inhabiting the country at Cape Grim.
[R/A 120]

(1) MIME.GIN.NER (2) MIME.GIN: the tribe inhabiting the country south of Macquarie Harbour heads. [R/A 172] [Probably an error for NINE.NE.]

MINE.KIN.NER: tribe that inhabit Cape Grim.

MIME.KIN.NER: tribe that inhabited Cape Grim. [R/B 114]

PAN.ER.MOOKER

PAN.ER.MOOKER: a west coast tribe (21.vi.32).

PAN.NE.MUKE.KER: name by which Cape Grim tribe is called. [R/B 37]

PEN.NE.MUKE.ER: Cape Grim tribe.

Comment: Suggested territory - the Cape Grim/Woolnorth "peninsula", as far eastwards as the Welcome River.

PEN.DOW.TE

PEN.DOW.TE: another tribe near Cape Grim. [R/B 38]

Comment: While this is said to be another tribe near Cape Grim, it is possible that an error of recording is involved, the name of a Robbins Island man being similar, PEN.DOW.TE.WER. The record will therefore be ignored.

55. BEE.LAR

BEE.LAR: tribe at Robbins Island. [R/B 38]

PAR.RER.LOI.HE.NER

PAR.RER.LOI.HE.NER: nation at Robins Island.

PAIR.NE.LE.HOIN.NER: TUN.NER.MIN.NER.WAITE.

PAIR.LE.HOIN.ER: Jack.

Comment: The eastern boundary of this territory is not certain: it may have extended as far as Rocky Cape. However, the plentiful food supply in this north western part of Tasmania suggests that there might have been an unrecorded eastern tribe whose territory extended from Circular Head to Rocky Cape. Suggested territory - Robbins Island, the mainland around the Montagu River and extending from the Welcome River to Rocky Cape.

56. PAIR.RE.KE.HIL.LER.PLUE

PAIR.RE.KE.HIL.LER.PLUE: tribe at Round Hill (= Burnie); fight with Cape Grim and Robbins Island tribes. [R/B 14]

PAIR.HE.HIL.LE.PLUE: Round Hill tribe. [R/B 16]

PAIR.HE.NIL.LER.PLUE: inland tribe that visits Cape Grim. [R/B 77]

PAIR.HE.HIL.LER.PLUE: Round Hill tribe. [R/B 145]

Comment: The clear statement by Hardwicke when on his boat journey in 1823 that in the extent of coast between the Mersey River and Rocky Cape "the land is

mountainous, extremely barren, and totally unfit for habitation", and that "there is no appearance of its being frequented by natives; and kangaroos are extremely scarce" - it must be remembered that not only could women fish but that men must hunt. As well, Henry Hellyer in his journal for July and August 1827, while building a road from Emu Bay to the Hampshire Hills, commented on the thickness of the coastal forest even along the watercourses; and James Hobbs wrote in 1824 that "from Circular Head to Port Sorell, the water side is the best road, as the natives travel that way and keep it burnt". All this makes it likely that the so called "Round Hill tribe" was an inland tribe whose territory was the Hampshire Hills and which visited the coast occasionally. This would also be consistent with the record of fighting against the Cape Grim and Robbins Island tribes.

57. PAR.NIL.LER.PAN.NER

PAR.NIL.LER.PAN.NER: name given to Jenny's tribe by the LORMOINER (= LAIR.MAIR.RE.NER). [R/A 185]

PUN.NIL.ER.PAN.NER: Port Sorell nation. [R/A 117]

PAR.RIT.TOR.HE

PAR.RIT.TOR.HE: TOL.LUM.BUN.NER their name for red ochre at mine at Gog Range (16.vii.34).

PAL.LIT.TOR.RE: tribe to which Jenny belongs, known among the other tribes as (1) TOM.MY.GIN.NE (2) LAR.MAIR.RE.TORE.HE. [R/A 211]

PAR.LIT.TOR.HE: these people call the Big River people LAR.MAIR.HE.-TOR.HE. [R/A 208]

Comment: It is possible that there were two tribes hereabouts, the first a coastal one and the second an "inland" one. Suggested territory - around Port Sorell, extending westwards as far as Devonport and eastwards as far as the west bank of the Tamar River.

The Aborigines had a name for their women who had been abducted by the sealers and were living with them on the islands -

TYE.REE.LORE

TYREE.LORE: sleep in pairs like man and wife; Fanny husband, TANLEBONEYER wife. [R/A 211]

TYE.REE.LORE: the women of the islands. Derivation: TY.ER.RIT.YER (island) and LORE.RE (woman).

TYE.REE.LORE: aborigines from the islands (25.x.30).

TYREELORE: woman from the islands (18.vii.32).

TYE.ER.RE LORE.RE: the women of the islands. [R/A 111]



CICATRICES AS TRIBAL INDICATORS AMONG THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINES

Although there have been references to the cicatrices on the bodies of the Tasmanian Aborigines from the first report of seeing them by Marion du Fresne and his men in 1772, no consideration has been given to their use as indicators of the various tribes. There are a number of references in the literature to these scars: sometimes they were called tattoos, but of course they were not, the procedure not being one where an ink was injected into the skin.

Observations of the marine explorers.

Among the explorers who visited Tasmania before 1803, when the island was first settled by Europeans, only three have left a pictorial record of the cicatrices on the bodies of the people they met - Cook, D'Entrecasteaux and Baudin - but there are others who have left a written record about them.

1. Marion du Fresne, who visited Tasmania in March 1772 and was the first European to see the Tasmanians, has given some particulars about those met at Marion Bay and at Maria Island (Duyker, 1991). Several of the men seen at Marion Bay had inlaid cuts on the skin of the chest, which, in the man who was shot, were crescent-shaped and coloured black by charcoal. The men at Maria Island had crescent-shaped cuts on their buttocks.
2. John Henry Cox wrote of some Aborigines seen in the region of Oyster Bay when he visited there in the brig *Mercury* in July 1789, that several of them were "tatowed in a very curious manner, the skin being raised so as to form a kind of relief" (Mortimer, 1791).
3. On his visit to Adventure Bay in the *Bounty* between 22 August and 5 September, 1788, William Bligh wrote of some people he saw there that "their skin was scarified about the shoulders and breast" (Bligh, 1792).
4. Of the three explorers who have left a pictorial record of the people they saw, the earliest was James Cook. He anchored in Adventure Bay, Bruny Island, from 27 to 30 January, 1777, during the course of his third voyage to the Pacific. Meeting eight men and a boy on 28 January, Cook wrote of them that "they were quite naked and wore no ornaments, except the large punctures or ridges raised on the skin, some in straight and others in curved lines" (Cook, 1967).

Dr Anderson, Cook's surgeon, also remarked upon these scars. He wrote - "their arms and bodies are cut in longitudinal lines of different lengths and directions which rise considerably above the surface of the skin, and makes it difficult to guess the method they use to perform this operation"; and writing of the women, "their bodies were marked with scars as the mens". Samwell was another who commented upon the cicatrices - "their bodies are ornamented in several places all on the fore part with large scars, the surfaces of which are raised above the sound skin and they seemed to have been made by fire, most of them were made in the shape of half moons".

The artist who accompanied Cook on his third voyage was John Webber, and during the visit to Bruny Island he made four portraits of men and two of

women. Those of the women give no indication of scarification but those of all the men do so. The portraits of the men extend no further down the trunk than the breast in three cases, but the fourth portrait shows the body as far down as the hips. In all the portraits there are four long scars above the nipples, placed obliquely, and two vertical rows of small scars on the shoulders in three of the portraits, but three horizontal scars on the shoulders in the fourth.

Below these, in the portrait showing the body to the hips, there are four small vertical scars below the nipples on each side; three long and prominent horizontal scars running across the lower chest, the upper two crescentic; and some small horizontal scars at the side of the lower part of the chest; and four or five small horizontal scars two or three inches from the midline just above the hips (Joppein and Smith, 1987).

5. The expedition sent to the Pacific in search of the French explorer La Pérouse was led by Bruny D'Entrecasteaux. It visited south-eastern Tasmania twice, the first time between 21 April and 28 May, 1792, and the other between 21 January and 27 February, 1793. On both visits the principal anchorage was in Recherche Bay, with a few days also at Adventure Bay on the second visit. Only in 1793 was close contact made with the Aborigines.

La Billardière (1800), who wrote the first published account of the voyage, has the following to say about scarification -

Recherche Bay, 8 February, 1793:

"On their skin is seen, particularly about the breast and shoulders, tubercles symmetrically disposed, sometimes exhibiting lines a decimetre in length; at others, spots placed at different distances from each other. The caustic, by means of which they had produced these sorts of elevations, had not, however, destroyed the reticular membrane of the skin; for it there preserved the same colour as in other parts of the body."

Recherche Bay, 11 February, 1793:

[In some women] "the skin of their belly was marked with three great semicircular punctures placed one above the other."

Recherche Bay, February, 1793:

[A man] "was tattooed with a great deal of symmetry."

Adventure Bay, 17 February, 1793:

"They were almost all tattooed with punctures, placed sometimes in two lines, one above the other, nearly in the form of a horse shoe. These punctures were frequently in three straight and parallel lines on each side of the breast. We also observed some towards the lower part of the shoulder blades."

The artist of the expedition was Piron, about whom almost nothing is known. In the atlas of La Billardière's book there are two portraits of men, one of a woman, and another of a child. The men and women are scarified, but the child is not. Originals of these portraits have not been found. Judging from the records of

meetings, the people portrayed were some of those seen at Recherche Bay and not those met at Adventure Bay.

Both men have three vertical lines of scarification on each breast. One of them has in addition three horizontal rows of small scars on the shoulders, with three short vertical lines below them. There are also three curved horizontal scars on the belly just below the thorax (abdomen not shown).

The portrait of the woman shows the figure almost to the knees. There are the same three horizontal rows across the shoulders shown in one of the men, but there is no scarification on the thorax. On the abdomen below the umbilicus there are four long horizontal scars (two horizontal lines above the umbilicus probably represent the gutters of a fold of the abdominal wall), and over the anterior end of the iliac crest there are three short vertical scars.

6. When they were at the Derwent in December 1798 during their circumnavigation of Tasmania, Bass and Flinders met a man there who had "marks raised upon the skin" (Flinders, 1814, p.clxxxii).
7. The Baudin Expedition visited south-eastern Tasmania from 13 January to 28 February, 1802, of which the last eleven days were spent at Maria Island. The principal anthropological studies in Tasmania were carried out by Francois Péron. The two artists of the expedition were Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and Nicolas-Martin Petit, of whom Lesueur confined himself largely to landscape and animals, while Petit was the artist of the human figure, the known portraits of individual Aborigines being nearly all his (Péron and Freycinet, 1807/16).

There are only three references of substance to scarification in the journals of the expedition -

- a. There were raised scars on the bodies of the Aborigines met at Partridge Island, forming straight, semi-circular and circular lines on their shoulders, the back over the shoulder blades, kidneys and buttocks, and the chest and belly. These scars stood out sometimes about half an inch. [Leschenault.]
- b. Their arms, shoulders and abdomen were marked with raised scars, set in a fairly regular pattern. Such scarring was not found in the children, even in those twelve or fifteen years old. [Baudin: Bruny Island.]
- c. The men were tattooed like those at the Channel, but "had more stripes on their arms". [Baudin: Maria Island.]

A much better idea of the scarification can be obtained from Petit's portraits, but their interpretation is difficult because few of the individuals are identified in terms of the region where they lived. As well there appear to be two mistakes of naming. There is a suspicion that Petit did not always show the scarification, it being absent from all the portraits of women (Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith, 1988).

The period of European settlement.

Once settlement of Tasmania by Europeans began in 1803, from when it might have been expected that observations of value would be recorded, the record concerning scarification is as deficient of information as it is in all other matters relating to the

Aborigines. The only person to record anything much was G.A. Robinson; otherwise, there are only a few scattered statements in other writings. Few portraits of the Aborigines are known from this period, and of these the largest number, by Thomas Bock, give little information about the scarification of the people portrayed.

The references to scarification in G.A. Robinson's journals (Plomley, 1966) are -

1. The Port Davey people: "All their females had three scars or cicatrices on the back of each leg, about the middle of the calf, which is peculiar to themselves". [5 April, 1830.]

There is the following note on an end page of one of the journals [R/A 51] - LENE.THEY.LOONG.HER.LERE.RE, the females with three cuts on the back of the calf of the leg. LOONG.HE.LERE RE to cut; NINE.NEE [Port Davey people].

2. A conversation with his "friendly natives" in north-eastern Tasmania: "The cicatrices of the sun and moon is intended to remove inflammation, and having the form of these luminous bodies they imagine that it will have their influence on the part affected". [25 October, 1830.]
3. Commenting upon the party of natives captured in north-eastern Tasmania on 1 November, 1830: "Most of these eastern natives had the form of the moon cut on their flesh. This mark seems peculiar to them, and they count by the moon".
4. Referring to the north-eastern natives who were camped on Swan Island: "today all the aborigines tattooed themselves, the shoulders of some and back and belly of others was completely scarified. After the operation is performed they rub in the incision powdered charcoal and red ochre mixed with grease". [26 November, 1830.]
5. A note on the sealers' women (TYREE LORE) jotted on an end page: "The aboriginal females of the islands have round circles cut in their flesh in imitation of the sun or the moon. Some are much larger than this outline [a circle about 4 cm diameter with a thick margin, its area covered with a number of short transverse lines or dashes]. I have seen a woman with four of them on her body, others I have seen with two or three. They are very fond of those, are generally placed on each side of the backbone and above the hips". [R/A 47-48.]

A similar note reads: "The cicatrices of the sun and moon is intended to remove inflammation and having the power of those luminaries they imagine it will have some influence on the part affected. Some of these cicatrices are three and four inches in diameter". [R/B 75, with sketch.]

There are a few other comments in books and elsewhere -

6. Allan Cunningham, the botanist who visited Macquarie Harbour in January 1819 with P.P. King (1826), reported that the bodies of the men he saw "were scarified slightly, without any regularity of figure or character" (Cunningham, 1819).
7. "The blacks make symmetrical cuttings on their bodies and limbs, for ornament. They keep the cuts open by filling them with grease, until the flesh becomes elevated. Rows of these marks, resembling necklaces around the neck, and similar ones on the shoulders, representing epaulettes, are frequent. Rings

representing eyes are occasionally seen on the body, producing a rude similitude of a face" (Backhouse, 1843).

8. "When the males arrive at the age of puberty, they are deeply scarified on the thighs, shoulders, and muscles of the breast, with a sharp flint or glass. When I witnessed the operation, a female was the operator, and such I believe is always the case. The subject was a young man named "Penderoine", brother to the celebrated western chief "Weymerrick"; the instrument was a piece of broken bottle, and although the fat of his shoulder literally rose and turned back like a crimped fish, he was during the whole operation in the highest glee, laughing, and continually interrupting his operatrix by picking up chips to fling at our party, in play. These scarifications are intended as ornaments".

"I have seen women scarified, but whether for ornament, or from surgical treatment, I know not" (Davies, 1846. Davies was master of the colonial vessels *Shamrock* and, later, *Eliza*, in which he made many voyages to Flinders Island with supplies for the Aboriginal Settlement.).

9. "Other covering or ornament the aborigines had none, save and except the symmetrical lines of scars raised by incisions made, and long kept open, across the chest, and upon the arms and thighs - a practice to which the women appear often to have submitted, though more characteristic of the men their masters" (Nixon, 1857, quoting information given him by Joseph Milligan.).
10. "The cicatrices on the skin of the Tasmanians and Australians are connected with the subject of physical appearances . . . "

"Our Tasmanian women were less marked than the men. One, who saw the infliction of the adornment upon a girl, describes her screams of agony from the torture. Her head was secured between the legs of a strong fellow, while another operated on her. The boys would emulate each other in standing unflinchingly the long, deep cuts made by a sharp stone or bit of glass. The wound was kept open with wood-ashes; and, when healing, the raised scar would remain for life. A gash is described in a girl which was an inch long, 3/16 in. deep, and half an inch from its neighbouring wound. The cuts extended from the breast to the shoulders".

"The Tasmanians did not generally have so many cicatrices as some of the tribes of New Holland. The shoulders and breast were the principal parts subjected to the operation" (Bonwick, 1870).

11. "The shoulders and breasts were marked by lines of short raised scars, caused by cutting through the skin and rubbing in charcoal. These cuts somewhat resemble the marks made by a cupping instrument, but were much larger and further apart" (Calder, 1873).
12. "They make incisions in their flesh, particularly on the thighs, arms, and breasts. This is done with a sharp flint, so as generally to form longitudinal lines parallel to each other. The wounds are kept open by artificial means until proud flesh is formed, and a lasting protuberant scar produced. These marks are rendered more numerous by a custom which prevails among them of lacerating any part of their bodies affected with pain" (Walker, 1898).

Not only did the period of European settlement produce few portraits of the Aborigines, but these few are of little interest in recording scarification. Moreover, once the Blacks came into captivity they covered their bodies with clothing, which concealed the scarification. As well, the Aborigines depicted are often small in size (John Glover, Robert Neill, Benjamin Duterrau). The only artists who showed the cicatrices were Thomas Bock and Thomas Napier. Bock seems to have taken little interest in showing the scarification faithfully, his representations lacking clarity, or the style of the painting does not show detail. Napier, unfortunately, portrayed few different subjects.

Interpretation of the record.

There is much difficulty in interpreting the record in regard to scarification, and this is due to a number of causes -

- a. The principal difficulty in interpretation has arisen because no one appears to have thought it important to record particulars about the location and form of the cicatrices. There are references to scarification by many observers, but even when they state definitely that some part of the body was scarified, there is no mention whether there was any scarification elsewhere. Thus, statements about scarification on the chest and abdomen rarely mention scarification on the posterior aspect of the body, which seems to have been often the case. Moreover, even when it is recorded that, say, the chest was scarified, we are not told whether the scars were straight or curved, or comprised lines or series of dots.
- b. Pictorial representations of scarification are especially difficult to interpret, and this has arisen in the artist, who seems usually to have viewed it as a form of adornment, if he depicted it at all. Some artists, such as Thomas Bock, hardly show the scarification, the vague markings of their pictures being rather a consciousness that something was there than a portrayal of what it was.
- c. The difficulty in interpreting pictorial representations becomes compounded when the artist's picture was engraved for reproduction. Then, the etcher or engraver, for whom the scarification had no meaning except as detail on the picture, further degraded the artist's portrayal, so that the scarification became little more than some marking of the place where it had been located in the individual.
- d. The pictorial record also suffers from the fact that very few of the portraits show more than the head and neck, and that hardly one of them shows the whole body, even from the front.

Summary of findings.

From the whole record, both written and pictorial, certain points do emerge -

1. The Tasmanian Aborigines scarified their body by systems of lines and tubercles, the lines straight, curved or circular and of various lengths and sizes, and the tubercles usually in straight or curved rows.
2. This scarification could be found on the neck, on any part of the trunk, and on the limbs. It seems not to have been placed on the head (face), forearms, hands or feet. The pattern of scarification was duplicated on the two sides of the body.

3. The scarification was produced by incising the skin with sharp stones or, after contact with Europeans, bottle glass, the cut passing through the outer layers of the skin into the subcutaneous tissue. After the cut had been made the wound was kept open by rubbing into it charcoal, wood ash, fat, or some mixture of them, so that on healing a raised scar was produced.
4. Scarification was both a ritual operation and a means of beautification, that is, a standard pattern of scars was present and this could be supplemented at the whim of the person for beautification.
5. Both males and females were scarified.
6. Ritual scarification appears to have been carried out on the male at puberty. It is not known when the operation was carried out on the female.
7. The ritual patterns of scarification appear to have differed between different tribes, so that a pattern of basic scars not only had a ritual significance but also served to distinguish one tribe from another. This is not only evident from the written record but there is some evidence for it in the pictorial record, in spite of its inadequacies.
8. An example of a beautifying scarification superimposed upon the ritual scarification is to be found in Petit's portrait of a standing man (Plate 9).
9. In spite of the inadequacy of the data, some suggestions can be made concerning the pattern of scarification in a few of the tribes, based upon the particulars in the pictorial and written records. All data must be regarded as incomplete because of the small area of the body portrayed and the want of written information about the whole of the body. Using the nomenclature of the previous paper, some suggestions can be made concerning the basic pattern of scarification in six tribes.

a. *Aborigines of territory to north of Georges Bay, PLAIR.RY.MER.REEN.NER (10).*

Men: two, perhaps three, horizontal rows of pustules on shoulders; laterally two or three short vertical or oblique lines on upper and lower thorax, medially three vertical lines near upper end of sternum, and two or three short vertical or oblique lines on the middle and lower parts of the chest lateral to the midline; also some circular scars (position not known).

Source: Painting by T. Napier of MANNALARGENNA, wrongly identified as Alphonso by Bonwick (1870) - see note below; G.A. Robinson, journal for 1 November, 1830.

b. *Aborigines of Maria Island, PO.TIC.WE.LADE.DY (22).*

Men: four horizontal rows of pustules on the shoulders; three horizontal rows of small vertical ridges running across chest above the nipples.

Source: Baudin Expedition - see Note B.

c. *Aborigines of Bruny Island, NUE.NON.NY (27).*

Men: three horizontal rows of pustules (sometimes lines?) on each shoulder; three vertical (oblique?) lines on each breast above the nipples; about four short vertical lines medial to and below the nipples; on upper abdomen three long

crescentic or straight scars placed horizontally, and perhaps some small scars below and lateral to the umbilicus.

Women: three horizontal rows of pustules (sometimes lines?) on each shoulder; some small scars at rim of thorax laterally (?).

Sources: Baudin and Cook Expeditions; Thomas Napier - see Note C.

d. *Aborigines of Recherche Bay, PANG.HER.NING.HE (29).*

Men: three horizontal rows of pustular scars on each shoulder, with three short vertical scars below them; three vertical lines on each breast above the nipples, with a short vertical scar between the upper ends of the two most medial scars; three curved horizontal lines on the upper part of the belly.

Women: three horizontal rows of pustules on each shoulder; no scarification on breast (thorax); three horizontal ridges below umbilicus and three short vertical ridges crossing from abdomen to thigh in the region of the anterior iliac protuberance.

Source: La Billardière (1802) - see Note A.

e. *Aborigines of Port Davey, NINE.NE (45).*

Women: three scars on middle of back of calf of leg.

Source: G.A. Robinson, journal for 5 April, 1830.

f. *Aborigines to the southward of Macquarie Harbour, TOO.GEE (47).*

Men: bodies slightly scarified, without any regularity of figure or character.

Source: Allan Cunningham, journal for 25 December, 1826.

NOTES ON THE PICTURES

A. *D'Entrecasteaux (1793)*

On the first visit by D'Entrecasteaux to south-eastern Tasmania in April and May 1792, the expedition made its base in the northern roadstead of Recherche Bay, and from there worked its way up D'Entrecasteaux Channel to enter Storm Bay between Dennes Point (Bruny Island) and Piersons Point. From there the ships sailed from Tasmania northwards, making their next landfall at New Caledonia.

During the first visit to Tasmania only a few natives were seen and there were actual meetings only on two or three occasions. Those involved in them were members of parties conducting surveys, and neither the scientists nor Piron saw anything of the natives that year.

On the second visit to Tasmania, in January and February 1793, the explorers had a number of meetings with the natives, during which much was recorded, and Piron made several sketches. The ships had anchored in Recherche Bay again, but this time in its southern harbour. There were no meetings until they had been there over a fortnight, and then there were several days on each of which there were very friendly meetings on the southern shores of Southport Lagoon and thereabouts. It would have been at this time that Piron sketched the natives at their natural occupations. The ships left Recherche Bay on 12 February and worked their way up the Channel. The next meeting with Aborigines was on Bruny Island on 17 February, and it is likely that

Piron sketched some of these people also, although La Billardière does not mention this. This party of Aborigines consisted only of men.

Two men, a woman and a boy are portrayed in the Atlas of the voyage. One of the portraits of the men is in full face and shows no more than the scarification on the chest, that is, three vertical ridges on each side. The portrait of the other man is an oblique view from the left front and shows three vertical ridges on either side of the chest, with a short vertical ridge between the two more central ridges; three curved (crescentic) ridges running across the abdominal wall just below the epigastric fossa; on the shoulders three horizontal rows of pustular elevations and just below them three short vertical lines. The woman has the three horizontal rows of pustules on the shoulders, three horizontal ridges below the umbilicus, and three short vertical ridges crossing from abdomen to thigh in the region of the anterior iliac protuberance. The child has no marking of scarification.

The portraits of the two men appear to show similar scarifications. Does this mean that the Recherche Bay people belonged to the same band as those encountered on North Bruny Island, or that Piron had not recognised that the scarifications were different, or that all his drawings of men made at Recherche Bay have been lost? La Billardière says of the North Bruny men that "these punctures were frequently in three straight and parallel lines on each side of the breast". This agrees generally with both Piron's portraits, but particularly with one of them (Plate 1b). It is therefore suggested that this man is a Bruny Islander and the other a man of Recherche Bay, the scarification of the latter differing from Petit's Bruny Islanders in having short vertical lines below the horizontal rows of tubercles on the shoulders (c.f. 20019). There are horizontal abdominal lines on both, although they may be more curved in the Recherche Bay man than in the Bruny Island man (20023).

B. *Baudin (1802)*

When Baudin reached Tasmania in the middle of January 1802, his first anchorage was off Partridge Island, and there the explorers met a large number of natives: men, women and children. From there the ships moved on up the Channel to North West Bay, where water was obtained. Although there were meetings with the natives on both the mainland shore and on Bruny Island, all Petit's sketches seem to be those of the Bruny Island people. Petit had meetings with them and made sketches at Partridge Island on 14 and 15 January, and at the northern point of Bruny Island on 30 January and 1 February, but he was not present at Péron's meeting with Ourê-Ourê at Port Cygnet on 14 January. When the ships went on to Maria Island in February, Petit sketched some of the Aborigines he met there.

All Petit's existing sketches of the Tasmanian Aborigines are in the collections of the Museum of Natural History at Le Havre, France. They have been published by Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith in *Baudin in Australian waters* (1988). Clearly some of Petit's sketches are missing. Among those at Le Havre some show a back or side view and the scarification is either not shown or is concealed by the kangaroo skins worn. Moreover, none of the women show any scarification, even though it is likely to have been present. In most cases the place of origin of the subject is not recorded, and in the case of one of the women untrue - she is called a "woman of South Cape" (*femme du Cap Sud*), a place not visited by the expedition. Péron's text names the girl Ourê-Ourê at Port Cygnet, the woman Arra-Maida on North Bruny Island, and the man Bara-Ourou on Maria Island; Petit's portraits show Arra-Maida (20004), Grou-Agara (20007), Ouriaga (20015), Bara-Ourou (20019) and Paraberi (20018).

Among the men in whom the scarification is clear, two groups are discernible -

Group A: 20007, 20009, 20019, 20023.

Group B: 20006, 20015.

If one follows the naming recorded in the text and on the pictures, one must assign the Group A portraits to people of Maria Island and Group B portraits to those of Bruny Island.

Petit's portraits show that Group A men were characterised by three long vertical ridges on each side of the chest, and those of Group B by three horizontal rows of small vertical ridges running across the chest. If the above attributions are correct, the Bruny Islanders have rows of small ridges running across the chest and the Maria Islanders three vertical ridges on each side of the chest. But this is contrary to the type of scarification recorded by Webber (Cook) and by Piron (D'Entrecasteau), both of whom show a small number of long vertical (or oblique) scars in the Bruny Islanders.

Although Baudin's statement that the Maria Island men had more bands on their arms seems impossible to explain away, the naming of Petit's portraits, and the naming by Péron in his *Voyage* of BARA-OUROU as a Maria Islander can be accounted for otherwise. In seeking this explanation it must be remembered that the portraitist Petit died, as a result of a street accident in Paris, on 21 October, 1804, only seven months after he had returned to France after the expedition. As a result, during the time Péron was compiling his *Voyage* he had the assistance only of his friend and colleague Lesueur, who had not drawn the portraits.

The following points can be made -

1. The only Aboriginal man named by Péron in his *Voyage* is BARA-OUROU, a young man at Maria Island.
2. Petit's portraits of people at Bruny and Maria Islands fall into two groups, (a) pencil sketches, evidently done from life, and (b) watercolour portraits, probably prepared from the pencil sketches later, perhaps even after Petit's return to France.
3. Most of the sketches, if labelled at all, have the place named at "Terre de Diemen" [Van Diemen's Land], without other information. There are some exceptions -

20008.2: "Homme du Detroit Dentrecasteaux" - (unnamed man).

20015.1/2: "Terre de Diemen - Ouriaga".

20019.1: "Terre de Diemen - Barou-Orou".

20022.1: "Terre de Diemen - Femme du Cap Sud".

It will be noticed that Maria Island is not differentiated from any labelled "Terre de Diemen".

4. It is only on the finished watercolours that any distinction is made between Bruny Island and Maria Island.
5. It needs only one piece of forgetfulness by Péron in naming BARA-OUROU as the Maria Islander rather than OURIAGA for the misnaming of the watercolours

to have arisen.

6. Some support is given for this interpretation by Leschenault's comment (Plomley, 1983, p.130) that among the natives he met at Partridge Island there was a young man who appeared to have some authority and who wore a shell necklace. There is no mention anywhere that the men seen of Maria Island, and the prepossessing young man particularly, wore necklaces of shells.
7. Captain Baudin states in his journal for 1 Ventuse (= 30 Pluriose) that the Maria Island people had more bands on their arms than those of Bruny Island ("les bandes sur les bras étoient plus multipliés"). This accords with Petit's original pencil sketches 20015.1 and 20019.1. The number of rows of shoulder tubercles has been increased in the finished watercolour 20019.2; and no shoulder tubercles are shown in watercolour 20015.2.
8. On the whole, it is more in accordance with the other records to assign the pattern of three long vertical scars on each side of the chest to the people of Bruny Island, and the three rows of short vertical ridges running across the chest to those of Maria Island.

C. *Period of European settlement.*

The only "settlement portraits" which are worth examining from the viewpoint of the pattern of scarification are those of Thomas Napier. Napier was born in Scotland, and came to Tasmania in November 1832. He remained in Hobart for only a few years, migrating to Port Phillip in March 1837, with probably some return visits to Hobart later. Napier died in Victoria in February 1881.

So far as known, Thomas Napier painted four portraits of the Tasmanian Aborigines, all in oils -

1. Wooreddy and Trucanini, 30 x 38 cm, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart.
2. Wooreddy and Trucanini, originally in the possession of Mr A.E. Chalmers, but since sold.
3. Manalangana, Savage Club, Melbourne.
4. Alphonse, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.

These reduce to two paintings, those of Wooreddy and Trucanini being copies, and those of Manalangana and Alphonse clearly portraits of the same person.

Two questions can now be asked, firstly, when did Napier paint those portraits, and secondly, in what lies the confused naming of the portrait Manalangana/Alphonse? Napier came to Hobart in 1832 and so could have seen Manalangana (his name is more often written Mannalargenna), Trucanini and Wooreddy in Hobart from that time. Alphonse's native name was Meen.er.ker.pack.er.min.er, and he had been sent to the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement by March 1832. He did not receive the name Alphonse until G.A. Robinson bestowed it on him in January 1836. Manalangana died in December 1835, Wooreddy in July 1842 and Trucanini in May 1876, while the date of Alphonse's death has not been determined. All this points to

the portraits having been painted between August 1834 and September 1835, when Manalangana, Trucanini and Wooreddy were in Hobart. It is just possible that the portraits of Trucanini and Wooreddy were painted at Port Philip between February 1839 and July 1842, when both were there with G.A. Robinson, but this seems unlikely because the background landscape is Tasmanian.

How the portrait of Manalangana in the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery came to be labelled Alphonse is unknown. The name was associated with the portrait when an engraving of it was published by James Bonwick in his *Daily life and origin of the Tasmanians* (1870). Any explanation is no more than a guess, but the mix-up may well be sheeted home to James Bonwick. He lived in Hobart from October 1841 until February 1850, and is known to have received news from the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement through the catechist Robert Clark. Clark was not a reliable informant and could have mixed up the names of Mannalargenna and Meen.er.ker.pack.er.min.er/Alphonse. If this is the explanation, then the inscription "Alphonse" on that painting was added some years after the original of Manalangana was painted.

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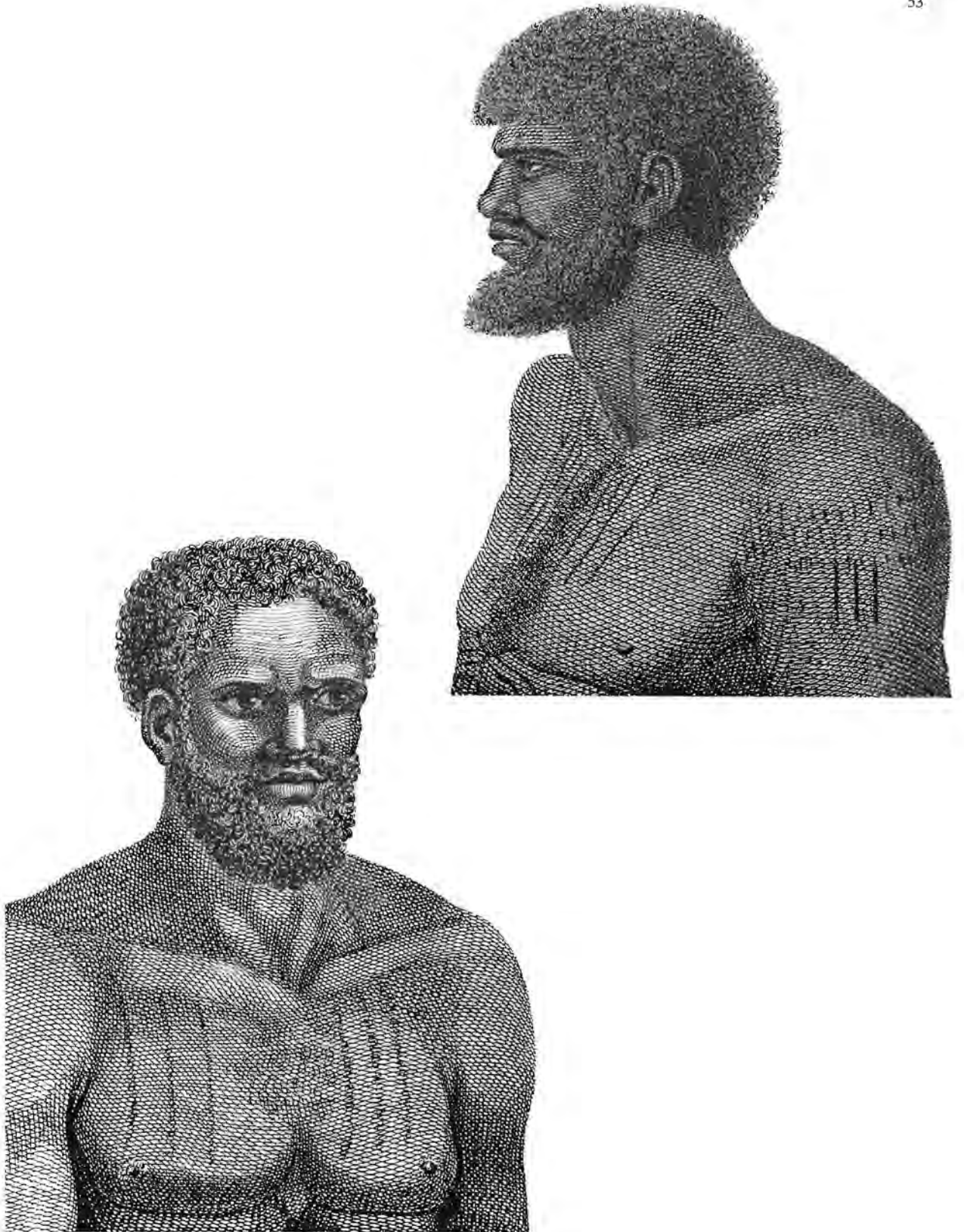


PLATE 1.

[RHS top: 1a] *Man of Van Diemen's Land. (Homme du cap de Diemen.)*
Engraving after Piron (original not known).
Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux.

[LHS bottom: 1b] *Man of Van Diemen's Land. (Homme du cap de Diemen.)*
Engraving after Piron (original not known).
Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux.



PLATE 2.

Woman of Van Diemen's Land. (Femme du cap de Diemen.)
Engraving after Piron (original not known).
Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux.

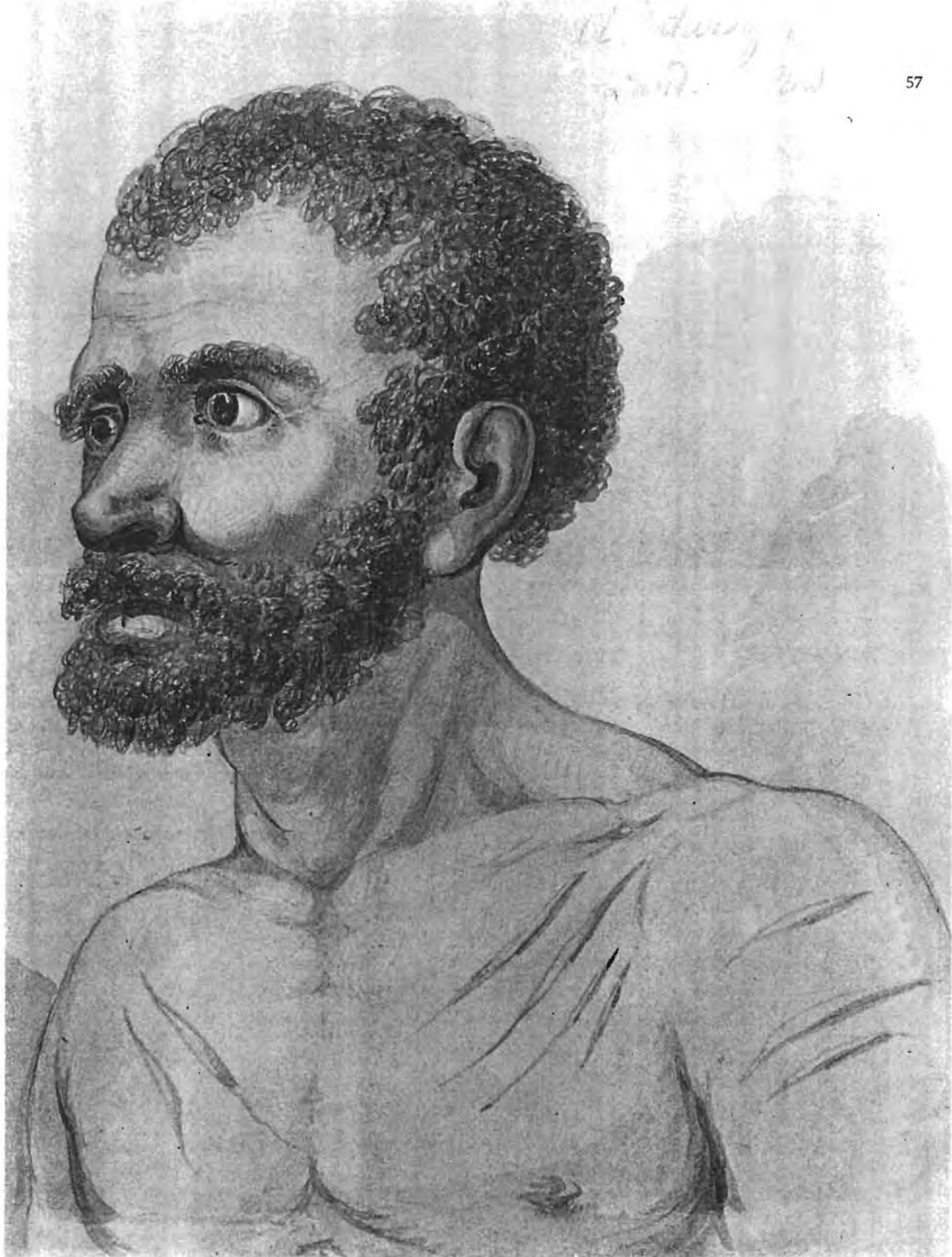


PLATE 3.
A native of Van Diemen's Land. New Holland.
John Webber: sepia wash over pencil.
(Joppien & Smith, p.273.) Cook's "Third Voyage".



PLATE 4.

A man of New Holland.

John Webber: pencil, with hair coloured in red crayon.
(Joppien & Smith, p.271.) Cook's "Third Voyage".



PLATE 5.
20006: *portrait of an Aborigine.*
Nicolas Petit: watercolour on blue-tinted paper.
(Bonnemains et al., p.140.)



PLATE 6.
20009: *portrait of an Aborigine - Grou-Agara (?)*.
Nicolas Petit: watercolour on blue-tinted paper.
(Bonnemains et al., p.144.)

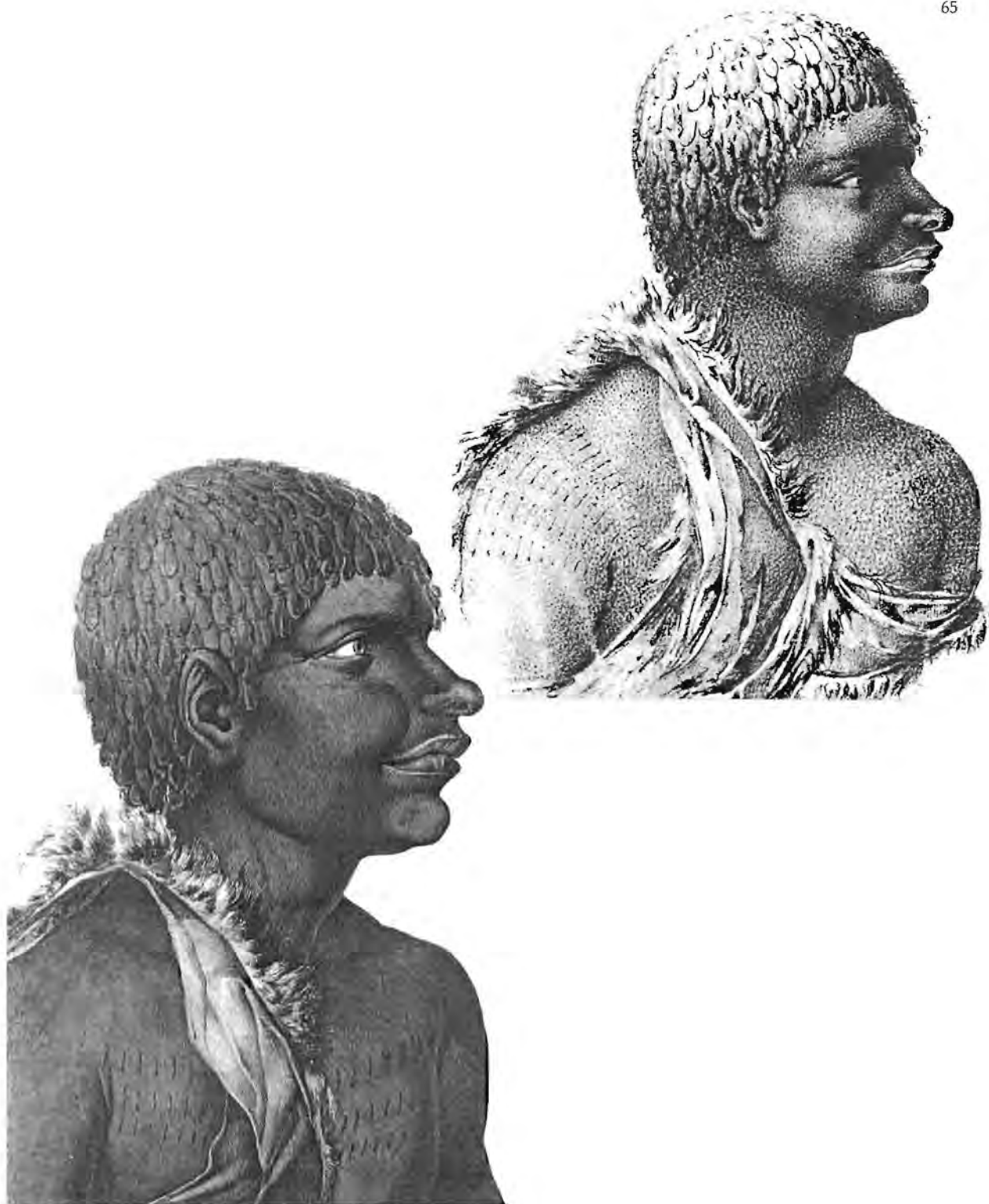


PLATE 7.

[RHS top: 7a] 20015.1: *Terre de Diemen - Ouriaga*.
Nicolas Petit: pencil, charcoal and ink.

[LHS bottom: 7b] 20015.2: *Terre de Diemen - Ouriaga*.
Nicolas Petit: watercolour on blue-tinted paper.
(Bonnemains et al., p.148.)

Note that in 20015.1 the only scarification shown is that on the shoulders (four rows of elongate tubercles), while in 20015.2 the only scarification is the three rows of short vertical lines on each side of the thorax above the nipples. Such differences show clearly the failure by the artist to interpret the scarification in any other way than mere ornamentation, to him an insignificant detail of the portrait. If an artist of the competence of Petit should deal thus with the marks of scarification, what reliance can be placed on the work of any artist in this respect?

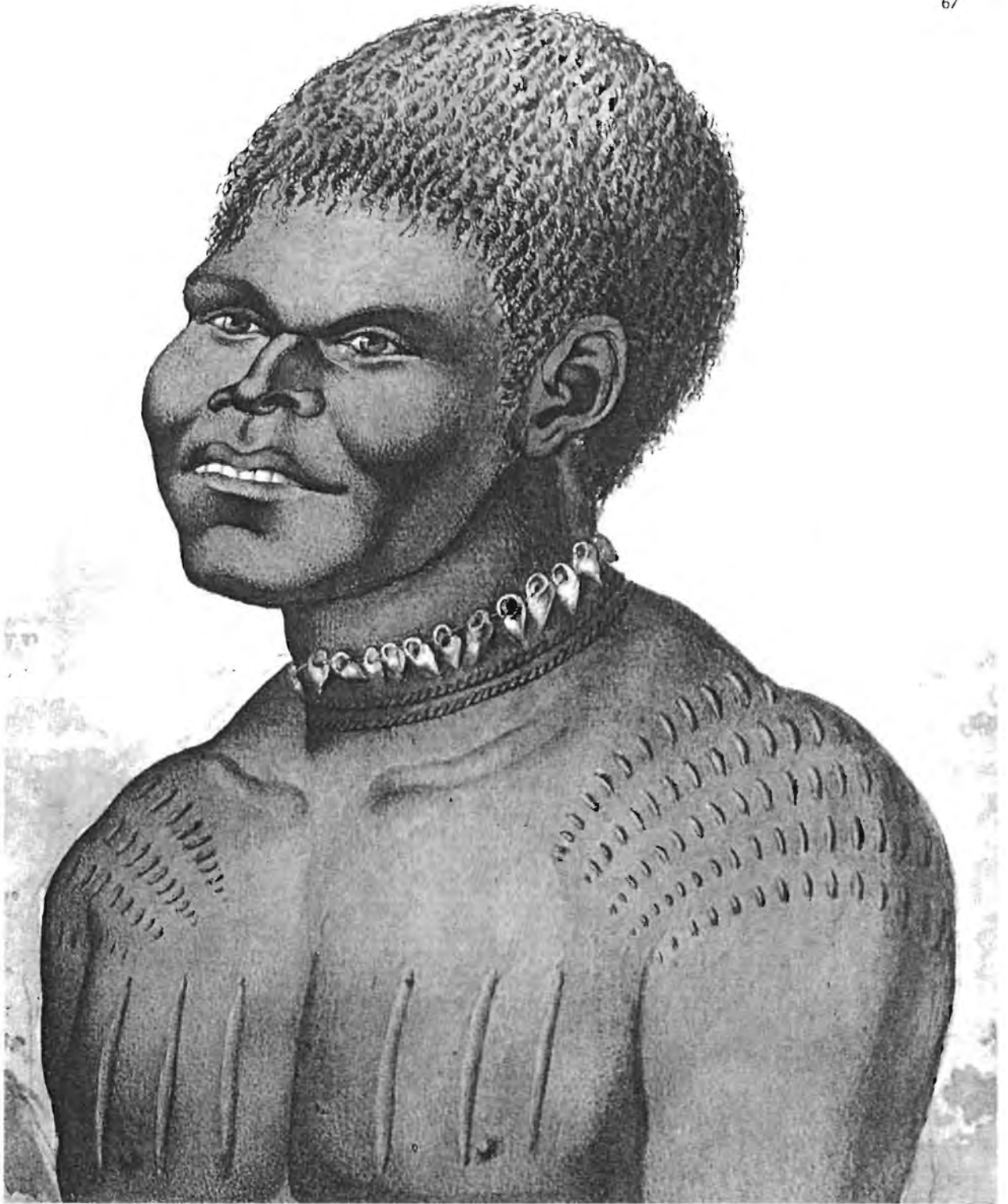


PLATE 8.
20019.2: *Terre de Diemen - Bara-Orou.*
Nicolas Petit: watercolour on blue-tinted paper.
(Bonnemains et al., p.151.)

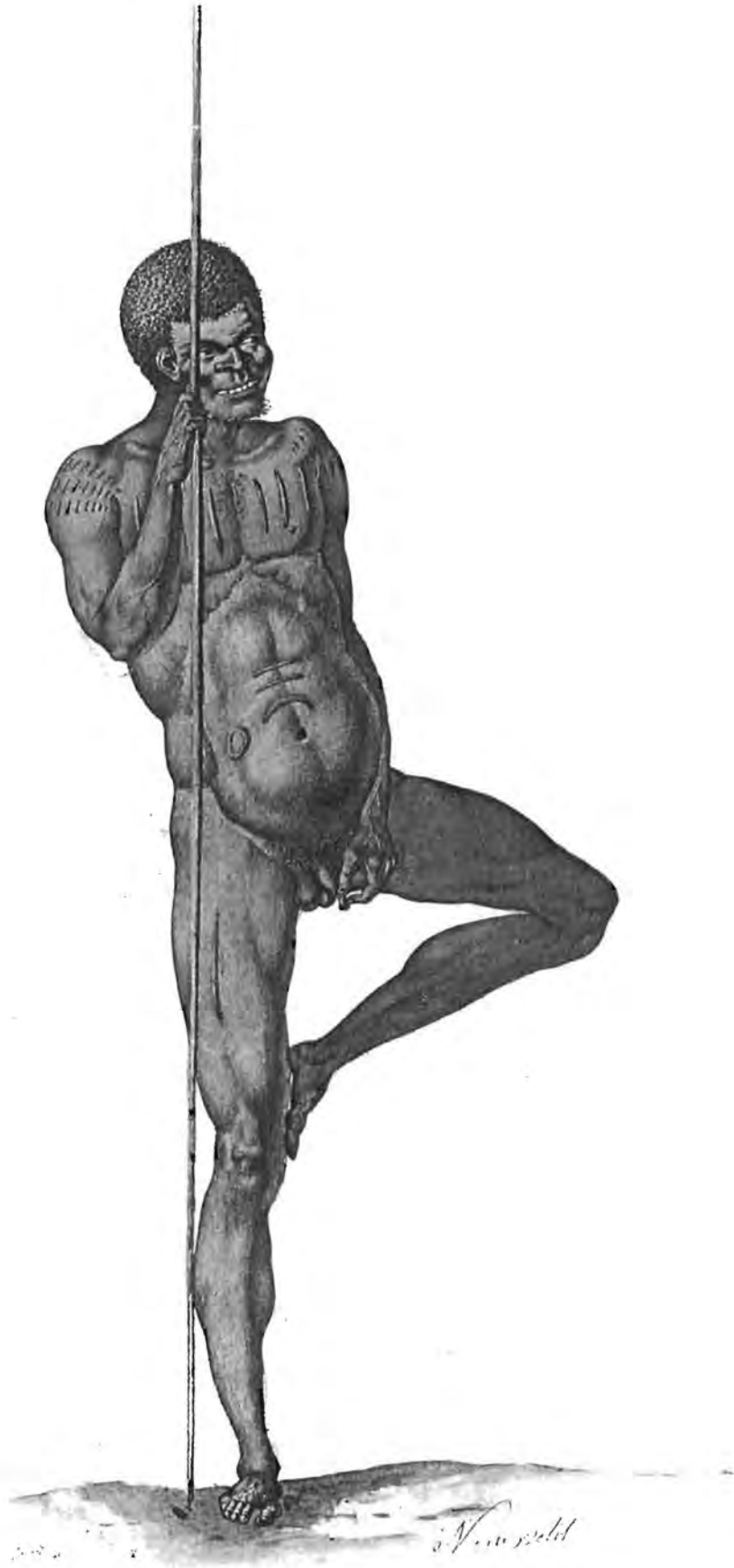


PLATE 9.
20023.2: Terre de Diemen - Poui-Malla.
Nicolas Petit: watercolour on blue-tinted paper.
(Bonnemains et al., p.157.)



PLATE 10.
Alphonse, the Tasmanian [portrait of Mannalargennal].
Thomas Napier (from an engraving).
(Bonwick, 1870, p.124.)