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INTRODUCTION

This is the second of the volumes of *Aboriginal History* dedicated to the memory of Diane Barwick. Introducing the earlier volume we surveyed her contributions to Aboriginal studies and included a number of tributes to their stimulating range, to the breadth as well as the depth of her scholarship.

In this volume we wish to remember especially her work for our journal. *Aboriginal History* owes its institution to the initiatives of Niel Gunson, but the fulfilment of these in printed form and the establishment of the journal's editorial policy were achieved by Diane. They are some of her most important contributions to Aboriginal studies. We shall always be grateful to her for her excellent guidelines, and the inspiring exemplar of a dedicated scholarly editor.

The photograph was taken at the launching of *Aboriginal History*'s first volume. The chance grouping in the photographic image of Diane with Professor Stanner, Dr Coombs and Professor Wang Gung Wu is symbolic of her academic associations as well as those of the newly-founded journal.

Isabel McBryde, Isobel White, Judith Wilson
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FOREWORD

H.C. Coombs

In the late 1970s, when the idea of a Treaty with Aborigines began to be seriously discussed by a small group of concerned citizens in Canberra, Diane Barwick was active in the discussions. She declined, however, to become a member of the Treaty Committee when in 1979 action was taken formally to establish it. She felt that it was inappropriate that she, a Canadian citizen, should take an active role in a campaign to influence political events in Australia.

However, when it became apparent that Bill Stanner's health would not permit him to continue as an active member of the Committee, he was most anxious that Diane should take his place. This was not simply because Bill had a profound respect and admiration for Diane's intellectual capacity and her work as an anthropologist. I believe it was also because he had reservations about his role in the Committee and the campaign it was conducting. In a way, to belong to such a body and to sponsor such a program was not the kind of thing Bill would normally have done. It sat ill with the Mandarin aloofness which in his view went with the role of scholar. I think that he was concerned lest without him we would lack anthropological expertise and perhaps the intellectual toughness and political realism necessary if we were to prevent our campaign's deteriorating into sentimentality. I believe he saw Diane's high professional standards, objectivity and independence strengthening the Committee in these respects and regarded her firm Canadian identity and commitment as contributing to these qualities. Under his persuasion Diane accepted membership of the Committee when he resigned. It is likely that she saw herself as a kind of deputy for him.

Diane's paper 'Making a Treaty: the North American experience' would have justified fully expectations of the kind I have attributed to him. It bears the mark of a well-informed critical mind. It contains no advocacy for or against a Treaty for Australians, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. Her historical review, however, makes it clear that the law, international or national, at all times lagged behind emerging events, serving to vindicate what had been done: at the international level establishing a framework of international law which made it easier to administer what the great colonising powers could agree upon between themselves.
while at the domestic level protecting the *status quo* created by the 'first trespasser' who had demonstrated a capacity to maintain his trespass against others.

Certainly, early administrators in Australia during the settlement period acted to legalise the theft which the settlers had committed. So, too, contemporary governments and judicial authorities have validated the actions of mining companies as they pushed out beyond the frontier into the 'waste' lands still occupied and used by Aborigines. Particularly relevant to our present concerns is Diane's insistence that treaties in North America have been instruments of grants of land from the Indians to the United States and Canada rather than the reverse. So indeed would be a Treaty here.

It could, however, set some limits to the areas where the trespassers can still go in confident expectation of their theft's being validated by the law and it could, like the North American treaties, give some compensation for past 'grants' unwillingly made, without negotiation, under the threat or reality of force. Those Australians who seek a Treaty will find much to ponder over in Diane's paper.

A fascinating piece of history of which Diane reminds us is that the Treaty of Waitangi concluded between the British Crown and the Maori people was validated in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, to which, Diane reports, New Zealand had been annexed. The legal implications of that act of the Crown through its New South Wales legislative body for subsequent historical events would make a fascinating study.

It is good that this work of Diane's, originally circulated privately among the Aboriginal Treaty Committee support groups, will now be more widely known. All Australians have good reason to be grateful to Diane Barwick. She has made it possible for us to confer about a Treaty with greater understanding and perhaps therefore with greater chance of success.
MAKING A TREATY

MAKING A TREATY: THE NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Diane Barwick
for the Aboriginal Treaty Committee

You may be sure that my Government of Canada
recognises the importance of full compliance with the
spirit and terms of your Treaties.

Her Majesty The Queen, to the Indians of Canada,

The Aboriginal Treaty Committee, a small group of white Australians who are supported
by a growing number of sympathetic sponsors, is asking the Australian government to
make a treaty with representatives of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people. The
committee suggests that a formal agreement could provide protection for Aboriginal
identity, languages, law and culture. It could provide a means of recognising and restoring
rights to land throughout Australia. It could provide compensation for the loss of land and
damage to the territory and traditional way of life of the indigenous people of Australia. It
could also provide a guarantee of the rights of Aboriginal Australians to control their own
affairs. The terms, and the methods of negotiating such a treaty, are of course a matter for
decision by Aborigines.¹

A treaty is 'a settlement arrived at by treating or negotiation' which gives rise to
binding obligations between the people who make the agreement. The word treaty covers
several ideas: a contract, a kind of legislation, and international law. Today the definition of
treaty used by the United Nations is 'an international agreement concluded between States in
written form and governed by international law'. But the British government for several
centuries made treaties with tribal groups, at first as independent powers and later as subject
'domestic nations'. There are also modern examples of treaties made between states and their
own subjects: the Irish Free State Treaty of 1921 was an agreement made by the British
government with an ethnic minority in its dominions; in the Lateran Treaty of 1929 the
King of Italy recognised the independence and sovereignty of his subjects the Pope and the
Holy See.² There are also modern examples of formal agreements concerning reparations or
compensation for invasion and war damages.

There is much historical and legal evidence that the North American Indian treaties were
not international treaties in the sense of agreements between independent and sovereign
nations. The English claimed sovereignty even when the Indians retained military

¹ This paper tries to summarise the large literature on land claims and treaties in North
America, and particularly in Canada. The most important recent sources are listed in the
bibliography. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Professor Sally Weaver of the
University of Waterloo and Dr John Leslie, Chief, Treaties and Historical Research
Centre, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, in providing up-to-date documentation
on the situation in Canada. The views expressed in this paper are my own, and do not
necessarily represent the opinions of the Aboriginal Treaty Committee.

² Green 1970:114-5.
independence, and in the later Canadian treaties both government and Indian negotiators clearly considered the Indian peoples to be subjects of the Queen. But more or less clearly expressed in the treaty documents is the idea that the Indians 'constituted separate and sovereign peoples subject to their own law, who were capable as nations and tribes of forming and breaking alliances with colonial powers, and who had national or tribal territories under their control'.

Why a treaty?

In Australia the British government did not recognise the property rights of the inhabitants as it did in other colonies. Aborigines have complained about - and resisted - the taking of their land ever since 1788. But it was not until 1971 that they asked a court to judge their claim that they had been 'invaded unlawfully'. Mr Justice Blackburn examined the legal and historical evidence carefully, but concluded that the doctrine of 'comunal native title' had never been given judicial, legislative, or executive recognition in Australia. He also examined the Aborigines' evidence about their system of land holding, but decided they did not have a proprietary interest under the ordinary principles of property law. Criticisms of this decision were mentioned in one judge's opinion on a later generalised Aboriginal claim dismissed by the High Court of Australia in April 1979. But both courts found binding an 1889 ruling by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that this continent was not acquired by conquest or cession; rather it was 'practically unoccupied, without settled inhabitants or settled law at the time it was peacefully annexed'.

The courts are bound by the laws and judgments of the past. It does not seem that they can help Aborigines and other Australians in making the just settlement of land claims that is needed for the future.

The Aborigines are not alone in asking for a just settlement of their historic grievances. In the 1970s North American Indians and Maoris asked their national governments to make new kinds of formal agreements which acknowledge their prior ownership and provide guaranteed rights of self-government and greater recognition of their historic identity and culture.

The objectives of Canadian Indians are well described by the Indian Claims Commissioner. Indians continue to resist pressures for assimilation. They insist they have 'an inherent right to a special status as a nation within a nation'. The government has accepted his finding that their claims must be settled justly, as a matter of right:

They have given up much in this country, and they feel that the assistance they receive from Government must be seen as a right in recognition of this loss and not merely as a handout because they are destitute.

The American Indian Policy Review Commission set up by the United States Congress examined the same issues of history and morality in its final report. This 1977 document argued that the question is not merely one of restitution for past wrongs, but whether the American nation can redirect and renegotiate its relations with Indians who wish to retain their cultural, religious and tribal sovereignty.

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4 Milirrpum and Others v. Nabalco Pty Ltd and the Commonwealth of Australia; 17 Federal Law Reports 141.
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Aboriginal claims are also defined in moral terms, on the basis of right, not merely on need. The moral principle was clearly stated in 1972 by W.E.H. Stanner when pointing out that no declaration of policy by any Australian government has ever included two necessary admissions:

The first is that we injured Aboriginal society and owe just recompense to its living members. The second is that what we will now do for them we will do in recognition of their natural rights as a distinct people, not in expression of our sufferance of them, or of our acceptance of them if they will copy our ways. I think these words, if said in the Parliament of the Commonwealth, on behalf of the whole nation, might make a difference.8

The same distinction was made by Senator Neville Bonner in his Senate speech of 19 September 1974 calling for 'true and due entitlement for dispossession', not merely the giving of money for a disadvantaged people as a form of charity. His motion urging the Commonwealth government to 'admit prior ownership' and legislate to provide compensation was unanimously passed by the Senate on 20 February 1975.9

During the 1960s many citizens and government spokesmen in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand argued that land claims were not relevant in today's world. They said the claims of native10 people could not be recognised because special rights would destroy national unity. They said all citizens should be equal. They could see that native people had economic, social and educational problems, but argued that these could be solved by special welfare programs.

Many Australians still believe that justice for Aborigines is best achieved by intensive government programs aimed at bringing about equality with other citizens. Many of them still argue that expanding government welfare, health care and employment programs is the only realistic form of compensation for past injustice to Aborigines. This ignores two important questions, as the chairman of the Treaty Committee has pointed: the adequacy of this compensation, and the right of Aborigines to establish their own institutions to control and administer it.11

Indians, Maoris and Aborigines do not want government charity. To them the suggested remedies seem just a more sophisticated version of the older paternalistic policy of assimilation.

Since the Second World War many former colonies have gained independence. Often they are described as 'Third World' countries. A Canadian Indian spokesman who travelled to Australia, New Zealand and the United States to study the problems of other native minorities found that the people of these former British colonies had much in common. He has described the 'domestic nations' of native people in these countries as 'the Fourth World'. Indians, Maoris and Aborigines cannot hope for independence and complete control of their lands because their colonial rulers will never go home. They can only hope for recognition of their moral claim to a special status based on their prior occupation of these lands, and work for greater political and economic self-determination.

George Manuel points out that the Fourth World people ask for no more than the 'home rule and responsible government' that the European colonists long ago obtained from

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9 Harris 1979.
10 The word 'native' is the name preferred by North American 'Indians' and has been used throughout this paper to mean the original inhabitants of a territory.
the British government. He argues that economic development without full local control is simply a new form of conquest. He explains why they do not welcome development schemes that promise them only an uncertain number of menial jobs - and an unpredictable amount of pollution - in return for the certain destruction of their homelands.12

This Canadian Indian spokesman points out that the Fourth World peoples resent being told that their culture is 'lost' or 'dying', and that their separate identity is merely the result of poverty and oppression. Such arguments seem silly: 'Do they think that if they stop the oppression we will stop being our parents' children?' The people of the Fourth World resent being told that they must 'forget the past' and seek equality as ordinary citizens. He stresses the continuity of indigenous cultures, and the importance of their territorial base. For Indians (and Maoris and Aborigines), he argues, culture and identity is 'every inch of our land and every event of our history'.

All the cultures of the world blend the old and the new. The 'traditional' cultures of Fourth World peoples survive today because they have been capable of reconciling past adaptations with recent innovations. Indian and Maori and Aboriginal people have selected and reinterpreted ideas and practices from European culture and made them their own. In the same way Europeans have accepted new ideas to serve changing needs. Today few Fourth World people willingly give up their cultural heritage and their community ties to become completely assimilated as 'ordinary' citizens. Most still feel that their attachment to family and familiar territory is a precious source of security and strength.

In the 1970s the Fourth World communities are everywhere forcing their fellow citizens to think again about land use and the future. They have challenged government plans for development, pointing out that the 'frontier' is also a homeland. They ask other citizens to think carefully about the future of our children's children and our present use of natural resources.13

Native land rights and English law.

Our schoolbooks say that Europeans first 'discovered' North America in 1492. Spain claimed title to the new-found lands. But English sovereigns disputed this, and authorised their own seamen to claim any lands they were able to 'subdue, occupy and possess' by conquering the inhabitants. Up to 1722 English legal opinion argued that the king could acquire possessions only by inheritance or conquest - and obviously the Crown title to the newly-discovered overseas lands was a title by conquest. In the sixteenth century English writers joked about the absurdity of gaining possession of a continent by sailing along its coastline or landing a small party to explore some portion of it.14 It was a hundred years before arguments that 'discovery' was sufficient reason for a claim to ownership of unknown lands were taken seriously. But in the 1600s the doctrine that overseas possessions could be acquired by discovery and settlement gained strength in English law. It was confirmed in a 1722 Privy Council decision that 'new found country is to be governed by the laws of England'. English legal theory held that colonies could not be established if the Crown refused to accept sovereignty (this nearly happened in New Zealand). The Crown could also decide what status a colony should have: whether the territory was 'occupied' and needed to be conquered or was 'waste and uncultivated' and therefore simply needed to be discovered and

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settled.15 But the development of this legal doctrine had little effect on British practice in North America. Expediency encouraged the British to continue recognising the property rights of the Indians, few of whom were agriculturists. Britain still had to compete with Spain for Indian favour, and the tribes would not accept British protection on less favourable terms. In the beginning political necessity forced the British to recognise native land rights in North America; but British sentiments about national honour and the sanctity of the pledged word later prevented them from abandoning these principles and the treaties and legislation based on them.16

By the time the British wanted to settle Australia the idea that colonies could be obtained by discovery and settlement was 'received law'. The 1765 opinions of the English jurist Blackstone have continued to be upheld in Australian courts. His book on the laws of England was well known to early Australian colonists. Many of them carried it on their journeys of exploration, rather than the Bible, as it offered more guidance about property dealings.

Legal opinions about the justice of English expansion into inhabited territories grew out of beliefs that the 'heathen' had no right to maintain their laws and way of life, and the roaming hunters had 'less right to the land than hard-working farmers'. Arguments that the possession of land by the original inhabitants was standing in the way of progress and civilisation had great appeal for ambitious colonisers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such arguments were used to justify taking land from native people without compensation. They also justified assuming authoritarian control over their lives instead of recognising their right to self-determination.17

But these English legal arguments ignored the established principles of international law. When the New World was first discovered, Europeans debated whether the inhabitants were humans or beasts of the forest. In 1537 the Pope pronounced that these 'Indians, and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property'. These were human rights to which all, including non-Christians, were entitled. In 1532 Vitoria, a Spanish church lawyer, had spelled out these rights: the original inhabitants were everywhere entitled to retain the land they occupied, which would not be taken from them except in a 'just' war or by negotiated purchase. The Indians were 'true owners' of the lands they possessed and the idea of 'title by discovery' had no force in inhabited lands.18 Thus for more than four hundred years the lawyers and statesmen of Europe have been aware that the taking of land and other property from the native people of their colonies without compensation, or with ridiculously inadequate compensation, was a moral offence and was 'contrary to the main currents both of international and common law'.19

For several centuries legal theorists have tried to justify English expansion into inhabited territories. The title of the sovereign (in English law) obviously conflicted with the natural rights or original title of the native people in possession. English common law had long ago accepted the rule of international law that 'a change of sovereignty does not affect existing private rights'.20 Another accepted convention of international law was that

the first 'discovery' gave title against other European powers - which meant that English explorers planted their flags fairly hastily, to keep out competitors. The problems of legal theory grew even more difficult as settlement overran 'not only what European thinkers considered the natural rights of the Indian but those rights guaranteed by solemn treaty'. If courts did not uphold the pretension that discovery gave exclusive rights to those who made it, then all real estate titles in British colonies would be invalid.

All modern judgments and commentaries on 'aboriginal title' refer to an 1823 judgment of the United States Supreme Court, which declared that native title was limited by the sovereign's 'title by discovery'. The legal commentators do not discuss the political pressures Chief Justice Marshall was under. The historian Washburn points out that Marshall had to consider expediency as well as law, for a judgment favourable to the Indians would have meant that the President (an old 'Indian-hunter') refused to enforce Supreme Court orders:

On his decision hinged the title to the real estate of the nation, the independence of numerous Indian nations, the sanctity of treaty rights, and even the very existence of law and order. He upheld the ancient property rights of Indians, but said they could be extinguished by the European colonisers, who held ultimate title by the 'right of discovery'. Washburn suggests that this legal doctrine might be better described as the 'pre-eminent right of the first trespasser'.

The first 'trespasser' in Australia was Captain Cook. He had been instructed to take possession of this land 'with the consent of the natives'. But he claimed possession of the east coast of the continent in 1770 after only a few days' observation of the Aborigines. Knowing nothing of their land tenure system, he decided they 'move about like wild Beasts in search of food' and reported that 'we never saw one Inch of cultivated land in the whole Country'. It was easy to decide that this continent was 'waste and uncultivated' and could be settled without recognising and paying compensation for Aboriginal land rights. The British government now needed new territory because the American revolution had ended their control of half of North America (and most of the rest was still in Indian possession). From 1786 to 1825 the instructions given to the colonial governors made no mention of Aboriginal land rights, and then only urged Governor Darling to protect them 'in the free enjoyment of their possessions'. It was not until the colony of South Australia was established that a governor was required to recognise Aboriginal rights to occupy their lands - and this instruction was soon cancelled.

The British government never ordered Australian officials to make inquiries about Aboriginal ownership of land, or to purchase land from them for settlement. Captain Cook's 'discovery' and the presence of settlers justified British claims to sovereignty. When a group of Tasmanian land speculators made a private 'treaty' in 1835 with certain leaders of Woiwurrung and Bunurong clans who owned the territory around Melbourne, the colonial governor quickly proclaimed that this was simply 'trespass'. The treaty embarrassed the government. It showed that the land was occupied and treaties were negotiable. If it was lawful it would undermine all the land titles and transactions authorised by the government. The treaty was considered a fraud by the businessmen who made it. The clan headmen who signed it would not - and could not - have sold their land. But they obviously understood it as a contract of 'peace and friendship'. Four of them, responsible for the lands the settlers now occupied, gave warning of the massacre planned by more distant clans in October 1835.

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And throughout the 1840s they complained to their government protectors that the Europeans had treacherously betrayed this solemn agreement.

So well-established was the British practice of making treaties to purchase land for settlement that an 1837 report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons expressed astonishment that the government had completely ignored the claims of the Australian Aborigines as 'sovereigns or proprietors of the soil' and had taken their land from them 'without the assertion of any other title that that of force'. These members of Parliament questioned the government's 'oversight'. But the government's neglect continued to be excused by arguments that the Aborigines lacked any recognisable system of political organisation and customary land tenure. The British government's failure to make treaties in Australia began to look even more peculiar when it made a treaty with the Maoris in 1840 and then 'annexed' this colony to New South Wales.

By the Treaty of Waitangi the Maoris were guaranteed 'full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their properties' subject only to the Crown's right of pre-emptive purchase. The British gained title by 'cession' (the giving up of Maori title) - and to make sure proclaimed title over the whole area by right of 'discovery'. When the British government decided in 1848 to alter its policy on Maori property rights despite the guarantees given in the treaty, the Chief Justice of New Zealand upheld the sacredness of the treaty obligations. He argued that the intended policy was 'colonisation by seizure' and insisted that abandoning the 'old national principle of Colonization by fair purchase' was a violation of 'established law'. He said Britain had an obligation to honour its promises as a ;'matter of national faith'. The British government decided to abide by the treaty guarantees.23

Unfortunately subsequent local governments were less scrupulous about alienating Maori lands. For more than a century Maoris have protested against the consequences of government policies which demanded their assimilation - and their land. The Treaty of Waitangi remained a kind of Maori 'Magna Carta', and its importance was upheld by the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act establishing a tribunal to investigate all Maori claims that government legislation, policy or practice has been harmful and inconsistent with the principles of the treaty.24

Native claims and treaties in North America.

The North American experience, and particularly that of Canada, has some relevance for Australians interested in the settlement of land claims. This is not just because the legal systems of Canada and Australia are derived from English law. Both countries must reconcile the interests of federal and state or provincial governments when settling native claims (although the Canadian federal government has had exclusive rights of guardianship or trusteeship over Indians since 1867). Both countries are subject to international pressure to develop non-renewable natural resources in their northern territories - lands which have remained in native possession until recently.

In Canada and Australia the original inhabitants had land tenure systems very different from the feudal agricultural system on which English property law was based. Most of the tribes of Canada were hunters and gatherers. Their economic use of land, the flexible recruitment of land-using groups and their lack of centralised political authority were in many ways similar to the social organisation of Australian Aborigines.

Yet the original title of Indians was recognised by the British. The title of the Aborigines has been ignored.

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The Bibliography following this paper lists many discussions by legal experts of the concept of 'aboriginal rights' or 'communal native title'. The concept, which has never been defined in Canadian, British or international law, is generally taken to mean the property rights or title which native people retain as a result of their original use and occupancy of land. They have rights because of their occupation of certain lands 'from time immemorial'. An 'aboriginal title' can be interpreted as 'the nomadic range rights of an identifiable nomadic group over a wide but definable area for food-gathering . . . where it can be shown that this territorial imperative is maintained by force of arms, agreement or lack of serious competition, and this way of life can quite legitimately be referred to as 'ancient' or 'traditional'.

Many legal experts argue that British, Canadian and American law has always recognised 'aboriginal rights'. The legal theory originated in the sixteenth century as part of international law. The basic idea is that the inhabitants retained their property rights when European nations claimed sovereignty of their territories, and these rights remained a burden on the newcomers' title until formally 'extinguished'. These rights could only be surrendered to the Crown (the European government claiming sovereignty). The Crown could extinguish communal native title by conquest - the old idea of expropriation after a 'just' war - or by purchase.

British recognition of native title in North America was deliberately confirmed by Royal Proclamation in 1763. All lands in Indian possession (a vast area of North America) were to be retained for their own use. No land could be taken from them for European settlement until Indian title had been cleared by Crown purchase. This required negotiation and the signing of treaties. Crown participation was intended to ensure that the Indians received fair treatment (unlikely in private dealings with settlers). Of course this was also intended to protect the Crown's right under English law to grant real estate titles and profit from land sales.

As long as the British were in control in North America they did not dispossess Indians of their land without purchase. The Proclamation still has the force of a statute in Canadian law. Legal experts insist that the Proclamation did not create 'aboriginal title': it merely confirmed aboriginal rights which had their source 'in the law of nations, now incorporated into the common law'.

Before this time most of the land acquired by English settlers had in fact been purchased from Indians. But the formal 'treaties' between Indians and British officials were mainly intended to secure peaceful relations between Indians and colonists, or to gain Indian allies against other would-be colonisers. British officials were first instructed to make 'peace and friendship' treaties in 1670.

After 1763 the treaties were basically land surrenders. Purchase, not conquest, was the British government's only legal means of acquiring land in advance of settlement, to prevent the warfare that had occurred in the United States. In the post-1867 Canadian treaties the Indians agreed to 'cede' (give up) all rights to described territories, in return for annual payments, smaller reserved areas, and special hunting and fishing rights over the land given up, was well as any special privileges detailed in a particular treaty. About half of the Indians of Canada were covered in the sixty-seven treaties made between 1725 and 1929. But in the far north, where there was until recently no pressure for development, and in the

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26 Mickenberg 1971:143.
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westernmost province, where land-hungry settlers insisted treaties were not necessary, the federal government did not obtain surrenders of the Indians' 'aboriginal title'.

After the United States gained independence from Britain there had been much debate about the land title question. Many settlers argued that it could be settled most effectively by exterminating the Indians. Fortunately, the military administration responsible for Indian affairs argued that this would be not only dishonourable but too expensive. It cost two million dollars a year to maintain a regiment on the Plains in 1865, and the Indians there were elusive targets. In the last years of the Indian wars 'it cost the United States on an average four million dollars to kill an Indian'. So treaty-making continued until all had been removed to reservations.28

The American government had higher standards than its citizens: its first major law passed in 1787 declared that the land and property of Indians would 'never be taken from them without their consent' and they would never be invaded or disturbed 'unless in just and lawful wars authorised by Congress'. For eighty-five years the United States maintained a policy of extinguishing native title by negotiating treaty purchases. Two million square miles, 90 per cent of United States territory, were purchased under 372 treaties, at a cost of eight hundred million dollars in cash and services.29 But in 1871 the government passed a law declaring that Indians would no longer be recognised as independent tribes, nations or powers capable or making treaties. Afterwards they were considered to be federal wards, but tribes retained a degree of sovereignty and rights of self-government on their lands. These rights were first confirmed by the courts in 1832, when Chief Justice Marshall declared that Indian tribes had always been considered 'independent political communities retaining their original natural rights' and the accepted rule of international law applied: 'a weaker power does not surrender its independence - its right to self-government - by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection'.30

The North American treaties were all formal written agreements, signed at public meetings of the tribes after extended negotiation with colonial governors or other senior representatives of the Crown. The government wanted peace as much as it wanted land, and this discouraged deliberate fraud, for dissatisfied Indians could endanger and put an end to settlers' occupation of the ceded lands. But there was certainly misunderstanding: few Indians could have foreseen the real consequences of giving up their land. The treaties were made with great solemnity, and both parties spoke of the necessity for honour and good faith in maintaining treaty promises. A 1961 volume on The law of treaties says of these agreements:

> Everything we know about the Indians and the treaties suggests they were understood by the tribes, as they have consistently been by their descendents, as constituting legal arrangements binding upon the Crown for all time.31

The treaties have consistently been upheld by Canadian and American courts as obligations enforceable at law. Treaty provisions prevail over provincial and state laws, and can only be overruled by laws passed by the federal governments.32

Overall, the treaties have been considered morally and legally binding agreements by the governments of Canada and the United States. But some treaty promises were broken by

32 Cumming and Mickenberg 1972; Cohen 1960c.
nineteenth and twentieth century administrators. And, as Indians now point out, there was always some coercion in making land surrender treaties. Indians had to give up the land wanted for settlement. They could only bargain with the government negotiators for the best possible terms. Yet the treaties are still important to Canadian Indians. The treaties represent a recognition of their historic identity and an acknowledgment of their prior ownership. Indians fiercely resisted the Canadian Prime Minister's 1969 argument that the treaty relationship was outdated and should be ended.

The settlement of land claims today.

Four methods of settling native claims have been used in North America. Indians have found that litigation in the courts is the least satisfactory. It is slow, expensive and full of technical difficulties, since decisions must rest on legal definitions and case law drawn from European legal history, ill-suited to dealing with the land tenure systems of hunters and gatherers. But Indians have found that taking legal action can be a useful method of forcing governments to change laws and policy: only very insensitive political leaders will ignore grievances that the courts uphold.

Settlement by an administrative tribunal has been important in the United States. Since 1946 the Indian Claims Commission has considered hundreds of cases brought by Indian groups who claimed they had been unjustly treated by the government. Money compensation is paid for land losses and as damages for unfair and dishonourable dealings by the United States, but alienated land is not restored to tribal ownership.

The third method of settling Indian claims has been legislative settlement - laws passed by government. The justice of such settlements depends upon the power relations between government and native minority, but they provide a rapid political solution when native claims delay resource development. Following a 1959 court decision that native title had never been extinguished, and a 'land freeze' preventing disposal of land subject to native claims (90 per cent of Alaska), the American government passed the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. As compensation for giving up their title, the native people received forty million acres of land (11 per cent of the state) plus cash compensation and royalties totalling US$962.5 million, to be controlled by native-managed development corporations. The Act was intended to enable the natives to participate in Alaskan life on the same basis as other citizens. Their traditional style of life is not protected, and various land and tax provisions may cause them great difficulty in future.

A fourth model, negotiated settlement, has been used in Canada. Governments and native groups have bargained for agreements politically acceptable to both sides. It is in a sense a continuation of the treaty-making process, but the Canadian government and its Indian subjects still have unequal powers and somewhat different goals. Aboriginal title has never been extinguished in the north of Canada, where there is now much pressure for development of natural resources. But the native people will no longer settle for total extinguishment of their rights. The north is their homeland and they wish to preserve their way of life for their children's children. Negotiators have concluded that a just settlement

33 Cardinal 1969.
34 Mickenberg 1971:120.
36 Hunt 1978.
37 Berger 1977.
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is only possible if other Canadians recognise that the native claims rest on 'spiritual and cultural bases which are simply not negotiable'.38

In 1969 the Canadian government proposed a new policy for Indian welfare, arguing that the termination of all special legislation was a prerequisite for the achievement of Indian equality. Within months the Prime Minister admitted that he had been wrong in thinking 'that equality meant the same law for everybody'. Pressure from outraged Indians, Parliament and public forced a formal withdrawal in 1971.

An Indian Claims Commissioner was appointed to examine specific claims and grievances in 1969; his mandate was expanded to include all 'aboriginal title claims' in 1971. In 1973 the government announced that it would negotiate settlements of all 'comprehensive claims', covering every area where aboriginal title had not been extinguished. In 1970 the government began to fund native associations to conduct their own research on historic rights and grievances and to prepare land claims for submission to the cabinet. The situation was complicated by historic differences between 'status' and 'non-status' Indians (who do or do not come under the Indian Act, and only some of whom are 'treaty' Indians), and the Métis (people of Indian descent excluded from earlier treaties, whose claims were dealt with instead by payments of land or cash), and Indian groups who settled in Canada following the American Revolution, who have no 'aboriginal title' because they are immigrants. There are also the Inuit (Eskimo) people, who have never been asked to sign land surrender treaties.

By early 1979 the government had given their various associations almost Can$16 million for claims research plus another Can$23 million as loans to groups negotiating accepted claims.39 A 'Treaties and Historical Research Centre' provides expert assistance and access to records in government archives. A separate Office of Native Claims handles the government's negotiating tasks.

As well as funds for claims negotiation the government has, since 1970, provided massive funding for native political associations at local, regional and national levels. This has done much to overcome the long-standing isolation caused by poverty and cultural and language differences, but co-ordination of native associations is difficult because the 'grassroots' communities have very different problems, interests and priorities. Without this special funding native people would not be able to prepare claims or have the structures to negotiate them.40

During the 1970s the Canadian government pledged itself to involve native people in decision-making at every level, right up to the federal Cabinet. Joint participation has given native leaders and government representatives a new acquaintance with each other's views, and perhaps a greater sense of responsibility and accountability to the people for whom they make decisions. But progress is slow and trust is fragile. From 1975 until the Indians withdrew in 1978 a joint Cabinet-National Indian Brotherhood Committee negotiated directly on all issues affecting Indian people. This collapse caused the disbanding of the Canadian Indian Rights Commission established to aid the joint committee's work on deciding settlement mechanisms. Another joint Cabinet committee involves the national Métis association. The government announced in 1971 that policy changes must come from

38 Naysmith 1977.
40 Weaver 1980; Frideres 1974.
Indian initiatives; these recent changes mean that the future of claims negotiation remains to be decided.\textsuperscript{41}

Most of northern Canada is still under 'territorial' government and there the federal government has more authority than is the case in the provinces - originally separate colonies like the Australian states - which control land, natural resources and such services as education, but have no responsibility for Indian affairs.

Since 1969 certain treaty grievances have been settled by negotiation but some claims (both specific and comprehensive) are more complicated. These involve lands and resources under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments, which must also participate before a final settlement is reached. These governments have always defended the interests of their large European population in discussions of Indian rights. Indian distrust of provincial intentions was a major reason for objecting to the federal government's 1969 proposal to hand over welfare functions to the provinces and abandon its traditional role as protector. Several provinces have shown considerable interest in remedying treaty injustices, but little progress has been made in negotiating aboriginal title claims in British Columbia, Labrador and Quebec.\textsuperscript{42}

The first modern land settlement 'treaty' was the 1975 'James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement'. In 1971 the Quebec provincial government planned an enormous hydro-electric scheme. Planned dams threatened the economic subsistence of Inuit (Eskimo) communities and bands of Cree and Naskapis Indians. They outnumbered the European population in this area and had never signed treaties surrendering their land. Their rights were ignored, but they sought a court injunction halting development until their claims were settled. Sympathisers helped the Cree and Inuit in their campaign to force the provincial and federal governments to acknowledge their rights. Negotiations were extremely difficult.\textsuperscript{43} Finally the Agreement was approved by both Parliaments in the \textit{James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act} of 1977.

This is the most comprehensive Canadian treaty, covering such matters as education, health, royalties, resource planning and so on. The Agreement was much more than a land surrender. It was intended to provide a basis for Indian and Inuit economic development and to safeguard their historic culture. But there has been much controversy about this first treaty of recent times. Many feel it was a 'rip-off'. The protection given for political equality and subsistence and development needs may not be adequate.\textsuperscript{44}

After two years of negotiation the Naskapis band of the same region signed the 'Northeastern Quebec Agreement' (providing similar benefits for the surrender of title) in January 1978.

\textit{'Northern development' and native claims in Canada.}

The native people of the Northwest Territories still outnumber the immigrant European population. Their traditional economic use of this vast area has recently been threatened by southern plans for development of non-renewable resources.

Plans to develop an oil and gas pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley of the Northwest Territories during the 1970s roused great concern. The Berger Commission report - issued within a few days of the Fox Commission report in Australia - concluded that the project

\textsuperscript{41} Weaver 1980; Daniel 1980.
\textsuperscript{42} Daniel 1980; Canada Indian Claims Commission 1975.
\textsuperscript{43} Richardson 1975.
\textsuperscript{44} LaRusic et al. 1979; Hunt 1978.
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should not proceed, because it would endanger a fragile environment and have a disastrous impact on the native people. Justice Berger advised the government that the settlement of native claims must precede any development. The government has decided to build the pipeline elsewhere, and negotiation of native claims is underway. The sophisticated 'Nunavut' and 'Dene' claims demand real protection for the continuity of native societies, but no settlement has yet been reached. The political realities of the native communities and the federal government are so opposed that compromise is difficult.

The ITC 'Nunavut' Claims.

Early in the 1970s the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Eskimo Brotherhood) was established as a political organisation to represent all Eskimo people. Federal funding for three years of intensive land claims research resulted in a three-volume land-use study proving the reliance of the Inuit on almost the whole 750,000 square miles of land. The ITC employed a lawyer, Peter Cumming, to help them draft a comprehensive land claim, presented to the federal Cabinet in February 1976. They asked for outright ownership of 250,000 square miles and harvest rights and 3 per cent royalties on non-renewable resources from another half million square miles. The whole northernmost area of both Territories would become a new territory, 'Nunavut' (our land), governed by Inuit. But the ITC had meanwhile lost touch with 'grass-roots' communities, and after some political instability withdrew this claim.

A new claim proposal on behalf of the Inuit of the central and eastern Arctic was presented in 1977. Again, the claim called for political self-determination (by means of a Nunavut government within the Canadian confederation, based on Inuit political institutions); ownership of traditional areas (including sub-surface rights); and detailed provisions for protection of Inuit culture, language and the traditional economy. They asked for amendment of the British North America Act (the Canadian constitution) to provide for 'the constitutional recognition and continued assurance of the right of the Inuit to exist as an independent culture within Canada'. The federal government negotiated through 1978 and 1979 but changes in the ITC executive (and a change of government) delayed decisions. At the end of 1979 the ITC was reviewing its claim proposal and announced new negotiating structures. No final agreement-in-principle has been prepared.

The COPE 'Inuvialuit Nunangat' claim.

When the ITC stopped progress on its 1976 claim, the Committee for Original People's Entitlement submitted a separate claim on behalf of the 2,500 Inuvialuit who had traditional title over 168,000 square miles of the western Arctic. This 1977 claim did not seek special political status, and their participation in new forms of decentralised government is being examined in the separate inquiry on constitutional development of the Northwest Territories which is now underway.

In October 1978, after months of meetings and the circulation of joint position papers, COPE and the federal government signed a 180-page 'Inuvialuit Land Rights Settlement Agreement-in-Principle'. The Inuvialuit will receive surface and subsurface rights to 37,000 square miles of land plus harvest rights throughout the western Arctic. Participation in a land-use planning commission will give them a major say in the management of land and wildlife. Cash compensation of Can$45 million for their surrendered title, plus further funds to develop new businesses, will be controlled by native-owned corporations. Native people will also control the management of a 5,000 square mile wilderness park in this area. The

45 Berger 1977.
government will provide Can$3.5 million for a social development program, to be managed by Inuvialuit, which will develop special education programs and other projects for the preservation of their language and culture.

But with a change of government in May 1979 negotiations ceased for review, and apparently there has been little further action on this Agreement since the Liberal government returned to office.

The Dene and Métis Mackenzie Valley claims.

The Indians of the Mackenzie Valley have special negotiating problems because of the historic differences in the recognised rights of the 'status' Indians, some of whom had signed treaties in 1899 and 1921, the 'non-status' Indians, and the Métis. The threat of pipeline development brought a new unity to the native people, who resented these imposed distinctions and insisted that 'the definition of the Dene is the right of the Dene'. A single settlement is essential for these people, who live together in various communities.

The 7,000 'treaty' Indians of the western region insist that they did not legally or effectively surrender their title when they signed the treaties. In 1973 they tried to file a 'caveat' with the Land Titles Office covering the lands they traditionally used and occupied - a third of the Northwest Territories. The caveat would make future titles subject to existing rights. Their filing was contested and the Territorial Supreme Court made a ruling that the caveat should stand, after months of hearings in native communities. The judgment was successfully appealed by the federal government in 1975 but meanwhile there was a kind of 'land freeze'.

The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (also called The Dene Nation) and the Métis Association met together in 1974 to plan a single land claim. In 1975 they jointly approved the 'Dene Declaration' and 'Manifesto', demanding recognition of a Dene 'nation', an exclusive homeland and government to be recognised by the governments of the world.

The Canadian government, which of course recalled the nineteenth-century 'Riel Rebellion' (when Métis and Indians proclaimed a separate government and territory which divided Canada in half), and was currently confronting separatist demands by Quebec which also threatened confederation, rejected the concept of a separate nation.

The Métis Association withdrew from joint negotiation in 1976, saying they could not support the 'nation' concept, and obtained funding to prepare a separate claim. Both groups were told there could be only one final settlement. The Dene submitted their claim in October 1976. It argued that:

The Dene, as aboriginal people, have the right to retain ownership of so much of their traditional lands, and under such terms, as to ensure their independence and self-reliance, traditionally, economically and socially, and the maintenance of whatever other rights they have...

There will therefore be within Confederation, a Dene Government with jurisdiction over a geographical area and over subject matters now within the jurisdiction of either the Government of Canada or the Government of the Northwest Territories.
The Dene claim, and other statements, expressed a sophisticated philosophy about the consequences of colonialism and argued that it was necessary to develop a new economic and political structure for native people. But the notion of exclusive control alarmed other citizens. Just before the Métis Association submitted its claim in September 1977 the government appointed a representative to conduct an inquiry on constitutional development which would hear the views of all Northwest Territories residents.

The overlapping Dene and Métis claims had to be jointly negotiated. But no progress was made during 1978, despite sympathetic approaches by the responsible minister. Pointing out that ‘Dene and Métis people are not being asked to sell land’, his negotiator urged the two associations to focus on reconciling their claims. Political structures could not be determined by the claims, for the rights of other citizens were involved. In September 1978 the minister announced that further funding for claims negotiation would be suspended until the two associations settled their differences. Already Can$3.5 million had been provided in grants and loans. No final claim has yet been submitted.

The Yukon claim.

The half-million-square-mile Yukon Territory contains only 22,000 people - but in contrast with the Northwest Territories, Europeans have long outnumbered the native people. No treaties had been made with the 3,240 Indians or the 1,200 Métis. In 1968 federal funding helped the Indian bands to form the Yukon Native Brotherhood, which was authorised to negotiate a settlement of Indian grievances. Over four years (with many meetings in native villages so real consensus could be reached) a claim was prepared, entitled ‘Together today for our children tomorrow’. The claim, presented to the government in February 1973, aimed at enabling Indians ‘to live and work together on equal terms with the white man’. The Council for Yukon Indians, representing status and non-status Indians, was then formed to negotiate with the government in a series of meetings lasting until February 1976, when the target date for an agreement-in-principle was postponed. Pressure for claim settlement intensified in 1976 when an alternative pipeline route through the Yukon was suggested to the Berger inquiry. In January 1977 the government’s fulltime negotiator suggested a new ‘co-operative planning’ approach, under a Planning Council representing the Indians and the federal and territorial governments. Working groups produced reports on each topic for settlement, utilising public discussion and making use of external expertise to suggest all the options available. In 1977 Kenneth Lysyk was appointed to conduct a four-month inquiry on the social and environmental impact of the proposed Alaska Highway pipeline and this produced a planning strategy which included Indian interests. But when the government put forward a settlement proposal based on the Planning Council work, the Council of Yukon Indians asked for more time to consult Indian communities. A year later, in January 1979, they submitted a revised claim proposal. Intensive negotiations were interrupted by the new government’s review, but resumed in November 1979. No final settlement has yet been reached.

The problems of negotiating the future.

The Canadian government is committed to maintaining its treaty obligations and settling outstanding native claims. The government acknowledges that ‘the claims are not only for money and land, but involve the loss of a way of life’. But they want a ‘just and final’ settlement - as soon as possible. The decisions required are not easy for native people.

51 Naysmith 1977.
As Mary Bearskin of Fort George says, 'We are not thinking only of ourselves but of all those young kids who are just starting to hunt, and those that have yet to be born'.

The government genuinely wants the native claims settlements to provide a lasting solution to the cultural, social and economic problems of the Indians and Inuit. But it insists the settlements must also take into account the interests of all residents in the area covered. This of course is the political responsibility of a national government. The Canadian government has a special sensitivity about defending its overriding sovereignty in all areas of Canada, and will certainly oppose 'separatist' demands for exclusive political control of any region by a particular ethnic group. The Dene and Nunavut claims, which demand 'outright and exclusive control over the lands and resources in the entire area of traditional use', will not be easily negotiated.

The recent Canadian experience in negotiating 'comprehensive claim' settlements shows - if nothing else - that negotiation is more difficult than paternalism. But the Fourth World people will no longer allow administrators to decide their future for them. They will negotiate the future for themselves.

The negotiation process, if it is not hurried by pressure for resource development, potentially allows government representatives and native people to learn about the political realities of their respective positions. In the comprehensive claims Indians and Inuit are seeking settlements which redefine their position in Canadian society. The changes in law, political institutions and government programs which are necessary can come only from direct debate with the political decision-makers in the national government.

The earlier North American treaties, and the Treaty of Waitangi, also show the lasting value of negotiation. Long ago, in the Queen's name, honourable men pledged themselves, their people and their heirs to uphold the treaty agreements. They bound themselves to share territory and live in peace, to deal justly with one another for all time. The written promises endure, to reproach generations of greedy men. The treaties have outlasted changes in law, changes in policy, and changes in government. The courts uphold the pledged word of men long dead, insisting that their promises be redeemed, asserting that the tribes who gave up their heritage in return for the sovereign's protection will forever be entitled to justice. The treaties remind Maoris and Indians that their ancestors met the Queen's representatives as equals, offering property of great value in exchange for the promised rights. The treaties remind other citizens that these lands once belonged to others, that we owe our prosperity to their goodwill. Today, in the Queen's name, these national governments are making reparation for past injustices, are binding themselves and their successors to honour new agreements with the original owners of their territory.

The Aboriginal Treaty Committee has reminded other Australians that the Queen's representatives have never invited the Aborigines to negotiate their future. Nor have they acknowledged the Aborigines' moral right to compensation for the taking of their lands.

One of the most significant elements of Indian treaty law is that Indian treaties were not a grant of rights from the United States to the tribes, but rather a grant from the tribes to the United States.

American Indian Policy Review Commission
1977:95.

52 Daniel 1980.
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SISTERHOOD OR ABORIGINAL SERVITUDE?
BLACK WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN ON THE AUSTRALIAN FRONTIER

Myrna Tonkinson

In "And the lubras are ladies now", Diane Barwick states that one consequence of the decision, taken in 1860 by the Victorian Board for the Protection of Aborigines, to force settlement of Aborigines on mission and government stations, was that Aboriginal women developed close and equal relationships with White women.1 Barwick described relationships on the mission stations, contrasting the situation with that found in other parts of Victoria thus:

... there was always a marked barrier between native women in the camps and white women in homesteads or towns. A negligible number ever entered kitchen or parlour and then only as nursemaid or servant. The wives and daughters of the missionaries and teachers were the first European women to treat them as friends and equals and because of this were extremely effective exemplars ... The dress, tasks and interests of all females at the station were similar, and a genuine camaraderie developed ... Indeed, the managers often lamented that the white women 'kept no distance' ... The warm and lasting affection mutually felt by the women ... contrasts with the social distance noticed by Aboriginal girls sent away to domestic service after 1874: there they were merely servants.2

Barwick's description, based largely on missionary and government accounts, is intriguing because it conveys an image of sisterhood between Aboriginal and White women that is rarely encountered. In fact, there is a dearth of substantial descriptions of relationships of any kind between Black and White women in the vast literature, past or current, historical, biographical or fictional. This gap is curious and warrants explanation: is it due to an absence of data or a lack of interest on the part of those who have written about the frontier, race relations, and related subjects in Australia? It is particularly noticeable in accounts dealing with the frontier, since these often include some discussion of relationships between White men and Aboriginal women.

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A thorough examination of the available sources is not possible here, nor can all the pertinent issues be explored in detail. However, it is worthwhile to examine some of the published material for clues. Here I focus primarily on the Northern Territory, where the frontier is most recent, and I shall also draw upon oral history evidence I gathered from some Central Australian Aboriginal women.

The available evidence suggests that the apparently egalitarian relationships that Barwick describes between White missionary women and Aboriginal women on the mission stations in Victoria were rare, and are best explained as the result of the extraordinary circumstances of institutional life. In the closed society of the mission stations, both Whites and Blacks very likely diverged from their traditional behaviour. For the Whites, especially, the pool of potential friends of their own background was small. The mission stations, then, fulfilled most needs, so perhaps too much weight should not be given to descriptions of friendly relations among the women of the two groups. After all, the Aboriginal women whom Barwick describes were very much products created and moulded by the missionaries, albeit apparently willing subjects in that experiment. They seem to have been more tractable than the men, conforming more readily to European expectations, thus gaining the approval of the missionaries. Aborigines on the stations, especially the women, adopted the habits of dress, personal hygiene and housekeeping, the lifestyle and religion of the Whites. This is hardly surprising, especially in the case of those who were placed as children in dormitories, where they were 'carefully reared and trained to live as Europeans'. Having discouraged the maintenance of traditions among people separated from their land, restricted in their movements and dependent on them for subsistence, the missionaries had perfect conditions for creating Black clones of themselves, and as Barwick makes clear in the article, they were particularly successful with the women. There nonetheless remains a question of whether there was indeed genuine equality in the cordial relationships between the women of the two groups.

One of the women Barwick mentions, Bessie Flower Cameron, had been raised and educated by a missionary couple in Western Australia and sent to the Victorian missionaries as a teacher, along with some Aboriginal girls who were seen as suitable wives for some of their Aboriginal converts. Friedrich Hagenaier, a Moravian missionary, took charge of Bessie's life. Her former guardians, the Camfields, suggested the possibility of her marrying a young White missionary, since she was well educated and a 'lady'. Hagenaier, however, baulked at this, preferring to wait for 'a good educated young Black man suitable for her'. He and the other Victorian missionaries were ambivalent about how to treat Bessie Flower. They considered her to be too good for most Aboriginal men and some White men. (Her first suitor, whom she wished to marry, was deemed unsuitable by Hagenaier for two reasons: he was uncomfortable about interracial marriage, and the young man was working class.) Yet Bessie was not accepted as a full member of White society on the mission stations. Attwood shows that although Bessie was able to express her views, the missionaries clearly were in control, even of her choice of a husband. Although it is likely that, in matters of marriage, the White women of the Mission were similarly constrained, there is evidence that Bessie Flower's status was below that of her European peers. For example, she was the only teacher who also was assigned domestic chores and acted as a nursemaid to her guardian's children. By being singled out for special attention, as an

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3 Barwick 1978:54-8.
4 Barwick 1978:58.
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Aborigine, Bessie Flower ended up being lonely and unhappy. She could not find companionship among the Aboriginal women on the station, Ramahyuck, where she eventually settled after marrying an Aboriginal man approved by Hagenauer. Yet, she 'could not win over the missionaries as she once could; loved and petted as a child and admired as she grew up, Bessy found that as an adult her society was no longer sought as it had formerly been'. It was not uncommon for matrons or missionaries to have favourite Aboriginal children, and for mutual devotion to develop, but adulthood tended to bring tensions and even estrangement.

Notwithstanding the closed system of the mission stations in that era, and even when an Aboriginal person had attained an educational level well above the average for Whites, was a Christian and could hold her own in White society, there were limits on her relationships with Whites. A fundamental inequality prevailed. As Attwood says of the attitude of Hagenaur, Bessie Flower and her husband 'were "better class" Aborigines, but no Black was exempt from his policy of "paternalistic superintendence"'. Such views were not conducive to the cultivation of friendships between the missionaries and their converts.

Women on the Frontier

There is an ever-increasing number of books and articles about Aboriginal women and about pioneering White women, and sometimes both groups are discussed in the same work. However, there is seldom any examination in these works of the relationships between the two groups. On the other hand, much has been written about relationships between Aboriginal women and White men. This is probably partly a consequence of the fact that the sex of the participants made for very different levels of intensity in their interaction. As in all colonial situations, the relationships between the settlers and the indigenous people in Australia were marked by sharp sexual differences. To reduce these differences to their simple essence, the men of the dominant group usually interacted freely with both sexes, and often intimately with the women, of the dominated group, while the women of the dominant group tended to remain more aloof and to have only formal contact with the dominated, especially the men. As will be discussed below, British notions regarding class and gender relations, as well as race, influenced behaviour on the Australian frontier.

Relationships between Blacks and Whites on the Australian frontier have been described in many published works, whose main focus has been on group relations or on the relations of particular Whites with often undifferentiated, anonymous Aborigines (the ubiquitous 'natives', 'blackfellows', 'boys', 'gins' and 'lubras'). There are not many accounts of friendship between White and Aboriginal men. Even when they worked together on remote stations a rigid hierarchy was usually observed. Aboriginal workers were referred to as 'boys', regardless of age or experience. Where meals were provided, the Aborigines ate theirs at the woodpile while the Whites ate in the kitchen or dining room. The historical record, based as it is on documentary materials, has a strong European bias making it virtually impossible to establish contemporary Aboriginal viewpoints. In addition, there is a male bias, even in many women's accounts. Recent and current oral historical work partially offsets these imbalances. It is indisputable, however, that relationships between Whites and Aborigines were fundamentally unequal; the prevailing racist ideology informed

8 See, for example, James 1989.
all relationships. The Whites considered themselves to be superior and, even when they conceded humanity to the Blacks, did not consider them worthy of friendship or other relationships based on equality. This view is illustrated by the following comments of Matt Savage, who from the early years of this century spent many years in the north of Western Australia and the Northern Territory as a drover and stockman, before finally settling on his own property in Central Australia:

When I first arrived in the northwest a white man was not expected to speak to a black at all, unless it was to tell him what to do. If you had a normal conversation with one of them, the other fellows would say you were becoming too familiar and probably you would not last very long in your job. This did not apply so much to the black women who, after all, did have their place in the scheme of things. But the boys were little more than slaves, and other than that they were of no account at all.9

On the frontier most White men were single and they greatly outnumbered White women. As Savage points out, Black women 'had their place in the scheme of things'. Relationships between White men and Aboriginal women are complex and marked by hypocrisy. The women assumed a variety of roles, most commonly as domestic servants, stockworkers and sexual partners; often the same woman would perform all these roles. There was official disapproval of sexual liaisons between White men and Black women, and, in certain circles, social ostracism could be the fate of a White man who was known to have sexual relationships with Black women, as Herbert vividly describes in his novel Capricornia. Such relationships were seldom based on equality. In some cases intimacy between an Aboriginal woman and a White man would be concealed by their behaving in front of visitors as master and servant. But often this was no mere pretence because in actuality the White man simply exercised his droit de seigneur with women in his employ.10 Many such men denied being fathers of mixed-race children borne by the women.11

Both legally and socially Australian frontier society had conventions that militated against lasting and equal relationships between Black women and White men. Most states enacted laws prohibiting marriage between them, and there were restrictions on the hiring of Black women by White (and Asian) men, aimed at preventing sexual liaisons between them. There are many accounts of these regulations being circumvented by White men, including instances of them travelling with Aboriginal women disguised as men. Ted Egan's song, 'The drover's boy', poignantly conveys an example of a relationship of devotion that had to be hidden in this way.12 As Evans succinctly shows, Australian society's evaluation of sexual relationships between White men and Black women was virtually the reverse of those between White men and White women.13 Thus the most tolerated pattern was ... prostitution - the taking of 'black velvet' ...

A less frequent and far less condoned arrangement was concubinage, where a man and woman lived together and perhaps raised children. These [white men]

9 Willey 1971:52.
11 See, for example, Strehlow 1969:109-10.
12 Egan 1986.
were contemptuously known as 'Combos' ... Yet, the actual marriage of a European male to an Aboriginal female was regarded as a far worse disgrace. Such a marriage would result in the man being rejected by other Whites or, at the very least, his acceptance being subject to the woman's exclusion from social interaction. Harney reflects on this issue and the sensitivities it could arouse. Among other reasons for the opposition to marriage or cohabitation of White men and Aboriginal women was the notion that such liaisons constituted an insult to White women. White men entering such relationships were seen as cutting off their ties to White society and, especially, White women; their degradation was irrevocable. Mason offers an excellent analysis of sex between colonisers and colonised in a number of societies. He criticises those who assume that 'sex across racial lines' signifies relaxed racial attitudes. Although patterns of such relationships varied from one colonial situation to another, depending to some extent on attitudes to sex and other social and cultural factors in the subject group as well as in the dominant group, certain features occur everywhere. Most significantly, it is the women of the colonised group who are invariably available to or demanded by the male colonists. This was the case with the Spanish in Mexico and much of Central and South America, the Portuguese in Brazil and parts of Africa, and the British in many parts of the world, including Australia. As Mason says, 'there is a dual standard between the sexes. White [sexual] freedom is male; it does not indicate respect but, on the contrary, a profound contempt both for the black man and the black woman'. Inglis makes a similar point about Papua, where, she says, 'many of the liaisons [between White men and Papuan women] are evidence ... of contempt, of sexual and racial patronage. In the colonial situation, then, the non-White woman was the victim of both sexism and racism; as a woman of the subject group, she became the embodiment of the 'damned whore', with the White woman as 'God's police'. British notions about class and about sex across class lines provided a basis for the rules the British imposed in colonial contexts. While males, especially aristocrats, had sexual access to women of lower status, a woman was considered 'deeply depraved' if she had sexual contact with her social inferiors. Marriage across class boundaries was outrageous, while illicit sex would be tolerated, and even humoured, if the man was higher in social status than the woman. Such attitudes were to be found in Australia, but their expression was constrained by circumstances such as the imbalance between the sexes in the White population, with frontier areas being in many instances virtually all male. The population density was low and distances between settled areas were great, particularly in remote regions; consequently, the norms of 'respectable' society could often be ignored with impunity. Nevertheless, legal and social restrictions resulted in illicit, usually casual, liaisons being the most common form of sexual relationship between White men and

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Aboriginal women. Coercion, including rape, was not uncommon.\(^{23}\) Relationships of mutual affection and respect did occur, but were the exception. More representative of frontier White male attitudes to Aboriginal women would have been the anecdote told by Matt Savage about the manager of a station who rejected the idea of having Aboriginal people eat with him in the dining room. When his interlocutor pointed out that he had sex with the women, the manager replied, 'Of course, but I don't get intimate with them'.\(^{24}\)

Men's social class was implicated in sexual relationships across racial lines. It was often asserted that only the 'lowest' White men would enter into sexual liaisons with Aboriginal women, and any resulting children would inherit the 'worst traits' of both - hence part of the concern to limit their number and 'rescue' them. Although there is ample evidence that men of all classes turned to Aboriginal women for sex, it seems that working-class men were more likely to have open relationships with Black women, and less opportunity, and perhaps motivation, to conceal any lasting liaisons.\(^{25}\) In any case, working-class men were more numerous than middle-class men; and although they were subject to the prejudice and stereotyped views of the dominant classes, in the outback they could usually ignore these attitudes.

In describing the experiences of White women in Fiji, who were initially very few in number and later became more numerous, Knapman has severely criticised what she says has been a common tendency among scholars to blame them for the deterioration of relationships between the Fijians (and many other non-White colonised groups) and White men in the colony.\(^{26}\) Knapman cites a number of examples, including two from Australia, of researchers claiming that the arrival of significant numbers of White women spelled the end of harmonious interracial relationships (including sexual ones), even 'the ruin of empires'.\(^{27}\) Such claims were certainly not common in the literature on Australia. It was expected that the presence of White women would change frontier relationships, and this was welcomed and strongly encouraged, at least by officials. Historians and others writing of White women's presence in Australian frontier areas have generally not attributed any responsibility to them for poor race relations, Knapman's examples notwithstanding.\(^{28}\) Rather, their influence is usually described as benign or else is not mentioned at all. Officials concerned about miscegenation and the resultant proliferation of children of mixed descent looked to White women to solve the problem. For example, in his report on 'The Aboriginals and Half-Castes of Central Australia and Northern Australia', J.W. Bleakley remarked that, with regard to the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women and the 'breeding of half-castes', it was necessary to develop conditions that would encourage White women to brave the hardships of the outback. 'One good white woman in a district will have more restraining influence than all the Acts and Regulations.'\(^{29}\)

Whether or not White women were physically present, powerful images of them were important factors in the relationships between White men and Aboriginal women. There was a pervasive tendency to focus on the differences between European and Aboriginal culture and people, and when people were considered, the greatest differences were perceived

\(^{24}\) Willey 1971:20.
\(^{26}\) Knapman 1986.
\(^{29}\) Bleakley 1929:27, see also Stone 1974:156.
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between the women. Invidious comparisons, both explicit and implicit, of Aboriginal women and White women, were frequently made. The Aboriginal women's contribution was seldom acknowledged. As McGrath observes: 'The white woman who did accompany the men to the frontier has been stereotyped as an heroic pioneer and idealised as "the sacred white woman". No such acclaim, however misdirected, was extended to the black women.'30 One exception is Matt Savage's reflection on his partnership with his Aboriginal wife: 'But what woman of my own race would have stood by me in the bush as Ivy has done? She was part of my life in a way no white woman could have been'.31 However, this was unusual. White women, perhaps because of their very absence, were idealised as the embodiment of the best in White society. As Knapman says of colonial Fiji, 'Whilst some white women were more ladylike than others, the "white woman" was a lady. She was the symbol of all that was purest and most refined in European society.'32

Sharply contrasting stereotypes were attributed to Aboriginal and White women by White men. Thus White women were considered delicate and unable to survive, let alone work, in the harsh climate, while Aboriginal women were seen as able to undertake work normally done by men. White women were thought to endure rather than enjoy sex, while Aboriginal women were seen as sexually uninhibited - indeed, uncontrolled. (Inglis, in her account of sexual and racial relationships in Papua, provides evidence that strongly parallels the Australian example. In fiction set in Papua the 'heroes married, and therefore respected, only white women. At the same time, male writers built the notion of "the White Woman", an object frail, respectable, passionless, calm, cool, clean and unable to stand either the hardships or the wild passions of the tropics.'33) Not only were these stereotypes inaccurate, but they were widely contradicted or disregarded by their proponents. Most White men, while celebrating the idealised White woman, took advantage of the labour and the sexuality of Aboriginal women. Behavioural contradictions of the stereotypes abound. For example, the rape and coercion of Aboriginal women by White men does not accord with the images of the women's attitudes to sex. Regarding women's work, Hill catalogues the feats of a number of White women showing that many of them ably performed traditionally male tasks.34 Of course, the actuality is almost irrelevant to the force of ideas and attitudes.

The presence of White women on the frontier did not necessarily result in changes in relationships between Aborigines and whites. For example, there was no disappearance or even diminution of sexual contact between Black women and White men, but perhaps greater pains were taken to conceal it and greater tensions ensued for all concerned. There are many allusions (often subtle) to sexual rivalry between White women and Aboriginal women, in fiction and in historical and biographical works. Invariably, the White woman is the legal wife, who either comes onto the scene after her husband has cohabited or has had a sexual liaison with one or more Aboriginal women (and sometimes has had children by them), or is present when such a relationship begins. The novel Coonardoo conveys dramatically a number of related themes: the impossibility of the Black woman, Coonardoo, and the White man having an open, socially acceptable relationship, though they loved each other and he had fathered her child; his choice of respectable marriage; the

33 Inglis 1974:14.
suspicion of his White wife; and the hurt, frustration and despair of the Black woman. There are numerous instances of Aboriginal women assisting White men to establish stations while cohabiting with them, then, when the place was fit for a White woman, the man marrying one and installing her in the homestead. In some cases the Aboriginal woman would be sent away, or her children, especially girls, would be sent away so as not to be an uncomfortable presence for the man and/or his wife. Bleakley describes such a case:

... a white stockowner lived openly for years with a half-caste woman, who had seven children by him. Some of the children he sent away and placed in employment. Recently, however, he turned the woman adrift with a sum of money and married a white woman.

While there is extensive popular knowledge about such situations in the Northern Territory and elsewhere, there is often no acknowledgement in formal terms or in published accounts. It is interesting to compare, for example, the very different brief references to Louis/Lewis Bloomfield and his family in James and in Strehlow. The children of unions between Aborigines and Whites were seldom recognised and even less likely to inherit the fruits of their parents' labour. They were often brought up as the children of their mothers' Aboriginal husbands, sharing their poverty and economic prospects, regardless of the financial circumstances of their natural fathers. This placed the White and Aboriginal mothers on entirely different footings, even in cases where their children had the same father.

It was assumed that life in an institution was preferable for children, especially girls, of mixed Aboriginal-European parentage to being brought up in 'the Blacks' camp' by their own mothers. The interaction of sexist and racist attitudes is demonstrated in the way some White officials, all male, perceived the 'half-caste problem'. Their assumptions about appropriate sexual relationships show the peculiar bias earlier referred to: White women were the exclusive property of White men and had to be protected from Black men - although there was not the hysteria about this in Australia that there was elsewhere; for example, in the United States or Papua New Guinea. The expectation was that White women found Black men so repugnant that there was no need to fear them voluntarily entering into sexual relationships with Aborigines. On the other hand, Black women were expected to be available to White men willy-nilly. If their preferences were considered at all, they were assumed to welcome these attentions. The female offspring of such liaisons were seen as needing 'protection', which was at least partly sexual. There was great concern that such girls might mate with or marry Black men when they should more appropriately be available to White men who could not find White women, or at least should find partners among men who were also part-European.

The virtual absence of friendships between Black and White women in colonial Australia, at the same time as sexual relationships between Black women and White men were widespread, is an apparent paradox. Yet it makes sense in the logic of colonial relations. In all colonial situations there is an assumption by the colonisers that they are inherently superior to the colonised, so inequality between members of the two groups is intrinsic to the system. Since friendship is founded on notions of affinity and equality

35 Prichard 1929.
36 Bleakley 1929:27.
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between individuals, it is not a condition to which colonial settings are conducive. On the other hand, sexual acts can occur in a variety of social circumstances, and sexual access to colonised women has been the prerogative of White men.

In reading the literature on the Northern Territory, one gains little sense of White women interacting with Blacks of either sex. When they were present they were most often the wives of White men and they usually assumed the position of housewife, and sometimes nurse, teacher, missionary, or store manager. Accounts like those written by Jeannie Gunn show a vast social chasm between the Whites and Blacks. Gunn conveys a kindly but patronising attitude towards the Blacks; there is no hint of any affinity with the Aboriginal women whom she mentions. In any case, her books describe a world of White men, where she was 'the little missus', viewed with awe and curiosity, with some male Chinese servants and 'a few Black "boys" and lubras' constituting a shadowy presence at the periphery, except for the child Bett-Bett, an amusing toy for whom she felt some affection. Gunn clearly wished for company, and developed friendly relationships with the 'rough untutored men' employed on Elsey Station, relishing occasional visits from White women, despite class differences which she notes.40

McGrath makes a tantalisingly brief reference to friendships developing between Aboriginal and White women when the latter were left alone on their stations for long periods with only the Aboriginal women for company. Occasionally, bonds of friendship would grow between the 'missus' and one of her servants, but normally the White woman maintained a sharp social distance between herself and the Aboriginal retainers. Ernesteine Hill's The Territory contains many references to White women, although it, too, is primarily about male pioneers and the references to women are mostly in relation to men. A chapter entitled 'Women of No-Man's Land' is devoted to stories about White women. The book also refers frequently to Aborigines, again in relation to Whites, most of them male. A chapter, 'Blackfella Dreamin' contains descriptions of many aspects of Aboriginal society and culture. Despite the large number of anecdotes and references, however, there is virtually nothing in the book about how White and Aboriginal women related to one another. In an intriguing anecdote about a Mrs Andy Ray of Mainora Station, Hill remarks that, rather than taking an interest in the rich sources of anthropological data around her, Mrs Ray 'taught the lubras to speak English, to make their own dresses, to care for their bonny babies, and to live white'. Some elaboration on this assertion would have been welcome and might have thrown light on the nature of the relationships Mrs Ray had with the anonymous Aboriginal women. Was this another case of 'lubras' becoming 'ladies'? It is very unlikely that the women to whom Hill refers would have enjoyed the status of equals with Whites, no matter what achievements the latter might have deemed them to have made.

A recent book by Barbara James describes a number of pioneering White women in the Northern Territory; some Chinese women are also included, as are a few Aboriginal women. Although she frequently mentions the contributions of Aboriginal women to the development of the Territory, nowhere in the book is there any evidence of partnership or friendship among the women of the three groups.

39 Gunn 1908, 1948.
40 Gunn 1908:130-1, 138-9.
41 McGrath 1987:64.
42 Hill 1951:398; emphasis added.
Among the women discussed by James is Annie Lock. Her story gives an indication of the risks incurred by White women who mingled freely with Aborigines. Lock was a middle-aged single woman who went to Central Australia to do missionary work among Aborigines. Among local Whites she was the object of suspicion and ridicule, and when she gave evidence in the inquiry into the Coniston massacre she was subjected to vilification and harassment. Lock criticised the behaviour of White men towards Aborigines and pointed out that sexual relationships between White men and Aboriginal women were often implicated in disputes between men of the two groups. For asserting this, Lock engendered not only the hostility of White residents of the Centre, but also an implied rebuke from the Board of Inquiry, which claimed that a White female missionary living among 'naked blacks' contributed to a lowering of respect for Whites. Other White women who lived and worked among Aborigines in the 1920s and 1930s were Daisy Bates and Olive Pink, both of whom did research and attracted attention and criticism as eccentrics, but not the attacks on their moral character that Miss Lock suffered, presumably because they were more observant of the prevailing mores.

Another woman on her own was Ida Standley, who, in 1914, was the first teacher in Alice Springs and commanded great respect. (She was not with a man, but had been married). Mrs Standley taught both Aboriginal and European children, but separately. She had Aboriginal women working with her, and was devoted in her efforts on behalf of them and the children, but there is no evidence of her having anything like the kind of relationships with the women that Barwick describes for the Victorian women - any more than did any of the other women mentioned here. Ida Standley was well remembered and spoken of fondly by several old Aboriginal women whom I interviewed in Alice Springs in the late 1970s. However, it was as 'Mrs Standley', kind and caring but in a superordinate position, that she was described. Such women were in any case exceptions among a minority female population. The majority of White women in frontier areas were there with White men, and their relationships with Aboriginal people were mediated by the men, or, at least, the available accounts are mediated in this way.

Away from the frontier, many White women took an interest in the welfare of Aborigines, especially women and children. A number of women's organisations, and humanitarian organisations in which women were active, lobbied governments and sought to influence public opinion to bring about improvements in the living conditions of Aborigines. In 1933, for example, a number of individuals and organisations were exhorting the Commonwealth Government to improve conditions for Aborigines in the Northern Territory. A Mrs Bryce, of the National Council of Women, argued that most murders of non-Aboriginal men by Aborigines were in retaliation for 'interference with black women'. She urged the appointment of female Protectors of Aborigines, because 'men shut their eyes to such things and protect one another', but J.A. Perkins, the Minister for the Interior, rejected this proposal.

Doubtless, some White women who were living in frontier areas also sought to ameliorate the conditions of Blacks. Indeed, most mission stations were run by men with the assistance of their wives, and children's institutions in many parts of the country were run by married couples or by women. There is, however, little recorded evidence of White women perceiving anything like a relationship of sisterhood with their charges, challenging the system on their behalf, or empathising with them in any way. Even official rules that separated children of mixed descent from their mothers apparently did not evoke any significant outcry from White women, who might be expected to have had some empathy.

44 Australian Archives. CRS A1 35/1388.
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as mothers. Indeed, when a Federal Minister for the Interior appealed for volunteers to take fifty 'octoroon children, White in appearance and outlook [but] housed with and treated as natives at the Government Half Caste Home', a number of offers were received from White women, but no concern was expressed for the wishes of the children or their mothers. This idea was eventually abandoned.45

An Aboriginal View

Many Aboriginal women worked as domestic servants in the homes of White people, although Australia did not have as widespread and entrenched a system of native servants as did many other British colonies.46 When children of mixed Aboriginal-European descent were placed in institutions, one of the stated goals was that the girls could be trained as domestic servants. They were taught to sew, cook and do other household chores. Hill writes of pioneering White women 'teaching the young camp lubras to work in the kitchen, garden, house, laundry and even [at] the sewing machine'.47 Barwick, too, describes Aboriginal girls and women acquiring skills in sewing, 'household management' and other tasks from the Europeans on the missions. 48

There are occasional comments in the literature on the contribution made by Black women, as servants, to White women's adjustment to frontier life.49 McGrath also describes the extensive and arduous duties of many Aboriginal women working on stations as domestic servants.50 On the other hand, Gunn conveys a picture of the Aboriginal houseworkers on Elsey as dilatory, indolent and unskilled.51 The Aboriginal view would probably be somewhat different, as the following examples suggest.

Maggie Ross, whose mother was an Aranda Aborigine and whose father was White, was born in the early years of this century, and spent much of her childhood at Hermannsburg and on stations with her mother. After her marriage (to a man of similar ancestry), she worked in mines, stations, with camels carting supplies to railway builders, in a hotel as a launderer, and in various other occupations. Maggie was clearly a very resourceful woman, a hard worker and a keen observer of people. She told me many stories about her experiences, relationships and observations. On the subject of relationships between Blacks and Whites, Maggie Ross made many observations, including the following:

All them White man had native woman. Soon as he bin makin' money and all that, get 'im all White woman then [it was like that] when me bin kid. All about, bin use 'im bloody native! Whole lot bin get half-caste woman now [and put the Aboriginal woman out of the house] ... They all about bin feedin' ... in the woodheap ... All the White lady bin proper like it too! [The Aboriginal women] bin all started workin' for lady then ... Soon as he get White woman, well that native [woman] start workin' with that White woman: cookin' and that, learn [teach] 'em and everything [to the White woman] ... Yeah, they [White women] myall, bloody myall; can't cook a

45 Australian Archives. CRS A1 34/6800.
47 Hill 1951:403.
48 Barwick 1978:54-5, 58.
50 McGrath 1987:64-7.
51 Gunn 1908:51-5.
bloody lizard, can't make a bloody johnny cake, whole lot of 'em - nothing! Yes, all the native lady bin cookin' 'n showin' 'em. You know why? Well, them White men bin learnem them native, and they start cookin' bread and everything. White lady bin come myall, can't cook nothin' ... Got to have a look [in a book] first to cookem cake! Hahaha! The Black woman bin learn fast how to cook bread, cakes, everything ... Oh, they [White women] gave 'em [Black women] clothes ... learn 'em how to sew. ... That's all White lady bin come up and mendem clothes and everything, but can't cook a bloody tucker, nothing ... All the [Aboriginal] woman bin washin' clothes, cleanin', cartin' water ... waterin' garden, White lady never do nothin'. Big queen ... Maggie spoke positively of a few White women, but she had no relationships that could be called friendship with any of them. She provided further illustrations of the gulf separating Black and White women when she talked of the daughters of some of her contemporaries who were passing as White women and had rejected their mothers, along with all Aboriginal people: 'That mob never look after mother. No, all White lady [in] Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney ... wouldn't say hello to you.'

One of the women to whom Maggie was referring told me several times the story of a trip she made to Adelaide to see a daughter who was living as a White woman there. The daughter agreed to meet her in a shopping centre, rather than take her home. This woman was deeply hurt and almost incredulous at her experience. Yet to some extent her daughter's behaviour is explicable in terms of official policy and dominant values in the society, even today. This woman's daughter is the product of a policy that sought to separate children of mixed Aboriginal-European descent from their Aboriginal mothers and integrate them into White society as domestic servants or in other similar roles. There was also a policy by some officials to 'Whiten' the Aboriginal population, thereby effecting their disappearance as a distinct group.

This woman's daughter would have been seen as suitable material for this experiment, since she was a 'quadroon' or 'quarter-caste' who could pass as White. As well, it was probably convenient for the father, a White pastoralist, to have this daughter away in Adelaide, since he did not acknowledge his children by his Aboriginal lover. He had married a White woman and was part of respectable Central Australian society. Now married to a White man and with children, the daughter presumably saw her mother as an embarrassment, or worse, as potentially destructive to the position she has secured for herself in White society. Such is the ultimate irony of a system of ideas and values that classifies and separates people on the basis of colour: that a mother and daughter would find themselves on the opposite sides of this social gap.

Conclusion

From the accounts of Maggie Ross and others it seems that, while friendly relations between White and Black women were not uncommon, there were seldom friendships of an egalitarian kind. The Aboriginal women refer to the White women as 'Miss' or 'Mrs' So-and-so, and the use of a title was unlikely to have been reciprocated. No Aboriginal woman whose life history I have elicited has reported anything that could be described as friendship based on equality with a White woman. Rather, there are relationships of mistress and servant, custodian and charge, teacher and pupil, occasionally mentor and protege, or co-workers. Often they were rivals, though this was usually a veiled or even unwitting rivalry and, as I hope I have shown in this paper, whatever the outcome, such contests were inherently uneven. As discussed above, White women and Aboriginal women were typically ascribed diametrically opposed traits and status. That White men had sexual access
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to both did nothing to bridge that gap; rather, it probably contributed to the perpetuation of it and to a compounding of the hypocrisy of colonial relations.

In this paper I have attempted to discover and explain evidence for and against relationships of sisterhood - friendship based on equality between Aboriginal and White women. There is surprisingly little detail in the literature on relationships of any kind between women of these two groups. It is more common to find references to those relationships between women that were mediated through men, as the objects of sexual jealousy or as makers of invidious comparisons. Barwick's description of easy familiarity between Black and White women, to the slight bewilderment of White men, is one of the few exceptions to what seems to have been a rule of strict separation. However, the evidence has by no means been exhaustively explored, so it would be worthwhile to pursue and describe, in the meticulous way exemplified by Diane Barwick, the gamut of relationships between White and Aboriginal women in Australia.

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ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS ABROAD 1606-1875

John Mulvaney

Thirteen Aboriginal cricketers disembarked at Gravesend on 13 May 1868 to commence a 47-match tour of England. In British sporting history, it probably was the first overseas team to tour England. It also constituted the largest Aboriginal group to visit nineteenth century Europe. All men returned home, except for King Cole (Brippoki), who died in London from tuberculosis.¹

Coincidentally, it also was from Gravesend on 13 May 1787 that Governor Arthur Phillip's fleet sailed to occupy Australia. Upon Phillip's retirement in 1792 he took with him to England two Aborigines. Bennelong and Yemmurrawannie presumably were the first Aborigines to visit Europe. Bennelong returned to Sydney, although Yemmurrawannie died in England in 1794 of a respiratory infection.² Like the cricketers, these first Australian tourists voluntarily accompanied their patron into the unknown.

Unfortunately they were not the first Aborigines to voyage overseas, because they were preceded by the victims of kidnapping, brutally transported by European explorers. This survey attempts to draw together the fragmentary sources for this forlorn one-way traffic. At the same time, it indicates the extent to which Aboriginal people voluntarily travelled to Southeast Asia on Macassan praus. Those people who eventually returned from Indonesia must have brought an intellectual baggage of enriching cultural influences and a fund of exotic tales.

No attempt is made here to trace or assess the nineteenth-century travels of those voluntary exiles who accompanied missionaries or other patrons, although it merits investigation. Russo touched upon the saga of three boys from New Norcia taken to Rome in 1848-49 by Benedictine monks.³ Others accompanied sea explorers on major voyages, as was the case with Flinders on the Investigator.

Luis Vaez Torres was the first maritime explorer to leave a record of blackbirding in Australian waters. He spent several worrying weeks during 1606 working his vessel through the uncharted straits which later bore his name. After a voyage which began in the Louisiade Archipelago and included landings on Torres Strait islands, Torres wrote to the Spanish king from the Philippines.

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1 Mulvaney and Harcourt 1988:92.
I captured in all this land twenty persons of different nations, in order with them to make a better report to Your Majesty. They give much information of other peoples, though as yet they do not make themselves well understood.4

It must be concluded that these captives included Torres Strait Islanders, particularly so if Brett Hilder was correct in claiming that Torres followed a route which took him close to Cape York and away from Papua. Spate concluded that Hilder's 'case may be taken as proven'.5 That the prisoners reached Manila must be inferred from this letter by Torres. Whether they reached the Spanish court is unknown. If so, they were presented to royalty almost two centuries before Bennelong was presented to King George III. It is most unlikely, however, given the terrible seaboard mortality at that period and the length of time involved. Lines of communication with Spain then lay across the Pacific to Acapulco, and across Mexico to its Atlantic coast. In 1676 even a letter from Manila took five years to reach Europe.6

Dutch seamen had landed on a northern Cape York beach six months before Torres cautiously passed that way. Explicit evidence concerning Dutch activities is first manifest in 1623, when Jan Carstensz cruised several hundred kilometres down Cape York's western coastline. In a violent exchange north of Edward River on 18 April 1623, the crew tricked the peaceful and curious inhabitants:

... our men accordingly diverted their attention by showing them iron and beads, and espying vantage, seized one of the blacks by a string which he wore round his neck, and carried him off to the pinnace.7

At the Archer River two weeks later they repeated the same deception. An unarmed man was 'seized round the waist, while the quartermaster put a noose round his neck, by which he was dragged to the pinnace'; another man was shot. Near Mapoon on 8 May a wounded Aboriginal was captured, but he died while being rowed out to the Pera. Later, when Carstensz wrote his report for his Dutch East Indies Company employers in Batavia, he referred to the two Aboriginal prisoners. 'I hope that with God's help Your Worships will in time get information to whose utterances I would beg leave to refer you.'8 9  God's chief assistance, it may be inferred, could have been in the form of a linguist.

Scholars are indebted to R.M. Wiltgen for rescuing from obscurity a significant reference to Aborigines abroad.9 In 1676 a Dominican priest, Victorio Riccio, wrote from Manila to the Cardinals of what is known today as the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Nations. Riccio (1621-85) had arrived in the Philippines in 1648, and by 1652 reported his expectation to voyage to 'Terra Australis which they call Unknown'. Instead, his superiors sent him to Amoy and Formosa. He travelled widely in that region on Dutch ships and returned to Manila in 1666 on a Dutch vessel. His contacts with Dutch seamen must have informed him about recent Australian discoveries. They were a topical subject, as Tasman had skirted around the northern coastline in 1644, while the wreck of

4 Stevens 1930:231; Sharp 1963:25.
6 Wiltgen 1981:35.
7 Heeres 1899:36.
9 Wiltgen 1981:35.
the *Vergulden Draak* in 1656 prompted six voyages to Western Australian shores over the two following years, in a vain attempt to rescue the crew.\(^\text{10}\)

On 4 June 1676 Riccio wrote to Rome. He attached a map which he drew of Terra Australis. The original of this map was displayed in the Vatican pavilion at the 1988 Brisbane Expo. The second half of the second paragraph of his letter, written in Spanish, is translated as follows:

> ...At present I am making many concrete preparations to launch a rare mission, one that will make Your Eminences rejoice very much. I have in mind to discover and enter Terra Australis, which they call the unknown and which is the fifth part of the world, a land containing innumerable kingdoms and peoples. With this letter I am sending a rough sketch of it. And since there is no place in the world subject to the Catholic faith from which one could launch the said mission with greater facility or with less difficulty than from here, as is evident from my map, I therefore wish to go to these kingdoms in order to inform them that God exists. It is a pity that in such a vast part of the world no one up to now has heard the most holy name of God mentioned. Here in Manila there are some men, natives from the first shores of the said Terra Australis, taken captive by the Dutch who discovered a part of the said land. They are adust in colour, some are black, and they are men of courage and strength. And they say that inside the land one can walk for more than two years without seeing the sea, and that there are peoples who are white and blond like us. And this is credible because they being in that southern part [of the hemisphere] are at the same latitude in relation to the Antarctic Pole as we are to the Arctic Pole.\(^\text{11}\)

Riccio’s request to missionise Australia took five years to reach Rome. If any response resulted, it may have reached Manila only after Riccio’s death in 1685. More relevant in this context is Riccio’s reference to the Dutch being responsible for the men from Terra Australis. It may be accepted that at least some of these ‘natives’ were Aboriginal Australians. How and when did they reach Manila? Possibly they were kidnapped during Tasman’s 1644 expedition with three ships, but unfortunately no journals survive. Alternatively, perhaps they were captured on the Western Australian coast during the series of 1656-58 voyages, but details of those voyages are sketchy.

Almost a century elapsed before there is further reference to Aborigines in Southeast Asia. Lieutenant J.E. Gonzal visited western Cape York in 1756 on the *de Rijder*. When he landed on a beach north of Weipa friendly Aboriginal men led his crew to fresh water. In what the Aborigines would have interpreted as a reciprocal gesture, they were ‘treated to some arrack with sugar, they began to make merry and even struck up a kind of chant’. After establishing such good relations, Gonzal resorted to treachery. ‘Our men went ashore again for the purpose of attempting to get hold of one or two natives’. The opportunity arose two days later, when the trusting men set aside their weapons and drank more arrack.

\(^{10}\) Sharp 1963:91-6.

\(^{11}\) I acknowledge the co-operation of Reverend Dr Ralph M. Wiltgen, SVD, Collegio del Verbo Divino, Rome, who sent me his translation of the Italian version of the letter, on 27 October 1981. The source: Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Nations (Rome) *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* vol.493 (1681), fol.235v-236r.
Page of Riccio's letter to Rome, 1676.
SOCG vol.495 (1680) f.236r.
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One of them was seized and taken to the ship. South of Weipa some days after this episode they also captured a youth. Both captives evidently reached Batavia.12

Both unfortunates may have survived in Batavia as curiosities. Lord Monboddo [James Burnet] published the first volume of his Of the origin and progress of language in 1774. In order to prove his eccentric notions concerning linguistic origins and the low intellect of people living 'in the lowest state of barbarity', he cited the following: 'And I know a gentleman who saw in Batavia two savages brought from New Holland, that appeared to him to be perfectly stupid and idiotical...'.13

Willing Passengers

From around this date a trickle of adventurous Aboriginal people visited eastern Indonesia, mainly Macassar, on a voluntary basis. Probably they found it easier to travel there as crewmen on Macassan trepanging praus, however, than to make the return voyage. The following is not claimed to be a comprehensive record, and for its repercussions on Aboriginal society consult Macknight14 and R.M. and C.H. Berndt.15

Macknight cites a Dutch source which establishes an Aboriginal presence in Macassar by 1824. Their physical identity is obvious in the observation of the visiting Dutch governor-general: 'they are very black, tall in stature, with curly hair, not frizzy like that of the Papuan peoples, long thin legs, thick lips and, in general, are quite well built'. Half a century later, in 1876, there were said to be seventeen Aborigines in Macassar.16

The British settlements at Raffles Bay (1827-29) and Port Essington (1838-49) provide documentary evidence for the extent of Aboriginal voyaging to Indonesia. The unpublished diary of Captain Collet Barker, commandant at Raffles Bay from September 1828 to its abandonment in August 1829, offers significant comment. On 2 April 1829 when a prau entered harbour Barker questioned its captain. He was told that they were returning to Macassar from further east. Barker noted the following information:

Described a very good run of blacks (in the Gulf of Carpentaria as well as I could make out) who wore clothes spoke a little Malay drank arrack never stole from them and made themselves useful in various ways helping them to get wood water turtle etc. These people would come on board men women and children before they came to anchor. Several had been at Macassar probably 100 of them, some were there now. They were useful sailors. These good blacks described the blacks here as very bad. The parts they inhabited was from two to four days sail about as far as from Port Essington to Timor...17

On 7 May 1829 six praus appeared. 'In the last prau,' Barker recorded, 'I understood there were four of the good blacks who were going to Macassar.' On the following day they came ashore and Barker met them. Evidently they later stole two Macassan dugout

12 Heeres 1899:94, 97.
13 Burnet 1774:201.
14 Macknight 1976.
16 Macknight 1976:86.
17 Collet Barker, journal at Raffles Bay, NSW Archives, 9/2747 reel 2654. In collaboration with Neville Green and Bob Reece, I hope to publish an edited transcript of this and its companion journal, King George Sound, 1830-31.
canoes, however, and headed back home. This is the same incident reported by Dr Thomas Braidwood Wilson, who arrived at the settlement in June.\(^\text{18}\)

As naval survey vessels were based at Port Essington, several publications by officers refer to Macassan trepanging activities and Aboriginal seafaring. John Lort Stokes, captain of HMS *Beagle*, applied his Port Essington knowledge in an unusual manner. In discussing George Grey's Kimberley exploration and the origin of what we now term Wandjina paintings, Stokes assumed Asian influences. 'We know,' he observed, 'that the Australian not infrequently abandons his country, and his mode of life, to visit the Indian Archipelago', on Macassan praus.\(^\text{19}\) J.B. Jukes was aboard HMS *Fly* in 1845 when a prau disembarked a local Aboriginal who had sailed for Macassar the previous year. 'This we are told was not an uncommon occurrence, as the natives of Port Essington are very fond of going abroad to see the world...\(^\text{20}\)

Ludwig Leichhardt also arrived at Port Essington in 1845. He observed, of Aborigines, that the trepangers 'frequently take some of them to the islands'.\(^\text{21}\) In using such information a caution seems necessary. In such a small, closed community there are strong possibilities that a recycling factor operated. That is, an observed example by one author became accepted common knowledge. A further problem arises with the evidence of John Sweatman, on HMS *Bramble*. His ship and the *Fly* were associated. Allen and Corris, in their edition of Sweatman's journal, emphasise that he had access to the journal of Jukes and frequently plagiarised it.\(^\text{22}\) Compare the statement quoted from Jukes, above, with Sweatman's record that Aborigines 'are fond of travelling about and frequently go in the Bughese prahus to Macassar'.\(^\text{23}\)

In that same passage, however, Sweatman added information about Aborigines crewing on European ships. 'Several', he reported, had visited Sydney on merchant vessels; there were five Aborigines in the crew of the *Heroine* when it was wrecked in 1846. When the *Bramble* sailed to the Kai Islands that year for provisions, Jim Crow, a boy about nine years of age, 'came for the fun of the thing'.\(^\text{24}\)

Probably the most travelled Port Essington man was the literate Neinmal, who served for a period as assistant to J. MacGillivray, a naturalist on HMS *Rattlesnake*. He first visited New Guinea and later he voyaged to Java and Singapore, sailing the southern route around Australia to Sydney, before returning home on HMS *Bramble* via Torres Strait.\(^\text{25}\) Much travelled Aborigines might be met in unexpected places. A prospecting party working in inland eastern Arnhem Land during 1875 met a man who had visited Macassar and Singapore; he spoke some Malay and English.\(^\text{26}\)

Aboriginal Australia has suffered from ill-conceived notions about its past. One has been the total isolation of this continent from outside ideas; another is its failure to escape local territorial confines. Recent decades have witnessed the documentation of complex and

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\(^{18}\) Wilson 1835:80.

\(^{19}\) Stokes 1846:1, 211.

\(^{20}\) Jukes 1847:I, 359.

\(^{21}\) Webster 1986:24.

\(^{22}\) Allen and Corris 1977:xxii.

\(^{23}\) Ibid:144.

\(^{24}\) Ibid:118, 148.


\(^{26}\) Macknight 1976:85.
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far-flung ceremonial exchange cycles and Dreaming pathways within the continent. The documentation reviewed above hints at contacts beyond Australia’s shores which may have played an exciting and innovative role. The evidence from the seventeenth century also establishes that the sad pattern of gross violation of human rights has a history extending back far beyond the British colonisation of this continent.27

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27 Some aspects of this article are amplified in my book Encounters in place: outsiders and Aboriginal Australians 1606-1985. St Lucia, 1989.
Figure 1. The Hawkesbury, Campbelltown and Appin districts in the early nineteenth century.
Campbelltown, south-west of Sydney, was permanently occupied by Europeans from 1809. Like other parts of the County of Cumberland, it is usually assumed that with the arrival of the Europeans all information about the individual identities of the district's Aboriginal inhabitants was lost. Whilst the tragedy of the Appin massacre of 1816 irrevocably destroyed the traditional community life of the Dharawal, it did not destroy them as individuals. In Campbelltown a few settlers maintained close contacts with individual Aborigines. The records of these settlers, combined with scattered newspaper references, government correspondence and various lists compiled by magistrates allow individual biographies to be compiled for several Aborigines from c.1800 through to the 1840s. Despite conflicting evidence of recurring names and inconsistencies in ages, it is nevertheless possible to assemble enough detail to establish individual identities for some of the colonial Aborigines. This process cannot reconstruct their pre-invasion world but it at least uncovers more of their relationship with the Europeans in the earliest decades of colonial settlement.

Brief biographies of some colonial Dharawal and Gandangara follow a general account of European and Aboriginal relations in colonial Campbelltown.

Settlement at Campbelltown and the Cowpastures.

The Aboriginal people who lived in the Campbelltown region were called the Cowpastures tribe by the Europeans. Anthropologists have concluded that they spoke the Dharawal language and that their territory covered a region from Botany Bay south to the Shoalhaven River and inland to Camden. Their neighbours on the north were the Dharuk of the Hawkesbury district. To the south and south-west, in the mountain highlands, lived the Gandangara and eastward, on the coastal plain of the Illawarra, were the Wodi Wodi. The Dharawal travelled widely through the country of the Hawkesbury-Nepean river system, (See Fig. 1) occasionally leaving their own territory to visit other Aborigines at Prospect, Parramatta and Windsor, east to Botany Bay and as far north as Broken Bay, west to Bathurst and south-west to Lake Bathurst.

The Dharawal left tangible evidence of their initial reaction to European settlement. Six months after the arrival of the First Fleet, two bulls and four cows, the colony's only source of fresh meat, disappeared from the settlement at Sydney Cove. The cattle wandered south, crossed the Cook and Nepean Rivers and established themselves on good grazing land in the

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1 The research for this paper was undertaken as part of my work on the Bicentennial history of Campbelltown, a project commissioned by Campbelltown City Council.

Menangle-Camden area about ninety kilometres from Sydney. The Dharawal saw these strange creatures and sketched them on the wall of a sandstone shelter. The animals had no horns, having been polled to prevent injury during the voyage from Cape Town, but the Dharawal artist clearly depicted the characteristics of the bulls, so different in size to the soft-pawed kangaroo. A sense of terror is clear - the bull dominates the wall of the cave. The drawings in Bull Cave (See Fig. 1) date to the first years of European settlement as the colonial offspring of these animals had horns when rediscovered in 1795.3

The discovery of the large herd of wild cattle in 1795 gave the area its European name, the Cowpastures. Visits to the district remained rare until the early 1800s when attempts were made to domesticate the cattle. The fresh meat attracted European visitors and the governor appointed constables to prevent unauthorised travel into the area.4 Following severe flooding along the Hawkesbury in the winter of 1809, the colonial government encouraged new farming settlements away from the river in the open forest lands south-west from Parramatta in the Districts of Cabramatta, Bringelly and Minto. By November 1810, when Macquarie visited Minto and the Cowpastures, (See Fig. 1) the district was already under the plough with fields of wheat and grazing sheep and cattle.

The town of Campbelltown was formally established by Macquarie in 1820 and, until the mid 1820s, it was the southern limit of European settlement. It was a different frontier to the later male-dominated pastoral frontier of the 1820s-40s. The Districts of Airds, Appin and Minto were settled by family groups, mainly ex-convicts who brought with them their women and children and extended families of brothers-in-law, parents and other kin.

Among Campbelltown's settlers were some of the colony's most active explorers. As the convict stockman guarding the wild cattle, John Warby (1767-1851) was the first European resident of Campbelltown, living there semi-permanently from about 1802. Warby explored the Cowpastures, the Burrarorang Valley and Bargo area, establishing a close working relationship with the Dharawal. Knowledge gained from this relationship made Warby the premier European guide for the southern districts until the 1820s. Charles Throsby (1777-1828) was farming his grant at Glenfield by late 1810. A retired surgeon, Throsby was an active explorer in the southern highlands. His companions were always Dharawal men. Throsby was a persistent critic of European treatment of the Aborigines. Hamilton Hume (1797-1873) and his parents moved to their Appin land grant in 1812. Their neighbours were Elizabeth Charlotte Broughton (née Kennedy) and John Kennedy, relations of Hume's mother Elizabeth Kennedy. Almost immediately young Hume started exploring the district in the company of the Dharawal.5

There had been no reports of violence between the Dharawal and the few Europeans in the Campbelltown area before 1810 but intensive European occupation of Minto and Macquarie's newly declared Districts of Airds and Appin occurred during the next decade. With the drought years of 1814-16 came conflict between black and white. Though these battles were fought in the Campbelltown area, the Dharawal were more often observers than participants but few settlers were able to distinguish particular groups of Aborigines so throughout 1814-16 the Cowpasture Aborigines were considered hostile by the Europeans. The Aboriginal combatants were usually groups from the mountains and southern highlands who had come looking for food. These groups were more aggressive than the Dharawal. More feared by the settlers were the Aborigines from Jervis Bay who in 1814 had travelled

3 Sydney Prehistory Group 1983.
4 Liston 1988:4-5.
north to the Cowpastures, not for the corn but to kill all white men.6 Settlers were terrified by reports that the Aborigines would rise up and kill them on the night of the full moon, 3 June 1814. Armed settlers guarded the most southerly properties at Appin.

Several whites and blacks were killed in May and June of 1814. At first Macquarie urged forbearance, suggesting that the loss of some corn was a small price for peace. He had personally urged the Cowpasture Aborigines to refrain from violence and he recognised that most of the bloodshed had been caused by the murder of an Aboriginal woman and her children at Appin.7 However, the unrest continued and on 21 July 1814 Macquarie ordered a party of twelve armed Europeans (ex-convict and ticket of leave men from Campbelltown) to take four friendly Aboriginal guides to apprehend five 'wild mountain natives' (probably Gandangara) whom Macquarie held responsible for the murders of two European children. After three weeks on patrol, the hunting party returned empty handed.8 With spring, the mountain tribes retired to their own country.

During the 1814 conflict, Dharawal who knew European settlers took refuge with them. Their leader, Gogy, fuelled the settlers' alarm with stories of the cannibalism of the mountain people.9

Two years later, in March 1816, the Gandangara came again from the mountains in search of food. European servants were killed and about forty farmers responded to the magistrates' call to arm themselves with muskets and pitchforks and confront the Gandangara at Upper Camden. They took with them some of the more friendly Aborigines, such as Budbury of the Dharawal, as interpreters. Budbury warned them that the Gandangara would attack when approached. The settlers responded to the shower of spears with a volley of shots but the Aborigines had the advantage of high ground. Spears and stones rained down on the settlers who retreated in panic. The Aborigines had not been afraid of their firearms, simply dropping to the ground whenever the muskets were pointed and jumping up after the discharge.10 They did not pursue the fleeing farmers. Following this incident, isolated shepherds and settlers moved to the safety of more closely settled areas.

On 9 April 1816 Macquarie ordered the military to apprehend the trouble makers - the Aborigines of the Cowpastures and the mountain natives. Peaceful groups, such as the Five Islands (Illawarra) people were to be left alone. Any Aborigines whom the soldiers met in their search for the troublemakers were to be taken prisoner and sent to Parramatta or Windsor Gaol. Resisters were to be shot, the bodies of the men hung from trees as an example to others and the women and children buried. Eighteen good-looking, healthy children were to be chosen from the prisoners of war for the Native Institute at Parramatta.11

Charles Throsby of Glenfield was concerned that the 'fears and aversions of the ignorant part of the white people' would lead to indiscriminate attacks against innocent Aborigines which, in turn, would provoke retaliation killings of isolated stockmen. Most Europeans could not distinguish individual Aborigines nor different clans. In 1814 Gogy of the

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6 Sydney Gazette, 4 June 1814.
7 Sydney Gazette, 18 June 1814.
8 AONSW 4/1730, pp.213, 218, 224, 227.
9 Sydney Gazette, 4 June 1814.
10 Sydney Gazette, 9 March 1816; Hallsall Correspondence, ML MSS 1177/4, f.619ff.
11 HRA Vol. 9:54; AONSW 4/1734, f.149-169. By the close of 1816 there were eighteen children in the Native Institute. Ellis 1947:358.
Dharawal had been confused as a leader of the mountain people\textsuperscript{12} and Budbury was wrongly identified as an assailant. Throsby believed that all the violence could be traced to specific cases of vengeance - the murders of two Gandangara families, the families of Bitugally and Yellooming, in 1814 and the subsequent revenge through the deaths of European families. Throsby was convinced that the aggression was not against Europeans in general. At the height of the troubles, his house guest John Wentworth, son of the Principal Superintendent of Police, spent days fishing with Gogy and other Dharawal on the George's River.\textsuperscript{13}

The Dharawal turned to Throsby for protection. Gogy and Nighgingull with their families took refuge at Glenfield as early as February 1816, perhaps aware that the mountain tribes would be returning to Campbelltown, and they were joined in March by Budbury, Young Bundle and others, all clearly separating themselves from the mountain Aborigines who were determined to make trouble - and who would attack any group with soldiers in it.\textsuperscript{14}

In response to Macquarie's order of 9 April 1816, two detachments of soldiers were sent to apprehend the Aborigines in the southern districts. Lieutenant Charles Dawes and his men went to Camden to capture the Cowpasture Aborigines. Macquarie had ordered a local settler, John (Bush) Jackson, and a Dharawal, Tindal, to guide the soldiers to the Aborigines but the soldiers were led to them by a stockman working for the Macarthurs. The Aborigines, probably Dharawal, fled and the soldiers opened fire, killing an unspecified number and capturing a fourteen-year old boy. Despite his lack of active participation, Tindal was later awarded an order of merit by Macquarie.\textsuperscript{15}

Captain James Wallis commanded the detachment of the 46th Regiment sent to apprehend the Aborigines in the Airds and Appin Districts. Again Macquarie appointed guides, John Warby with Budbury and Bundle from the Dharawal. For a month Wallis and his soldiers marched back and forth from Glenfield to Appin in pursuit of rumoured sightings of Aborigines. Wallis reported his frustration at the considerable support, to the point of interference, that the European farmers of Airds and Appin gave to the Dharawal.

From the beginning, Wallis found Warby an unwilling and unco-operative guide. Gogy, alerted to Macquarie's orders probably by Throsby, fled Glenfield and took refuge with another settler at Botany Bay. Wallis wanted to pursue him but Warby argued that the Dharawal were friendly and should be left alone. Wallis reluctantly conceded that his priorities lay with capturing the Aborigines further south. Warby then refused to take responsibility for the two Dharawal guides, Budbury and Bundle, and allowed them to escape one night, taking their blankets with them.

Wallis marched the soldiers to the most southerly farms at Appin where he knew that friendly Aborigines had taken refuge at Kennedy's farm. He promised not to harm them but when he found that Kennedy had been sheltering two Aborigines whom Macquarie had outlawed, Yellooming and Bitugally, he wanted to take them prisoner. Kennedy argued that Yellooming and Bitugally had protected his and his brother-in-law's farms from attack. If they were arrested Kennedy feared that he would face reprisals and be forced to abandon his isolated farm. Rather than see the Aborigines taken away by the soldiers, Kennedy offered his personal bond to escort them to the governor and explain their innocence. Hamilton

\textsuperscript{12} Sydney Gazette, 4 June 1814.
\textsuperscript{13} Wentworth Papers ML A752, f.183ff.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} AONSW 4/1735, f.1-29; Ellis 1947:358.
Plate 1. Dharawal and Gandangara at Camden Park.
Photo: W. Hertzer, c.1850.
Courtesy Macleay Museum (Historic Photograph Collection).
Hume, Kennedy's nephew, was able to convince Wallis that Macquarie had removed the names of Yellooming and Bitugally from the list of outlaws. This was certainly a bluff since Yellooming's name was among the list of outlawed Aborigines published two months later.

Warby, refusing to act as a guide any longer, disappeared for a few days. Wallis decided to follow up reported sightings of Aboriginal warriors in the more populated Minto area near Redfern's farm, Campbellfield, but found the overseer who had reported the sightings was absent. Wallis accused him of wanting to help the Aborigines and frustrate the military. For a few days Wallis and his men searched the rugged banks of the George's River at East Minto and Ingleburn. News then came that seven outlawed Aborigines were camped at Broughton's farm at Appin. Wallis marched his soldiers through the night. They were met by Thomas Noble, a convict, who led them to the camp.

Fires were still burning but the camp was deserted. A child's cry was heard in the bush. Wallis formed the soldiers into a line and pushed through the thick bush towards a deep rocky gorge. Dogs barked in alarm and the soldiers started to shoot. By the moonlight, the soldiers could see figures bounding from rock to rock. Some Aborigines were shot; some met their end by rushing in despair over the cliffs. Two women and three children were all who remained 'to whom death would not be a blessing'. Fourteen had died, among them Durelle, Cannabayagal a well-known mountain warrior whom Caley had met at Stonequarry Creek (See Fig. 1) in 1804, an old man named Balyin and some women and children. The bodies of Durelle and Cannabayagal were pulled up the cliff to be hung from trees on Broughton's farm as a warning to others. It was too difficult to recover any of the other bodies from the rocky gorge. Kennedy provided a cart so that the captured women and children could be taken to Liverpool.

The Appin Massacre of 1816 is traditionally regarded as the annihilation of the Aboriginal people of Campbelltown and Camden. Durelle was probably a Dharawal but Cannabayagal was a Burragorang man. Their association in death suggests that some Dharawal, who had previously attempted to manipulate the Europeans against their traditional rivals, had when faced with indiscriminate European attacks sought new allies from among other Aboriginal groups.

Soldiers were left to guard the farms of Kennedy and Sykes. A few weeks later they captured Duall and Quayat of the Dharawal when they sought refuge on Kennedy's farm and sent them to Liverpool. After the massacre, Wallis and most of his men had marched north to Airds. A detachment lay in ambush for Budbury, their former Dharawal guide, while others patrolled the George's River searching for Gogy who they believed had returned from Botany Bay. A month after Macquarie's proclamation, their rations were exhausted and they returned to Sydney.

Macquarie explained the military action and deaths as a necessary deterrent in consequence of three years of hostility. A proclamation in May 1816 forbade gatherings of armed Aborigines near European settlements. Two months later Macquarie outlawed ten Aborigines, including Yellooming, and settlers were forbidden to offer sanctuary to friendly Aborigines unless they gave information about the outlaws. The outlaw proclamation was
withdrawn in November 1816 and amnesty offered to the surviving Aborigines to allow them to attend Macquarie's gathering of the tribes in December.19

After the conflicts of 1816 the Dharawal remained south of the Nepean River in the Cowpastures where the largest settlers were the Macarthur family. Although they had lost several employees during the violence, they made no attempt to remove the Dharawal from their land grants. In March 1818 James Meehan marked out some land on the Macarthur's Camden estate for Aborigines who wanted to live there under the protection of the Macarthurs.20 (See Plate 1) A paddock on the Camden estate was always known as Budbury's.21 In the late 1820s the Dharawal on the Camden estate attended church dressed in European clothing. Occasionally Macarthur used them as a bodyguard, attending him livered in red, blue and yellow and carrying spears.22

There was little official interest in the Aborigines of Campbelltown. (See Plate 2) From the late 1820s the magistrates provided lists of local Aborigines who might be eligible for the annual distribution of blankets. Comparison of the lists of neighbouring police districts for the 1830s suggests that the surviving Dharawal and Gandangara moved between Campbelltown, the Cowpastures and Picton, rarely venturing to more populated Liverpool.

As settlement moved south and south-west, Campbelltown's magistrates became involved in the affairs of Aborigines from other districts. In September 1824 Throsby was concerned that the peaceful relationship between the Europeans and the Aborigines in Argyleshire, the pastoral district south of Camden, would be destroyed by the conduct of stockmen on the outstations. A sixteen-year-old Aboriginal girl from Lake George had been abducted by the servants of Richard Brooks, assaulted, raped and brought back to Brooks' Campbelltown estate, Denham Court. Throsby intervened as magistrate and summarily punished the convict servants but could not act against a free man who had similarly mistreated the girl's sister and threatened her friends with a gun when they attempted to rescue her. Throsby arranged for medical examination of the girl, left her in the care of the Cowpasture tribe and went to Lake George to find witnesses. The relations of the two girls had already gathered with spears looking for revenge and Throsby explained that the men would be punished.23

Dharawal numbers were depleted by disease as well as warfare. Catarrh or influenza wiped out whole families but especially the elderly in 1820.24 By 1845 the number of Aborigines in the Campbelltown Police District had dropped over the past ten years from twenty to none. Further south, Matthew McAlister of Picton reported that there were sixty-seven Aborigines in his district and a few others of mixed race, but numbers were falling. He blamed the decline on dissipation, lying on damp ground and consumption. This was the first official mention of alcohol as a problem in the area. McAlister reported that their food was inadequate, mainly possum and what they could beg from the whites because their traditional foods were disappearing with European occupation of their hunting grounds. They regarded the annual distribution of blankets as their right and were dissatisfied when the government ceased issuing them. The Aborigines found casual employment assisting

19 Wentworth Papers, ML A752, f.205; HRA, Vol. 9, p.141ff.
20 Meehan Papers, ML C90.
22 Ellis 1955:510, 513.
23 Leah 1984; AONSW 9/2734, No. 64.
24 Cambage 1921:261; Buscombe 1982:38.
with reaping and maize husking, though the white farmers thought them lazy and paid them only in provisions, tobacco, old clothes and firearms. Mostly they were friendly and quiet.25

Tribal life continued in a limited way. As late as 1845 the Cowpasture people still had their own 'carradgee' or doctor and did not require European medical assistance.26 Corroborees were held at Camden Park and north of the Nepean at Denham Court until at least the 1850s, usually celebrated when other Aborigines were passing through the district so that attendances by more than 100 Aborigines were common.27 In 1858 about 200 Aborigines were assembled at Campbelltown to celebrate the opening of the railway station. The little that is recorded of Dharawal language and customs was gathered by Europeans who met them in the late nineteenth century when their community had already been dispersed. John Rowley of Holsworthy who had explored with Dharawal guides in 1817 recorded some of their language in 1875 while R.H.Mathews (1841-1918) who was born at Narellan and grew up in the land of the Dharwal and Gandangara recorded some of their vocabulary and folklore in the 1890s.

Dharawal Men

Gogy28

Gogy was the best known of the early Dharawal. He appears in the European records largely through accounts of his encounters with tribal justice, his experiences providing valuable evidence of the traditional practices of the County of Cumberland clans.

His first European acquaintance was probably John Warby. Ensign Francis Barrallier used Gogy as his guide for his explorations in 1802. Barrallier recorded that Gogy had been outlawed from his clan for a killing and had taken refuge with Goondel and his family in the south (probably Gandangara). After an exile of eight or nine months, Gogy was allowed to return to his own people. Gogy's gratitude for Goondel's hospitality did not last long. Some time later, Gogy and three companions caught a woman from Goondel's clan near Nattai, tied her to a tree and killed her, removing some flesh to eat. Gogy used Barrallier as a protector against Goondel's anger when they met during Barrallier's expedition.29

In March 1805 Gogy was at Parramatta. Here he faced Benelong and Nanberry (both well-known to the European colonists) to suffer a punishment ordeal for having killed another Aborigine. Benelong and Nanberry threw spears at Gogy from a distance of four metres. One barbed spear lodged above Gogy's hip and another in his back below the loins. The European bystanders were unable to remove the second spear and feared that Gogy would die from his wounds. To their surprise, he survived for a week with the spear protruding from his back before it was removed. Gogy, despite his wound, then proceeded to the Hawkesbury to participate in a similar trial against another Aborigine charged by his people with murder. The Europeans admired the "stoic composure" which Gogy displayed.30

25 NSW Legislative Council 1845.
26 Ibid.
28 Variously spelt in surviving documents - Gogy, Goguey, Koggie, Cowgye.
30 Sydney Gazette, 17, 31 March, 7 April 1805; Wiley 1985:144.
Gogy and his family - his wives Nantz and Mary and their children - were members of a group of Dharawal that Governor Macquarie met on his first visit to the Cowpastures in 1810.31

Seemingly an aggressive man in his youth, Gogy tried to avoid conflict in his old age. During the violence of May-June 1814, Gogy left Campbelltown to visit the Broken Bay Aborigines. His parting comments to the settlers that the Gandangara were cannibals added to the tension, though this was perhaps a tactic to manipulate the Europeans against traditional rivals.32 During the troubles of 1816, Gogy was one of several Dharawal men and their families who took refuge with Charles Throsby at Glenfield. While there, Gogy took John Wentworth, son of Principal Surgeon D'Arcy Wentworth, fishing on the George's River.33 When the soldiers began an indiscriminate search for Aborigines, Gogy fled to Cunningham's farm at Botany Bay. His track was followed by the soldiers who traced him to the George's River and sighted Gogy's kangaroo dog but the country was too wild to give chase.34 In June 1816 Gogy gave up his weapons in response to Macquarie's May proclamation forbidding armed gatherings of Aborigines but offering land, food and education to those who surrendered. Gogy, 'King of the George's River', later received one of Macquarie's gorget medallions.35 Gogy disappears from the European records about 1820.

Bundle36

Another Dharawal, Young Bundle or Bundle was also known to the Europeans because of his qualities as a warrior. He appeared near Parramatta in September 1809 with Tedbury, son of Pemulwuy, the Bidjigal warrior who had led a guerilla campaign against the Europeans in the 1790s. Tedbury had continued his father's tactics, attacking the settlers of the Cook and George's River areas in 1805 and again in 1809. These attacks were principally against stock and waylaying travellers to take their supplies.37 In April 1816 Bundle was one of the unwilling Dharawal guides who accompanied John Warby and Captain James Wallis to apprehend Aboriginal outlaws. Aided by Warby, Bundle escaped from this unwelcome role.38

In March 1818 he guided Meehan, Throsby and Hume on their search for an overland route to Jervis Bay. As interpreter to the Wodi Wodi of the Illawarra, Bundle explained Macquarie's regulations which forbade Aborigines carrying spears in the presence of Europeans. Familiar with European food, he ate salted pork.39 On the recommendation of the Macarthurs, Bundle was briefly appointed a constable at Upper Minto in 1822. Though the appointment was not made permanent, Bundle regularly assisted the police throughout the 1820s.40

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31 Macquarie 1979:6-10.
32 Sydney Gazette, 4 June 1814.
33 Wentworth Papers, ML A752; Sydney Gazette, 23 March 1816.
34 AONSW 4/1735 f.50 ff.
35 Ellis 1947:358; Bridges 1966:212.
36 Young Bundle, Bundle, Bundell, Bundal.
37 Wiley 1985:123-5, 168-70; Sydney Gazette, 3 September 1809.
38 AONSW 4/1735.
39 Cambage 1921; Webster 1982.
40 Atkinson 1988:229/
Though there are several similarly named Aborigines, Bundle, aged 30, appears in the blanket returns for the Stonequarry Police District (Picton) in 1833 and 1834 and again, aged 35, in 1837. Known as the last Chief of the Cowpastures, recent work by Atkinson on Camden suggests that Bundle was alive into the 1840s.

Budbury

Budbury and his wife Mary were part of a group whom Macquarie met in the Cowpastures in 1810. The creek that flows through Campbelltown is known as Bunbury Curran Creek. Reputedly named after a naval officer, it could as easily have derived its name from 'Budbury's Current'.

Budbury was one of the Dharawal guides who accompanied John Warby in search of outlawed Aborigines in July 1814. He guided Macquarie to the Nattai River in 1815. In March 1816 when the Gandangara came down from the mountains, Budbury acted as interpreter for the settlers. Though known as being friendly to the Europeans, he faced danger because of the inability of many settlers to identify individual Aborigines. Charles Throsby wrote to the *Sydney Gazette* in March 1816 of his concern that Budbury had been wrongly identified by a terrified settler as a member of a group of Aborigines who had attacked him. The following month, Budbury acted as an unwilling guide for Captain Wallis's expedition against the Cowpasture tribe until Warby assisted him to escape. A few days later Budbury himself was the object of an unsuccessful military ambush.

By 1821 Budbury was regarded by the Europeans as the leader of the Cowpasture people. From the earliest years of European settlement, Budbury was identified with the Macarthurs and Camden estate. In 1816 he was referred to as Mr Macarthur's Budbury. He lived on the Camden estate where there was a paddock known as Budbury's. Described by Sir William Macarthur as a fine warrior, 'a brave man and a quiet one too' Budbury may have lived until about 1860. Budbury, aged 45, was listed by the Stonequarry bench in 1833 and for the Cawdor district in 1834. Atkinson's work on the Camden estate records identified an adult baptism for John Budberry in the 1840s and found him listed on the electoral roll of 1859 as a labourer on the estate.

Dual
Duall was Hamilton Hume's Dharawal guide on his first exploration journey south to Berrima in 1814. During the months of conflict in 1816, Duall sought refuge at the farm of Hume's uncle, John Kennedy and was captured there by the soldiers in April 1816. Four months later he was again arrested and sentenced to seven years transportation to Van Diemens Land for encouraging his people to rob the settlers. Whether this sentence was carried out is not clear as a Dharawal named Duall guided Charles Throsby across the mountains from the Wingecarribee to Bathurst in 1819 and again guided Hume and Kennedy to Lake Bathurst and the Shoalhaven in 1821. On Throsby's recommendation he was given an inscribed medallion for his services to the explorers. Duall, aged 40 with a wife and child, was listed on the return of the Cowpasture Aborigines for 1833.

GANDANGARA MEN

Bitugally

Following the death of a member of the Veteran Corps in a clash with Aborigines near Appin, the Europeans went searching for vengeance in May 1814. They murdered Bitugally's wife and two children while they slept. The woman's arm was cut off, her head scalped and the skull of one of the children smashed in with the butt of a musket. Their bodies were left unburied for their families to find. The murder of Bitugally's family triggered widespread violence between the Aborigines and the Europeans in the winter of 1814. In July 1814 the children of a Bringelly settler were killed by Aborigines. Among the five Aborigines blamed for this was Bitugally who was outlawed by Macquarie. An armed search party was sent to capture him but returned empty-handed three weeks later.

Charles Throsby did not believe that Bitugally had been involved in the murder of Daley's children, though he may have been involved in killing a stockman at Appin. Even if Bitugally had killed the children, Throsby could accept that the act was vengeance for the brutality his family had suffered at the hands of the Europeans.

Bitugally was again declared an outlaw by Macquarie in 1816. He was given refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and his nephew, Hamilton Hume, argued with the soldiers that Bitugally was not hostile to the Europeans and had protected Kennedy's and Broughton's farms from attack. Kennedy offered his personal bond to bring Bitugally before the governor but Hume then convinced Captain Wallis that Bitugally was not on the list of outlaws. No mention has been found of Bitugally after 1816.

Yelloming

55 AONSW 4/1735 f.60; Liston 1988:17.
56 Sydney Gazette, 3 August 1816.
57 Liston 1988:25.
58 AONSW 4/6666.3.
59 Bitugally, Bootagallie, Ballanyabbie.
60 Sydney Gazette, 14 May and 18 June 1814; Wentworth Papers, ML A752.
61 AONSW 4/1730.
62 Wentworth Papers, ML A752.
63 AONSW 4/1735.
64 Yelloming, Yellaman.
Yellooming was named as an outlaw by Macquarie in July 1814. Yellooming's child had been killed by Europeans. During the conflicts of 1816, Yellooming took refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and Hume defended him from the soldiers, arguing that Yellooming was friendly to Europeans. Yellooming was one of ten Aborigines listed as an outlaw in Macquarie's proclamation of 20 July 1816. Refuge, food and assistance was denied to them and a reward offered for their capture or death. There is no mention of Yellooming after 1816.

Wollorong
Jacki Jacki or Jack Wollorong, a Burragorang man, was the best known Aborigine in Campbelltown in the 1830s where he was very active in assisting the police. He was not a local man of the Dharawal but Wollorong and his wives Kitty, Biddy and Hannah were, according to the Police Magistrate, the only Aborigines routinely in the town. Wollorong collected blankets for his family from both Campbelltown and Stonequarry in 1834. He was probably about 30 years of age. Wollorong and his wives continue to appear on the magistrates' for 1837, 1838 and into the early 1840s.

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THE WIDOW AND THE CHILD

Jack Brook

Turandurey and Ballandella quietly entered Australian history on the 2 May 1836 through the journal of the Surveyor General, Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell. Here is part of what he wrote for that day:

... having found two ponds of water we encamped beside them, the local name of the situation being Combedyega. A fire was burning near the water, and at it sat a black child about seven or eight years old, quite blind. All the other natives had fled save one poor little girl still younger, who, notwithstanding the appearance of such strange beings, as we must have seemed to her, and the terror of those who fled, nevertheless lingered about the bushes, and at length took her seat beside the blind boy ... a dog so lean as scarcely to be able to stand, drew his feeble body close up beside the two children, as if desirous to defend them. They formed indeed a miserable group, exhibiting, nevertheless, instances of affection and fidelity, creditable both to the human and canine species. An old man came up to the fire afterwards, with other children. He told us the name of the water-holes between that place and the Murrumbidgee, but he could not be prevailed on to be our guide. Subsequently, however, a gin1 who was a widow, with the little girl above-mentioned, whose age might be about four years, was persuaded by him to accompany us.2

The little girl was called Ballandella and her mother Turandurey, whom Mitchell in his journal usually called 'the widow'.

Barney, one of the Aboriginal guides, deserted the party on 7 May because he was anxious to have a djin.3 The sexual urge is a powerful emotion. A thick fog on the morning of the 10 May prevented the men of the exploration party getting the cattle together as early as usual so delaying their journey towards the Murrumbidgee, approximately eight miles distant. The delay proved providential, for it afforded Mitchell the opportunity to sketch 'the native female and the scenery around'.4 Turandurey with her daughter sitting upon her shoulders was captured on paper for posterity (Figure 1).

Eleven days later at a water crossing, an unfortunate almost fatal accident occurred. Ballandella fell from the cart upon which she was travelling. Some sudden fright caused her to turn round quickly and in so doing she became entangled with the bullock team and was

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1 Gin. The spelling of this word varies; Mitchell spells it gin or djin, Stapylton either gin or jin.
2 Mitchell 1839, II:60.
3 Ibid.:67.
4 Ibid.:69.
Mitchell's drawing of the widow and the child.
Courtesy Mitchell Library.
thrown down under the draywheel, which passed over her thigh fracturing it in two places.5 The Major immediately rode to the scene of the accident and found Turandurey 'in great distress, prostrate in the dust, with her head [sic] under the limb of the unfortunate child'. Acting quickly, he ordered the expedition's medical attendant, John Drysdale, to set the bone. But, owing to the thigh having broken so close to the socket, difficulty was experienced bandaging the limb so as to keep the bone in place. Showing more than a hint of tenderness, Mitchell wrote, 'Every care, however, was taken of the poor little thing that circumstances would allow, and she bore the pain with admirable patience ...'.6

Granville William Chetwynd Stapylton, surveyor and second-in-command of the expedition, noted that Turandurey showed 'true concern' for her child, and 'her language of endearment and soothing is peculiarly soft and musical'. He also recorded, she was 'now a feature' and it was his responsibility 'to keep off the Black Gentry'.

When the Surveyor General departed for the Darling River on 23 May he directed Stapylton, who was to stay at the depot camp, to ensure the widow had rations and that every care should be taken of the child. Furthermore, Turandurey was to be prevented from 'going back', for to move the child could prove 'injurious' to her.8 Stapylton carried out his duties and tended to the needs of the 'poor piccaninny'. He lamented Ballandella's accident but believed it could 'prove somewhat providential and tend in a great degree to prevent collusion between the mother & some wild tribes of which there were evident signs of a commencement'.9

Even though Ballandella's patience and endurance to pain were exemplary, she was very uneasy on the 2 June, heaving and lifting the splints of her thigh and leg continuously. Possibly it only indicated boredom and the return of unbounded energy. Nevertheless, Stapylton was compelled to act as surgeon and readjust the splints but, sadly he noted, the foot was out of its proper position.10 From the surveyor's remark, one must conclude that Ballandella walked with a limp for the remainder of her life.

Following Mitchell's return to the depot on 10 June the explorers continued their journey southward, moving far beyond Turandurey's tribal boundaries. It was surely no surprise to members of the party when, on the night of 1 July, mother and child, aided by Piper's wife Kitty, stealthily left camp. Their escape was cunningly executed during a very severe frost for they were aware that by morning it would be almost impossible to track them. Mitchell showed some vexation when the matter was reported to him. His second-in-command could not conceive why, for he was of the opinion the Aboriginal women were 'utterly useless' and 'a severe Tax' upon the food supply.11 The following day Piper tracked the runaways to the previous encampment and found them suffering from 'shockingly frostbitten' feet. Piper made a curious decision, for he left Turandurey where she was and returned to the camp with his wife and Ballandella.12

Stapylton believed Turandurey would die during the night alone in the bush without a fire and little protection against the severe cold. 'What then shall we do with the Picaninny',

10 Ibid.:93.
11 Ibid.:124-5.
12 Ibid.:124.
he confided to his diary. To let them go when they so desired would have been much wiser, thought the surveyor, 'and damn their collusion with the tribes'. As he saw it, the party was now 'saddled with two useless devils who must be carried on the Drays for the next fortnight'.

The following morning, Turandurey returned 'with her feet in a most deplorable state'. She had survived the elements. It quickly became apparent that Piper's wife had urged the widow to leave the exploration party 'with the prudent intention of returning herself in order to sack the other ration of flour and meat'. Kitty was a thorough bitch in Stapylton's opinion. Turandurey held a similar belief for she 'sorely reproved' the other djin for her 'treacherous conduct'. In his memoirs Mitchell did not actually state that Turandurey ran away; he wrote that 'the widow was inclined to go back' for she was 'far beyond her own country'. He continued:

I intended to put her on a more direct and safe way home after we should pass the heads of the Murrumbidgee on our return, I could not detain her longer than she wished ...[She] seemed uneasy under an apprehension, that I wanted to deprive her of this child. I certainly had always been willing to take back with me to Sydney an aboriginal child, with the intention of ascertaining, what might be the effect of education upon one of that race. This little savage, who at first would prefer a snake or lizard to a piece of bread, had become so far civilised at length, as to prefer bread; and it began to cry bitterly on leaving us.

On the cold, clear morning of 4 July Mitchell took the decided step of leaving Turandurey and Ballandella behind. Only after the 'earnest intercession' of Piper was his wife 'madame Kitty' permitted to accompany the expedition as it moved towards the southern coastline of the continent. Before departing, Mitchell gave the two abandoned Aboriginal females a present of shirts, flour and meat. Turandurey also acquired a tomahawk, and with it, she informed the party, she would cut a piece of bark from tree, place her daughter upon it, and, by swimming herself, gently push Ballandella across the Millewa (Murray River) and then make her tribe in four days. Fate decreed otherwise.

Two days later, out of the darkness, Turandurey with her precious child clinging to her back, shuffled up to the expedition's evening camp fire. Stapylton was amazed and was of the opinion that the widow had crawled about 15 miles (25 km) on her hands and knees. If so, Turandurey's feat of endurance, determination and courage must take its place in the annals of Australian history as a feat of some magnitude.

Piper translated the exhausted woman's tale for Major Mitchell. She said that when she returned to the last encampment numerous Aborigines were gathering on the opposite bank of the river. When the tribesmen called out angrily 'who had made the fires' she was afraid, hid herself and remained silent. Receiving no reply the men 'danced a corrobury [sic] in a furious style'. While the men were so occupied, mother and child crept away. They had since spent two nights without fire in the rain. Crawling and stumbling throughout the daylight hours in much pain, she had doggedly followed the tracks of the white men to ensure for her child the comparative safety of the exploration party. Piper gave the impression of being

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13 Ibid.:124-5.
14 Ibid.:126.
15 Mitchell 1839, II:162-163.
THE WIDOW AND THE CHILD

'angry' at the widow's return. Mitchell insisted Turandurey be treated with as much kindness as before, remarking 'she was a women of good sense'.

Shortly after the return of the widow and child two male Aborigines tried to decoy the women from the camp. The 'insidious wooers' were foiled when Turandurey gave the alarm. Four days later she fell off the dray and was lucky not to injure herself. Ballandella held on firmly, remembering her earlier mishap.

Leaving his second-in-command at the base camp, a decision which irked Stapylton, Mitchell travelled on and reached the coast of what is now Victoria at Portland. He was staggered to find the Henty brothers already established there. For one Aboriginal with Mitchell, 'Tommy-Came-last', it was his first view of the sea. On the explorer's return to base camp, and on previous occasions, Turandurey and Ballandella with uncanny senses gave notice of the party's approach long before men and horses appeared. Commenting on this Mitchell wrote, 'their quick ears seemed sensible of the sound of horses' feet at an astonishing distance, for in no other way, could the men account for the notice which Turandurey and her child, seated at their own fire, were always the first to give, of my return ...'

A week later, on the 7 September, the knowledge of the Aboriginal women, and their knowledge alone, helped solve a 'mystery' puzzling to both the European and Aboriginal men. A small bower of twigs was found, the floor of which was hollowed out and filled with dried leaves and feathers. The ground around had been cut smooth, several boughs also having been bent over it, so as to be fixed in the ground at both ends. 'The whole', recorded Mitchell, 'seemed connected with some mystic ceremony of the aborigines, but which the male natives, who were with us, could not explain'. On questioning the women they revealed 'it was usual to prepare such a bower for the reception of a new-born child'.

By the 17 September the expedition cattle were exhausted from continued heavy dragging through the muddy terrain and badly needed a period of time to recover. Mitchell, after 'mature deliberation' hit upon a plan. The plan was that he would proceed back to Sydney with the freshest cattle drawing the light carts loaded with a month's provisions. The remaining two months' provisions would remain with Stapylton's party, who were to camp beside a freshwater lake for a fortnight before following their leader. The lake was named Lake Repose (see Figure 2). Close to Mt. Abrupt, it was ideally suited for a rest camp. The Aboriginal guides arranged amongst themselves that 'Tommy-Came-first' and Turandurey, 'who most required a rest, having sore feet', should remain with Stapylton while the Aborigines, Piper, Kitty and 'Tommy Came-last', would accompany Mitchell.

When the expedition's leader wrote in his journal, 'we hit upon a plan', one would assume he had consulted his second-in-command and they had come to a mutual agreement. However, Stapylton's diary reveals this was not so, and he was suspicious of Mitchell's intentions. On hearing the news that he was to remain at Lake Repose, Stapylton angrily put pen to paper, writing:

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18 Mitchell 1839,II:165.
19 Ibid.:180.
21 Mitchell 1839, II:239.
22 Ibid.:244.
23 Ibid.:251-2.
Route of Mitchell's exploring expedition 1836.
THE WIDOW AND THE CHILD

This Homo is the most impenetrable I ever (heard) knew. He appears to be meditating me mischief notwithstanding he converses with me in a friendly manner -

His Despatch will settle this point, however I still Have the painful suspense to endure of being wholly ignorant of its contents untill I reach Sydney for he will take especial care (and I think I know the man pretty well by this time) to keep me in the dark on the subject until the last moment.25

Stapylton's fears were unfounded, for he received a glowing report from his superior, who stated that he 'had reason to be well satisfied with the zeal and perseverance of Mr. Stapylton on all occasions'. Later, on being informed that Mitchell had spoken highly of him, Stapylton calmly wrote that 'if so some of my invective must be erased from this journal I dont like him notwithstanding ...'26

With the departure of Mitchell on the 19 September the life of both the widow and her child took a dramatic change. Following the Surveyor General's departure from the Lake Repose camp, Stapylton jotted down in his journal 'the Mother Jin has (to me most unaccountably), made a present' of the picanninny 'to Major Mitchell (at least so I am informed).27 Once again Mitchell did not inform Stapylton of what had transpired. This was one of Mitchell's shortcomings. He seldom consulted his subordinates and had a 'fatal inability' to delegate responsibility to them.28

Granville Stapylton therefore was not to know the events which led to the parting of mother and child, but Mitchell reveals the scenario. He explained in the following entry from his journal dated 19 September:

When about to set out I observed that the widow 'Turandurey', who was to remain with Mr. Stapylton's party and the carts, was marked with white round the eyes (the natives' fashion of mourning), and that the face of her child Ballandella was whitened also. This poor woman, who had cheerfully carried the child on her back, when we offered to carry both on the carts, and who was as careful and affectionate as any mother could be, had at length determined to entrust to me the care of this infant. I was gratified with such a proof of the mother's confidence in us, but I should have been less willing to take charge of her child, had I not been aware of the wretched state of slavery to which native females are doomed. I felt additional interest in this poor child, from the circumstance of her having suffered so much by the accident, that befel her while with our party, and which had not prevented her from now preferring our mode of living so much, that I believe the mother at length despaired of being ever able to initiate her thoroughly in the mysteries of killing and eating snakes, lizards, rats and similar food. The widow had been long enough with us to be sensible, how much more her sex was respected by civilized men than savages, and, as I conceived, it was with such sentiments that she committed her child to my charge, under the immediate care, however, of Piper's gin.29

This is a convincing and, I believe, a genuine report of what transpired at Lake Repose between the widow and the expedition's leader.

26 Ibid.:234.
27 Ibid.:187.
Continuing their homeward journey to Sydney, Mitchell's party took two days' rest near the Murrumbidgee River at a station under the care of a stockman named Billy Buckley. He gave them a cordial welcome whilst beating the ashes from a newly baked loaf, nearly two feet in diameter. While there, 'Little Ballandella' was taken great care of by 'Mrs. Piper' and feasted with milk. Her guardian wrote that she 'seemed quite happy'. The last stages of the journey took the returning expeditionaries through the Yass, Bredalbane and Goulburn Plains and the towns of Berrima, Campbelltown and Liverpool (See Figure 2).

Stapylton and his group had cheerfully departed from the Lake Repose camp on the 3 October, and wended their way towards Sydney. By the 11 November they had reached the Murrumbidgee, and camped near 'Guy's Station'. The final passage in Stapylton's journal reads:

Turandurey has grown enormously fat which should speak well of the care we have taken of her & to the best of my recollection no improp[]rities with her as a female have ever taken place. She was married the night before last to King Joey & she proceeds with him to his friends on the Lachlan. I have given her two blankets having a superfluity now that the weather has become so hot. The Piccaninny is kidnapped away to a station 10 miles distant; with this I have nothing to do [or much to] say nor will I let those who projected the measure & who carried it into execution be responsible to themselves and to the comments of the Public.

In more recent years, when Stapylton's journal was published in book form, for the first time, a certain amount of controversy arose over the statement concerning the kidnapping of the piccaninny. The State Historian of Victoria, Dr. Bernard Barrett, described Stapylton's journal as putting 'a dent in Mitchell's halo'.

Mitchell, I am convinced, did not have Ballandella kidnapped nor did he coerce Turandurey into placing her child into his care. Turandurey, who Mitchell had said was a woman of good sense, had a problem. Before releasing her daughter into the Major's care she had considered her own position and particularly that of her child. Stapylton stated that Ballandella was 'kidnapped away to a station 10 miles distant', which indicated the Surveyor General had left the child, probably in Kitty's care, at the station close to the Murrumbidgee River, while he journeyed on to Sydney. If he had intended 'kidnapping' Ballandella he would have taken her with him to Sydney. Mitchell gave Turandurey every chance of reclaiming her daughter. Considering Turandurey's determination only five months earlier when she twice struggled valiantly, in sheer agony, for the sake of her daughter, what then motivated her to leave the child in the care of a white man? I suggest she was pregnant.

Let us look at the facts and circumstantial evidence in an endeavour to substantiate my hypothesis.

If pregnant was she in that condition before she encountered Mitchell's party or had someone taken advantage of her since that time? She joined the expedition on 2 May; therefore, by November, Turandurey would have had to be at least six full months into her confinement.

The Aboriginal guide Barney deserted the expedition on the 7 May only days after Turandurey became attached to the party. He absconded because he was 'anxious to have a djin'. Had he already satisfied his sexual desires by having intercourse with the widow? If this were the case, his sudden departure from the scene makes one suspect he may have

30 Ibid.:311.
32 Barrett 1986.
taken advantage of the widow and made his exit in fear of the repercussions if his actions were revealed.

I do not suspect a white member of Mitchell's expedition. In such a close-knit group, travelling through unknown country, it would be foolhardy and extremely difficult to get the closely guarded woman into a compromising situation. I submit the Aboriginal guide Piper as the other likely candidate.

On 1 July, mother and child absconded after Piper's wife had persuaded them. Piper may have told his wife to plant the idea of escape in the widow's mind. The only occasion he had Turandurey in a situation, without witnesses, was on 2 July, when he tracked down the escapees. To separate the widow from her daughter and his wife would not be difficult for the cunning guide. Callously he then left the woman to perish in the night. Stapylton believed she would die.

It was Piper's story, and his alone, that Turandurey's feet were so badly frostbitten she could not be moved. Yet, almost immediately after Piper left with her child she must have started to follow them. When the brave woman returned unexpectedly, Piper was reported to be 'angry'. His anger was vented upon himself. Fear and a guilty conscience were veiled as anger. He was afraid his actions would be reported to the Surveyor General.

One can now fully understand why Turandurey gave the alarm when the 'insidious wooers' attempted to decoy her and the other Aboriginal woman away. Three months later, with the knowledge she was pregnant and her daughter showing every indication of being a virtual cripple, Turandurey decided to release Ballandella to Major Mitchell's care.

Over five months had elapsed since the 2 July when Piper may have taken advantage of Turandurey, when Stapylton observed the widow had 'grown enormously fat'. His next statement was, 'to the best of my recollection no improp(ri)eties with her as a female have ever taken place'. He was fully aware of Turandurey's condition. She had been under his supervision and it had been Stapylton's responsibility 'to keep off the Black Gentry'. Although he was blameless, he wasn't about to admit to the Surveyor General he had failed in one aspect of his duty. Turandurey's marriage to King Joey was a happy and convenient occasion for more than the bride and groom.

Mitchell was to write that he 'felt a degree of loss' in respect of the widow but was pleased she had remarried. There is no material available concerning Turandurey's life following her marriage to King Joey. They probably returned to the Lachlan to eventually become 'lepers' in their own land when white settlers moved in with their sheep and cattle.

Ballandella 'was a welcome stranger' to Mitchell's children while the family resided in Sydney. Her guardian noted that she 'seemed to adopt the habit of domestic life con amore, evincing a degree of aptness which promised very favourably'. Seemingly she had her mother's good sense. When Mitchell left Sydney on 9 May 1837, to take eighteen months leave in England, the young Aboriginal girl was placed in the care of Dr. Charles Nicholson, later to become Sir Charles Nicholson. The expense of taking a large family to England was Mitchell's excuse for leaving poor Ballandella in Sydney. Regretfully, one must conclude that the infant, although given love and attention by her guardian, was but an 'experiment' to him. He never intended her to be an adopted daughter. During Mitchell's absence Dr. Nicholson undertook the superintendence of Ballandella's education. Mitchell did

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33 Mitchell 1839, II:336.
34 Ibid.:336.
Mitchell's drawing of John Piper alias Jemmy, 'Conqueror of the interior', 1836. Courtesy Mitchell Library
not return to Australia until 1841. Whether he showed any interest in her following his return is unknown.

At this juncture Ballandella becomes 'lost' to Australian history. However, Presbyterian Church records show she was baptised on 17 December 1839, Parish of Wiseman's Ferry, in the County of Lower Hawkesbury. Her christian name was given as 'Balendilla', and the record states: '(Supposed to be 8 years old, an Aboriginal girl, brought from the interior)'. The sponsor of the child, at her baptism, was a Mrs. Ascough.

Over a century passed before the next piece of information concerning Ballandella surfaced. An article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 1952, written by Elene Grainger and titled 'Faithful Friends', referred to those Aborigines who had befriended a number of early explorers. The author concluded her article by asking, 'What became of Ballandella?'. Mrs Kathleen Dansay from Gordon, Sydney, wrote two informative letters to Mrs Grainger answering her question. She explained that her mother was born in 1843 and her nurse was Ballandella and 'how they loved her'. Continuing, she wrote 'Nicholson was my grandfather's cousin (James Ascough). Sir Charles sent the girl up to my Grandmother, and she (Ballandella) was nurse to my mother and aunt. Afterwards she married a man called Barber and lived on the Hawkesbury River near Wiseman's Ferry. There are many of her descendants living on the Hawkesbury. One used to be a cricketer and played with Windsor cricketers'.

Pieces of the jigsaw were coming together. Any research involving Australia's indigenous people is fraught with problems. Invariably many of the records which did exist have been lost or destroyed. For instance, the bulk of the records of the infamous Aborigines' Protection Board was lost in a fire. Few detailed records were kept by white Australians in their dealings with the 'natives' from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

The man who married Ballandella was John Luke Barber, an Aboriginal born in the MacDonald Valley, north of Wiseman's Ferry, about 1825. The marriage therefore, in tribal terms, was between a Wiradjuri woman and a Darkinjung man. When and where they married is unknown. Both were 'full blood' Aborigines therefore a church marriage would have had little or no significance to them, although with the Christian names, John Luke, there is an implied connection with Christianity in some form or other. The bonding of Ballandella and John Luke Barber took place between 1847 and 1850. My educated guess is that John Luke was brought up from childhood with a European family. Their first child, a boy called Andrew, was born about 1850 on John Smith Hall's property, 'Lilbumdale', West Portland Road, Sackville Reach.

Astonishingly, Ballandella was already a mother having given birth to a baby girl on 22 December 1846. The child was christened 'Mary' at a Church of England ceremony performed in the 'District of McDonald and Colo, County of Cumberland' on 27 December 1846. Mary's father was Joseph Howard; a labourer, and his, or the couple's, abode was the 'Lower Hawkesbury'. William West Simpson, MA, performed the

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35 New South Wales, Births, Deaths and Marriages, Baptism 8180, vol.45, 1839.
36 Grainger 1986.
37 ML Document 2345. Two letters from Mrs Kathleen Stella Dansay to Edith Elene Grainger. From these letters it seems likely that the Ascoughs lived at Wiseman's Ferry on land granted in 1837 to James Ascough's uncle, Captain Ascough, as a reward for bringing out convicts.
38 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 31 October 1924; 'Barney' Morley, pers. comm.
THE WIDOW AND THE CHILD

ceremony. Ballandella Howard was no more than fifteen years of age. On the baptismal certificate it is stated that she was an 'Aboriginal Black from the Murrumbidgee'. A marriage certificate has not been located.

The question is raised: was Ballandella taken advantage of by a white settler, as was the fate of many Aboriginal women in Australia? One can only guess what a commotion Ballandella's pregnancy caused in the Ascough family. Nevertheless, it was probably they who guided the family nurse into a settled relationship with John Luke Barber. Presumably he also took responsibility for the bringing up of young Mary.

The marriage produced two sons, Andrew (Andy) and Henry (Harry). When Andrew died at the Hawkesbury and District Hospital, Windsor, on 27 December 1943 he was reputed to be 104 years of age. However, the facts do not substantiate such longevity, evidence indicating an age of between 90 and 93 years. Following his death the Windsor and Richmond Gazette reported that Andrew was 'one of the best-known residents of the district, in which he had been a popular figure for almost a century'. One local farmer remarked that Andy 'could turn his hand to anything, and did as much work as a man and a half'. Ploughing, fencing and horsebreaking he performed with equal facility. He appears to have been quite a character. Local publicans were not allowed to sell Aborigines liquor, but Andy and a Windsor publican foiled a police charge in court pleading the drink consumed by the Aboriginal, and served by the publican, was not a beer but a shandy. Actually, he was a good Christian man of temperate habits.

Andrew's wife predeceased him by some fifty years. Her maiden name was Sally or Sarah Cox, and in all probability she was a woman of his own race. Of their two children, the daughter died while only a young woman, and the son Albert passed away in 1935 aged 57 years. Father and son were buried at the Church of England cemetery, Windsor. According to 'Barney' Morley, a well-known identity of Windsor today, Andrew was given a pauper's burial. The Barber family lived on the Sackville Reach Aboriginal Reserve and Andrew was the last indigenous Australian to reside there. Martha Everingham, who died in 1926, is reported to have been the 'last of the full blood tribe' of the Hawkesbury. Andrew, although born on the Hawkesbury, had no ancestral ties to the local Dahrug tribe.

At this time information concerning Henry Barber, Ballandella's younger son, is proving to be elusive. His wife Annie was a 'full blood' Darkinjung Aborigine from Wollombi (spelt Wallembar on her death certificate) who died in 1915. Her final years were spent at the La Perouse Aboriginal Mission, Sydney. She was endearingly known at the mission as 'Granny' Barber. She and Henry were married at Maitland, New South Wales. A marriage certificate has not been discovered.

The marriage produced seven children of whom only two males survived their mother. The two boys were Frederick and Wesley. Frederick's nickname or Aboriginal name was 'Yeri' while Wesley was called 'Muckeye'. Both men were well-known cricketers as was Albert, Andrew's son. All three played for Oakville in 1897 and earlier for Sackville Reach Cricket Club in the Windsor area. But Fred and Wesley were the talented ones. Playing for Botany in 1907 Fred won the batting average with runs per innings, and secured the Hill,

40 Ibid.: Death Certificate, Andrew Barber, No.24303-42.
41 Windsor and Richmond Gazette 31 October 1924 and 6 Oct. 1943.
Clark and Co.'s medal; Wesley won Mr Swinbourne's gold medal for the most double figure innings - fifteen out of sixteen.  

The Barber family was quite a sporting family. At a regatta on the Hawkesbury in 1901, Fred and John Edward took out prizes in the double sculls. Henry Barber played cricket for Sackville Reach Cricket Club and later Riverstone Cricket Club. He was a fine wicket keeper and on one occasion his keeping was compared 'to a kingfisher sitting on a tree and darting down for a fish'.

Fred Barber was closely involved with the Australian Aborigines Mission and in 1910 was selected as 'the first of our native helpers (on trial)' to become a missionary. His first post was at the Burnt Bridge Mission (Macleay River) assisting Miss Telfer, the missionary in charge there. Not only was he a talented cricketer, he was an accomplished singer and sang a solo at the annual Australian Aborigines Mission Conference held during November 1909. According to Ernest another member of the Morley family, Fred Barber was an excellent violin player who 'made the instrument talk'. His favourite tune was 'Under the Double Eagle'.

At this stage my research is incomplete. Therefore I am unsure if there is a continuing direct genealogical line back to Ballandella and John Luke Barber. To my knowledge Fred and Wes Barber were bachelors.

Ballandella's passing is somewhat of a mystery. If she died after 1856, when the recording of births, deaths and marriages became compulsory, the record of her death has eluded me. Perhaps she died prior to 1856 and the Church record, if indeed there was one, was lost. Did she die giving birth to her son Henry or some subsequent child? Whatever, the chequered life of 'the widow's daughter' ended while she was a relatively young woman. At best she reached her late thirties; that is if she died say twelve months prior to John Luke's marriage to Eliza Cox. She almost certainly lies at rest somewhere in the Hawkesbury Valley. The tapestry of her life is one of much sadness.

May she rest in peace.

Ballandella - Born circa 1831
Died circa 1867

44 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 25 July 1908.
46 Ibid.: 10 January 1891.
47 Australian Aborigines Advocate, November 1909 and 31 January 1910.
48 When Ballandella's husband John Luke Barber died at Windsor on 15 February 1905, reputed to be 80 years of age, the local paper claimed he had been married three times and was the father of 29 children. At the time of his death he was married to Elizabeth Ann Morley, who became his wife at the Wesleyan Church, Sackville Reach, on 1st June 1878. John Luke Barber's second marriage was to Eliza Cox, and they had at least one child, John Edward Barber, born 1868. He was unfortunately drowned in the Hawkesbury River at the age of 45 years in January 1913, and he was a bachelor (NSW BDM Death certificate J.L. Barber No.3545-85; Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 25 February 1905; NSW BDM Marriage certificate 5158-962: J.L. Barber - Elizabeth A. Morley); NSW BDM Death Certificate 4809-89 John Edward Barber, 5 January 1913). The descendants of John Luke Barber and Elizabeth A. Morley are numerous and many reside in the western suburbs of Sydney.
Fred Barber (Yeri)
From the original watercolour by Herbert Beecroft (1864-1951).
Courtesy Randwick and District Historical Society.
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:1

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BOOK NOTE

Appropriately for the theme of this volume the Royal Australian Historical Society has recently produced an addition to its Technical Information Series (No. 22) on Aboriginal family history. Entitled Tracing Koori ancestry, it was prepared by James Miller, lecturer in Multicultural Studies at the University of New England (Rusden Street Campus). He is the author of Koori: A will to win, a history of his own family background.

In the booklet he discusses the significance of tracing family origins to Aboriginal people and offers guidance on procedures to follow and sources of information. Valuable advice is given on where to seek the written and pictorial records in official registers, archives and libraries, as well as in the periodical and daily press. Addresses of major sources are listed. The work of Link-Up is noted here, not only in assisting the re-uniting of broken families, but also for its research in official documents.

The booklet ends with comments on the importance of oral history, some hints on its practice, and a list of readings. In a short space this bulletin offers much valuable information, and is a useful starting point for all who wish to research their family history. It is available from the Royal Australian Historical Society, History House, 133 Macquarie Street, Sydney N.S.W. 2000 at a cost of $3.50 plus $1.50 for postage and packing.

Isabel McBayde
TOMMY DOWER AND THE PERTH NEWSPAPERS

G.C. Bolton

Among the pioneer graves in the East Perth cemetery is a well-kept headstone commemorating Tommy Dower, who died on 2 July 1895 at the age of fifty. According to his epitaph: 'He was possessed of more than ordinary intelligence and ability'. He is almost certainly the only person of Aboriginal origin interred among Perth's colonial élite. It is usually thought that he owes this distinction to being the survivor of the three notable Aborigines - all of them called Tommy - who accompanied the Forrest brothers on their expeditions in the 1870s. Tommy Windich, a Koker\(^1\) from the Kellerberrin district taken when young to the Forrests' district of Bunbury, went on the 1870 and 1874 transcontinental expeditions, and was buried at Esperance when he died in 1876 in his mid-thirties. Tommy Pierre, born about 1836 in the Bunbury district, was on the 1874 expedition and accompanied Alexander Forrest in his 1879 journey across the Kimberleys; he suffered severe illness during its later stages and died at Albany on the way home.\(^2\) Tommy Dower was the other Aboriginal in Alexander Forrest's eight-man party in 1879; he also accompanied John Forrest in 1881 on the survey of the country between Beverley and Albany which led to the construction of the Great Southern railway.\(^3\) He survived, and his later history throws up some interesting questions on race relations in the Perth of the 1880s and 1890s.

It has been conjectured that Dower's family origins were among the Murray River people who fought and lost the battle of Pinjarra in October 1834.\(^4\) Dower was born a few years later, some time between 1835 and 1845. I know nothing of his life until he went on Alexander Forrest's expedition in 1879, but by that time he was a good shot, a useful horseman, and a mature and impressive personality. It would be interesting to speculate how far Forrest's unmolested crossing of the Kimberleys was due to advice from Pierre and Dower about avoiding campsites where the party would be unwelcome to the local Aborigines, and in otherwise exercising their diplomatic skills.

By the time he accompanied John Forrest on the 1881 survey the media were beginning

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\(^1\) Oates and Oates (1970:632) give 'Kokar' as one name for the language spoken around Kellerberrin.


\(^3\) Western Australia, Legislative Council, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1882, No.2.

\(^4\) I owe this suggestion to Mr Neville Green, Mt Lawley campus, Western Australian College of Advanced Education.
to take notice of him. The Albany correspondent of the Perth Inquirer wrote: 'Tommy, with his drolleries, is quite a host among our youngsters; he is certainly very intelligent, and his knowledge of the English language and conversational powers are quite marvellous.' The Inquirer, owned by the old-colonist Stirling family, usually gave the Forrests a good press. With its stablemate the Daily News, founded in 1882, it favoured responsible government and criticised Government House. The conservative viewpoint was represented by the West Australian Times, after 1884 the West Australian, owned by Charles Harper and Winthrop Hackett. Both papers were to find some interesting copy in Tommy Dower.

Alexander Forrest had been rewarded for his Kimberley expedition by a grant of 2000 acres recommended by the Legislative Council. Some of his admirers considered this insufficient, and in 1882 a resolution was passed to increase the grant to 5000 acres. The Inquirer strongly supported Forrest's claims, but a month or two later there was a sequel:

Thomas Dower, the aboriginal native who accompanied Mr Alexander Forrest on his exploring trip to Port Darwin, wishes to know how it is he has not been remunerated either in money or land, for his services on that occasion. He learns that the other members of Mr Forrest's party have been handsomely treated by the Government. "Thomas" is aware that he has a good claim to a very extensive landed estate in this part of Australia, acquired by hereditary right, but he has not the means at command, just now at least, to press his claims further. He considers, however, that the "laborer is worthy of his hire", and that he is fully entitled to a share of the amount voted by the Legislature.

And we think so too.

The tone of this report, veering as it does between the satirical and the humanitarian, must have struck some readers a little uneasily. The Inquirer usually backed the Forrests, but its managing editor, Horace Stirling, was known to sympathise with the Aboriginal viewpoint; some years later Dower is reported as calling him 'a fair talking good man, he take more part of blackman than whiteman.'

From that time onward Dower seems to have realised that he could occasionally command publicity for Aboriginal land claims. His prestige among the white community as a member of the Forrests' exploring parties and a recipient of their patronage was enhanced by his reputation for intelligence and his assumption of a position of leadership among the Perth Aboriginal community. After the death of Winjan, the senior Aboriginal male of the older generation, and the loss of many lives in the measles epidemic of 1883-84, Dower was regarded as the spokesman for the remnant Aboriginal community. He played up to the readiness of the local press to treat him as an entertaining character, but by doing so managed to gain a hearing for his views more than any other Aboriginal of his time. In 1886 he applied for ten acres at Freshwater Bay (now Claremont) as a freehold reserve for the Aboriginal community. This showed a little audacity, as Claremont was just starting to be opened up as a desirable middle-class suburb halfway between Fremantle and Perth; in earlier years ten acres had been the standard allotment allocated at Freshwater Bay to pensioner guards in charge of convicts. The Inquirer, noting Dower's intention to 'build him

5 Inquirer, 30 November 1881.
6 Bolton 1958:38.
7 Inquirer, 22 November 1882.
8 West Australian, 21 March 1893.
9 Hammond 1936.
a house and plant him ground', gave qualified support: 'Provided that Tommy be restricted from selling the grant, it is to be hoped that his application will prove successful'.

Nothing followed, although John Forrest as Surveyor General might have been expected to sympathise. But he was on bad terms with Governor Broome, and might not have been in a position to help. Malcolm Fraser, the Colonial Secretary and himself formerly Surveyor General, would not have been sympathetic. In January 1885, commenting on Dower's conviction and sentence to one month's imprisonment on a charge of being drunk and disorderly at Fremantle railway station, Fraser minuted: 'This native used to be a very useful man; has been out with exploring parties and on surveys, but of late he has become a loafer in Perth and Fremantle and a nuisance to those he knows. He always begs from me when we meet. I hope this sentence may be a warning to him'. Fraser himself was occasionally suspected of taking a drop too much, but his attitude sufficiently explains official inaction.

In October 1886 the Inquirer ran a letter from an anonymous correspondent signing himself 'Justice', who claimed to have met Dower camped in the bush on the banks of the Swan not far from Perth. Only one old man among the group was drawing government rations, and Dower was reported as saying 'That white man take all blackfellows' country, and that blackfellow no place sit down. That white man build houses, fence land, run cattle, sheep, horse, on blackfellows country. But poor blackfellows, no horse, no kangaroo or emu left. That plenty blackfellow die, and no notice taken of him by white man.'

Nothing came of this plea, but during the next few months Dower figured twice in the press. In December 1886 he and other Aborigines were reported as highly critical of the black swans ornamenting the newly erected Fremantle Town Hall; they looked, he said, like a snake emerging from its hole, and he sketched a more likely-looking swan for the mayor of Fremantle.

In May 1887 he was again gaoled for three days for drunkenness, and Mary Oates, publican at the No Place Inn, was charged with supplying him with a bottle of beer. It was stated that having bought the beer for his wife, who was unwell, Dower fell into conversation with two policemen who saw the neck of the bottle protruding from his pocket. They offered to let him off the prison sentence if he informed them where he obtained the beer, but did not let him go. As the case was adjourned for two days and not subsequently reported, the end of the story is unknown.

By 1890 Western Australia had won self-government with John Forrest, soon to be knighted, as its first premier. Mistrustful of colonial attitudes towards the Aborigines, the British government insisted that one percent of the colony's revenue should be devoted to Aboriginal welfare, and provided for an Aborigines Protection Board to oversee the conduct of policy. The Board, although largely ineffectual and composed of elderly citizens without great political weight, was unpopular with most colonial politicians, who were soon campaigning for its abolition. Dower was used - how willingly? - as a voice in favour of its abolition. In March 1893 the West Australian published what purported to be a dictated letter from Dower in his capacity as 'King of West Australia, friend of Mr Sir John Forrest and friend of Mr Alexander Forrest':

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10 Inquirer, 29 September 1886.
11 C.S.O. 415/85 (Box 694, Battye Library); memo by Col. Sec. 29 January 1885.
12 Inquirer, 13 October 1886.
13 Inquirer, 8 December 1886.
14 West Australian, 10 May 1887.
Well now, the people of West Australia don't treat us right, we want fair play, same as other side. In the Port Fremantle, Perth City, and Guildford we must have tent and blanket, same as you, and want 'em now soon, not by and by when rain all gone away.

Natives very few now, and the Government must look after them. You arrive in Fremantle, no natives. When you land in Fremantle, you see all whitefellow and no natives. In two or three year you won't see one - whitefellow clear the lot.15

He had a low opinion of the Aborigines Protection Board: 'Wangie Wangie once a week and do nothing.' Of its pompous and eccentric chairman, George Walpole Leake, he said: 'He is a bad chairman I think. I never speak to him. I always see him go past, that is all.'16 Six months later, when the motion came before the Legislative Assembly to abolish the Board, Alexander Forrest quoted him in the same strain:

> Even the natives themselves object to the Board. I know that my old friend, King Dower, who is the head of the native population in this part of the colony, says he objects strongly to the Board; he says they are not competent to look after the natives, and that he would much rather be under the old form of Government, when he could go and see the head of the Government and get proper treatment.17

Parliament duly recommended the Board's abolition, but it survived until 1897 when Sir John Forrest visited London for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and persuaded Joseph Chamberlain to comply. With the Board was swept away Western Australia's obligation to spend one per cent of government revenue on the Aboriginal population. Dower did not survive to witness these developments. He had been in poor health for some time, and although he was fit enough to be photographed in ceremonial garb with two others for a Christmas number of the *West Australian* in 1894, the following winter was too much for him, and he died in his camp on 2 July 1895. His burial in East Perth cemetery and the erection of his tombstone was arranged by the Aborigines Protection Board, no doubt with some prompting from the Forrests, who were at least punctilious in ensuring that their Aboriginal offsiders were given decent funerals.

An ambiguity lingers about the press coverage of Dower's statements. It would be possible to view him as an early spokesman for Aboriginal land rights, who used his prestige and local reputation to voice Aboriginal grievances whenever opportunity offered. It would also be feasible to see him as a pawn in local political squabbles, whose utterances could be used to embarrass the government or the Aborigines Protection Board; or perhaps as Perth's equivalent of a Shakespearian fool, offering shrewd and at times disconcerting comment as privileged underdog. At the very least, it can be said that he did not go unnoticed.

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15 *West Australian*, 21 March 1893.
16 Idem.

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TOMMY DOWER

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Aboriginal communities of the East Kimberley.
'SHE WAS THE FIRST ONE . . .'

PHYLLIS KABERRY IN THE EAST KIMBERLEY

Nancy M. Williams

Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in image or in language form. It is thus hardly ever exact, even in the most rudimentary cases of rote recapitulation, and it is not at all important that it should be so.¹

Introduction

Remembering anthropologists - people's recollections of anthropologists with whom they have worked - has in general been glossed over. That in itself may be worthy of examination in view of the now established prescriptions for reflexivity in ethnographic reporting. Yet I think that most anthropologists are aware that they, their personal lives and habits, their family relationships, are a matter of interest and discussion among the people whose guests they are for any length of time. Galarrwuy Yunupingu, Chairman of the Northern Land Council, grew up at Yirrkala, a Yolngu community in northeast Arnhem Land in which a number of anthropologists have been guests since the 1930s. In his address opening the Fifth International Hunter-Gatherer Conference in Darwin in September 1988, Mr Yunupingu made this interest in anthropologists and their habits very clear to his audience, most of whom were anthropologists.

Among the most detailed recollections I have located is that contained in Meehan's biographical narrative of Bandeyama, an Anbarra woman. Meehan's account of Bandeyama's collaboration and friendship during the time Meehan worked in the Maningrida area in Arnhem Land also includes an account of Anbarra people's response to and explanation of her changed marital status. When Meehan was first at Maningrida (1958-60) she was married to Les Hiatt. When she returned to Maningrida in 1970 the marriage had ended and she had become an anthropologist.

Early on in my stay, Bandeyama asked about my husband. I told her that he was well but that we were no longer married, that he had a new wife, and I a new husband, Rhys Jones. She appeared to take this news with disapproval and for some time I thought that she might reject me because of my changed status. I assured her that I was still 'good friends' with my ex-husband - that

¹ Bartlett 1932:213.
there was 'no trouble'. She grudgingly accepted my reassurances, but the matter was to be raised again when I came back to Maningrida in 1972 to work with Rhys.

There seems to be a belief amongst the Anbarra community that if a marriage breaks up, it is usually the fault of the woman, who has a boyfriend somewhere with whom she wishes to live. This view may be related to the fact that many Anbarra men have wives who are much younger than themselves and these husbands are constantly fearful that their wives are seeking young lovers. My own interpretation at that time of Bandeiyyama's behaviour was that she assumed that I had left my husband for a younger man. The reverse situation did not seem to have occurred to her nor had the possibility that both parties in a marriage might have welcomed separation.²

Meehan returned again to Maningrida in 1972.

I was accompanied on this trip by Rhys and, as it transpired, Les Hiatt was also visiting the community for a few days just after we arrived. More discussion about my marital status ensued and much to my amusement (and a little to my chagrin) Gurrmanamana announced to the community that my first husband had given me to his 'younger brother', my second husband, and that he himself had acquired a younger wife; I had not caused any trouble. This story was totally acceptable to the Anbarra, who interpreted the supposed behaviour of my first husband as extremely generous and therefore commendable. After that the matter rested. I was exonerated; my second husband was accepted.³

Marcus has written about Olive Pink. In assessing Pink's style as an anthropologist, Marcus relates comments that Aboriginal people in Alice Springs made to her in 1986 about Pink's life in Alice Springs during the 1930s:

One respected town elder [Wenten Rabunja] recalls Miss Pink camped out at Wigley's Waterhole and the way in which he and his young friends used to sneak into her camp to steal her flour and fruit. At that time she is thought to have been working on the Two Women Dreaming that is still of great importance in Alice Springs, for the Two Women is a significant women's dreaming and one which is connected with the initiation of boys. Another informant [Mort Conway] recalls the sharpness of her tongue and eye, the way in which she would report young Aboriginal men working for the Council or Fire Brigade for lazing in the shade. Yet she fought against the exploitation of Aboriginal labour, demanded that award wages be paid and, at a time when she was homeless, refused to allow the Northern Territory Administration to build a hut for her if they were going to use unpaid and untrained Aboriginal 'trainees'.⁴

Chase wrote in 1979 that people at Lockhart River remembered Donald Thomson and the time Thomson spent in the eastern area of Cape York Peninsula between 1928 and 1933 as 'Thomson time'.

Dr Thomson is well remembered by older Lockart people. 'Thomson time' refers to a critical period in the history of the Umpila and Kuuku Ya'u

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² Meehan 1985:203.
³ Meehan 1985:205.
⁴ Marcus 1987:186.
people who are today part of the Lockart community ... Thomson is ... remembered today as having worked with the last of the 'bush people' - those whose knowledge and expertise was fully traditional and little affected by the contact process.5

Remembering Phyllis Kaberry in the East Kimberley

The construction of recollections about Phyllis Kaberry by people in the East Kimberley of Western Australia some fifty-five years after the events to which their attention was directed, was focused in each case presented here not only by the questions they were asked about Phyllis Kaberry but also by the questioners and the context of the conversations in which the questions were put. To ignore these features of the situation would be to assume that remembering may be context-free. To reassemble the conversations in a form dictated by the conventions of European narrative would be to lose something of the style of story-telling; more important for my purpose here, it could mask the affect that triggers and accompanies story-telling among people whose history is related in oral accounts.

Looking at the records of conversations about a person known some five and a half decades earlier while attending to features of the context of the conversation in parallel with records of the conversations may allow us to expand our inferences about how perceptions of an anthropologist's role are formed, and about the interactions between anthropologists and the people with whom they have worked. We may thereby increase our understanding of the ontological status of what we label data and of the uses to which we may put them.

The Accounts and their Contexts

Four recollections about Phyllis Kaberry are presented here. All were recorded in the East Kimberley (see Map 1), each varied from the other in context and in recording mode. They are:

1. Two tape-recorded conversations with three men, which I initiated specifically with the aim of recording what, if anything, they recalled of or about Kaberry's presence in or travel through the country in which we were then working - an area at the time we were there regarded as remote but the subject of recent tourist interest (14-15 May 1985).

2. A tape-recorded conversation, part of an interview with an elderly woman who had worked with Kaberry, conducted by a social psychologist engaged in a social impact assessment project at Turkey Creek.6 The woman's granddaughter, herself a mature woman, was assisting with the interview (16 February 1987), which I transcribed.

3. A written series of recollections about Kaberry. The woman who had assisted me in interviewing one of the women who had spent most time with Kaberry dictated the recollections to me at Turkey Creek. The taped record I made of the interview was faulty, and in the presence of the older woman, I asked the younger woman questions about Kaberry to which she then dictated the responses, based on the (initially tape-recorded) interview (17 April 1987).

4. A brief series of comments a man made to me in response to my asking whether he had known Kaberry, during the course of a census interview at Halls Creek. These comments I recorded in fieldnote form (4 June 1987).

6 I would like to thank Helen Ross for making the tape recording of her interview with Dottie Watpi available to me.
'She was the first one,' was Raymond Wallaby's comment during a conversation which
took place when I asked him if he had known or remembered Phyllis Kaberry. The
title was a field trip in 1985 into the Purnululu (Bungle Bungle) region of the Ord
River basin, undertaken to record the history of the relationship of Aboriginal people
to that area. Ian Kirkby, another anthropologist, and I had accompanied a group of
the traditional owners on a trip into the Purnululu area to map and record their
families' links to it and their use of its resources. I initiated the topic of Phyllis Kaberry,
which was not directly related to preceding topics, by asking a direct question. Raymond
and George Mungmung (Makany) then began to relate their recollections of Phyllis Kaberry when she was doing ethnographic
research in the Kimberley during 1935-36 under the direction of A.P. Elkin.7 Raymond
Wallaby was about sixty-seven years old in 1987, and George Mungmung sixty-six. They
would thus have been in their mid-teens during Kaberry's travels through the east and central
Kimberley, when she was in her mid-twenties. Both referred to her as 'Mrs Kaberry' during
our conversation on 14 May 1985. The following transcript of recorded conversation
between myself (NW), Raymond Wallaby (RW), and George Mungmung/Makany (GM) has
been substantially edited in order to assure comprehension by readers unfamiliar with the
languages and discourse styles of East Kimberley Aboriginal people as well as those of
others who work with them. In editing, I have, however, tried not to alter the story-telling
form.

NW Raymond is just recalling the story about Phyllis Kaberry when she was in the
East Kimberley.

RW Well, Georgie should know.

NW Did Georgie know her?

RW Yeh. She was all round Bedford Downs, all round that bush swag. She had her
own tommyhawk - to cut her own sugarbag. She wasn't fussy, she was with the
blackfella, to eat all the bush tucker. She talked language, learned to talk
languages, oh gee, just like us, just like Aboriginal talkin. And she came to
Violet Valley. From Violet Valley she went back to Perth. She came along with
all the Aborigines, you know, when they had a holiday, they came to Violet
Valley, which used to be a native settlement.

NW Was she at Moola Bulla?

RW Oh, she was at Moola Bulla, and she went down west, learning, learning
everything - like what you're doin now.

NW Yeh?

RW Well, she was the first one. They came right up to Violet Valley. Then I don't
know where she went from there.

NW Yeh.

RW She mighta went back to Perth.

NW Did you know her yourself?

RW Yeh, I seen her when I was a kid.

NW How big were you then?

RW Ah well, seven or eight.

On 15 May 1985 I recorded a conversation which Raymond Wallaby initiated while he
and George Mungmung were demonstrating how women used a grinding stone and a hand
stone for processing seed and also for grinding the ochres used for painting up for ceremony.
Hector Chandaloo/Janta (HC) was present and joined the conversation toward its end.

7 Kaberry 1939:xiii; Elkin 1978:301; Chilver 1978:11.
PHYLLIS KABERRY IN EAST KIMBERLEY

RW ... you knew Mrs Kaberry, you [George Mungmung] can tellim bout story.
NW Yeh.
RW He was only young, you know.
NW [to George Mungmung] Did you know Phyllis Kaberry?
GM Yeh.
NW Where did you meet her?
GM She bin round here.
NW Right around here now?
GM Yeh.
NW She bin here at this place?
GM Me?
RW No, no.
NW Phyllis Kaberry, Mrs Kaberry.
GM Ah -- kartiya [white person] --
NW Yeh.
RW That Mrs ... you know [speaks in Kija language].
GM Ah, yeh, yeh, yeh, yeh. Proper really early days.
NW Yeh.
GM She bin come out footwalk from over there - kelirrangku [from the west; additional comment in Kija].
RW She bin start from Moola Bulla -
NW Yeh?
GM Violet Valley, [speaks in Kija], govment ... Waringarrim-pirri. That means, 'She belonged [to] Waringarri, big mob.' [Speaks in Kija]; that means, 'She been proper young.' And we bin young men, too --
RW Well, she's right back in Perth, someway. She's still there. Might be bit old now.
GM And [in Kija] -- That means, 'She's the first one, wilangku [in the lead; ahead; first one] bin come there.' She went all over.
RW She bin talk language.
GM She bin talk language.
NW Which language?
RW Kija.
GM She bin talk Kija, and she bin hearim Wula, too. And Ungarinyin - that's from Mowanjam [in the West Kimberley], right over to Wula country, this way a little bit.
RW Jaru [language] and all. She bin talk.
GW She bin talk Jaru and all. [Speaks in Kija]; that means, 'She must be ginnin old now, like mefella.'
RW She had her pencil, papers --
GM Everything, she bin havim. She bin carryin that kind, too.
NW Backpack, just like I got?

8 George Mungmung has developed a distinctive style in his conversation with anthropologists and linguists: he begins (or intersperses) comment or response with a sentence or phrase in Kija, followed by 'That mean(s)' and a translation and/or explanation in English.
GM [Speaks in Kija] Well, she bin carryim her gear in mernia, paperbark.

NW True?

GM She bin mix with all the lubra, olden time one ... We bin fixem up billycan, and kartak [cup] too.

RW And coolamon ...

RW Well, they were murderin people, too, about.

GM [Speaks in Kija] Well, she saw all the fighters, you know, just like a war ... We came to Violet Valley when they had a go - they cut spears; she was amongst 'em too.

NW Yeh?

GM Yeh, true! An she was sitting up on that ridge you know, amongst all the lubra, to keep away from the spears. Some of the old women were willing for her to go in there too, to the fightplace.

NW Yeh.

GM All the old women just go hittem with karlumpu [spears]. Like that: when he run straight, karlumpu go thataway --

RW Here's another story, nyaman [form of respectful reference and address used to old women, here to address NW].

NW Yeh?

RW It's about that kuwarin [cypress pine; may be burned to make charcoal for several uses, in this context for body decoration].

NW Yeh -

RW Well, they women always paint themselves, and they paintem missus [Kaberry], too. Yeh, well paintem this Kuwarin; well, she look black.

NW Yeh -

RW An they can see her eye part, you know -

NW Yeh.

RW Ah, this is missus, they reckon!

NW (Laughs).

RW This is kartiya [white person] -

NW Yeh?

RW Yet, got paintem, you know, make just like a blackfella -

NW With the coal from the kuwar --

RW Yeh.

GM [Speaks in Kija]; that mena, 'ngantipawurrel, she was thin one properly, that girl.' [Speaks in Kija]; she fillem up sugarbag, and she kungkun [cook in an earth oven] beef. [Speaks in Kija]; that mean 'ngara [sugarbag], he fillem up sugarbag ...' She was a young girl and we were young boys, too.

NW Bout the same age as you, youfella?

GM Yeh, look like.

NW She died just about three years ago.9

GM [Singing in Kija]; an ... them people from ... dancing you know, all gotta dress, every one.

NW Yeh.

GM She went like-a-that, now. An that missus there too, she bin dance-im.

NW She learnim?

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9 Phyllis Kaberry died in 1977; that is, in fact, eight years before this conversation.
PHYLLIS KABERRY IN EAST KIMBERLEY

GM Learnim!
NW Did she ever come into this area? Was she ever in Purnulu?  
GM I think she bin come through like-a-that --
NW Which way? 
GM Straight down, follow the Osmond.
RW Follow the Osmond.
GM Right down to Ord River.
NW Yeh.
GM She's gone away now, might be.
NW Thank you very much, Makany. That was a really good story. Lotta people, lotta old friends of this *wolguman* would be really happy to hear that. And me, too.

[Short interval]

NW Here's more story about Phyllis Kaberry: something Janta's [Hector Chandaloo] remembering.
HC Yeh. When I bin little one.
NW Yeh, when you were a little one --
HC [She] gotta one blackfella.
NW What's his name?
HC His name Mantiyan, blackfella name. [Speaks in Kija]; they bin, all the blackfella bin give-it-im him to live with her.
NW He helped her?
HC Yeh, he bin helpin-im her, right through -
NW Yeh -
HC He bin taken-im her water, ... putten-im things [?] on the aeroplane. Right, keepim there good place. He just bin look after her ...

Some two years after the recollections above were recorded, Helen Ross, a social psychologist, was recording stories of Aboriginal people then living at Turkey Creek about 'early days' in the East Kimberley. The topic was interaction with whites as pastoralism became the dominant sector in the East Kimberley economy. Ross was interviewing Dottie Watpi, who was then about seventy-one years old. Eileen Bray, Dottie's granddaughter (*kangkai* - daughter's daughter), then about thirty-seven years old, was assisting Ross with the interview. Dottie had been recalling the places she went on holiday with her family and the foods they collected and ate. They were going on foot, Dottie reminds her listeners; Dottie's discourse is mostly in Kija, and she is focused on 'olden days' activities, providing names of plants and animals in English as she continues her account.

Dottie's narrative becomes more directed to her granddaughter Eileen as she refers to events involving family members. She recounts the liaisons ('marry with') of Aboriginal women and white pastoralists, the anger of Aboriginal men who received nothing in return, and the whites' response - to kill the Aboriginal men - then the 'proper hiding' the girls got (when they returned to Violet Valley from Bedford Downs Station). Ross says she would love to hear about Violet Valley. After Dottie names people born there, and tells about Violet Valley and the surrounding area, Ross asks Dottie about 'ration days' at Violet Valley and where Dottie was born. Dottie says her mother told her she was born at Violet Valley because her mother was working there and getting blankets, tomahawk, tucker. Ross asks was Violet Valley still a ration camp when she was working at Bedford? Dottie replies that people came from stations around Violet Valley area to Violet Valley during
holiday time, and when the bosses of the stations sent a letter to Violet Valley, they went back. Ross asks how they went back to the station. Dottie says, 'Footwalk - no motuka [motor car].' Ross asks how many days did that take, and Dottie says two nights camp along the way back to the station. 'Because mefella been all day walkin foot, that's why,' says Dottie chuckling; 'We can't go quick!' Ross says, 'I'm interested in that.' Dottie acknowledges Ross's comment, 'Umm', and continues, 'And that missus, you know, missus Kaberry, from somewhere here.' Ross asks, 'Did you know her?' and Dottie says, 'Yeah, I know.' Ross then says, 'I wanted to hear about her', and that establishes the topic of conversation for the ensuing several minutes. In the following transcription I have not altered 'he' and 'him', the pronouns Dottie uses to refer to Kaberry, to 'she' and 'her'. (DW = Dottie Watpi, HR = Helen Ross, EB = Eileen Bray.)

DW (Laughs) That's the one now, that's the missus now bin come la mefella, la Bedford Downs.

HR Yeh?

DW Old Paddy Rhadigan, bin after im: I'll gitim missus bla youfella. I'll go after im now, Springvale, I'll gitim one missus there, you Aboriginal gotta be talkin la him. Him bin tellim mefella now, "ahh, one missus comin from somewhere ... We bin wait, blonga him. We bin go cartim water now, fillem up drum bla him. That way, longa house, la Bedford ... 'This mefella boss, I don't know what time he gonna bringem that missus.' That the way mefella bin talkin. We bin workin an hear car, and 'Ah! twofella comin.' Twofella comin. Twofella bin come now -- ehhh -- get in la house, him [Kaberry] bin go there, have a shower, and washim-im. Him bin havem tucker, anyway, little bit; him smoke ... We bin watch out for him la road, this missus bin come out from that house now, big house, inside. Now we all have to sit down wait la him, sit down. We bin sit down, all the girl bin sit down, all the workin girl sit down one place, wait for that missus now, old Mrs Kaberry. Ah -- she bin come up an say, 'What you fellas sit down here?' 'Yeah, we sit down here. An we gotta work direc'ly. You wanta sit down longa mefella?', mefella bin tellim. 'Yeh, I welcome you and you can sit down.' Yeh. An, 'Good-day, all you girls,' she bin tellim mefella, 'good-day. I'm talk to youfella.' Now me twofella, allabout bin putim head down, listen la him, that missus, like that ... That's the girl, that's the missus bin come there to tellim mefella any kind bla skin,10 'What's you skin?' him bin tellim me. 'Me? Me nyajerri,' I bin tellim. 'Ah. Right.' And from there, 'What boy you gottim, what skin?' [Laughs; speaks in Kija] 'Yuway [yes], I bin tellim him, straight after. 'Ah --- all right, all right; me, too, I callim my husband that one, that straight one boy he bla me-n-you,' he bin tellim me.

EB Yeh?

DW 'I callim my husband, that one.' 'Ah, yeh.' Every one, he bin askim bout they skin, ... 'What you skin?' 'Me namanjil.' 'And blonga you husband, what he skin?' Now. 'He jawali.' 'No, no, no! You not straight la that boy. You wrong;' [laughing] him bin tellim. [Laughs]. 'Hefella bin callim you auntie ... He oughta bin callim you auntie, too. Nifty you father, that one. Jawali; you father, you namanjili.' And this mother, 'Me namanjil.' 'And what skin husband

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10 'Skin' is the local term for subsection name. Dottie is recalling Kaberry's elicitation of subsection membership, and, related to that, of people's marriages in terms of their subsection membership and relationship as kin.
PHYLLIS KABERRY IN EAST KIMBERLEY

bla you?' Now [speaks in Kija] 'Ah, no good, no good. That - you oughta callim kangkai, that one.'

[EB and DW laugh]

DW [Speaks in Kija] ... [Kaberry asks], 'What him bin git your dreamin'?11 'Yeh, git me dreamin.' 'What?' 'My mother bin vomiting now, where that father him bin findem me; he bin vomit bla me, my father. Ah, my mother, him bin git me dreamin' ... [speaks in Kija]. Me bin tellim, 'Any kind. You can askem bout any kind. Proper any kind.' Him bin talkin la mefella, any kind bout. [Says in Kija: She was talking to us until we had finished]. We bin knock off. Finish. We bin go back working. Waterim garden. Finish. Some fella be garden work, be go after garden, la big garden ...

[Speaks in Kija]; him bin tellim mefella, that old Mrs Kaberry bin tellim mefella, 'When I go back to my father, I gotta tellim they reckon they ... tellim that way, longa him place.' 'Well, no, no, no, they don't likem, white people the every station there, when you go, you gotta git killed.' [Speaks in Kija to her daughter], I tellim like that now.

EB ... you go to Derby and, well, you git killed there. Unh.

DW They [Aborigines in that country] don't likem white man, white girl ... Him bin through that country. Him bin through la this Wulangku people. All right. Those people say, 'Ah, ah you, youfella, youfella don't likem white people and all. You allabout gotta killem.' 'Who tell you?' we tellim, 'no, we can't do that. We la kartiya now. We can't do that. Only olden day bin do that.'

EB Uh.

DW 'Not mefella,' we bin tellim that missus, now. 'And you can make a camp there la mefella, one side. You can sleep there middle, and mefella right around la you. So who can kill you.'

EB Unh.

DW Well him bin, him bin camp la mefella. But nothing. All we bin do make a fire bla him, and make a tea bla him, and leavem bla him there. We never do that la him. We bin stop gotim that olgaman ... That's the trouble now [we warned her that if she went to a boys' initiation site in the bush she could get killed by other people]. [Laughs] We bin tellim; poor bugger, bin frighten im this missus. That missus never frighten while him be keep comin la mefella right through. 'Nobody killem you here!' we bin tellim. 'We only later mob, mefella. We bin born later. Only them olden time people bin ... do that. Not mefella, later mob. Can't killem anything. We [like] you, you white man, white girl, 'we bin tellim. Him bin all day puttem longa book.

EB Hmm.

HR Yeh, the book.

DW We bin all day tellim bout, 'No we can't do that. We later mob. Only them olden day people been do that, killem white man. Not mefella. We bin workin to [white] woman; and white man, we gottim. We workin for him. But we can't do that.' Him bin all day puttin la line -- la book, see? He all the way like that now. ... Well we bin [having] all that boy kukpu [restricted, forbidden, ritual] bla all the boy.12

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11 Dottie now recalls Kaberry's elicitation of 'conception dreams'.
12 Dottie recalls here that the men allowed Kaberry to observe a boy's initiation rite and to make notes, but forbade her to reveal to the women any of what she saw or was told.
(Whispers, in Kija; then in English, he bin all day go.) Well he bin all day gottom that book bla him, and all the boy bin tellim, 'Don't tellim girl. You look at mefella, melfella play for you. Only you, and not the black girl allabout, don't tellim-in! Well him bin come all back from the action, 'No, no; I can't tellim youfella. That kukpu la youfella. Kukpu.' And he [Kaberry said], 'That's only law bla me.' ...

That team bin stop la melfella la Violet Valley. Right, we bin wait. Him bin there. 'I sendem telegram for Quilty, Paddy Quilty gotta come pickem up me, takem back me la Halls Creek. I'll go back, straight back.' Poor bugger. Ah, ... we bin hafta cryin la him, poor bugger. Him bin tell he bin love melfella too much. Properly. And we bin look for that motaka bin come, that boss blong melfella, him bin come there, to pickem up. Ah two auntie sing out to allabout, 'All right, youfella, you twofella come here, to putem in the motaka. Here now.' My husband, him bin sing out now la about, 'Say goodbye la this olgaman; an me twofella, my husband me twofella, bin start to worryhin back, from that olgaman. Him bin there long time, too much he love melfella, kangkai, true God. And me an twofella bin say goodbye la him. Twofella bin go back, right back Halls Creek. From there, Halls Creek, I don't know, might even be nother side somewhere. Maybe right back to Moola Bulla. Right round Nyigina [country], right round Yulunapurna, she might go. Him bin go back Derby [in the West Kimberley]. Him bin gettin plane from there. That the girl bin livin la melfella, la bush, that white woman, we bin see im, take em la bush, bin takim holiday-time right up to Violet Valley, we bin puttem la motaka, him bin just go back to him place. Well, we bin go back now, go back work now.

HR She wrote a book about it.

DW Unh - She bin all day do havem book ...

HR Who else was working with her? I heard somebody called Topsy.

DW Topsy -- That one now! Old Topsy, you know ...

HR That's the one who was helping with her --

DW That one now helpers bla him. Well, melfella bin workin, he want that fella now, him twofella bin all together. Pickem bough shade place, and get em bout grass bla him. And wood, water, everything him bin all day bla him. And melfella bin come from holiday now, come through. ... Well, we bin mixem up. That Tartayal, him bin git away with a boyfriend. And this Mrs Kaberry bin bringem up, well, and melfella laugh, watchin la Bedford Downs. Him bin come back from Bedford country, there, him bin go back to him place. Well, we bin go back now, go back work now.

(Laughs) And him [speaks in Kija] bla melfella this old Mrs Kaberry. Ah - Old Topsy bin git away, got a boyfriend now. I don't know which way him bin go, this way not that way now, long Tableland country. Him bin there, that Topsy. He bin [?]loved her, they was -- we bin hafta come up, holiday or we can [?]trickem, come up here now. That girl bin git away la him twofella. Two girl bin git away, gottom boyfriend. [Speaks in Kija] [Kaberry says.] 'I gotta go back to my place. I'll tellim my father. Father reckon you allabout murderer lot, white man and white woman.' 'No, no,' we bin tellim, 'no, no, we not murderin. We workin this one white woman too.' I don't know bout from long time him bin havem that, they bin chasem bout meself, white man and blackfella bin chasem. White man gotta rifle, blackfella spear.
I had hoped for an opportunity to talk with Topsy Tartayal, one of the women who was most closely associated with Kaberry during the time she was in the East Kimberley, to ask her about her recollections of Kaberry. I asked Shirley Bray, a woman with whom I had worked on a number of research projects in the Turkey Creek area, if she would help me interview Tartayal. Shirley set a time that suited Tartayal, and we met in the community office during the afternoon of a holiday when the office was empty. I began by explaining that I would like to hear what Tartayal recalled about Kaberry and the time she had spent in the East Kimberley. I tape-recorded the interview: my questions, Shirley's translations into Kija, and Tartayal's responses. Tartayal's mood was quite different from Watpi's; in general she responded to the questions I asked, but did not adopt a 'story-telling' mode. The tape recorder was faulty, and the tape of such poor quality that I knew I could not transcribe it. At my request, Shirley then dictated a truncated version of Tartayal's recollections, and, as I asked additional questions, sought responses from Tartayal, which she then translated into English as I wrote them down. My record of this interview as recorded in my field notebook is as follows:

Tartayal first met Phyllis Kaberry at Bedford Downs Station. They went up to the house, they saw her [Kaberry] there. She wanted to know about Aboriginal living. They asked her where she wanted to stay, with white people in the house or on the reserve with the Aboriginal people, and she said she wanted to live with Aboriginal people in the ration camp. So she met these seven young girls, her age, and they picked out a spot where these young girls could camp, all in a row, and one fire. (The young girls were Dottie Watpi, Boomer Kuli, Topsy Tartayal, Maudie Wrendie, Daisy Bedford [Tartayal's sister], and Polly Wulaljil [Daisy and Mary are now deceased].) She was like a sister to that lot, naminjil, because she was naminjil. That's why they kept in one camp and shared one bough shade.

When they had Saturday and Sunday off, they used to go out hunting. That old Phyllis used to go with them, took her little pannikin when they went out for sugarbag. They put some sugarbag in it. She ate some but she didn't like it much; she said it was too sweet. She liked ground sugarbag because it was cold. She went with them to get bush tucker. When she got used to it, got the hang of it, she used to find sugarbag and cut it out herself. She used to get her own minjiwarrany (bush fruit), learned how to fill up her billycan or pannikin. Also taluny (bush fruit): she knew how to crack them up with a stone. Also panarriny (bush potato). She caught fish; she liked fish. They used to go to rockhole la Bedford somewhere for fishing. She used to like having jokes with her friends all the same age.

She learned about tribal marriage, how Tartayal was promised to Kumji, and Dottie to old Echo, and Maudie married to that old man.

They shared food; what this lot used to cook, she used to eat. Shirley said she taught them 'mothercraft', and she learned more from them [Shirley's first interpretation was that Kaberry taught the Aboriginal women. Then, after checking with Tartayal, said it was 'more the other way around'.] She learned about bush medicines. ... She used to like ceremonies, marriages, dancing. She was a good dancer: she used to paint up with charcoal (from wilirriny) and red ochre (patil), and pipeclay (mawuntul).
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:1

She saw a tribal fight at Teringiny.13 They used to fight - -must be grudge on -- one person hurt deep inside when they ran off with his wife. When they saw that one beaten by the other one, they joined in. They used to pick a bloke, called a nyenirri, an old man who used to walk up to the two men fighting. He went and humbled them. He touched them on the chest to cool them down. They got cooled down and forgot about the fight; they'd go back to their own camps.

I asked where Tartayal said Phyllis Kaberry had travelled. Shirley said from Bedford to Frog Hollow (the old station), to Mabel Downs, and Turkey Creek, and Violet Valley (Kurrakura and Paluwa are the real names for Violet Valley). She went footwalking for ceremony to Teringiny for initiation ceremony (Wangka) for one month or a couple of weeks. There was a big celebration and dancing. That was when she joined in the dancing.

I asked what country she learned about. Shirley said (from Tartayal's response): Waringarri - la we side; and that side - kilirraku - Ungarinyin. She used to learn about different places, where to go, where not to go; she followed her mates. The old people told them to tell her where not to go. She used to obey them. She used to ask Mary Lou's father about ngarrangkarni [Dreamtime] things. He said she couldn't go near the men's things.

She fostered Ivy Thomas. She used to help that little girl; dress her up and feed her. When she was leaving, the little girl was fretting for her; but she had to go. That's when she came back to those different stations; then she came here.

Tartayal was sad when she left. But she had to go. She was fun, made lots of jokes. She was tall, pretty looking (yamparrail - long hair); she was well built. She had paper (milimili), and she wrote down things. She helped with the work; she helped build the bough shades and also the tin humpies. When some kartiya used to give them a hard time, she stood up for them [the Aborigines]. She was wariwul (stern).

I met Sali Malay in June 1987 when Ian Kirkby and I were conducting a census of the Aboriginal population of Halls Creek, and we called on Mr Malay. A man then about seventy years old, he remembered Kaberry when she was at Bedford Downs, probably in 1935. Mr Malay's mother, Matangil, was a Kija woman. I asked him about his recollections of Kaberry. I did not record the questions I asked, but from his responses wrote the following in my field notebook:

Kaberry spent three months on Bedford Downs Station. She didn't talk much to him [Sali Malay] because she was only interested in full-blood Aborigines; but he used to listen. She asked things like, 'What's your jarriny [spirit origin/Dreaming]? Where did it come from? Everything was nice and calm when she was with Aboriginal people. The Station people didn't bash up Aborigines or mistreat them when she was around.

Kaberry's Account

It is not relevant to my purpose in this paper to record Kaberry's account of her associates and activities in the East Kimberley from the point of view of confirming or qualifying the recollections of the Aboriginal people there. It is, however, relevant to canons of scientific inquiry and validation in the style of European scholarship. And these canons are, I believe, related to procedures of memory,14 and I return to this topic in the concluding section of the paper.

13 See Kaberry 1939:145ff.
PHYLLIS KABERRY IN EAST KIMBERLEY

I have taken Kaberry’s account of her study in the East Kimberley, including the contexts of her interaction with Aboriginal people there, from a 1938 article in Oceania and from her 1939 book. In the article published in Oceania Kaberry reports:

Altogether I spent a broken six months with the Lunga [Kija], three with the Wolmeri [Walmajarri? Wula?], and shorter periods with the [Jaru] and other tribes of that region. Apart from a few native phrases I used English as a medium of communication ... I was able to camp with them during the greater part of the summer from September to March, ... I was admitted to the secret ceremonies of both men and women ...

In the Foreword to Aboriginal woman sacred and profane, Kaberry states:

In May, 1935 ... I returned to the Kimberleys, and spent six months altogether with the Lunga tribe, three months with Wolmeri, and shorter periods with the Djaru, Miriwun, Malngin, Wula, Kunian, Punaba, and Nyigina.

With the exception of those living on the missions, most of the natives in this region are concentrated about the station homesteads, and are employed in stockwork, gardening, and domestic duties. They wear European clothes and receive rations of flour, tea, beef, and tobacco. It is only during the 'wet' season, when work slackens off between September and March, that they go 'walkabout' in the bush to hold their inter-tribal meetings for initiation and mourning ceremonies. During the winter I had perforce to remain at the homesteads, collecting genealogies, accounts of local organization, totemism, and rites, observing life in the camp, and witnessing a few ceremonies.

However, from September to December I attended tribal meetings in the North Lunga [Kija] territory, where I had opportunities of seeing corroborees, and accompanying the men and women on their hunting and foraging expeditions. As a result of my movements from one tribe to another, I had no time to master the languages. But the natives have been in contact with the whites for over forty years; they are remarkably fluent in a pidgin-English which differs from that current in New Guinea, and approximates much more closely to spoken English. I, of course, learnt phrases, acquired large vocabularies, and used native terms wherever possible. I was also able to keep some check on native conversations and the answers to informants. I did not pay the natives, though from time to time I made gifts of food, axes, knives, and other articles. When I witnessed ceremonies, I distributed flour, tea, and a few presents to the chief participants and headman.

... I roughly estimated that there were from 600 to 800 Lunga (or Kidja), who are one of the largest tribes. They are living at Moola Bulla, Bedford, Alice Downs, Violet Valley, and Turkey Creek. The Djaru (or Nyinin) and

15 My concerns here are related to those of Jackson’s discussion of 'ethnographic truth' (1987). In setting aside or bracketting the question of whether either Kaberry’s - the anthropologist’s - account of her interaction with 'the Other' is true, or truer than the Other’s account of that interaction, or vice versa, I am, as Jackson advocates, adopting Bateson’s position of epistemological openness (1973). I read Jackson’s article as a very perceptive historical analysis of changing epistemologies in anthropology offering fresh insight into the process of change.

16 Kaberry 1938:269.
the Wolmeri have also about the same population; the former extend to the south-west of Halls Creek and east to Gordon Downs; the latter originally occupied a belt of territory south of the Fitzroy River ... 17

Kaberry states that she arrived at Violet Valley on 20 October [1935], where people had been preparing for an initiation ceremony, which took place at the end of November.18 She refers to the ritualized 'fight' that took place on the fighting ground and which she describes in some detail at another place.19 She includes in her account the role that women played in the ritualized combat.

Discussion

Fabian has given his important book, *Time and the other*, the subtitle *How anthropology makes its objects*.20 I want to show that the same procedures that make objects of Others are involved in how Others make objects of anthropologists - a point implied but not taken up by Fabian.

'Fact and past are not interchangeable,' Fabian argues, 'nor is their relationship primarily one that points from the [anthropologist's] present into the object's past.'21 Fabian provides examples of ethnographic statements that mask the anthropologist's presence in the same real time as the Other, and also reveal that at least two, one of whom is the anthropologist, 'subjects inhabit the semantic space of the statement... All statements about others are paired with the observer's experience.'22 Therefore, Fabian argues, one of the 'conditions of possibility of intersubjective knowledge is that *somehow we must be able to share each other's past in order to be knowingly in each other's present.*23 It is not happenstance, then, that anthropologists' fieldwork demands personal presence which involves several learning processes and has thereby a certain passage of time as a prerequisite.24 'The simple reason,' Fabian says, is that otherwise 'the Other would never have the time to become part of the ethnographer's past. Time is also needed for the ethnographer to become part of his interlocutor's past.25

I turn now to the matters raised at the beginning of the paper, and the quotation from Bartlett.26 Rosenfield, a medical researcher and science writer, has recently reviewed research and theory about the neurological basis of brain function, in particular the implications for memory.27 He surveys dominant nineteenth-century theories and clinical interpretations of brain function as well as current theories and the research upon which they rely, and argues that to date the most adequate approach is that of the

17 Kaberry 1939:ix-xi.
18 Kaberry 1939:79.
19 Kaberry 1939:144-8.
20 Fabian 1983.
21 Fabian 1983:89.
22 Fabian 1983:91.
24 Fabian 1983:89.
25 Fabian 1983:90. It is a matter of regret that Fabian offers here what seem trivial examples of informants' attitudes to subsequent visits by ethnographers. If adequately explained, however, I believe they would serve as examples of the function of memory.
26 Bartlett 1932:213.
neurophysiologist Edelman. With respect to memory, Rosenfield says Edelman's research has provided 'a precision and a physiological justification' to the work of Bartlett some four decades earlier.

Memory is not a fixed record. As far as I am able to comprehend it, recent neurological research on brain function begins to demonstrate the means by which 'the past is reconstructed in terms of the present'. Memory is essentially a procedure, and critical to the procedure are categorization and affect. Affect (which means the involvement of the limbic system of the brain) is critical in that, in Rosenfield's words, 'Emotions are essential for creating and categorizing memories. Indeed, the sensations of both perception and recollection apparently require limbic activity ... Moreover, the categories we use seem to depend on ... context.' On the basis of my own field research and my reading of others', I find convincing the view that 'perception, categorization, generalization, and memory are necessarily linked [and that] memory is a form of recategorization based upon current input; as such it is transformational rather than replicative.' Neurological research appears able to deal with perceptual categorization as a molecular process (relying on a simple definition of category as 'a group of nonidentical objects or events that an individual treats as equivalent' but is not yet able to deal - at least in molecular terms and therefore only speculatively in the terms of neurophysiology - with conceptual categorization. Thus what is missing is an explanation of the neurological basis of conceptual categories, so far therefore only hypothesized in the most general evolutionary terms (in terms of selective advantage). Since Edelman's approach is based on Darwin's notion of selection, his concern is to explain neurological functions in evolutionary perspective. Thus he examines the results of neurological studies of various species from a phylogenetic perspective. From that perspective, and based on the assumption that his 'neuronal group selection theory' is correct, 'perceptual categorization is a precondition for all conventional learning of any nontrivial degree of richness.'

Edelman also suggests that 'although there are vast differences in their complexity, "simple" perceptual categorization and culture-bound "top-down" categorization based on advanced natural languages may themselves have much in common.' I find Edelman's argument persuasive. In particular, as I have already mentioned, understanding the role of affect in recollection and the probabilistic nature of categorization in memory-as-process are important in the structuring of intersubjective knowledge, of dealing appropriately with the temporal aspect of the anthropologist/other as both subjects and objects in the past-in-the-present. It is, of course, the culture-bound 'top-down' categorisation that is the focus of anthropologists' concern; and in our analysis of that process we provide insights for further understanding of the molecular basis of human behaviour. Percept and concept are not separate entities in the brain.

Although exploring what seem to be increasingly more adequate theories of the function of the brain helps us 'make sense' of our interaction - at least gives us a basis for a...
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:1

richer interpretation - we still must take as given the prior existence of categories (phylogenetically we can apparently do no other). We must assume that the same memory process effects the Others' recollections of anthropologists as anthropologists' recollections of the Others and we must therefore also assume the universal existence of categories. Whether the process of categorisation differs in people with developed systems of orality compared with those whose 'culture-bound' categorisation is influenced by dependency on written forms is something we probably cannot know - at least in terms of their molecular basis - until neuroscience can deal as adequately with conceptual process as it appears now to be able to do with perception.

In general terms, then, to return to the East Kimberly, it appears that Raymond Wallaby's and George Mungmung's recollections of Phyllis Kaberry were constructions influenced (if not determined) by their interaction with me, a member of the category 'anthropologist' (and perhaps additionally by the gender category 'female'). The category anthropologist was not apparently relevant to the conversation between Dottie Watpi, Eileen Bray, and Helen Ross (although Helen Ross was recording 'old-time stories' and had notebook and pen in hand), nor was it apparently relevant to my interview with Topsy Tartayal, although Tartayal's comments about paper and writing may have been influenced by the fact that I had notebook, pen and paper and was from time to time writing while recording the interview. I did not record enough information about the context of Sali Malay's recollections to infer whether the category anthropologist had any salience.36 What is clear in each of the conversations is the role of affect: in the process of recall either the recollection itself is accompanied by positive expression of emotion (laughter is perhaps the most striking sign) or the recollection is one that has positive value (for example, being taught by Aborigines and protecting Aborigines from harsh treatment).37 It seems reasonable to infer that whether or not in the conversations about Phyllis Kaberry the Aboriginal people who knew her were using a specific category 'anthropologist', their recollections were being constructed on the basis of the context of the conversation which included the presence of at least one person to whom they attributed features shared with Kaberry. In the case of Dottie Watpi's recollections, the presence of her granddaughter was also a significant feature of the context. Watpi was using the occasion of telling 'old-time stories' to inform (or remind) her granddaughter of people and events pertaining to their family history and she relied to a significant extent on Kija language as well as English in doing so.

It seems clear that understanding the characteristics of memory process as outlined above - and as revealed in the conversations about Phyllis Kaberry - has important implications for the ontological status of what we have been accustomed to label 'data'. It is as necessary to attend to and to record the details of the context of their recording as it is to record the text, and to acknowledge that context includes the perception of all relevant

36 Patrick McConvell (personal communication) observes that when he first worked with people at Daguragu, from 1974 to 1977, it was in connection with the preparation and hearing of a land claim. At that time it had been people in a category labelled 'union man' - including Frank Hardy - who had assisted the Daguragu people with claims for land, and McConvell was referred to as a 'union man'. Subsequently, after linguists had worked with the people in the Daguragu area, he was a member of the category labelled 'language man'.

37 It is an unremarked general characteristic of recollections , as far as I can determine, that the first element of recall is an evaluation - good, bad, pleasant, unpleasant - and that this first element is or evokes simultaneously an appropriate feeling or emotion.
PHYLIS KABERRY IN EAST KIMBERLEY

personae, whether present in the same real time-frame or temporally separate, and expressions of affect. That is not to beg the question of objectivity-subjectivity, or even of truth, but to suggest that if our aim is to 'reconcile two views of what constitutes adequate explanation of people and events', we can go some way toward achieving that goal by making explicit our epistemological pragmatism and understanding of the role of memory process in what we construe as the data of our discourse.

Memory, as Bartlett characterized it, is 'imaginative reconstruction', and into the recollections of Phyllis Kaberry are woven the experiences shared with others perceived as having common attributes. That the particular recollections are invested with pleasure is a function of memory; for anthropologists who have followed Kaberry in the East Kimberley that observation is not only instructive but a further pleasure shared.

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38 See notes 14, 40.

39 Barwick 1981:84.

40 I find Jackson's string figure metaphor elegantly apt to the enterprise: Can our discourse be likened to ... string figures - a game we play with words, the thread of an argument whose connection with reality is always oblique and tenuous - which crosses to and fro, interlacing description with interpretation, instruction with entertainment, but always ambiguously placed between practical and antinomian ends? If so, truth is not binding. It is in the interstices as much as the structure, in fiction as much as in fact (1987:25).

41 Bartlett 1932:213.

42 I am greatly indebted to the Kija people and their relatives at Turkey Creek with whom I have worked since 1980. Those who spent most time helping me with recollections of Phyllis Kaberry for this paper were Raymond Wallaby, George Mungmung, Hector Chundaloo, Topsy Tartayal, and Shirley Bray, and I thank them especially for that. I also thank Ian Kirkby for his careful reading and comment on an early draft of the paper. Other people who rendered crucial assistance at critical times include Barbara Rigsby, Janet Williams, and Judy Bieg. My gratitude for Judith Wilson's help is boundless.
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**DIANE BARWICK AND GENEALOGICAL STUDIES**

One of Diane's major achievements was her genealogical research on the Aboriginal people of Victoria. This gave her a deep insight into family and clan histories, which she generously made available to other researchers. The following note illustrates one of the many ways in which she shared this knowledge and experience. It comes from the Minutes of the thirty-third meeting of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Canberra held in the H.C. Coombs Building of the Australian National University on 4 February 1970.

Dr Diane E. Barwick gave an address entitled "Aboriginal Genealogies and the History of a Victorian Population" which was illustrated by photographs, maps and genealogical charts in abundance. It is incredible how much genealogical information was committed to memory by Aborigines - absolutely accurate information at that, and confirmed by official records. Indeed, where anomalies have appeared in some official records Aborigines have been able to supply rational corrections - and it must be remembered that Aborigines had no written records, all information was memorised. Genealogical information was of course very important to them owing to their marriage customs, and, since their kinship system did not follow the simple biological lines with which we are familiar, such information had to be more extensive than might be considered necessary from our point of view. For an Aborigine to know the exact relationships of c.200 persons was not unusual. This phenomenon has been of great use in demographic studies.

Aside from its genealogical interest, Dr Barwick's talk brought to light the utterly contemptible behaviour of European settlers in destroying all attempts by Aborigines to engage in profitable businesses on their own account. Should a group of Aborigines establish, for example, a branch of primary industry on unwanted waste-land, and should their efforts meet with success, nearby Europeans would promptly dispossess them. One of the last examples of this practice appears to be the successful establishment of a hop-growing industry in the Healesville district on land considered to be quite worthless, and the eventual destruction of that business venture by Europeans.

A. Ian MacKay
Secretary
REVIEW ARTICLE

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY

Niel Gunson


Christianity and Aboriginal Australia. By John Harris. Zadok Institute for Christianity and Society, Dickson, ACT, 1987-88. 5 parts. Pp.12 ea. $2.00 ea. plus postage.


DIANE BARWICK stood out among anthropologists - and historians for that matter - for her understanding and ready acceptance of the Christian dimension of modern Aboriginality. After all, considered per head of population, more Aboriginal people claim to be Christian than the large mass of other Australians. That this is so should not be surprising. Nor is it simply because Christianity can be seen as a 'religion of the oppressed' or even as 'the opiate of the people'. Contrary to early missionary belief Aborigines were an essentially religious people almost perfectly adapted to the natural environment in which they found themselves, but primal religion needed to be synthesised with or replaced by one of the

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universal or teaching faiths in order for them to adapt and cope with the modern world which burst in upon them so dramatically two hundred years ago.

That such an intrusion by European or Asian powers was inevitable cannot be denied. It is popular in the wake of 1988 to decry the 'invasion' and to deny that Aborigines have anything to celebrate. Indeed the so-called Australian Bicentenary provided a wonderful opportunity for Aborigines to draw attention to the multitudinous grievances they have suffered since contact. Yet there is one important thing to celebrate. Under almost any other European or Asian combination the original people of the Australian continent are likely to have been entirely eradicated. One only has to think of the fate of the Californian Indians under Spanish colonisation.1 The tradition of British Evangelical and philanthropic paternalism combined with the dedicated thoroughness of German, Spanish and Italian missionary traditions ensured the survival and continuance of a people otherwise doomed to die. That the First Fleet brought the seed of salvation as well as the means of destruction was almost entirely due to one man. It was an accident of history or, as he himself would have chosen to express it, the workings of a benign Providence.

One may look in vain for the name of the great British philanthropist John Thornton (1720-1790) in the general histories and even the church histories of Australia, yet it was this influential but self-effacing man who was responsible for the appointment of the first chaplains to New South Wales and the formulation of the first missionary policy. As leader of the largest and largely amorphous Evangelical connexion in England, Thornton boasted that he had more chaplains than George III.2 Through the institutions which he founded and his personal chaplains, such as John Newton, he was responsible for the selection and training of the first chaplains to the colony particularly Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden.3 Perhaps more importantly he was responsible for the missionary policy which they introduced and fostered.

For perhaps the first fifty years of contact the most successful form of missionary endeavour was the 'domestic experiment', the practice of raising orphaned Aboriginal children in the homes of pious citizens.4 Thornton had great faith in the ability of Christianity to transform and enlarge the powers of the 'savage intellect', and in the innate capacities of the culturally deprived.5 He corresponded with the Negro poet Phillis Wheatley and the American Indian minister, Samson Occom. Indeed, he continued to support and sympathise with Occom when deserted by his New England committee for drunkenness, admiring all that had been positive in the good Indian's life.6 It was Phillis Wheatley, however, who inspired the domestic experiment. Taken as an untutored slave girl, fresh

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1 The dedicated work of the missionaries was largely negated by the soldiers who rounded up the 'wild' Indians for labour gangs.
2 Thornton's role will be discussed at length in my book-in-progress Whitefield and the connexions. After 1790 the Evangelical connexion was developed and expanded into the Evangelical party of the Church of England and Thornton's immediate associates became known as the 'Clapham Sect'.
3 Many acts attributed to Wilberforce before 1790 should properly be attributed to his 'uncle' Thornton. Church historians have blurred the truth, though Marsden gave full credit to his benefactor.
4 A contrary view is taken by many historians who cite the much publicised 'moral' failures and premature deaths.
5 The object of the Marine Society, of which he was treasurer, was to give street boys and orphans the opportunity to have a successful career in the navy.
6 Love 1899.
from Africa at the age of ten, Phillis was raised by Mrs Wheatley of Boston, and when only nineteen was acclaimed as a remarkable prodigy. Well read in the classics and modern learning she published a book of elegant verse in which she lamented the sufferings of her people, urged the desirability of liberty under the Crown, and extolled the saving virtue of Whitefield's theology. Thornton entertained both Phillis and Occom in London, and was convinced that Phillis was a genuine case of nurtured talent by Christian foster parents.

It would be difficult to assess the success or otherwise of the 'domestic experiment' in New South Wales as no public records were kept and Marsden denounced the practice. One rather supposes that the public were never told the real reason why bringing up an Aboriginal boy in a family predominantly of girls was not a success. But numerous successes there were. As so often happens in similar circumstances the young Aboriginal women tended to marry European rather than Aboriginal men and at least one Aboriginal youth married a European woman and acquired a farming property. Such families ultimately merged with the European community. Genealogists may well discover that our old colonial stock has a relatively high proportion of 'black' genes. Aboriginal ancestry is not easy to detect. At least one British peer and one former premier of New South Wales are of Aboriginal descent.

Thornton's policy was not consciously geared to racial assimilation, nor did the raising of black children in white households necessarily have the ugly features of some twentieth-century social experiments when children were forcibly removed from parents. There were no prodigies, however, and no Samson Occoms emerged until after almost a century of missionary contact. Perhaps the 'domestic experiment' is best typified by the portrait in oils by J.M. Crossland of 'An Aboriginal boy in European dress playing cricket' held by the National Library.

As yet there is no comprehensive history of missionary activity amongst the Aborigines nor of the Aboriginal response to Christianity. Early attempts to tell the story of the missions were written within the perimeters of sectional or denominational interests, and more recent and detailed accounts have concentrated on particular missions or missionaries. In publishing thirty-three papers given at two symposia in Adelaide in 1986 Swain and Rose have provided much raw material and many themes which could be developed in such a history. Their compilation *Aboriginal Australians and Christian missions* will prove a valuable 'source book' for courses in tertiary institutions providing many cases for analysis and debate, but more general readers will probably come away confused by the complexity of the issues and the diversity of approach. Sheer narrative history to the point of tedium alternates with more analytical but abstruse studies and the more experiential accounts of participants. It will only be possible here to look at those individual authors whose contributions touch on the general themes under review.

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7 Wheatley 1773.
9 In South Africa the white colonial population had 5 per cent 'coloured' blood.
10 It was expected, however, that young Aboriginal women would go into service. Mrs Crook, a missionary's wife in Tahiti, had an Aboriginal companion for her daughters.
12 Some recent studies include Bishop Salvado and New Norcia, John Smithies and the Swan River, Daniel Matthews and Maloga, and several Arnhem Land missions.
Missionary history in Australia before 1860 has frequently received a bad press. The importance of the domestic experiment policy initiated by Thornton and followed not only by the chaplains but also by senior government servants has been underestimated. All too often the missionaries' own self-assessments of failure at a theological or socio-religious level, particularly in the period between the 1820s and the 1840s, have been taken as an admission of failure at social transformation or ideological assimilation.

Denominational bias and missionary polemics have all too often assisted this image of failure accepted by church and secular historians alike. Yet in this period many Aborigines made their own syncretic assessments of their expanded world relating their new knowledge of a white-dominated world to their ancient knowledge of the land without necessarily rejecting all their own beliefs and without necessarily accepting all the dogma and new mythology of the invading culture. Missionaries may not have made the kind of converts they wanted but they provided the symbols and motifs of social transformation.

Jean Woolmington is one of the more experienced historians of Aboriginal missions relying on sound documentation. In her essay in Swain and Rose she provides a useful chronology of the major events in the pre-1848 era in eastern Australia, but judges the mission experience against the background and attitudes of the missionaries themselves. John Harris, in his Zadok working papers, provides a much more detailed account of the early missions, though he accepts the notion of failure highlighted by Woolmington in her major work, and downplays the domestic experiment policy. Until historians look at the missions in terms of overall cultural impact they will accept this conclusion of failure. But in non-religious terms the missions provided linguistic and ethnographic studies, gave some protection in the courts, made some impact on public opinion, and provided a base for genuine religious growth.

It is sometimes overlooked that a number of relatively successful missions commenced before the demise of the first east coast missions. These missions were fairly similar in aim and scope to the earlier ones but had the advantage of being accessible to larger population groupings, were favoured by continuing government patronage, and were mostly staffed by dedicated continental European staff who had no other commitments in the colonies. German Lutheran missionaries began work in Queensland and South Australia in 1838 and Spanish Benedictines commenced the prestigious New Norcia mission in 1846.

Edwin Schurmann's study of his great-grandfather's work is a fascinating and informative account of mid-century mission life. The book is beautifully presented and deserves to be widely known. Like earlier missionaries Schurmann did not regard himself as successful (see pp. 173-4). He was, however, a good ethnographic observer. While his dogmatic approach had no room for Aboriginal 'superstition' he consciously assisted the syncretic process essential to the transformation of primal religion:

Munaintyerlo, who of old lived on earth, but who sits now above, has made the sun, moon and stars, the earth and the visible world in general. As soon as I got this name, I substituted it for the hitherto used Jehova, which they could scarcely pronounce... If further discoveries do not show that they combine too pagan and absurd ideas with the name Munaintyerlo, I mean to retain it for the name of God.

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13 Religion by its nature is either dogmatic or syncretic.
15 Harris 1987-88:Pt 1, especially note 26.
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He was later to discover that the word simply referred to a 'very ancient being' (p.91), but he listened and engaged in dialogue and no doubt assisted in helping many Aborigines to come to terms with the changes impinging upon their traditional beliefs. He recognised their 'clear perception of the immateriality and immortality of the soul' (p.239) though he confessed he could not deal with it.

Like most of the early missionaries Schurmann was continually involved in attempting to smooth relations between Aborigines and settlers in his capacity as Protector. Thus, when John Hamp, a shepherd, was mutilated and had his head cut off with a saw in 1848 (p.185) Schurmann recalled that a similar mutilation had been carried out previously by white soldiers, and that the 'reign of terror' mentioned by Inspector Tolmer was a two-sided affair.

By far the most controversial Protector was George Augustus Robinson, sometime Commandant at Flinders Island Aboriginal settlement. Vivienne Rae-Ellis's biography is authoritative and well researched. Those whose only knowledge of Robinson is derived from Plomley's two monumental volumes on the Protector and the Flinders Island mission17 may be surprised to learn that the Protector was not all that he seemed, that the records show him to have been dishonest, and generally unpleasant. But while the Rae-Ellis biography is a much needed corrective Robinson is one of those larger than life Australian figures, like Samuel Marsden, who will have detractors and supporters as long as the records survive. At least Robinson knew the cardinal rule of reporting to associations, that in order to succeed you must tell your patrons what they want to hear or they will cut you off. He was more likely to gain the respect of Aborigines than some of those who complained about his methods.

Plomley in Swain and Rose18 gives a gloomy picture of the Tasmanian mission, a view partly coloured by Robinson's own views of those sent to assist him. His dismissal of the domestic experiment in Tasmania is based on the abuses of that system - kidnapping children to raise as domestic servants - rather than on its successes.19 It is all too easy to read back into our early history the abuses of the unrelated adoption schemes of the twentieth century.

Miller's study of Thomas Dove may seem slight in comparison with the detailed work of Plomley and Rae-Ellis, but it gives a sounder view of the Presbyterian cleric appointed to the Flinders Island mission than comes direct from the biased pen of Robinson. The egotistic Robinson felt the Doves were ill-bred because Mrs Dove would not take his hand nor would Dove mention him by name in the mission prayers. But there is always Bonwick's glimpse of Dove at the deathbed of King George alias Old Tom (p.100): 'the last effort of the dying man was affectionately to smile at the pastor and squeeze his hand'. That counted for something.

Things were grim on the Tasmanian mission frontier because of the 'wars' or genocide of the 1820s. Later in the century frontier conditions were worse in Western Australia than in the eastern colonies because of the nature of settlement and the official policy towards 'wild Blacks'. Labour was forcibly recruited and settlers frequently took a proprietary attitude to their 'blacks'. Indeed, the frontier situation differed very little from the repressive military regime in colonial California.

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19 Plomley mentions at least one case of Christian marriage between Aborigines (Swain and Rose 1988:94).
The Rev. John Brown Gribble was undoubtedly the greatest public champion of the Aborigines in the late nineteenth century, a stance which even brought him into conflict with church authorities eager to avoid confrontation and political involvement. From being a Congregational minister who took an interest in the Aborigines of his rural charge in the vicinity of the river Murray, he founded his own mission under Anglican patronage. In 1884 he was invited to work in Western Australia, opening the Gascoyne River mission in 1885. Though the mission only lasted two years his confrontation with the opponents of the mission had lasting repercussions.

Gribble's *tour de force*, *Dark deeds in a sunny land*, published first in a Perth newspaper in 1886 and republished as a booklet in 1905, was a damning indictment of the local labour system and a major document in the crusade for social justice. While the Institute of Applied Aboriginal Studies and the University of Western Australia Press are to be congratulated for republishing Gribble's tract it is a pity that they could not persuade Professor Tonkinson to write a more lengthy biographical introduction. As it is, Su-Jane Hunt's essay on 'The Gribble Affair' given as an appendix had already been published and is inaccurate in regard to Gribble's early life.

But Gribble was not just important in Western Australian history. As founder of the Yarrabah Mission near Cairns in 1892 his work was carried on by his son Ernest from 1894 to 1910. Ernest's missionary labours also extended to Western Australia where he was head of the Forrest River Mission in 1914-28. Several essays in Swain and Rose and Harris's fourth Zadok paper touch on the work of the Gribbles. The Yarrabah Mission is also the subject of Judy Thomson's monograph *Reaching back*. This collection of Aboriginal reminiscences is a pleasant non-judgemental record of Aboriginal spirituality, the Aboriginal participants showing respect for the Gribbles, respect for the old ways, and searching for meaning in other byways including new sects.

The enduring Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran missions established from the mid-1880s figure prominently in Swain and Rose. These missions produced some great missionaries, including Duncan McNab, Bishop Gsell, Nicholas Emo, Ernest Worms, the Strehlows and others, some of them with anthropological insights or training. In his essay the ex-missioner Michael Alroe concentrates on what he calls the 'Pygmalion complex' among missionaries in the Kimberleys. Even those missionaries acclaimed as enlightened, such as Emo and Worms, are seen by Alroe as being the enemies of Aboriginal culture, parasites living on a host which it is in their interest to keep alive. Noel Loos, looking at Lutherans, Moravians and Anglicans in North Queensland, sees both concern and contempt, and concludes that 'it is hard to imagine Christianity being taken in worse circumstances to a people than has been the case with Aborigines throughout much of Australia'. In all these studies there is still a tendency to judge the missionaries by the missionaries' own standards rather than look at the values and beliefs of the people arising from their mission experience.

The papers in Swain and Rose which deal with the history of missions in the twentieth century cover more diverse topics ranging from the repressive regimes of sectaries to studies
which highlight the reciprocal interaction of missionaries and mobs.\textsuperscript{24} One of the most disturbing developments in twentieth-century missionary experience was the Church's acquiescence in adoption and educational schemes which separated Aboriginal children from their parents. Unlike the domestic experiment of early colonial days, which was theoretically voluntary and egalitarian, the twentieth-century schemes were partly based on the acceptance of the precepts of social Darwinism, that Aborigines were stone-age people who would die out if left to themselves.\textsuperscript{25} In several states Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their parents. The story of the Colebrook Home for Aboriginal Children, administered by the United Aborigines' Mission, was one of the more successful ventures in this sphere.\textsuperscript{26} Today these schemes are seen as racist but in their day they were opposed by another type of racist who resented Aborigines or part-Europeans being given opportunities to assimilate into the white community.

One of the themes of the Swain and Rose collection is that the Aboriginal people themselves have responded to Christian missions in a 'coherent, reasoned and intelligent manner'. This should be obvious to anyone who has studied the missionisation process but it has not always seemed obvious to fundamentalist missionaries on the one hand or doctrinaire anthropologists on the other. It has been all too easy to castigate the non-converting Aboriginal as an 'ignorant savage' or the Aboriginal convert as an 'Uncle Tom' or a cultural drop-out.

During the two hundred years of contact Aboriginal spirituality appears to have ranged widely through various syncretist forms. Ever since Andrew Lang suggested that Baiame and the other sky gods owed their existence to the absorption of missionary ideas there has been debate concerning the origin of 'syncretist' beliefs. The missionary Schurmann also thought some such beliefs were borrowed.

> When a good man dies, his soul flies, as they express it, upwards or to heaven, where there are plenty of kangaroos and other food. Bad men, one person told me, go down into a great fire, but I am not sure if he had not heard that from an European.\textsuperscript{27}

Since most primal religions (including the universal religions which derived from them) ultimately derive from the shamanic practices or beliefs that were common to the human species for many thousands of years it should not be surprising that Aboriginal religions and Christianity have some features in common. Concepts such as the three-tier universe, the world tree, the avian nature of the soul, genesis from the earth, the power of crystals and the ritual use of water are found on all the continents. In this regard Barry Alpher's commentary on Jack Bruno's elegy in Swain and Rose is pertinent.\textsuperscript{28} One is therefore a little sceptical concerning Swain and Rose' s statement about the myth of the forbidden fruit in the mythology of the Otati of eastern Cape York Peninsula being of Judaeco-Christian origin, for the shamanic myth of the forbidden berry can be found in

\textsuperscript{24} See particularly Peter Willis on conversion at Kununurra in Swain and Rose 1988:308-20.
\textsuperscript{25} When I was at school (1936-48) it was actually taught that Aborigines could be totally assimilated genetically within four generations and the only physical characteristics to survive would be thin ankles! Diane Barwick first drew my attention to the inappropriateness of the intelligence tests applied by the anthropologist Porteus, which were used to support the racial arguments for assimilation.
\textsuperscript{26} See Swain and Rose 1988:140-55; and Harris 1987-88:Pt 5, 2-5.
\textsuperscript{27} Schurmann 1987:46.
\textsuperscript{28} Swain and Rose 1988:16.
ancient Finland and the Marquesas as well as in Mesopotamia! From the point of view of social history some of the most interesting and useful essays in Swain and Rose are those in the fourth section which discuss issues of syncretism, rejection, cultism and indigenisation. They illustrate clearly the survival of the Aboriginal religious overview irrespective of the changes in the cultural or mythological dramatis personae.

For many Aboriginal Christians there is some satisfaction in being able to relate their own traditions to the religion of the Bible. Thus Lorna Schrieber, 'Queen of the Gungganyji', relates Bible stories to traditional beliefs and sees it as her mission to teach the old cultural ways to the young. For many Christian Aborigines, however, the attraction is now to simple dogma. The nineteenth century saw many cases of genuine conversions to a dogmatic faith, but never enough to astound the missionaries. Yet, in more recent generations, it has been the dogmatic beliefs, expressed in simple faith, which have been the most fervent expressions of Aboriginal Christianity. Most of the ordained Aboriginal priests and ministers have come from Evangelical and fundamentalist traditions. Those who search outside the missions tend to gravitate to revivalist churches such as the Assembly of God or the Full Gospel Church. The Aboriginal Christian revival movement which commenced at Elcho Island in 1979 is a form of dogmatic spirituality which was both the result of missionisation and a need of the people themselves to cope with the social predicaments of their era.

Many of the essays in Swain and Rose, particularly those by Burridge, the Berndts, Tonkinson, Bell and others provide valuable anthropological insights and analysis. It is a pity, however, that there is so little input by Christian Aborigines. Aboriginal theology is still in its infancy in Australia and there is nothing comparable to the Black Theology so manifest in the United States and South Africa. Yet even so, the Rev. Djiniyini Gondarra of Elcho Island is both a modern Christian leader and theologian. His views are representative of a new Christian Aboriginality. Other Aboriginal church leaders such as Pastor Denzil Humphries and Pastor Ossie Cruse of the Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship and Bishop Arthur Malcolm represent the most recent flowering of Aboriginal religion. Bishop Malcolm, a great nephew of the Reverend James Noble ordained in 1925, continues as it were the Gribble tradition of Yarrabah. For these leaders two hundred years of Christianity provide a gateway to the future of their people.

29 Swain and Rose 1988:1.
31 See Thomson 1989:115, 120.
33 See, for instance, Kretzschmar 1986.
34 See Gondarra 1986a and 1986b.
TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY

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Photo: Judy Thomson, courtesy Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
Diane Barwick at an official University function c.1985.
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Ben Murray outside his unit, Wami Kata Old Folks Home, Port Augusta, February 1988.
BEN MURRAY (PARLKKU-NGUYU-THANGKAYIWARNA)

Peter Austin, Luise Hercus and Philip Jones

Introduction
According to the records he himself meticulously kept, Ben Murray was born near Marree, northern South Australia, in 1891 to an Aboriginal mother and a Baluchistani (Afghan) father. Today Ben is the oldest resident of Amewarra Old People's Home in Port Augusta, in retirement after a long and eventful working life.1

In days when the emphasis is often placed on communities and spokespersons, Ben Murray is something totally different: a rugged individualist who stood in a unique and solitary position to Aboriginal society, to Afghan society, and to the white missionaries, station owners and managers for whom he worked. Ben is a strong person, both physically and mentally; he did not like compromises and hated injustice. This is evident not only from the events of his life that he recounted to us, but also from the comments of his friends and acquaintances. When Luise Hercus first met him in 1965 an event occurred which illustrates his attitudes perfectly. A station in the area had appointed a manager who was an alcoholic. The manager's young wife was just recovering from the birth of her second baby. There was a mid-January heatwave and a major drought was on; sheep were getting bogged in muddy dams and dying pitifully in their hundreds. The people on the other stations in the area were busy saving their own sheep, so the young wife sought help from Ben. He came at once. He walked into the homestead and found the manager lying drunk in bed. Without the slightest hesitation Ben told him what he thought of him and finished up saying: 'Get up, get dressed, and help me pull the sheep out! Otherwise I shall do it on my own, not for your sake, but for your wife and to save the sheep.' He went out alone and carried out the back-breaking task of rescuing the sheep.

Luise Hercus originally met Ben Murray in 1965, having been referred to him as a person who might be able to help her with her study of the Arabana and Wangkangurru languages, two closely related Aboriginal languages traditionally spoken to the west and north of Lake Eyre. Luise soon discovered the depth and range of Ben's knowledge of language and tradition, and of history, both Aboriginal and European. She worked with Ben from 1968, mainly on Wangkangurru but also collecting vocabulary and stories in Diyari, which is a completely different language originally spoken to the east of Lake Eyre that Ben had learned as a child. They also recorded material on the Thirrari language, which is closely related to Diyari and was spoken along the eastern and southern shores of the Lake. Ben learned Thirrari from his maternal grandmother and he is the last person to speak it fluently.

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1 For comments on earlier drafts of this biography we are grateful to Randy Austin and William McGregor, neither of whom is responsible for remaining infelicities.
Peter Austin first heard Ben's voice in 1972 when writing a student essay based upon Luise Hercus's tapes, and was introduced by her to Ben in January 1974 at the beginning of his field research for fourth-year honours in Linguistics. Between 1975 and 1977 Ben worked with Peter, teaching him Diyari and Thirrari for his doctoral research,² including taperecording of many hours of texts in both languages.

Philip Jones was introduced to Ben Murray at Port Augusta in 1981 by Luise Hercus. He first interviewed Ben on the subject of red ochre expeditions in the Lake Eyre region³ and on the history of the Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna.⁴ An interest in Ben's own life history emerged from these discussions and Philip has recorded several interviews with Ben on this topic during the past seven years.

When discussing the writing of this biography recently, someone asked Luise Hercus: "Did you interview Ben Murray?" The question seemed absurd. Neither Luise Hercus nor Peter Austin 'interviewed' Ben Murray about his life. He was our helper, adviser and companion over a number of field-trips in the far north-east of South Australia; a friend we always look forward to seeing again. Scattered throughout our fieldtapes and notes are stories, describing events from a rich and varied life spent throughout eastern South Australia, from the sheep and cattle stations along the Birdsville track in the north to Waikerie, the Riverland and Pinnaroo in the south-east, and Kadina and Moonta on the Yorke Peninsula. What Ben Murray himself recounted of his life was told in episodic fashion, often in the context of 'having a yarn', and never arranged chronologically. It is as a result of Philip Jones' research that we are able to place the details of Ben's life in historical order and to write a more traditional biography.

In Australia there has been a lack of attention to the recording of the life histories of Aboriginal people. This contrasts with the United States, for example, where there has been a rich tradition of biographical writing about the lives of Native Americans beginning in 1825.⁵ As White, Barwick and Meehan have pointed out:

In most anthropological and historical narratives about Aboriginal society the Aborigines themselves are nameless. Published life histories are rare, and most adhere to European conventions about biographical literature: reminiscences are edited to fit a chronological format which emphasises individual personality but omits the wealth of genealogical information and commentary on community values intrinsic to Aboriginal styles of recounting the past. Editors and publishers who reshape such narratives by excising what seems to them irrelevant may believe their attempts to portray Aboriginal lives in a European fashion make Aborigines more intelligible to outsiders. But the style is part of the story. Such omissions may impoverish the portrayal so that readers cannot perceive why Aboriginal life, however different, has its own satisfactions.⁶

While we agree with the sentiments expressed here, it is interesting to note that not a single biography in the collection edited by White, Barwick and Meehan pays any attention to the language of the life histories told by their subjects and incorporated into the

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² See Austin 1978, published in revised form as Austin 1981. Fieldwork was supported by grants from the Australian National University.
³ Jones 1984; Jones, Austin and Hercus (forthcoming).
⁴ Jones and Sutton 1986.
⁵ See Langness and Frank 1981:15-29.
⁶ White, Barwick and Meehan 1985:xvi.
narratives written by the several authors in standard English. Not a single quotation in an Aboriginal language is included in the book, and nothing is said about the style, transcription or editing of the English used by the Aborigines and 'quoted' by the authors. An alternative approach is to be found in the collection of historical narratives in Hercus and Sutton 1986. Here, narrative texts are presented in a number of Aboriginal languages and given morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and free translations into idiomatic English. As the editors note:

Something is inevitably lost in free English translations, whether these are made by the authors themselves or by translators. The real spirit of the authors' intentions, and especially their verbal humour and style, can only be caught from a close look at the versions given in the original languages.7

Unfortunately, as McGregor has pointed out, in some instances the transcribers, who were all linguists, have heavily edited the 'original' texts, deleting repetitions and removing from them commentary in English (which is however incorporated in the translations). Additionally, some of the transcribers have failed to provide sufficient historical and biographical background information to make the texts easily accessible to European readers. While we can decry the lack of representation of Aboriginal voices in 'standard' European histories, it is also important to realise that reading texts in another language is an exercise of skill and as such calls for assistance on the part of transcribers and translators. Our solution has been to try to retain the flavour of Ben Murray's original telling of his life history by incorporating in the texture of this account some of the dozens of stories he told us in the words that he himself used. We thus present a selection of texts in Arabana-Wangkangurru and Diyari-Thirrari (complete with repetitions and comments in English), together with interlinear glosses and free translations into English embedded within the narrative of Ben's life history. We hope that by doing this we can meet the twin aims of telling a good story while at the same time giving the reader an idea of the way Ben tells it himself.

Early Life: Living at Muloorina

Ben Murray was born near the Frome Creek, just east of Marree in northern South Australia, in 1891. He was named Parlkunnguyuthangkayiwarna, which in Arabana-Wangkangurru means 'A Bank of Clouds Settling Down' and comes from the rain history. His mother, Karlawaacci (later known as Anne Murray, then Merrick), was a part-Arabana, part-Thirrari woman whose own country was Kudnangampa on Stuart's Creek, south of Lake Eyre. Her father was an important Arabana man known as 'King Walter', who is described in Text C below. Her mother, Ben's grandmother (kadhini mother's mother), was Kuriputhanha, a Thirrari woman known to the local white people as 'Queen Annie'.8 Ben's father was Bejah Dervish, later to achieve fame as the cameleer on the Calvert Exploring Expedition of 1896.9 He had arrived in Australia as a young man of twenty-four in 1891, twenty-five years after Sir Thomas Elder organised the first Australian shipment of camels together with their Baluchistan handlers. The government recognised the value of this new labour source for the outback but stipulated that no Afghan women were to come

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8 Ben reports that she died in the 1930s. Even in 1906 there were reported to be only five Thirrari alive (Gregory 1906:61), although the Diyari were claimed to number one hundred at that time.
Ben Murray's country.
del. Cartography Unit, RSPacS, ANU.
to Australia. The authorities had a strong fear of duplicating, even in miniature, the racial and social problems of the Victorian and Northern Territory goldfields by allowing a new ethnic group to gain a foothold in South Australia. Afghan men soon formed liaisons with Aboriginal women, often short in duration and against their will. Ben's parents may well have met under such conditions.10

The town camp by the Frome Creek outside Marree was Ben's mother's home at the time of his birth in 1891. Ben's earliest years were spent here in this half-bush, half-town camp, within earshot of the railway steam-whistle. The people there were predominantly Wangkangurru and Arabana and Ben grew up with these as his first languages. By the time he was four or five however, his mother, sisters Shirley and Myra11, and brothers Ern and George had moved to Muloorina Station, east of Lake Eyre South in traditional Thirrari country. One likely reason for the move was that his mother had married a Wangkangurru man from the Simpson Desert who was employed on the station. Another was that his grandmother, Kuriputhanha 'Queen Annie' lived there.

Ben learnt the Thirrari language from his grandmother and is now its only surviving speaker. As Text A shows, Ben was also exposed to the traditional ways of his mother's people and learnt a large amount from them. Already though, at this young age, he was learning to operate between the Aboriginal and European cultures. The following anecdote, related to Eric Bonython by Ben's brother Ern, conveys something of this. It probably describes an event that took place on Muloorina and must have concerned Walter, the boys' grandfather.

Talking of tracking reminds me [Ern] of when I was a boy and I examined the witch doctor's bag of tricks. He was held in great fear by the tribe and he always had his bag of charms or curses hanging in a tree outside his wurlie. My brother Ben and I had always wanted to see what was in it, but were afraid to, because he would have known our footprints. So we waited until a day when he was away and I got a horse that we could ride and we went up to the tree and took the bag. We were very curious, for no-one had ever seen inside it before. Inside the skin bag were all sorts of coloured stones and little flint knives and what looked like gold in little pieces and several bones. Then we returned it just as it was, and got away as fast as we could. Next day, the old fellow caught us and asked if we had been at his bag. Although we said we hadn't he didn't quite believe us, as he said our horse had been there anyway. We hadn't thought of that.12

The boys' grandfather, Walter, was a ceremonial leader of the Arabana people and young Ben learnt much from him. One of Ben's earliest memories is of accompanying the old man through Arabana country to Stuart's Creek at Kudnampa to attend a ceremony there. Walter showed Ben some of the special places in his country there: 'showing me country, all around Anna Creek and everywhere, Stuart's Creek.'13 Ben's grandmother showed him

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11 Myra may have been born later at Muloorina Station; Ben does not recall any details of her later life.
13 Ben Murray interviewed by Phillip Jones on 1 February 1988. Further quotations from Murray-Jones interviews below are referenced as M-J plus the relevant date, as here M-J, 1.2.88. Tapes of the Murray-Jones interviews are in Jones' possession; copies are to be deposited in the South Australian Museum archives, and at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The tape transcriptions have been slightly edited here through the
the country on the west side of Lake Eyre and one trip took the family by foot as far north as Birdsville, following the Kallakoopah north from the Lake. This trip was also apparently for ceremonial business as well as for meeting relatives and friends,

'...we mix up with the people, have a corroboree there...[and]...a bit of a look around the country...'  

The older Wangkangurru men in the Marree area, such as Ben's step-father, still carried on much of their traditional life-style, and young Ben observed their ways. The two most senior of these men were *Ngatu-thakali*, known as 'Rib-bone Billy' and *Punjili*. The first three texts are extracts of Ben's account of his Muloorina days showing how the old men preserved various aspects of their traditional life, leaving the women and children behind in their camp depending on rations. The language of the texts is Wangkangurru, and there are passages of English:

removal of fillers such as 'er', coughing and silences, and the standardisation of the grammar to make the quotations more easily understandable.

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14 M-J, 1.2.88.
15 See Hercus 1976. There is a photograph of 'Koonkoo Nutatucullie' (as George Aiston called him) in Jones and Sutton 1986:55.
16 Each episode from Ben's life story told in an Aboriginal language will be presented as a text with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for each word and then a free translation at the end. The texts recorded by Hercus are split into numbered sections, the division on the whole in accordance with intervals in speech. For the texts collected by Austin each sentence is numbered and there is an identification of the place and date of recording, the fieldtape number of the relevant tape-recording, and book and page number of the tape transcriptions. The texts incorporated here were retranscribed in October 1987. Copies of all of Austin's tapes and transcriptions are held at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. In this paper practical orthographies have been used for Wangkangurru and Diyari-Thirrari. Plosive consonants other than the retroflex have been written as unvoiced: *p, k, th, t* (in Diyari-Thirrari there is a voicing contrast for medial retroflex stops, and also a contrast between medial *nt* and *ndrr*). Prestopped nasals and laterals have been written with a voiced stop component as this corresponds most closely to the pronunciation, hence *bm, dn, dnh, dnj, dl, dlh*. Retroflexes have been written as *r* plus consonant, i.e. *rl* is a retroflex lateral, *rn* is a retroflex nasal, and *rd* and *rt* are retroflex stops. Interdentalts have been written as consonant plus *h*, hence *lh, nh, th*. For Wangkangurru palatahs have been written as consonant plus *j*, hence *tj, nj, lj*. In Diyari-Thirrari the corresponding symbols are *j, ny, ly*. The Lake Eyre languages have three r-sounds: a trill, a flap, and a continuant. For Wangkangurru these are written as *rr, r, and R* respectively, and for Diyari-Thirrari as *rrh, rr, and r*. Abbreviations used for linguistic terms in the inter-linear glosses are: ABL - ablative case; ACC - accusative case; ACT - active stem-forming suffix; ADD - additional information; ADV - adverbial suffix; ALL - ablative case; ALT - altruistic stem-forming suffix; ANC - ancient past; AUX - auxiliary verb; CAUS - causual case; CONT - continuous participle; CONT S - continuous stem-forming suffix; DEF - definite; EMPH - emphatic clitic; ERG - ergative case; EXCL - exclusive pronoun; HAB - habitual aspect; HIST - historical past; IDENT - identified information; IMP - imperfective; IMPER - imperative; IMPL DS - impicated clause different-subject; IMPL SS - implicated clause same-subject; INCHOAT - inchoative verbaliser; INCL - inclusive pronoun; LOC - locative case; MASC PN - masculine proper name; NAR - narrative past; NI - new information; NOMIN - nominative case; OI - old information; PAST - past tense; PERF - perfect; PLUP - pluperfect; POS - possessive suffix; PRES - present tense; PTCLE - participle; PUNC - punctiliar aspect; PURP - purposive; REL DS - relative clause different-subject; REL SS - relative clause same-subject; SP - speed form (action before
BEN MURRAY

TEXT A 'Rib-Bone Billy'
Recorded by Luise Hercus in February 1976

1. Ngatu-thakali uka waya-rnda tharni-lhiku puntju
Rib-bone Billy he wish-PRES eat-PURP meat

madla yapa, pussycat, kangarra marni-nhuka wadnangkani
dog wild, cat. kangaroo fat-much carpet snake

marni-nhuka arla tharni-lhiku waya-rnda.
fat-much true eat-PURP wish-PRES.

2. Tjarlpa thangki-rda, puntju-ku waya-rnda. Puntju
Food keep-PRES meat-DAT desire-PRES. meat
tharni-lhiku. Malka malju-mayi tharni-lhiku-thu!
eat-HIST not grain-food eat-PURP-EMP

3. Ai, kathi-nga yuka-lhuku waya-rnda tharni-lhiku
Ay, meat-LOC go-PURP wish-PRES eat-PURP

wadnhi-naru maka-ngra. Ah! Mayi! arlali mardu-purru
cook-PLUP fire-LOC Ah! Hey! at last sweet-having

tharni-lhiku.
eat-PURP

4. 'It's sweeter the way I cook it!' That is what he used to live on, only meat.

5. His second wife was Rosie and they lived down in the Muloorina country. That is where he settled down because we were there.

Translation
1. Rib-bone Billy wanted to eat meat, dingos, feral cats, plump kangaroos and fat carpet-snakes, that is what he really liked to eat.
2. He used to have flour there, but it was meat he really wanted. 'I don't like vegetable food!' (he used to say).
3. What he really liked was going out hunting, and to eat meat cooked in the ashes. 'At last here is something full of sweet flavour', he used to say.
4. 'It's sweeter the way I cook it!' That is what he used to live on, only meat.
5. His second wife was Rosie and they lived down in the Muloorina country. That is where he settled down because we were there.

departing); SPEC - specific; TR - transitory aspect; TRANS - transitiviser; TRVB - transitive verbaliser (causative).
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:2

TEXT B 'Punjili'

1. Muyu nguru thangka-rda kanhangarda, thika-rnda Marri-riku-lki, Marree-ALL-FIN, thika-rnda, Mundowdna thika-rnda, might be muyu nguyu, might be muyu parkulu. return-PRES return-PRES return-PRES return-PRES might be day one day two


3. He could go to the Kallakoopah and then go on to the desert. He used to travel around that way, and leave his wife. He would say :

4. At ha yuka-rnda-lki thidnangkara, thidnangkara antha I go-PRES-FIN north north I yuka-rnda, mayi! nhanhi ngarrkani idni-rnda! go-PRES hey! look moon is-PRES '

5. Well that is the time he'd be back. He'd work it right too! Grandfather went too. Only my grandmother, and the other women stayed on living there, and maybe another man who was too old, and he was blind too. He was Diyari.

Translation

1. He (Punjili) would stay there for a couple of days, and then go back to Marree. He would go to Marree, to Mundowdna and then he would be back again, maybe for one day, maybe for two.

2. 'Trampling underfoot' that is the meaning of the name Punjili.

3. He could go to the Kallakoopah and then go on to the desert. He used to travel around that way, and leave his wife. He would say :

4. 'I am going away now to the north, it is to the north that I am going. Hey, just look at the moon! That moon there, it must be just about half way between new and quarter!'

5. Well that is the time he'd be back. He'd work it right too! Grandfather went too. Only my grandmother, and the other women stayed on living there, and maybe another man who was too old, and he was blind too. He was Diyari.

TEXT C. 'Cheeky Old Grandfather'

Ben often spoke with affection of his grandfather, King Walter. In this text however he describes how King Walter, with increasing age, became more and more 'cheeky', that is to say aggressive. Ben, despite his love for the old man, passed a stern moral judgement on him.

1. Old grandfather was a 'cheeky' old fellow, an Arabana man. He got ten years for murdering a man. He wouldn't think twice (about killing someone)! He was deaf as a post!
2. Yarri-pudlu arla-kithi!! Deaf true-Indeed! Uka-ru kira kanti-rda.
   Deaf true-ERG boomerang collect-PRES
   kanti kira kanti-rda, malka thurla thangki-rda, waddy boomerang collect-PRES not stone-knife keep-PRES
get a butcher knife! kurri-lhiku!

   Man other cut-PRES stone-knife collect-PRES
   man other stone-knife-INST cut-HIST, stone-INST.

4. Pula Two panti-rda, pirda-rna irlanha irlanha withi-k’
   Two fight-PRES hit-PRES thus thus become-Past
   uka arla pirda-rna, uka manhi yanta, thiri-nhuka
   he true strike-PRES he false speak cheek-much
   uka ngurrali! Nharla wantja-ngura, uka-ru
   he altogether! man finish-CONT he-ERG
   pirda-ka kumpira-ku.
   strike-PAST dead-DAT.

5. He couldn’t speak English much, Tim\(^17\) had to speak for him. Old King Walter murdered a man. He got ten years, and when he got out he murdered another one! They told me about it, I didn’t actually see him do it! The police\(^18\) took him, they took him away to the court case. Tim Merrick, Selma’s\(^19\) father, was witness (i.e spokesperson for him) because he was Arabana.

6. Ah mayi, withira uka yani-thara thara-marika-na?
   Eh go on, how many he say-IIMM thigh-stripe-EMPH?
Malka thara-marika, akuru.
   Not thigh stripe that one

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17 Tim Merrick was one of the most respected members of the community at Killalpaninna Mission on the lower Cooper. It was said that he was equally fluent in Arabana, Diyari and English.
18 The Arabana-Wangkangurru word for police-man is thara-marika, which literally means ‘thigh-stripe’, and refers to the uniform of the time.
19 There is a photograph of Selma Merrick (or Maltalina) in Jones and Sutton 1986:39. She was living in Marree at the time Ben related this text and later assisted Peter Austin in his Diyari research (see mention of Selma Thompson in Austin 1981:14).
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:2

7. Uka anthi-rda yani-rnda, eh, irliyangkuta madli ya
    He me-DAT tell-PRES hey that many cold and

marutja anpa tharka-nha! Kanjangarri-nga.
summer heat you stand-NP gaol-LOC

8. But they let him out before. They had imprisoned him but they said, 'It is no good keeping the poor old thing, he doesn't know the rules! He had to defend himself, and so he did! It might have been a younger man than him annoying him, well in self-defence he might have done it.' But I, I put it that way, it was murder! I don't know what the argument was!

    He-ERG kill-PAST kill-PRES he-ERG, he-ACC

parda-rna, thika-rna.
take-PRES return-PRES

10. Uka Frome thangka-thika-lhuku, karla-nga, wardayapu yuka-rnda
    He sit-return-HIST creek-LOC track go-PRES

Manduwarda-ruku. All right. Kari yata panti-rda uka-ru
Mundowdna-ALL they again fight-PRES he-ERG

11. Warrangka-ru piti-kadnha thawi-lhiku, ah, kira-nha
    left-INST weapon-stone throw-HIST ah boomerang-EMPH

punta-lira nhiki yani-nhurka-rna eeh!
break-LEST this one speak-swallow-IMP eeh

12. It wouldn't matter if you sang out to him, he wouldn't hear, or he might think you were singing out to somebody else. He might run up and catch hold of you with his knife. Other people would be too frightened to catch hold of him (to stop him).

    frightened become-PRES he-ERG turn-IMP finally kill-HIST.

14. He been there, uka ngulpa-thi-rnda, might have been two or three months.
    he ill-become-PRES

Ngurlpa idni-rnda, Malka uka-ru tharni-rnda, kutha-li
sick lie-PRES not he-ERG eat-PRES water-EMPH

puntha-rda, irlanha uka-nha manta-ka.
drink-PRES thus he-ACC take-PAST
Old grandfather was a 'cheeky' old fellow, an Arabana man. He got ten years for murdering a man. He wouldn't think twice (about killing someone)! He was deaf as a post!

2. He was stone deaf. He used to get together boomerangs, he wasn't so keen on stone knives, he would prefer to get a butcher's knife to slash someone.

3. He would cut another man to pieces! He did get some stone knives too, so that he could cut another man with a stone knife or a bit of rock.

4. Two of them (him and another man) would get into a fight and he would hit the other fellow. It would happen like this: he would strike the other man first, and then make out that he hadn't (started the fight). He was altogether too 'cheeky' and aggressive. The other man would die, he would wound him mortally.

5. He couldn't speak English much, Tim had to speak for him. Old King Walter murdered a man. He got ten years, and when he got out he murdered another one! They told me about it, I didn't actually see him do it! The police took him, they took him away to the court case. Tim Merrick, Selma's father, was witness (i.e spokesperson for him) because he was Arabana.

6. (Grandfather asked) 'How many (years) did he say, this policeman?' (Tim Merrick answered) 'He is not a policeman, that man,' i.e. he is the magistrate!

7. He said 'That many (holding up the ten fingers of both his hands) cold seasons and the same number of hot summers you will spend in gaol.'

8. But they let him out before. They had imprisoned him but they said, 'It is no good keeping the poor old thing, he doesn't know the rules! He had to defend himself, and so he did! It might have been a younger man than him annoying him, well in self-defence he might have done it.' But I, I put it that way, it was murder! I don't know what the argument was!

9. But he did kill a man, he murdered someone. They took him away and let him go again.

10. He came back to stay by the Frome Creek, and then he went on the road to Mundowdna. All right (so far). But then he got into a fight yet again and killed yet another man. That is how it was:

11. He picked up a sharp stone and threw it with his left hand (saying) 'A boomerang might break, but this will make you swallow your words! Eeeh!'

12. It wouldn't matter if you sang out to him, he wouldn't hear, or he might think you were singing out to somebody else. He might run up and catch hold of you with his knife. Other people would be too frightened to catch hold of him (to stop him).

13. People became frightened of him, he would just turn round and end up killing somebody.

14. After he had been there (by the Frome) for something like two or three months he grew very sick. He just lay there, sick, he couldn't eat, he only drank water. That is how (the illness) took him. He went on just drinking water, he wouldn't take food. People gave him meat and they gave him vegetable food, (but he couldn't eat it).
TEXT D 'Starting Work'

Ben began his working life as he was to end it eighty years later - in the saddle. Muloorina had been owned by the Bosworth family since 1885 and they were struggling to make a living on the station at the time that young Ben was camped there with his mother. She was given domestic duties and when Ben was only a child of about five, old Harry Bosworth thought he could start employing him on the station. His task was to operate a mechanical water pump, a couple of hours at a time. This is Ben's account, given to Luise Hercus in February 1976.

1. Antha thaRi-thaRi kari thangka-rda, anthunha kaku
   I tiny they stay-PRES, my sister

2. He said to me: 'Come on, jump in this buggy! Me and you go down!'

3. Arunha yuka-rnda yata yuka-lhuku!
   we two go-PRES further go PURP

4. He said: 'I want you boys to ride this horse!'

5. Antha walpa-rna nhantu-nga.
   I mount-PRES horse-LOC.

6. You know they had this old-fashioned pump, you turn on the cog-wheel, and pull in right in the well and turn this wheel, a big wheel with a belt on it, this works it. There is a rod going in and another wheel works on that. There is a belt on this pump and it pumps the water into the little dam. So he yoked this mare up in this turn-out, and he put me up on top saying: 'Now you keep that horse going!' I was only little, I hung onto the saddle, going round and round. 'You right, keep on going boy!'

7. Antha uka-inta yarapa-li uka yuka-ngura nhani-lhiku
   I him-DAT up-EMPH he go-CONT see-PURP

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15. He had to die. He was down by the Frome creek. We used to go (visiting) there, you know where they have got the reserve, they called it mission.
BEN MURRAY

8. **Uka** yani-rnda **arlari** 'Stop!'  
   he say-PRES finally

9. **Athu** nhantu **kuti.**  
   horse pull back.

10. My legs wouldn't reach on the flank, I just kept'em somewhere, anyhow.

11. **Nhantu** palku kudni-rnda **thidna ngarritji-thiku.**  
     horse body put-PRES foot get down-PURP

12. You know that front bone there, I had to put my foot there to get down. He said:  
    'Can you pull that chain off?' I had a try you know, I couldn't do it, so he came and did it.  
    'It's full enough', he said, 'I'll take you back to camp'. He took me to the house,  
    Muloorina homestead. He said: 'All right you wait! Missus will come out directly!' She  
    came out with a cake and sandwiches but as soon as she gave me that I nicked off, I ran  
    down to the camp.

13. **Antha** thika-rnda **ngura-ruka!**  
     I return-PRES camp-ALL

Old mathapurda say:  
   malju -mayi puri-rna-rnda.  
   grain-food exist-TEMP-PRES

**Translation**

1. I was only tiny, and we were staying there (at Muloorina). My elder sister was there  
   too, she was a big girl. We were all camped there. Old man Bosworth came down to  
   us, down by the creek.

2. He said to me: 'Come on, jump in this buggy! Me and you go down!'

3. He and I set out to go.

4. He said: 'I want you boys to ride this horse!'

5. I got up on the horse.

6. You know they had this old-fashioned pump, you turn on the cog-wheel, and pull in  
   right in the well and turn this wheel, a big wheel with a belt on it, this works it. There  
   is a rod going in and another wheel works on that. There is a belt on this pump and it  
   pumps the water into the little dam. So he yoked this mare up in this turn-out, and he  
   put me up on top saying: 'Now you keep that horse going!' I was only little, I hung  
   onto the saddle, going round and round. 'You right, keep on going boy!'

7. I was just up there going in his direction when he went up to the dam to have a look. It  
   was only a little dam. That's how it was.

8. In the end, after a long time, he said: 'Stop!'

9. I pulled the horse back.

10. My legs wouldn't reach on the flank, I just kept'em somewhere, anyhow.

11. I had to put my foot against the body of the horse so that I could get down.

12. You know that front bone there, I had to put my foot there to get down. He said: 'Can  
    you pull that chain off?' I had a try you know, I couldn't do it, so he came and did it.  
    'It's full enough', he said, 'I'll take you back to camp'. He took me to the house,  
    Muloorina homestead. He said: 'All right you wait! Missus will come out directly!'

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She came out with a cake and sandwiches but as soon as she gave me that I nicked off, I ran down to the camp.

13. I went back to our camp and the old fellow said: 'Well, it is food.'

Ben's family camped at Muloorina on and off apparently until 1902, when the Bosworths finally abandoned the station after several years of drought. The government took over the station and operated it until 1906 as a camel farm, serving the northern route to Birdsville and beyond, and to Oodnadatta and the north-west. The family then moved back to Marree and Ben's mother found work at Mrs Murray's boarding house (situated on the site of the present Progress Hall), one of several small businesses which sprang up as the town's fortunes grew after the advent of the railway in 1884. Ben helped his mother there, doing odd jobs, and before long he must have come to know the town and its characters well. By now the family may have been living in the town itself, undoubtedly on the north ( Aboriginal and Afghan) side of the railway line.

The fact that Ben's family took its name from his mother's employer, Mrs Murray, reflects an accepted practice of the times. It also indicates the lack of any close ties between Ben's father, Bejah Dervish, and the family. Ben saw very little of his father, although the cameleer would have been a regular visitor to the town and to its Islamic mosque. As Ben puts it:

I didn't go by his name because he wasn't interested in looking after us.
Mother had to carry on herself.²²

When Ben came to learn the camel work a few years later he relied on other men for assistance rather than on his father.

As an able-bodied boy, Ben would have been in demand around Marree, but it is likely that from the age of ten or even earlier, his future was already tied to station work. It was probably during these years in Marree that Ben first met Sidney Kidman, the 'Cattle King', later to become the lease-holder of most of the pastoral land between Port Augusta and the Gulf of Carpentaria. In 1906 Kidman purchased the lease on Mundowdna Station (marndawardunha), which included the Clayton run (wayikalkunha). He chose the young Ben Murray to work on Clayton, probably with several other Aboriginal stockmen, and Ben remembers his time on this property as his first real job. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he would have been away from his family for the first time and was expected to do a full day's work. Kidman visited the station periodically with his daughters Edna and Blanche, on their way down from Queensland with cattle for the Adelaide markets. It was Edna who taught Ben to ride well:

[She] used to tie me on the saddle, Edna did. She can ride, that girl. Yeah, rough horse too...People would say, 'Who's them jackaroos there?' 'Oh, they're the boss's daughters!' They were girls, dress like boys.²³

TEXT E 'Working for the Frenchmen'

Ben was probably at Clayton for only a few months before returning to his family at Marree. By the following year he was on Wire Yard station (Cannatulkanimna or Ngankumilkinha), on the western boundary of the Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna. His new employers were the de Pierre brothers, two Frenchmen who took up the pastoral lease there in 1906, four years after it was abandoned by the Bosworths.²⁴ The de Pierres took

²² M-J, 3.11.83.
²³ M-J, 3.11.83.
The original Muloorina homestead. Ben grew up in the nearby camp. Photo: Lois Litchfield.

Group returned from rabbiting, Killalpaninna Mission, 1910. Ben Murray is standing at right. The boomerangs in his belt were used to kill rabbits, which had reached plague proportions. Photo: Frieda Bognor, 1910. PRG 509 Mortlock Library.
over the Peachawarrina and the Cannatulkalninna block (i.e. part of Muloorina) from the Bosworth family. Their struggle was as grim as that of their predecessors. Little is known about this anomalous pair; George Farwell describes them as:

Count Charles de Peri and his brother, Bill [Baptiste]...men of adventurous disposition, well-to-do, possibly the French equivalents of remittance men...A big excitable man, with explosive talk, difficult to understand, Charley always travelled about with a team of huge kangaroo dogs.25

Ben was camped at Marree in 1906 with his mother, stepfather, his brothers Ern and George as well as his 'cousins' Jimmy Russell Wangamirri "Many Mornings" and Emily Russell Mithanta 'Shining in the Sunlight'.26 The two Frenchmen arrived to take Ben away to work for them.

The Murray boys worked for two shillings a week for the next year or so and were badly treated by the de Pierres (see text below). This was not an isolated instance; an even more extreme case of exploitation occurred in the following decade at Minnie Downs station, further up the Birdsville Track. Here the two German brothers, Louis and Nathaniel van Loon Reese exploited the labour of a number of Aboriginal workers, some as young as the Murray boys, in exchange for rations obtained from the Government for no cost.27 It may be that in the eyes of the local authorities the de Pierres were acting as the boys' guardians. Legally this would have been possible as Ben's own father was not prepared to take responsibility for him. In any event, the Murray boys were kept as virtual slaves, working from dawn to dark on a property which was probably never viable. Ben's brother Ern later recalled that the de Pierre brothers barely made a living despite their apparent capital:

[They] usually had about 1000 or 1500 sheep. They used to shear them in a brush shed. In flood times there was water everywhere...but in dry years they depended on this one well. They never seemed to trust anyone, and used to carry a lot of money about with them.28

In 1907 the elder de Pierre, Baptiste, inherited money from relatives in France and returned home, leaving Charles to run the station. Ben's job mainly involved fencing, and working with horses (about 75 were kept by the Frenchmen), but as a boy of sixteen he was probably not yet skilled, nor strong enough, to break them in. For this purpose the de Pierres employed an Aboriginal (Ngamini) man named Walter from the neighbouring Killalpaninna mission and Ben became his off-sider. Although Walter camped with Ben and his brothers, it seems that he was free to come and go between the station and the mission and to carry messages between the two places. By this time Ben's mother was living at Killalpaninna mission and although Lutheran discipline there was also rigorous, the contrast in their situations was obvious.

Walter told the boys that they should leave the de Pierres and come to the mission: "he said you better come to the mission, and learn, school".29 After one unsuccessful attempt (see text below), Ben's real chance to escape from Wire Yard finally came in 1908 when

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25 Farwell 1950:56.
26 Emily Russell was also called in Diyari Jirimirri and is mentioned in a story in Murray and Austin 1981.
27 Jones (forthcoming).
29 M-J, 2.2.88.
Charles de Pierre fell ill. 'Old Walter' arrived from the mission one morning to collect Ben and his brother Em. Ben recalled the event in July 1987:

He came over next morning. He said, 'Your mother wants you to shift.' 'No, [I said], I can't leave this bloke.' He was sick, he was laid up a bit. So he came in the night time, picked me up. Two of us there was, my brother too. [We] travelled all night, get away from the Frenchman's place...run away from there to the mission...got there...we told Vogelsang, 'We run away.'

Ben needn't have been so concerned about the Frenchman's health; Charles de Pierre turned up at the mission soon after, fully recovered and doubtless accompanied by his kangaroo dogs, to demand the return of his employees. Helen Jericho (nee Vogelsang) recalled the occasion years later:

three half-caste lads of school age came to the Mission asking to be allowed to stay...Charlie arrived demanding their return. When Hermann [Vogelsang], who was in charge of the boys, would not comply with his demands, he became aggressive and threatened to fight my brother. However, the boys stayed there, so it seems that Charlie was in the wrong.

The episode underlines the role of the mission as something of a sanctuary for Aboriginal people in the midst of what had become a threatening environment during the previous forty years. The Mission acquired the de Pierres' block in 1913; Charles lived in Marree for a time, and eventually became manager of the Lake Harry camel farm before its closure in 1918.

The following account of the events at Wire Yard Station was given by Ben to Luise Hercus in September 1979.

1. *Arni thangka- liparna. Mayi!* Frenchmen anari
   We stay-ANC Well! this way
   yuka-ngura ail come-CONT Eh!
2. *MaRa-muluru 'Soft Claw', Muloorina, that is where they were staying.*
3. *MaRa-muluru-ruku mani-thangka-ka, MaRa-muluru-ruku*
   'claw-soft'-ALL take-stay-PAST 'claw-soft'-ALL
   yuka-lhuku nhanhangarda-ki thangka-lhuku.
   go-HIST there-EMPH stay-PURP

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30 M-J, 14.3.87; 2.2.88.
31 Ben's accounts, given to both Hercus and Jones, speak only of himself and Em. The third brother, George, is not mentioned.
32 In the text below Ben describes the two Frenchmen arriving at Killalpaninna to demand his return. However his account of events to Jones and the version recorded by Jericho indicates that only Charles was involved. Baptiste had returned to France by this time.
33 Jericho 1975:40.
35 Litchfield 1983:93.
4. Baptiste de Pierres and Charlie de Pierres, pulə yuka-ka, two come-PAST

5. They had said: ‘Ay, what about you fellows help us with the sheep?’

6. Kudnarri-nga, Harry Bosworth used to be a little minha-yi punja what-VOC humpy

karluka-neru minha-yi minha-ru-thu warlpa-thaka-yira bull-mainly what-VOC what-INST-EMPH knock-hit-PUNC

patharra. That was the roof. But they used to put a tarpaulin over that. They lived there. Under a box-tree.

7. Arni yuka-rna nhanhangarda, Lake Harry right through we go-PRES there

Pitiawarrunha right through Kampakampawarinna, Thangkimarinha Peachawarinna Warpunna Hill Tankamarinna

kaRu-kuta yuka-ngura, tharka-yiwa-rna. there-ALL go-CONT stop-TR-PRES

8. Ay, intjali kari? Ipi-ipi kari-ri thangki-ra. Oh!

Eh where they? Sheep they-ERG tend-PUNC oh

Pirrka-purruru. He was an Arabana man married to a Thirrari woman from Muloorina. Pirrka-purruru-ERG

pula nhupa-maRa ipi-ipi thangki-ngura. two spouse-having sheep tend-CONT


10. Mayi kakari thadha-rnda Marri-nga-li’. well these leave-PRES Marree-LOC-EMPH

11. Ah, unhanha nguyu kari-ri mani-thika-rna? ah you-ACC one they-ERG take-return-PRES


13. Ko. Nhanhangarda arriri thangka-lhuku, parru ngaalla-nga, kutha yes here we all sit-PURP bream plenty-LOC water
BEN MURRAY

ngadla-nga, mayi, kathi njurdu pirka-rna. Kari-ri rapiti
plenty-LOC, flour, meat also kill-IMP they-ERG rabbit

kapirri thorni-ka.
goanna eat-PAST

14. I don't know minha kultji kari-nha ngunhi-ka,
what money they-ACC give-PAST

might be only five bob a week.

15. Jimmy Wangamirri and Emily came later. They had nothing to do with the Frenchmen, they were only living on the Government ration. Just me and later also Ern were supposed to be working on their property.

16. Antha kanhangarda thangka-ka pula-inta, nhantu-nga
I there sit-PAST two-DAT horse-LOC

wanpa-rda, go right round nhantu mani-lhiku, pudluka
mount-PRES horse get-PURP bullock

padni thadlu nhantu ya ipi-ipi
nothing only horse and sheep

Two bob (a week) they gave me, that was my pay!

17. Karla-nga kutha ngurku. Thal thu witji-ka. Arni irtjirtji
creek-LOC water good salty become-PAST we soakage

paka-lhuku kanhangarda kutha mani-rnda-lhuku.
dig-HIST there water get-SP-HIST

18. The old man (Pirrka-purru) said: 'Why don't you bring a trough here, and a bucket! - for the sheep. You know how to work that one?' 'I know how to use a bucket!' I thought he was going to give me a pump, chain-pump or windlass!

19. Pakiti-ri ngarrirji-lhiku
bucket-INST descend-HIST

20. We ran away, Wangamirri and me, Wangamirri had been staying there by that time. We travelled all night.36

21. If you did anything wrong they would tie you up and belt you with a rope! Finally an old man came along, an old Aboriginal man. By the mail he came, the mail had to cross there to get to Killarplpaninna.

36 Apparently they were caught and Ben was taken back again to work with the Frenchmen. He was with them for two years.
22. **Arla** Karr-lhuku pirda-lhuku. Thadla-ra yuka-rna

enough tie up-PURP beat-PURP fear-CAUS go IMP

**Kirla-wilpa-rukku.**
Killalpaninna-ALL

23. We went to Killalpaninna to Hermann Vogelsang. He was schoolteacher at the mission. I told him all about it. The two Frenchmen came 'We want them boys back!' 'You can't take'em!' Vogelsang said. The Frenchmen were there, stockwhip in hand.

24. **Arluwa-pula-nha** mani-lhiku, pirda-lhuku, Ngatu-thakali uka-inta

boy-two-ACC take-PURP beat-PURP Ngatu-thakali he-DAT

irlinha yanta, ayi!

thus speak, eh!

26. **Kutha-nga** widna-lhuku tjurpu-ru pirda-lhuku yuropa-ru

water-LOC put down-PURP wet-INST beat-PURP rope-INST

A rope gets nasty when it is wet!

27. **Thadla-ma-lhuku** kari-ri.

fear-make-HIST they-ERG

28. After a while I, just I alone, went back to the remaining Frenchman, after his brother had gone. 'Ah you know all that country,' he said, 'show me the boundary!' 'You can see it on a map!' I said.

29. 'Where are you going to get water?' he asked me. 'There is a trough there'. 'We can't drink that!' 'Of course you can, it is good water. It is yuwu-kunha, soakage water, which Aboriginal people used to drink.'

30. Everything was different then.

**Translation**
1. We were living there (at Marree). Well, the two Frenchmen came along.
2. **MaRa-muluru** 'Soft Claw', Muloorina, that is where they were staying.
3. They came to take me away to Muloorina. So off we went to stay at Muloorina.
4. The two of them had come, Baptiste and Charlie de Pierres.
5. They had said: 'Ai, what about you fellows help us with the sheep?'
6. On the floodplain of the lower Cooper Harry Bosworth had a little sort of humpy, with bullhide nailed onto box-tree uprights. That was the roof. But they used to put a tarpaulin over that. They lived there.
7. We went there, we went to Lake Harry and right through to Peachawarinna and right through to **Kampakampawarina** (Warpunna Hill), and then we went on to Lake Tankamarinna and stopped there.
8. The de Pierres asked: 'Where are they, the people who are supposed to be looking after
the sheep?' It was Pirrka-purru who was looking after the sheep, him and his wife. He
was an Arabana man married to a Thirrari woman from Muloorina.
9. He had known my grandfather for a long time. He said to me: 'Well, how are the
Aboriginal people (at Marree), and how is your mother?'
10. 'I left them behind in Marree,' I said.
11. 'So these two brought you here all on your own?'
12. 'The others might follow me later.'
13. He said: 'We could all stay here, where there is plenty of fish, plenty of water, flour,
and we also get to kill sheep for meat.' But really they lived on rabbits and goannas.
14. I don't know how much money the Frenchman gave them, it might have been only five
bob a week.
15. Jimmy Wangamirri and Emily came later. They had nothing to do with the
Frenchmen, they were only living on the Government ration. Just me and later also Em
were supposed to be working on their property.
16. I stayed there with the two of them riding about everywhere to muster horses, they
didn't have cattle, only horses and sheep. Two bob (a week) they gave me, that was my
pay!
17. There was good water in the creek, but it turned salty. So we dug a soakage there to get
good water.
18. The old man (Pirrka-purru) said: 'Why don't you bring a trough here, and a bucket! -
for the sheep. You know how to work that one?' 'I know how to use a bucket!' I
thought he was going to give me a pump, chain-pump or windlass!
19. So we had to get down (into the soakage) with a bucket.
20. We ran away, Wangamirri and me, Wangamirri had been staying there by that time.
We travelled all night.
21. If you did anything wrong they would tie you up and belt you with a rope! Finally an
old man came along, an old Aboriginal man. By the mail he came, the mail had to
cross there to get to Killalpaninna.
22. He was a Ngamini but he also talked Diyari. He came in the middle of the night and he
said: 'Your old uncle (Ngatu-thakali) is still alive! He says you have been tied up and
beaten for long enough!' So we escaped with him, very frightened, to Killalpaninna.
23. We went to Killalpaninna to Hermann Vogelsang. He was schoolteacher at the
mission. I told him all about it. The two Frenchmen came 'We want them boys back!'
'You can't take'em!' Vogelsang said. The Frenchmen were there, stockwhip in hand.
One of my relations, he said 'Ay! we don't want those two boys to be taken away and
flogged!' That is how old Ngatu-thakali spoke.
25. Vogelsang said: 'I shall keep these two boys and give them schooling.' He spoke in
Diyari. He tried to teach us the ABC and all that. We stayed there. The Frenchmen had
wanted to use sticks and a rope.
26. They used to soak a rope in water and then beat us with it. A rope gets nasty when it
is wet!
27. (The missionaries too) they frightened us, we couldn't help it, we learnt to read and
write!
28. After a while I, just I alone, went back to the remaining Frenchman, after his brother
had gone. 'Ah you know all that country,' he said, 'show me the boundary!' 'You can
see it on a map!' I said.
29. 'Where are you going to get water?' he asked me. 'There is a trough there. 'We can't
drink that!' 'Of course you can, it is good water. It is ywu-kunha, soakage water,
which Aboriginal people used to drink.'
Everything was different then.

**Killalpaninna Mission Years: 1908-1914**

Killalpaninna mission became Ben's home for the next seven years, until he left reluctantly at the age of twenty-three. For most of this time he worked as hard as he ever had, but for the first few months at least, Ben was exposed to an entirely new experience - a European education. For the Lutheran missionaries at Killalpaninna the classroom held most hope and promise in a Christian endeavour which Pastor Johann Reuther had described despondently as a 'stony field of labour'. Helen Jericho's assumption that the boys had fled from Wire Yard station in order to gain an education is perhaps an indication of the prominence which the school had as an active force of social change throughout the region. Certainly, the teachers at Killalpaninna achieved a high degree of success in training numbers of Aboriginal (and European) children in literacy in both Diyari and English. Ben's ability to read and write in these languages later gave him a decided advantage in moving between the two cultures.

This was Ben's first full encounter with both the Christian religion and the Diyari language

we start school there, in the Diyari language, not too much English...

Diyari...I had to learn it there. Bible and all that you know, they give you Bible...religious turn-out.

Since its establishment in 1866 in the heart of Diyari country on the lower Cooper Creek, the Lutheran Mission had attracted several other neighbouring language groups, including Ngamini, Thirrari and Wangkangurru. Diyari remained the 'official' language at the mission: the first Diyari texts were published by Johann Flierl in 1880 and a Diyari New Testament was published in 1897. Ben kept a copy of this Bible with him until his papers and belongings were destroyed by fire in 1979.

Ben came to Killalpaninna just a few months before Pastor W. Riedel arrived as replacement missionary for Pastor Johann Reuther, who had retired from mission life in 1906. Pastor F. Bogner was in charge of the mission in the interim, supported by the lay helper and original mission pioneer, Hermann Heinrich Vogelsang. Vogelsang's son Augustus Hermann would have been Ben's teacher and classes were held each morning from 9.00am to 12.00pm.

Ben's skills as a horseman were soon noted and by the time that he had the rudiments of an education he was working again, initially as an odd-job worker around the mission and later as a stockman. One of his first jobs was to help in controlling the rabbit plague which threatened the mission following the Cooper flood of 1906. Shortly after Riedel's

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38 See Austin 1987 for examples and analysis of Diyari literacy at Killalpaninna during this period.
39 M-J, 14.3.87. Ben probably heard Diyari spoken at Muloorina and Marree among the old people, though it is not clear if he learned to speak it himself before coming to the mission. In the following comment, he seems to use the term 'learn' in the sense of 'study'.
40 Jones and Sutton 1986:32ff.
41 Reuther and Strehlow 1897.
42 F. Bogner was the missionary who came to replace Siebert in 1902. He and Jaensch ultimately took over the lease of the mission (see below).
BEN MURRAY

arrival the mission purchased its first camel team to carry supplies north from Marree. Ben was taught the camel work on the mission by an Afghan man named Akbar Khan (see Text I below) and a part-Aboriginal man, Tom Davies, and after his departure he was assisted by Jack Hanness, a Diyari man. Ben also learnt from Afghan men in Marree - including his father and Fasi Khan. In the course of this work Ben became familiar with the Afghans' ways and built up a rich store of tales about them (see Text H below).

By 1912 Ben was a partner in the 'camel business', working with Jack Hanness as a regular partner on the four day trip south to Marree and by 1914 he had become the boss. It was a tough job, managing a string of thirty or forty camels and tying and untying heavy loads. A typical load per camel might consist of:

two bales of wool, four bags of flour, six bags of sugar, or cases of potatoes carried two at each side bound together with fencing wire.

Although the mission never again reached the levels of wool production attained during the 1890s, there were nevertheless large loads to be carted south after the shearing was completed at the Etadunna woolshed. Ben recalls that on these occasions he loaded up to seventy camels with bales of wool - 400cwt on a young camel and 600cwt on a large bull camel. Despite the heavy work Ben enjoyed the 'camel business', preferring it to all of his later jobs. He knew each camel by name: Kangaroo was his own riding camel, and others were Jim, Charlie, Susie, Soona, Nancy, Fanny and Nora. If any gave him trouble he just 'worked them', giving them a heavier load until they settled again: 'quiet them down with six hundredweight'.

Ben would ride at the front, leading the other camels. Another man would ride in the middle and one at the rear. If they had made a late start they might stop the first night at Blazes Well, a few kilometres south of Etadunna. There was a well and an eating house there, but Ben and his men would cook their own food. Otherwise Ben would travel through to Dulkaninna where the men would water the camels and travel on to camp at the Big Sandhill (Dakupima) just to the south where there was a soakage for drinking water. On the next night they would water the camels and camp at Clayton Creek and the following evening they would reach Lake Harry with its constant supply of bore water. They would water the camels there, taking them in the evening for a drink before hobbling them at their camp for the night, away from the water. By the next evening Ben and the team reached Well Creek, about fifteen kilometres out of Marree, or Frome Creek on the edge of the town itself if they had made good time. This was their last camp before entering Marree in the morning.43

Once in Marree, there was no rest for Ben. After unloading the camels at the railway station he visited the storekeeper, Mr Manfield, and bought two bags of chaff to feed the camels in the trucking yard before loading the bales of wool into the rail trucks. Once that was finished his next task was to load the mission supplies and collect the mail for the return journey to Killalpaninna. For all this work Ben received five shillings from the storekeeper who would be reimbursed by the mission. This amount was equivalent to an Aboriginal shepherd's wage and was half the cost of a pair of moleskin trousers. It was, as Ben considered at the time, far too little:

It got too much for me then. I said, 'I want enough pay - give me 7/6 a week'. Yeah, they give me 7/6 a week after that, after I stuck up for it. I said too much hard work. I got to make the saddles, saddles for the camel. I got

43 M-J, 14.3.87.
to learn [that], I got to go and see Afghans. They learn me, how to make a saddle, everything! And I get five bob when I get to Marree! 44

Ben had friends in Marree and got on well with the publican, Tom Dooley and his wife, a 'good woman' who gave Ben a meal, charged to the mission (see Text F). However, as Text G shows, Ben knew where to draw the line in his relations with the town people.

TEXT F 'A Parcel for Mr Aiston'

Like most people in the area, Ben knew and liked the police-trooper George Aiston,45 later famous for his work with Aboriginal people, particularly as co-author of Horne and Aiston 1924. Ben often visited Aiston, who lived at Mungerannie and after 1912 at Mulka on the Birdsville Track.46 Aiston's closest friend on the Track was a Diyari man, Gottlieb Merrick. They enjoyed an occasional drink of whisky, and one time, when Ben came by, they were running short of supplies. Because of the regulations governing the sale of alcohol it was not easy for Ben to help out, as he explained to Luise Hercus in February 1976.

1. *Pula tharka-rnda kanhangarda Mulka nga kudnakardi thapu.*
   Two stand-PRES there Mulka-LOC guts huge.

2. 'Come on in!' Mr Aiston would say (to any visitor). Gottlieb Merrick used to drink a fair bit, and that is why he used to go over so that he could get what he wanted from Mr Aiston. They were whisky drinkers!

3. 'How long will you be away?' Mr Aiston asked me. 'I am going with a riding camel.' 'Can you bring me a parcel?' 'All right.' So Mr Aiston wrote a letter on a piece of paper.

4. I'll go and have a meal there (at the pub). We can't make a fire outside, no wood there, so we have got to go to the pub. The Mission has got to pay for this.'

5. So I did go in and I said to Mrs Dooley - I didn't walk in the bar, but I went over to where Mrs Dooley usually sits. And I showed it (the letter) to her. And she said: 'From Mr Aiston, eh! Where are you going to go?' 'I am going to the store. I'll come round tonight.'

6. *Antha wanti-nta,s tora-nga, Uka anthirda yani-rnda*
   I wait-PREFL store-LOC she speak-PURP say-PRES

7. *Ai , wanga-wanga antili Yuta nhakari*
   Eh, early morning first now these people

   now get-TR-HIST-EMPH food chaff camel-DAT

44 M-J, 31.7.87.
45 See photograph in Jones and Sutton 1986:54.
46 Maddock 1986:44.

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9. *Antha ngarritijir-nda*  Mrs Dooley,  *malka*  *ngunhi*  *yuwu*
    I  go down-PRES  not  give  person

*nguru*  *tharda-ru!*
other  send

"Intjaliri?"
"Where?"

*Yakita-ruku.*
yard-ALL.

10. *Anha nhanhi-thiya kari-ri*  *mathapurda kari-ri,*
    me  see-LEST  they-ERG  old man  they-ERG

*mathapurda*  *kari*  *madla*  *arla*  *ngurra*  *yani-li*  *yulja*
old man  they  bad  very  hard  talk-HAB  police

*nhanhi-kuara.*
see-PLUP

11. *Uljurla-thu yani-rnda,*
    'Eh, that has got nothing to do with it,
woman-EMPH  say-PRES

those policemen know you!'

12. 'Yes but that old timer47 might put me away just because I am carrying something!' 'He can't do anything, you are taking this parcel for so and so, addressed to him.'

13. *Arla ngurku.*  *Ngun jimayi*  *yuwu*  *nguru*  *anthirda iki!*
    all right  good.  Please  man  other  me-DAT  send

    I  wait-PRES  there.  finally  he-ERG  shift-PUNC

15. Well he came round there with the parcel.

    they-ERG  see-PAST  he-ERG  hold-carry-CONT-EMPH

*Saddle ahu*  *kanhangarda kudni,*  *yakuta nga*  *widna-ngura.*
saddle  I  there  put  bag-LOC  hide-CONT

*antha thika-ka*  *Thidna-kurdaninha,*  *Blaze's Well.*
I  return  'Foot Put Down'

47 This probably refers to the senior policeman.
17. (When I got to Mulka) old man Mr Aiston, they called him 'Poddie', he said as usual: 'Come over and have a chat!'

18. *Kudnardi-thapu, ai kawulata,*  
    old Gottlieb there too,  
    guts-huge eh those two

19. *Kudnardi-pula wanka-rda-ki!*  
    Poor old Gottlieb.

    *guts-two rise-PRES-EMPH*

20. *Pula yuka-rna, kupula thiki-thiku ngura-nga*  
    two go-IMP drink takeback-PURP camp-LOC

    *thangki-thiku.*  
    keep-PURP

21. *Uka nhupa-nha netting-nga waya-nangka-ngura,*  
    she wife netting-LOC work-CONT S-CONT

    *nhantu-nga uka yuka-ngura, nhantu manta-thika-thuku..*  
    horse-LOC she go-CONT horse take-return-PURP

He (Gottlieb) couldn't even stand.

22. It was she who did everything. Even in midsummer. She might put in a patch a foot long. He might help her tie it on. He could do that sitting down.

**Translation**

1. Those two enormously fat men were at Mulka.
2. 'Come on in!' Mr Aiston would say (to any visitor). Gottlieb Merrick used to drink a fair bit, and that is why he used to go over so that he could get what he wanted from Mr Aiston. They were whisky drinkers!
3. 'How long will you be away?' Mr Aiston asked me. 'I am going with a riding camel.'  
    'Can you bring me a parcel?' 'All right.'  
    So Mr Aiston wrote a letter on a piece of paper.
4. 'I'll go and have a meal there (at the pub). We can't make a fire outside, no wood there, so we have got to go to the pub. The Mission has got to pay for this.'
5. So I did go in and I said to Mrs Dooley - I didn't walk in the bar, but I went over to where Mrs Dooley usually sits. And I showed it (the letter) to her. And she said: 'From Mr Aiston, eh! Where are you going to go?' 'I am going to the store. I'll come round tonight.'
6. 'Or I'd better just wait at the store.' She said, 'I'll come back and talk to you and I will get it ready,'
7. 'Well I might not pick it up till early tomorrow morning. There are all these people here!'
8. I went to get some food and some chaff for the camel.
9. I went back down to Mrs Dooley and I said: 'Please don't give it to me yourself, get another person to bring it to me.' 'Where?' she asked. 'To the yards' (I said).

10. 'Otherwise people might see me, some of the old people might. And some of those old fellows are really bad, they are hard at it talking (about others) all the time, and the police would get to know about it.'

11. The woman (Mrs Dooley) said, 'Eh, that has got nothing to do with it, those policemen know you!'

12. 'Yes but that old timer might put me away just because I am carrying something!' 'He can't do anything, you are taking this parcel for so and so, addressed to him.'

13. 'All right, will you please send some other man?'

14. I waited there (at the camel-yards). Finally he brought it on its way.

15. Well he came round there with the parcel.

16. They (no doubt) saw him holding and carrying (the parcel). I put it on the saddle, I hid it in the saddle-bag, and I went off (without stopping) to Blaze's Well, that is Thidnakuirdinha, 'Where (the Sun Ancestor) put her foot down (in the soft mud)'.

17. (When I got to Mulka) old man Mr Aiston, they called him 'Poddie', he said as usual: 'Come over and have a chat!'

18. Those two with the huge stomachs - old Gottlieb was there too - oh how their stomachs protruded! (Specially) poor old Gottlieb!

19. The two of them came and took the drink back into the house and kept it there.

20. Gottlieb's wife was working all the time on the netting fence, and she went round on a horse mustering the horses. He (Gottlieb) couldn't even stand.

21. It was the woman who cut trees, dug holes (for fence posts), and patched up the fence.

22. It was she who did everything. Even in midsummer. She might put in a patch a foot long. He might help her tie it on. He could do that sitting down.

Text G  'Unloading at the Mission'

Another delicate task for the mail-driver was to bring small quantities of Parachilna ochre from Marree for Aboriginal people at the Killalpaninna Mission. Ben had to resort to various devices to help with the ochre. This text, describing the part which Ben played in maintaining the traditional red ochre trading network,* also demonstrates the way in which he operated between the cash economy of traders and missionaries and the traditional culture of his mother's people.

In the case of the red ochre trade, Ben was dealing with the 'wurley natives' who lived outside Killalpaninna itself as a result of a firm decision not to 'come in' to the mission except for their fortnightly rations. Ben later spoke disparagingly of this shifting, independent group, which was mostly composed of older people from a variety of language groups, but he was nevertheless related to several of them and would have had specific obligations towards these individuals at least.

1. Wangara arkapa ngunhi-ka.
   morning ochre give-PAST

48 This was Frieda Merrick, who assisted Peter Austin with his Diyari studies. Ben caught up with Gottlieb and Frieda when he worked at Mumpeowie Station many years later (see below).

49 See Jones, Austin and Hercus (forthcoming).
Ben Murray riding a favourite camel, 'Jim', c.1913. Mrs Ted Vogelsang and Helen Bognor are riding 'Charlie'.
Photo: Hermann Vogelsang, Lutheran Archives collection.

Ben Murray after unloading missions stores from camels at Killalpaninna, c.1913.
Photo: Hermann Vogelsang, Lutheran Archives collection.
2. *Mathapurda* pungku-nga ngunhi-lhiku, I'll put it in and store it up for
give-HIST,
you,' the storekeeper might say.

3. 'Muyu nguru thangka-nha!'
   'day other stay-NP

'Minha-ku?
what -DAT

4. 'Certain things are not easy, in the meantime you keep that (ochre).'

5. *Yuwu* kathi-nha-nga, nhanhararda arkapa thiki-la-thuku
   travel-NP-LOC this one ochre take-ALT-HIST

   mathapurda., so I fixed him up with a riding camel.

6. *Kamulu-kunha* saddle kunta ipali thiki-lhiku, anha
   camel-GEN put ahead take-PURP I

   thika-rnanha Ngarlangarlani-ku, Ngarlangarlani-DAT
   return-IMM

7. 'Intja mathapurda-thu 'ka?'
   Where old man-EMPH he

   Ah, said Arabana man, kalkawalta yuka-thara, uka awardanha
   short while go-IMM he this man

   puntju pirda-lhuku.
   meat kill-PURP

8. Ah, nhanhararda tjalpa-nga-thu widna-yira arkapa-thu
   this one food-LOC-EMPH hide-PUNC ochre-EMPH

   'ka, uka-nha ngunta-rda.
   this, he-ACC show-PUNC

9. *Yuka-lhuku* stationa-ruku, and I asked for Dipa. We unloaded (the bags) and then

   50 Ngarlangarlani is Lake Allallina, about two miles to the south-west of Killalpaninna, separated by a few sand dunes from the main floodplain of the Cooper. The little lake retained water for quite a time and was a favourite camping place, out of sight of the missionaries. It is described under the name of 'Ngullallannie' by Bonython (1971:169).
   51 Dipa, Andreas Dibana, was a very knowledgeable man who lived until the 1950s and figures prominently in Berndt 1953. He also helped Tindale with his ethnographic (studies see Jones and Sutton 1986:7).
go-HIST station-ALL

we went to put them in the store.

10 'Mayi, intja arkapa-thu?'
    'Well, where ochre-EMPH

11. Kanhangarda thadna-ka Ngarlani-nga,
    That leave-PAST Ngarlani-LOC

I didn't bring it here because Vogelsang mightn't like it!

Athu ngurka-ra antha thika-rna nhikinta-ruk
I know-PUNC I return-IMP here-ALL

12. Kari anari wanka-nha tjarlpa
    They this way approach-NP tjarlpa

mani-rnda-thika-lhuku untu
take-SP-return-PURP you

ngunhi-nha-nga kari tjarlpa waya-rnda thiki-lhiku
give-NP-LOC they food wish-PRES take back-PURP

mathapurda-ru awards-ru nhanhi-lira
old man-ERG this one-ERG see-LEST

Translation
1. They gave me the ochre in the morning (at Marree).
2. I gave it to the old man in the store: 'I'll put it in and store it up for you,' the storekeeper might say.
3. 'Let it stay there for another day!' (I would say). 'What for?'
4. 'Certain things are not easy, in the meantime you keep that (ochre).'
5. There was an Aboriginal man just travelling about, he could take the ochre for them. So I fixed him up with a riding camel.
6. (Ben apparently hid the ochre inside a flour bag). I put it (the flour-bag) on the saddle of the camel, so that it could be taken on ahead and then I set off straight away to Ngarlangarln (with the rest of the load for the Mission).
7. 'Where is that old man?' 'Ah' said an Arabana man (speaking in Arabana) 'that old man went out hunting just a moment ago.'
8. 'I hid the ochre in this flour-bag right here' (where the old man had put it). I showed it to him (and left it with him).
9. I went on to the Mission and I asked for Dipa. We unloaded (the bags) and then we went to put them in the store.
10. 'Well, where is the ochre?' he asked.
11. 'I left it at Ngarlani, I didn't bring it here because Vogelsang mightn't like it! and I knew that I myself had to come right back to here.
12. People will come up to us to pick up their food, and if you gave it to them here while they are taking their food back (to their camps) the old fellow might notice.'
13. Old Bogner, well he didn't like it, you know he saw where I had cut the corner of the flour-bag (to put the ochre in). 'You shouldn't do that!' 'Well,' I said, 'you won't let me starve, not you or anybody else!'

Text H 'Jealous Afghans'
Recorded by Peter Austin at Farina 28th November 1975 (fieldtape D34b, transcription Book III pp132-37)

Ben had many stories about the ways of the Afghans with whom he worked. On one occasion he saw their attitudes to women lead to attempted murder.

1. **Mathapurda**
   - **Sarra**
   - nhulu he-ERG
   - mankarrha girl
   - **yingki-rda** give-PTCPE

Shirkhan-nha
Shirkhan-ACC

2. **Ngarda-nhi**
   - nhulu he-ERG
   - nhinha him-ACC
   - marda money
   - **yingki-rda** give-PTCPE
   - purrhi-ye £150 AUX-PRES

3. **Moosha**
   - nhulu he-ERG
   - £200
   - **yingki-rda** give-PTCPE
   - purrhi-ye AUX-PRES

4. **Pinarrhu**
   - **Sarra**
   - yatha-yi "yundru-lha ngamalka-mdar
   - ngamalka-mdar have-PTCPE
   - purrhi-ya
   - nhanha-parrha." AUX-IMPER
   - her-ACC-DEF

5. **Ngarda-nhi**
   - nhau, nhulu he-ERG
   - nhanha her-ACC
   - pardaka-ye take-PRES

**ngamalka-lha.** have-IMPL SS

6. **Nhulu**
   - ngara-mdar purrhi-ye nhawu ngarla Broken Hill
   - he-ERG hear-PTCPE AUX-PRES he but

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52 See, for example, the stories in Murray and Austin 1981, and the tale of the Afghan snake charmer in Hercus and Sutton 1986.

53 Ben told a version of this story in English to Philip Jones, noting that the Aboriginal black tracker was Mick McLean (see line 29 of the present text).

54 This is the Wangkangurru word for 'old man'. Ben uses the Diyari-Thirrari word *pinarrhu* later.

55 This is apparently the same Moosha described by Litchfield (1983:67) as 'a Government retainer of twenty-five years service, who had been out with several trigonometrical survey parties, and was in charge of the government camels at Farina and Marree.' There was also a Noorie Moosha who accompanied Madigan on the first crossing of the Simpson desert by white men in 1939. He is pictured in Litchfield 1983:64.
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:2

ngama-rnda.
live-REL SS

7. Nhaka-nàrru ngarda nhawu thurrhu wilparra-nñi.56
there-ABL then he fire vehicle-LOC

wirrhi-rnda purrhi-yi wapa-rnda purrhi-lhali marrhi-ya.
enter-PTCPE aux-PRES go-PTCPE AUX-IMPL SS Marree-ALL

8. Wata nhawu wapa-nda purrhi-rnda nhayi-lha pinarrhu
not he go-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE see-IMPL SS old man

Sarrawa-nha.
Sarrawa-ACC

9. Windrri pula marnduri-nda nhaka railway thurrhu wilparra
only they two meet-PTCPE there fire vehicle

gate-anhi mara yingki-mali-rnda.
gate-LOC hand give-RECIP-REL SS

then he-ERG gun him-ACC take out-PRES

11. Maja nhinha dandrra-rda purrhi-rnda mara warrha ya kurnu
OK him-ACC hit-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE hand half and one

makita thandrra nhulu winma-rnda nhungkangu murnampirra-nñi.
gun fruit he-ERG insert-REL SS him LOC chest-LOC

then he-ERG heart him-ACC not straight hit-PRES

13. Nhawu thiipi-rlu ngama-yi ngama-rnda purrhi-yi.58
he alive-still sit-PRES sit-PTCPE AUX-PRES

14. Nhawu pinarrhu, thana-li nhinha pardaka-rnda purrhi-yi
he old man they-ERG him-ACC take-PTCPE AUX-PRES

56 The Diyari-Thirrari term for 'train' is literally 'fire vehicle'. The word wilparra is a borrowing from English 'wheelbarrow', but it can be used to refer to any wheeled vehicle.

57 This is a loan from English 'musket'.

58 The Thirrari spoken by Ben Murray is characterised by the presence of the obligatory auxiliary verb purrhi-. Here, and at a few other places throughout the texts (for example line 15 below), Ben has first given the Diyari form of a verb and then followed it immediately by the correct Thirrari form with purrhi-. 

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15. Nhaka ngarda-nhi thana-li nhinha nhayi-nhayi-pa-yi
there then-LOC they-ERG him-ACC see-see-ALT-PRES

he come-PTCPE AUX-PRES see-IMPL SS him-ACC

17. 'Maja nhawu.
OK he

here keep-PTCPE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

19. Nhawu maja manyu-rri-lha nganayi.'
he OK good-INCHOAT-FUT AUX

he but there-ATL return-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE

21. Shirkhan ngarda nhawu yaruwa yarrha wapa-yi karirrha-ya
then he like that that way go-PRES creek-ALL

22. Wata-lha palthu-nhi nhungkangu wardyarri nhawu
not-NI road-LOC him LOC where he

23. Windrri nhawu thalku yarrha wapa-rnda purrhi-rnda
only he straight that way go-PTCPE AUX-PTCPLE

24. Ngarda-nhi nhaka-ndrru karirrhi wirti wapa-yi yarra nhingkirda
then-LOC there-ABL creek along go-PRES this way here

This is a further example of the correction mentioned in footnote 58 above.
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:2

Farina-ya  thika-rnda  purrhi-rnda.
Farina-ALL  return-PTCPLE AUX-REL SS

   he-ERG  foot  boot  his  take off-PRES

   foot  naked  go-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

27. Nhakaldrra  nhulu  thidna  puta  wirrhi-mdya  purrhi-yi.
   again  he-ERG foot  boot  put on-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

Nhakaldrra  dukara-mdya  purrhi-rnda.
again  take off-PTCPLE AUX-REL SS

   like that  be-PTCPLE go along-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

29. Ngarda-nhi  karna  nhawu  thidna  wani-mdya,  nhulu
   then-LOC  man  he  foot  follow-PTCPLE he-ERG

wani-yi.
Follow-PRES

30. Nhawu  yulya-nhi  yatha-rnda  purrhi-yi  "Thidna  parlu  nhawu
   he  police-LOC  say-PTCPLE AUX-PRES foot  naked  he

wapa-mdya  warrayi."
go-PTCPLE AUX

   then-LOC  they two-ERG follow-PRES him-ACC like that-ERG

thidna  parlu  thidna  puta-nthu  karirrhi  wirri.
foot  naked  foot  boot-PROP creek  along

32. Ngarda-nhi  yarrha  karirrha-nhi  Mundowdna  siding-andrru  yulya
   then-LOC  that way  creek-LOC Mundowdna  siding-ABL police

Nhawu  yatha-yi  nhungkangu  "Yundrru  nhinha  wani-ya
he  say-PRES  him LOC  you-ERG him-ACC follow-IMPER

Farina-ya  nganhi  thika-rnanhi.
Farina-ALL  I  return-REL DS

33. Ngathu  waya  dandra-rnda  purrhi-yi  yulya-nhi  Farina  yulya-nhi."
   I-ERG  'wire'  hit-PTCPLE AUX-PRES police-LOC police-LOC
34. Nhulu nhinna wani-rnda purrhi-rnda karirrhi wirti.
   he-ERG him-ACC follow-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE creek along

35. Wata nhulu karirrhi warrara-rnda purrhi-rnda.
   not he-ERG creek leave-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE

36. Nhawu wapa-rnda purrhi-yi Paradise-ya
   he go-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE

wardayarri nhawu Two Hills Dam.
where he

37. Nhaka-nndrru ngarda-nhi nhawu jirri-nga-yi wirrhawarta
   there-ABL then-LOC he turn off-going-PRES Farina
   nhaka nhawu jirri-nga-rna.
   there he turn off-going-REL SS

38. Ngarda nhawu nhinha-ya karirrhi Paradise karirrhi wani-yi
   then he him-ACC-this creek creek follow-PRES

thidna parlu-yali.
foot naked-ERG

   again foot boot put on-PTCPE AUX-PRES

40. Nhawu wakara-yi nhaka Two Hills Dam-anhi.
   he come-PRES there Two Hills Dam-LOC

41. Nhulu nhakaldrra thidna puta dukara-yi.
   he-ERG again foot boot take off-PRES

42. Ngarda nhawu wakara-rnda purrhi-yi thidna parlu nhingkiya
   then he come-PTCPE AUX-PRES foot naked here

karirrrha-nhi wardayarri yidni ngama-yi karrari.
creek-LOC where you camp-PRES now

43. Nhakaldrra nhawu thidna puta wirrhi-rnda purrhi-yi.
   again he foot boot put on-PTCPE AUX-PRES

44. Nhaka-nndrru ngarda nhawu wapa-yi Railway Station nhulu
   there-ABL then he go-PRES he-ERG

ngapa thangki fillama-tharri-rnanhi engine start'em.
water tank fill-cont -REL DS
45. Nhaka yatha-lha parrhayi nhungkangu 'Boss me lose'em camel, big mob of camel.'

46. Nhawu yatha-rnda purrhi-yi 'Where you lose'em?'

47. 'Me come long way. Marree. Frome Creek.'

48. 'I never see camel.

49. Wata mghatu nhavi-rnda purrhi-rnda warrayi.'

50. Yulya nhawu ya karna pula nhaka dam bank-anhi
police he and man they two there dam bank-LOC

51. Ngarda nhawu yatha-yi 'Hey boss! Him here alright!'

52. Karna nhungkangu yulya-nhi yatha-yi 'leave'em for a while.'

53. Warrara-rnda purrhi-ya-mayi!

54. Nhawu karna yatha-rnda purrhi-yi 'Nganhi wapa-yi
he man say-PTCLE AUX-PRES I go-PRES

55. 'Good day boy! Me lose'em camel.'

56. 'Oh, I see boss. I help you.

57. Ngathu mayatha nhayi-rnda purrhi-yi he didn't say yulya
I-ERG boss see-PTCLE AUX-PRES police

The speech of the Afghans as characterised by Ben has many features of pidgin English, such as the use of me for first person singular subject, obligatory 'em suffix on transitive verbs, no copula (verb 'to be') and plain not for negation (see also Text I line 16. A similar characterisation is found in an example quoted by Litchfield (1983:67). Ben himself speaks standard Australian English.
Nhaya-rnda purrhi-yi ngathu wanthi-pa-lha nganayi yingkarni.

58. Ngathu yinha maranguka-lha nganayi wanthi-rda
      I-ERG you-ACC help-FUT aAUX search-PTCPLE

Purrhi-lha.'
      AUX-IMPL SS

59. 'Alright.'

60. Yulya come then.
      police

61. 'Good day boss.'

62. 'You better come up. I'll give you a drink of tea or an egg.'

63. Wapa-mayi nhaya-rnda purrhi-lhali kapi kara
      go-IMPER-EMPH eat-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS egg or

thirti kara thepa-rnda purrhi-lhali.'
      tea or drink-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

64. Ngarda-nhi pulali nhinha thika-lka-yi nhingki-nhi-ya.
      then-LOC they two him-ACC return-TRANS-PRES here-ALL-here

65. Nhawu karma nhungkangu yatha-rnda purrhi-yi
      he man him LOC say-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

Nhawu-parrha kungka-rda purrhi-yi.
      he-DEF limp-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

66. Thidna dapa nhawu-parrha.
      foot sore he-DEF

67. Nhawu-parrha-matha!
      he-DEF-IDENT

68. Nhulu-matha dendra-rda purrhi-rnda warrayi thinka wirri.'
      he-ERG-IDENT hit-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE AUX night along

69. He asked him 'Are you hungry?'

70. Minha yundru nganja-yi thayi-rnda purrhi-lha? Kapi?
      what you-ERG want-PRES eat-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS egg

71. 'Kawu.'
      yes
72. Ngapa-nhi darrha-ma warra-ma boiled egg, he wouldn't eat'em fried 
water-LOC boil-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE

'cause can't eat fat, might fry it with butter.

73. Ngarda darrha-rnda purrhi-rnda thayi-rnda. 
then boil-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE eat-REL SS

74. Puka yingki-rda purrhi-rnda nhulu thayi-rnda purrhi-yi. 
food give-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE he-ERG eat-PTCPE AUX-PRES

75. Nhawu yatha-rnda purrhi-yi yulya 'Yidni thidna dapa
he say-PTCPE AUX-PRES police you foot sore

76. 'Kawu, nganhi thidna dapa.' 
yes I foot sore

77. Karna kurnu nhawu wakara-yi marri-ndrru. 
man one he come-PRES Marree-ABL

78. Yaruka nhawu yatha-rnda purrhi-yi 'Nhawu-parrha-matha! 61
like that he say-PTCPE AUX-PRES he-DEF-IDENT

he-ERG-DEF-IDENT her-ACC hit-PTCPE AUX-FUT AUX

80. Kawu. Ngathu nganja-yi nhintha thidna nhayi-rnda
yes I-ERG want-PRES him-ACC foot see-PTCPE

purrhi-lha.' 
AUX-IMPL SS

81. Thidna dapa nhawu kungka-rda purrhi-rnda warrayi.' 
foot sore he limp-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE AUX

82. Nhawu-parrha-matha
he-DEF-IDENT

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61 The suffix -matha indicates that the speaker asserts he can identify the thing or person referred to. The closest English translation of this instance is 'This is him!'

62 This appears to be a mistake as the Afghan had shot Moosha, not his daughter. Probably nhinha 'him-acc' was intended. Note the use of the auxiliary verb wirrhiyi indicating action performed yesterday (see Austin 1981:90).
83. Nhawu  
  thidna  
  puta-nthu  
  thidna  
  parlu  
  nhingkirda-nhi-rlu  
  he  
  foot  
  boot-PROP  
  foot  
  naked  
  here-ALL-still  

wepa-rnda    purrhi-rnda.  
goa-PTCPE    AUX-PTCPE

84. Yaruka  
  nhawu  
  ngana-rnda    purrhi-rnda.  
  like that  
  he  
  be-PTCPE  
  AUX-PTCPE

85. Ngathu  
  nhinha  
  nguyama-rnda    purrhi-yi  
  nhinha-parrha.'  
  I-ERG  
  him-ACC  
  know-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES  
  him-ACC-DEF

86. Nhawu  
  yatha-rnda    purrhi-yi  
  karna  
  kurnu-nhi  
  'Yindi  
  he  
  say-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES  
  man  
  one-LOC  
  you-ERG  

pakarna    nhinha-parrha  
  nguyama-rnda    purrhi-yi?'"  
  also  
  him-ACC-DEF   
  know-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES

87. 'Kawu.  
  Ngathu  
  nguyama-rnda    purrhi-yi.'  
  yes  
  I-ERG  
  know-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES

88. 'Nhulu-parrha-matha  
  nhinha  
  pinarrhu  
  dandrra-rda    purrhi-lla  
  he-ERG-DEF-IDENT  
  him-ACC  
  old man  
  hit-PTCPE  
  aux-fut

wirrhixi  
  AUX

makita-li    diya-rnda    purrhi-rnda.'  
  gun-ERG    shoot-PTCPE  
  AUX-REL SS

89. 'Alright'  
  nhawu  
  yatha-rnda    purrhi-yi  
  'alright. Put me.  
  he  
  say-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES

I been shoot'em. I pay 150 'e pay 200, 'e can keep'em. You give me, I don't  

know, how many year  
  nganhi    thika-rnda    purrhi-yi  
  I return-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES  
  him-ACC

dandrra-rda    purrhi-lla  
  pulanha  
  nhanha  
  pakarna.  
  hit-PTCPE  
  AUX-IMPL SS  
  them two-ACC  
  her-acc  
  also

90. Ngarda-nhi  
  nhinha  
  marlarlu  
  thana-li  
  kanyangarrhi-nhi  
  then-LOC  
  him-ACC  
  truly  
  they-ERG  
  jail-LOC

durrha-rnda    purrhi-yi  
  kilpa  
  waldrra  
  mara  
  parjarna    nhinha  
  put-PTCPE  
  AUX-PRES  
  cold  
  hot  
  hand  
  all  
  him-ACC

yingki-rnda    purrhi-rnda.  
give-PTCPE  
  AUX-REL SS
91. *Ngarda nhawu durka-rda purrhi-yi.*
then he emerge-PTCLE AUX-PRES

92. *Ngarda thana yinpa-yi nhinha Western Australia*
then they send-PRES him-ACC

here he live-PTCLE AUX-PTCLE

94. *Nhawu yatha-rnda purrhi-yi 'Nganhi thika-rnda*
say-PTCLE AUX-PRES I return-PTCLE

95. *Nhinha nhulu mangathandrra-nhi kathi dukara-rna.*
him-ACC he-ERG head-LOC cloth take off-PTCLE

96. *Tharla nhungkarni pilki-lha dika-tharrhi-rna.*
name his different-NI call-REFL-PTCLE

97. *Yaruka nhawu thika-rnda purrhi-yi wata maria nhawu ngundrra-ma.*
like that he return-PTCLE AUX-PRES not more he

98. *Yaruka nhawu morda-rnda purrhi-yi.*
like that he finish-PTCLE AUX-PRES

Translation
1. Old man Sarrawa he gave a girl to Shirkhan.
2. Then he gave him money £150.
3. Moosha he gave £200.
4. Old man Sarrawa said 'you have her now.'
5. Then he took her to have her.
6. He [Shirkhan] heard about it but he was living in Broken Hill.
7. He caught a train from there and went to Marree.
8. He didn't go to see old man Sarrawa.
9. Only the two of them met there at the railway gate and shook hands.
10. Then he [Shirkhan] pulled out his gun.
11. He shot him, putting six bullets into his chest.
12. But he didn't hit him straight in the heart.
13. He was still alive.
14. The old man, they carried him to the pub.
15. Then they looked after him there while the doctor came, sending a wire (telegram) calling the doctor.
16. He came to look at him.
17. 'He's alright.
19. He'll get better.'
20. But he [Shirkhan] went back from there.
21. Shirkhan then went that way to the creek from Farina, going towards the west.
22. He didn't go on the road that goes to Mundowdna.
23. He only went straight that way to the creek.
24. Then from there he went along the creek this way here coming back to Farina.
25. He took off his boots.
26. He went without any boots on.
27. He put his boots on again and took them off again.
28. That's how he went along.
29. Then an Aborigine [black tracker], he followed the tracks.
30. He said to the policeman 'He went along barefoot.'
31. Then the two of them followed him like that, (sometimes) barefoot, (sometimes) with shoes on, along the creek.
32. Then that way in the creek from Mundowdna siding the policeman said to him 'You follow him to Farina while I go back.'
33. I'll send a wire to the Farina police.'
34. He [the tracker] followed him along the creek.
35. He didn't leave the creek.
36. He went to the Paradise (Creek) where the Two Hills Dam is.
37. From there then he turned off, turning off there at Farina.
38. Then he followed the Paradise Creek in bare feet.
39. He put his boots on again.
40. He came there to Two Hills Dam.
41. He took his boots off again.
42. Then he came barefoot here to the creek where you are camped now.
43. Again he put his boots on.
44. From there he went to the Railway Station where he [an engineer] was filling a water tank to start the engine.
45. There he said to him 'Boss me lose'em camel, big mob of camel.'
46. He said 'where you lose'em?'
47. 'Me come long way. Marree. Frome Creek.'
48. 'I never see camel.
49. I didn't see them.'
50. The policeman and Aborigine [tracker] were sitting there on the dam bank listening.
51. Then he [the tracker] said 'Hey boss! Him here alright!'
52. The Aborigine said to the policeman 'Leave'em for a while.
53. Leave him!'
54. The Aborigine said 'I'll go to talk to him.'
55. 'Good day boy! Me lose'em camel.'
56. 'Oh, I see boss. I help you.'
57. I'll see the boss, he didn't say policeman, I'll see him and I'll search for you.
58. I'll help you to search.'
59. Policeman come then.
61. 'Good-day boss.' [said the Afghan]
62. 'You better come up. I'll give you a drink of tea or an egg.
63. Come to eat an egg or drink a cup of tea.'
64. Then the two of them brought him back here.
65. The Aborigine said to him [the policeman] 'He's limping.'
66. His feet are sore.
67. 'This must be him!
68. He must have shot him during the night.'
69. He [the policeman] asked him [Shirkhan] 'Are you hungry?
70. What do you want to eat? An egg?'
71. 'Yes'  
72. He boiled it in some water, boiled egg 'cause he wouldn't eat'em fried, 'cause can't eat fat, might fry it with butter.
73. Then he boiled it and ate it.
74. They gave him food and he ate it.
75. 'The policeman said 'Your feet are sore.'
76. 'Yes, my feet are sore.'
77. One Aborigine came down from Marree.
78. He said like this: 'That's him!
79. 'He's the one who shot him yesterday.'
80. 'Yes. I want to see his feet.'
81. 'He limped along with sore feet.'
82. 'That's him!
83. He walked along with his boots on and in bare feet right to here.
84. That's how he was.
85. I know him, that one.'
86. He said to another Aborigine 'Do you know him too?'
87. 'Yes. I know.
88. He's the one who shot the old man with a gun yesterday.'
89. 'Alright' he said 'Alright. Put me. I been shoot'em. I pay 150 'e pay 200, 'e can keep'em. You give me, I don't know, how many year I will come back to kill him, them two, her also.'
90. Then they really put him in jail, giving him ten years.
91. Then he came out [of jail].
92. Then they sent him to Western Australia and he lived there.
93. He lived there for five years.
94. He said 'I'm going to go back to my own country Broken Hill.'
95. He took off his head cloth (turban).
96. He called himself by a different name.
97. That's how he went back, not thinking about the Moosha woman, thinking about nothing now.
98. That's how he finished.

Text I 'Black Bastards'
Recorded by Peter Austin at Farina 27th November 1975 (fieldtape D34b, transcription Book III pp131-2)
The Afghans came in for a share of the racism often directed towards Aborigines, especially by Queensland drovers travelling the Birdsville Track stock route. One drover got a shock when he insulted Akbar Khan, an Afghan camel driver with whom Ben was working.

   then-LOC we PL EXCL be-PTCLE AUX-PRES creek-LOC

2. Drover come along *wakara-rnda purrhi-yi.*
   come-PTCLE AUX-PRES

   he say-PTCLE AUX-PRES

4. 'You black bastards. What are you doing on my road? You clear the bloody road!'

5. 'No, no, no. This is a public road, we gotta be here.

   we PL INCL road our PL INCL be-PRES

7. *Yingkarni pudiuka wata nhingkirda wapa-rnda purrhi-yi.*
   your cattle not here go-PTCLE AUX-PRES

8. 'Yurra ngakarni nhantu yapa yingki-rda purrhi-yi.'
   you PL my horse fear give-PTCLE AUX-PRES

9. 'Padni. *Ngapu-rrri-rnda purrhi-ya-mayi!*'
   no quiet-INCHOAT-PTCLE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

10. 'Ngathu yinha dandrra-rda purrhi-yathi' told Akbar.
    I-ERG you-ACC hit-PTCLE AUX-PTCLE

11. 'Alright, you try!'

12. *Nganha dandrra-rda purrhi-ya-mayi!*'
    me-ACC hit-PTCLE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

13. Akbar off into it, too tough for him.

    well he-ERG him-ACC hit-PTCLE AUX-PTCLE

15. 'I'll meet you again next time.'

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63 The smell of camels is particularly upsetting to horses. If a camel team and a mob of cattle were camped at the same place overnight, the camels had to be hobbled downwind of the cattle and horses.
16. 'Alright. You meet me any time you like. If you come my camp. Me camp Well Creek tonight. Me and Benny camp Well Creek. Me turn'em camel that way, 'e turn'em this way. Alright, you come there.'

   he not come-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE

   he-ERG hit-PTCPLE AUX-FUT AUX them-ACC

19. Waranha nhungkangu thirrhi ngana-rnda purrhi-rnda nhulu
   who him LOC angry be-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE he-ERG

dandrra-rda.
hit-PTCPLE

Translation
1. Then we were in the Frome Creek.
2. A drover came along.
3. He said.
4. 'You black bastards. What are you doing on my road? You clear the bloody road!' You clear the bloody road!
5. 'No, no, no. This is a public road, we gotta be here. This is our road.
6. Your cattle shouldn't go here.'
7. 'You are frightening my horses.'
8. 'No. Shut up!'
9. 'No. Shut up!'
10. '(Look out) or else I'll hit you' (he) told Akbar.
11. 'Alright, you try!
12. Hit me!'
13. Akbar off into it, too tough for him.
14. Well, he hit him.
15. 'I'll meet you again next time' [said the drover]
16. 'Alright. You meet me any time you like. If you come my camp. Me camp Well Creek tonight. Me and Benny camp Well Creek. Me turn'em camel that way, 'e turn'em this way. Alright, you come there.'
17. He didn't come.
18. He would have hit them all.
19. Whoever was angry with him, he hit them.

On the mission, Ben lived in single-men's quarters - a single roomed mud-brick house near the church. He shared this accommodation with other stockmen when they came in from their work on the outlying run. Despite his position of responsibility at the mission, Ben was not entirely aligned with the missionaries. He had his own view of their morality and behaviour and while he did not participate in ceremonial activity himself, he believed in the right of Aboriginal people at the mission to maintain their traditional practices and beliefs. Although he attended church services and sang hymns with the other mission Christians in Diyari and listened to Riedel's Diyari sermons, Ben joined in defying Riedel's ban on Sabbath activity and games, by slipping off to the sandhills, a mile or so away from the mission, to play games with boomerangs (for example kunduwarra, a game played
by throwing a boomerang end over end) or *kukuru* (played with a ricocheting wooden missile on claypans or along cleared 'alleys' in the bush) with other boys and men:

We used to get out there on the sandhill you know, and play game, made out of a long stick...throw it onto the grass and it run along. We used to play game and we thought that was alright, no harm in doing it. If they found out they'd soon cut it out.64

Women played games with emu-feather balls or balls made from sewn rags or socks: they play with that...pass it to one another, another girl, they might try to jump in and take it away, grab it.65

Fishing was another activity which Ben enjoyed in his rare moments of leisure at Killalpaninna. He watched the older people make vegetable fibre nets, up to sixty metres long, which they would set on posts in the lake or the Killalpaninna channel, or smaller nets with 'wings' which the fisherman would enclose around a school of fish.

By 1913 Killalpaninna mission was in deep financial trouble. No useful rain had fallen for several years and the Cooper's last flood had been in August 1906. In April 1913 the Mission Committee purchased the de Pierres' adjoining run of 119 square miles in an effort to boost their income. The drought continued however and it became clear that the Lutheran Synod could not support both Hermannsburg and Killalpaninna missions. This was despite various attempts to economise, including major re-locations of stock between Hermannsburg and Killalpaninna. Ben participated in the last of these in 1913. With ten or so other Aboriginal stockmen he rode to Warrina, south of Oodnadatta, to take charge of a mob of 1000 cattle brought there by Hermannsburg stockmen. The trip took Ben and the others about three weeks.

By the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, Killalpaninna's debt exceeded 5000 pounds and showed no sign of diminishing. Barely 100 Aboriginal people were living on the mission and it became clear that the enterprise could not continue. A complete disintegration of the community was averted by the Synod's agreement with Pastors Bogner and Jaensch to purchase Killalpaninna for 5000 pounds. They undertook to continue mission work and the Synod provided a school-teacher in return. Despite the new arrangement, for Ben, and for many other Aboriginal people the mission had 'broken up' with the departure of Pastor Riedel for the south at the end of 1914 and the outbreak of World War One. Ben's mother died at this time too, and Ben saw no alternative but to go south as well, leaving his camel business to his brother Em:

> When Pastor Riedel left, I left too...I lost everything. My brother [Em], youngest brother, took it over, and another boy. They worked the camels and mission blokes went away, parson went away, all broke up. 66

**Gallipoli**

Ben has firm opinions on the economic management of Killalpaninna during its final years, sharing Pastor Riedel's view that the roles of station manager and missionary should have been separated. Another reason was also apparent for the rapid decline of the mission after 1910. For Ben the connection between the outbreak of the war, local ill-feeling against the Germans, and the decision to sell Killalpaninna to private owners was obvious. As he expressed it, people in the north had a 'set on the Germans' and during his trips to Marree Ben found that he was increasingly criticised for associating with them. While there

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64 M-J, 28.7.83.
65 M-J, 28.7.83.
66 M-J, 31.7.87; 29.7.83.
is no evidence that popular feeling against the Germans precipitated the Synod's sale of Killalpaninna, Ben nevertheless felt the strength of this opinion, a factor which must have influenced his decision to enlist as a private in the Light Horse.

While still at Killalpaninna during the first half of 1915, Ben received letters (like other young Australian men at the time) sent anonymously by girls and women inspired by patriotism. These letters exhorted him to volunteer for the army and 'to fight for King and country'. Ben was bewildered and quite upset by this pressure and maintains that when he did join the army it was for his own reasons:

them girls...they was cheeky...not only me, some other blokes too...letter from everywhere...I never answered them. No good - try to force you to fight! Fight for King and country! I did go, I went to Gallipoli...just wanted to have a look at countries then, different countries.67

The details of Ben's enlistment are unclear; his personal papers, uniform and medals were destroyed by fire in 1979.68 Ben recalls that he travelled south by train from Marree, first to Quorn and then to Port Augusta. Here he 'got in touch with the military', together with two German boys (probably related to Helen Jericho, one of the Vogelsang children) in mid-1915. After a brief period of training (probably at the Mitcham camp in Adelaide), when he was taught to shoot 'just roughly', Ben set off to Gallipoli with a Light Horse Regiment later in the year.

By the time of their arrival, the Australian assault on Gallipoli had only a few weeks to run ('We got there too late'). This fact, the long sea voyage there and back, the ferocity of the battle itself, and Ben's capture by the Turks, must have given the whole experience an air of unreality for Ben. Despite this, his recollections of his time at Gallipoli are graphic.

Turkish snipers swept the landing craft with fire ('bullet flying everywhere') as the men entered them for the landing. At least two men in Ben's boat were killed as they neared the shore. Ben and other men detected the Turkish snipers standing on the cliffs, camouflaged with bushes, and they pleaded with their sergeant major to shoot back at them. According to Ben this man, named Wyatt, was a rigid disciplinarian who had already alienated himself from the men. Like other officers, he carried a baton and did not hesitate to use it to enforce discipline ('treat[ed] you like a dog'). He did not allow the men to shoot back at the snipers, refusing to admit that the bullets came from the bushes on the cliffs. Ben tells the story:

When we got there, just like a tree standing, all along on the bank [cliffs]. I see one dropping down...'Hello! Oh!', I sing out to the others: 'Shoot the trees, that's where the bullet come from'. We told the sergeant major, 'Shoot at them trees!'. 'No, no, that way the bullet come from' [he said]...He didn't even take notice. He got shot anyway, he was too smart. 'You'll get hit directly' [Ben said]...and he did...'Yeah, I bet your time will come'. His time didn't waste time! His time come alright, drop him dead too, right on the bank! We start shooting at the trees then. You see the people dropping,

67 M-J, 2.2.88.

68 A Benjamin Murray enlisted as Private No. 3085 on 27th June 1914 and was discharged from the 53rd Battalion on 17th March 1919. If this was Ben Murray (currently subject to confirmation), it suggests that he went on to fight in Palestine following the Australian evacuation from Gallipoli in December 1915, and did not return to Australia until the war was over.
Studio portrait of Ben Murray, possibly taken just before enlistment for First World War. Photo: Hermann Vogelsang, Lutheran Archives collection.
'trees' falling over. Blokes running away, Turks, Turks running away. We got into them properly then. 69

With the passing of the years Ben has apparently telescoped his memories of the First World War and it is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events. It seems likely that Ben went on after Gallipoli to fight in Palestine, and that in one of those battles, possibly during 1916, he was captured by the Turks. Ben recalls his unit making an advance on a town and that the Turks counter-attacked, killing Australians and narrowly missing Ben.

I got a bullet too, the coat here - just missed my guts. And I dropped, I dropped and I lay there then, with the other dead boys. Mates of mine 70...They never missed them. 71

The Turkish soldiers were close by now, near enough apparently to finish Ben off if he had made the wrong move. His response was quick, unusual and may have saved his life. For Ben there was little to separate Turks from the Afghans he had known in Australia and so he called out the few words he had learnt from his Afghan cameleer acquaintances - the Muslim prayer uttered by them before they slaughtered a beast - as well as some Afghan names:

I sang out: 'Moosha malad! Akbar! Dadleh! Bejah! [Ben's father's name]'. I said: 'Bejah! Dadleh!' That's what I said. And they take me then. They kept me. Better than getting a bullet! If I didn't sing out...they would have killed me alright! They put a bullet through me - just missed coat [i.e. passed through coat]. But the second bullet didn't come, never come. 72

And so Ben became a prisoner of the Turks, if only briefly. He was kept with other Australian prisoners in an open compound for at least a fortnight:

I couldn't get away, 'cause they were watching you, all the time. Not only me, lot more, Australians...we waited. 73

He apparently got on well with his captors and must have intrigued them, both with his appearance and his understanding of Islamic customs:

Oh yes, they'd speak to you...speak about the war. They'd say it's no good, all the fighting. Oh yes, they were very friendly, them Turks. 74

They talked about Australia too - in fact two of Ben's Turkish captors later made their way to Darwin. He met them by chance during his visit there in about 1942.

Ben's capture must have occurred in the final weeks of the war. That is how he remembers it. His freedom came with the armistice on 11th November 1918:

I been with the Turks...about two weeks...till they say, well, 'Finish now, war's over'. I thank them and they thank me, very good. 75

69 M-J, 3.11.83; 31.7.87.
70 M-J, 9.1.88.
71 M-J, 9.1.88. It is unclear from Ben's account whether he was actually wounded in this exchange. If so, it may account for his quick return to Australia and subsequent release from the army.
72 These men were Jack Davis, from New South Wales, and 'Jimmy' Jean, a Queenslaner.
73 M-J, 9.1.88.
74 M-J, 9.1.88.
75 M-J, 9.1.88.
In the South
Recorded by Peter Austin at Farina 21st November 1975 (fieldtape D31a, transcription Book III pp 99-100) Ben gives a brief résumé in Diyari of his experiences after the War.

1. Robertstown-andru nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi Waikerie
   Robertstown-ABL I go-PTCPLE AUX-PRES
   mitha-ya.
country-ALL.

   there I-ERG work-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

3. Ngarda-nhi nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi nhaka-nndru nganka-ni
   then-LOC I go-PTCPLE AUX-PRES there-ABL work-NOMIN
   warrara-rnda purrhi-rnda.
   leave-PTCPLE AUX-REL SS

4. Nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi Paruna mitha-ya nhaka
   I go-PTCPLE AUX-PRES country-ALL there
   nganka-rda purrhi-lhali palthu-nhi nganka-rda purrhi-rnda.
   work-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS road-LOC work-PTCPLE AUX-REL SS

5. Nhungkangu-ka kilpa waldrara-nhi76 1927 ngathu nganka-rda
   that LOC-SPEC cold hot-LOC I-ERG work-PTCPLE
   purrhi-ya.
   AUX-PAST

6. Ngarda-nhi nganhi nhungkangu-ka diji-nhi nganhi wapa-rnda
   then-LOC I that LOC-SPEC day-LOC I go-PTCPLE
   purrhi-yi Pinaroo mitha-ya nhayi-rnda purrhi-lhali..
   AUX-PRES country-ALL look-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS

7. Thika-rnda purrhi-yi ya nganka-rda purrhi-lhali..
   return-PTCPLE AUX-PRES and work-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS

8. 1929 nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi Murrayville mitha-ya
   I go-PTCPLE AUX-PRES country-ALL
   next through the border from Pinaroo.

9. Nhawu pantura-nhi wirrhi-ngar-nra yarrha nhaka nhawu
   he boundary-LOC enter-going-PTCPLE that way there he

76 The Diyari and Thirrari term for 'year' is kilpa waldrara, literally 'cold (and) hot'.

163
mitha tharla-tha Murrayville windri-tha yini wakara-nda
country name-OI only-NI you come-PTCPE

purri-thali Ouyen.
AUX-IMPL SS

then-LOC come-PTCPE AUX-PRES country-LOC

11. Yaruka nganhi wapa-nda purri-nda wanthiyi
like that I go-PTCPE AUX-PRES AUX

wirri-nda-yina nhayi-nda purri-thali mitha.
go about-PTCPE-TAG look-PTCPE AUX-IMPL SS country

12. Ngarda-nhi thika-nda purri-yi ngapa-nhi boata-nhi
then-LOC return-PTCPE purri-AUX water-LOC boat-LOC

name his be-PTCPE AUX-PRES Jimmy-MASC PN

return-PTCPE AUX-PRES country-ALL

15. Nhaka-ndrru nganhi nhakaldra thika-nda purri-yi
there-ABL I again return-PTCPE AUX-PRES

Loxton mitha-ya Loxton, Paruna, Alawoona.
country-ALL

there-ABL I-ERG road-LOC work-PTCPE AUX-PAST

palthu-nhi nganka-nda purri-nda windri nhantu-yali
road-LOC work-PTCPE AUX-REL SS only horse-ERG

17. Ngarda-nhi nhaka-ndrru nganhi wapa-nda purri-yi wapa-nda
then-LOC there-ABL I go-PTCPE AUX-PRES go-PTCPE

purri-nda 1932.
AUX-REL SS
18. Nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi Kadina mitha-nhi Wallaroo, Moonta
I go-PTCple AUX-PRES country-LOC

19. Nhaka ngathu nganka-rda purrhi-yi farm-anhi windri nhawu
there I-ERG work-PTCple AUX-PRES farm-LOC only he

cold hot end-IMPL DS end-PTCple AUX-IML DS

I return-PTCple AUX-PRES country-ALL

21. Nhaka ndrru nganhi wapa-rnda purrhi-yi thika-rnda
there-ABL I go-PTCple AUX-PRES return-ptcple

22. Nhaka ngathu nganka-rda purrhi-yi nhungkangu panturra-nhi
there I-ERG work-PTCple AUX-PRES he LOC boundary-LOC

there I be-PTCple AUX-PAST

then I come-PTCple AUX-PRES country-LOC

25. Ngarda nhaka-nhi ngathu nganka-rda purrhi-yi ngurrha-rlu
then there-LOC I-ERG work-PTCple AUX-PRES always-still

As noted above, the Thirrari spoken by Ben Murray is characterised by the presence of the obligatory auxiliary verb purrhi-. Here, and in line 25 below, Ben has first given the Diyari form of a verb and then followed it immediately by the correct Thirrari form with purrhi-. Notice that the verb inflections for implicated clause same-subject in the two languages are different (-rnanthu in Diyari, and -yani in Thirrari).
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27. Kilpa waldrra-nhi yaruka ngana-rnda purrhi-rnda nganka-rda


29. Wata marla nganja-yi wapa-rnda purrhi-hali.

Translation

1. From Robertstown I went to Waikerie.
2. I worked there.
3. Then I went from there leaving work.
4. I went to Paruna and worked there, working on the road.
5. That was the year 1927 when I worked there.
6. Then on that day I went to Pinnaroo to have a look.
7. I came back and worked.
8. In 1929 I went to Murrayville, next through the border from Pinnaroo.
9. It is through the boundary that way, the country is called Murrayville, just before you come to Ouyen.
10. Then I came to Mildura.
11. That’s how I went, going about to look at the country.
12. Then I came back on the water, getting on a boat.
13. The boat’s name was Jimmy.
15. From there I went back again to Loxton, Loxton, Paruna, Alawoona.
16. From there I worked on the roads, just carrying the rocks with horses.
17. Then I went from there in 1932.
18. I went to Kadina, Wallaroo, Moonta, to those places.
19. There I worked on a farm, only to the end of the year 1932.
20. I came back to Adelaide.
21. From there I came back to Murnpeowie in 1934.
There I worked on the boundary, what's-it, where the paddock is for leaving the dogs [the dingo fence].

That's where I was.

Then I came to Witchelina in 1950.

Then I worked there, always working looking after sheep.

From there I came back in 1959 to live here in Farina and sometimes I went back to Witchelina to work, and to Myrtle Springs to work.

For years that's how it was, going and working.

They asked me.

I don't want to go any more.

The 1920s: Down South

It is unclear under which conditions Ben was discharged from the army upon returning to Australia. He may have been wounded at Gallipoli, as his account suggests, and this would account for an early discharge. He remembers asking to go, and being allowed: 'I went away, I told them that I wanted to go..."Oh, alright".'

With the closure of Killalpannina mission, the German community there had fractured, moving south to join relatives in forming communities in the mid-North, the Barossa valley, and near the Murray River. In retaining his connections with the Killalpaninna Germans, Ben's fortunes became linked with the most cohesive of these communities, in the small town of Lowbank, near Waikerie on the Murray River. Ben's cousins Walter and Selma Merrick lived there with their family, together with Ben's friend Wilhelm Riedel (the Killalpaninna missionary), the Vogelsangs, Paschkes and Rohrlachs. After living through droughts and sandstorms on the shores of the empty lake at Killalpaninna, it is not surprising that this small community had re-established itself so close to Australia's greatest river.

Ben went first to Robertstown though, west of the River, where he worked for a farmer named Heinrich. This man was a relative of one of the schoolteachers at the Hermannsburg Lutheran mission near Alice Springs and Pastor Riedel had probably arranged this job for Ben. Here Ben's skills as a stockman were of little help; he had to learn the business of wheat-farming, from harvesting grain to sewing wheat bags. After a year or so he moved to Robertstown itself and found work lumping wheat for a buyer - 'heavy work!'. This job was followed by more farm work west of the town, for a man named Killo at 'Brady Creek'.

By now it was probably about 1924 or 1925. At this time Ben received a letter from one of his old Killalpaninna friends, Jack Rohrlach, asking him to help him build a new house at Lowbank. Rohrlach had married one of the Vogelsang daughters and had moved there soon after the missions closed. Ben was more than happy to rejoin his friends and relatives at Lowbank. He mixed mortar and helped with the Rohrbach house before taking up another farm labouring job, initially for the Paschke brothers, who had property nearby and then in the dry mallee country near Karoonda, for a farmer called English.

Despite the drought years of the 1920s, this period saw much of South Australia's marginal farming land cleared for crops and as settlement proceeded, so did the network of tracks and roads. Ben found work in one of the road-contracting gangs working in the Mallee area south of the River Murray. His boss was a German named Brockhoff and it is likely that Ben obtained the job through his German friends on the river. The gang worked on the 'Pinnaroo line' running west through Murrayville in Victoria, and on the road linking Tailem Bend with Karoonda and Alawoona in the centre of the Mallee, finishing near the state border at Renmark. On one occasion this work took Ben to Mildura. After a brief spell there 'looking at the country', he took a leisurely trip back to Waikerie by the river boat 'Jimmy' (See Text J).
The roadwork was hard, but paid quite well, according to Ben. He began as a labourer and horse teamster but was soon promoted to overseer.

Some were digging, like on the quarry, some on roadwork, spreading stuff...some driving drays, carting it...My job was standing over the mob...I was acting boss you know, when the boss goes away he put me in charge of them all. I had to start them right time, make 'em knock off right time, all that. And see the right thing done on the road.78

These road crews contained a colourful mixture of people and personalities, something like the cross-section found working on remote oil or gas drilling rigs today. There were a number of Italian people, (some of the early migrants from that country to South Australia), among these road-gangs, as well as ex-servicemen and Aboriginal people. As Text K relates, relations between the workers were not always smooth. Ben had the power to hire and fire gang members, and used it occasionally: 'If they were too nasty, I put them off. You lose your job, that's alright, you go.'79

The experience of working in a road gang probably recalled something of the camaraderie Ben had experienced in the war. This sense may have become heightened as the Depression approached and as it did, many working men in country areas sought additional support by joining organisations such as the Royal Ancient Order of Buffaloes (R.A.O.B.). An R.A.O.B. Lodge was established at Alawoona in 1927 and Ben joined in March of the following year. He still wears the badge today. According to Ben, a large proportion of the road workers became members:

I joined that Buffalo...They reckoned you'd get more jobs if you joined up. You'd make a road, stretch of road, might be thirty mile, forty mile, you knock off then. You'd have to wait till another contract come in. They'd have a meeting and they say, 'You can get a job...put you on another job'.80

It was in the Mallee country that Ben met his sister Shirley again, by sheer chance after many years separation. His sister had married a man named Hirsch and Ben met her two sons at a football match at Paruna:

I ran into the two boys...I was watching the football...One of the boys said, 'Come over there, mum wants to see you [they said], you might know her'. I couldn't make out whose kids...calling me uncle! When I got over there...my sister starts talking the lingo, I know her then! 'Oh, sister! [I said] What are you doing here?' 'I been away a long time', she said. 'I got two sons and a daughter'...She went to the football to have a look.81

Text K 'Dr Murray'

Recorded by Peter Austin at Cooper Creek 27th June 1976 (fieldtape D37a, transcription Book IV pp 53-55)

When Ben was working at Murrayville in Western Victoria building roads there occurred an incident which demonstrates perfectly his willingness to help those in need and to take action when he believed that an injustice had been done. Looking back on the incident, Ben recalled that the woman involved called him 'Dr Murray' after the event.

78 M-J, 31.7.87.
79 M-J, 2.2.88.
80 M-J, 2.2.88.
81 M-J, 9.1.88.
1. Ngathu nganka-rda purrhi-ya palthu-nhi.
   I-ERG work-PTCPLE AUX-PAST road-LOC

2. Nganhi mayatha ngana-rnda purrhi-rnda palthu-nhi
   I boss be-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE road-LOC

3. Matharri nhulu nhaka nganka-rda purrhi-yi nhaka
   man he-ERG there work-PTCPLE AUX-PRES there

   nhuwa-ntha-li.
   spouse-PROP-ERG

   she pregnant be-PRES be-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE

   she want-PRES child bear-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS

6. Wata nhulu pardaka-rnda purrhi-ya ya wata nhawu ngakangu
   not he-ERG take-PTCPLE AUX-PRES and not he me-LOC

   yatha-rnda purrhi-rnda nhandrru nganja-yi kupa darnka-rda
   talk-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE she want-PRES child bear-PTCPLE

   purrhi-lhali.
   AUX-IMPL SS

   man some come-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

8. 'Ben, signorina very sick.

9. Wilha nhani-ya munja parrha-rnda purrhi-yi.'
   woman she-here ill lie-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

10. 'Minha?'
    what

11. 'Aa, kupa nganja-yi darnka-rda purrhi-lha.'
    Oh child want-pRES bear-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS

12. 'Tell the man to help her. You know what to do.

13. Yini yatha-rnda purrhi-ya-mayi nhulu nhinha kupa
    you say-PTCPLE AUX-IMPER-EMPH he-erg him-acc child

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14. He go back and told him alright. He never took a notice. He just sat there.

15. Nhani nhungkangu yatha-rnda purrhi-rnda 'You do this. she him LOC say-PTCPLE AUX-PTCPLE

16. Yaruka nganka-mayi.' like that do-IMPER-EMPH

17. Wilha yatha-rnda purrhi-yi 'Yini karra-rnda woman say-PTCPLE AUX-PRES you call-PTCPLE

purrhi-ya-mayi mayatha nhinha Mr Murray get him over here AUX-IMPER-EMPH boss him-ACC

18. Nganhi wapa-rna. I go-PTCPLE

19. 'Can you do me a favour?'

20. Yundrru nganja-yi nganha maranguka-rnda purrhi-thali? you-ERG want-PRES me-ACC help-PTCPLE AUX-IMPL SS

21. Windrri kupa nhinha-ya thardupa-rnda thika-mayi. only child him-ACC this push-PTCPLE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

22. Nhawu-ya marnka durnka-rda purrhi-yi.' he-this slowly emerge-PTCPLE AUX-PRES

23. I didn't want to do it.

24. Wata nganhi nganja-rda karrhakarrha-lha nhangkangu. not I want-PTCPLE touch-IMPL SS her LOC

25. She had the dish of lye water. I had to wash my hands.


27. Ngarda-nhi nhinha kupa-kupa mangathandrра thardupa-rnda then-LOC him-ACC child-child head push-PTCPLE

thika-rnda purrhi-yi thalku-nganka-rda purrhi-rnda. return-PTCPLE AUX-PRES straight-TRVB-PTCPLE AUX-RELS

28. Ngathu yakalka-rnda "Wardaru yanika?" I-ERG ask-PTCPLE how like this
29. 'Ngalyi marla karrji-lka-rnda purrhi-ya-mayi.'
a little more turn-TRANS-PTCPE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

30. Hard to tell exactly, you know, how they feel it in there.

31. 'Maja nhawu-parrha-wu!'       
OK he-DEF-EXCLAM

32. Tharrka-rnda purrhi-rnda.   
stand-PTCPE AUX-PTCPE

33. 'Nganhi tharrka-rnda purrhi-rnanhi and he'll just slip out.'
I stand-PTCPE AUX-REL DS

34. Yeah, nhawu durnki-nga-yi kupa-kupa purri-rnda purrhi-rnda.
he emerge-going-PRES child-child fall-PTCPE AUX-REL SS

35. 'Alright Mr Murray, ngathu muntha-lha nganka-rda purrhi-yi.'
I-ERG self-NI do-PTCPE AUX-PRES

36. She started cleaning it. She must be a strong woman, by cripes. I hit him then, I couldn't help it.

37. Ngathu nhinha karna marna nhungkarni daka-rnda
I-ERG him-ACC man mouth his hit-PTCPE

purrhi-yi.
AUX-PRES

38. 'Minha-ndrru yundrru wata manyu-yali nhayi-rnda purrhi-yi?'
what-AB; you-ERG not good-ERG look-PTCPE AUX-PRES

39. 'Yundrru maranguka-rnda purrhi-yi.'
you-ERG help-PTCPE AUX-PRES

40. Bang, I hit him.

41. Nganhi yatha-rnda purrhi-yi Wilha wata yini nhungkangu
l say-PTCPE AUX-PRES woman not you him LOC

ngama-rnda purrhi-rnda warrara-rnda purrhi-ya-mayi!
live-PTCPE AUX-REL SS leave-PTCPE AUX-IMPER-EMPH

42. You'll die. Yini pali-rnda purrhi-lha nganayi.
you die-PTCPE AUX-FUT AUX

43. Nhawu-ya ngama-rnda purrhi-rnanhi yinha nhayi-rnda
he-this sit-PTCPE AUX-REL DS you-ACC look-PTCPE

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44. You know how they feel, you know.

45. Kajakaja-rnda marrji-rnda purrhi-rnda yindrra-rda
   be in pain-PTCLE cry out-PTCLE AUX-REL SS cry-PTCLE

46. Woman, you know, with a pain, and he's sitting there like a dog. Christ, made me wild.

47. Ngathu nhinha nandrra-rda purrhi-yi.
   I-ERG him-ACC hit-PTCLE AUX-PRES

48. Yeah, that's the story.

Translation
1. I was working on the roads.
2. I was the boss of the roads, building roads.
3. A man he was working there with his wife.
4. She was pregnant.
5. She was about to have a child.
6. He didn't take her and he didn't tell me that she was about to have a child.
7. Someone came along, an Italian.
8. (He said:) 'Ben, signorina very sick.'
9. The woman she's sick.
10. 'What?' (I said)
11. 'Oh, she is about to have a child.'
12. 'Tell the man to help her, you know what to do.'
13. 'You tell (him) he is to push the child back.'
14. He go back and told him alright. He never took a notice. He just sat there.
15. She said to him 'You do this'.
16. 'Do this.'
17. The woman said 'You call the boss Mr Murray, get him over here'.
18. I went.
19. (She asked) 'Can you do me a favour?'
20. 'Would you like to help me?'
22. He will come out slowly.'
23. I didn't want to do it.
24. I didn't want to touch her.
25. She had the dish of lye water. I had to wash my hands.
26. I cleaned my hands.
27. Then I pushed the child's head back, straightening him.
28. I asked 'How is that?'
29. 'Turn him a little more' (she said).
30. Hard to tell exactly, you know, how they feel it in there.
That's it!

I stood up.

When I stand up and he'll just slip out (she said).

Yeah, he came out past me, the child fell out.

Alright Mr Murray, I'll do it myself.

She started cleaning it. She must be a strong woman, by cripes. I hit him then, I couldn't help it.

I hit the man in his mouth.

'Why didn't you look after (her) properly?'

You helped her (he said).

Bang, I hit him.  

I said 'Woman, don't stay with him, leave him! You'll die. You will die. He stayed looking at you.'

You know how they feel, you know.

She called out in pain and cried.

Woman, you know, with a pain, and he's sitting there like a dog. Christ, it made me wild.

I hit him.

Yeah, that's the story.

After making the road from Karoonda to Cobera and Alawoona, Ben's gang moved to Malpas and then Paruna where they were based for some months, before turning north to the Murray River and meeting it at Paringa. Ben left the gang there and returned to Lowbank, to stay with his old friend Jack Rohrlach. This was probably some time during 1930.

At Lowbank he met another old school friend from Killalpaninna, Helen Jericho (formerly Vogelsang). She was visiting from her home at Kadina at the top of Yorke Peninsula, and urged Ben to come over there to work on her husband’s farm. He agreed and within a few weeks was ploughing the fields and driving a header - this time on a tractor, rather than a horse:

I got on alright [after] a while. Not too good for a start. Anyhow I had to work the ground, one way first then across again...put the seed in, and go and cut hay... all that machine work.82

After working for the Jerichos Ben moved to a neighbouring farm at Moonta, this time to work for a less sympathetic employer (see text below). This man was heavily mortgaged to the State Bank and obviously considered that he could get by without paying Ben sufficiently or allowing him basic conditions. Ben thought otherwise and gave notice. He had decided to return to his own country in the far north of South Australia.

farm-LOC ground dig-REL SS plant seed good-INCHOAT-REL DS I-ERG

what-ERG-IGNOR stick-ERG break-TRANS-PTCPLE AUX

3. Reaping then, nyurri-rna like cleaning it, 1933, last job I had, me and Billy Lamb.

husk-[TC][;E

4. Ngali nganka-rda purrhi-yi ngali Billy Lamb, we two EXCL work-PTCPLE AUX-PRES we two EXCL

Billy Lamb nhawu tharrka-rnanhi nhingkirda wardayari

he stand-REL DS here where

they plant seed payiku nhulu kurrha-yi

five bags each round, half way.

5. Tharrka-yi nhaka thana-nha pirirri-nganka-rna.

stand-PRES there them-ACC full-TRVB-REL SS

6. Ya nhakaldrra karrji-rna another five yaruka-ldra-matha and again turn-PTCPE like that-ADD-IDENT

you-ERG put-PTCPE turn-PTCPE

7. Yaruka nganka-rda kurnu nhingkirda kurnu yarlaya like that work-PTCPE one here one elsewhere

kurnu nhingkirda yaruka every five.

one here like that

8. Ngarda-nhi nhakaldrra karrji-yi another five.

then-LOC again turn-PRES

9. Nhakaldrra kurrha-rnda ihika-yi mara warrha⁸⁴ again put-PTCPE return-PRES hand half

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⁸⁴ This is another example of counting in Diyari-Thirrari (see footnote in Text H).
murda-lha-rlu.

**BEN MURRAY**

10. *Ngarda-nhi* nhawu *farmer* wakara-yi ngalinngi dinner
then-LOC he come-PRES our two EXCL DAT

we two EXCL eat-PRES

12. *Ngarda-nhi* then-LOC five minutes 'Better get going.'

13. *Nganhi* yatha-rnda purrhgi-yi 'every farm I work for ngathu
I say-PTCPE AUX-PRES I-ERG

he climb-PTCPE go up-RES

then-;PC I say-PRES not run-IMPER him LOC

leave-IMPER-EMPH he turn-IMPL DS

17. *Ngaldrra* karlka-yi nhawu karrji-rnani nhingkirda-nhi
we two INCL wait-PRES he turn-REL DS here-ALL

truly he self turn-PRES

he return-PRES

20. 'I thought you blokes gonna run after me.'

21. 'I never chased a boss in my life.

22. *Wata* ngathu mayatha ngakarni yaruka karri-nya wanthi
not I-erg boss my like that chase-PTCPE AUX
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24. Nhingkirda-ndrru nhinha ngathu murda-ma nganhi thika-rnda

Translation
1. Then I went here to Kadina (and) Moonta again, on a farm, digging the ground and
planting seeds.
2. Then when the seeds are good I broke them with a what's-it, stick.
3. Reaping then, husking, like cleaning it, 1933, last job I had, me and Billy Lamb.
4. We worked, Billy Lamb and I, Billy Lamb he would stand here where the seed bags are,
he'd put on five bags each round, half way.
5. He'd stand there filling them.
6. And turn again, another five just like that, you put them in as you turn, right round the
paddock.
7. We worked like that, one here, one over there, one here, like that, every five.
8. Then go round again, another five.
9. Put back five again until you finish.
10. Then the farmer came carrying our dinner so we could eat at midday.
11. We ate.
12. Then after five minutes [he said] 'Better get going.'
13. I said 'every farm I work for I had an hour for dinner.'
14. He climbed up himself.
15. Then I said [to Billy Lamb] 'don't run after him.
16. Leave it until he comes round.
17. We'll wait for him to come round to here again and come back.'
18. He really went round by himself.

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BEN MURRAY

19. He came back.
20. 'I thought you blokes gonna run after me.'
21. 'I never chased a boss in my life.
22. I have never chased my boss like that and I won't chase you.'
23. That was my last job.
24. 'When I finish it from here I'll go back.'
25. 'Where will you go back to?'
26. I'll go back to where I came from.
27. I'll go back south [to Adelaide].
28. From the south I'll go back north.'
29. 'Where you gonna go?'
30. 'You know where I'll go. North, where I came from.'

1934: North, 'Where I Came From'

Instead of making his way north immediately, Ben first caught the train to Adelaide. His mother's old employer, Mrs Murray, had moved her business to the city from Marree and Ben stayed at her boarding house on North Terrace. He spent a few days seeing the sights and 'having a bit of a sit down', before making his next move. Apart from Mrs Murray Ben knew at least one person in Adelaide, Helen Jericho's brother Ted Vogelsang, grandson of Hermann Heinrich Vogelsang, the patriarch of Killalpaninna mission. Teddy Vogelsang was employed as an attendant at the Adelaide Museum. Here he worked, between his other tasks, at translating the fourteen volume manuscript describing the life and beliefs of the Diyari Aborigines which had been prepared by Pastor Reuther of Killalpaninna between 1888 and 1906.85

Ben assisted in the translation and remembers seeing the remarkable ethnographic collection gathered by Reuther which was on display in the Stirling Gallery, including the toas. He met the ethnologist Norman Tindale ('Tintail' as Ben remembers him) and recalls discussing the respective veracity of Vogelsang's translation and that offered by George Aiston, the ex-policeman and Birdsville Track storekeeper who had criticised the Lutherans' ethnographic work.86 The fact that Ben was literate in both English and Diyari put him in a unique position to judge the translations. Ben was heavily in favour of Vogelsang's work:

How would he [Aiston] know? He reckoned he born amongst them. I said: 'No, he's a police sergeant!'. All the Diyari lingo, he altered them...altered this, altered that, said this not right, that not right...I went there, that Museum, and I saw the other bloke [Tindale]. I said: 'Now, that's not wrong. Vogelsang was born and reared amongst the blacks. He knows the words...He [Tindale] said: 'We got both words here [i.e. Vogelsang's and Aiston's], but me didn't know if Aiston's was the truth'...I said: 'Because he was a policeman you took his word!'87

While in Adelaide, Ben met up with Mick McLean, a Wangkangurru man related to his stepfather who was employed in the police force as a black tracker. Ben accompanied Mick one day to the wholesale markets where he participated in the apprehension of a chicken thief. He was impressed by the two young police detectives he met there called Barrington and Beek: 'Young policemen, plainclothes, they knocks about. They don't say much but,
by cripes, they know a lot though. However, Ben had made up his mind to return to his country in the North, and typically, took the opportunity in Adelaide to arrange a position for himself before leaving. This time, instead of relying on his contacts in the German community, Ben went to see his first employer, the 'Cattle King' Sir Sidney Kidman, at his office in the city. Kidman, by now an old man, was willing to give Ben a job at Witchelina station and sent him to see his son-in-law, Sidney Reid, to arrange the details. Ben tells the story:

I went to Sidney Kidman, old feller was still alive then. 'Oh [I said], I was looking for a job' [Kidman replied:] 'Oh, you go back, go up north, to Witchelina'. Alright, I went the next morning, I went to Sidney Reid. 'The boss [Kidman] sends me, to see about a job.' 'Oh [said Reid], I don't know you much, you can't get a job. No job'.

Ben's reaction to this setback was typical. Rather than become intimidated by Kidman's son-in-law, he decided to offer his services to someone of equal stature:

'That's alright, I'll go and see Barr Smith'...[Barr Smith said:] 'You can go to Murnpeowie, I'll give you the fare - do you want a fare?' 'Yes [said Ben], I'll give it back to you, as soon as I get a job'. 'Oh, there's a job there [said Barr Smith], on the border netting. You've got to ride the border netting'.

Ben went away satisfied, and prepared for the trip north to Marree. In the meantime, Kidman must have heard of the treatment which Ben had received from his son-in-law and 'jumped on his neck', ordering him to give Ben a job:

Next morning, Sydney Reid sent a man around, [saying:] 'I cancelled that job for you [i.e. reserved a job for you]'. 'No [said Ben], I wasn't good enough yesterday, I'm not good enough to go back there now...Old gentleman Barr Smith give me a job... Me and you never agree. You knock me back in the first place - you knew me from a little kid, those girls too [Edna and Blanche Kidman]’. They used to help me on the horse and tie me down and all that, that's where I learnt to ride the old horse.

Ben refused Reid's offer and after taking the train to Murree and the mail truck north to Murnpoeowie, met the manager:

Mr Lou Newland, he was managing. 'Oh', he said, 'Who sent you here?' 'Barr Smith, [he gave me] job on the netting' [I said]. 'Oh, we better wait until the netting boys come along' [Newland said]. Stan Watkins, he come over, he give me the job - 'You come with us'. Him and his brother [Ben Watkins], they was on the netting...They give me camels then, couple of camels [four in fact]. [They] give me a length, how far I got to travel, till I meet somebody else, another netting rider, and turn back again. You got to clean everything along the netting, shovel sand away, put the netting up again. Buried, some of the netting, buried...Hard work, yeah.

Ben was sometimes away for two or three months at a time, patrolling his sector of the fence on the eastern boundary of the station, before returning to the head-station for a fresh

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88 Comments on a Diyari text recorded by Peter Austin, Canberra 10 February 1977 (field tape D47b, transcription Book IV p.140).
89 M-J, 29.7.83.
90 M-J, 29.7.83.
91 M-J, 29.7.83.
92 M-J, 14.3.87.
supply of rations. He worked south from Murnpeowie Creek to 'Donkey Corner' at the bottom end of the netting: 'I was on me own...I had four camels...carry some posts, carry some netting, one to carry water, one to ride'.93 After the Watkins brothers left, Ben's cousin Gottlieb Merrick worked sections of the fence to the north, with his wife Frieda and daughters Susie (with her husband Rudi Kennedy) and Gertie (with her husband Jimmy Sweeney).

The days of camel trains in the north were over by this time and the old 'wool road' south from Cordillo Downs through Murnpeowie, Donkey Corner (on the netting fence) and Blanchewater to the railway at Farina was falling into disuse. The wool load was now carted by wagons and the first motorised trucks. Nevertheless, Ben occupied his time at the head-station between boundary riding forays by making camel saddles for his own use and for the others patrolling the fence.

Gottlieb Merrick became ill while working on the netting fence in about 1940. Ben tried to get him back to the head station at Murnpeowie but it was too late. Gottlieb died soon after and Ben and Gottlieb's sons-in-law buried him at Dingo Waterhole. With Gottlieb's death his family moved away from the station and Ben decided to go as well.

A holiday in the Top End

With no immediate family to support Ben had accumulated some savings from his work on the netting fence. After leaving Murnpeowie he took the opportunity to see parts of Australia which he had never visited and was unlikely to see again. He began by catching the train to Alice Springs. From there he travelled at least part of the way to Darwin by motor car with two other (white) friends whom he met in the Centre - one of whom was a Queenslander named Jack Reid. The Japanese had bombed (‘king-hit’) Darwin by this time, and as Ben puts it: 'General MacArthur took it over then...chasing the Japanese. He did too - he soon made a mess of them'.94

Ben spent some time in Darwin before taking a steamer with a friend along the coast of north Australia to Thursday Island in the Torres Strait. This was apparently a free trip, given in exchange to Ben and a friend for bringing a mob of horses to Darwin from Alice Springs, probably at about the same time.

When asked what he did on Thursday Island, and in Darwin, Ben's reply is short, if laconic: 'Just to have a look, that's all, went to have a look at the country'.95 As a single man of independent means Ben would have been an attractive proposition for many of the girls he met on his travels but he remained unattached. In his earlier years Ben was not interested in marriage:

That time I didn't worry about any girl. I wanted to have a look around, have a good look around. Woman didn't worry me.

During the 1930s, when he was working near the River Murray, Ben had become very friendly with a white girl from New South Wales named Alice McArthur. She was a nurse at the Loxton Hospital and was later killed by the Japanese during the early stages of World War II. Ben's bachelorhood was perhaps the price he paid for his free and independent life. As he puts it:

93 M-J, 9.1.88.
94 M-J, 2.2.88.
95 M-J, 2.2.88.

179
I never had the chance to pick up a girl. I been travelling around...too busy. I met a girl - I went to Thursday Island, that island other side, Brisbane. I went there, 'Come on, [she said] please take me home, take me back, please!' 'No, I'm too busy'. I went to Darwin, the same. Alice Springs - there was a mob of girls there...Everywhere I went, 'take me home, take me home'...I never hooked any of them.

Ben took his time returning from Darwin, visiting the Aboriginal mission at Katherine, and travelling by horse through the north of Western Australia. Here he saw bush Aboriginal people - 'naked, walking around' - and met Chinese people for the first time: 'Chinamen breed...I give them a chance, couldn't understand what they were talking'. He and his friends reached Alice Springs, where they stayed for a while, attending a rodeo: we went to turnout there, buckjump, roughhorse show...And a girl...I forget the girl's name - she was riding a horse there, from Queensland! Queensland girl, she beat the lot of them.

After all this excitement, Ben finally returned to South Australia and another job on the netting fence at Mumpeowie station.

1940s - 1960s: Station work

In about 1948 the netting fence finally lost its battle with the drifting sand and it was taken down. 'They didn't want any more netting rider', Ben said. A new manager had been appointed to the station at this time and without consulting or recompensing him, shot Ben's camels and horses. Ben left in disgust. This man was, as Ben puts it, a rubbish manager...'he didn't last long anyway'. Ben returned to Mumpeowie for a while when a new manager was appointed, and found three camels which had belonged to a man who had perished on the Strezlecki Track not long before:

Young feller called Shaw...all the Afghans went up there, trying to find him - they give it up. He's out there somewhere.

With the netting work finished, Ben's skills as a horseman were enlisted to hunt down the dingoes which now had easier access to Mumpeowie. He was paid five shillings for most scalps, and ten shillings for those dingoes which the other station men were unable to catch. He rarely missed his quarry:

It was a lot of work. You got to track him down, hard to see the track in the hilly country. I used to come to the water, where he used to come in and get a drink. Wait for him there...I had a rifle, had a good horse too...He come in and have a drink, went out again. I'd see the way he went out, get the horse, went after him. I see him on the flat. I after him, I chase him, ride him down. Get up right alongside of the dog...aim just in front of the dog, and I hit him. I get the dog, go back [to the station]. 'I got the dog, he look the...

96 Thursday Island is of course a great distance from the city of Brisbane; the reference here is probably to the fact that it is in the state of Queensland of which Brisbane is the capital.
97 M-J, 2.2.88.
98 M-J, 31.7.87.
99 M-J, 31.7.87.
100 M-J, 9.1.88.
same as what you said [Ben said to the manager]' I show him the skin. 'Alright'.101

Ben finally left Murnpeowie and went west to Mundowdna, a Kidman property, where he cut fence-posts ('a thousand') with his old camel driving partner from Killalpaninna, Jack Hanness. Other station work followed, and filled the years from the 1950s through into the 1960s. After Mundowdna, his next job was fencing, on another Kidman property to the south at Witchelina from 1950, followed by stockwork, horse-breaking and dingo-tracking on Myrtle Springs, the station adjoining. Here he worked for Smith and Sons - 'champion people'.

TEXT M 'Making dingo baits'
Recorded by Peter Austin at Farina 11th January 1975 (fieldtape D15a, transcription Book II p 4).

While making dingo baits on Myrtle Springs Ben was bitten by a poisonous snake. Quick thinking saved his life.

1. Nganhi ngama-rnda purrhi-rnda juju102 nganka-rda
   I sit-PTCLE AUX-PTCLE danger make-PTCLE

   purrhi-rnda kinthala yampa nganhi yingki-rda
   AUX-REL SS dog wild meat give

   purrhi-lhali
   AUX-IMPL SS

2. Nhawu juju wapa-rnda purrhi-yi wirrhi-rnda
   he snake go-PTCLE AUX-PRES enter-PTCLE

   partka-rnda malthu-nhi ngama-rnda purrhi-lhali.
   go along-REL SS bag-LOC stop-PTCLE AUX-IMPL SS

3. Nganhi murda-rnda purrhi-yi juju nganka-rda purrhi-rnda
   I finish-PTCLE AUX-PRES bait make-PTCLE AUX-REL SS

4. Ngathu yanuka nhinha malthu mani-rnda purrhi-yi
   I like that him bag get-PTCLE AUX-PRES

5. Nganhi ngara-tharrhi-yi matha-rnda purrhi-yani purruna-rnda
   I hear-REFLEX-PRES bite-PTCLE AUX-IMPL DS pull-PTCLE

   purrhi-rndanhi
   AUX-REL DS

6. Nhayi-rnda wanku wakara-rnani
   see-PTCLE snake come-REL DS

101 M-J, 9.1.88.
102 The term *juju* is normally used to refer to dangerous insects and reptiles (see line 2). Here Ben has extended its meaning to cover the sense of poison baits.
7. Ngathu nhinha thidna mandra-ni 103 mani-rnda purrhi-yi
   I him foot grasp-NOMIN get-PTCPE AUX-PRES

8. Nhinha thuku wakarrpa-rnda purrhi-yi
   him back break-PTCPE AUX-PRES

9. Thika-yi ngakarni nhayipa mani-rnda purrhi-yi
   return-PRES my knife get-PTCPE AUX-PRES

    hand cut-PTCPE AUX-PRES knife arm tie-PTCPE

   purrhi-rnda
   AUX-REL SS hand also blood flow-PTCPE

   purrhi-yani.
   AUX-IMPL DS

11. Ngathu thana-nha juju warra-rnda purrhi-yi thidna
    I they-ACC bait throw-PTCPE AUX-PRES foot

   mandra-ni karrha-rnda purrhi-rnda.
   grasp-NOMIN put-PTCPE AUX-REL SS

12. Yaruka mara karrha-yi windri kumarrhi ngaka-rnda
    like that hand put-PRES only blood flow-PTCPE

   purrhi-yani.
   AUX-IMPL DS

    snake he always-ERG move-PTCPE AUX-PRES

14. Ngathu nhinha japuli payirrhi handle payirrhi-nthu
    I him shovel long handle long-COMIT

   mani-rnda purrhi-yi thika-ika-rnda purrhi-lhali.
   get-PTCPE AUX-PRES return-TRVB-PTCPE AUX-IMPL SS

15. Thurrhu nhinha ngathu piri-nganka-rda purrhi-yi thati
    fire him I space-CAUS-PTCPE AUX-PRES middle

   nhinha wara-rnda purrhi-lhali.
   him throw-PTCPE AUX-IMPL SS

103 Ben describes the dingo trap as thidna mandrrani, literally 'foot grasper'.
16. 'Ngathu yinka kurra-nda purrhi-yi nhingkiya thurrhu nhi.
   I you-ACC put-PTCLE AUX-PRES here fire-LOC
   yidni pali-nda purrhi-yan i.
   you die-PTCLE AUX-IMPL DS

17. 'Nganhi pali-nda purrhi-yathi karrari thinka nhi.
   I die-PTCLE AUX-might today night-LOC

18. Kauw. Ngathu nhinha jam tin thurrhu nhi kurra yi
   Yes I him fire-LOC put-PRES

19. Ngarda nhi mara winma-nda purrhi yi, darla parrjanda
   then-LOC hand put in-PTCLE AUX-PRES skin all
   dukara-nda purrhi-rndanhi.
   take off-PTCLE AUX-REL DS

20. Dapa ngana-nda wanthiyi pira kurnu, pira kurnu
   sore be-PTCLE AUX moon one moon one
   dapa ngana-nda purrhi-nda.
   sore be-PTCLE AUX-REL SS

Translation
1. I was there making baits to give meat to the wild dogs.
2. A snake came along and got in the bag.
3. I finished making the baits.
4. I got the bag like this.
5. I felt myself being bitten and something pulling.
6. I saw a snake coming.
7. I got a trap.
8. I broke his back.
9. I went back and got my knife.
10 I cut my hand with the knife and tied the arm, and the hand too so the blood would run out.
11. I threw the baits around and put down the traps.
12. That's how I put my hand just so the blood would come out.
13. The snake was still moving.
14. I got a long shovel with a long handle to take him back.
15. I opened up the fire to throw him in the middle.
16. 'I'll put you here in the fire so you'll die.' (I said to him)
17. 'I might die today or tonight.'
18. Yes. I put a jam tin (full of water) in the fire, making it hot.
19. Then I put my hand in it, and took all the skin off.
20. It was sore for one month, for a month it was sore.
After the 1967 referendum and subsequent legislation, Aboriginal people became eligible for social security payments. Ben’s war-time service had already qualified him for a pension however (two pounds a week, according to Ben), and he relied on this more during the 1960s as he began to work at a slower pace. While at Witchelina Ben bought some good horses (one named Walklate, after a nurse at Marree, and another named Daisy, an ex-racehorse) with his savings and used these to hunt down dingoes for local station people: 'Myrtle Springs used to send for me: "Come and have a look at the dogs [dingoes], they’re killing the sheep".'

A new manager arrived at Witchelina in 1959 - 'they was changing managers all the time' - and Ben decided to move to nearby Farina, a town which had shrunk during Ben's lifetime from a busy rail and commercial centre with a large Afghan population to little more than a ghost town. When Ben moved there the Pattersons were the only other residents and within a few years he was the only occupant, still active in his 70s. For a while he lived in an iron house in the main street with his brother Ern. Ben would sit on the verandah there with his dog Butch, looking out on the main road which still passed through the town, observing the traffic north or south. Following Ern's death in 1968 he moved to the old stone police station in Farina and when the roof blew off a couple of years later he shifted once more to the Pattersons' house. He often had guests staying with him, friends or relatives who arrived by the 'Ghan' train on its weekly run. Ben often used it himself to visit Marree or Port Augusta, in much the same way as city dwellers use buses: 'I might even jump on the rattler and come down', was a favourite saying of his.

TEXT N 'Living in Farina'
Recorded by Peter Austin at Farina on 20th May 1974 (fieldtape D9, transcription Book I p 98). Here Ben speaks of his life in retirement at Farina.

1. Nganhi kurnu ngama-rnda purrhi-yi, wata thanangu
   I alone live-PTCLE AUX-PRES not them LOC
   yarlarlu marndumarnduri-rnda purrhi-rnda, wata karna
   together mix with-PTCLE AUX-REL SS not person
   parlpawrhi-rnda.
   some-LOC yarlarlu marndumarnduri-rnda purrhi-rnda.
   together mix with-PTCLE AUX-REL SS

2. Nganhi wakara-rnda purrhi-yi, wapa-rnda purrhi-rnda
   I come-PTCLE AUX-PRES go-PTCLE AUX-REL SS
   karna-rndru.
   person-ABL

   not I sad-ERG be-PTCLE AUX
   I good live-PTCLE AUX-PRES alone
   person come-REL DS then-LOC we PL EXCL speak-PRES

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Translation
1. I live alone, not mixing together with the others, not mixing together with other people.
2. I came here and got away from people.
3. I am not lonely living alone.
4. I live well by myself.
5. People come and we talk.
6. Then they go again.

1970s-1980: Into retirement
From the late 1960s Ben began to collaborate with white researchers interested in learning about the languages, anthropology and history of the Lake Eyre region. He recorded a short Thirrari text with Bernhard Schebeck at Witchelina in 1965, the same year that he met Luise Hercus, and he began recording Arabana-Wangkangurru and Diyari-Thirrari with her from 1968 (see introduction). In January 1974, Luise introduced Ben to Peter Austin who was just beginning his Diyari language studies.

A horse-riding accident on Witchelina station caused Ben to come south again later in 1974. As Ben tells it, he was given a horse which no-one else on the station would ride because of its temper:

Put me in hospital too...I was riding Witchelina station and no-one could ride that horse, they give it to me. I ride it alright...down the hill, coming down, it start bucking then. It fell, four legs up, up the hill and I'm underneath. I kept hitting him, trying to pull my leg out, keep on moving like that and I did get out. I got out the reins and pull him up that way. Then I got on again, and I went to Witchelina station, manager and all the men were there...they wouldn't ride it themselves, no. Force you to ride it.

Ben's active working life was finally over at the age of 83, a milestone which he still recalls with regret. From 1975 onwards, Ben devoted more time to research: he assisted Hal Scheffler with his studies of Diyari kinship, and worked intensively with Peter Austin and Luise Hercus on Diyari, Thirrari and Wangkangurru. He continued to travel extensively, and accompanied Austin and Hercus on a number of fieldtrips to the north and east of Farina, helping to locate and record important mythological and historical sites for preservation, including such places as Blanchewater, Boocaltaninna, Ditjimingka, and his old camping spots between Marree and the Cooper. In February 1977, Ben flew to Canberra where he spent two weeks living and working with Peter Austin and Luise Hercus. He took the opportunity to 'look around' a new part of Australia and spent some time, among other business, reliving old memories at the Australian War Memorial.

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104 A copy of the field tape is held in the archives of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (number A640). We are grateful to Bernhard Schebeck for permission to obtain a copy of it.
105 M-J, 9.1.88.
107 Travel to Canberra was funded by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
Ben Murray c.1975 at the grave of Killalpaninna Mission pioneer Hermann Heinrich Vogelsang.
Photo: Lois Litchfield.

Ben Murray and Jimmy Russell visiting mythological sites with members of the Heritage Unit, 1976.
Photo: Luise Hercus.
After an operation in the Royal Adelaide Hospital, Ben moved back to his birthplace at Marree, where he lived with his nephew Arthur Warren, 'just pokin' about'. One day in 1979 a gas leak from the stove in Arthur's house ignited and Ben was lucky to escape through a window before the house burnt to the ground. He lost his personal records, army medals and uniform in the blaze.

Following the fire, Ben's last big move was to Port Augusta. He lived first with an old friend, Graham Hill:

across the bridge...then we shifted to this side. I lived with him there for a while...then when he left, I came to [Davenport] camp. I live with that bloke called Dodd, Don Dodd's son.

Finally, in 1980, Ben was contacted by Sister Morton and moved into his fully-serviced house at the Amewarra Old Folks Home. His time there has been punctuated by visits from family, old friends, and ourselves. Occasionally Ben has been able to take short trips himself. His last major excursions were to Killalpaninna to help document the ruins of the old mission, and to the Marree Centenary celebrations in 1983. His travelling days are over now, but there are few regrets:

I been travelling around Australia, I seen the country... Only one place I didn't go to - Kangaroo Island, that's a place I never see - I don't want to see it either!

Ben is now the oldest resident of Amewarra, restricted in his eyesight and movement, but with an active mind sharpened by nearly a century of memories. He enjoys visits and discussions about the old days, as well as catching up on recent events. He still takes an interest in politics and recently made a special application to continue his voting rights which he has exercised for many years now: 'I vote everywhere, wherever I've been.'

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108 This man was related to Ben, through the Merrick family.

109 M-J, 14.3.87.

110 M-J, 2.2.88.

111 M-J, 2.2.88.
Hercus, Luise and Peter Sutton (eds). This is what happened: Historical narratives by Aborigines. Canberra, 1986.
Jones, Philip, Peter Austin and Luise Hercus. A special property: expeditions to the Pukartu red ochre mine. Sydney, forthcoming.
______ 'Afghan story' and 'Paradise crossing', in Luise Hercus and Peter Sutton (eds), This is what happened, Canberra, 1986:129-32, 293-6.


When I was invited to consider reviewing this new book by Nancy Williams I immediately said 'yes' as I was very interested in obtaining a copy to read. Unfortunately, the process of ordering Australian scholarly books (whether actually printed in Australia as this one is or in Hong Kong) is a frustratingly long and arduous one from Canada. Sadly, the reverse is also true. As Two laws was not yet available when I left Australia in 1987, this invitation seemed like a perfect solution to the problem of acquiring the book expeditiously. I had conveniently forgotten, however, the dilemma that it would create for me to serve as its reviewer.

I approach this official review with triple trepidation. I have met the author on various occasions over the last six years, which has left me an admirer of her work and expertise such that I can not be true objective in my comments. Secondly, my contact with the Yolngu people of the Gove Peninsula has been almost non-existent. Finally, I am not a trained anthropologist but a lawyer who is very interested in the traditional laws of indigenous peoples as well as the relationship between common-law-based legal systems, imported through colonisation by what have subsequently become majority societies, and the aboriginal populations in these countries. To this list could be added the not inconsequential fact that I am also a foreigner. With these warnings to the reader clearly made apparent, let me offer my assessment and comments.

Two laws is a beautifully presented, fascinating, and important book indeed. It has been published with loving care by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, for which they deserve to be commended. The Institute has used excellent quality paper, clean type, good binding, and a thorough index and list of references to produce what is becoming particularly rare these days in scholarly works - a relatively inexpensive high quality hard cover book. In addition, it appears to be free completely of typographical errors. This level of attention is maintained right down to the paper cover, for which Dr Williams commissioned a painting from two Yolngu artists specifically to capture the essence of 'two laws' from their perspective.

The substance of this book is derived from the author's doctoral thesis and her field research in the rather well-known Yirrkala Mission in north-eastern Arnhem Land from 1969 to 1970. Dr Williams was extremely lucky as an anthropologist in many respects. She was fortunate in selecting as the community for her research the one that has probably been most influential in the development of the Aboriginal land rights struggle of the last two decades as well as in raising prospects for change in the Australian justice system. She was further blessed by being well received by the Yolngu living at Yirrkala generally. In addition, the kin position assigned to her was as sister to the President of the Village Council. Not only did this provide her with an excellent opportunity to observe the decision-making process within the Western-style governmental regime that had been constructed for this community by the Synod of the North Australia District of the Methodist Church, but her position was further enhanced by being appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council. The Village Council President, Roy Dadaynga Marika, is also a leader of the clan that 'owns' the land on which the community is situated as well as a very strong and highly regarded leader throughout the region, thereby enabling Dr Williams to
observe far more than the 'official' structure. Mr Marika continues to be recognised by white Australia as a prominent Aboriginal leader as witnessed by his investiture last year as a Member of the Order of the British Empire by the Queen. One of her first teachers was Galarrwuy Yunupingu, later the long-serving Chairman of the Northern Land Council.

Finally, Dr Williams happened to be present during a most opportune time period for an anthropologist. Until a year before her arrival, the only non-Aborigines living on the Gove Peninsula were a few missionaries. This was to change rapidly as by the end of 1969 some 1200 construction workers were present building the bauxite mine at Nhulunbuy for Nabalco, 60 Europeans were at a satellite tracking station twenty-five kilometres away and resident school teachers had arrived. These sudden influxes naturally brought significant changes as the Nabalco construction site provided access to liquor through its canteen, a few jobs for Yolngu men, a reason to have vehicles, an increase in alcohol-related offences, a threat to Aboriginal dominance of the region, and a challenge to the control over and responsibility for the land by the Yolngu. The Yolngu were forced to respond and they did in a way that has sent shock waves throughout Australia ever since. They went to court in May of 1970 to assert that they were the 'owners' of the land from a Western perspective in the sense that no one could use, alter or develop the land without their express consent and in accordance with Yolngu law. Mr Justice Blackburn of the Northern Territory Supreme Court rejected this claim in April of 1971, in the famous Gove Land Rights Case (Milirrpum and Others v. Nabalco Pty Ltd and Commonwealth of Australia, [1971] 17 Federal Law Reports 171). Although he did decide that the Yolngu had a system of law that could be generally recognised by the common law, he concluded that the Yolngu's relationship to land did not constitute a property interest that could be protected by it. He further concluded that the doctrine of Aboriginal title did not exist in Australia as it did in New Zealand, Canada, the USA and other common-law jurisdictions. Unfortunately, Dr Williams had left Yirrkala by the time Mr Justice Blackburn's decision was rendered so that Two laws does not discuss its immediate aftermath for the Yolngu. Its impact upon Australia generally is well known since it served as a seminal event in the expanding land rights struggle by helping to trigger the change in attitude in Parliament, as well as among many white Australians, culminating in the initiatives of the Whitlam government and the passage of the Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act under Malcolm Fraser. Somewhat surprisingly, Dr Williams pays relatively scant attention to the preparations for trial. Nevertheless, anyone who is interested in the background to the case and the events going on in Yirrkala at that time will find Two laws a fascinating account, as well as her other recent book The Yolngu and their land: a system of land tenure and the fight for its recognition (1986).

Dr Williams commences her study by introducing the reader to the context by briefly describing the history of north-eastern Arnhem Land since the time of contact, the Australian legal structure, the environment, the limited literature that existed on dispute settlement among Aborigines at the time of her study, and her own research objectives. Chapter 1 maintains this thrust but turns its attention specifically to Yirrkala and the Yolngu by describing the social and spatial characteristics, the relationships of the Yolngu with the missionaries and other non-Aborigines, the economic organisation, religious activities, and the concepts of kinship, clanship and leadership among the Yolngu.

The heart of this excellent book can be divided into two parts. The first consists of Chapters 2 to 5, which focus upon Yolngu law and procedure, while the remaining two chapters concentrate upon the relationship between Australian and Yolngu law. Dr Williams provides an exceptional investigation and analysis of the dispute settlement system and the underlying issues, so often unstated, to disputes. In doing so she demonstrates that most
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previous commentators had over-simplified disputes or focused upon their explicit aspects, thereby overlooking their true nature or often misstating the reasons for the disputes. For example, several authors characterised certain conflicts among men as being over women per se or earlier explained them by defining women as a 'scarce commodity'. This analysis completely failed to realise the importance of women in terms of their rights to land, which they bring to their marriages. Thus, the nature of the disputes about land, power, and inheritance rights were miscast as being inspired by sexual or domestic desires.

Dr Williams is also to be congratulated for the depth of her analysis concerning the dispute resolution system of the Yolngu. She does not merely describe what might be characterised from a European vantage point as the criminal offences under Yolngu law and the sanctions for their breach, as has been most commonly done by anthropologists to date. She goes much farther than this as she explores selected aspects of non-criminal law (for example, contract, real property, natural resources and religious restrictions) while avoiding the artificial distinction that exists in most nation states through which they bifurcate their laws into criminal and civil components. Instead, Dr Williams adopts an approach more in keeping with Yolngu law by dealing with all disputes as grievances and characterising them in terms of the behavioural basis that gives rise to the complaint.

Two laws also describes the process through which disputes are addressed. The means for initiating a complaint are canvassed as are the motivations underlying the act that gave rise to the grievance. The discussion of the primary mechanism for settling disputes - the clan moots - and its procedures makes for fascinating reading. Each of the four phases of the moots is described in detail generally as well as within the context of a dispute over the violation of a marriage betrothal. An interesting parallel worthy of further investigation could be drawn between this Yolngu process and the moots of the Anglo-Saxons in pre-Norman England that continued to exist for more than a century after the conquest. Examining the commonalities might make it easier for non-Aboriginal Australia to relate positively to Yolngu law.

It is interesting to note that Dr Williams concludes this analysis by stressing that the process consists of 'individuals with grievances and leaders attempting to bring about satisfaction for individuals' (her emphasis) rather than the common assertion that in small societies 'individual rights are sacrificed to maintain "social harmony" or "group survival"' (p.94). One might question this interpretation as confusing individual rights per se with the role of the individual in disputes. The interveners in the case examined at length all give exhortations to the 'defendants' to accept their blame and to remedy the offence for the good of the community so as to accord with Yolngu law. In this sense they seek acceptance by the individuals of adherence to the prevailing law as the vehicle to ensure protection of social harmony without concentrating upon an orientation that places the wishes (and rights) of the individual at the centre, derived from concepts of autonomous free will regardless of collective costs. This is not to suggest that the Yolngu deny free will, as it is evident in their belief 'that no person should be coerced to act or not to act' (p.105). Rather it is that this concept does not operate in isolation from responsibilities owed to others and the community as a whole as it increasingly tends to do in more so-called developed societies.

Although women are referred to in this part of the book regularly, it is usually in the context of their position within grievances regarding marriage or betrothals. The discussion, then, largely emphasises the situation of men under Yolngu law. It is unclear if the procedure, role of interveners, and the sanctions available are any different when women are the grievers. Likewise, women's law is left untouched.
The second broad component to this study is also extremely well articulated. Dr Williams provides an insightful overview of the Yolngu's response to Australian law in Chapter 6, especially concerning how the Yolngu react to the Australian justice system and its personnel, by analysing it within their own law and procedure. Therefore, she describes how the Yolngu attempt to make sense of the Australian legal regime on their own terms through their assumptions that the systems are roughly similar. This approach causes the Yolngu not to notice key differences between the two schemes (for example, that a judge is equivalent to a clan leader at a moot who only proposes sanctions but is not empowered to decide the grievance and actually order the imposition of the selected sanction). Chapter 7 describes the conflicts between the two regimes and the attempts of the Yolngu to protect their law by reducing the scope of their jurisdiction to 'little trouble' thereby leaving the police and courts to handle 'big trouble'. This action is taken unilaterally by the Yolngu and is not understood as such by most of the members of the Australian justice system. The latter do not see themselves as party to a relationship with the Yolngu in which there are reciprocal obligations. They regularly misunderstand the behaviour and expectations of the Yolngu so that they act in a manner that creates disappointment among the Yolngu, who see judges and police offices as breaching their part of these obligations. This represents in part the difficulty the Yolngu have in perceiving that Australian law is not tied tightly to community values, including even those of the majority society. Likewise it represents the lack of realisation that the justice system is currently staffed by people who do this work as a job (albeit a very important one) rather than as an integral part of their broader role as leaders of the community. One could wish that the author explored these differences in perceptions more fully as well as their resulting impacts.

Two laws represents the world from the Yolngu perspective as is evident from these two key words in the title. Although the views of the missionaries trickle through the study, as do, less frequently, the opinions of some other non-Aborigines on different matters (such as the mine), the beliefs of the Australian justice system personnel are left largely unknown. One can readily assume, however, that they do not possess the similar perspective of believing in two laws. While the police are prepared not to intervene in what they would classify as private arguments, this is likely based in many situations upon their lack of receiving an official complaint or upon the way in which the event may be characterised as non-criminal under Australian law. There is little evidence given to the reader on which to conclude that the dominant justice system is even cognisant of the existence of Yolngu law let alone prepared to recognise its rightful continuance. This is not meant to suggest that non-Aboriginal Australia is completely ignorant of Aboriginal law, as that would be to fly in the face of far too much evidence of such knowledge (for example, the Australian Law Reform Commission's Report on Aboriginal customary law, the dozens of decisions of the Northern Territory Supreme Court that take Aboriginal law into account in selecting appropriate sentences for Aboriginal offenders, the presence of various provisions in Territorial legislation that recognise customary law for certain specific and limited purposes). Nevertheless, these illustrations of acceptance are still within a context in which it is the dominant system that controls the decision as to when and what to accept. Furthermore, they identify incorporations of Aboriginal law within Australian law rather than a negotiating of separate jurisdictions in which each would operate independently. That is, they largely reflect a 'one law' approach in which selected Aboriginal customs will be given some legal weight. I only wish that Dr Williams also reported in detail upon the beliefs and reactions of the newcomers to Arnhem Land.

This superb study concludes with a ten-page afterword. This segment provides not only a home for her concluding remarks but also an opportunity to give brief glimpses to the
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reader of the changes that had occurred in Yirrkala from 1970 to 1985. This reviewer was left somewhat frustrated about the content of both components. In the former, Dr Williams raises the crucial issue of how similar the Yolngu are to other typical small-scale societies undergoing rapid colonisation and post-colonial rationalisation elsewhere. There are clearly certain common elements that can be distilled from the process of colonisation of indigenous peoples. It is only regretted that the author chose to draw comparisons exclusively with J.F. Collier's study of the Zinacantecos of Mexico as this may tend to undermine the validity of her analysis in the views of some readers.

Similarly, my mild complaint regarding her efforts to comment on what has transpired since the completion of her fieldwork in 1970 probably reflects my appreciation of the book as a whole and the desire for more. I would readily welcome a companion volume in the future (in addition to her 1986 book already mentioned), in which Dr Williams elaborated upon the changes that have transpired in the two laws over the intervening years. Let me also comment as a lawyer by encouraging efforts at articulating the general principles of the substantive fields of law of the Yolngu regarding both individual grievances and group matters.

*Two laws* provides a far greater sense of the breadth and sophistication of Yolngu law than is the case in the overwhelming majority of studies in legal anthropology. This is an accomplishment for which Nancy Williams can deservedly be proud. In addition, the Yolngu people can also be pleased at the way in which the story of their legal system has been told so expertly. Not only am I happy to recommend this book highly in its own right, but I also intend to hold it out as a model of how this critical subject should be pursued. What makes it even more valuable is that it is extremely well-written and accessible to the average reader; thus it deserves the broadest possible audience.

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Australia's founding fathers could never have envisaged John McCorquodale's large legal digest *Aborigines and the law*, for they did not contemplate ever counting the Aboriginal population (Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900). They also denied Aborigines any political power by not giving them the right to vote (Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902). They also excluded them from welfare benefits such as invalid and old age pensions, maternity benefits and child endowment. (Invalid and Old-age Persons Act 1908, Maternity Allowance Act 1912, Child Endowment Act 1941.¹)

Unless we are confronted with the dates of these Acts we tend to forget that until very recently our legal system blatantly discriminated against Aborigines. For example, Aborigines have been able to vote at Federal Elections only for the last twenty-seven years (Commonwealth Electoral Act 1962) and they were not counted in the census until 1967 (Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) Act 1967).

¹ This Act excluded 'Aborigines and Natives of Australia who are nomadic, or where the child is wholly or mainly dependent upon the State or Commonwealth for his support.'
1967 marks a watershed in Aboriginal Affairs, for then the referendum was passed which enabled the Commonwealth to legislate in respect of Aborigines in the States. From then onwards the entries under Acts in this digest become much more supportive of Aborigines. Indeed the first entry after the Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) Act 1967 is the Aboriginal Enterprises (Assistance) Act 1967, which sets aside $4,650,000 'to enable persons of the Aboriginal race of Australia to engage in business enterprises that have prospects of becoming or continuing to be successful.' Then follow a series of State Grants (Aboriginal Advancement Acts) which divert millions of dollars to the States for the welfare of Aborigines. The year 1975 sees the Racial Discrimination Act. In 1976 the Commonwealth enacts even more revolutionary legislation: The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, 'one of the most far-reaching advances investing title to land in corporate bodies representing Aborigines'.

All this information comes from the first section of the digest called Acts. It cites most relevant legislation enacted by the Commonwealth and the States relating to Aborigines and Torres Straits Islanders. There is also some information on Pacific Islanders (Kanakas). The material is presented according to the actual order of enactment and those wishing to follow a theme, for example land rights, can consult the comprehensive index. Any Act which succeeded or modified or repealed another also contains a reference to that other, and also to any future legislation which repealed it. This makes the section particularly useful.

The section on bibliography is valuable too. It lists books, articles, reports of royal commissions and parliamentary inquiries, theses and even letters published in learned journals. McCorquodale comments on most of these.

The third section on case law is more comprehensive than the first, because McCorquodale realised that since he commenced his research the focus of legal change had shifted from the legislative arena to that of the courts. They have now become facilitators of social change 'in a way made possible and possibly not foreseen by the legislatures'. He therefore decided to give priority to updating the section on case law rather than that on legislation. But he assures his readers that this will be rectified in future editions.

There have been some interesting landmark cases. For example, sensitive rules for the admission into evidence of confessions allegedly made by Aboriginal accused were laid down in R v Anunga, and the validity of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, as a lawful exercise of federal legislative power, was upheld in the High Court in Koowarta v Bjelke-Petersen. In his foreword Mr Justice Kirby draws attention to 'other cases that shine like jewels from the digest of cases in this book' (p.ix).

This part of the digest is particularly impressive. It covers more than 500 cases and includes all available Supreme Court and higher court cases, reported and unreported, that have affected Aborigines or included them as one party. Extracts are provided which illustrate attitudes, opinions or prejudices of white judicial authority to Aborigines from colonisation of Australia to the present day.

McCorquodale has annotated the cases with commendable political astuteness. For example, the student who is interested in the history of Aborigines and alcohol will discover that it was once a crime to supply alcohol to Aborigines, but that nowadays people are permitted to entice them to drink heavily. After reading Mr Justice Muirhead's recent plea to the Parliament of the Northern Territory not to permit people to foist alcohol on Aborigines, the student may well wonder if Australian society is not now engaged in a new form of genocide.

The crime dealt with in R v Steward Collin Mungkuri and Simon Nyaningu (also known as Peter Roger), which was heard in the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory in 1985, was manslaughter (p.416).
Mr Justice Muirhead said:

As usual in this depressingly frequent type of offence, the root cause is alcohol. For over 10 years sitting in this Territory, I have endeavoured to draw attention to the need for something to be done about the marketing, the regulation and supply of alcohol, particularly to our Aboriginal community, the need for detoxification units, modern treatment and rehabilitation centres. I've not been alone in this exercise but it's been entirely fruitless (p.416).

He then pointed out that as things are at present 'the courts can achieve little or nothing'. He also noted that Aboriginal councils are well aware of the problem for 'it is the Aboriginal people who almost entirely suffer its consequences (p.416).

Research undertaken by the Aboriginal Legal Service shows that in Alive Springs most serious crimes are alcohol-related. It has 39.58 per cent more outlets than any place in the Territory. Since 1983 the Aboriginal Tangentyere Council and the Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Service have been trying to persuade the Northern Territory Liquor Commission to reduce the number of take away licenses. But no notice has been taken of their pleas.

This section contains information relating to cases by year and jurisdiction. It would have been helpful to have also included an analytical table of the subject matter even though this can be discovered from the index.

McCorquodale compiled his digest on Aborigines and the Australian legal system for law students, but it will also be a useful reference work for everyone who is concerned about Aboriginal issues. It will also act as a much needed link for those who care about Aboriginal issues but are artificially separated by disciplines.

The operation of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, and the development of both individual and corporate consciousness of 'Aboriginality', have reinforced the need for all associated with the administration of justice - judges, lawyers, police, welfare agencies, political scientists, academics, researchers or anthropologists to eliminate the divisions within and between professions and disciplines (p.xii).

In any future edition it would be worthwhile to consider the suggestions for improvement made by Mr Justice Kirby in his foreword, particularly his suggestion to include references to Aboriginal law. In the meantime the digest could be a very useful reference work for historians, for it contains within its pages the history of how Australia has used her legal system both to subordinate and liberate Aborigines.

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2 Smith:2.
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Paul Wilson's central thesis in *Black death white hands* is 'that white Australians have created historical and social conditions that are violence provoking' for Aborigines. The history of race relations in Queensland is the major theme in this book. Wilson points out that 'the past must be remembered if only because the present can never really be understood without reference to it.'

Wilson draws attention to the high level of personal violence endemic in Queensland's Aboriginal communities. He notes that while killing is easily recognised as violence it also takes other forms, which are not usually recognised. He points out that while institutional violence often does not display physical force, intentionality and criminal action, it is as serious a social problem as murder. By using national as well as State statistics he shows that this type of violence is not confined to Queensland.

Wilson is particularly concerned with the violence inflicted on Queensland's Aborigines by white institutions, especially the paternalistic Queensland Department of Aboriginal Affairs. He also stresses the problems Aborigines have with other institutions: those that deal with education, employment, health, housing, and the law and its enforcement agencies. Wilson found that many Aboriginal males spend a large part of their adult lives in jail. He also found that many did not mind being in jail 'because there were few fights and few hassles'.

Wilson examines race relations in Queensland from a historical perspective as well as from the life cycle of one Aboriginal man, Alwyn Peters, who was accused of murdering his de-facto wife. He shows that Queensland created conditions which foster aggression in Aboriginal communities and particularly in the one into which Peter's was born. He maintains that we cannot divorce the history of dispossession, sense of hopelessness and futility that now exists among Aborigines from the acts that they perpetrate on one another.

The statistics of homicide and assault rates in these communities are frightening. They were obtained by the Public Defender, who was acting for Alwyn Peters, because the Queensland government does not keep any statistics on Aborigines. The homicide rate from 17 Aboriginal communities studied was found to be 39.6 per 100,000. This is ten times the national and State average. He points out that this rate is far higher than for American crime capitals. It was also found that there is a huge hidden assault rate on Aboriginal reserves of 226.05 per 100,000 compared with a Queensland figure of 43.85. This means that the hidden assault rate is probably 10-15 times the State or national figure. Research showed that the Alwyn Peter's type case was very common. Dossiers and transcripts revealed numerous cases of murder, manslaughter, and serious assaults. The figures indicate that violence and death are such common occurrences in Queensland's Aboriginal communities 'that every family, directly or indirectly, suffers the consequences of murder or serious assault'.

Anthropological research reported by Wilson showed there were two district clusters of reserves in Queensland. One cluster had a high rate of violence, while the other was relatively low (although the latter rate was high by white Australian standards). On high violence reserves 'alcohol was legally available; they had only low to medium levels of traditional culture; they had relatively high populations; most importantly they were
reserves that had received displaced Aborigines from other areas'. Reserves with a lower incidence of violence exhibited nearly the reverse pattern. On these alcohol was not legally available; relatively high levels of traditional culture survived; they were generally isolated from white influence; they were not the receivers of people forced from their traditional areas.

Most of those who killed or assaulted others were extremely poor; they had a low level of education; they lived in overcrowded conditions; they had a history of ill health. This was also true of Alwyn Peters, who was born into a culture of violence. His parents were forced from their traditional homeland at Marpoon and resettled at Weipa South, where they had to live with other Aborigines and Torres Straits Islanders from whom traditionally they had kept their distance. Fights often broke out between these groups. Alwyn Peters associated his childhood and teenage years 'with fights, battles and vendettas in which knives and chains were used by opposing sides'. Throughout his childhood he saw his parents fight each other with fists and feet; he was often beaten by his father; he witnessed brawls at the canteen and soon realised 'that violence was the method most people used in Weipa South to exert control and to settle disputes'.

Wilson does not minimise the role that alcohol plays in accentuating violent behavior, but points out that whereas the judiciary is apt to see drunkenness as the major cause of Aboriginal violent crime, heavy drinking patterns have multiple causes. If Aborigines are to overcome alcoholism they need to have a sense of self worth and community esteem. As Queensland's Aboriginal communities are tightly controlled by white bureaucrats the prospects of their attaining this are at the moment bleak.

Wilson's chapter on self-mutilation throws light on a problem that is hushed up by white society - the high suicide rate of young males, most of whom appear in official statistics as accidental deaths. Aborigines call this phenomenon 'the black death'. Wilson shows that acts of self-mutilation by young males are common occurrences. He observes that while on the surface many of the acts may not appear to be self-destructive 'on closer examination they have an almost suicidal overtone to them'.

Wilson notes that homelessness, paternalism and powerlessness have crippled individual Aborigines and their communities for from four to eight generations. He points out that there are no universal panaceas, but notes that an inalienable title to their reserves would be an important step in the right direction. Wilson vents most of his wrath on the Queensland government and lets off very lightly the Federal government, which has the power to introduce national land rights. It would greatly improve the book if the history of land rights was a more prominent theme.

The book also contains a few pages on Palm Island. This needs to be fleshed out. Anyone can do this by reading Bill Rosser's deeply disturbing account This is Palm Island.

On the cover of Black death white hands is written 'revised edition'. Very little revision appears to have been done since the book was first published in 1982. But even if the book were up to date the story would be the same. Now that the white community is concerned over the huge number of Aboriginal deaths in custody Black death white hands is a timely reminder that this problem is multi-faceted and has its origins in our history.

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This is an interesting collection of essays, all with something to contribute to current discussions of black literatures, several of them of excellent quality. A number of the essays, including those of Watego, Headon, Muecke, Shoemaker, James and Sykes, concern themselves directly with Australian Aboriginal writing. Kunene writes about a South African Xhosa novel and its author's self-translation, Hudson looks at the connections between Black American art and politics during the 1960s, while Elder examines Ed Bullins' conscious use of elements of traditional African ritual in his Black American dramas. James compares Aboriginal, Maori and Black American writing 'through the relationship these literary works have with the cultural resources of black and white society'.

The collection as a whole identifies a number of key issues in the on-going debate about the nature and identity of black writing. The volume's title Connections points to one of them, the question of whether black writing from around the world has a recognisable identity of a literary and aesthetic nature as well as a recognisable community of purpose, which is variously defined in this volume as 'protest moving... toward sophisticated cultural self-criticism' (p.5), 'consciousness raising' aimed at both black and white society (p.22) and so 'priming the black individual for a regeneration of the self' - and - of black writers, - 'the public sounds of our community weeping' (p.112). This issue was a particularly pressing one at the Conference on Black Literatures from which all the papers derive. It was held at the University of Queensland in June 1986 and, as Nelson, the volume's editor asserts 'the purpose of this anthology is to keep... alive... that... creative dialogue among the various black people at the conference'.

The volume addresses a number of other hard questions about black literature, exemplified from diverse texts. If black literature aims to some large extent to be functional in the sense of politically and socially committed to certain aims, how should it be evaluated, and by whom? Are Western literary standards irrelevant and can we speak meaningfully of 'an aesthetics of resistance'? Can black writers construct genres, rhetorical techniques and levels of discourse that are not generated by the very mainstream white cultural norms they seek to escape or subvert? If they use the mainstream white language - in most of these cases English - how can they escape its cognitive toils? What is the future of writing in the various creoles many black artists speak?

All these questions and more press on some of the fundamental assumptions of Western literary culture. What is literature anyway? Does it include the 'Aboriginal contact literature' and oral histories analysed by David Headon as well as the short stories of Colin Johnson, Jack Davis and Archie Weller that Adam Shoemaker writes about? And what of oral literature, that contradiction in terms which formed and still often forms the basis of the traditional non-English language performing arts that the black writers in English increasingly look to as a possible source of a new and distinctive black aesthetic and literary forms?

And here we come to a crucial problem for Australian Aboriginal writing, as is made clear in different ways in the essays of Headon, Muecke and James. In the last named writer's essay, which he entitles 'Black literature in the Pacific: the spider and the bee', he uses a Swiftian distinction between the ancients and the moderns to position, respectively, Black American, Australian Aboriginal and Maori writing according to their ability to utilise their traditional cultural bases. I think James is right when he argues that Aboriginal writers are worst off when it comes to the assistance they have obtained from traditional verbal arts. There are many and complex reasons for this in addition to those James adduces,
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which are the inadequacy and cultural biases of translated texts, the decimation of traditional Aboriginal societies in many parts of Australia and the continuing alienation of Aborigines in the metropolis. One of the fundamental reasons, I suspect, is that unlike Maori culture, Aboriginal culture has always been pluralist: it speaks in many languages for many small cultural groups, so there is no one Aboriginal language that Aboriginal people - or any other - can learn and write in. Aboriginal oral arts were fundamentally religious and esoteric. Consequently their forms of expression were and still are likewise. They do not yield their skills or their secrets easily to any inquirer, whatever her or his primary cultural affiliation.

Two contributors to this volume in particular, Muecke and Kunene, address a further and crucial point that follows from that made in the last paragraph. To what extent can texts embedded in a culture whose values are unknown to or ignored by the dominant society that consumes translations of them ever translate in a way that does not do violence to the original productions? Muecke's answer I find unhelpful, but perhaps as a 'realist ethnographer' I have the blindness of a folly that still sees it as important for Aborigines and others to keep trying to document their oral performances, however imperfectly. In some ways, I found Daniel Kunene's article on A.C. Jordan's Xhosa novel *Ingqumbo* and its translation, which he worked at through much of his life, the most interesting essay in the collection. Here Kunene explores Jordan's attempt to be loyal to his original Xhosa work 'while insinuating other messages into it which the original did not have' (p.77), all to address his changing and growing non-Xhosa audiences. I look forward to a time when Aboriginal writers embark on such bicultural brinkmanship.

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**Two Reviews**

1. By Pearl Duncan
This is a beautifully presented book which contains illuminating narrative and over 150 full-colour illustrations. It makes the ideal presentation gift both for those of Australian or overseas heritage. One thing is certain, it is not a book to be left on the bookshelves. It is a valuable book for teachers, lecturers, and students and I recommend it to all readers in pursuit of knowledge and inspiration regarding Aboriginal culture.

Aboriginal art, particularly Western Desert art in acrylic on canvas, has been taken up by the New York art world. The exhibition of Aboriginal art at the Asia Society Galleries in New York last year created immense interest. In the wake of the excitement surrounding this new art market phenomenon, art enthusiasts conscientiously tried to unravel the symbolism of Aboriginal art. To help them, Peter Sutton and fellow anthropologists, Christopher Anderson and Francoise Dussart, with historians Phillip Jones and Steven Hemming, put together *Dreamings*.

This book, written with an intelligent New York art public in mind, was published in New York to co-incide with the exhibition. Sutton has stated that the book has tried to act
as an honest translation for 'one of the best known and least understood people in the world'.
The exhibition and the book grew out of a concern to explore the significance of Aboriginal art, both to its practitioners and to the wider public, and to offer a basis for its interpretation and appreciation.

The authors successfully (and uniquely) achieved a historical treatment of Aboriginal Art. They have presented the first extended overview of the history of Aboriginal art scholarship; they have presented a substantial analysis of the Aboriginal aesthetic which reveals how it is integrated with the distinctive world view and social values of Aboriginal traditions; and finally they have examined the cultural, economic and political contexts of the production of Western Desert paintings for Australia and world art markets.

Chapter 1 is essentially concerned with an academic explanation of the Dreaming and how art is related both to the vast bodies of Aboriginal mythic narrative and to the wider symbolisms of daily life and belief. Thus, reproducing the culture in art form is also, in Aboriginal eyes, reproducing or following the Dreaming, and the Dreaming is the Law.

The second chapter examines the obstacles that have stood in the way of an appreciation of Aboriginal Art by the European cultural world for over 200 years. The authors show what kinds of knowledge contribute to a richer response to this art.

In Chapter 3 the writers explore the basis of the morphological meaning of Aboriginal Art, that is its visual logic and the way forms come together to create the look of the art. The reader should be able to understand the role of form and composition in creating visual effects and aesthetic responses when studying Aboriginal Art after reading this section.

Chapter 4 is devoted to acrylic paintings of Central Australian Aborigines which is one of the most exciting developments in modern art in Australia today, though surprisingly little has been written about it. The writers take its production and its historical and cultural context as the starting point for understanding acrylic works of the Western Desert.

The writers stress that the acrylic movement is in many ways a positive one for it represents a continuity of the Western Desert culture and the successful integration of part of that culture into a system which once actively attempted to destroy it. In essence, the acrylic movement demonstrates the strength and vitality of Aboriginal culture and provides a means of transmitting cultural knowledge at a time of flux and change. 'The power of the Dreaming does not stop at the museum door.'

In Chapter 5, the writers highlight the shift in opinion in the realm of Aboriginal art. The perceptions of what was once termed 'primitive art' have altered fundamentally with Aboriginal bark paintings and acrylic works increasingly capturing the attention of individual collectors, art galleries and museums. The writers assert that after two centuries of Western presence in Australia, Aboriginal Art retains its distinctive link with land based mythology and tradition but at the same time it displays flexibility and dynamism.

In the final chapter of the book, the writers refute the popular assumption held by non-Aborigines that Aboriginal culture and society would decline rapidly to extinction. They examine the processes of survival, regeneration and impact of Aboriginal culture. Aborigines in remoter parts of Australia especially maintained the fabric of their culture. A wave of cultural revitalisation among so-called detribalised Aborigines gradually began spreading from the 1960 onwards, especially in art. The more traditional forms of art that did survive in remote areas had impact not only on non-Aboriginal artists but on urban Aboriginal artists as well. The art produced by Aborigines has been influenced by white culture, and it is also true that white Australians are increasingly enjoying a reverse influence of Aboriginal Art.
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In this book, and the exhibition that it accompanied, the main focus has been on the kind of art that is firmly rooted in the pre-European past of Aboriginal art tradition and has demonstrated the continuing vitality of that tradition over much of Australia.

Peter Sutton maintains that in the literature on Aboriginal art a gap still remains which needs to be filled with another exhibition and another book. I look forward to this becoming a reality with tremendous excitement and anticipation.

Pearl Duncan
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2. By Jim Porter.

We too often dismiss or declare irrelevant that which we know little about or do not understand. A personal point of view.

Aboriginal art is little understood beyond the realm of its producers and practitioners. It is a mistake of monumental proportions to simply dismiss it as being naive, simple, 'unrealistic' and incoherent. In truth it is a most comprehensive and accurate expression of one of the most complex and diverse communities of people ever to have existed in time. It is undoubtedly one of the most profound expressions of 'this is me, essentially me and this is what I am all about.' It is most stimulating and possessed of an intrinsic fascination. It is indeed sophisticated, complex, extremely coherent and immensely accurate in its presentation of all that is the essence of being Aboriginal.

As an educator of some competence in the field of visual education I have come to understand the critical importance of learning through 'looking and listening.' I must, therefore, consider myself committed to a learning process often referred to as 'visual literacy.' I believe this 'visual literacy' is a reasonably accurate description of the rather 'different' art that this superb publication comes to grips with. But more than just that this book is of great significance to all educators who believe that it is important for all Australians to at least understand that the long term cultural heritage of this country is of immense social and historical value and that the need to perpetuate it is of critical importance. Aboriginal art is voluminous in its content, supremely efficient in its presentation and fascinating to behold. It is one of the most complete histories of a people ever to have been 'written'. It is encyclopaedic.

In most countries formal education begins at an early age and much of that formal teaching is done through the use of visual material in concert with imaginative and descriptive language. Could not the same 'model' be employed when first introducing students to a learning experience concerned with developing positive understandings about 'other people'? Why not start at an early age with the pictures? I believe that is where the real value of a book such as this lies - off the bookshelf and in the hands of the qualified teacher.

Some thirty years ago Robert Redfield wrote: 'Whether we come to see the artifact as a creative mastery of form, or see it as a sign or symbol of a traditional way of life, we are discovering, for ourselves, new territory of our common humanity. We are enlarging the range of our recognition of human sameness as it appears in human difference.'

Jim Porter
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Catherine Ellis presents us with a most thought-provoking journey into the essence of music; how music is viewed by mainstream western culture and by Aboriginal society, how difficulties in communication of music arise from different world views, and how some of these problems can be overcome through the medium of music education. Her background of study and experience give her a wide base for comment upon music and society; she is trained as a professional musician and musicologist, founded the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) at the University of Adelaide, and now serves as Professor of Music at the University of New England.

From the beginning, the reader sees that the book is a very personal one. Ellis draws freely upon her own background for examples that show the differing values in various cultural settings. For example, we see the problems a young child faces when the Scottish folk music she performs at home with joy and with high acclaim by her parents is not accepted as 'proper' music by her teachers. Such paradoxes are likened unto the difficulties faced by 'detribalized' Aboriginal people when they enter into the European education system.

Such paradoxes lead to the topic of the first chapter, 'Music as communication'. Ellis discusses the differences between the place of music in Aboriginal and white Australian cultures with an emphasis on music education and music therapy. The next chapter looks at the boundaries a culture puts around people and refers to the theories set out by Stan Gooch (Total man; towards an evolutionary theory of personality), Carl Jung and Gregory Bateson in examining the place of music in regard to perception, education, and spiritual experience.

Chapter 3 looks directly at South Australian Aboriginal music-styles, state of traditional forms, uses, texts, and techniques of performance as well as the cosmology behind the music. Ellis makes a more detailed analysis of Pitjantjatjara song in the next chapter with an examination of the Miniri/Langka ceremony and the different levels of meaning operating within a single performance.

The CASM figures prominently in the next chapter as we see how a group of Pitjantjatjara elders taught a class of white Australians to sing the Miniri/Langka song series, and reactions to the experience are shared by both cultures. Chapter 6 examines Aboriginal-European culture contact with a look at the place of music and its contribution to cross-cultural understandings by Aborigines as set out on a seven point scale from fully tribal to fully westernised. We then return to the history, philosophy, and general development of the CASM. Finally, Ellis gives a series of suggestions on how music can be taught in a way to enhance the education process as a whole, keeping cross-cultural values in mind, with an exploration of both music education and music therapy.

Ellis's holistic approach to music education is a fascinating one in which she seeks to make music teachers into 'educators of integrated people'. She has found therapy for herself through performance of what can be called 'classical' music. I would like to have seen more examples from Aboriginal society for this concept; the ones given in chapter 1 whetted my appetite for more.

At CASM, Ellis drew upon traditional Aboriginal techniques for music instruction, and, in Chapter 6, 'Aboriginal-European culture contact', she suggests that these methods
may be used in teaching subjects other than music. She admits, however, that serious problems arise when the 'master-student' model of Aboriginal music teaching is taken into the Western classroom. I would like to know how she envisions such a model working in the teaching of disciplines other than music. Teaching of singing or of musical instruments has followed to a high degree the concept of 'imitating the master', but I find it hard to extend this method to subjects such as mathematics or reading. She blames the problems upon the underlying model of literate thought in our society and states that maintaining a system of 'master-student' is possible; however, it makes very high demands upon the teacher. Again, I would like to see this topic expanded with some examples.

Much attention has been given to diagrams. The one on page 110 was particularly good in showing the relationships between a 'small song' and its melodic sections, text repetitions and rhythmic patterns and segments. The cone and the continuum in the introduction, however, were rather mystifying and somewhat frustrating to me because they were referred to several times in the text.

There is a set of appendices that consist of music and text examples. Figure A9 in the Appendix is a marvellously creative diagram showing the juxtaposition of rhythm, text, and melody in a three-dimensional coloured chart. The Appendix to Chapter 4 consists of verses of the Langka series, showing the repetitions of text; these are in Pitjantjatjara, and I would like to have seen an English gloss of some sort.

The book has appeal for a wide variety of readers. Chapter 3, 'Aboriginal music in South Australia', provides an excellent introduction to the music of Central Australia, and the lecturer in Aboriginal studies or anthropology who is searching for a perceptive treatment of the subject should include this section in a reading list. The psychological aspects of cross-cultural communication are fascinating to any reader in this climate of multiculturalism. Historians will find Chapter 6, 'Aboriginal-European culture contact', of interest, particularly in the way Aboriginal song texts reflect social history. Needless to say, the musician is challenged on many levels, and Chapter 4, 'The Pitjantjatjara musical system', explains Central Australian Aboriginal music in such a way that any musician will gain a new respect for the music. Educators will find the book directed to them in the first two and last chapters where a new theory of learning is suggested. Philosophy permeates the book with the ever present question of music in society. Finally, speaking as a lapsed music educator, I found each section stimulating and often profoundly disturbing. Many disciplines are covered in the book, but I believe that this book should be required reading for every music educator, both experienced teachers and those about to begin their careers.

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Dorothy Johnston, a well-known novelist and a member of Writers Against Nuclear Arms, has turned her attention to a significant series of events in recent history, events that affected many Aborigines and non-Aborigines, caused bitter feelings between Australia and Britain and helped to sever the ties between them so dearly loved by Prime Minister Menzies. The name Maralinga recalls the nuclear experiments carried out in the 1950s and '60s by British
military scientists, with the help and co-operation of the Australian Defence Department. Most of us have forgotten the details, so it is worth reading this well-researched account of these experiments and the closely guarded secrets finally revealed by the Royal Commission of 1984 headed by the fearless Mr Justice James McClelland. Dorothy Johnston visited Maralinga and the bomb sites, talked to Aborigines and non-Aborigines who had been involved and studied the relevant documents. She has written a powerful and sensitive novel, with credible characters admittedly fictitious but representative of those actually involved.

She writes superb descriptions of the climate and scenery of the Western Desert (evocative enough to set this reviewer longing to go there again). She makes entirely understandable the close ties of the Aboriginal inhabitants to their arid land and why many non-Aborigines (including Graham Falconer, the hero of the novel) feel its strange attraction. For example, Graham, an Australian serviceman, volunteers for a second tour of duty, returns once more as a civilian scientific assistant and visits the area several times during his later investigations. Each time he marvels at its special beauty.

Graham and his mates are employed on such tasks as building the towers for the bombs and, after the explosions, measuring the extent of the radiation fallout. From today's greater general knowledge the reader is shocked at the risks for the soldiers and the Aborigines, though it is not clear if the 'top brass' were fully aware of these at the time. More than once Graham and his fellows enter by accident a hazardous area and the reader is in suspense about their health for the rest of the book. And there is an encounter with an Aboriginal family who must have been at even greater risk. Throughout the novel the hero learns a lot about the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Western Desert and their problems, made even worse by Maralinga.

The novel actually begins with an Aboriginal family, one of the few left in the bomb area after their fellows had been rounded up and taken south to the Yalata Reserve. The couple, with their children, are woken in the middle of the night by one of the explosions. They are terrified but try to give it a mythical explanation. This is the family Nelganji, his wife and children, whom Graham's measuring party later encounter near a bomb crater. There is a graphic description, with near comical elements, of the soldiers' attempts to decontaminate these unfortunate victims by inducing them to take showers; the soldiers have to use cajolery and even some force to help this couple, who have not the faintest idea of what it is all about, though the children are easier to handle. We learn at the end of the book that the man has died but we are not told if his death was caused by radiation damage.

An important character in the story is Len Thompson, the Commonwealth patrol officer with the impossible task of ensuring that no Aborigines are in the danger area. He has been responsible in previous years for clearing everyone off the rocket range when rockets were being launched from Woomera and has got to know most of the desert people all the way from Woomera to a thousand kilometres inside Western Australia. He has learnt their dialects and has grown to respect and understand them, while regarding with dislike and suspicion the white invaders of their land. However Graham wins him over by his friendliness and interest in the Aborigines. Len tells Graham about the special plight of the Pitjantjatjara. He reckons that the opening up of the desert by the military experiments has been too fast and too sudden and has caused violent changes in the life of the people. Even before the nuclear experiments began many had been resettled at Yalata, though some had avoided the round-up and continued a more or less traditional life, as far as this was possible for isolated families. Of Yalata Len says:

Yalata's a place on the coast where a lot of the people from this country were taken before the British arrived. It was a mistake, lumping tribal people together in one big camp. And it's even more of a mistake to keep them there.
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One of the most depressing places on earth, Yalata. And Nelganji knows it. That's why he's been living in the bush these past years, because he knows what Yalata's like (p.98).

Since the time when Len Thompson is supposed to have uttered this condemnation of the Yalata environment there have been improvements for some of the Yalata people, due to the granting of title to the Maralinga Lands by the South Australian Government. Oak Valley is an outstation where many of my old friends from Yalata now live, on their own land, away from the alcohol and strife of the landless, displaced Yalata community. Their new home is so near some of the bomb sites that a constant watch is kept on their health to make sure that they are not exposed to radiation hazard. Though Dorothy Johnston visited Oak Valley, her novel ends before this newer development. However, at the end of the novel, when Graham pays one more visit to the Maralinga area, he drives a long way north-west to visit Len Thompson, now camped with some of the Pitjantjatjara people on land they were trying to reclaim as their own.

Earlier in the novel, Graham becomes the friend and trusted assistant of Charlie Hamilton, Australia's chief scientist at Maralinga, who helps Graham to work for a year at Britain's atomic research laboratories at Harwell, then encourages him to study at university and take a degree in nuclear physics. The result is a scientist's post in the Department of Defence in Canberra. As well as a picture of the Canberra bureaucracy, Johnston gives us a graphic description of suburban life in Canberra, and analyses the consequent tensions in family life. Graham, with access now to secret government files, is horrified when he discovers the extent to which British military chiefs had misled their Australian opposite numbers (or did some of these Australians know more than they told the public?). But when he attempts to confirm and expose these findings he is blocked at every turn. Charlie Hamilton, who had earlier shared his suspicions, is no longer of any help, having opted for a quiet academic career at the National University. But Graham continues to endanger his own career by continuing his investigations. The story ends at this point, though we know that these secrets were revealed at the Royal Commission hearings in 1984.

I found *Maralinga my love* hard to put down until I had come to the end. This story is so well told and the characters are so skilfully drawn that the reader can easily imagine them taking part in this important period of both Aboriginal and Australian history.

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In this powerful book modern South Australian people speak eloquently of their feelings about the past, focusing on many topics, such as missions, the law, language, education, employment, the position of women and racial discrimination. It is a most compelling and well chosen collection of primary sources, logically and soundly put together. The statements by Aboriginal, here called 'Nunga', people have been collected and put together as a well argued whole by Christobel Mattingley. The work deals mainly with the injustices of the past but it ends on a positive note with a list of some of the achievements that Aboriginal people in South Australia have attained, in the face of incredible difficulties.
ABORIGINAL HISTORY 1988 12:2

Despite the many excellent qualities of the work, there are some problems. The book is powerful but it would make even more of an impact if the commentary were more moderate, and the Aboriginal people as well as the events were able to speak entirely for themselves. The comments by Mattingley are judgemental and uncompromising: they rarely allow for mitigating circumstances such as lack of understanding on the part of white people, and they generally assume evil intent. This attitude is evident from headings such as 'Before and after', 'From bush tucker to poison: rations', 'From dignity to cast-offs: clothing'. The section dealing with 'Before and after' paints an idyllic picture of life in pre-contact days. As for rations, everyone agrees now that they were not good for health. This however was not so obvious to people late last century, who had different views on diet. Moreover, rations were not altogether bad: they gave a sense of security to Aboriginal people. For many aged people who might well have died in the original harsh environment, rations, particularly when combined with some traditional foods, represented a reasonable living. It would have been worthwhile to point out that some of the worst tragedies happened when rations were interrupted or withdrawn from old people, sometimes simply through official bungling. Such for instance was the case of 'blind old Maggie', who, as a mature woman in 1861 had looked after King at Cooper's Creek, had brought him food and helped to save his life at the end of the Burke and Wills expedition: she died of starvation when rations to Tinga Tingana on the Strzelecki Track were halted in 1895.

The chapters on missions are uneven in quality and the attitude to missionaries in the commentary is uncompromising. Thus the section on Killalpaninna does not make it clear that this mission became a haven for Aboriginal people who had been relentlessly persecuted and driven out of their own lands along the Cooper, especially the Coongie area, and from Sturt's Stony Desert. On p.194 the commentary states: 'It is one of the ironic tragedies of our peoples' history that the missionaries' translations will remain as the memorial to the people.' It is not ironic if one realises that the missionaries did more than make translations of the Bible: they wrote grammars and dictionaries, and as is well known, the Rev. Reuther had a profound respect for Aboriginal mythology.

As regards the mission at Finniss Springs the commentary states (p.251): 'Requests to the station owners Messrs Woods and Warren, for a site for the mission brought this typical response', and there follows a letter about the scarcity of water. The comment 'this typical response' shows a misunderstanding of the motives of Messrs Woods and Warren, who are known to have been devoted to their part-Aboriginal descendants. Their hesitation about wanting a mission was due to the fact that they cared about the people already on Finniss and were truly worried about the lack of water. Francis Warren had come to Finniss in 1918 from Anna Creek and many Arabana people followed him there. The commentary continues with an account of the events of 1939 and states that 'Mr Warren from that time gave much practical help'. Mr Warren had done this for most of his life: the evidence of his descendants and records such as the report by Basedow vouch for it.

Research work is given short shrift in this book it is treated as yet another form of exploitation of Aboriginal people (pp. 132-4). Nevertheless we all hope that study can lead to better understanding and to the preservation of traditions: we hope that Mattingley's own research as witnessed in the present work will have that effect. The majority of the well-chosen photos comes from the South Australian Museum, the National Library of Australia and the South Australian Archives: these photos are after all the result of research. It is a pity that there is not more reference and indeed deference to the outstanding research that has

1 Tolcher 1986:151.
2 Basedow 1920:5.
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been done in South Australia, particularly as regards the work of Norman Tindale, Ronald and Catherine Berndt and Fay Gale. This would have added a different dimension of depth and insight. Just to give one example: in a telling sequence on employment, p.125 of the present book reproduces a letter from Albert Karloan of Point McLeay to the authorities, asking for a 'cinematographic unit' for the recording of 'illustrated songs and recitations', with an offer to pay back in instalments. It also shows the reply, which begins with the words: 'This is a ridiculous request.' Many readers might not know who Albert Karloan was, nor realise what a loss of knowledge the refusal entailed. The tragedy of rejecting this great man could have been made more clear by reference to his importance for the survival of traditions and by some mention of his later fate. The well-known book by Ronald and Catherine Berndt, *From black to white in South Australia*, is in fact dedicated to 'our friend, Albert Karloan' and on p.203 the Berndts describe how, when he was an old man, Albert Karloan wished to die in his home by the River Murray: 'When the Murray Bridge camp was officially closed in 1943 he was refused permission to remain, and died the following day.'

In a work of this magnitude there are inevitably minor mistakes. On p.3 the Warki and the Wotjobaluk are listed as South Australian groups, but they were basically Victorian, while the distinctly South Australian Karagura have been omitted. The important senior Adnyamathanha woman May Wilton (p.232) was not 'nee Pondi', which would have made her Kuyani; she was a De Mel. Something has gone wrong with the picture of David Unaipon (p.273) and a photo of the preacher Gollam Seymour appears instead. The picture on p.277 contains what is probably the last photograph ever taken of the most widely respected Adnyamathanha elder, Rufus Wilton, sitting in a wheelchair, but his presence is not acknowledged in the caption. The explanation of the photo on p.143: 'Three generations, Point Pearce 1969' might make the reader think that the picture represented three generations of the same family. This is not the case, as the oldest man, Jack Long, did not belong to the area at all; he came from Balranald, New South Wales, and had no descendants. It is obvious that practically all these errors stem from the sources, rather than from Mattingley.

The work is impressive, lively and well illustrated: it is vital reading for anyone interested in Aboriginal history.

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L.A. Hercus

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The hundred years war is the story of Wiradjuri resistance against sustained assault. The devastating pressure of colonialism broke many individuals but failed ultimately to break the spirit of the people. If this sounds romantic, the story is far more than heroic stereotype. Peter Read has written a detailed history of a south-eastern Aboriginal nation, the Wiradjuri, carefully exploring the past through documents, places and memories to expose the pain caused by oppression as well as the resourcefulness necessary to overcome it.

The book breaks away from the misleading but still common periodisation by which Aboriginal history is charted according to the name of the state policies of the times, where 'Protection' is equated with 'segregation' and both are said to be different from the 'next' 'better' stage of 'Assimilation'. Read works by charting instead significant phases in the experience of the Wiradjuri themselves: these are then read back and used to analyse the New South Wales administrative record. The result is a historical model in which a similar pattern is repeated in four cycles of administrative intervention which all seek to 'change Aborigines into whites'. These cycles, whether the whites are missionaries or 'bureaucrats', all begin with idealism or at least a coherent plan which then meets Wiradjuri resistance to cultural absorption, leading to a 'mid-point' crisis marked by white frustration and bewilderment at this resistance, then a shift to repression and authoritarian control to try to achieve administration goals. Contrary to the comfortable self-congratulation of the recent past, Read does not find that the administration after 1945 was 'better' than the old 'Protection': he sees it as a harsh continuation of Protection's dispersal policies.

These cycles interacted with a separate dynamic occurring within the Wiradjuri communities, in which the impact of colonialism, depopulation, loss of lands and of independence led to a decline in morale and confidence. This had not been accepted passively by the Wiradjuri, and Read has excellent accounts of resistance to administrators and the development of alternative strategies, like the independent farming blocks of the 1870s and the Bamblett family outstation on the Narrandera Sandhills in the 1920s. Nevertheless, a low point was reached in the 1930s. Then the political organising of Aboriginal activists combined with the politicising effect of enforced concentration on managed stations during and after the Depression acted to reverse the decline, beginning the long and very hard process of reconstruction and recovery which the Wiradjuri followed through the further and indeed intensified repression of the 1950s and 1960s.

One of the most powerful testimonies to the Wiradjuri resistance is the map Read has drawn of Wiradjuri country, with both the 'pre-invasion' boundaries as identified by Tindale and the boundaries of current association identified by Wiradjuri people today. The close congruence of the two is striking, despite two centuries of relentless attempts to disassociate the Wiradjuri from their own country.

Read makes detailed and careful use of documentary sources, including some wonderful nineteenth-century letters and petitions by Aborigines. The essential resource is, however, Wiradjuri oral history, the memories and experiences of Wiradjuri men and women which give us insight into a history which would otherwise be unrecorded. The material of this type in Read's book has actually been created in two ways. The first is the 'oral history' we are now familiar with: the 'historian' and 'participant' work together in a relaxed situation where the person remembering can reflect on and reassess their past with some sense of control. This has produced some important history: for example, Ossie Ingram's recollections, with their links with Wiradjuri oral traditions and their valuable insights into
the Narrandera Sandhills community. The second type of oral material is the recounting of incidents from the Link-Up work in which Read was involved with Coral Edwards and other Wiradjuri in rebuilding the family networks so ruthlessly shattered by colonialism. Here, more so than in the first situation, the insights are into the wounds and pain, the doubts and confusions caused by oppression, as well as into the intense importance of family links for the Wiradjuri [and perhaps for all indigenous people facing cultural assault]. The power of the material arising from the Link-Up work emphasises the role of political commitment and activism in the making of historical interpretations: without the thoughtful grappling with difficult issues which this work demands, neither the pain caused by oppression nor the courage required to fight back would be so visible.

Read’s complex and subtle account forces us to ask questions about why these events have occurred. In the end, his model of varied but repeating cycles is descriptive rather than explanatory. There are many links drawn between the Wiradjuri and whites in the area, with for example the effects of selection on land access well charted; but the overall framework of the cycles themselves is not related to events outside the narrow limits of the administration of Aboriginal affairs. This means we have no way to explain when or why any one cycle tips over into authoritarianism except in terms of individual or collective administrator’s levels of frustration. Yet sometimes ‘outside’ pressures are crying out to be noticed. For example, Read sees 1895 as the ‘mid-point’ of the ‘second cycle’ yet gives no cause for the shift to repression. The depression of that decade is not mentioned, nor the reappraisals it caused in government policies concerning charity, unemployment relief or attitudes about the working class. Yet not only can we guess that these must have had a major impact on the thinking of administrators in the Protection Board, but we can actually see them using the same language [for example, ‘pauperisation’] as was being used by officials administering other arms of government concerned with ‘depressed’ groups such as the State children’s relief institutions. Nor is the Board’s political shift, made as it first recognised that the Aboriginal population was increasing, located in relation to the processes of ‘national’ definition going on at the time, the rise of scientific and popular racism, the enormous influence of eugenics and the high level of conflict along gender lines occurring then in non-Aboriginal society. Read has sensitive accounts of the flexibility of Wiradjuri culture, which, although severely damaged, had the resilience and richness to provide sources for reconstruction. Yet he writes as if European ‘lifeways’ had no such flexibility or historical specificity but were instead fixed and rigid patterns, rather than sites of conflict, contradiction and change.

The definition of ‘the state’ is also problematic. The ‘hundred years’ of the title has been chosen to mark the renewal of official government involvement in Aboriginal affairs with the creation of the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board in 1883, but Read rather assumes that the undifferentiated term ‘bureaucrats’ is adequate to indicate state control. The early Board was largely composed of (male) private philanthropists with some members of parliament. It is obviously very important that the chairman was the Inspector-General of Police, but the Board cannot be assumed to have been a simple arm of a unified ‘state’ however that might be defined. Both before and after the Board was reconstructed in 1916 to replace all the private members with public servants, it continued to become embroiled in long and bitter conflicts with other sections of government (notably with Lands and Education but, in 1936, with the Police Department itself), which were in turn each responding to pressure from different community interest groups. Even the Board’s theft of Aborigines’ Child Endowment, was a wrangle internal to the New South Wales government (in which Jack Lang had initiated the payment in 1927), not one with the Federal Government as Read suggests. When the Federal Government did become more involved,
after 1938, the relations between State and Federal administrations were marked by conflict as much as co-operation. The composition and aims of 'the state', then, need to be thrown open to question and explored, rather than assumed.

The tendency to ignore the wider contexts leads to an emphasis on the regularities in Aboriginal administrations which implies just that inevitability Read wants to move beyond. This is clearest in the discussion of the 'fourth cycle' from 1945 to 1967, which Read describes as 'already prefigured in five generations of knee-jerk reactions to Aboriginal resistance'. Read's argument that the periods 1909-29 and 1945-67 shared the same dispersal aim is incontestable and valuable, but his stress on the similarities allows us no insight into why he might then argue that the later period was more 'successful' in dispersing people, particularly when he is describing a concurrent Wiradjuri revival.

In fact, the differences in government tactics between the two periods seem to be more significant than the similarities in their long-term aims. Whereas the 1909-29 policies expected Aborigines to disappear instantly, the policies from 1936 and beyond assumed that Aborigines needed 'working on', 'needed' as Board member Professor Elkin suggested in 1948, 'a manager' to change their behaviour and attitudes so that they would be acceptable to whites and would want to assimilate. The involvement of anthropologists, the new professionals in Aboriginal administration in the 1940s, paralleled the rising influence of psychology and interventionist social theories in public administration in all areas. Read's fine descriptions of the bulldozers, 'dog tags' and 'pepper-potting' of the fourth cycle remind me not of the third cycle disperse-and-abandon policies but of the South Australian Aboriginal song:

Prison's nothin' special to any Nungar I know,
'Cause the white man makes it prison most everywhere we go.

Michel Foucault's arguments in Discipline and punish concerning a shift from a focus on the confinement or change of the physical body to the control and surveillance of the mind seem relevant to this discussion. The bulldozers were not instructed to destroy every Aboriginal housing area, but rather to raze the 'unauthorised camps' and small reserves so that the Aboriginal population would be concentrated on a few managed stations, except when they went to the seasonal-picking work camps, on which employers and Board agreed no permanent Aboriginal dwelling would be permitted. Under the managers, Aborigines were to be 'educated' to assimilation (a step which, of course, seldom occurred because of Aboriginal resistance and few funds). The dog tags were a tool for dividing the Aboriginal population, for controlling access to both reserve or town and then exercising surveillance over and modifying behaviour in either place. The 'pepper-potting', by which carefully screened Aboriginal families were offered a 'house in town' only to find themselves deliberately isolated from other Aboriginal families, was again all about surveillance and behaviour modification.

The harsh segregation laws of 1936 may not have been used frequently after the War, but they did not remain on the books by accident. Their retention was a sign that the thrust of the whole policy was to remain the most comprehensive intervention into Aboriginal lives, by extending intrusive 'educative' controls far beyond the fences of the managed stations. No longer were people living away from those stations, on camps like the Narrandera Sandhills, to be any safer from surveillance, interference and control than those living within earshot of the managers. It is little wonder then that Aborigines' experiences of the 1909-29 and 1945-67 periods should have had significant differences, notwithstanding a sense of their Aboriginality being under attack in both.

Yet while Read's book does not answer all the questions it raises, its importance lies in its shifting of the ground of argument from one which privileges administrative definitions
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of past reality to one which privileges Aboriginal experiences, making them the starting point for historical analysis. It is inevitable that new questions will arise as new ground is opened. The hundred years war can be read together with its companion volume, Read's earlier Down there with me on Cowra Mission, to address the persistent question of the role of historians, particularly non-Aboriginal ones, in the writing of Aboriginal history. In the joint presentations of the lightly-edited Wiradjuri recollections of Down there, the analytical and more selective use of quotation in Hundred years war and in the collaborative analysis arising from Link-Up, Peter Read has explored some of the most promising options for historical work between Aborigines and non-Aborigines.

The result is an account of the Wiradjuri past and present which goes far beyond stereotypes of either passive oppression or simplistic, romanticised 'resistance'. Instead, we begin to see the Wiradjuri as a diverse and changing people, responding to pressures strategically, opening up new options where possible, retreating where necessary, defending and challenging when circumstances permitted at different times in different parts of their country. We are made aware of the many people scarred by their experiences but out of this we are made aware too of a committed reassertion by the Wiradjuri of the cultural values they continue to see as central to reconstructing their communities.

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This is a very good book indeed. Its principal subject is the experience of Aborigines in Gippsland in the second half of the nineteenth century and its theme the way in which these people passed from being clans of the Kurnai to becoming 'Aborigines' in the colony of Victoria. It consists of five essays devoted to various aspects of this process and a final chapter reflecting on the historiographical nature of the earlier essays and the work's relation to other recent writing on Aboriginal history.

By the standards of other areas of the Aboriginal past, Gippsland in the nineteenth century is fairly well-known territory and anyone familiar with the literature will already know the broad outline of what Attwood has to tell us. Moreover, he does not try to cover everything or restrict himself tightly to black experience. The events of the early frontier period form no more than a background to the discussion which is concerned mainly with the period after about 1860 when the two stations of Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers were of over-riding importance and which looks, above all, at 'cultural forms of domination'. The first essay examines the attempts of the missionaries, especially Hagenauer at Ramahyuck, to impose 'civilisation and Christianity' on those people whom they could attract onto their settlements. The second essay is devoted to the life of Bessy Cameron, a Nyungar woman from Western Australia, brought over to help at Ramahyuck and whose successes and problems in life tell us a great deal about the values and attitudes of the times; it is a moving story. The next essay deals with the various ways by which some Kurnai managed to live away from the stations and how they adapted customary ideas in the light of the situations with which they were faced. Chapter 4 shifts focus to the political sphere and shows how the 1886 Act forcing 'mixed-blood' people off the stations came to be acceptable
to colonial opinion. The fifth essay is a perceptive discussion of the changing application of British law to Aborigines, involving quite brilliant commentary on several dramatic cases.

It is of no small importance that the book is beautifully written and that the text runs to no more than 150 pages. Even that includes numerous contemporary photographs with long, analytical captions. It is a pleasure to read an historian who knows how to show the depth of his research in notes and the effort put into making sense of his material by ridding his text of irrelevancies.

The structure of separate - though carefully linked - essays has the advantage of facilitating shifts in perspective on more or less the same material. The outstanding quality of the book is its breadth of sympathy: we look over the shoulder of missionaries, politicians, pastoralists, to say nothing of Aborigines of different character and times. Analysis is always set firmly in context and the subtlest of points teased out. Thus, at the end of chapter 3, we see how even the elements of continuity maintained by those Aborigines not involved with the stations ultimately served to support the missionaries' 'dominion' over the majority. In the following chapter, the careful exposition of Hagenauer's evolving opinions is not only a piece of insightful scholarship, but it contributes to a radical revision of our understanding of the 1886 Act. The advantage of hindsight is no excuse for historians avoiding the task of asking how things seemed to contemporaries of the events they are describing and, when that is done as well as it is here, it may even stimulate those advocating particular policies today to reflect on longer term consequences.

There is abundant evidence here of good intentions, on the side of both Aborigines and Europeans, leading to unforeseen and unwelcome outcomes. In particular, the several elements in the transformation of aboriginal Kumai into Victorian Aborigines bear careful reflection.

As the final chapter makes explicit, this is an example of the new Melbourne style of 'ethnographic history', as that is understood by its leading practitioners such as Dening and Isaac. This chapter also sets out to locate the book within 'other work in Aboriginal historiography'. Such a discussion is unremarkable in these days of reflexive inquiry and yet another survey of the field has its uses. However, its shortcomings suggest some criticisms of the earlier chapters. With few exceptions, the canon of historians considered is restricted to those working in or around academic departments of History. This is only one tradition of discourse. Thus we hear nothing of, for example, Robert Tonkinson or David Turner, Chris Anderson or Barry Morris, Deborah Bird Rose or Robert Bos and we are told - rather incredibly - that 'the study of relations between missionaries and Aborigines ... has not ... been addressed in any extensive fashion'. More seriously, there is the issue of the relationship of Gippsland experience to that elsewhere. On the one hand, Gippsland is said not to be 'representative', but 'what took place in this area does foreshadow later developments in other places ... These were patterns of experience which were repeated nearly everywhere in Australia sooner or later'. I doubt this as a generalisation. Similarly, while Attwood can legitimately excuse himself from an encyclopaedic study, the lack of any sustained discussion of disease and demography is a serious gap, given recent work on these topics. It all depends on whom you read and the comparative weakness of anthropological interest in Aborigines at Melbourne universities may not be entirely co-incidental.

This book does not go beyond the early twentieth century, a limit which is partly determined by the nature of the sources. Perhaps one day someone will write a book of equal quality on Aboriginal experience in Gippsland since then.

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Koori history: sources for Aboriginal studies in the State Library of Victoria. Edited by Tom Griffiths. Vol.11, No.43 of the La Trobe Library Journal, published by The Friends of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Autumn 1989. Pp. 44. Black and white illustrations. $6.00 plus postage, single issue; annual subscription (2 issues) $14.00, including postage.

This number of the La Trobe Library Journal is a notable one for those interested in the history since European settlement of Victoria's Aboriginal people - Kooris as they prefer to be called in south-east Australia. The term Koori is explained in a contribution by Richard Broome. Other contributions reveal the wealth of archival material held in the library. A growing section is exemplified in the first article, the transcript of a tape telling his life story made by Albert Mullet, a well-known teacher of Koori culture in schools and colleges. Wayne Atkinson, another well-known Koori, in his introduction to Mullet's life explains his task as director of the Koori Oral History Program, of which Mullet's tape is a sample.

Other contributions describe: the journals of George Augustus Robinson, the first Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Port Phillip District (by Gary Presland); the papers of William Thomas, the first Assistant Protector (by Marie Hansen Fels, who warns that not all these papers should be taken at face value); the visitors' books of mission stations, in which visitors wrote their comments for posterity (by Bain Attwood); the papers of Joseph Orton, a Methodist missionary in the 1830s, on microfiche from the originals in the Mitchell Library (by Alex Tyrell); squatters' journals (by Ian D. Clark and Jan Penny); the Howitt papers (by Ian D. Clark); the newspaper collections, some of them on microfiche (by William Kerley and Richard Broome); two white artists and their vision of the Aborigines (by Christine Downer); the Godfrey Sketchbook, containing fifty-six drawings of Aboriginal people done between 1841 and 1845, discovered in 1988 and bought for the Library by public subscription (by Jennifer Phipps); records of humanitarian organisations formed to help Aborigines (by Richard Broome); the papers of Frances Derham concerning Aboriginal arts and crafts (by Jonathan Parsons); the collection of 'ephemera' consisting of political leaflets, handbills, posters, stickers and badges (by Marg McCormack).

This journal is an invaluable guide for anyone planning to research the history of the Kooris of Victoria.

Isobel White
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A statement on page 1 of Tiwi today says that 'the Tiwi language is spoken by about 1500-1600 people'. This seems to be a straightforward statement of fact; one does not have to get much further into the book before realising how misleading it is. Tiwi today is characterised by Lee as two codes or languages (Tiwi English being a third, not mutually intelligible with standard Australian English but being a tiwiised English rather than an anglicised
The vast difference between Traditional Tiwi (TT) and Modern Tiwi (MT) is shown up by a couple of sentences taken from the texts in Appendix 2:

Parlingarri karri ngintirimajakuijirrangurlimayani wurarripi api awungarra ngintuwuripuramini. TT, analysed (with modified and simplified glosses so as to avoid abbreviations) as:

parlingarri karri ngi-nti-ri-
long ago when we-past-continuing-with-family-walk-

ma- jakuji-rrangurlimay-ani
used to

Wurarripi
people with many children well here

api awungarra ngi-niu-wuripura-mini
we-past-leave-

and translated as

'Long ago, when we used to travel on foot with the family, well, we would leave from here'; and in MT:

Kiyi neks moning, karri moning, kiyi puwuriyi yawulama tuwanga.
then next morning when morning then they went jungle again

'Then next morning, when it was morning, they went to the jungle again'. The only word in the MT sentence requiring analysis is puwuriyi, in which pu- includes both 'they' and 'past tense' while -wuriyi is 'go'. (See page 2 for a similar illustration.)

This book is the outcome of a project for which the author was temporarily employed by the Northern Territory Education Department. In about ten months in the field the researcher was expected to learn enough of TT (essentially, the language of the older people) and MT (the language of the younger people) to carry out a detailed comparison of the two. Given the impossibility of carrying out such a project in such a short time - something which could be properly done only over a period of many years - this publication can be described as a heroic effort. The most serious of its inevitable deficiencies is the inability of the researcher to distinguish between young people's language (as a stage in the learning of the very complex traditional language) and changes resulting from contact with English language and European culture. Others are shown up by the frequent use, especially in the notes, of expressions like 'I am not sure' (usually interpreted by me as 'I don't know' and 'I have no data on'. Many of these small deficiencies could probably have been cleared up by another field trip (it's easy enough to say that, but . . .). Another is the necessary concentration on elicited material for much of the data. None of these faults need be blamed on the author (nor, I would think, on the Education Department).

For the most part Tiwi today is heavy going, and I could not advise any non-linguist to buy it. After an interesting and informative introduction we have in five chapters (2 to 6) a detailed (but not exhaustive) survey of TT and MT phonology and grammar, set out in such a way as to facilitate comparison and containing much useful information for the interested linguist, but hardly suitable for a relaxing read after a hard day's work. I did not expect an easy read, of course, but I must say that I always think it an unnecessary extra burden to have to read with one finger in the notes page. These chapters are generally well done, although perhaps a reorganisation of some parts could have cut down on repetition. Once the very complex morphology has been mastered, Tiwi grammar seems to be fairly simple - for example, complex sentences involve only a limited number of conjunctions with no non-finite verb forms - and the space devoted to phrase-level and clause-level grammar seems excessive. The phonetic details, a very tiresome business to compile and organise, show the author's care, with generally few errors and inconsistencies (although the standard is not kept up in Tables 2.4 and 2.5). The frequent references to Lee 1982 make one wish this was published. In fact, it is very clear that a new and more detailed grammar of Tiwi is needed; Osborne 1974 is a fair introduction but there is much more that should be said (and, in fact, Lee does correct and add to Osborne's work at several points).
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I found a need to use the index at times, and while I generally found it adequate, I had some problems. For example, while trying to sort out the difference between examples 5.30(c) and 5.37 I tried to find out the meanings of the endings -tawu and -tagha on the first words in the two sentences, using first the table of contents and then the index as a guide, but I was not successful.

Perhaps the author could have been more restrictive in accepting words as loans (with probable consequences in her phonological analysis of MT). If, for example, a speaker uses the word peyiti 'fight' in his formal style and uses fayi (that is the ordinary English pronunciation of 'fight') in informal speech, would it not be reasonable to think he regards the former as a Tiwi word (and so the linguist calls it a loan) and the latter as an English word that he happens to insert in his basically MT sentence?

I was surprised to note that Lee not only phonemicised but also phoneticised (is there such a word?) the English vowel that occurs in 'bird' as schwa. How, then, does one distinguish between unstressed occurrences of this vowel (as in 'sunburn') and real unstressed schwa (as the second vowel in 'button');

Chapter 7 gives a summary of the differences between TT and MT. Perhaps this should have been done in a more non-technical way for the benefit of readers who do not feel equal to tackling the detailed chapters preceding it.

Chapter 8, which a wider range of readers should find readable, useful and interesting, is well done. TT is typical of many northern Australian languages in that it is characterised by what I think of as 'pointless complexity'. (I am sure the native speakers of the language who, perhaps, view the language as a beautifully complex art form and not just a tool, would not agree with me on this, and I apologise to them for my ignorance.) Examples of the sort of complexity I mean are numerous. To take just one: there is a verbal prefix, (wu)ni-, called 'locative', which can mean, among other things, that the action denoted by the verb is at a distance; however, when the verb is imperative this function is fulfilled by a suffix instead and its form is -wa or -pa. The longer form of the prefix, wuni- is used when the verb is in the non-past tense, but it is generally - but not always - reduced to ni-following the non-past tense prefix mpi-. The form ni- is used when the verb is in the past tense, but when ni- is used the past tense prefix rri- is omitted. The form -pa of the suffix is used when the verb stem ends in a and the -wa form when it ends in a high vowel (which is changed to u). Phew! Lee argues, very reasonably in my judgment, that this type of language is more vulnerable to change resulting from culture contact than is a less complex (and, I would add, more utilitarian) type. This suggests that TT may be beyond saving, and raises the question of whether the concentration on it in preference to MT in the Tiwi bilingual education programme is counter-productive.

It is interesting to note that the Tiwi language has been generally respected and encouraged over the years by the missionaries, and yet it has changed so dramatically. Lee discusses the probable reasons for this, and the possible survival of Tiwi, in some form, without being able to come to any confident conclusion.

There are three appendices. The first two are quite substantial and form an important part of the work. Appendix 1 is a comparative vocabulary of English, TT, formal MT and casual MT, in alphabetical order of the English entries. It is very informative but does not seem to have been compiled with the same care as other parts of the book; there are inconsistencies (compare the entries for 'nun' and 'sister', and compare the entry for 'angel' with the spellings of it on pages 53 and 55; note also spelling inconsistencies such as sowimap but katim ap, laynap but snik ap ). A chunk seems to have been omitted - note the jump from 'bite' to 'cage'.
Appendix 2 comprises ten texts, nine in varieties of TT or MT and one short one in children's Tiwi English. This I found startling; probably because I had not been able to see the wood for the trees in the detailed grammatical chapters, I had not realised how closely MT approached English in its construction until I read the texts. I was almost tempted to identify the *tha* in *Tha wantim yikiti nawu?* 'You want food now?' with the English dialectal 'tha' (from 'thou'). The adjectives, the adverbs and the function words that replace the TT bound forms are not only mostly English, but they are placed just where we would put them in English. Unfortunately, a couple of texts are marred by what seem to be bad mistranslations: a line or so of text C seems to be missing from the English, and a sentence in the English of text D seems to correspond to nothing in the Tiwi.

A few brief notes to finish. I was pleased to see that the author does not subscribe to the common belief that accusative pronouns must not occur in phrases of more than one word (between you and me - page 111). I was intrigued to see that the title of the Tiwi dictionary uses *g* instead of *gh*. I never got used to those awful almost-flat apostrophes (for which, I suppose, one must blame Pacific Linguistics and not the author).

This is a substantial contribution to the field of language change in Australia. The errors are annoying to the fussy reader. The book contains the makings of a substantial article to make the author's insights available to the non-linguist (pardon my ignorance if this has already been done).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


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John Harris's important study of the genesis of Northern Territory Kriol, one of only two creoles spoken in Australia, is adapted, with minor editorial revisions, from his 1984 PhD thesis. Despite having been written in a Department of Anthropology, its content, focus and methodological approach are predominantly historical. Harris bases much of his argument on an extremely thorough reading of the historical record, quoting diaries, journals, newspapers, official government and police reports and records, parliamentary debates, contemporary observations, accounts by travellers, personal reminiscences and literary works.

Until recently research into the pidgin and creole languages of Australia and the Pacific was neglected by comparison with those of Africa and the Atlantic region. Harris suspects that this is partly due to doubts about their legitimacy vis-a-vis the indigenous languages; part of the problem for descriptive linguists may also be that such languages cannot be
studied from a purely linguistic perspective - social and historical factors are included in their definitions and must be addressed in any comprehensive analysis.

Broadly defined, pidgins are simplified contact languages, formed through the fusion of two or more languages in social situations usually characterised by asymmetrical power relations. They have their own grammatical rules but, being spoken as secondary languages among people who do not share another tongue, are restricted to some degree in both form and function. Under exceptional circumstances a pidgin may become the primary language of a group of speakers; it then undergoes rapid formal and functional expansion and is known technically as a 'creole'. Whatever languages participate in the formation of particular creoles, the creoles themselves have been observed to share a number of linguistic features, a fact which has implications for the study of language simplification and expansion processes, language acquisition and language universals.

The book consists of a short introduction and eleven chapters arranged in four sections: theoretical issues in pidginisation and creolisation; pre-European background; linguistic developments arising from European contact; analysis and discussion. There are also five appendices containing all known examples of Northern Territory Pidgin English recorded prior to 1910, eight maps, an extensive bibliography, and an index.

An introductory chapter briefly discusses the antiquity of Aboriginal occupation in Australia, outlines some contemporary social aspects of Kriol, and generally foreshadows later discussion of the origin of Kriol and its place in the history of the English-based pidgins and creoles of the Pacific region.

Section 1 examines theories of language pidginisation and creolisation within particular linguistic and social contexts. This is a thoughtful review of the literature to the mid-1980s, which cannot of course include the theoretical advances made during the past half decade. Harris considers various models which have been proposed to account for pidginisation and concludes that the crucial social factor is inadequate access to the target language, the language which provides the greatest proportion of the pidgin's vocabulary. The linguistic processes of simplification involved are now generally held to be universal rather than specifically restricted to pidginisation. There is some elaboration of the possibilities of pidgin-creole development, a discussion of the connection between social context and creolisation, and a very brief survey of hypotheses regarding the processes of formal and functional expansion.

The second and third sections present the bulk of the historical data. Section 2 describes the historical and sociolinguistic background of the Aboriginal people of coastal North Australia before European contact, focusing on the relationships between the multilingual members of these speech communities and seafaring visitors from the north. This section draws on the work of linguists and anthropologists, particularly that of Urry and Walsh on the 'Macassan' trade pidgin which developed between Aboriginal people and Macassan trepangers.

Section 3 contains the core of the book, a comprehensive and detailed description of the linguistic consequences of the European invasion and settlement of the Top End of the Northern Territory. A thorough examination of the historical record leads Harris to propose various linguistic outcomes of the major contact situations. He finds no evidence of any contact language being spoken in the two earliest British settlements on the Northern Territory coast: Melville Island (1824-1829) and Raffles Bay (1827-1829). In the third settlement, at Port Essington (1838-1849), he finds evidence of an English-based pidgin and hypothesises that it was probably a relexification of the 'Macassan' pidgin. Another English-based pidgin developed at the settlement at Escape Cliffs, Adelaide River (1864-1866), but the first major site of pidgin development was the permanent European
settlement at Darwin in 1870, where it appears that various English-based pidgins emerged, probably influenced to some degree by the Port Essington and Escape Cliffs pidgins. By 1872 a rudimentary English pidgin was already developing in the various gold-mining camps outside Darwin and before the turn of the century there were well-established pidgin varieties spoken both in Darwin and in the camps.

It was the pastoral industry, however, that provided the most important context for the development of various cattle-station pidgins. Around 1872 the 'moving pastoral frontier' began to extend from Queensland into the Northern Territory and into the Kimberley region of Western Australia, with disastrous consequences for the Aboriginal people. In the cattle stations and frontier towns English-based pidgins arose, influenced not only by the traditional languages of their Aboriginal speakers but also by the south-east Australian pidgins used by the early stockmen. Nor does Harris ignore the Chinese connection. By documenting the nature of Chinese-Aboriginal-European contact on stations, in the mining camps and in the towns, he demonstrates that Chinese Pidgin English was almost certainly another factor in the development of the various local English-based pidgin varieties.

By the turn of the century most of these had converged into one widely understood language, which Harris refers to as Northern Territory Pidgin English. This began to creolise at Roper River Mission Station shortly after 1908, when remnants of the many language groups of the Roper River region gathered there for protection from the massacres of those early years. Harris demonstrates that all the factors which lead to the creolisation of a pidgin were present: language loss, social disruption, and a peer group of children who needed to share a means of communication.

Section 4 draws together the sociolinguistic and historical data presented in the middle sections to draw conclusions about the nature and origin of Kriol and its place, together with that of its pidgin progenitors, in the general history of Pacific pidgins and creoles. He also discusses the contribution of his data to theories of pidginisation and creolisation in the light of his earlier analysis of sociolinguistic theory.

Harris has made a major contribution to the historical study of Australian pidgins and creoles, a growing body of research carried out by linguists, anthropologists and historians. His comprehensive examination of the documentary evidence demonstrates the historical validity of Kriol as a language in its own right. He convincingly shows that the origins of Kriol are much more complex than previously believed and, in so doing, refutes claims that it arose entirely within the cattle industry or from Melanesian Pidgin English. He also analyses its place within the linguistic history of the Pacific region and demonstrates its historical continuity with the late-eighteenth-century pidgins of south-east Australia.

More broadly, the book also contributes to the sociohistorical study of creole languages throughout the world. By examining the development of creoles within specific sociocultural contexts, theories of the genesis of pidgins and creoles can be further developed and refined.

The book is scholarly, clearly written, well-signposted and logically arranged and exhibits the high standard of editing and printing we have come to associate with the publisher. I recommend it to readers with an interest in the history of pidgins and creoles, the contact history of the Northern Territory, the development of the Australian pastoral industry, early missionary activity amongst the Aboriginal people, and race relations in Australia.

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This little book is about developments leading to the institution of 'a measure of autonomy' (p.1) in community government in Katherine, one of the Northern Territory's larger towns, located about 330 kilometres south of Darwin on the Stuart Highway. The relevant events are divided into two periods. The first, 1937-60, begins with the establishment of a town Progress Association, and comprehends the wartime period of significant disruption (including military occupation and large-scale civilian evacuation), and gradual post-war reconstitution of the town, mainly under governmental direction from above and outside, from the Northern Territory Legislative Council and Assembly, and from Canberra through the former Administration. The second period, 1960-78, begins with the establishment of the Katherine Town Management Board, and ends with the municipal election of mayor and six aldermen.

The book was written under two immediate stimuli. First, local government was recently introduced elsewhere in the far north, in the new uranium town of Jabiru in Arnhem Land. The book asks what lessons might be learnt from the comparative study of the introduction of local government, and from the example of Katherine in particular. Second, Katherine has recently been the site of reactivation (post-war, that is) of a Royal Australian Air Force base, Tindal, which will have long-term effects on the town. Yet looked at from a perspective of several decades, this appears to be just one, if the latest and perhaps most thorough-going, of major external impacts to which the town has been subject, others having been the rapid boom-and-bust cycle of riverside peanut farms here in the Depression era, and the military occupation of the war years. One might also include the long story of ups and downs in the building and re-building of the Katherine meatworks, at different periods the focus of fond hopes for the Town's development. The inference to be drawn from the longer view is that this northern 'community' has been (and is) vulnerable to such external impact (p.1); and also, I think, that consideration of local government here is of wider interest to the extent that it raises, and is discussed in conjunction with, questions relating to the varying socio-economic bases of northern settlement.

Two themes are pursued in the book relating to the development of community government. The first is the nature of actions taken at higher levels of government (enlivened by discussion of particular political figures who linked Katherine to the larger Territorian political scene). The second is the history of attitudes and events concerning the presence of Aborigines in the town, and the formulation of issues in relation to their presence.

With respect to the first theme, Lea documents the slowness of moves towards local government, and occasionally asks why this should have been. From the first, however, he suggests that community government was not accepted in an entirely voluntary manner but to some extent had to be thrust upon the town. It is clear that he has in mind the outlines of an argument about why, paradoxically, 'autonomy' had to be by coercion. However, this is not discussed in a focused way until the last several pages.

Two ingredients of viable local government elsewhere in Australia are a reasonably stable and diversified economy and the presence of sufficient numbers of local property owners to ensure long term commitment. These characteristics have been notably lacking in many new northern Australian
settlements spawned by the mining industry, just as they were in Katherine in the post-war years (p.79).

Lea further comments that the 'advent of local government is unlikely in itself to promote community resilience... unless such preconditions are already present' (ibid.).

Having followed the book's interesting but somewhat diffuse discussion of steps towards local government, I rather wished that Lea had cast it more concisely from the beginning in a wider political economy framework. To do so would have helped to organise and interrelate various sub-themes which float rather freely as the book stands: for example, the recurrent meatworks development schemes; issues concerning the sale, lease and conversion to freehold of land in the town; and the battle the Katherine Town Management Board perceived itself to be waging to secure urban amenities in the absence of either a rates basis, or the legitimation of Board membership by election. Without such an electoral process, Board appointments were controversial in so far as public servants on it were not resident in Katherine, and private members were not considered to be a representative selection (p.48). This set of circumstances helps to explain why and how the issue could to a large extent be publicly formulated as one of governmental autonomy, in the face of obviously less-than-ideal socio-economic conditions for it. My complaint is that Lea does not act early enough in the book to establish it as an analysis of certain kinds of questions and issues relating to the institution of local government in the north and in Katherine in particular, but rather allows the book to present itself, for most of its pages, as an account of events, though he is clearly harbouring an organisation perspective or argument. Some interesting issues of social history also seem to be camouflaged by the linear imagery of progression towards local government. For example, early parts of the book tend to give the impression that the Progress Association and the Town Management Board are to be seen as successive institutions in local affairs. However, we later learn (p.57) that they operated for some time in parallel, something that reinforces the reader's curiosity about the existence of different interests and positions with respect to the town's history and development, and which need not be seen as simply successive. Overall, I think because the book does not attempt to relate systematically the history of community government to a sketch of the town's economy, we do not get from it a clear sense of what is similar here to other nothern towns, and what is different.

With respect to the second theme, the history of Aboriginal issues in the town, the book has several interesting points to make. There is brief description of 'mixed-race' society in Katherine before the Second World War, a milieu evoked in Bill Harney's *Grief, gaiety and Aborigines* (1961). Lea recognises the long-term presence of this population in the town, and raises a question of the consequences for social relations of the Welfare Ordinance of 1953 and other policy moves towards 'assimilation', all of which, in the opinion of long-term Katherine people of partly Aboriginal descent interviewed by Lea, 'started the rot in race relations by heightening race consciousness' (p.49). But perhaps most interesting are Lea's observations concerning the extent to which, for a long period of time, there was an 'artificial separation' of Aboriginal issues 'from the general development issues affecting the whole town' (p.80) - this despite the recurrent presence of Aboriginal fringe campers around the town, and their role as a pool of cheap labour.

An area for a town Aboriginal compound had been projected in a sketch plan for Katherine development as early as 1945 (that is, following the disbanding of wartime control camps, when the awareness of Aborigines might have been particularly high). But it was only after passage of the Social Welfare Ordinance of 1964, which 'loosened restrictions on Aboriginal employment and their access to liquor' (p.58), and thus was a considerable factor in the rapid urbanisation of regional Aborigines in the 1960s and 1970s, that the...
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earlier official policy of repatriation of 'unemployed natives' to reserves, stations, etc. became not only unworkable but also subject to more thorough-going review. Increased Aboriginal presence in the town gave rise to a great deal of concern about their 'lifestyle' and living conditions (and still does), but there also began to be positive initiatives for the development of housing and other facilities for Aborigines in the town, including the formation from 1974 of a town Aboriginal organisation under the auspices of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Despite what I see as unwarranted restriction of explicit focus to the governmental (which the author himself seems to recognise as a limitation in the book's final pages), this history of local government is important for students of the north in that it consolidates information and perspectives on a key northern centre.

The book's bibliography fails to list several references cited in the text: Fenton (1947), Kelsey (1975), Kreigler [sic, should be Kriegler] (1980), and Mollah (1982).

A second review by the same reviewer.


This report on the Aboriginal population of Pine Creek, a small town just off the Stuart Highway 230 kilometres south of Darwin, is based upon survey data collected by the administration of a questionnaire to a large number of the town's Aboriginal people over a several-day period in 1986. As was intended (p.1), the material thus gathered is most revealing of conditions relating to housing and employment, and also establishes the following characteristics of the town's Aboriginal population.

1. It is more permanent than is commonly thought or planned for. Though in the past it was common for Aboriginal town populations to be characterised as 'transient', many Pine Creek Aborigines have long experience of town living, and in particular, there is a definable core population of permanent Aboriginal Pine Creek residents. Some people have had experience of life on cattle stations and/or in settlements, as well as in town.

2. It is larger than is commonly thought, probably at least twice the number revealed by census. Numbers are further swelled by visitors, particularly in the wet season.

3. It has low levels of education, training, employment, and skills and experience in camp management. Pine Creek is a mining town which has experienced a number of cycles of mining development and subsequent devolution, the most recent phase the large-scale re-development just west of the town of a gold mine: this has (directly and indirectly) added to the town a number of Europeans (130 or so) approximately equal to the town's Aboriginal population. The consequences of this project for Aboriginal employment levels, however, have been negligible. Aborigines are significant in the town's economy, but mainly as consumers of goods and services, largely bought with welfare dollars.

4. Its housing and related facilities (such as water, sewerage, electricity), though much improved in recent years, are still far below the expectations and standards of the non-Aboriginal population.

5. There is a notable degree of attachment to 'traditional' countries. There are two main camps in and near the town to the north-east and south-west, each ideally associated with different tribal identities whose territories lie in those general directions with respect to the town. Notions of tribal difference and territoriality continue to be reproduced, despite
considerable intermarriage among people identifying with different groupings. For many
people, however, Pine Creek itself is the area they know best and to which they have the
greatest attachment.

These characteristics probably apply to many town-dwelling Aboriginal populations
throughout the country, though (5) may not be everywhere applicable to the extent it is
here. (But it should also be noted that the author treats the notion of 'attachment to country'
as unitary, as if every respondent had one such affiliation. To the contrary, definition of
territorial attachment is often not simple in this area, and perhaps is even increasingly
complex, under post-contact living conditions. The same could be said of the survey
material relating to 'tribal affiliation'.)

The study is sympathetically oriented towards improvement of living conditions, and
concludes with a statement of needs and recommendations relating to housing, facilities,
employment and training, camp management and other areas. The survey material on which
the study is based provides an important and useful practical profile, but the methodology
has its limitations, as the author acknowledges in noting, for example, the extent of under­
reporting by respondents of government benefits (p.51). In the case of this datum, other
information happens to be available which reveals the discrepancy with informant response.
It is arguable, however, that some of the categories of data gathered by means of this kind
of survey are in need of closer examination (see previous paragraph), and/or many of the data
collected turn out to be squishier than the seemingly hard-nosed survey methodology might
lead one to expect.

The need for close examination of categories and assumptions is exemplified by the
author's frequent but unexplained use of the term 'community' in respect to the Aborigines
of Pine Creek. Although there are clearly, as the author notes, high levels of kinship and
intermarriage among Aboriginal people within the town, in what respects is there
'community' and the possibility of communal action, and in what respects not? How do
contemporary conditions affect the unity or otherwise of these people? The fact that the
survey was done in large part to provide the Pine Creek Aboriginal Advancement
Association, the nominal Aboriginal town governing body, with documentation on the
local population, at least partly underlies the study's assumption that this is, in some ways
at least, a community. Other sorts of research might examine the nature and extent of
integration and co-operation under contemporary conditions, and derive results of
considerable relevance for the future, including for Aboriginal involvement in
administratively-defined 'community government' for Pine Creek as a whole, a proposal
mooted at the time this study was carried out.

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Blood on the wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Australian Aborigines since 1788. By
of further reading, index. $16.95 p.b.

The purpose of this work is 'to accurately document an integral, but often ignored, part of
Australian history.' It is aimed not at the specialist in Aboriginal history but at the general
reader. The work assembles vivid accounts of massacres, the latest of which was the
notorious Coniston massacre of 1928. The book is straightforward, easy to read, and the
cumulative effect of the accounts of slaughter and maltreatment leaves one with a sense of outrage.

The book however has one fundamental problem: it is entirely derivative. Anyone reading it is bound to ask: 'Where do these vivid accounts come from?' The answer is not immediately obvious, because - except in the last chapter - sources are on the whole not quoted in the body of the work; they are only given at the back under the heading of 'Further Reading'. Thus Chapter 12 consists entirely of a paraphrase of the highlights of Cribbin's careful work on the Coniston massacre, in his book *The killing times*.

Chapter 9 gives similar treatment to Gordon Reid's book, *A nest of hornets*. Other chapters do the same with Pepper and Araugo, *The Kurnai of Gippsland*, and others with work by Henry Reynolds, Brian Harrison, Bruce Shaw and Salisbury and Gessner, but these sources are not quoted in the text. To give a more detailed example of this method one could quote Chapter 4, which deals with massacres along the Darling River 1835-1865. This chapter is heavily dependent on Bobbie Hardy's brilliant work *Lament for the Barkindji*, but no reference whatever is made to her. Elder has even borrowed a number of direct quotations that occur in Hardie's work, from an anonymous squatter, from the squatter Simpson Newland, and from Mitchell, quotations which give a feeling of life and authenticity to the account. Nevertheless the slant has been changed: in the present book the Newland quotation has been abbreviated in a way which detracts from the defiant spirit of Aboriginal people and makes them simply victims. The quotation describes a great elder named Barpoo who bore an undying hatred against white people. Newland says:

> Cool reflection shows . . . what he must have felt when he saw the detested interloper take possession of all his country after slaughtering many of his people in their vain attempts at resistance.

Newland also states:

> he openly took no aggressive step against the conquerors, but no doubt many a poor nameless tramp met his fate at the hands of the untamable black chief in revenge for the wrongs of his people . . . I have little doubt he knocked lonely travellers on the head as opportunity offered. But have not many of the heroic patriots of history done these things against the enemies and spoilers of their country.

All this has been omitted by Elder, who has even changed the final word of Newland's sympathetic comments: He quotes - still regarding Barpoo: 'There was clearly nothing left for him but to die too, and die cursing the white man.' Newland had written 'and die cursing the Boree'. Newland was one of the few people who had tried to put himself into the position of a disposessed Aboriginal, and he was therefore using the Paakantji word for 'ghost', which had become an emotionally-charged term for 'white man'. Inevitably something has been lost by this unjustifiable change.

The present book has also heavily used works on oral traditions. These traditions have been recorded from Aboriginal people by a number of persons who have worked in different parts of Australia studying languages and oral literature. In these days, when many of us naturally have feelings of guilt about the past, it is not uncommon to find popular authors who somehow feel that two wrongs make a right and who therefore discriminate against all

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2. Reid 1982.
'white' writers. In the past many researchers did not name or give acknowledgements to their Aboriginal 'informants'. By a similar injustice in the present volume the linguists and historians have not been acknowledged but occasionally the Aboriginal story-tellers have been. The writers have not even been given a name. Thus C.D. Metcalfe worked for years among Bardi people in the Kimberleys and recorded, in the Bardi language, many stories of the early days particularly as told by Tudor Ejai. He edited, transcribed and translated some of these texts. All we are told in the present work is (p.163): 'The story was told to a researcher by a Bardi elder, Tudor Ejai, in February 1970.' A paraphrase of Metcalfe's work follows, but the entire last section of the original has been left out. It deals with the escape by magic of three Bardi 'clever men' who had been imprisoned by the punitive expedition in the hold of a ship. The Tudor Ejai/Metcalfe story showed Bardi people having the last laugh, but this aspect has to some extent been lost in the present book. The story, 'The first white man comes to Nicholson River', recorded, transcribed and translated from the Djaru language by Tsunoda Tasaku is paraphrased without any reference to Tsunoda; similarly Jeffrey Heath's work on the massacre at Hodgson Downs. Two accounts of massacres told to Hercus by Wangkangurru people have suffered the same fate. The main aim linguists and historians have in transcribing the original texts so carefully is that the style and spirit of oral traditions should remain, so as to do justice to Aboriginal thought. The original in the language is usually worded in such a way that events speak for themselves, there is no preoccupation with hypothetical motives nor with judgemental statements. This makes the stories terse and to the point, an aspect that is lost in Elder's paraphrase. This is evident, for instance, in part of the story of Ngadu-dagali, which was told to Hercus by Ben Murray. A white vengeance party has set out in pursuit of several groups of Aborigines who have all taken part in the theft and slaughter of a bullock. It is never said whether this party consisted of stockmen or police. They are about to kill Ngadu-dagali's wife. Ben Murray's story is as follows:

They killed her, they ripped her open with a bullet.
He stayed down in the lignum, old man Ngadu-dagali he stayed there, and heard the crack of the rifle, 'It's true what's happened to me, they've just killed my wife'.
He waited until they went away at last and until they had moved a long way off. Then he got up (out of the lignum), he quickly went up to see that young woman lying there dead on top of the sandhill.
Oh yes, he buried her there, he buried her quickly and left, he got onto the track (of the others), he followed these people (the group that hadn't gone very far) and he said:
Alas, they killed her just like that, I am bereaved! They killed her just like that! Those (whitefellows) are ready to kill anyone anywhere! That is how he spoke to them.

Elder has paraphrased this as follows (p.160):
One of the stockmen raised his rifle and fired.
Ngadudagali heard the shot and guessed what had happened. He was well hidden in the reeds beside the waterhole. Common sense overruled his concern for his

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5 Ejai and Metcalfe 1986.
6 Moses and Tasaku 1986.
7 Joshua and Heath 1986.
8 Hercus 1977.
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wife and he remained hidden. Eventually the stockmen rode off. Ngadudagali came out of hiding and crept to the top of the sandhill where he found his wife lying dead. Without ceremony, he dug a grave in the sand and buried her. Grief-stricken he followed the posse. On the way he kept saying to himself over and over again, Alas they killed her just like that! They killed her just like that! They'd kill anyone!'. He tracked the posse fearful of what they might do.

The changes have spoilt Ben Murray's tense story. Ngadu-dagali hid in a lignum swamp: there are large areas of lignum in the Goyder Lagoon - Georgina overflow area where the events probably took place. In Elder's adaptation he is made to hide among reeds in a waterhole, a much more difficult proposition in that country. To Ben Murray it was perfectly obvious why Ngadu-dagali remained hidden, there was no need to talk about 'common sense'. Moreover Ngadu-dagali certainly did not follow the posse- he tracked a group of his own people who he knew were in the vicinity. Far from bewailing his fate on his own, his first concern was to warn the others. In Ben Murray's story these people did not heed the warning sufficiently and ultimately they too were all shot 'even the pitiful little babies'. Ngadu-dagali escaped and ultimately joined yet another group of his people. The story ends as follows:

The other people (those who had gone far away in the first place) finally all went right away and so did he. Then they left that country altogether.

This is rendered by Elder as:

The group who had walked far out into the desert just kept walking. They never returned to the area. And Ngadudagali, now a solitary figure in that vast shimmering wasteland, followed them for he had nowhere else to go.

This romantic conclusion is full of European attitudes to the desert, which is not even mentioned in the original, since the events took place in cattle country, on the edge of the Georgina floodplains in the Clifton Hills area. In the course of all this we lose sight of what really mattered to Ngadu-dagali and the others, the fact that they had to leave their own country for good. He went south to live around Marree. This is where Ben Murray met him and where most of the rest of the 'Tales of Ngadu-dagali' took place.

This is just one example of the way the traditions have been modified in the present book. We have very little material that comes directly from Aboriginal people, little that shows their view. It is therefore a great pity that even in a book like this their stories should have been altered for no very evident purpose.

The ideals and thoughts behind the present book are excellent. Yet the author's aims would have been achieved with greater historical and traditional accuracy if the work had been set out as a reader, with direct, duly acknowledged and unaltered extracts from published works.

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Having only recently completed a study of the political economy of a remote region of Australia for a group of Aboriginal organisations,1 I was particularly interested to read this book, and to compare and contrast the situation of Aboriginal people living in two distinct, but in many ways similar, regions of northern Australia.

The publication of Land of promises represents the culmination of a major interdisciplinary research project, initiated by a number of Aboriginal organisations in the East Kimberley region of Western Australia; all of those involved in this project are to be congratulated on their efforts. The dozens of research papers published prior to the completion of this book provide a very comprehensive picture of the political-social-economic situation facing Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley region.

It is unfortunately all too rare that interdisciplinary research is undertaken within an academic framework. Although it is quite clear that any examination of 'development' issues affecting Aboriginal people requires a broad approach, the majority of academics remain severely constrained by their own intellectual disciplines and are generally unable to effectively cooperate with researchers in other disciplines. As a result, Aboriginal development is rarely seen by academics in the wholistic way that many Aboriginal people themselves see it.

Consequently it is often difficult for academic researchers to understand the process of change taking place in Aboriginal communities. As the authors of this book note, 'far from being hidebound by tradition and hostile to change Aborigines are innovative, flexible and pragmatic' (p.9). A multi-disciplinary approach is essential to understand the impact on Aboriginal people of the developments that have occurred in the East Kimberley region in the past 100 years, and of course in the rest of Australia. The processes of change in the past, and the Aboriginal responses to it, are the key to developing strategies that will be required to accommodate, and from an Aboriginal perspective to control, future change.

It is even rarer for a group of academics to be involved in a research project that has been initiated by Aboriginal organisations. The East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project

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(EKIAP) was established as an action-research and policy study, with the intention of assisting Aboriginal people and their organisations not only to understand the environment within which they were living, but more importantly to assist in empowering them to control the direction of development in the region.

An important part of the book deals with the concept of 'development'. In northern Australia, as in many of the other remote parts of the country, development usually means capital intensive, land extensive, exploitation of the natural environment, be it mining, pastoralism, or tourism. To question this form of 'development' is usually anathema to the large majority of the non-Aboriginal population in these areas, although the increasing concern about the state of the natural environment in recent years has significantly affected much of the national political debate over these issues.

Land of promises stresses the importance of sustainable development, and the promotion of activities which are not environmentally destructive. The East Kimberley region has suffered very considerable environmental damage since the non-Aboriginal population took control of the region's resources, and many activities, including large sections of the pastoral industry, survive only because of significant financial transfers from other parts of the Australian community.

The book argues that Aboriginal people can hope to benefit only marginally from the present pattern of 'development'. The economic benefits to Aboriginal people, such as employment or the financial returns from such developments have been, and are likely to continue to be, minimal. As the authors quite rightly stress, Aboriginal people have been marginalised as their loss of access to the region's land and its resources has continued, and government transfers, such as social security payments, do not represent an adequate form of compensation and should not be seen as substitutes for control over land. These income transfers simply represent payments for citizenship entitlements that any other Australian expects.

The importance of this book and the research project lies not only in the information collected but the emphasis given to the mechanisms for empowering Aboriginal people. Land ownership is the key, and without access to land Aboriginal people essentially have no power. While their organisations, which are usually government-funded, perform an enormously complex and valuable range of tasks, and can provide a political voice for Aboriginal people (such as the role performed by the land councils in the Northern Territory), the effective position in which most Aboriginal people find themselves is to be 'consulted' about developments initiated by organisations from outside the region, and quite often from outside of Australia. In no real sense, without access to land, can Aboriginal people negotiate about the developments likely to affect them, as the development of the Argyle diamond mine in the East Kimberley region so forcefully showed.

And hence the aptly-chosen title of this book. This region may have been a land of promise for Aboriginal people for thousands of years, and certainly it represented an opportunity for considerable financial gains by non-Aboriginal interests in the past hundred or so years. But for most Aboriginal people in the past century the reality has been little more than broken promises, paternalism and, as the debate over national land rights in the early days of the Hawke Government so clearly illustrated, blatant racism. As one of the quotes in the book so accurately observes:

Euro-Australians are shocked and fight tooth and nail rather than have an alleged black domination of Western Australia. Yet they can sit in their lounges and let a bunch of inexperienced people who have no allegiance to the land, virtually desecrate the country (p.131).
The picture presented in this book is in many ways distressingly similar to the situation in Central Australia: poverty, drunkenness, high rates of incarceration etc. But there is at least one major difference. The Aboriginal Land Rights Act in the Northern Territory and the South Australian land rights acts, have given Aboriginal people the potential to take control of important aspects of their lives. The growth of the outstation movement on Aboriginal land, especially in the Northern Territory, represents a key Aboriginal initiative aimed at re-establishing control over lifestyles. For large parts of the East Kimberley region, where the bulk of the land has been alienated for pastoral purposes, this choice of lifestyle by Aboriginal people is much more difficult.

The book also highlights the issue of whether a regional development strategy is viable, within the context of an internationalised Australian economy. As with Central Australia, the East Kimberleys are remote but not isolated. A number of chapters deal with local strategies, which of course often need to be part of broader, national strategies. Local strategies are heavily constrained, but this book suggests the ways that steps can be taken, based on existing organisations and the struggle for national land rights, to advance the situation for Aboriginal people.

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Authors should follow the usage of Style manual for authors, editors and printers, 4th edn (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988).

1 Rowley 1971:107; see also Barwick 1981.
2 Fisher to Hassall, 20 July 1824.
3 Fison and Howitt 1880:96.
4 See Cox 1821.
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