DOOMADGEE:

A STUDY OF POWER RELATIONS AND SOCIAL

ACTION IN A NORTH AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENT

by

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A Thesis submitted in the Department of
Anthropology and Sociology,
University of Queensland, Australia
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1985

Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents my original research. The material in it has not been previously submitted, in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.
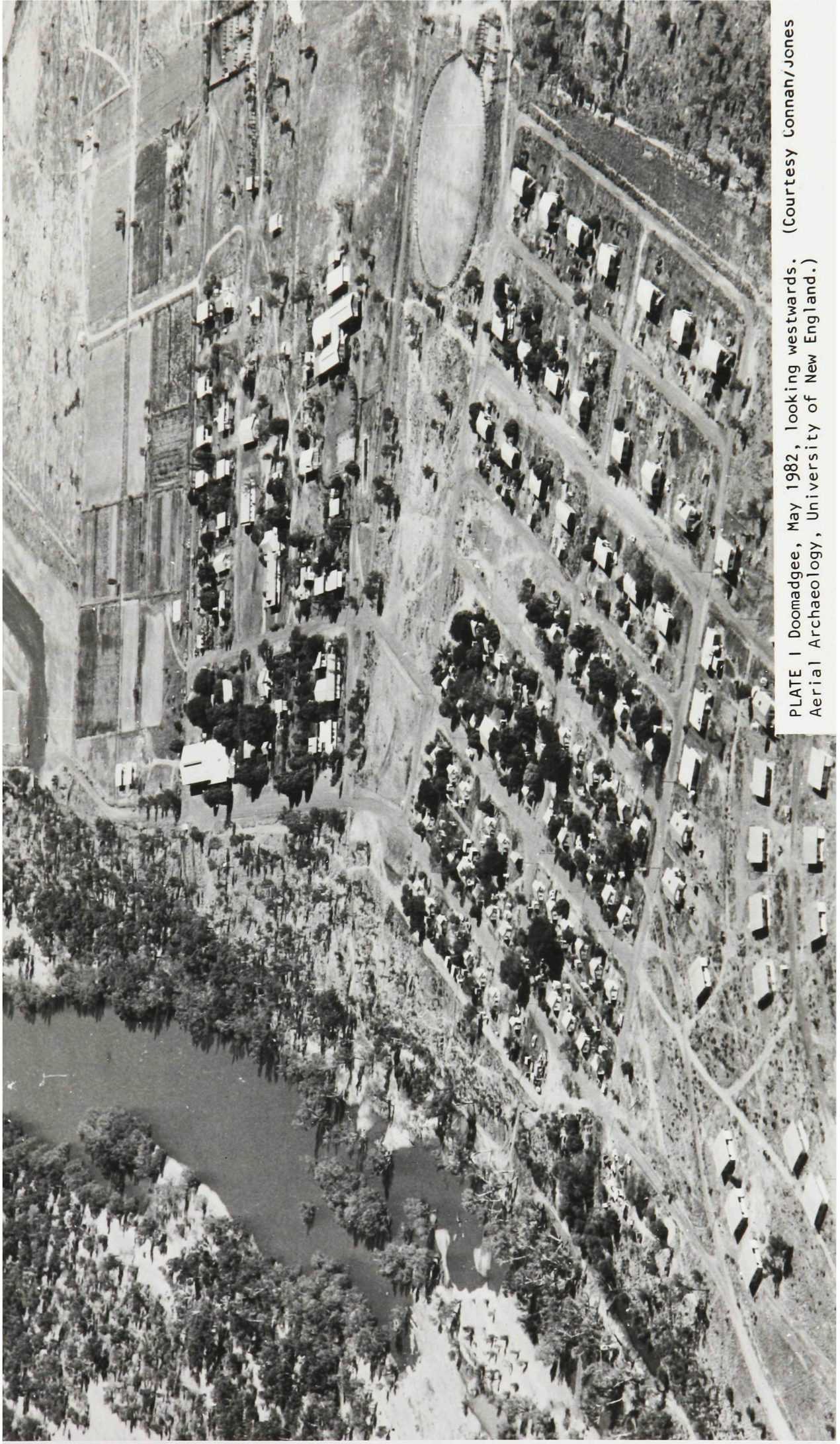
David S. Trigger

PLATE I Doomadgee, May 1982, looking westwards. (Courtesy Connan/Jones Aerial Archaeology, University of New England.)

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an ethnographic description and analysis of a broad range of social life at a north Australian Aboriginal settlement, within a theoretical framework that stresses power relations. Specific concepts including class, status, social closure, domination, authority and legitimacy are drawn predominantly from Weberian sociology to achieve idiographic explanation of social action. While primarily seeking to account for a large body of empirical data, a broader aim of the study has been to articulate substantive ethnographic research on Aborigines and race-relations, within the general social science theoretical concern with power relations.

Part A of the thesis consists of the Introduction (Chapter 1) and a discussion of relevant theoretical concepts (Chapter 2). Part B concerns social life deriving predominantly from Aboriginal tradition. It deals with Aborigines' individual and collective affiliation to Aboriginal languages (Chapter 3) and "country" (Chapter 4), and with their social relations on the basis of kinship (Chapter 5). These features of Aboriginal social life are presented as critical aspects of the social identity of people, and as the foci for competitive status relations; the extent to which Aboriginal tradition thereby generates stratification and inequality in settlement social life is considered. However, the further critical conclusion in Part B is that Aboriginal affiliation to language, country and kin does not generate corporate groups, and the study thus indicates the necessity to keep the concepts of "status" and "status group" analytically separate.

Part C stresses the importance of the issue of legitimacy in the analysis of power relations. Chapters 6 to 9 are essentially concerned with understanding Aboriginal compliance within the pattern of White Australian domination. Chapter 6 presents extensive historical material, in examining the domination of Aboriginal society via economic power, the use of physical force by the state, and the development of authority relations. Chapter 7 uses the notion of social closure to develop the concept of separate Aboriginal and White domains, operating such that Aborigines maintain substantial autonomy. Chapter 8 considers the operation of entrenched authority relations in settlement administrative processes, while Chapter 9 focuses on Christianity as a legitimating ideology in the process of Aborigines accepting the

authority of local White missionary staff. Throughout Part C, the thesis stresses the necessity to analytically recognise coercion in the social processes generating Aboriginal compliance, as well as the "voluntarism" which is strongly stressed within the classic Weberian perspective. In conclusion (Part D, Chapter 10), it is thus argued that a flexible interplay between the concepts of coercion and voluntarism has been necessary in the study of compliance, and that these two notions should be understood as analytically separable components of the concept of legitimacy. It is further argued more generally in the conclusion, that a theoretical framework emphasising power relations has enabled the most adequate holistic understanding and explanation of the social life with which the study is concerned.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

1. Linguistic territories from literature sources.

2. Linguistic territories from literature sources.

3. Linguistic territories from Aboriginal perspective during the study period.

4. Knowledge of territory in coastal Ganggalida/Gananggalinda country.

5. Six example dreaming routes (approximate) within study region.

6. Ganggalida and Gananggalinda coastal estates.

7. Exhibit 38 in Nicholson River Land Claim, showing sites and estates.

8. Location map.

9a. Knowledge of sites in Lawn Hill Gorge area.

9b. Knowledge of historical movements in NT border area.

10. Approximate locations of estates of example country-affiliated groups (as shown on genealogies in Appendix E).

11. Sketchmap of Dr W. Roth, attached to report (unpublished) entitled: The Northern Territory-Queensland Border, north of Urandangie (14.8.1901).

12. Aboriginal knowledge of territory: Albert River-Burketown-Escott District.

LIST OF PLATES

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

No practical orthography has been available during the study period for any of the three main Aboriginal languages at Doomadgee. My spelling has been consistent with the conventions listed by Black (1982: 14-6) for Australian Aboriginal languages. In the latter stages of the study, I have had access to a draft English-Garawa Topical Dictionary produced (in July 1981) by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, on the basis of the linguistic work of C.E. Furby. My orthography for Garawa has differed from that used in this dictionary only in that I have written velar stops with a "g" rather than a "k".

I have attempted to render quotations from Aboriginal English in a form intelligible to the reader, while simultaneously seeking to present the intended meaning of the speech as accurately as possible. Where the quotation is an extract from a tape recording, the letter "T" and the number of the tape are placed in parentheses after the quotation. I have not referred specifically to the speakers in such cases, due to considerations concerning maintenance of their privacy. (For the same reason, I have mostly chosen photographs which do not highlight particular contemporary residents.) Where no tape number appears after a quotation, it is drawn from field notes.

Where the present tense is used in this thesis, it refers to the research period of 1978 to 1983. The following abbreviations and abridgements are used:

AIAS - Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

DAA - Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

DAIA - Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement.

DNA - Queensland Department of Native Affairs.

Gd   - Ganggalida.

Gw   - Garawa.

NT   - Northern Territory.

Qld - Queensland.

QGG - Queensland Government Gazette.

Wyi - Waanyi.

Kin categories are represented by single upper case letters as follows:

F = father; M = mother; S = son; D = daughter; B = brother;
Z = sister; H = husband; W = wife; C = child.

Combinations of these letters also represent kin categories, e.g. MB = mother's brother. The signs "+" and "-" after a letter representing a kin category, indicate "older" and "younger" respectively. Filled in symbols on genealogies indicate that the person is deceased.

In reference to non-Aboriginal Australians I have generally used the term "White" as both a noun and an adjective. While this term is unavoidably somewhat ambiguous in certain contexts, I have regarded it as more appropriate to the contemporary Australian setting than the term "European".

MAPS 1-12

Map 1 LINGUISTIC TERRITORIES FROM LITERATURE SOURCES

_____ TINDALE 1974 as marked

- - - - - KEEN 1972 — Yukulta

—x—x— MEMMOTT et al 1981 — Yukulta
or Kangkalita

NT   QLD

SIR EDWARD PELLEW GROUP

0   50   100 Km

N

McARTHUR R.

W.CARVAN R.

FOELSCHE R.

ROBINSON R.

JANJULA

CALVERT R.

NT QLD

Memmott
Tindale
Keen

JANGGAL

LARDIL

MORNINGTON IS.

DENHAM IS.

FORSYTH IS.

PAINS IS.

BAYLEY IS.

KAIADILT

BANLEY POINT

ALLEN IS.

BENTINCK IS.

POINT PARKER

SWEERS IS.

SETTLEMENT CK.

LAGOON CK.

CLIFFDALE CK.

KARAWA

JOKULA

WILD HORSE ARM

TARPOT CK.

GIN CK.

NICHOLSON R.

KUNINDIRI

EGILABRIA

BURKE-TOWN

DOOMADGEE

ARMRAYNALD

ALBERT R.

MINGIN

WA:NJI

LANN HILL CK.

DOBORINDI

GREGORY R.

LEICHHARDT R.

NT QLD

GILLAN

Map 2 LINGUISTIC TERRITORIES FROM LITERATURE SOURCES

A1   Yukula
A2   Yangkala
A3   Eastern Karawa   }   SHARP 1935
A4   Western Karawa

A5   Wanyi   —   SHARP 1935, 1939

B1   Iukala
B2   Iangkala   }   SHARP 1939
B3   Eastern Karawa

C1   Yukula
C2   Yangkala   }   DAVIDSON 1938

D1   Engarilla   }   PARRY-OKEDON 1897
D2   Waangyee

///   Wanji   OSBORNE 1966

GILLAN
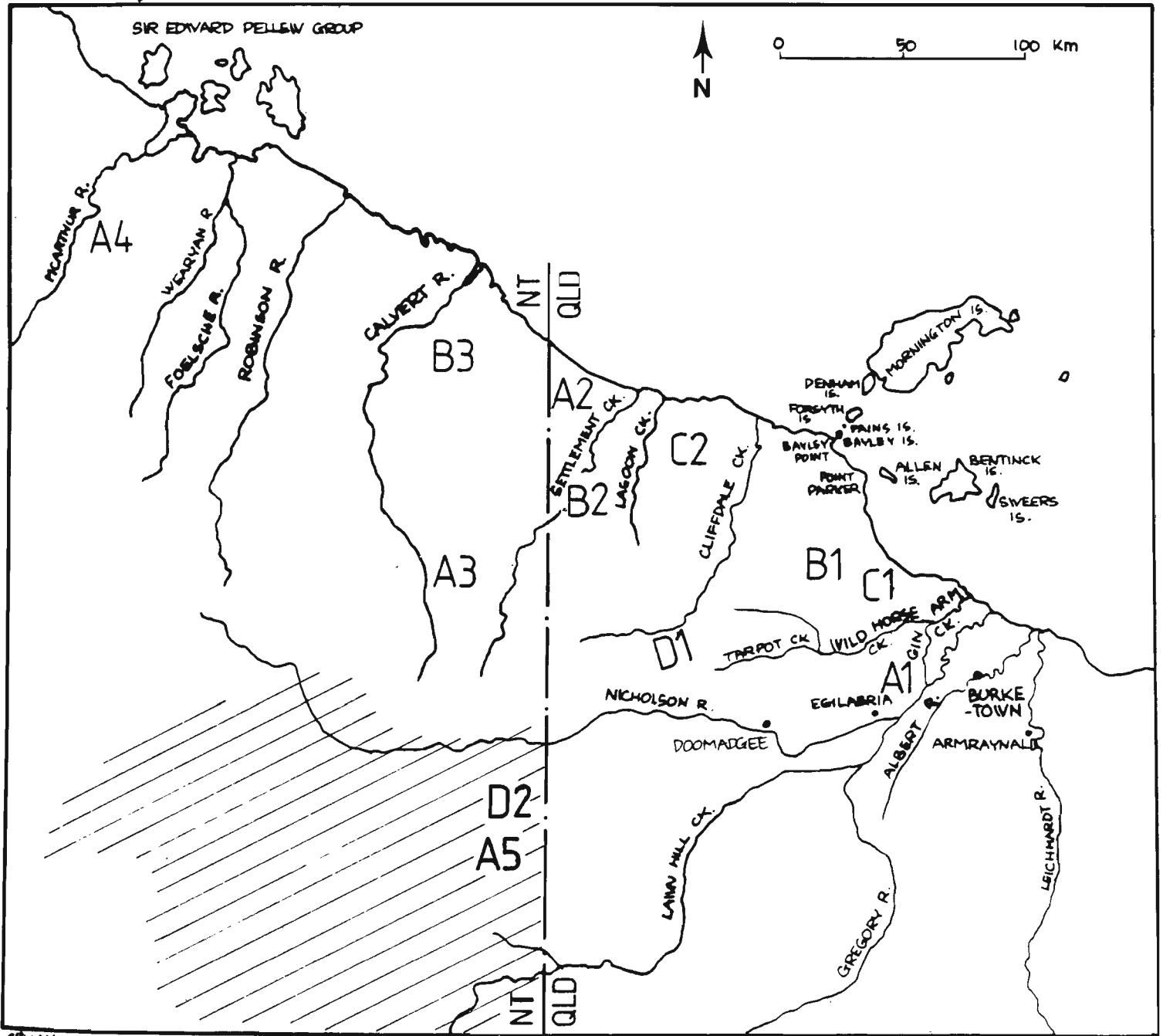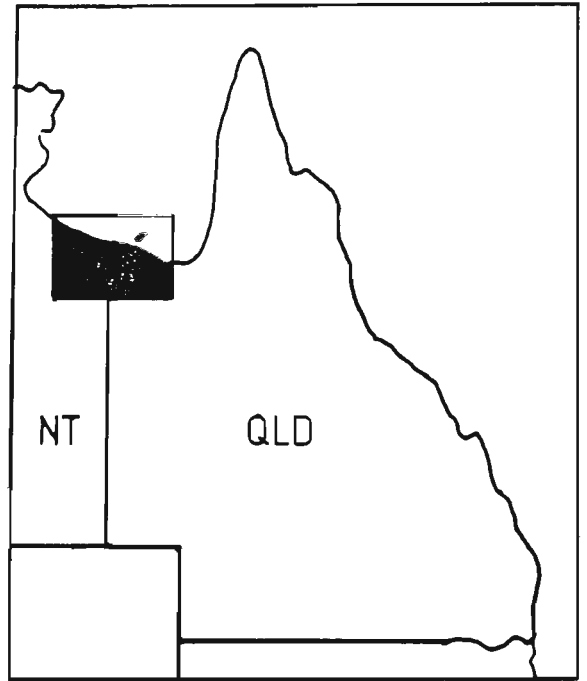
Map 3   LINGUISTIC TERRITORIES FROM
         ABORIGINAL PERSPECTIVE
         DURING THE STUDY PERIOD
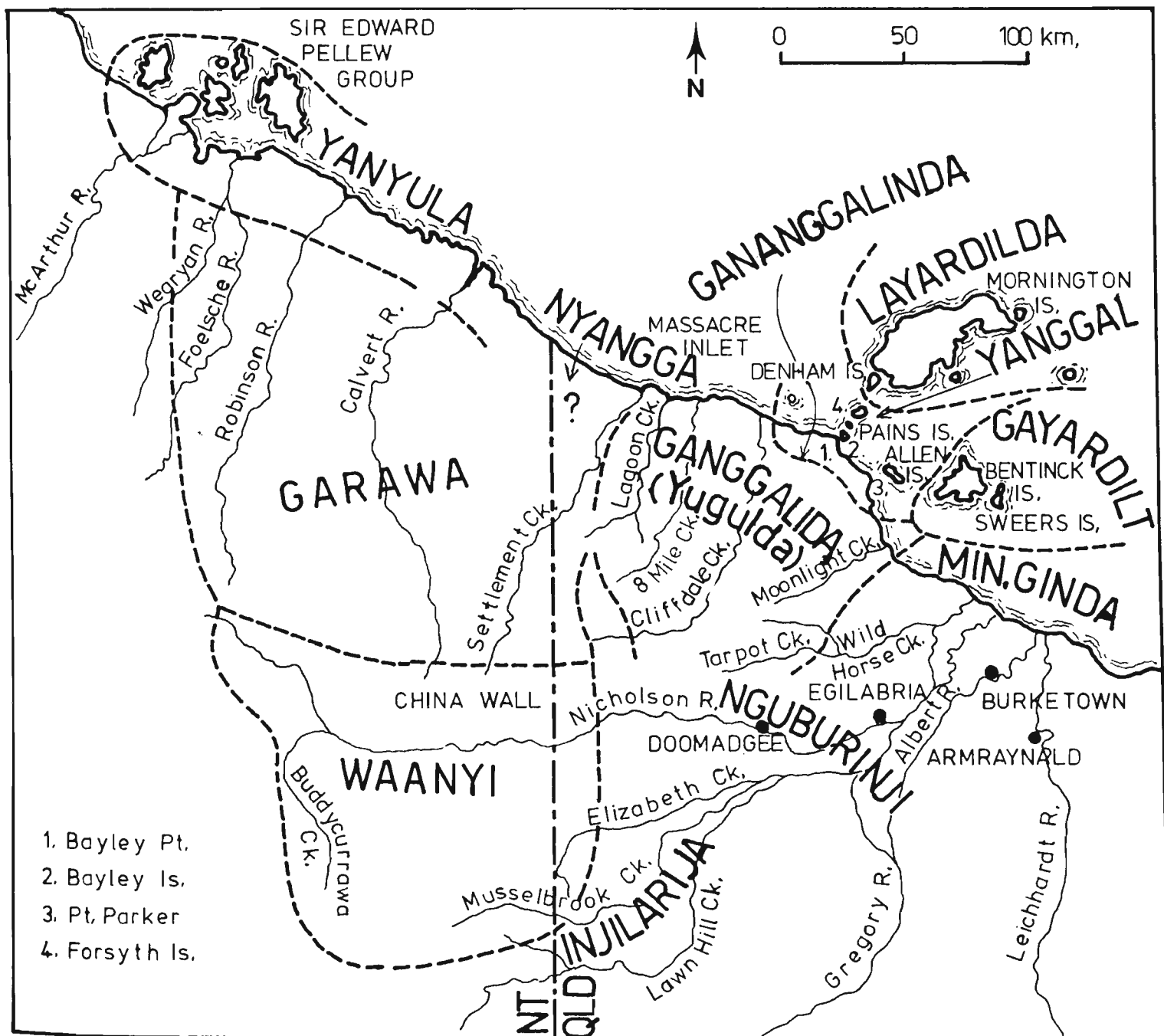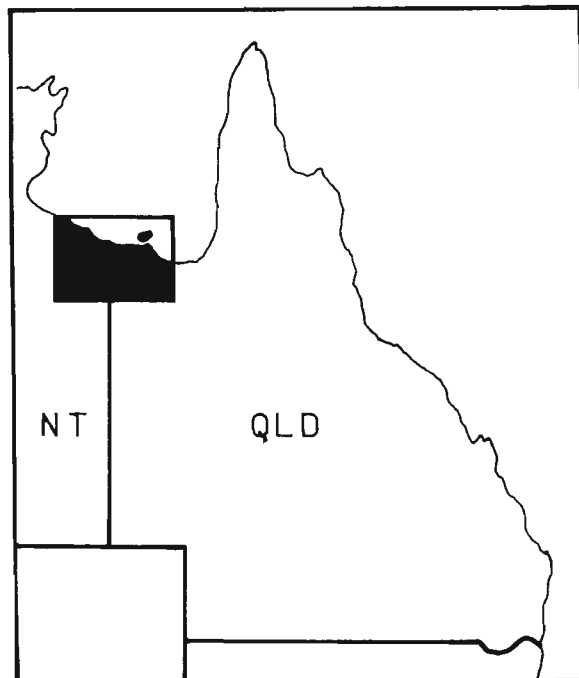
MAP 4 : KNOWLEDGE OF TERRITORY IN COASTAL
GANGGALIDA / GANANGGALINDA COUNTRY

Prepared by D.S Trigger Dept Anthropology & Sociology University of Queensland

SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION

Burralangi / Gamarangi
Ngaridbalangi / Bangarinyi
Gangala / Yagamari
Bulanyi / Balyarinyi
Fish traps (approx. minimum no.)
Estate boundary
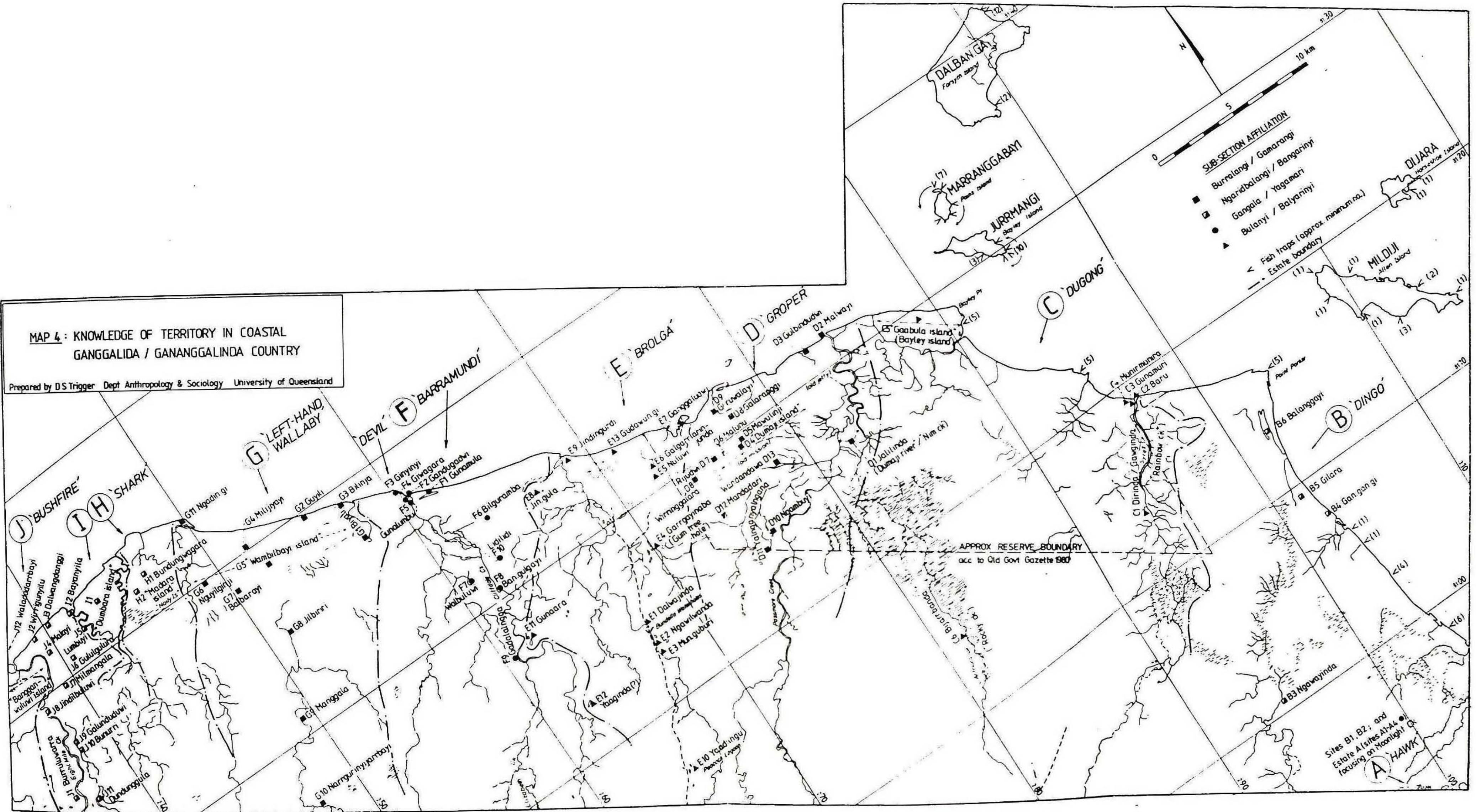
MAP 5. SIX EXAMPLE DREAMING ROUTES (APPROXIMATE) WITHIN STUDY REGION

- ------- "Rainbow" (Bujimala)
- -·--·--·- "Shark" (Yulunguri)
- ············· "Dugong" (Bijarrba)
- -x-x-x-x- "Dingo" (Bajangu)
- ++++++++ "Red Kangaroo" (Bardagalinya) and "Plains Kangaroo" (Marraji)
- oooooooooo "Devil" (Ngabaya)

NT   QLD

SA

Sir Edward Pellew Group

Manggarbarda "middle of the sea"

0   50   100 km

N

McArthur R.

Wearyan R.

Foelsche R.

Robinson R.

Calvert R.

Settlement Ck.

Lagoon Ck.

Cliffdale Ck.

Mornington Is.

Denham Is.
Forsyth Is.
Pains Is.

Bayley Is.
Bayley Pt.
Pt Parker
Bentinck Is.
Sweers Is.

Allen Is.

Wild Horse Ck.

Tarbot Ck.

EGILABRIA

BURKETOWN

ARMRAYNALD

Albert R.

Leichhardt R.

Nicholson R.

DOOMAD × GEE

Lawn Hill Ck.

Gregory R.

NT   QLD

MAP 6. GANGGALIDA AND GANANGGALINDA COASTAL ESTATES

showing the Aboriginal designation of the inland limit of the saltpan areas as the beginning of the "mainland" (wambalda). Certain fresh water holes on the "mainland" are shown for each estate.

SE 53·8 | SE 54·5

E1 Midana
E2 Jumbarana

'LILIRIJI'
'BANANDA'
'GUDIWALIYA'
Guyalina
Butuwadi
Ngawunyi

C4 Mindibanna
Ngurala D2
Wurragaga
C2
C5 • C1 Jilundarina
Jininja C3 • Seigal Ck

Ha1 Jananuwa
'WULGURRINJI'
Ha2
Dumaninja Dance

'GAWURRGI'

A5 Jiwil
A4 Balagg
A3 Mandulgu
A2 Dichbula
A1 Burrumburru
A8 Jaman.gu
A9 Gudari
A7 Dirindiri
A12 Namura

A22 Bajaminyi

WALL
CHINA
A23 Wajagumaji
'Tin Hole'
A24 Gumuluji

'NAJABARRA'

Ha3
G7 Mijbamijbara
G6 Danbagi
G5 Murlangga
G4 Rajaji The Block Wh
G3 Lijalaya
Ha4 Hanggurru
G9
G8 Jabuyara

MUMUJA

A21 Nyangguwa
'Fish River'
A20 Jaliwarinya

A14 Wayaryardi
A15 Duginyi
B1 Guyanda

A16 Garngamanda
'Corner Land'
A17
Guwaguna

A11 Najabarra

GANALANJA
NICHOLSON RIVER
J2 Hunggabari
J4 Ngandiyarija
G1 Gundarinu 'Cave Yard'
F2 Barramba
F1 Nguwaji
G2 Ganduwarra 'Lily Wh'
A19 Gambinya

J5 Ngandangandara
Benmara Hut & Yard
J6 Balagan.gali
J7 Jalinjabarra

'BANDUNJI'

Hb16 'gamon gurru'
Hb15 Bryalinyi
Hb17 Gadbiji

Hb14 Wurrubumul
Bullock Ck

P. Ha5 Badaguyara 'Bloodwood Yard'

Ha6 Badigarawa
Hab7 Oijidiji

Hb13 Milali/Malala Big Bend Wh

J8 Danmalanja Old Stone Yard
Hab8 Wanggutinji Tarpaulin Swamp
Hab9

Bandangala

Gunama
Horse Gorge

Hb12 'gamon gurru'

J10 Yarawala
J9 Galabidbarbara

Hb11 Winwinma Spring Wh

Hab10 Murulmurula
'Springvale'
Gudawudangirri J12 Seven Mile Spring

J11 Mijbayu
CLAIM BOUNDARY

J11 Wanimurrgu
Borderfield Farmhouse

Garimangi
Ridgepole Waterhole

SE 53·12 | SE 54·9

SITE CODE	SUBSECTION COUPLE	SEMI-MOIETY
▲	BULANYI - nulayrima / BALYARINYI - nulyarima	MAMBALIYA RHUMBURRIYA
■	NGARIDBALANGI - nivunama / BANGARINYI - nungarima	WUDALIYA WUYALIYA
●	GANGALA - nangalama / YAGAMARI - jaminyanyi	
◆	BURRULANGI - nurulama / GAMARANGI - nimarama	

Underlined symbols : Approx location only - Eg

MAP 11 SITES AND ESTATES
IN NICHOLSON RIVER
LAND CLAIM AREA (Amended)

Map 7 - Exhibit 38 in Nicholson River Land Claim, showing sites and estates.

MAP 8. LOCATION MAP.

■ TOWNSHIP/SETTLEMENT.

● STATION HOMESTEAD.

△ ABANDONED STATION HOMESTEAD.

▨ ABORIGINAL RESERVE.

NT   QLD

SIR EDWARD PELLEW GROUP

0   50   100 Km

N

Borroloola
Manangoora
7 Emus
Pungalina Wentworth
MASSACRE INLET
MORNINGTON IS
DENHAM IS
FORSYTH IS
PAINS IS
BAYLEY
BAYLEY IS
ALLEN IS
BENTINCK IS
SWEERS IS
P.T. PARKER
Robinson River
Redbank Mine
Wollogorang
Westmoreland
Calvert Hills
MOONLIGHT CK
Escott
Seigal Creek
CHINA WALL
TARPOT CK
WILD HORSE CK
Marless
Egilabria
ALBERT R
Burketown
NICHOLSON R
Turn Off Lagoon—Touchstone
ARMRAYNALD
ELIZABETH CK
MUSSELBROOK CK
LAWN HILL CK
DOOMADGEE
To Mt. ISA
LEICHHARDT R.
Lawn Hill
BUDDYCURRAVA CK
Riversleigh (ABGN.)
GREGORY R
Gregory Downs

McARTHUR R
WEARYAN R
FOELSCHE R.
ROBINSON R
CALVERT R.
TLEMENT CK
LAGOON CK
HANN CK
SET
CLIFFDALE CK

NT
QLD

G

MAP 9a. KNOWLEDGE OF SITES
IN LAWN HILL GORGE AREA

SCALE 1:100 000

PREPARED BY D.S.TRIGGER   DEPT. OF ANTHROPOLOGY   UNIV. OF QUEENSLAND

Ngumari
LAWN HILL

Muluru

PAGE CK

Danjidanji

LAWN HILL CK

Gagagawu

FORT
WILLIAM MOUNTAIN

Birra
Wiljawa
ROAD

Badiri

LOUIE CK

Wugunjari
(Garden Spring)

Bujabuja
ADELS GROVE

WIDDALION CK

Miyagudi

EDITH SPRING

Dalidi

Duwadarri

Ranimu

"Larrys Gap"

Wugujiji
(old king)?

LAWN HILL CK

Yuwin.gara

CONSTANCE RANGE

EXCAVATED
SHELTER SITE

Ganmangi
RIDGEPOLE WATERHOLE

COLLESS CK

N

0 1 2 3 4 5 km

DOOMADGEE
MISSION

Nguduri

NICHOLSON RIVER

MIGRATION C1890

MIGRATION C1890

Ngumari
Lawn Hill Station

LAWN HILL CREEK

MIGRATION C1890

MAP 9b.

KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORICAL MOVEMENTS
IN N.T. BORDER AREA

MAP 10. APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS OF ESTATES OF EXAMPLE COUNTRY-AFFILIATED GROUPS (as shown on genealogies in Appendix E)

Map 11. Sketchmap of Dr. W Roth, attached to report (unpublished) entitled : The Northern Territory - Queensland Border, north of Urandangie (14-8-1901).

GULF OF CARPENTARIA

LEICHHARDT RIVER

Timor Lagoon

The Lake

Bohemia w/h

14 Jindin

Kangaroo Point

Ballast Ground

Pandanus Ridge

Dulguranggirnggi

Codell landing

Buffalo Swamp

Williams Inlet

Pandanus

ALBERT RIVER

SALTWATER ARM

Millar CK

Deanes Ck.

12 Malbayi

RIVER

Inaganni inda
11 Lalala

10 Gujurunggi (ck.)

7 Wambumbung

15 Jinbiriny "little camp"
16 Dugudan "big camp"
17 Mujlanda
19 Banguban bangawa WATER SNAKE

NICHOLSON

4 km

45 Bululdarra
(mouth of Gin Arm ck)
bululway PELICAN

22 Yagirr
"Deadwood Lagoon"

21 Bulumbuluryarra
wurndg RAIN

6 Wanggalamung

8 Halukuy

5 Wandudulu

9 Balandan

2 Mararagu

23 Wadwarra "Gaynors Lagoon"
bulimgana LIGHTNING

18 Din gtinii

Disused Aboriginal Cemetery

20 13
19 16
15

BURKETOWN
MUNIC. BDY.

3 Gordon gananda

31 Wanggakamunggi

27 Jilgura
Woods Lake

29 Dabawuling

20 Mumbalgan

2 Bunumuyanggi

11 Mamamara

DOOMADGEE 75 km

Gin Arm Ck.

41 Danga

43 Mang

42 Warrunging
"Goanna Hill"

40 Gagaguyama

Horse Ck.

Wild Horse Ck.

44 Datmara

Losas Ck.

48 Gananaddinda

46 Mangguwlu
baŋawa PELICAN

47 Jubundan

51 Dugaruluwi
Marless Lagoon

39 Gundunggulunggi
"Pelican Waterhole"

37 Guwang

36 Gordangulum
Horseshoe Lagoon

34 Bilbagarda

35 Birnnjura

28 Mundaguban

24 Balbaray

30 Gabaranulum

33 Gapanriyanga

ESCOTT

26 Daluguban

32

Ngirmujuyanggi

large campsite

25 Jirmulgan

50 Gananada

NICHOLSON RIVER

Warrie

ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE
OF TERRITORY
Albert River - Burketown -
Escott District (51 sites)

• approximate location

0 1 2 3 4 5 km

PREPARED BY
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University of Queensland
DRAWN BY PETER JOLLY

N

MT ISA

Map 12.

PART A

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Problem and Thesis Framework

This study is an ethnography of social life in a north Australian Aboriginal settlement. The research problem has largely arisen out of the data collection process, rather than having been precisely formulated at the beginning of the study. Studies of ethnography as method have certainly recognized the key role of ongoing data collection in the formation and constant modification of major research questions (e.g. Spradley 1980: 33, 73; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 27-53). One source (Glaser and Strauss 1965: 6-7) notes how during qualitative fieldwork "hypotheses inevitably arise to guide" the researcher, and how "a process of implicit [analytic] coding" operates; these authors thus also refer to the "continual intermeshing of data collection and analysis". This has indeed been the way in which my research has generally proceeded.

The major question that has emerged in my ethnography has been how best to account for the complex pattern of social life that has confronted me in the research process. My perspective has been avowedly holistic, in that I have sought to describe a very broad range of social life, and simultaneously to provide a general coherent theoretical framework to account for it. The theoretical framework which pervades this study concerns power relations. Other researchers confronted with the same data may well have sought a different theoretical framework. For example, in a similarly holistic study of a comparable setting, Chase (1980) has rather posited the issues of identity and tradition as central in accounting for Aboriginal social life. Moreover, it is clear from Chase's literature review (1980: 39-68) that these theoretical issues have been central in a number of studies of Aboriginal social life in remote settlement settings. Chase's study, and those he reviews, are unlike mine in that they do not treat in any detail the involvement of Whites in the social life being studied. When authors have considered social life involving relations between Aborigines and Whites, the theoretical issue of power relations has often been quite central to their analyses (e.g. see the contributions in Howard [1982]).

While the general issue of power relations became central to my interpretations quite early in the study, it is important to note that this perspective continued to be generated by the data. Therefore, I would feel uneasy in stating as Leach (1964: 10) does, that he assumes that "a conscious or unconscious wish to gain power is a very general motive in human affairs". I have certainly come to the same conclusion as Leach throughout this study, and no doubt I have thereby been particularly oriented towards the recognition of power relations in analyzing my data. Yet I would simply stress this conclusion as at least as much a theoretical finding of the study as an initial assumption.

Through my fundamental concern with power relations, I have been led to draw much of the specific theoretical framework for the thesis from Weber's sociology. Weber's focus on the operation of power throughout society, and the meaning of this operation as apprehended by social actors, is one which is given considerable application in this study. Chapter 2 thus examines several of Weber's key concepts, including class, status, social closure, domination, authority and legitimacy. I regard the material in Chapter 2 as a discussion of "grand" or "formal" theory, and it will become clear that the theoretical concepts introduced there have been critical in structuring many of my interpretations. However, these interpretations remain well "grounded" in empirical data. In the terms of those who developed the notion of "grounded formal theory", my primary aim as stated above of accounting for settlement social life may be viewed as the development of "substantive theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1965; 1967). In Chapter 2 I discuss the basic notion of theoretically "accounting for" substantive data; however, I consider it beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the somewhat problematic distinction between formal and substantive theory. It will suffice to present the following quotation which largely represents my perspective on this matter:

> In the conduct of an actual project, one would not expect simply to progress from a series of substantive issues, and end up with one's formal categories or vice versa. There will normally be a constant shuttling back and forth between the two analytic modes. Particular substantive issues may suggest affinities with some formal concept that will, in turn, indicate substantive issues as deserving new or further attention, and so forth (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 39).

In presenting the substantive ethnographic data of the study, I have found it heuristically useful to consider in Part B, social life predominantly generated by Aboriginal tradition; Part C of the thesis rather concerns social life derived to a major extent from the interaction between the European colonisation process and Aboriginal tradition - i.e. from what I have termed "colonial social relations". However, this division should be recognised by the reader as theoretically mundane. While pragmatically useful, it cannot be sustained analytically in that the substantive data concerning Aboriginal social life presented in Part B do not solely derive from Aboriginal tradition. As Austin (1984: 117-8) has put this issue recently (in discussing the relationship between anthropology and sociology in Australia), contemporary Aboriginal society is derived from its relationship with Australian capitalist society (and hence European traditions) as well as from Aboriginal tradition: in her terms, it is "a distinct product of colonial domination".

Austin (1984: 97-140) argues, at least implicitly, for the articulation of studies concerning Aborigines with research on other aspects of Australian society, and thereby with major theoretical questions in sociology (and anthropology). In that my study is fundamentally concerned with formal issues of power relations, it is oriented towards that broader goal. It has been argued by at least one writer (Wild 1977: 83) that most studies of Aboriginal/White relations (at least those available at the time of his own publication) ignore "the structural context of social stratification and power" (though he does critique in some detail several attempts to apply general sociological theory to Australian race-relations). Wild (p. 81) criticises "the descriptive and implicitly functionalist nature of the study of black/white relations", and puts his own "model" for the understanding of this subject as centrally focused on theories of stratification and power. While Wild's essentially Weberian theoretical assertions are generally congruent with those in this study, he does not present adequate supporting empirical data or analysis. Beckett (1977: 92-3), an anthropologist, understandably responded by stating the necessity for an empirical demonstration of the analytical power of a Weberian approach; and a similar criticism is evident from Evans's (1977: 96-8) assertion as an historian of Wild's "cavalier disregard for empirical accuracy".

In treating a large body of empirical data, the "substantive" theoretical propositions in this thesis are much less general in scope, and much better "grounded", than those posited by Wild (which I need not discuss here). Moreover, my research implicitly rejects Wild's implication (1977: 82) that studies of sociopolitical life within Aboriginal society have little to offer the broader study of Aboriginal/ White relations.[1] Beyond what is envisaged in Wild's paper, in Part B of this thesis I apply the concept of status (and hence consider the issue of stratification) in analysis of social life deriving predominantly from Aboriginal tradition.

Specifically, Part B examines persons' individual and collective affiliation to Aboriginal languages (Chapter 3) and "country" (Chapter 4), and also their relations to one another on the basis of kinship (Chapter 5). These three aspects of Aboriginal tradition have emerged as among the predominant foci within contemporary Aboriginal social life. In Chapter 3, the affiliation of persons to one or more Aboriginal languages, language names and linguistic territories is shown to be an important feature of their social and status identity in relation to other Aborigines; however, the point is made that such conceptions of linguistic affiliation only rarely produce linguistic groups (as status groups) which exhibit collective action. In Chapter 4, the affiliation of Aborigines to country is similarly shown to be an important feature of their social and status identity. The formal system of belief concerning such affiliation enables flexibility in the actual social management of ties and rights to country and material resources associated with it, and politicking is rife within country-affiliated groups. Like linguistic groups, the latter are not enduring corporate units; rather than socially closed units, they consist of open and often quite labile social networks. Knowledge of country (and knowledge and performance of the ritual and other art forms associated with it) is furthermore shown to be a source of great social honour, and a major resource in competitive social relations within a

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[1] In his focus on race relations, Wild (p. 82) discounts most anthropological studies because of their primary concern "with traditional Aboriginal society and culture" and their concentration on relationships among Aborigines. His position is, however, inconsistent with his own criticism of others for ignoring and disregarding stratification within racial groups (pp. 83-4, 86).

relatively small group of acknowledged experts. Part B concludes with Chapter 5, which describes kinship as a fundamental principle invoked by Aborigines in organising several pervasive forms of collective social action: residence, economic co-operation and sharing of material resources, and conflict with other Aborigines. I also argue in Chapter 5 that status relations are inevitably implicated within kinship relations.

Part C broadens the study with a description and analysis of relations between Aborigines and Whites. The key theoretical issues in Chapters 6 to 9 concern the concepts of domination, authority and legitimacy. Chapter 6 presents an extensive history of relations between Aborigines and Whites in the study region. It considers at different historical periods, the power of the colonising society over Aboriginal society, in terms of economic power, physical force controlled by the state, and entrenched authority relations. Chapter 6 also considers some aspects of sociopolitical diversity <u>within</u> both Aboriginal and White Australian societies in the study setting.

Chapter 7 defines two separate social and physical domains corresponding spatially with the residence areas of the two socially closed status groups - Aborigines and Whites. The nature of Aboriginal and White social action by which this closure is achieved, is described in detail. While some diversity (on the basis of phenotypic or "racial" differences) within the Aboriginal domain is described, the summary point is that through social closure all Aboriginal residents generally maintain some autonomy in the face of broader domination by Australian society. Chapter 8 firstly considers aspects of social life among White staff, with a particular focus on two different administrative perspectives. Secondly, it examines general Aboriginal attitudes of both support and opposition towards the administrative influence of the state and the local missionary staff. Thirdly, the chapter deals with the incorporation of a small proportion of Aboriginal residents into the settlement administrative process. The critical theoretical conclusions in Chapter 8 concern the question of Aboriginal attribution of legitimacy to the system of administrative authority.

Chapter 9 considers the operation of Christianity as a legitimating ideology used by the White staff in their individual and collective social relationships to Aborigines. The extent to which Aborigines embrace Christian beliefs (in some cases through syncretism with

traditional Aboriginal religious beliefs), and engage in specifically Christian social action, is examined. The chapter discusses diversity within Aboriginal attitudes towards Christianity, and the extent to which the avowedly Christian nature of administrative practice has legitimated the broader White system of authority.

Finally, Part D of the study consists of Chapter 10, the conclusion to the thesis. As the substantive findings of the research are summarised throughout the respective chapters (and at the ends of both Parts B and C), Chapter 10 consists mainly of a return to the issues of formal theory introduced in Chapter 2. In concluding the thesis I thus reiterate the suitability of a number of fundamental power relations concepts to the study, and thereby indicate the extent to which I have modified these concepts. I argue that a theoretical framework emphasising power relations has enabled the most adequate holistic explanation of the social life with which the study has been concerned.

1.2 The Study Setting

The study is set at Doomadgee Aboriginal settlement, in far north-west Queensland, Australia (Plate I, following p. i above). Doomadgee is located approximately 87 km east of the Qld-NT border on the north bank of the Nicholson River, which flows in an east-west direction from within the NT, some 137 km into Qld before junctioning with the Gregory River and then turning northeastwards and eventually entering the Gulf of Carpentaria. Doomadgee is thus located approximately 119 km directly south of the Gulf coast. The nearest town is Burketown, on the Albert River some 82 km (100 km by road) in an easterly direction. To the north approximately 147 km is the Aboriginal settlement of Mornington Island, while the closest substantial population centre to the west is Borroloola (340 km from Doomadgee, 480 km by road). A substantial Aboriginal population was also resident at Robinson River Station (located between Doomadgee and Borroloola) during part of the study period. The closest major town is Mount Isa to the south, 480 km by road from Doomadgee. Pastoral properties are spread throughout the region. The Doomadgee Aboriginal Reserve includes approximately 30 km of the Nicholson River, and an area of some 145,656 hectares northwards of the river. The Bayley Point Aboriginal Reserve (the location of the

first Mission site, see Chapter 6) consists of some 29,100 hectares on the coast north from the settlement site (See Map 8).[2]

Doomadgee is located in a semi-arid setting on what is geologically designated as the Carpentaria Plain, some 53 km northeast of the nearest edge of the Barkly Tableland. The vegetation in the immediate area of the settlement can be generally characterized as open woodland; large tea-trees (Melaleuca sp.) provide extensive shade along the river. The region has the typical north Australian tropical climate whereby there is a concentrated wet season during the summer months. The settlement is thus commonly isolated in terms of road transport for some time during the wet season. However, regular air transport normally continues throughout the wet season.

The official DAIA records of the Aboriginal population for Doomadgee during the research period show an increase from a total of 885 in 1978 (DAIA 1978: 26), to 1,083 in 1983 (DAIA 1983: 46). However, on the basis of access to Mission records, a DAA report (DAA n.d.: 5) has noted that these figures represent those associated with the settlement, and points out that this number is much larger than the number actually resident at Doomadgee at any one time. The report gives the example of 31 March 1979, when 22.5% of the 903 Aboriginal people officially recorded as associated with Doomadgee were in fact "away at the time on a long-term basis". It is not specific about the periods of time involved in such absences. The DAA report (p. 5) does point out that the practice of referring to a larger population associated with Doomadgee arose at a time when a large part of the population was normally absent at employment on pastoral properties during the entire dry season (see also Long 1970: 153-4). However, this has not been the case during the research period; official DAIA sources note only short-term employment available on stations (see DAIA 1979: 21; 1980: 21;

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[2]Apart from the large Aboriginal population at Mornington Island (approximately 700 in 1981 [personal communication from the then Shire Clerk]), the populations of both Burketown and Borroloola were predominantly Aboriginal during the research period; according to 1981 Australian Bureau of Statistics figures, there were 110 Aborigines at Burketown (52.4% of the total population of the town) and 316 at Borroloola (75.2% of the town population). Approximately 50 Aborigines resided at Robinson River Station from 1981 onwards when the property was purchased for them with Commonwealth Government funds. The 1981 Census indicates that 7% of the Mount Isa population were of Aboriginal descent.

1981: 26; 1982: 32; 1983: 28, 46). Thus, although there has been considerable movement of small numbers of people in and out of the settlement, the number of actual residents during the research period may be regarded as otherwise stable, and as approximately 20% less than the official total population figures.

A detailed history of the settlement is provided in Chapter 6. The physical layout is described in Chapter 7, and further demographic features of the population are given in the course of presenting various arguments throughout other chapters. The final introductory comments necessary concern the extent of my fieldwork.

The research period was from 1978 to 1983, though the study incorporates a detailed examination of the history of the study region. Fieldwork at Doomadgee and with Doomadgee people throughout the study region has been carried out during the following approximate periods: May, June 1978 (6 weeks); September, October, November 1978 (9 weeks); June, July, August 1979 (11 weeks); August, September, October, November 1980 (13 weeks); March, April, May 1982 (7 weeks); October, November 1982 (4 weeks); September, October 1983 (4 weeks). The total fieldwork period has thus been approximately 54 weeks. Fieldwork for this thesis proceeded parallel to my employment at the University of Queensland as a site recorder, with a brief to conduct research on Aboriginal sites of significance and traditional systems of land tenure. Some of the results of that research appear in the thesis in Chapter 4. The fieldwork during 1982 included work for an Aboriginal land claim under the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act (the Nicholson River Land Claim), where the majority of claimants were Doomadgee residents on a permanent or temporary basis. Teaching commitments precluded fieldwork during 1981.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS A THEORY OF POWER RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ACTION

2.1 Introduction

The broad theoretical concerns of this thesis derive from Weber's vast work in attempting to develop a theory of social action. For Weber (1968 I: 4), "action" necessarily involves the subjective meaning conceived by actors, and it is "social" insofar as it takes account of the behaviour of others. He seeks nothing short of an explanation of the causes, course and effects of social action, and introduces a plethora of terms and concepts directed toward this aim (e.g. 1968 I: 3-62; 1968 III: 1375-80). While a variety of these terms may be referred to occasionally in this chapter, my argument focuses on Weber's general treatment of power relations; specifically I am concerned with the concepts of class, status, social closure, and relations of domination and authority. A number of other works, including several that focus on the issues of group formation and ideology, are also drawn on throughout this discussion.

2.2 Some Preliminary Methodological Issues

The lack of overt systematic anthropological discussion of Weber's work on method in particular, is difficult to understand.[1] His espousal of "interpretive understanding" (verstehen) as a critical empathetic technique in establishing the meanings held subjectively by social actors (e.g. Weber 1968 I: 4-22), is clearly of great relevance to the traditional anthropological participant observation method. Weber discusses issues of method quite relevant to this study in great detail, but only certain points need be noted here. Firstly, Weber's view is that quantitative techniques can be used usefully together with the verstehen method, although some caution is necessary in attaching explanatory significance to numerical correlations (Parkin 1982: 20-1). Secondly, Parkin (1982: 23-4) has recently asserted that Weber's verstehen method requires the researcher to "be on roughly the same normative and moral wavelength" as the actor, and hence by this view

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[1] This is not to say that Weber's writings on method have not had great influence on the work of influential anthropologists (e.g. Geertz 1973).

such understanding across cultures would not be possible. Parkin is able to point out Weber's rather passing reference (1968 I: 16) to the inability of Europeans to "share the feelings of primitive men."[2] However, given its context the reference to "primitive men" is probably best viewed as a reflection of the nineteenth and early twentieth century European racist perspective, whereby such people were simply barely recognized as human at all. Certainly, in his substantive discussion of method elsewhere (e.g. 1968 I: 5), Weber insists that verstehen does not necessarily require the researcher to have the "ability to perform a similar action" as that which he endeavours to understand: "one need not have been Caesar in order to understand Caesar."

A third more complex issue is what Weber intends that the researcher do with the meanings and motives subjectively held by those studied. He (1968 I: 21-2) states that, apart from marginal cases, individuals are not fully conscious of the meanings of social reality, and as Parkin (1982: 26-7) suggests, this point is not too dissimilar from the Marxist notion of false consciousness. Thus, how does the researcher himself establish a true or more complete consciousness of that social reality? Weber (1949: 92) argues that there can never be a true replication of reality in the sense of a "presuppositionless" copy of "objective facts". The researcher's aim lies in "revealing concrete cultural phenomena in their interdependence, their causal conditions and their significance", and he argues that such a task necessarily involves the particular concepts which the researcher uses to define and organize his data. Social facts cannot "speak for themselves" (Parkin 1982: 30-1).

For Weber, the best concepts to use in this way are "ideal types". An ideal type is an analytical construct which is formed by accentuating and synthesising what the researcher considers as the distinctive features of social reality found variously throughout his data:

It has the significance of a purely ideal limiting concept
with which the real situation or action is compared and

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[2]Parsons translates the same passage as Weber saying there is "no priori reason to suppose that the Western researcher has such an ability" (Weber 1947: 104), and points out in a footnote that the achievements of anthropological research since Weber wrote, throw considerable doubt on the validity of this point.

surveyed for the replication of certain of its significant
components (Weber 1949: 93).

The "significance" of empirical data is thus sought by relating
or comparing it to an ideal limiting case (1949: 94). An ideal
type is not itself a description of reality "but it aims to give
unambiguous means of expression to such a description"; it is not
an hypothesis "but it offers guidance to the construction of
hypotheses" (1949: 90). It is clearly an heuristic device.

Weber (1949: 94-5) notes the dangers of confusing an ideal type
with actual reality, of using these theoretical constructs as a
"procrustean bed" into which the data are forced, and of hypostatising
them as real forces which direct history. This last warning should not
be taken to indicate that Weber did not believe such forces exist; he
goes on (pp. 94-5) to discuss "the thoughts or ideals" which can
dominate the thinking of large numbers of persons. While such "ideals"
may in some settings be the same as (or incorporated within) the
researcher's abstracted ideal type of that situation, Weber's point
(1949: 95) is that "in principle they are both fundamentally different
things."

Questions of method will not be dealt with extensively in this
thesis; however, because aspects of Weber's broader work are important
in what follows, it has been necessary to introduce his key ideas on
method. It is necessary, for example, when considering his "types" of
domination to remain aware of the epistemological standing he attributes
to such concepts. As implied above, I see few problems in Weber's
espousal of the verstehen method to be used in conjunction with
quantitative techniques where appropriate, and this is the approach that
has informed my research. However, the use of ideal types is more
problematic. As Parkin (1982: 30) states, it remains unclear what kind
of "explanatory pay-off" this procedure yields. If an ideal type is a
means to an end (Weber 1949: 92), what is the end attainable? Parkin
poses the obvious question of what divergences between the ideal type
and empirical reality can really explain, other than that the
researcher's construction of the ideal type approximates reality to
varying degrees in varying settings? Two procedural possibilities
emerge: the ideal type could itself be constantly modified in the light
of empirical data, but this would seemingly turn it into an hypothesis,
and this is not Weber's intention; or the researcher is stimulated to
generate an hypothesis designed to account for his data, after observing

how the data differ from the ideal type. The second procedure appears more in line with Weber's thinking, and it is the procedure nominally adopted in this thesis. However, in practice the difference between the two procedures tends to collapse. I can suggest that I have used certain ideal types solely to generate different hypotheses, but in fact the hypotheses are inevitably predominantly modified versions of the ideal types. Throughout the thesis, it will become clear that I have drawn substantially on certain of Weber's ideal type concepts in this process, rather than initially constructing my own. However, as is also made clear (particularly from discussion in this chapter and the thesis conclusion [Chapter 10]), my data in fact require the modification of several key Weberian concepts.

The final methodological issue here concerns the general nature of explanation sought in this study. As has been well demonstrated in a recent paper by McLemore (1984), Weber made a firm distinction between nomological explanation which seeks the subsumption of concrete phenomena under causal laws, and idiographic[3] explanation of concrete phenomena which rather seeks the explication of much less general causal sequences. As McLemore (p. 290) represents Weber's view, the kind of useful ("even indispensable") empirical generalisations that can be developed within the social sciences are not normally nomological forms of explanation. However, idiographic explanation can certainly be causal, not in terms of subordinating phenomena to "rules", but in terms of explicating a "dynamic bond" between phenomena (Weber 1975: 195). McLemore (1984: 282) interprets this notion of a "dynamic bond" in terms of "an actual connection between phenomena by which one is compelled or produced by the other."

Moreover, it is by means of interpretive understanding (and the use of ideal types) that such causal sequences are explicated, for this process gives us access to human motivations: "Human actions are caused by actors' motives and motives are knowable only through interpretive understanding" (McLemore 1984: 292). McLemore (p. 293) aptly quotes

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[3]McLemore (1984: 279, Footnote 11) notes that Weber mostly used the expression "science of concrete reality" to designate "studies investigating the unique characteristics of particular phenomena". However, with McLemore, I use the term "idiographic" to also refer to such studies.

Weber's definition of sociology in support of the way the latter's view conjoins explanation and understanding:

> Sociology ... is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences (Weber 1968 I: 4).[4]

Weber's views on this fundamental issue are largely the ones which permeate this thesis. My work deals with the causal "bond" between two main sets of phenomena: human motives (not necessarily consciously held) that I have interpretively understood in terms of power relations concepts; and consequent forms of social action. The study is thus primarily concerned with idiographic explanation of social phenomena. As stated in Chapter 1, the "theory" to which the conclusions contribute is best described as predominantly "substantive", in that it consists mainly of explanation of (or "accounting for") the concrete empirical data introduced throughout the study.

2.3 Power and the Constitution of Groups

Weber (1968 I: 53) defines power as the probability that an individual will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance. So defined, it is a "sociologically amorphous" concept:

> All conceivable qualities of a person and all conceivable combinations of circumstances may put him in a position to impose his will in a given situation.

For Weber, the exercise of power or "influence" (1968 I: 212) is quite pervasive throughout society: to take but two example commentary works, Bendix (1960: 294) puts Weber's view that power is an aspect of most, if not all, social relationships, and Parkin (1982: 71) notes as the leitmotif running through all Weber's political sociology, that:

> Societies and their lesser parts are held together not so much through contractual relations or moral consensus as through the exercise of power ... . The terminology of violence, coercion and force is as natural to Weber's sociology as the terminology of moral integration is to Durkheim's.

Yet because of its generality the concept of power as such is not dealt with at length by Weber. His most precisely detailed work in relation to power and the constitution of groups concerns the concepts of class, status and party.

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[4]McLemore actually quotes a slightly different translation, but emphasizes much the same words as I have done.

The latter concept is the most straightforward, and can be dealt with briefly. From Weber's discussion (1968 I: 284-8; 1968 II: 938-9), a "party" appears to be a concrete social group consisting of people who wish to achieve their goal through planned action. Their action is "oriented toward the acquisition of social power" and the achievement of influence. Weber was clearly thinking of such groups as modern political parties, though he does not restrict the concept to these. While parties "may represent interests determined through class situation or status situation" (1968 II: 938), the basis of their operation is the overt seeking of political power, rather than any fundamental concern with economic or social rewards. The notion of "party" is consistent with other parts of Weber's work where he defines the more general "political" community (1968 II: 901), and my only further concern here is to note his view that political communities must have "at least a rudimentary corporate apparatus" (1968 II: 905).[5] I do not find this classic evolutionary perspective in the definition of the term "political" very useful (see my further note on this point below [p. 129]), and throughout the thesis I also use the term to include the more general features of power relations between individuals and non-corporate groups (cf. Swartz's [1968] discussion of "local-level politics"). The concept of "party" as corporate political group remains peripheral to this thesis.

2.3.1 Class situation

In Weber's terms a person's class situation depends on their control of material property. Those who are "propertyless" have nothing to offer on the competitive market, other than their labour or the products resulting from it, which they must use to subsist. Those with property can transfer it from the sphere of use as "wealth" to the sphere of "capital", and thus obtain "returns on capital" through the "entrepreneurial function" (1968 II: 927). Class situation thus amounts to a person's fate as determined by their chance of using goods or services on the market. Weber's references to class situations (e.g.

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[5]It is clear that Radcliffe-Brown's (1940: xiv) classic definition of political organization is derived from Weber, though Radcliffe-Brown does not refer to Weber in his essay. Thus while Pocock's (1971: xii-xiii) comment that Weber's ideas "did not flow into the main stream" of British social anthropology can be noted, it seems they nevertheless had considerable influence.

1968 II: 929-30) include settings in non-Western societies and non-industrial economies. However, the presence of the capitalist market would seem a necessary component of his concept. In all cases where the concept of "class situation" is used in this study, it is defined in terms of a relationship to such a market. This amounts to a general use of the concept of class, derived from Weber, which is essentially unproblematic in this study.

The extent to which "class situation" leads to "class action" or social action flowing from class interest is, Weber says, highly variable and dependent on various factors. Thus he states (p. 930) that: "To treat 'class' conceptually as being equivalent to 'group' leads to distortion." Parkin (1982: 94-5) argues convincingly that while Weber uses the vocabulary of class and class conflict, he emphasizes the diversity within the two great Marxist categories of capital and labour, and that the construct of "social differentiation" or "social stratification" thus follows more easily from his work than does "class". Moreover, as Parkin puts Weber's view, conflicting interest groups are not necessarily class formations:

> Equally important were those collectivities inspired by a sense of their 'communal' identity - be it racial, religious, linguistic or whatever. He was a lot more sensitive than Marx to social formations arising on the basis of these ethnic and cultural divisions in society (Parkin 1982: 95).

Furthermore, for Weber, in contradistinction to Marx, the mode of production "can be shown to adapt itself to existing social arrangements rather than bending them to its own design" (Parkin 1982: 96).

2.3.2 Status situation

The latter kinds of communal divisions mentioned by Parkin are among the most important examples of Weber's "status groups" (Parkin 1982: 96). In contrast to the purely economically determined class situation, "status situation" is designated as "every typical component of the life of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honour" (1968 II: 932). Status honour normally involves a "specific style of life", and is linked to "restrictions on social intercourse"; the latter may lead to endogamy within the status group. Where it is held that there are ethnic differences underlying distinctions between status groups a high degree of segregation and "closure" of such groups can develop (p. 933). Thus

Parkin notes that in Weber's view such groups can be more effective in processes of social struggle, than groups based on class situation:

> They are more likely to have a powerful sense of their own common identity and of the social boundary separating them off from others, especially if there is a racial, religious or ethnic component present (Parkin 1982: 97-8).

The latter kinds of status group in particular, cut across class formations. For Weber (1968 I: 342), it is socially "closed" groups, i.e. those which exclude people on the basis of whatever characteristic appears convenient, which form the most effective "interest groups". Through social closure a group restricts access to rewards and privileges to a limited circle, and this is a major way that status groups seek to mobilize power in a similar way to class formations (Parkin, 1982: 100).

> For Weber, status is the basis for all "style of life" differences:

> For the decisive role of a style of life in status honour means that status groups are the specific bearers of all conventions. In whatever way it may be manifest, all stylization of life either originates in status groups or is at least conserved by them (1968 II: 935-6).

His concept of status thus encompasses a very broad range of social differentiation. Yet social difference per se is not the primary attribute of a status. Rather, it is a difference occupying a position as against a ranking of other statuses. Status is a "symbolic reward" (Parkin 1982: 96). Parkin's (1982: 97) warning against downplaying Weber's view of status groups as "fairly combative bodies" would seem well-founded. While "status honour" is clearly regarded as a basic form of social differentiation, Weber's position is that stratification by status is invariably (if not necessarily) implicit in all such differentiation. His comments quoted above occur within a discussion of "status privileges". He is inevitably concerned with a hierarchy of difference or esteem, in discussion of status difference.

The concepts of status and "status group" are quite central to Part B of this thesis. Anthropological discourse has traditionally used the concept of status, but seemingly not always with Weber's implication of the necessary ranking of social esteem or honour. Linton (1936: 113-31) developed the concept some time ago, and for him status is a position in the pattern of reciprocal behaviour in society, a collection of rights and duties. Status is mostly ascribed from birth, but may also be achieved through individual effort during a person's life. This

is not inconsistent with a Weberian view; indeed, one commentary work (Bohannan and Glazer 1973: 187) notes that Linton sharpened the concept of status that Weber (and others) had written about. However, it is also clear that he broadened the concept to refer to all social positions occupied by individuals. Linton (1936: 116) gives as forms of ascribed status those assigned on the basis of sex, age, family relationships and birth into a particular socially established group. Whether assigned according to biological or social factors, ascribed statuses "compose the bulk of all social systems" (1936: 128).

Nadel (1951: 171) notes that Linton uses "status" in a "double sense": "referring to rights and obligations understood qualitatively" (e.g. status as married or single), and to "rights and obligations compared and reduced to 'positional values'" (e.g. status as superior or inferior). Nadel himself remains closer to Weber's concept, by using "status" solely for the latter (quantitatively) ranked schema of rights and duties, preferring (pp. 92-8) the term "person" (which he indicates is equivalent to social "role") for the former unranked kind of social difference.[6] In his definition of status (1951: 171-2) he refers specifically to "a scale of worthwhileness valid in the group"; rank is a "more highly formalized version of status", while the vaguer term "prestige" refers to a more fluid, less formalized, "perhaps more fortuitously acquired" form of status.

These issues of terminology do not warrant extensive discussion here, but it can be noted that M.G. Smith (1974) attributes two differing general views to anthropology and sociology. While he does not mention Linton, he puts the anthropological concept of status as a similarly broad one: social structure is conceived as a status structure; status differentiation pervades all society as the basis of all social differentiation. He aligns himself with this view although the thrust of his article is that such social (and status) differentiation is not to be implicitly conceived as a system of stratification.[7] A society which institutionalises equal access to

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[6]Nadel (1951: 93, fn. 2) notes that the term "person" etymologically comes from the masks (personae) worn by Roman actors in a play.

[7]Indeed, he quotes Sahlins (1958: 1-2) and Sharp (1958: 5) to present traditional Australian Aboriginal societies as examples of unstratified societies (M.G. Smith 1974: 136-7, 142).

positions of advantage is unstratified. M.G. Smith puts as the
alternative view of sociology that "stratification" is an "abstract
necessity of all social systems", and that it is because sociologists
regard societies as systems of roles, that "they need a theory of
stratification to analyse the articulation of these roles."

The disciplinary typicality of these positions is doubtful now,
some 18 years after M.G. Smith's paper was first published. I am not
concerned to discuss the issue of stratification in great detail, but I
do seek to clarify my position concerning the relationship between
status and stratification. The concept of status used in this thesis
refers to quantitatively ranked social honour (cf. the positions of
Weber and Nadel); thus, it cannot refer to solely qualitatively
designated social differentiation (as it can according to the positions
of Linton and M.G. Smith). However, the further issue is whether in the
light of M.G. Smith's comments, my position allows for the possibility
of an unstratified society.

As I am concerned here with the specific relationship between
status and stratification, let us posit a society without inequality due
either to the operation of economic power (defined below in terms of
persons' class interests), or to a formal hierarchy of authority
(defined below in terms of the legitimate power of command). Firstly
then, while it is theoretically possible for all social interaction in a
society to be devoid of ranking according to social honour (though I
intuitively find the possibility of such a society highly unlikely),
that has not been the case in this study and therefore I will not
consider that kind of situation further. The issue here is whether
status relations as I have defined them necessarily involve what should
be defined analytically as stratification or inequality. By
M.G. Smith's view (1974: 150), stratification is always correlated with
"hierarchical political organisation", by which he presumably means
hierarchically organised "corporations" for he posits these as the basal
units of political organisation. As defined by M.G. Smith (1974: 177),
corporations are either "corporate groups" or "corporate categories";
"corporate groups" are:

> ... presumptively perpetual aggregates with unique
> identities, determinate boundaries and memberships, and
> having the autonomy, organisation and procedures necessary
> to regulate their exclusive collective affairs.

"Corporate categories" are also perpetual discrete units, but they lack the formal co-ordinative organisation of corporate groups (p. 177). Thus, when M.G. Smith stresses "the political basis of social stratification" (1974: 150), he is not concerned with labile groupings where social boundaries may be flexible, and which may be constantly subject to fission and fusion.

As discussed particularly throughout Part B of this thesis, the ethnographic data of this study focus on just such groupings to a considerable extent. This thesis is thus concerned with a society where the attribution of status has formed a critical focus for study, but where the operation of "status groups" has been a problematic issue. Hence the import of the question of whether highly competitive status relations within and between such non-corporate groupings, result in a social formation that may be nevertheless defined as unstratified (as M.G. Smith would have it).

My position as it emerges from Part B, is that such a social formation in this study cannot be viewed as completely unstratified due to the superordinate status position of a small number of people, who are widely acknowledged as "experts" in relation to a highly valued body of knowledge and skills. However, due to the egocentric nature of all other status hierarchies, the social formation may be said to lack large-scale inequality. That is, I will assert that a lack of widely agreed upon status hierarchies (other than in relation to the one "expert" status noted above) results in a lack of institutionalised stratification or inequality across the population. However, this is not to say that the lack of such agreement necessarily follows from the lack of corporate groups. I am in agreement with M.G. Smith on the point that status relations cannot be implicitly conceived as a system of stratification (ignoring for the moment the fact of our differing concepts of status). However, what I find inadequate in such a perspective on stratification as that of M.G. Smith, is its failure to deal with the political life of social formations without corporate groups. Apart from my findings in this thesis, I do not accept that a social formation necessarily institutionalises equal access to positions of advantage (and is hence unstratified) just because of a lack of corporate groups. I will argue in this thesis that the question of stratification in terms of status, rather depends on the degree of agreement throughout a population about one or more status hierarchies.

More generally, I will argue for the necessity of keeping analytically separate, the concepts of "status" and "status group". It is thus appropriate to elaborate in the next section that a workable theoretical perspective need not be predicated on the existence of corporate groups.

2.4   Groups and "non-groups"

Nadel (1951: 151-83) provides a typical structural-functionalist definition of the attributes of a "group", including: its principles of recruitment; the institutions through which the group operates and becomes visible; its cohesion and endurance; and its internal and external order. To make use of Leach's (1964: 7) general comment on such a functionalist perspective - it borrows its primary concepts from Durkheim rather than Weber (or Pareto), and hence is pre-occupied with such concepts as "functional integration", "social solidarity" and "structural equilibrium" rather than issues of factions, conflict and change. While the typology may have some illustrative value in this chapter, it is rather the latter-mentioned issues which will be drawn on throughout the thesis.

However, of more relevance among Nadel's work on groups is his designation of the "quasi-group" (1951: 185). When generally discussing the nature of "the widest group", i.e. "society" (pp. 183-90), he initially establishes the dual criteria of a group being proclaimed as "one" by people on the one hand, and group action on the part of these people who have an awareness of "belonging together", on the other hand. He comments that whether the claim of "belonging together" (e.g. through descent) is "historically justified" is irrelevant: "What counts is the accepted belief or theory" (p. 185). However, if actual "effective relationships" do not really result from such belief we have "an ideology supporting nothing" and hence a "quasi-group". This concept of a "quasi-group" operating forcefully by virtue of its conceptual designation and members' conceptual identification with it, but rather ambiguously in terms of its members' behaviour (or perhaps the lack of their collective behaviour), will prove quite useful throughout Part B of the thesis.[8]

Boissevain's (1968: 542) general critique of social anthropologists and sociologists for dealing "only with groups and enduring social

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[8]However, note my comments about necessarily re-labelling it in Footnote 11 below.

relations" further develops a theoretical framework not based on corporate groups. While he notes (1968: 554, fn. 11) Nadel's chapter on groups as "probably the most detailed discussion of groups in the anthropological literature", he clearly does not regard the former's interesting comments on "quasi-groups" as sufficiently concerned with what he himself generally terms "non-groups". Non-groups are also describable as "individual-centred interaction systems" (Boissevain 1968: 553), or as networks of interaction out of which form "the cliques, interest groups and factions of which all persons are members" (p. 542). He postulates a useful analytical continuum between the interacting individual and the group. Social forms result from individuals and aggregates of individuals:

> ... acting in accordance with their own interests within the limits imposed by existing social forms and values which, in their turn, were generated or adapted in the same way in the past (p. 545).

Boissevain proceeds along the continuum from such individual-centred behaviour through networks to quasi-groups, which are coalitions recruited out of networks (p. 554) - e.g. factions are an important kind of quasi-group. For Boissevain (p. 551), factions are the basic units of conflict in any society, and their structural forms "range from one step beyond divided public opinion to one step this side of corporate groups" (p. 551). I find his orientation away from "groupology", which is what he terms "the shadow cast by the functionalist edifice", highly relevant to this study. Contrary to such perspectives as M.G. Smith's fundamental commitment to the analytical concept of corporation, I am concerned (particularly in Part B of this study) not to create groups where there are none (cf. Boissevain 1968: 542).

While Boissevain does not refer to Weber, his implicit focus on conflict, factions and change is consistent with aspects of a general Weberian view of social action (cf. the reference to Leach's comment above on p. 20). However, whether paying considerable attention to "non-groups" is also not inconsistent with this view may be seen as problematic by some scholars. M.G. Smith (1974:161), for example, approvingly refers to Weber's recurrent statements regarding the jural and political (i.e. by Weber's terminology, largely equivalent to M.G. Smith's "corporate") connotations of statuses. Yet it is not the case that Weber's theoretical work excludes the imperative to study what Boissevain terms "non-groups". Weber's discussion of basic concepts

(1968 I: 3-56) and types of social action and groups (1968III: 1375-80) is certainly replete with examples of, and references to, the fine-grained details of the social actions of individuals. An analytical concern with fine-grained social processes is evident, for example, in such concepts as communal or associative relationships (pp. 40-1), by which the orientation of social action is based on people respectively feeling they "belong together" or rationally adjusting their mutual interests.

Indeed, it can be noted that even throughout his large work on corporate groups Weber in fact maintains a fundamental methodological concern with what has been phrased by Boissevain as individual-centred interaction:

> When reference is made in a sociological context to a state,
> a nation, a corporation, a family or an army corps, or to
> similar collectivities, what is meant is ... only a certain
> kind of development of actual or possible social actions of
> individual persons (Weber 1968 I: 14).

Parkin (1982: 17-9) also quotes this passage, and points out Weber's opposition to the basic Durkheimian concern with "the collectivity", from which much of functionalist anthropology's methodological and analytical emphasis on enduring social groups in structural equilibrium has derived. Weber's position seems to have been that the concept of relations between a "whole" society and its "parts", is "convenient for purposes of practical illustration and for provisional orientation" in the research process, as long as the concepts in this model are not illegitimately reified (1968 I: 15) - i.e. "used naively as though it [the system of concepts] provided an adequate total description of the concrete phenomenon in question." (Parsons, fn. 14, in Weber 1968 I: 59). Weber certainly did not emphasize a view of society as in equilibrium. As Parkin (1982: 71) puts Weber's position: "Where harmony and order apparently prevail, the threatened use of force is never altogether absent." This is most clearly illustrated in his elaborate treatment of relations of domination and authority, the dimension of social action that is critical to Part C of this thesis.

2.5 Domination and Authority

For Weber (1968 III: 941), domination constitutes a special case of power. Indeed, in his most general discussion of the concept (1968 III: Chapter X) he initially discusses it very similarly to his earlier discussion of power, referred to above on p. 13. Thus:

> Domination in the most general sense is one of the most
> important elements of social action. Without exception
> every sphere of social action is profoundly influenced by
> structures of dominancy (1968 III: 941).

As with "power", domination in its most general sense is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of others, and as such it can emerge in diverse forms (1968 III: 942). People "dominate" one another in the course of a wide variety of social relations:

> ... in a drawing room as well as in the market, from the
> rostrum of a lecture-hall as well as from the command post
> of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as
> well as from scholarly discussion or athletics (1968 III:
> 942-3).

He also notes social relations involving economic and other transactions and exchange as situations where:

> ... almost always will it be found that in some limited
> respect the will of the one has influenced that of the
> other even against that other's reluctance and that,
> consequently, to that extent one has dominated over the
> other (1968 III: 947).

However, having acknowledged the pervasiveness of this aspect of social action, Weber quickly points out that such a broad definition of "domination" renders the concept "scientifically useless". Hence, he focuses theoretically on "two diametrically contrasting types":

> ... domination by virtue of a constellation of interests
> (in particular: by virtue of a position of monopoly) and
> domination by virtue of authority, i.e. power to command
> and duty to obey (1968 III: 943).

The above points are set out clearly in Chapter X of the most complete translation of Weber's key work (1968), and his major distinction between the two latter mentioned types of "power" or "domination" is reported unambiguously in various commentary works (e.g. Bendix 1960: 294; Blau 1970: 147-8; Parkin 1982: 74). Nevertheless, it should be noted that in other parts of his text Weber is unfortunately not so clear. For example, in the course of dealing with basic sociological terms, he defines domination ("Herrschaft") solely as "the possibility that a command will be obeyed", without mentioning the concept of constellation of interests. Moreover, Roth (Footnote 31, in Weber 1968 I: 61) refers to the point made by Parsons (1947: 152) in his earlier translation of part of Weber's same work, that Weber's term Herrschaft has no satisfactory English equivalent. Parsons here suggests the translation as "imperative control" to be

used for the most general purposes, then later apparently preferred the term "leadership". He objected to some translations giving the term "domination" because it implies that a leader has power over his followers, and in his interpretation Weber's "tremendous emphasis on the importance of legitimation"[9] should rather be emphasized; thus Parsons's translation of Herrschaft in many parts of the text is "authority". Roth suggests that both "domination" and "authority" are "correct" translations, each stressing a different component of Herrschaft. Where Weber's text stresses "the fact of mere compliance with a command", Roth uses "domination", and where Weber is more concerned with the "legitimacy" of Herrschaft (or "legitimate domination") Roth uses "authority" (see Roth, Footnote 31, p. 62 and Footnote 1, p. 299, in Weber 1968 I).

In what follows, I discuss Weber's two kinds of "domination" as quoted above from his text (1968 III: 943): that by virtue of "a constellation of [largely economic] interests", and that by virtue of "authority".

2.5.1 Domination by virtue of a constellation of interests

Weber provides much less treatment of this form of domination than of authority. Indeed, by quoting his initial definition only, as Parkin (1982: 74) does, it is possible to imply that he is only concerned with domination as authority (i.e. as "obedience" to "commands"). Yet other commentators acknowledge Weber's general concern with the consequences of persons' "interests"; Bendix (1960: 295, fn. 13) for example, notes that while such considerations pervade Weber's general work, his notion of "interests" is not well defined. However, he goes on to state (1960: 294) that Weber clearly saw such interests as deriving from economic conditions. Indeed, the sub-heading of the section dealing with such domination via interests, refers to domination by "economic power". Thus, this is very close to domination stemming from persons' "class situation".

The "purest type" of this kind of domination "is based upon influence derived exclusively from the possession of goods or marketable skills" (Weber 1968 III: 943). Thus, for example, while

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[9]See below for discussion of this critical concept.

"credit banks" do not pretend to exercise "authority" by claiming "submission" on the part of the dominated:

> ... they simply pursue their own interests and realize them best when the dominated persons, acting with formal freedom, rationally pursue their own interests as they are forced upon them by objective circumstances (Weber 1968 III: 943).

Whether or not the dominating party holds a monopoly in economic terms, it operates from a formally "equal" political position to the dominated party. The dominating party does not have authority over the dominated party.

However, Weber discusses the fluid borderline between these two types of domination (1968 III: 943). The transitions from one to the other are "vague and changing" (1968 III: 945), yet they must be kept separate conceptually. Finally, Weber notes (1968 III: 946) that domination through constellations of interest may be felt to be much more oppressive than domination through authority, because the "duties of obedience are set out clearly and expressly" in the latter type, in contrast to "the very absence of rules" in the former type. However, he gives no reason why this should be the case, presumably taking as given the preferability for people of knowing the actual dimensions of their powerlessness. This point also touches on Weber's great emphasis on the "legitimacy" accorded to systems of authority.

2.5.2 Domination by virtue of authority

Weber's definition of "the authoritarian power of command" deserves to be quoted in full:

> ... the situation in which the manifested will (command) of the ruler or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more others (the ruled) and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruled had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake. Looked upon from the other end, this situation will be called obedience (1968 III: 946).

Weber notes that he is concerned not just with the "external" (i.e. immediately observable) act of obedience, but also with the meaning of the fact that the command is accepted as a "valid" norm. The "causal chain" leading to the fact of compliance can be quite varied. He gives examples of:

> ... the ruled's own conviction of its [the command's] propriety, or by his sense of duty, or by fear, or by

"dull" custom, or by a desire to obtain some benefit for himself (1968 III: 946-7).

Such psychological motivations are incorporated into Weber's "major modes of legitimation".

Weber (1968 III: 948) notes the researcher's necessary focus on "law", for actual powers of command usually claim to exist "by virtue of law", and also the importance of "administration" to all systems of domination through authority.[10] He (1968 III: 952) makes a distinction between masters, the "leaders" with most power in the system of administration, and the "circle of people" who hold themselves at the disposal of the master(s). These people constitute the apparatus by which the domination occurs. They are accustomed to obedience to the orders of leaders, and "also have a personal interest in the continuance of the domination by virtue of their own participation and the resulting benefits." The masters and those constituting the administrative apparatus are rulers:

> The sociological character of the structure of any particular case of domination is determined by the kind of relationship between the master or masters and the apparatus, the kind of relationship of both to the ruled, and by its specific organizational structure, i.e. its specific way of distributing the powers of command (1968 III: 953).

Weber is concerned with the ultimate grounds of the validity or legitimacy of domination by authority, i.e. the grounds on which "are based the claims of obedience made by the master against the 'officials' and of both against the ruled." His assumption is that people in a position of power or advantage need to justify the legitimacy of their position (1968 III: 953).

For Weber, there are three "pure types" of authority or legitimate domination: legal, resting on belief in enacted rules (or laws); traditional, resting on belief in the sanctity of tradition; and charismatic, resting on devotion to the charismatic character of an individual. It is unnecessary to deal here with each type separately, and sufficient to note Weber's view (1968 III: 954, and also put elsewhere, e.g. 1968 I: 262-6) that:

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[10]However (as pointed out by Parkin [1982: 101-27]), it is somewhat surprising that he does not really deal adequately with the role of the state in this discussion.

The forms of domination occurring in historical reality constitute combinations, mixtures, adaptations, or modifications of these "pure" types.

2.6 The Adequacy of the Concept of Legitimacy

My position in this thesis is that Weber's typology of domination and authority is most applicable to the analysis of modes of exercising authority, but less adequate for the analysis of compliance with such authority. This critique largely follows Parkin (1982: 71-89), while also drawing on several other works.

Parkin (1982: 77) makes the useful distinction between legitimations - the claims that dominant groups make to justify their power, and legitimacy - "the condition in which such claims have in fact been accepted and endorsed by subordinate groups". Thus: "Legitimations emanate from on high, but legitimacy is bestowed from below" (1982: 78). The question I am most concerned with here is the nature of bestowal of legitimacy, and its relationship to other factors leading to compliance with authority.

Weber's emphasis on the fact of obedience or compliance as central to all forms of authority is clear (cf. Parkin 1982: 74). However, it is important not to dwell on his notion of compliance as solely "voluntary". For example, Parkin risks doing this when he (1982: 74) refers to Weber's view about the necessity of "positive commitment" on the part of the subordinate to the authority they obey; and hence that: "To obey out of a sense of fear or through sheer expedience would not suffice ..." (1982: 75). Blau (1970: 149) similarly puts it that obedience involves "willing unconditional compliance". These comments risk reducing the conceptual breadth of Weber's position. As illustrated by a quotation above (pp. 25-26), such compliance in Weber's view does not exclude a variety of psychological motivations including fear and self-interest. Indeed, Parkin (1982: 79-80) himself quotes this passage, but regards it as inadequate in dealing with the nature of compliance. Weber (1968 I: 212) is quite clear about the "most diverse motives of compliance":

> ... all the way from simple habituation to the most purely rational calculation of advantage. Hence every genuine form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an interest (based on ulterior motives or genuine acceptance) in obedience.

He later (1968 I: 214) recognizes only one exception to this rule: "Only in the limiting case of the slave is formal subjection to

authority absolutely involuntary." An element of voluntarism is clearly perceived by Weber in such situations as where "loyalty" is "hypocritically simulated ... on purely opportunistic grounds", or where "people may submit from individual weakness and helplessness because there is no acceptable alternative" (1968 I: 214).

Hence, it is not relevant for Weber to consider what happens should those dominated cease to view an authority system as legitimate. As Parkin (1982: 78) puts it there is no such category as "illegitimate domination" in Weber's schema. What Weber treats in great detail are the forms of legitimation used by those in authority to justify their power. Parkin (1982: 78-9) is very good on this point:

> Had he redirected his attention from the advertisements of legitimation [cultivated by the rulers] to the granting of legitimacy [given by the ruled] he would have been forced to shift his focus from the perceptions of elites to the perceptions of the masses. In so doing he would have found it necessary to supplement his sociology of command with a sociology of compliance.

Apart from the comment about slavery, Weber is silent about how the researcher might measure "involuntary" social action. Regardless of the extent that resistance to authority (whether overt or covert, or in the form of behaviour or beliefs) builds up among the subordinate, Weber's schema continues to emphasise voluntarism. Apart from the circumstances of slavery, the subordinate would presumably have to resist to the point of direct revolutionary action before Weber would recognize a lack of "voluntary compliance". The problem is well put by Parkin (1982: 85): "Weber makes no separation between legitimacy that is contaminated by fear of sanctions and that which is not."

Despite his detailed work on the social organisational consequences of persons' class and status interests, Weber does not adequately treat the social processes by which the subordinate come to attribute legitimacy to a system of authority. As Parkin (1982: 76) puts it:

> Weber makes no distinction between normative compliance that springs from voluntary commitment and that which is grounded in a long term strategy for survival. The questions raised by Marx and his followers concerning the relationship between coercion and compliance are closed off by Weber's approach to the matter. This approach has no place for notions like 'hegemony'.

Again, it is certainly important not to understate the conceptual breadth of Weber's position - his statement about the thoughts or

ideals which can dominate the thinking of large numbers of people has already been referred to above on p. 11. If hegemony is taken as the exercise of dominant ideas through propaganda, strategy, etc. by which the consent of the dominated is maintained (Gramsci 1971: 12, 124, 169-70, 246), it would not seem a concept incompatible with Weber's general position.

Nevertheless, it is true that Weber emphasises the fact of consent or compliance, rather than the process leading to it. Marxist criticism (e.g. Swingewood 1975: 150) that he gives insufficient weight to the concept of ideology as leading to the dominated bestowing legitimacy on systems of authority, is in this sense well-founded. While a concept of domination as a social formation securing the compliance of people by controlling their thoughts and desires (cf. Lukes's [1974: 21-5] radical three dimensional view of power) would not seem inconsistent with Weber's typology, it is inadequately explored. I will employ the concept of ideology at several points within Part C of the thesis (mainly in Chapter 9), and thereby improve the adequacy of a Weberian perspective on authority relations for the analysis of a particular set of data. However, in introducing this term only sparingly I am concerned not to simply re-label the issue of voluntarism versus coercion. In any case, I will not review here the extensive (particularly Marxist) literature on the concept of ideology, nor elaborate on Weber's own phrasing of this problematic issue – namely, the "elective affinity" between ideas and interests (see Gerth and Mills 1948: 61-5; and also a recent paper by Thomas 1985). It will suffice to acknowledge Gerth and Mills's comment that, with Marx, Weber considers that ideas "are powerless in history unless they are fused with material interests" (p. 62), and to refer approvingly to the perspective of one influential anthropologist on this matter: Godelier's (1978: 766-7) designation of the concept of ideology as entailing both _ideas_ and social (or "material") _practices_ is commensurate with the general perspective on power relations presented in this chapter.[11] As such, the concept is by no means central in the

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[11]While I have approved (on p. 20 above) Nadel's notion of "ideological quasi-group" as useful in analysis of group formation, I regard this functionalist designation of "the ideological" as solely pertaining to ideas as inadequate. Thus, when using Nadel's concept in Part B of the thesis, I have re-labelled it an "ideational quasi-group".

analysis throughout this thesis, but rather serves as a supportive adjunct to my general treatment of relations of domination.

2.7 Conclusion

After some preliminary comments on method, this chapter has discussed three main issues concerned with the operation of power and social action in human society: the existence of class situation and status situation, and the issue of stratification; the question of corporate groups and "non-groups"; and the operation of domination through both economic power and authority. These issues are the critical theoretical elements in the description and analysis of the ethnographic data in this study. I have explained the dimensions of this description and analysis in Chapter 1. Part B of the thesis concerns social action usefully analysed as being generated predominantly by Aboriginal tradition. In Part B Chapters 3, 4 and 5 examine key aspects of social identity among Aborigines and the question of the extent to which these lead to collective action; i.e. the extent to which Aboriginal tradition generates groups. These chapters further consider competitive status relations as the major feature of Aboriginal political life, and the relationship between the theoretical concepts of status, status group and stratification is thus explored.

As has been outlined in Chapter 1, Part C of the thesis extends the description and analysis of power relations and social action at Doomadgee, treating colonial social relations between Aborigines and Whites. This work ranges across a number of theoretical issues in the study of domination: class situation and economic power; the operation of the state and its law; social closure as a means of effecting autonomy; the operation of factions; and the legitimating force of an avowedly religious ideology. However, the major theme (embracing all these issues) which is ultimately sought throughout Part C, is the development of a sociology of compliance. Thus, the issue of legitimacy is considered in all the chapters of Part C. In the brief concluding comments to the thesis (in Part D, Chapter 10), I integrate the findings of Parts B and C in asserting that a modified Weberian perspective engenders conceptual breadth both in ethnographic description and theoretical analysis, in the study of power relations and social action.

PART B

POWER RELATIONS WITHIN ABORIGINAL SOCIETY - GROUP FORMATION, SOCIAL

IDENTITY AND STATUS RELATIONS DERIVED FROM ABORIGINAL TRADITION

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGES, LINGUISTIC GROUPS AND STATUS RELATIONS IN
SETTLEMENT SOCIOPOLITICAL PROCESSES

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss two major dimensions of Aboriginal
residents' affiliation to languages, language names and linguistic
territories: firstly, the extent to which this aspect of social
identity leads to the operation of linguistic groups (as interest
groups); and secondly, the extent to which it generates part of persons'
status situation. However, the first issue is by far the least
straightforward and it is therefore discussion of it which takes up most
of the chapter. The subject of linguistic affiliation and status
situation is an important part of the overall ethnography of Aboriginal
political life, but it is dealt with quite concisely towards the end of
the chapter.

Previous discussion of the question of linguistic groups in
Aboriginal Australia has centred on the concept of the "dialectal
tribe": the classic cases for it as a linguistically homogeneous,
predominantly endogamous territorial unit have been put by Birdsell
(1953; 1958; 1970; 1976) and Tindale (e.g. 1953; 1974; 1976); Berndt's
(1959) and Sharp's (1958) initial arguments against its primacy as a
territorial or political unit were followed by further key studies of
local organization (e.g. Hiatt 1962; Stanner 1965) which did not focus
on it as a social unit of critical territorial importance. In his
review of the relevant sources in this debate, Sutton (1978: 28)
comments that "in the eyes of most Australianists ... [Berndt's] point
had been clearly demonstrated", namely the point that the Western Desert
area was "basically unamenable" to analysis in terms of the dialectal
tribe model. We can also note Merlan's (1981: 136) comment that the
1973 symposium which led to the papers in Peterson (1976) "in a sense
represents the inquest upon the notion of 'tribe'", and Rigsby's
(1982:705) statement that: "It simply is no longer acceptable to
present the social organizational matrix of Aboriginal languages in
terms of the Tindale-Birdsell tribal model".

Nevertheless, the association between linguistic affiliation and
territorial affiliation has continued as an issue in the literature.
Merlan (1981: 141) has reported for the contemporary western Roper River

region "frequent identification of large, continuous land areas with particular sociolinguistic groupings." Several documents prepared by anthropologists in support of land claims have asserted linguistic groups as holding corporate rights to land:

Daly River (Malak Malak) Land Claim:

The linguistic group, although not traditionally the primary land-holding group, is associated with a definable tract of country ... . Not all Malak Malak lands are contiguous ... . But in wider community contexts, the idiom of the linguistic group plays a dominant role in discussions of Aboriginal land ownership in the Daly River region (Sutton and Palmer 1981: 34).

Jawoyn (Katherine Area) Land Claim:

"Jawoyn" is used by Aboriginal people in the Katherine area to refer both to a language, and to a social group. The use of a single term for language and social group is quite common in this part of the Northern Territory; ... . People are affiliated with a particular language because the language is considered to be associated with a stretch of country to which they are also affiliated ... . Thus the essential factor in group definition is territoriality (Merlan and Rumsey 1983: 37).

Upper Daly Land Claim:

A language is associated with a particular identifiable territory and in this way members of a language-owning group are primarily affiliated to that language territory and the various phenomena ... it contains (Chase and Meehan, 1983: 9).

Bern and Layton (1984: 71) also refer to the territorial claims of the language group in the Cox River land claim, but state that this group is not as clearly bounded as appears to be the case in areas further west where the above claims occurred.[1]

While Sutton describes the flexibility of linguistic affiliation in Aboriginal Australia, he states:

Yet the ideology of language affiliation as tied to both descent and territoriality may be so strong in some areas that language affiliation becomes a primary emblem of Aboriginal identity and interests in land (1980: 7).

He, with Rigsby as a co-author, is also careful to point out again that linguistic groups are not primary land-holding groups; while the authors are here mainly concerned with Cape York Peninsula they imply that their findings are also applicable to other areas:

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[1]Other claims which might be added here include the Alligator Rivers Stage II Land Claim (Keen 1980) and Finnis River Land Claim (Layton and Williams 1980).

Since every descent group has both sites and a language, one can elicit a site/dialect relationship. But it is triadic, a by-product of the two elemental dyadic relationships of site/descent group and descent group/dialect, and so it is not primary (Sutton and Rigsby 1979: 722).

In examining the people-language relationship and consequent social groupings, this chapter first considers (in Section 3.2) Aboriginal designations of multiple linguistic territories. However, in assessing the nature of contemporary settlement social groupings it is necessary to move beyond such emic views to a more precise empirical investigation. Consider Rigsby and Sutton (1980-82: 20-1):

... for analytical purposes we still have to decompose the folk concept [of language names as labels for groups of people] into precisely statable relationships among language variety, language name, language owners, language users, land-holders and so on. Our technical vocabulary ... must do more than just re-label and reproduce the folk models.

Various works by Sutton (at times together with co-authors) pursue just such "decomposition", and several points relevant to this chapter can be noted here. First, language knowledge and use is not a key issue for linguistic affiliation. Sutton and Palmer (1980: 30) state for the Daly River area that the linguistic group is a "language-owning group, not a language-speaking group," hence "language affiliation is not cancelled by failure to learn the language to which one is affiliated." (Also see Merlan and Rumsey [1982: 37] for the Katherine area on this point and Rigsby's [1982: 705] general comments for "much of Aboriginal Australia"). Second, linguistic affiliation does not lead to primary sociopolitical units. In discussing Cape York Peninsula, Sutton and Rigsby (1979: 723) "do not consider linguistic groupings (in the usual sense of populations that own and speak the same language, or believe they do) to be primary demographic or political units." Indeed, whether linguistic affiliation leads to discrete social units at all appears dubious. For the same region, Von Sturmer (1978: 13, 171) states the "problematic" and "dangerous" nature of using language as a marker of distinctive social groups. Sutton and Rigsby (1979: 717) prefer to view it as "somehow reflect[ing]" more labile "social networks".

Implicit in the question of language "groups" is the fact of personal linguistic affiliation. Thus, having discussed the issue of the conceptual designation of linguistic territories, this chapter considers (in Section 3.3) affiliation to such territories and to their associated language names via inheritance through descent. Closely tied

to this issue is that of the extent of linguistic endogamy (discussed in Section 3.4), and rules for inheritance of linguistic affiliation in the case of linguistically exogamous unions. The extent to which "language groups" are endogamous units also provides a measure of their social distinctiveness, although it does not necessarily imply other forms of group social action. Sutton's (1978: 107-13) study of a population in western Cape York Peninsula concluded that the rate of dialect endogamy was only 24-25%, and that of language endogamy was 40-41%. Chase's (1980: 243) study of an east Cape York settlement found that 51% of marriages were "within the one linguistic unit". These studies will be further referred to in the course of examining my data on linguistic endogamy.

Chase's study is particularly relevant to mine because of its focus on contemporary settlement life. He writes (1980: 218-9) that in the Aboriginal view at Lockhart River members of what people term "tribes" share "one language, one homeland, and one 'Bora' (initiation ceremony)"; however, only some of the "tribes" he identifies are known by language names, the rest being known by the names of geographical features, or language names qualified by a direction term (e.g. "Kaantyu southside") (1980: 214-5, Table 2). Apart from the Aboriginal view that "tribe" members should "if possible ... marry within their own ranks" (which as stated above, Chase finds that they have done in only half the cases), these people are "expected ideally to show support for fellow tribesmen in conflict, [and] to look after them in the distribution of resources" (p. 218). Neither of these latter forms of social action has been associated with the linguistically defined groupings dealt with in this chapter. However, Chase's comments on residence patterns are more relevant (pp. 233-4). He describes the early mission (1924-1946) as consisting of separate "tribal" villages, each representing a major linguistic unit.[2] In a different but more contemporary settlement context (in the north central area of Western Australia), Tonkinson (1974: 46, 56) describes how there "are usually broad spatial divisions of camping areas according to linguistic group and area of origin". Following the issues of the inheritance of linguistic affiliation through descent and the extent of linguistic endogamy, I will consider

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[2]While Chase also describes a discernible pattern since then of "focal housedweller[s]" residing in the section of the settlement closest to their "country", the role of linguistic units in this residential alignment appears secondary.

(in Section 3.5) what can be termed the residential discreteness of language-affiliated groupings in this study.

Furthermore, the discussion of whether such groupings are endogamous and residentially discrete will be supplemented (in Section 3.6) by considering the question of their collective behavior as political interest groups. Two examples of such behaviour will be described. Finally it is in Section 3.7 that I present data concerning linguistic affiliation as an aspect of persons' status situation, while Section 3.8 contains concluding summary remarks.

3.2 Linguistic Territories as a Fundamental Conceptual Correlate of Linguistic Affiliations

The Aboriginal language background of most contemporary Doomadgee residents consists of Ganggalida, Garawa and Waanyi; the latter two have been reported as dialects of the one language (Osborne 1966: 3).[3] However, a number of other languages are known also to have been spoken within the study region, and a broad reconstruction of the pre-contact linguistic setting has been completed. Maps 1 and 2 show the locations of linguistic territories from literature sources, and Map 3 shows the results when my conclusions based on contemporary Aboriginal knowledge are added to these sources. (See Trigger [1981a: 4-29, 1982a: 116-20] for discussion on the geographic dimensions of the areas in which these languages were spoken, and Appendix A concerning Ganggalida in particular.)

These areas are where particular languages are said to "belong", implying that they fit there appropriately with other features of the landscape. When in that area using bush resources, and certainly when formally dealing with many totemic and other extra-human features of the landscape, it is appropriate to speak the language which belongs there. Other Aboriginal languages would not be effective in the latter dealings;[4] indeed use of another language may well bring forth hostility

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[3]Unless otherwise designated, I use the term "language" throughout this chapter to refer to separate speech varieties as perceived by Aborigines; some of these speech varieties may well be more precisely regarded as related "dialects" in terms of their structural similarity and mutual intelligibility, and no doubt this is the nature of Osborne's language/dialect distinction.

[4]English appears to be neutral in this regard. While not regarded as effective in this context in the manner of the indigenous vernacular, its use would not breach etiquette in the way the use of another Aboriginal language would.

from totemic forces. For example, one story recounts how Yanyula[5] speakers from the west were attacked in Ganggalida country by a mischievous and always potentially dangerous extra-human character known as Gudidawa (see Chapter 4), which is believed generally to inhabit much of Ganggalida country. Gudidawa has been said to have its own language which is normally unintelligible to humans. However, certain old people are known to be able to placate it by addressing it publicly in Ganggalida; a few individuals have suggested that such old people can also use a private esoteric form of speech in this way.[6]

The concept of language as a fundamental characteristic of landscape is also evident from mythic accounts where travelling totemic figures change their language on reaching the boundary of a linguistic territory. I have previously presented one myth of this kind, where Bujarda (a variety of snake) proceeded from the west into Waanyi country; at the western extremity of Waanyi country the snakes ceased speaking Jingalu language (the language of the area from which they had come) and began speaking Waanyi - several people have reinforced the point further by recounting how the "Jingalu Bujarda" returned westwards, leaving the "proper Waanyi Bujarda" to proceed to their final destination within Waanyi country (see Trigger 1982a: 77). It appears from this myth that Waanyi language and country are seen to have existed prior to the approach of the Bujarda dreamings, but the creative impetus of such dreamings' travels is also evident from the accounts. In any case, the stated existence of Waanyi language as a fundamental feature of a particular territory is clear.

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[5]Kirton is a linguist who has worked on this language for many years. After changing her spelling of its name from Anyula to Yanyula "to be in accord with usage in government records" (1971: 67), she has subsequently used the term Yanyuwa (e.g. Kirton and Timothy 1977). Kirton has informed me (personal communication 1978) that while Yanyuwa is the name used by those considering this language to be theirs, Yanyula is the name used by "Garawa people". Throughout this thesis I use the latter term as it is the one used predominantly at Doomadgee.

[6]Those suggesting such an esoteric form of speech appear to be suggesting that the old people have acquired (through their age and ritual seniority) the capacity to use the speech of the Gudidawa, though on the few occasions when I have witnessed an old person mimic this speech it has resembled idiosyncratically produced stylised sets of jumbled sounds, rather than a conventionalised linguistic code. To some extent, the jumbled nature of these utterances is meant to be commensurate with the unpredictable and somewhat bizarre nature of Gudidawa.

Other myths similarly recount such changes in the linguistic affiliation and competence of dreamings as they travel. For example, Nagabaya or "Devil", which "was talking Garawa" on its route eastwards, until at a site in the vicinity of the western extremity of inland Ganggalida country, it "looked down" towards its destination in coastal Ganggalida country and "spoke Ganggalida" from there on; and Yulunguri (Shark) which "was Ganggalida" when it left estate I in Ganggalida country (see Maps 4 and 5) then took on a Garawa and then a Yanyula identity as it moved westwards through the sea and visited sites in Garawa and Yanyula country respectively.

Merlan (1981: 143-4) makes a similar point for the western Roper River area, where narratives relating the activities of travelling totemic figures can signal the linguistic affiliation of country "either by explicit reference to the sociolinguistic affiliation of the land, and/or by shift in the language spoken by the totemic figure." A further point for my study area is that the linguistic affiliation of such major dreamings is also evident from the way they are recounted as having created place names and songs perceived as belonging distinctively to the lexicons of particular languages; e.g. see the myth concerning the creation of the entire Nicholson river (documented in Trigger 1982a: 38) where Birinya (Water Rat) dreaming "found" (i.e. created) what is considered to be a distinctively Waanyi song which refers to the river (arguably located at the core of Waanyi country) and is sung to "Waanyi babies" to make them "grow up strong and quick."[7]

A particular linguistic affiliation can thus be elicited for all areas within the study region. While disputes about the dimensions of linguistic territories do occur (see the discussion on status in this chapter), certain of their limits are quite precisely stated in terms of predominant geographic features, e.g. the western coastal boundary of Ganggalida country is stated as the Ngururi (or "Horse Island") area which abuts the east side of the wide Massacre Inlet; similarly, the length of the China Wall escarpment area, which extends along a broadly east-west axis for approximately 50 km, demarcates the separation

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[7]The song itself, and an explanation by a senior Waanyi woman are documented in Trigger (n.d.: 31-2). Statements about the dimensions of the territories to which Waanyi and Garawa languages belong are also documented in the transcript of evidence given by Aboriginal witnesses in the Nicholson River (Waanyi/Garawa) land claim (T.O.P. 1982: 29-31).

between Waanyi country to its south and Garawa country to its north (see Map 3).[8] Other more distant linguistic territories are defined very imprecisely by use of the name of a large river or a well-known cattle station, e.g.: Mayagudan - "Leichhardt [River] way", Nguburinji - "Lawn Hill [Station]/Gregory [River] country", Injilinji - "Riversleigh [Station] way, but last lot seen at Camooweal", Galgadungu - "up Leichhardt River-Carlton Hill [Station] country", etc. In cases of both the precisely and imprecisely demarcated linguistic territories, it must be noted that these are areas of land currently defined in terms of language affiliation. My data do not enable any precise reconstruction of where these languages were actually spoken in pre-contact times. Contemporary Aborigines assert long-standing correspondence between each language-name affiliated territory, and the respective areas where that language was predominantly spoken. However, this view entails a fairly static distribution of speakers, and an adequate model of pre-contact language distribution would have to consider the implications of multilingualism, and of the possible territorial expansion and contraction of communities of speakers of various languages.

Having demonstrated that linguistic territories exist for contemporary Aborigines, the question to be addressed is the affiliation of people to these territories, and in particular whether such affiliation leads to the constitution of "language-groups". A person's competence in speaking a language is largely an issue independent of his affiliation to that language name, and to the territory affiliated with that language name:

> ... that's all Ganggalida - our family ... and some of them can talk [Ganggalida], some of them can't ... they can talk half-and-half y'know, not much (T2).

Indeed, no more than ten (mostly older) Doomadgee residents appeared fluent in Ganggalida and Waanyi during my fieldwork period though many others were partially competent in speaking these languages and could understand them. Keen (1972: 3) who did linguistic fieldwork on "Yukulta" (equivalent to Ganggalida, see Appendix A) during 1968-70, was only mildly over-pessimistic in stating that the language was

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[8]I have explained elsewhere (1982a: 5) how while Garawa country is now regarded as extending south to the China Wall, some older people also point out that a similar dialect, Gunindiri, was traditionally spoken in an area extending some distance northwards from the China Wall. If "Gunindiri country" was ever regarded as a conceptually separate linguistic territory, it is now subsumed within Garawa country.

"doomed to extinction very soon". A similar comment applies to Osborne's (1966: 2) statements after linguistic fieldwork on Waanyi in 1966, that the language was "on the verge of extinction", although his comment that there were only about three fluent Waanyi speakers at Doomadgee must be qualified in that other older Waanyi speakers have come to reside at the settlement since his fieldwork. A greater number of fluent Garawa speakers resided at Doomadgee during my fieldwork (and Keen [1972: 8] also noted this fact), but no more than 30% of those stated in varying circumstances to be "Garawa people" would be fluent speakers of the language. A further point is that some old people are fluent in one or more languages not seen to be "theirs", though such people are normally also fluent in their own language.

Social affiliation to language names and linguistic territories is independent not only of linguistic competence, but also of knowledge of country within the linguistic territories. It will be made clear in Chapter 6 dealing with post-contact history, that contemporary old Aboriginal people (and/or in some cases their parents) moved extensively throughout the study region. The most expansive movements were by Garawa, Waanyi and Yanyula people eastwards towards what is now designated as Ganggalida country:

> Old Garawa people used to come over from west and make up dance y'know - take it back home; some of the old Garawa people bin die amongst the Ganggalida - they used to live together ... Ganggalida people bin out west too ... [etc.] (T3).

Some contemporary old individuals designated as Garawa and/or Yanyula people are now more knowledgeable about Ganggalida country and lore than are some of the older Ganggalida people. In the words of one old Ganggalida man speaking of such an "immigrant":

> He Garawa people but he understand ... he bin here too long ... when he came, oh he must of been 14 or 16 ... we were single [i.e. unmarried] boys then ... (T10).

Yet the most minor of disagreements over such knowledge quickly brings forth from Ganggalida people firm statements reminding all present that those affiliated with other linguistic territories "don't know", "don't belong to this part [i.e. Ganggalida country]", or "can't tell you anything". Thus, no matter how fluent the "immigrants" may be in Ganggalida nor how much knowledge of Ganggalida traditions they claim and/or demonstrate, the fact remains that they are not socially classifiable as Ganggalida people.

What then is the basis for the designation of an individual as one among "X people",[9] where X is a language name? - a designation I have been using in this chapter and one which is evident in two quotations presented so far. On what basis do individuals state, e.g.: "I'm Ganggalida, that's my tribe", "me Waanyi man", "you Garawa all the time"? A partial answer is that "X people" are jointly affiliated to "X country", i.e. to a linguistic territory as described above. Yet in "decomposing" such a relationship further (cf. Rigsby and Sutton [1980-82: 20] quoted above), it is clear that affiliation to country is predominantly (though not exclusively) traced through descent (see Chapter 4). Thus, individuals' affiliations to linguistic territories, and to language names, are traced primarily through knowledge of the linguistic affiliation of their parents.

3.3 Descent as Productive of Linguistic Affiliation

During November 1980 I surveyed the linguistic affiliations of Aboriginal residents at Doomadgee. This did not result in my being given a single unambiguous linguistic affiliation for each person. Rather, in most cases informants gave a linguistic affiliation for the person's father and for his or her mother.[10] No consistently stated preference for either patrilineal or matrilineal inheritance of primary linguistic affiliation was recorded. Although, to the extent that the general belief system about land tenure entails the primacy of patrilineal ties to land over other kinds of ties to land (see Chapter 4), an avenue for emphasising the primacy of affiliation with father's linguistic territory could occasionally be said to exist. What was much more common was for the linguistic affiliations of individuals to be described as "mixed" or "half-and-half", mentioning the two language names affiliated with that individual's two parents. Sutton (1980: 5-6) describes use of the same expressions, but notes (for both the Daly River area of the NT and western Cape York Peninsula [Sutton, personal communication]) that such dual affiliation was always "patrifilially transmitted, and was not a consequence of ego having a

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[9]Or "X tribe/side/mob etc."

[10]I did not interview each person, but rather much of the data came from a small number of informants on the occasion of the survey, and this information has been supplemented with data collected over the duration of the fieldwork.

father with one language and a mother with another" (p. 6, fn. 8).
Though my data differ from his in this latter respect, my many cases of
such dual affiliation imply the same conclusion that his do: "... they
are clear examples of the need to treat the supposed political unity of
language groups very gingerly."

The results of the survey can be given concisely. The linguistic
affiliations of the parents of 318 people surveyed were sought. As I
did not obtain data for 37 fathers and 66 mothers (103 persons), I have
stated the linguistic affiliations for 533 of the 636 parents of the
persons sampled.[11] The data are presented in Table 1.

The numerically largest affiliations are to two composite
linguistic categories: predominantly Ganggalida (plus Gananggalinda and
Yanggal), and predominantly Garawa (plus Yanyula). These two language-
composite categories are also referred to in shorthand fashion as single
"linguistic affiliations" in several calculations below, and some
explanation of their constitution is necessary. The small number of
affiliations to Gananggalinda and Yanggal are commonly subsumed within
Ganggalida in the emic view, when contrasting "Ganggalida mob" with
other "language-groups". The grounds for this include the facts that:
these languages are regarded as very similar to Ganggalida (differing
only in "sound" or accent); that the territories of the three languages
are perceived to share many ("saltwater") features in contrast to those
of other languages (see Map 3); and most importantly, that those
Gananggalinda and Yanggal people who have lived on the mainland in
post-contact times have historically been subsumed within the larger

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[11]While informants stated they were giving the linguistic
affiliations of persons' biological parents, we must treat this
analytically as involving socially recognized parenthood. Only married
persons (including those in defacto relationships) were sampled, that is
people mostly aged 18 years or over. The figures I have on age
distribution for the population are for March 1978 (stated in Annual
Report Statistics, prepared by Doomadgee Mission administration
31.3.1978); in 1978, 429 people were aged 18 years or over, and given
that this figure would not have changed substantially by 1980, my sample
of 533 parents of these persons constitutes approximately 62% of the
parents of such people. However, as discussed in Chapter 1 (p. 7), the
officially recorded population data for Doomadgee exceeded the number
actually resident there by 22%, in March 1979. No doubt the situation
was similar in 1980, so that while I do not have data on what proportion
of this 22% was aged 18 years or over, it is fair to note that my sample
would in fact exceed 62% of the parents of persons aged 18 years or over
actually resident at the settlement at the time of the survey.

TABLE 1

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION OF PARENTS OF CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL RESIDENTS

Language Name	Fathers	Mothers	Total	(%)
Ganggalida (plus Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	77	111	188	35.3
Garawa (plus Yanyula)	96	86	182	34.1
Waanyi	56	36	92	17.3
Other*	29	13	42	7.9
Layardilda	7	6	13	2.4
Non-Aboriginal[+]	16	0	16	3.0
TOTAL	281	252	533	100.0

*Other: Any language or linguistic territory outside of the study region, e.g. "Mayagudunu-Galgadungu" or "Leichhardt [River] side"; "Normanton side"; "Min.gin-Albert River country"; "Georgetown mob"; "Mayali-Balamumu mix"[#]; "Lake Nash [Station] people"; "Sandover side"; "Eva Downs [Station] country"; "Mara people".

[+] While this is clearly not a language-name, the number is included to complete the sample.

[#] The small number of Doomadgee residents who use this phrasing appear not to imply precise areal locations: in fact, "Mayali" is apparently a general name applied to languages in the southwest Arnhem Land region, and "Balamumu" refers to certain groups of people in eastern Arnhem Land (personal communication Dr I. Keen). It seems that one or two individuals who have historically come from the west into the study region have been associated with these terms.

social category of Ganggalida people in their relations with more socially (and linguistically) distant people.

The comparatively small number of affiliations with Yanyula are commonly subsumed within the Garawa category in the emic view for similar reasons. However, a significant difference here is that Yanyula is regarded as quite a different language from Garawa, and this point has been confirmed from a technical linguist's viewpoint by Kirton.[12]

[12]Kirton (personal communication 2.10.1984) writes from the perspective of her linguistic research based at Borroloola: "There is certainly a relationship between the two peoples socially and ceremonially, but linguistically the two languages are very different." She goes on to note that the languages "are from different language families and also from the two separate grammatical types that form the primary division for languages of Australia"; Yanyula being a prefixing noun-classifying language, and Garawa being a non-prefixing language.

Indeed, as noted above, it is Waanyi which is the much more similar language to Garawa. However, the contemporary social relations between persons with these linguistic affiliations stem in important respects from the perceived historical relationship of people, rather than from the degree of similarity of the languages themselves. Thus, the fact that "Yanyula people" are commonly subsumed within "Garawa people" appears due to historical factors: the common historical experience of people coming from Yanyula and Garawa country east to coastal Ganggalida country, whereas Waanyi people historically came eastwards and northeastwards along inland rivers; indeed, some contemporary people often identify primarily with Garawa, though one (or less usually, both) of their parents originally came east from Yanyula country - their reasoning appears to be that in their relationship to Ganggalida people, their Yanyula parent(s) were aligned with and to an extent subsumed within (through marriage, ritual and other social ties) the numerically greater and historically more familiar Garawa people.

Table 1 also shows the smaller numbers of linguistic affiliations to Waanyi, to a number of other language names and linguistic territories from a very broad area described in the Table under the heading "Other", and to a comparatively small number of Layardilda parents, and non-Aboriginal fathers.

In one sense these data state the linguistic background which contemporary adults draw on. However, the problem with it emerges from the fact that many of the parents of younger people are themselves contemporary residents who can state dual linguistic affiliations through their own parents. In some cases, it is thus possible to express the linguistic affiliation of the younger people in terms of the different affiliations of their four grandparents. Yet while the dual affiliations of individuals' parents were both stated (often together with the phrases "mixed" or "half-and-half" as described above), informants commonly implied that one was more primary.

The choice was normally made according to whether the individual's past and present life-circumstances were regarded as being closer to those of his mother or father; e.g. in terms of the recognised personal closeness of his social relationships to his parents, and - to the extent that perceived separate bodies of tradition and areas of country are glossed by using language names as descriptive adjectives - whether he could be seen to have been socialised in the traditions of one parent rather than the other, and whether he had remained in closer physical

contact with the linguistic territory of one parent rather than the other.

All these matters are negotiable, and thus without the consistent operation of a firmer rule for resolution of dual parental linguistic affiliations, the measurement of linguistic affiliation in such cases is of only limited value. Of course, Table 1 has considerable descriptive value to the extent that it also presents data for people whose father and mother are unambiguously affiliated with the same language name (linguistic territory, etc.). In such cases, descent as productive of linguistic affiliation can be more meaningfully measured across generations within the one community.

My measurement of the extent of inherited dual linguistic affiliation best emerges as a by-product of the calculation of linguistic endogamy. While descent leads to the fact of individuals' language (and/or language name, and hence linguistic territory) affiliations, the fact of marriage to someone with or without the same affiliation is a closely related dimension of the transmission of linguistic affiliation over generations.

3.4 Linguistic Endogamy

I have used two methods in attempting to calculate the extent of linguistic endogamy. The first examines the marriages of the parents of the people surveyed, and the second examines the latter's own marriages. The two methods overlap as the marriages of the living parents and grandparents of the younger people will be examined in both cases. However, only the second method includes the marriages of the younger people.

In the first method, a total of 166 marriages were recorded for the parents of those surveyed.[13] As a number of those surveyed were siblings, that is children of the same married couple, it was necessary to be careful to count the marriage of their parents only once.[14] Table 2 shows that 80 (approximately 48%) of the marriages were

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[13]It is also possible to regard this figure as representing 332 marriage events, as this is the number of individuals who actually married in the fashion they did. Chase (1980: 239) proceeded in this way, as did Sutton (1978: 107) in one of his calculations.

[14]I cannot state with any precision the proportion of the adult residents accounted for by these marriages; that is, the number of contemporary adult residents who are children stemming from the marriages. However, if each marriage is typically regarded as having

TABLE 2

NUMBERS AND KINDS OF LINGUISTICALLY ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES
AMONG THE PARENTS OF THOSE SURVEYED

Linguistic (and Linguistic Composite) Categories		Number of Marriages	
		No.	%
Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	– Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	26	15.7
Garawa (+ Yanyula)	– Garawa (+ Yanyula)	40	24.1
Waanyi	– Waanyi	10	6.0
Layardilda	– Layardilda	4	2.4
Total Endogamous for these Categories		80	48.2
Other[15]	– Other	1	
Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	– Garawa (+ Yanyula)	22	
Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	– Waanyi	10	
Garawa (+ Yanyula)	– Waanyi	13	
Other	– Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	11	
Other	– Garawa (+ Yanyula)	6	
Other	– Waanyi	4	
Layardilda	– Ganggalida (+ Gananggalinda and Yanggal)	3	
Layardilda	– Garawa (+ Yanyula)	1	
Layardilda	– Waanyi	1	
Total Exogamous for these Categories		72	43.4
Marriages involving a non-Aboriginal person		14	8.4
TOTAL SAMPLE		166	100.0

produced two children resident as adults aged 18 years or more at
Doomadgee at the time of my sample, 166 marriages would account for
332 people, i.e. approximately 77% of the officially recorded number of
429 people aged over 18 years in 1978. If 429 is again regarded as an
overstatement of the number actually resident at the settlement (see
fn. 11 above), my sample in fact accounts for a higher percentage of the
residents aged 18 or over.

[15]The "Other" category should be interpreted here in the same way
as in Table 1.

linguistically endogamous in terms of the language and language-composite categories explained above; the largest proportion of these was contracted by people with affiliation to Garawa (plus Yanyula). Ignoring the 14 marriages involving a non-Aboriginal person, 72 (approximately 43%) marriages have thus resulted in contemporary residents with dual affiliation in terms of these categories.

Table 3 presents the results of a cross-tabulation between the ages of contemporary adult residents and their parents' linguistically endogamous or exogamous marriages. It shows that approximately 58% of the parents of those aged over 51 years in my sample married within the same language and language composite categories, as compared to 45% of the parents of those aged 31-51 years and 32% of the parents of those aged 18-30 years. The data from this large sample thus indicate that such endogamous marriages have become less frequent during the more recent time period.

TABLE 3

AGE OF CONTEMPORARY ADULT RESIDENTS BY THE LINGUISTICALLY
ENDOGAMOUS OR EXOGAMOUS NATURE OF THEIR PARENTS' MARRIAGES
(Column Percentages, Chi square = 5.06, p < .10)

Marriage	Age			
	Parents of those 18-30 yrs (N = 22)	Parents of those 31-51 yrs (N = 80)	Parents of those > 51 yrs (N = 64)	Total (N = 166)
Endogamous marriages	7 (32%)	36 (45%)	37 (58%)	80 (48%)
Exogamous marriages	15	44	27	86

These data exclude the marriages of those adult residents without adult children residing at the settlement (in 1980). In order to include them, the question changed from the nature of individuals' parents' marriages, to their own. The relevant data were thus the linguistic affiliation of a person's father and mother, and of his or her spouse's father and mother. This kind of calculation is finer grained, in that it is in terms of these four linguistic affiliations that the questions of linguistic endogamy and the linguistic affiliation of the children produced from the marriage can be considered. For the marriage to be presented as linguistically endogamous, and for the

children to inherit through descent a single language (or language-composite) affiliation, all four genealogically defined links must be to the same language (or language-composite) category.

The result of this second calculation was that of 131 marriages,[16] only 9 (approximately 7%) were linguistically endogamous in this way. I have thus initially described 48% of the marriages of the parents of contemporary people as linguistically endogamous, as compared to 7% of the marriages of contemporary people themselves. (The fact that the former sample is somewhat larger than the latter does not invalidate the comparison; and as stated above, it must be noted that the two calculations overlap because some of the contemporary people are also parents of other contemporary people.) There are two factors which explain this difference. The first is simply that while the extra marriages included in the second calculation are described most precisely as those of people without adult children in the settlement, they were thus mostly marriages of younger people; and these younger people did not contract linguistically endogamous marriages. Of the 131 marriages in the sample, 36 involved one or more people aged 18-31 years and none of these appears as linguistically endogamous. But only 13 of the partners aged 18-31 in these marriages could have made such a match, for the rest did not have both their own parents' linguistic affiliations as the same in the first place. The point is then that by these kinds of calculation, many younger people have not only been less inclined to make linguistically endogamous marriages than their parents, but also less able to because of the ambiguity of their own linguistic affiliation inherited from their parents.

The second point about the difference in the two calculations is that the second one has been carried out at a finer level of analysis. If, in the first calculation, the simplifying statements made about persons' parents' linguistic affiliations were put to one side, it is likely that analysis of the four grandparental linguistic affiliations would have found a rate of endogamy reduced considerably from 48%.

Other researchers concerned with linguistic endogamy have not found it necessary to consider in such detail, the question of unresolved dual (and sometimes triple or quadruple) linguistic affiliations through

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[16]The figure represents 262 people, or 61% of the recorded 1978 figure for people aged over 18 years; once again it can be noted that the percentage is higher if the overstatement of official figures is taken into account.

descent. Sutton's (1978: 107-13) calculation referred to above is made more by reference to the linguistic affiliations of individuals' clans, rather than of individuals themselves. Elsewhere, he makes the point that:

> The majority of clans have unambiguous linguistic affiliation ... . It is important to note that the domain of least generality within which Aborigines make statements about linguistic affiliation is (at least most frequently) that of the clan or land-holding unit, not the patriline as such nor the individual (1978: 86).

Dual linguistic affiliation through descent is thus presumably resolved by primary identification with father's language; although Sutton (p. 157) also states how individuals in the Cape Keerweer area can maintain other linguistic affiliations:

> Since the major strands in ego's kindred may be affiliated to different languages, this gives him or her different proprietorial interests in those languages and no one of them has his or her exclusive allegiance.

Chase's (1980: 239-43) calculation has also been referred to above. The question is not discussed directly, but as he also describes a principle of patrilineal inheritance of "country" of which language is one property (p. 142) for these people, I assume that children of the linguistically exogamous unions in his data (which extend back "to about the turn of the century [p. 239]") identified their father's language as their own. Incidentally, neither Sutton nor Chase breaks down the linguistically endogamous marriages by age in order to ascertain whether the rate of such marriages has been decreasing (or increasing) over time.

As stated, at Doomadgee the resolution of dual (or multiple) linguistic affiliations into a single primary affiliation occurs according to historical factors. However, such resolution is never absolutely complete. Thus, as already referred to above, any ongoing unity of resultant "language groups" is constantly weakened by the possibility of cross-cutting linguistic affiliations. Indeed, the further point is that such affiliations can be defined situationally. People occasionally modify their normally primary affiliation according to social context, e.g. a person normally identifying primarily with her mother's language may forcefully state her affiliation to the different language of her father to temporarily align herself with others of that affiliation. Like other aspects of social identity, linguistic affiliation is thus a resource to be used in political relations.

The existence of "language groups" as such is thus always in a state of flux. Linguistic affiliation, and the emic concept of groups of people based on it, are conceptual constructs used to define one aspect of the social identity of Aboriginal people in relation to other Aboriginal people. Such affiliation and such groups are thus designated primarily by statements rather than non-verbal actions; as Sutton (1980: 1) puts it:

> "Language groups" do not arise directly from the inclusion of people in physically observable groups, but arise cumulatively from recorded speech acts concerned with asserting or denying group memberships or linguistic affiliation.

At Doomadgee, this process of assertion and denial leads to the existence of language groups as conceptual constructs, against a background where all know that in social fact most people are "all mixed" in terms of inheritance of linguistic affiliation through marriage and descent (see the quotation below on p. 55). Indeed, there is no stated preference in the contemporary settlement for linguistic endogamy, although the offspring from such unions do appear to be recognized as having absolutely unambiguous linguistic affiliation through descent in contrast to others; the locution "full-blood Waanyi" or "full Garawa" etc., as used occasionally for such offspring, is an expression of this situationally attributed recognition.[17] Nevertheless, endogamy as the precondition for such linguistically "pure" descent is not sought as an ideal. Other factors are rather important with respect to correct marriage forms. In fact, one of the marriages shown as linguistically endogamous in my survey is regarded as horribly incestuous because the partners are parallel cousins, i.e. structurally equivalent to siblings and much too close in kin terms. Several factors believed important in preferred marriage rules will be discussed in other chapters - linguistic affiliation is certainly not one of them.

3.5 Residential Behaviour and Linguistic Affiliation

The issue of linguistically discrete residence groupings in studies of other settlements, was referred to above. A "Community Study"

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[17]See Brandl and Walsh's (1983: 151) report of the somewhat different use of the same expression in the Darwin area, where a child with dual linguistic affiliation through descent can still be described as "full blood X" where "X" is the name of the linguistic affiliation of one of the child's parents.

(DAA n.d.)[18] deals with this issue at Doomadgee. In this survey, the author asked Aboriginal residents "about their own tribal affiliations and those of any absent neighbours" (p. 10):

> At all but 18 of the 73 dwellings that were occupied [presumably on the occasion of his only visit], it was possible to determine these affiliations readily, and the results show a high degree of clustering. This is particularly so in the case of the Garawa, most of whom lived in the south-east corner of the village near the river and away from the mission (p. 10).

The study considers the three categories Garawa, Ganggalida and Waanyi, and the report states that: "All three groups are more clustered than would be expected if tribal (really family) affiliations meant nothing" (p. 11). A plan diagram of the Aboriginal residences is provided (p. 12) showing information for 55 dwellings, and this takes the form of one language name for 46 and two language names for the remaining 9 dwellings.

Apart from the report's use of language names to refer to undefined concepts of "tribal (really family) affiliations" and the fact that the method in it used for calculating a "cluster index" remains unclear, the diagram provides a grossly over-simplified interpretation of the affiliation between people on the basis of language name. This survey was done about 18 months before mine, but by choosing example dwellings which I know the residents to have remained at during that time, the nature of the over-simplification can be shown. House No. 29 (on my plan, see below) is represented as "Ganggalida": of the senior couple in this house, the man's father's language is Waanyi, his mother's is Ganggalida, the woman's father's language is Garawa and her mother's is Yanyula; I can only assume that the author was told by the man (or by others about the man) that he is "Ganggalida", because this man identifies strongly through personal historical association with his mother's language, country, etc. and knew little of his father. House No. 23 (on my plan) is represented as "Garawa", and here the senior man's father's language is Yanyula, his mother's is Garawa, and the woman's father's language is Garawa and her mother's is Ganggalida. The author most likely spoke to (or was told about) the man, for the woman usually identifies strongly with her mother. The point here is that the vast majority of houses cannot be simply represented by one language name, and cannot be clustered together with other houses on the basis of

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[18]The study was completed for the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs in 1979.

that name. Complex genealogical details about the background of residents must be known, along with an understanding of the flexibility with which they use these details situationally, if any interpretation of language (or "tribal") groups and the extent of their residential discreteness is to be sustained. And these details indicate that language-groups are not residentially discrete at Doomadgee. Indeed, the fact that people move residence at times (for a number of reasons discussed elsewhere), and are not necessarily able to control which house they are to move into, compounds the problem of regarding residents as firmly tied to a particular "linguistically discrete" section of the "village".[19]

Figure 1 shows my plan of the village. It shows the four linguistic affiliations of the parents of the senior married couple in each of 94 of the 96 households in the village in November 1980 (data are not given for two households containing unmarried men and women respectively). Once again, it must be noted that each parental affiliation is in some cases not the only one which might be described for that person in all situations, but rather the one with which that person is most commonly publicly affiliated.[20] As well, there are other residents of these households whose linguistic affiliations should be shown for an approximation of a complete representation. However, given the data for the senior married couples (who are normally the residents with the most long-term stable presence in the household), no grouping of residents is evident containing people with only the one linguistic affiliation. The data are consistent with the emic notion that people reside in a "mixed" fashion, in terms of linguistic affiliation.

There was one area in 1980 (and indeed, throughout the study period) sometimes described as "all Garawa", consisting of at least five humpies and three houses in the southeast corner of the village. The area is known in local parlance as "Bottom Camp" (Plate II). As shown on Figure 1, most of the linguistic affiliations of the residents there were with Garawa. However, two points must be made about this residential linguistic discreteness. Firstly, it is by no means the

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[19]Chapter 7 discusses the fact that the area containing the Aboriginal residences is known locally as "the village".

[20]It can also be noted that two older people are in fact mostly publicly affiliated with a language different from those shown for either of their parents, apparently because of their personal historical circumstances (and associated contemporary linguistic competence).

PLATE II Two young boys returning from the author's camp to "Bottom Camp" (in the background), June 1978. (Photograph - D. Trigger.)

Linguistic affiliation(s) of the senior married couple is shown for each household, by giving the linguistic affiliations of these persons' parents. The man's parents are shown at the top of each numbered block (representing a household), and the woman's parents are shown at the bottom; the fathers are shown on the left side of the block and the mothers on the right side. Couples vary in age, however the majority are older and middle-aged people. On a few occasions, the linguistic affiliation of a deceased partner of an old person is shown, as the deceased person's children living in the household have inherited such affiliation from the deceased. Where a parent of a resident was a person of mixed racial descent, that parent's linguistic affiliation is put, as in the emic view, as that of his or her Aboriginal parent; however, this affiliation is put in brackets after the letter "M". "Leichhardt [River] side" is mostly used as another way of saying "Galgadungu" or "Mayagudunu", but the latter two terms represent a more precisely linguistic affilation. "Normanton side" glosses an area for which language names are used by only a small number of people. Note that unlike for the above calculations on linguistic endogamy, Gananggalinda and Yanggal are not subsumed within Ganggalida, and Yanyula is not subsumed within Garawa, but if they were, only "Bottom Camp" would appear linguistically discrete (see text for discussion).

Note that apart from the area designated as "Bottom Camp", no one linguistic affiliation can be taken to represent any grouping of households.

Figure 1: Plan of "village", November 1980, showing the linguistic affiliations of the senior married couple in each household.

Explanation of Symbols

Yla	–	Yanyula
Gw	–	Garawa
Gd	–	Ganggalida
Wyi	–	Waanyi
Yang	–	Yanggal
Ganang	–	Gananggalinda
Ntn	–	"Normanton side"
Leich	–	"Leichhardt [River] side"
Galg	–	Galgadungu
Maya	–	Mayagudunu
May/Bal	–	"Mayali/Balamumu mix"
L	–	Layardilda
Kut	–	Kutanji
E	–	European
Ch	–	Chinese
M (....)	–	Person of mixed racial descent, where one or more ancestors were Aboriginal (of "full" or "mixed" descent); the person's linguistic affiliation is shown in brackets.
?	–	Data unclear.

N →

Block 1–3 / 12–13:

1.
(May/Bal)
Yla – Gw
=
Ntn – Gd   Yaŋ – Gd   Gd-Galg/Maya
=   =
Yla – Gd   Gw – Gw
2.
3.

12.
Gw – Ganaŋ
=
Gd – Gd   Ntn – Gd   Gd – Gw
13.

Block 4–11:

4.
Gd – Gd
=
Gw – Gw   E – Gd   M(Gw)-Gd
=   =
Yla – Yla E – Gw   M(Galg)-Maya Gw – Gw
5.
6.
7.

8.
Gw – Gd
=
Ch – Gd   L – Gd   Ch – Wyi   Gw – Gw
=   =
Gd – Gd   Gw – Gw   M(Gw) – Gd   Yla – Gw
or Gw?
9.
10.
11.

Eur Husband)
=
Wyi – Gw
21.

Block 14–16:

14.
Wyi – Gd
=
Gw – Wyi   Wyi – Gd   Wyi – Gd   Leich-Maya
=   =
Wyi – Gd
15.
16.

Block 17–20:

17.
Nth – Gd
=
E – Wyi   M(-) – Gd   Yaŋ /L – Wyi
=   =
E – Gd   L – Gd   Yla – Gw
18.
19.
20.

Block 22–23:

Yla – Gw
=
Yla – Gw   Gw-Gd
=
Gd – Gd
22.
23.

Block 24–29:

24.
Gd – Gd
=
Gd –   Yla-Gw Gd -Gw Gw-Wyi Gw-Gw Wyi –
Gd   =   =   Gd
Ganaŋ/ ?-Gd Wyi – Gd-Gd Leich Gw-Gw
Yaŋ –   Wyi   -Gd   /Yla
Yaŋ
25. 26. 27. 28. 29.

Block 30–35:

30.
Wyi-Wyi
=
Wyi-   Wyi-   Yla-   Yla-Gd
Gw   Gw   Gw
=   =   =
Gd-Gw L-L   Gw-Gd "Single"
Men
31. 32. L-Wyi
33. 34.
Gw-Gw Wyi-Gw Yla-Yla Yla-Gw
=   =   =
Ntn-Gd L-L   Wyi-Wyi
35.

Block 48–59:

48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53.

Ntn-?   Yla-Yla Gw-Yla-Ntn Gw-Gw
=   =   =
Wyi-Gd   Yla-Yla Gw-Yla Gd-Ntn
=   =   =
Gd-Gd   Ntn-?   Gd-Gw   Gw-Yla
54.
55.
56.

Wy-Wyi Gd-   Gw-Gw
=   M(Gd)   =
Wyi – (May/Ba) Gd-   Gd-Gw
=   Yla-Gd   Yaŋ
Wyi-Wyi Yla-Gw
57. 58. 59.

Block 36–47:

36.
Yla-Yla
=
M(Galg) Yla-Yla
-Wyi
=
Yla-Gd Yla-
Leich- Yla
Gd ?
37.
Wyi-Gd M(Galg)Yla-Yla
=   -Wyi
=   Leich-
Gw-Wyi   Yla-Gd
=   Gd ?
M(Galg)Single Women
-Wyi?
=
Wyi-Wyi
? ?
38. 39. 40. 41.

Wyi-Gw
=
Gd-L   Wyi-Gw Gd-Gw Gd-Gd
=   /Wyi   =   =
Mayali =   Gd-Gd   M(Galg)
/Bal-? Wyi-   L-Gd   -Gd
=   Wyi
Wyi-Wyi HALL
42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47.

Block 60–64:

60.
Power
House
Ntn-   Yla-
Wyi   Yla
=   =
Gw-Gd Gd-Gd
61.

Gw-?
=
Gw-Gw
=
Gd-Gd Yla-Gw
Ntn-Gd
=
Wyi-Wyi
62. 63. 64.

Block 65–96 (right side):

68.70. Galg-
Gd-Gd   Gw-Gw Gd-Gd Gd-Gd
=   =   =   =
Galg-   Wyi-Gw Gw-Gw Gw-Gw Wyi-Gw
Wyi   Wyi   Wyi-   Wyi-Gw
=   Gd   Wyi
(May/Bal)-Gw Wyi-Gd Wyi-L (May/Bal) Wyi-Gw Wyi-Gd
=   =   Wyi   single
Yla   Gw-
Gananŋ
L
65. 66. 67. 69. 71. 72. 73. 74.

75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80.
Gw-Gw Gd-Gd E-Gw Gw-Gw Gw-Yla
=   =   =   =
Gw-Gd Gw-Gw Wyi-Gd Gw-Gw
=   =
Yla-   Gw-Gw
Gananŋ

Block 87–96:

87.
Yaŋ – Gd
=
Gw-Gd Wyi-? Gw-Gd
=   =   =
Yla-Gw Gananŋ- L-L
L
widow
Gw-   M(Gw)
Gananŋ =
=   Wyi Gd-Gd Wyi-Wyi
Gd-   =
Wyi   E-Gd
88. 89. 90. 91. 92.
93. 94. 95.

Wyi-Gd
=
Gd-L   Yla-Gw Ganaŋ-
=
96.

Bottom right circles:

Gw-?
?-Ntn
81.

Gw-Kut
=
Yla-Gw
82.

Yla-Gw
=
Gw-Gw
83.

Gw-Gw Gw-Gw
=   =
Gw-Gw Gw-Gw
84.

E-Wyi
=
Gw-Gw
85.

Wyi-
Wyi
=
?-Wyi
86.

"BOTTOM CAMP"
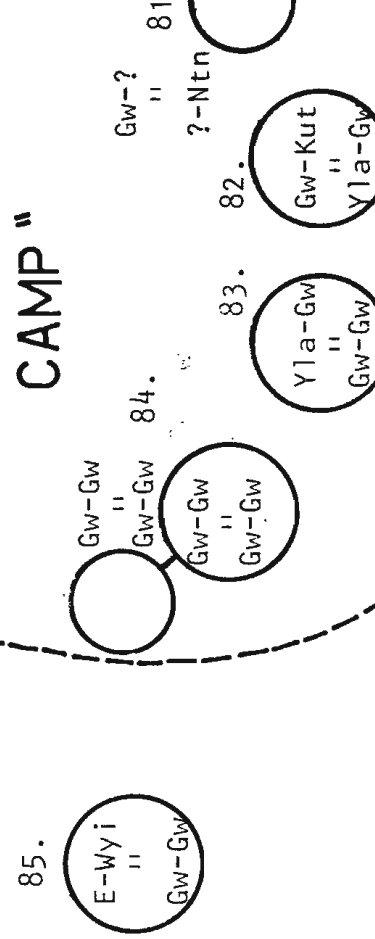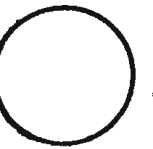
only area where Garawa people reside, nor even where most of them reside; as the village plan shows, such people are scattered throughout the village. For this reason, the linguistic label is not used often for "Bottom Camp" residents in particular. Secondly, the social distinctiveness of "Bottom Camp" residents, such as it is sometimes asserted by themselves and others, is tied to a number of factors other than linguistic affiliation. These factors include the closeness of their kin links, and more particularly the recentness of their move in to Doomadgee from stations to the west, as compared to others who have been residents at the settlement for much longer times.

3.6 Linguistic Affiliation as an Idiom for Group Behaviour

The few forms of social action that I observed as involving collective behaviour by people on the basis of jointly stated linguistic affiliation, were aspects of Aboriginal strategies oriented towards obtaining resources from segments within the wider system of impinging Australian bureaucracies. One can be dealt with quite briefly. In the course of presenting a land claim under the Aboriginal Land Rights (N.T.) Act of 1976, groups of the claimants sought to present the "traditional owners" as "Waanyi people" and "Garawa people" to White officials on a number of occasions. The block of land being claimed contained mostly Waanyi country, but also some Garawa country, and people used these language names to label the Aboriginal claimants in a short-hand way (see the Transcript of Proceedings of the land claim, [T.O.P. 62-3], for one man's use of the language names to refer to the two "tribes" making the claim). At a meeting before the land claim hearing, several men most involved in dealing with White officialdom expressed the view that a legally incorporated body containing "all the Waanyi and Garawa people" should be formed as a collectivity with which White bureaucracies could deal. (Such a body [entitled: "The Waanyi Garrawa Aboriginal Corporation"] was eventually formed in July 1984.)

The second of such strategies involved an attempt to establish a "Ganggalida Society" as a legally incorporated body. In August 1980, a meeting of "all the Ganggalida" was called at the instigation of an old woman acknowledged by everyone to be one of the most knowledgeable Ganggalida people. She wished to spend periods of time away from the settlement in Ganggalida country which includes her mother's father's estate (see Chapter 4 for discussion of traditional land tenure). One of her daughters, and other kinspersons were to go with her,

including her sick brother, whom she wished to "take away from this sick place" (the settlement), where she stated people could not get well because they were all "boxed up", i.e. forced to live too close together both socially and physically. She pressed her case through a male kinsman who was then the Chairman of the Aboriginal Council, and the meeting was held at night at the Chairman's house. I was asked to attend and bring my documentation on Ganggalida country and the people affiliated with it.

The meeting was attended by about 50 adults, all of whom emphasised Ganggalida as their primary linguistic affiliation, and many of whom were related by blood ties (though by no means all such Ganggalida people were present). After considerable discussion, which included my being called on to say how people could secure use of the Bayley Point ("old Doomadgee") Reserve and other parts of coastal Ganggalida country, and during which the Chairman continually emphasized how he would fight for what his people (i.e. in this context "Ganggalida people") wanted, the decision was made to form a legally incorporated body known as "Ganggalida Society". However, it was thought appropriate for this body to have a Ganggalida name, and the authoritative old lady who had instigated the proceedings provided the name:

/mudara gangga   ganggalida/:
/big mob word or Ganggalida/:   that is - a lot of Ganggalida
          talk   language   language and people

It was discussed how the body would elect formal representatives, and apply for government grants for such items as vehicles (preferably one capable of transporting a large number of people to the Reserve, and one with a freezer suitable for transporting fish back from there to the settlement), fencing materials, materials for constructing a bore for water, fishing equipment, equipment for road construction, etc. The formation of the "Ganggalida Society" was framed primarily with respect to "Ganggalida country", and this area was to be used for the following purposes: as a holiday place, particularly but not exclusively for "Ganggalida people"; to take the children there to be taught aspects of the culture and history of their people; to attempt to muster, use and possibly sell cattle and horses (and for this the Society should have its own brand); and to catch fish both for subsistence and for sale back at the settlement. There was strong support for the idea that individual families and associates would carry out the latter two enterprises as "private businesses".

Following the meeting, much discussion of the decisions ensued. Nine days later, the Council Chairman called a public meeting in the normal place in the village. The White Manager was present, and had presumably been notified of this public meeting by the Chairman. As is common with such meetings, speakers used a microphone and loudspeaker so that a considerable number of people throughout the village could hear. The meeting was very long, and various aspects of it will be discussed elsewhere. The Chairman proposed the notion of a "Ganggalida Society" and called for people to speak their mind publicly on the matter. In doing so, he described it as primarily a means for getting more government funds for housing and other material improvements for the settlement, and as well some money for the use of the old Doomadgee area. That is, he modified somewhat the earlier strong focus of the initiative towards Ganggalida people, which had been so forcefully resolved at the previous meeting. I will comment on the widespread belief that forming another incorporated body would secure more government funds elsewhere. The point to be made here is that the notion of a "Ganggalida Society" expressed in concrete form the concept of discrete language-groups. And aware of this, the Chairman made sure to stress that it would in fact benefit the whole community:

> ... there was a good meeting the other day with most of the people as Ganggalida people and we thought of ... the idea was - Ganggalida Society. And not only just going to take up Ganggalida people but it might help Garawa, because we all mixed married now, you know Waanyi and so on. It's hard to split us up now really (T55).

Out of the eight speakers at the meeting (all male), five were publicly classified primarily as Ganggalida people through one or more of their parents. The fact that it was a specifically Ganggalida initiative was expressed:

> ... Now we've got a mob of what-a-you-callim countryman here, Mun.gabayi [name for Burketown] mob[21] or Ganggalida mob, there's a mob of us here. Now we're the first mob bin moved out hey?; from Burketown over to the coast. I was only a picanniny ... hey, don't you fella worry, come on ... [calls names of six Ganggalida men] (T55).

Soon after this speaker, a man of Garawa parentage registered some disapproval:

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[21]See comments below in this chapter for discussion of the historical appropriation of the Burketown area as part of Ganggalida country.

> ... very good idea ... we were going to form a body and
> going to call it "Ganalanja [Waanyi name for Nicholson
> River] Land Council". All you people agree with that or you
> sooner have the "Ganggalida Land Council"? ... (T55).

Disregarding for now this speaker's introduction of the term "land council", by suggesting the Waanyi name for the Nicholson River he is proposing a body which would not be nominally a Ganggalida one. His suggestion was based on the deliberate omission of the word Ganggalida from the name. The substitution of the name for the Nicholson River is more neutral in terms of linguistic identification, for while it is a Waanyi name, the Ganggalida name is very similar (Ganalanda).[22]

The Chairman moved immediately to maintain the original name, but also to reiterate his original point about "benefit for all"; he referred to a similarly constituted body on Mornington Island and one in Burketown and said that they "cover" all the "tribes" in those places and then went on:

> ... little bit muddle up there on name ... this Ganggalida,
> it's only just name, language y'know, because ... early
> time, missionary took the Ganggalida ... . It doesn't leave
> anybody out. It doesn't leave any tribe out. It doesn't
> leave Waanyi out, it doesn't leave Yanyula out, it doesn't
> leave any other Garawa out y'see? ... Now we don't want to
> bring a division between people or us all ... I know at
> times it can get like that ... (T55).

In his final statements the Chairman named nine people who he said might be people to represent the Society; all were defined as Ganggalida people in this context.

Following lack of support by DAA, and argument against the idea by the local White Manager, the Ganggalida Society was never formed. I have presented the attempt to form it as one of the few times I have observed the emic concept of discrete language-groups manifested in the behavioural formation of an actual language-name based group of people. In both this setting, and the land claim setting referred to initially in this section, collective behaviour by language-groups has been an aspect of social relations with Australian bureaucracies. Aborigines clearly recognise the importance of corporate social units with formal office holders and representatives in Australian bureaucratic procedure,

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[22]However, a complicating factor here is a dispute over whether the section of the Nicholson River adjacent to the present settlement site is in fact part of Waanyi country or Ganggalida country (see comments below in this chapter).

and those most involved in Aboriginal dealings with that bureaucracy understandably conclude that conformity with the procedure leads most quickly and most effectively to acquisition of the goods and services at stake. Linguistic affiliation provides a suitably general feature of Aboriginal social identity to be used in the flexible social construction of such nominally corporate groups. While their notional corporateness may well be reinforced by such dealings with European-style bureaucracy (as has been suggested by Sutton [1980: 7]),[23] it is unlikely that "language-groups" will develop stable internal sociopolitical unity in settlement social processes at Doomadgee for some considerable time (if ever).

3.7 Linguistic Affiliation, Social Identity and Status Situation

The final issue of import here is the significance of linguistic affiliation for a broad power relations analysis of settlement social life. The evidence suggests that it is best regarded as an aspect of the status situation of individuals; though while it generates the emic concept of "status groups", it does not normally lead to status groups which manifest collective behaviour.

People generally attribute less social honour (to borrow Weber's phrase directly) to languages other than their own. The latter are typically said to be "too rough" and harder to speak than their own, and this sentiment is expressed by people including those who are unable (or only partially able) to speak their own language. Languages are mocked, though not normally within hearing distance of people affiliated to those languages, for such behaviour would be regarded as highly offensive. Because of the broadness of cross-cutting linguistic affiliations at Doomadgee, such mocking behaviour is usually reserved for geographically and socially more remote languages, e.g. the speech of people from Aurukun who reside semi-permanently at Mornington Island and who are encountered when Doomadgee people visit there. The sound of the Bentinck Islanders' speech is particularly singled out for such ridicule. People usually refer to, or mimic, this speech to indicate that the speakers appear to be choking on the sounds. Such ridicule is part of a view which accords low status to the general society of the

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[23]Cf. also, Fried's (1968: 15-7) general comments on "tribes" which "spring up in colonial situations" and are "created by governmental action".

Bentinck Islanders; they are known by a derogatory term, and are patronised and pitied by some for being primitive and unsophisticated.[24]

While the sound of speech is thus made the direct focus for the attribution of social status, the more basic factor is pride in one's own language as a form of cultural property. Like certain other traditional property, a language is valued highly primarily because it is regarded as one's own. The intellectual context for attributing lower status to other languages is thus that they are inappropriate to one's own social identity, and that of one's children. The latter fact emerged clearly when the Doomadgee school began a "culture-programme" (see Chapter 8), which included the teaching (by several mostly older Aboriginal "culture teachers") of words and phrases from Aboriginal languages. From the outset the widespread opinion among Aboriginal residents was that children should be taught their own language. When it appeared at one stage that Garawa was the only language being taught, complaints were voiced by Ganggalida and Waanyi people that this was a completely unacceptable situation. For their part, several Garawa people pointed out that Garawa was "too strong", and that it was most easily learnable by the children, and that it may well "take over" at Doomadgee.

My own propensity to learn Garawa much more than Ganggalida or Waanyi, was similarly taken by Garawa people as further evidence of the strength and hence high status of their language. They thus overstated my limited competence in Garawa, and saw this competence as evidence of my social alignment with Garawa people; a personal name I was given is

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[24]The term Malduldunda is used to refer to the Bentinck Islanders. This was reported by Sharp (1939: 454, fn. 41) as "Marlanunda" or "Maldanunda", and Tindale (1974: 173) gives a number of very similar terms as the original "Lardil" and "Janggal" names for them. Tindale suggests the term is based on the word for sea: "['mala] = ['malda] = sea". This seems possible, given the island location – the Ganggalida word for sea is malara; another possibly relevant word is dulda (or as written by Keen [1983: 284]: "tulta") meaning faeces in Ganggalida: mainland people refer in English to Bentinck Islanders as people who "camp on top of their own shit", i.e. as people who defecate in the area in which they sleep, unlike mainland people. (See Roth 1901c: 3, and Roughsey 1977: 102 for further comment on this practice.) However, a further (probably more linguistically sophisticated) analysis has been provided by Evans (personal communication), based on his work on the Gayardilt language, which is mutually intelligible with Ganggalida. He has pointed out that marlda means hand or finger (see Keen 1983: 276) and dundunda means large (also fat or enormous, see Keen 1983: 284). This etymology fits with a second mainland description of the Bentinck Islanders as "big one finger".

said to be a Garawa name, and some Garawa people stated to me on occasions: "You Garawa all the time." Several older Waanyi and Ganggalida people have at times not withheld their disappointment at my seeming inability to learn their languages to as great an extent.

Politicking which uses the idiom of linguistic affiliation also concerns the concept of linguistic territories. Broadly competitive comparisons are made between linguistic territories, and in the context of such discourse people tend to posit the expansiveness of their own language over the widest possible area, and again regard the associated strength of the language positively. The evidence (or excuse) drawn on when arguing for the expansiveness of one's own linguistic territory, is normally the parallel historical movement of one's people (defined in terms of a language name). Indeed, when people state that their own language-group has "taken over" an area, they appear to be referring primarily to the group's comparatively recent historical association with it; while some clearly also attempt to extend their linguistic affiliation to major totemic figures in the area over which their language group has expanded, such statements are not easily sustained.

Examples of such competitive discourse using the idiom of linguistic territories, include suggestions by senior Garawa and Yanyula people that these languages will "take over Ganggalida country" because too few of the younger and middle-aged Ganggalida people know their country and because they are further "behind the law" (i.e. alienated from ritual obligations) than others. Such suggestions have little chance of being accepted; they directly attribute low status to Ganggalida people. Indeed they would not be made in the presence of senior Ganggalida people (except perhaps as a deliberate insult in a dispute context), and are made in other settings more as a form of jingoistic sarcastic speculation rather than as description of an actual state of affairs.

Arguments for linguistic territory expansion more realistically represent actual claims, when there are no longer Aboriginal people asserting original primary linguistic affiliation (or other affiliation similarly based on descent) with the territory being "annexed". For example, many Ganggalida people assert that the Burketown area is part of Ganggalida country; particularly those now middle-aged people who were born there often refer to Ganggalida people as "Burketown side" (see e.g. the quotation above on p. 55), and to their language as "Burketown language". In fact, the few older people left who have more

detailed knowledge of the area state that it is Min.ginda country (and this view is supported in the literature [see Appendix A]). However, these old people also at times concur with their children's generation that Ganggalida people "bin take over" the Burketown area through historical association after Min.ginda people died out (see Chapters 4 and 6 for further discussion of the movements and residence of Ganggalida people in the Burketown area, and also evidence of their assimilated knowledge of the traditional landscape there).

A further example is the continually unresolved dispute about whether the contemporary settlement site is within Ganggalida country which hence extends that far southwards from the coast, or Waanyi country which hence extends that far eastwards down the Nicholson River. The area was quite likely in fact within "Nguburinji" territory, however (as with Min.ginda) there appear to be no people who now identify with this language. The dispute over the settlement site is infused with substantial feeling. What is at stake is being able to include within the status honour of one's own linguistic affiliation, primary ties to the country in which is now located the valuable material property of the settlement. One could also thereby assert the strongest rights to reside in the settlement. Indeed, on two recorded occasions certain Ganggalida people used the idiom of linguistic affiliation to suggest that certain Garawa people should be told to "go back to their own country": once in the course of discussing the dominance of Garawa in the school "culture-program", and once when those attempting to hold a male initiation ceremony were categorised as Garawa people (see discussion of this situation in Chapter 9). In the latter case several Ganggalida people asserted in discourse that "all the stranger people" (referring to Garawa people) should go back home.

In summary then, the linguistic affiliation of individuals is one of the features of their social identity which is entailed in their political relations with other Aborigines. It is one means by which status honour is attributed to their social identity. Such honour may be tied to the sound of various languages being spoken, and to features of different linguistic territories. But above all, status honour is attributed on the basis of a profound chauvinism about one's own linguistic affiliation; when for example, as I have observed, a person shouts in the course of an argument or fight: "My father Yanyula!", the statement is immediately understood by all present as a political one. Through a forceful assertion of one's linguistic affiliation, the

statement asserts, with great pride and resolve, an important aspect of one's status and identity.

3.8 <u>Conclusion - Languages, Linguistic Groups and Status Relations</u>

In this chapter, I have established that contemporary Doomadgee residents conceive of linguistic territories, and I have dealt in some detail with the affiliation of people to such territories through descent.[25] This affiliation does not require detailed knowledge of the territory or its boundaries, nor even that the person has ever been there. While such affiliation is explicitly to a language name, and implicitly to the language itself, it does not necessarily involve competence in speaking or understanding that language.

However, I have further discussed the difficulties involved in measuring the numbers of people affiliated with particular languages, language names and linguistic territories, because of the commonness of inheritance through descent of dual (and sometimes multiple) linguistic affiliations. An associated lack of linguistic endogamy has been described. This difficulty has been shown to be compounded by the variable emphasising of certain of these affiliations according to different sociopolitical contexts. Nevertheless, linguistic affiliation is conceived as a significant and meaningful feature of persons' social identities.

I have illustrated that language-groups do not exist as residentially discrete units, and are not believed to so exist in the emic Aboriginal view. The only evidence of language groups actually manifesting collective behaviour concerns two cases of social action directed towards obtaining resources from wider bureaucracies. Apart from this kind of uncommon behaviour, language groups are spoken about, rather than given collective behavioural expression. Thus, to the extent that analysis can posit the existence of language-groups, they are ideational "quasi-groups" in Nadel's sense (see p. 20 above); that is, they are proclaimed as a group of people who "belong together", but these proclamations can be seen as "an ideology supporting nothing", or if not "nothing" then only comparatively rare cases of group behaviour oriented towards bureaucracy. Moreover, the latter cases of social behaviour are best described as temporary coalitions rather than

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[25]Other forms of affiliation to territory besides descent are discussed in Chapter 4, however these are not normally emically incorporated within discourse about linguistic affiliation.

enduring groups (cf. Boissevain p. 21, Chapter 2 above). Thus, the primary sociopolitical currency of linguistic affiliation is as an idiom for discourse about an aspect of the social identities of individuals.

The second critical theoretical issue in the chapter is the import of linguistic affiliation as a significant dimension of the status situation of Aborigines, in their social relations with other Aboriginal residents of the study region. Although, in the light of the other conclusions mentioned above, these status relations cannot be said to involve behaviourally explicit status groups, the theoretical concept of status is clearly quite critical for the understanding of linguistic affiliation. I will return to this issue in summarizing Part B (at the end of Chapter 5), and in the conclusion to the thesis (Chapter 10).

CHAPTER 4

CONCEPTIONS OF COUNTRY, COUNTRY-AFFILIATED GROUPS
AND STATUS RELATIONS IN SETTLEMENT SOCIOPOLITICAL PROCESSES

4.1 Introduction

Aboriginal discourse makes constant reference to "country". Individuals speak of "my country", "my father country", "my grannie country", etc.; collectivities of people speak of "our country". A complex body of knowledge concerning country is held unevenly across the village population. This chapter first (in Section 4.2) documents contemporary traditional conceptions of country itself, and then secondly (in Section 4.3), the conceptual ideals concerning affiliation of people with country are discussed. I then consider (in Section 4.4) the actual sociopolitical process of that affiliation, and its implications for social identity and group formation. The final sections deal with affiliation to country as part of persons' status situation (4.5), and with expert knowledge of country as a focus of intense politicking for social honour (4.6). Summary conclusions are presented in Section 4.7.

4.2 Traditional Conceptions of "Country"

Apart from the notion of linguistic territory dealt with in Chapter 3, the landscape is conceptually divided by Aboriginal residents according to environmental features, totemic significance, subsection/ semimoiety affiliation, and estates (or separately owned tracts, containing discrete sites). These units of country will be discussed separately.[1]

4.2.1 Environmental classification

Broad areas are designated according to environmental features, e.g. water: "running water country" - the permanently flowing upper Gregory River, Lawn Hill, Elizabeth and Musselbrook Creeks areas; "yanja water country" - the "limey" water of upper Lawn Hill Creek (which flows through a predominantly limestone area); and "bulgi water country" - the "cleaner" (or softer) Nicholson River water flowing

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[1]The landscape is also conceived in terms of predominant features associated with the pastoral industry: homesteads, fence-lines, yards, dams, etc. However, this chapter is concerned with what can be glossed as the significance of country deriving from Aboriginal tradition.

TABLE 4

GANGGALIDA CLASSIFICATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL ZONES IN A COASTAL AREA

⟵------- North

malara	/mirlaja/mala/lilu	ngarnda	dumuwa	gabara	gin.gara
"sea"	/go back/sea/north	"beach"	"sand ridge"	"salt-pan"	"flat country"
	[inter-tidal zone]				[on other side of saltpan]
	⟵---------- murndamurra ----------⟶ "island"				wambalda "land"/ "mainland"

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through the flat plain. A major distinctive ecological domain is "saltwater country". In general, this term simply delimits the area in the immediate vicinity of the coastline throughout the entire study region. However, detailed data concerning coastal Ganggalida country enables a more precise understanding of this emic category. Table 4 presents the Ganggalida classification of distinctive environmental zones in the coastal area. As the translations of Aboriginal designations of these zones indicate, the environment consists of long sand ridges often parallel to the beach and dune areas, surrounded by large areas of "saltpan" or saline coastal flats (Plate III). From the Aboriginal perspective such sand ridges (and at times the beach areas on their northern side) are termed "islands" (murndamurra), as are what are regarded from the White Australian perspective as off-shore islands. The "land" or "mainland" (wambalda) thus begins at the inland limit of the saltpans. Map 6 shows this limit approximately. It also thus marks the inland limit of what is generally conceived as "saltwater country". At times during the wet season, much of the saltpan areas are said to be covered with water (probably from tidal surges as well as rain), leaving the "island" sand ridges isolated with water on all sides.

Apart from water, other distinguishing environmental features conceived in the Aboriginal view include: topography - "mountain country" is distinguished from the flat "river country"; and flora - e.g. named environments in the upper Nicholson River area - Wulgurrinji (wulgurru = strong tea-tree flower scent, and the environment is said to contain "thick tea-tree scrub"), Gudidiwaliya (gudidi - ripe fruit from Pandanus sp., and the environment contains substantial groves of this tree). Formal names also summarily describe environments, e.g. the Bandunji area south of the upper Nicholson River (bandu = "desert country" [see Map 7]). Furthermore, such broad classification of environmental units is complemented by extensive fine-grained knowledge of the ecology of the study region, particularly its fauna,[2] but Table 5 provides only the Garawa/Waanyi and Ganggalida classifications of the seasonal cycle as examples of this knowledge.

4.2.2 Totemic significance

Different sites and tracts are conceived as representing, containing, or being constituted by "dreamings", also referred to as

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[2]See Trigger and Robins (1983) for detailed information concerning one area.
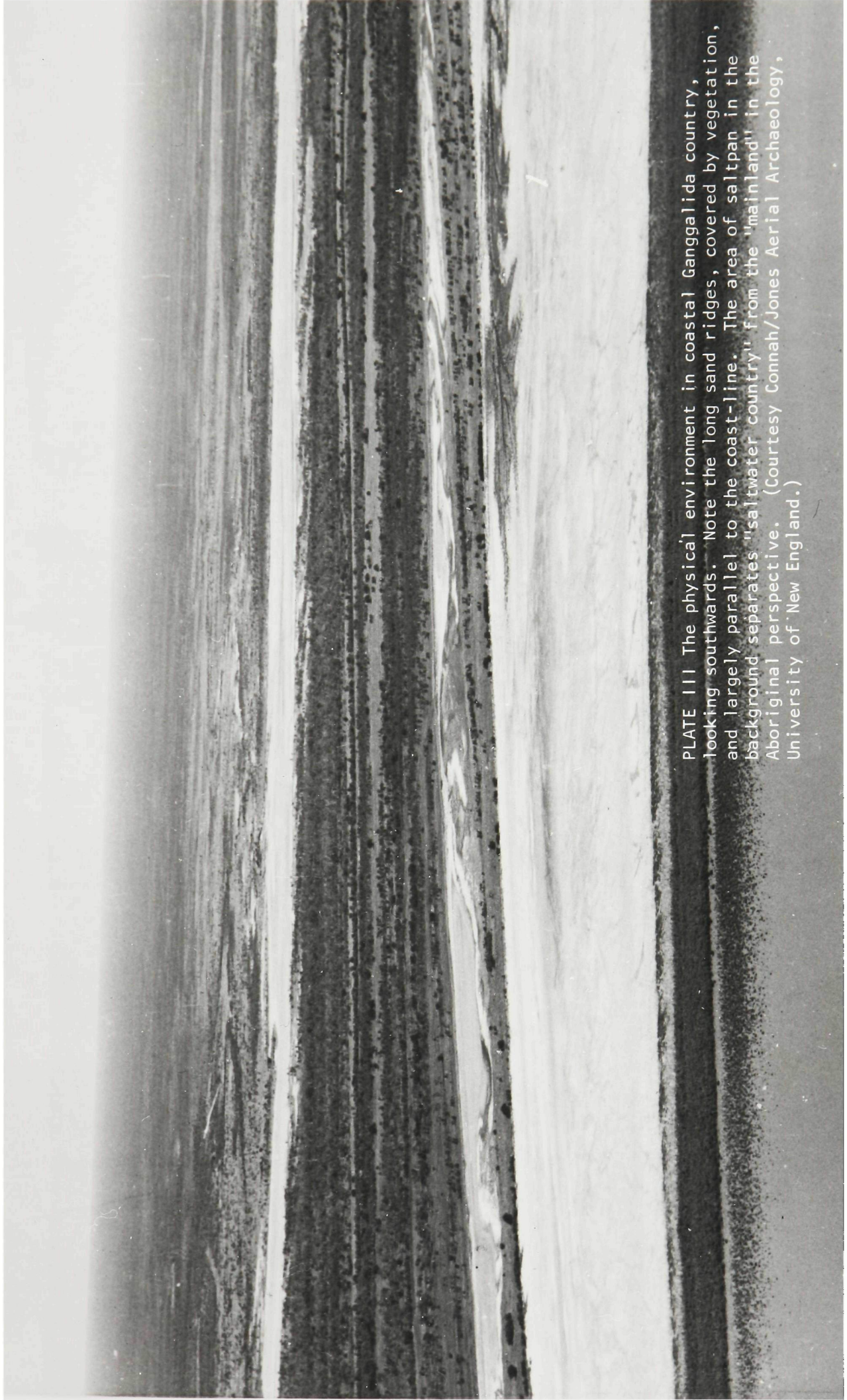
PLATE III The physical environment in coastal Ganggalida country, looking southwards. Note the long sand ridges, covered by vegetation, and largely parallel to the coast-line. The area of saltpan in the background separates "saltwater country" from the "mainland" in the Aboriginal perspective. (Courtesy Connah/Jones Aerial Archaeology, University of New England.)

TABLE 5

GENERAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE SEASONAL CYCLE

Term		Approximate Period	Description in English
Ganggalida	Garawa/Waanyi		
ngadara	gundil	April-November	"dry season time - no rain"
wundurulda	gindilgurinya	November/ December	"first storms" ("thunder", etc., i.e. the "build-up" period before the wet season)
wunda (lit.: rain)	gubijiji/ winngi	December-March	"middle of the wet time", "rain no more stop now - can't walk around", "wet all day" "when he set in now, that rain"
waliwiri lalunganda (lalu = south)	burruwarr	March/April	"still wet but starting to get dry", wind has "turned around" wurrarra wala gulana (= wind coming from south) "when cold weather start" "rain finish, clear away"

ijan, bungurdu or sometimes guwari (Gd).[3] The concept is described as "totem" in the anthropological literature (see e.g. Stanner's [1965: 226] classic general description and Sharp's [1939: 457] listing of totemic features for this study area). The term ijan refers most precisely to site-specific potencies, while bungurdu is used when referring more generally to dreamings in important mythic sequences. Such sequences commonly involve totemic figures moving across the landscape; the travels are encoded in the regional mythology which sets their world-creative activities during "Wanggala Time". Map 5 shows as examples, the travel routes of "Rainbow", "Shark", etc. These figures are central to the ritual knowledge held throughout the southern Gulf region, their activities being expressed in song cycles known as gujiga and ngalira during major ceremonies (yarambaja).

Dreamings infuse the landscape with features and potencies. Consider the following example material concerning Bujimala ("Rainbow Snake") dreaming in an area of the upper Nicholson River region. This account is of its creation of and contemporary presence within the landscape (see Map 7 for the location of the places mentioned):[4]

> Bujimala was at Gumuluji (A24). He went to Bajaminyi (A22) "cutting into" the China Wall as he went, and left the water there as is evidenced by the way it now changes colour from time to time. He thought to himself that he did not want to solely stay there so he proceeded eastwards to Gurrumburru (A1) and made the China Wall "stand up" as he went; the rock wall held him back so he had to go along the side of it. He crawled along and went to Jiwil (A5), stayed there for a while and then turned back to Balaga (A4). In search of a good place he proceeded to Jaman.gu (A8) now distinctive as the place of Rainbow whisker (Bujimala jaman.gu), and then to Lirragi (A6) and left Lirradu (Water Beetle) dreaming at the spring at the southeast end of the line of hills, where the colourful Water Beetle had been on his back. The long line of hills to the east known as Wurraliranggijbi (A8) "blocked" him so he travelled down Gorge Creek to Duginyi (A15), and across to Najabarra (A11). He is at Najabarra today; the tea-trees on the side of the lagoon are his ribs

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[3]The symbols Gd, Gw, and Wyi represent Ganggalida, Garawa and Waanyi languages respectively. Throughout the thesis they will appear in the text after words from these languages. However, where no symbols appear after words and where it is not indicated in some other way that the words are drawn from these or other specific languages, the reader should assume that the words are Garawa/Waanyi ones.

[4]Along with a number of other myths relevant to the study region, this one is documented in Trigger (1982a); several others are documented in Trigger (1981a). The myth presented here is rendered in standard English from the original version given in Aboriginal English.

(milinginji). He is blind; and he can be heard "singing out", particularly at night.

Apart from the named places mentioned specifically in the myth, characteristics of Bujimala are often perceived at places throughout this area. For example, "Bujimala colours" are pointed out in sections of the China Wall, and any particularly round waterholes are said to be the "home" of Bujimala.

Should people behave inappropriately at places which are Bujimala dreaming, it is believed that he is most likely to "get up quick", that is cause wind, rain, lightning and general stormy conditions to inflict damage on people and their possessions. At times people also attribute the indirect cause of injuries sustained in the area to Bujimala. Hence it is important to ensure that children are kept away from such places. At Najabarra, senior people warn any adult newcomers to the area not to make noise in the vicinity, for example by calling out loudly or shouting. Rules associated with drinking and washing in water are followed: e.g. people must not touch water for a few hours after eating, particularly after eating meat foods. The correct procedure is for hands and forearms to be washed with mud first, and then the mud should be rubbed under the armpits – sometimes described as "giving [one's] smell" to the Rainbow Snake.

Such site-based powers of totems are distributed right across the study region. Where totems are natural resources, they and the country they inhabit must be treated appropriately in order to maintain the supply of such resources. This applies to the human control of the partially or absolutely unpleasant features of the environment, as much as to the resources known to be beneficial. For example, I have described elsewhere (Trigger 1981b) kinds of behaviour appropriate at head louse dreaming places in order to control and maintain the presence of head lice in the population.

There are also totemic figures which populate various areas in a general way; that is, they are not tied to any specific sites or to any specific sequence ("track" or "road") of places. One such entity is known as Gundugundu (particularly occupying the "desert country" or Bandunji south of the upper Nicholson River) or Gudidawa (Gd, already referred to in Chapter 3 as occupying coastal and inland regions of Ganggalida country): it is described as short in height, and as dangerous and elusive. It is usually ascribed male gender, and is ever-present and ever-ready to cause people hardship, particularly strangers. For example, if when in this country a person swears or

behaves rudely or impolitely in other ways, this entity will make him or her sick. It is thought of as somewhat mischievous, and people describe how they have been made lost, had items stolen, had their motor vehicle rendered unworkable, etc. This entity can control bush resources, and certain rules should be followed in order to appease it. For example, when fishing, you should not quickly claim a caught fish, nor kill it immediately by hitting it on the head, for Gudidawa will stealthily remove it and replace it with a "boney one" (i.e. one with less meat). When hunting for "sugarbag" (bush honey), people should not take honey from cells in the hive which are closed - this belongs to Gudidawa and bees are likely to torment people who take it.

A second figure of this kind known as Gardajala is believed usually to occupy hilly or cave country. It is often ascribed female gender, and is known to steal babies or make them cry out. Gardajala itself can be heard "singing out", particularly at night.

The English word "devil" is used for all these generally occurring figures (as well as others located in various parts of the study region). Techniques can be employed at times to keep them away, e.g. older people can talk to them (as discussed in Chapter 3) and reassure them that the people present are not strangers, and the burning of "Spinifex wax"[5] is said sometimes to keep them away. It is also believed that it is best not to "take notice" of them or think about them when in areas they are known to populate.

4.2.3 Subsection/semimoiety affiliation

The important concept on which this kind of significance of country is based is referred to in English as "skin", and as nginyi and bulda (Gd), although there is an alternative term, gudu, which is an impolite equivalent of nginyi and is translated as "smell". The term bulda has also been translated by informants as human "head hair" (cf. Keen [1983: 289] and Sharp [1939: 455]). Senior people (particularly at places to the west, e.g. Borroloola) are known to be able to tell what "skin" a person is, simply by looking at their hair.[6] Many kinds of entities in the universe may have "skin" association, but particularly

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[5]This is a resin derived from material that appears to be excreted by a species of ant; it is found attached to clumps of Spinifex sp. grass.

[6]Dr P. Memmott (personal communication) reports a similar belief at Mornington Island.
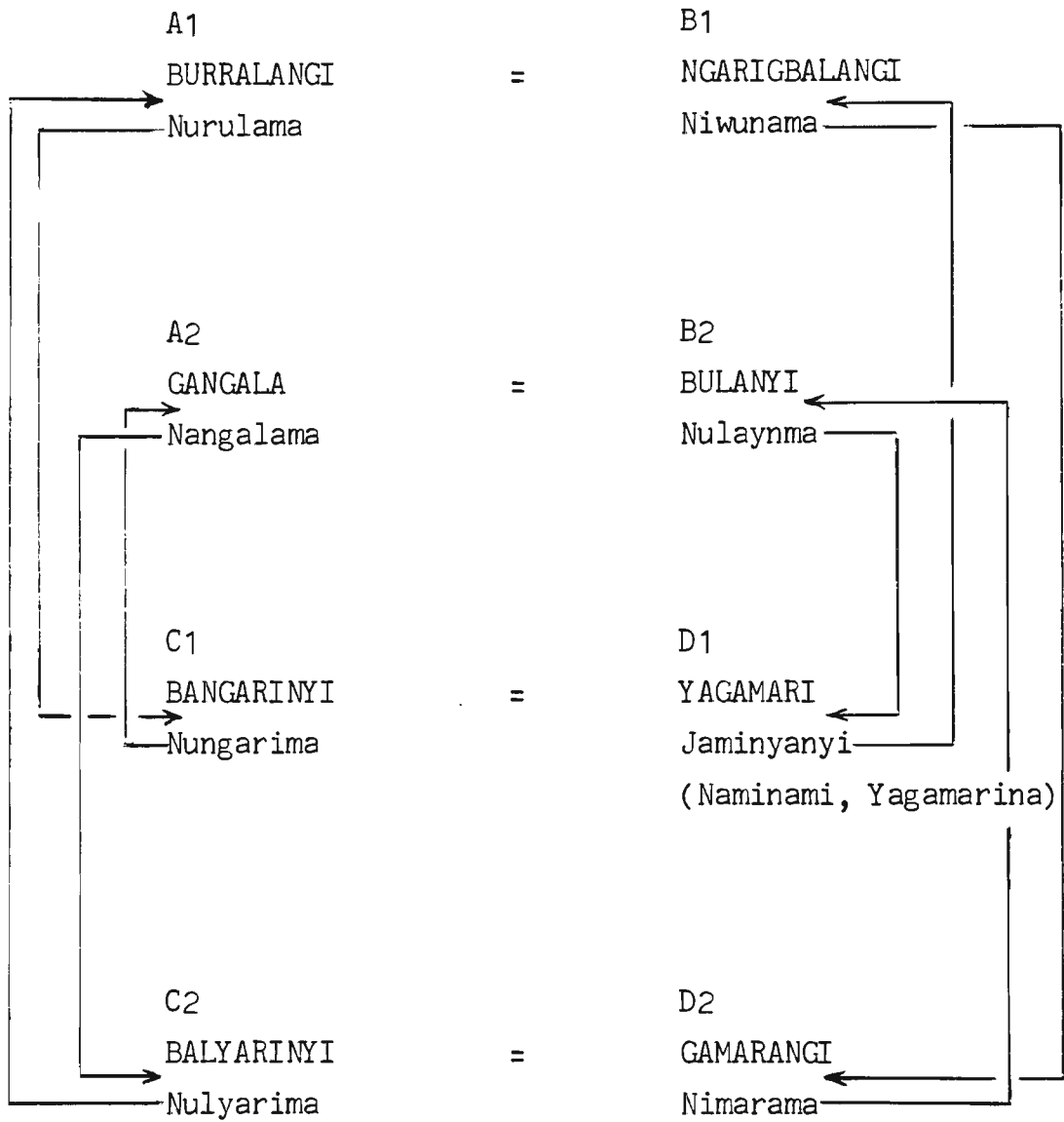
A1
BURRALANGI   =   NGARIGBALANGI
Nurulama   Niwunama

A2
GANGALA   =   BULANYI
Nangalama   Nulaynma

C1
BANGARINYI   =   YAGAMARI
Nungarima   Jaminyanyi
                                   (Naminami, Yagamarina)

C2
BALYARINYI   =   GAMARANGI
Nulyarima   Nimarama

Equal signs indicate marriage.

Arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's child belongs.

The designation of the subsections with letters follows Radcliffe-Brown (1930), Sharp (1935) and Reay (1962).

Figure 2: The subsection system of the study region.

people, country and totems. The concept is of an inner essential distinguishing feature of many kinds of things. Kirton and Timothy's (1977: 321) description of the concept of ngalki, the equivalent term in Yanyula, is "'essence' - the quality or exudate which identifies or gives distinction to its possessor"; the term refers to the sweat from a person's armpits. These authors distinguish clearly between the meaning of "skin" as ngalki or inner essence, and the meaning of "skin" as outer layer or covering which has a different term. The term ngalki is associated with people, animals, food, flowers and songs: the ngalki of an animal is its scent or odour, of food is its smell or taste, of a flower is its perfume, and a song's ngalki is its tune.

This concept is the basis for what are known in the anthropological literature on traditional Aboriginal social organisation as subsection and semimoiety systems. By these systems, the same "skin" affiliation is shared by major totems, the country in which they are located and people who are affiliated with that country in certain ways. Elsewhere (1982a: 8-13), I have reviewed the literature on these systems in the study region, to conclude that throughout the recent past at least, people throughout the region have fitted the two systems together (see a note summarising that review in Appendix B). However, as I have implied in that review, in the contemporary settlement the semimoiety terms are used mostly by older Garawa and Yanyula people whereas the subsection terms are much more widely known. Indeed, the semimoiety terms appear not to have been used historically by Ganggalida speakers, nor by those Waanyi people who moved eastwards rather than westwards following White incursions (see Chapter 6 for discussion of such movement).

The subsection system is conveniently illustrated diagramatically with reference to the regulation of marriage. Figure 2 gives the subsection names, and shows the rules stating which subsection affiliation individuals who marry should have and to which subsection their children belong. Note that the terms of male members' subsections are written in capitals and those for females in lower case. Equal signs indicate marriage, and arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's child belongs. For example a BULANYI (B2) man should marry a Nangalama (a2) woman and their male children are BALYARINYI (C2) and their female children are Nulyarima (c2).

The semimoieties are four named classes equivalent to four sets of subsection couples. Each semimoiety consists of the subsections which couple together to form "an uninterrupted line of patrilineal descent"

```
        A1                    =        B1
        WUYALIYA              =        RHUMBURRIYA

        A2                    =        B2
        WUDALIYA             =        MAMBALIYA

        C1                    =        D1
        RHUMBURRIYA          =        WUDALIYA

        C2                    =        D2
        MAMBALIYA            =        WUYALIYA
```
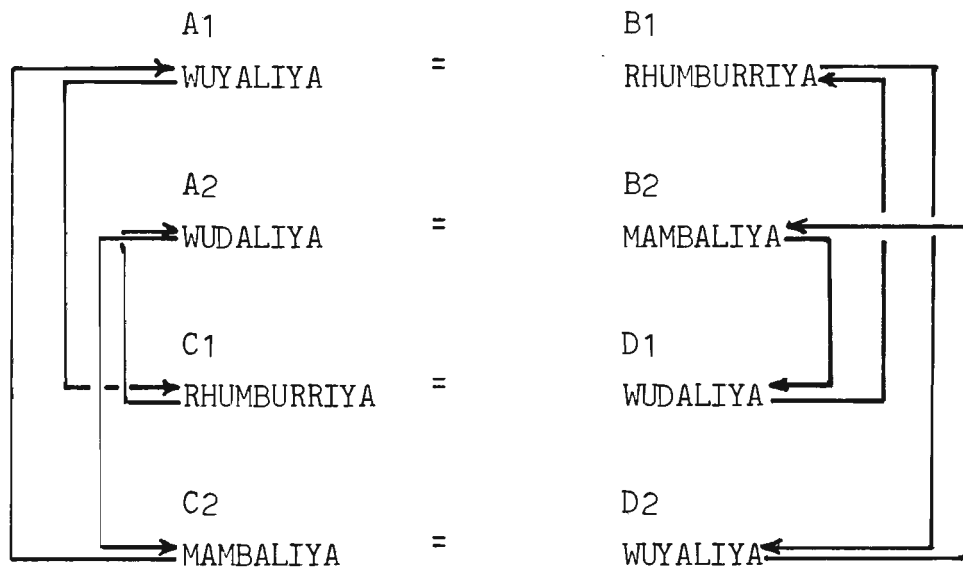
A1-D2:   WUYALIYA   BURRALANGI (Nurulama)
                             GAMARANGI (Nimarama)

A2-D1:   WUDALIYA   GANGALA (Nangalama)
                             YAGAMARI (Jaminyanyi)

B2-C2:   MAMBALIYA   BULANYI (Nulaynma)
                             BALYARINYI (Nulyarima)

B1-C1:   RHUMBURRIYA   NGARIGBALANGI (Niwunama)
                             BANGARINYI (Nungarima)

Equal signs indicate marriage.

Arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's
child belongs.

Figure 3: The semimoiety system of the study region.

(Reay 1962: 95). For example, BULANYI (B2) and BALYARINYI (C2) are two such subsections: the children of BULANYI (B2) are BALYARINYI (C2) and Nulyarima (c2), the children of BALYARINYI (C2) are BULANYI (B2) and Nulaynma (b2), and so on, in a cycle which incorporates lines of patrilineal descent. Reay's description is usefully quoted:

> To put it in a kinship idiom, the four semi-moieties are the four different lines of descent - through the father's father, the father's mother's brother, the mother's father and the mother's mother's brother. A man is in the same semi-moiety as his father, his father's father, his son and his son's son. The subsection system, on the other hand, distinguishes between alternate generations by allotting father and son to different subsections. A man is in the same subsection as his father's father and his son's son, but his father and his son are in another subsection (1962: 95-6).

The semimoiety terms are shown in Figure 3 so as to make clear their equivalence to the four subsection couples. Relationships of marriage and descent are thus shown between them, although to the extent that they are used at all at Doomadgee it is in reference to country and associated discussion of ritual life rather than to the regulation of marriage. What is most common is for the implicit semimoiety significance of an area of country to be referred to by the two subsection terms constituting the subsection couple which is equivalent to that semimoiety.

4.2.4 Sites, tracts and estates

Areas of the landscape are distinguished by sites and tracts within them sharing the same major totemic association and subsection/semimoiety affiliation. The landscape is conceptually divided into such parcels of country, in such a way that areas of the four semimoieties are distributed non-contiguously. These are the areas which are most commonly viewed as units of country to which groups of people inherit formal collective rights of attachment. They may be generally referred to as "estates", following Stanner (1965: 2), however in a small number of cases more than one estate exists within the one continuous semimoiety area.

The size of such designated estates varies according to the nature of different physical environments (and also political and demographic factors which will be discussed in Section 4.4). In coastal Ganggalida country, estates incorporate approximately ten km of coastline, and are commonly demarcated along the east-west axis by creeks and salt-arms running southwards from the beach (see Map 4). Their boundedness on the southern inland side is much less precisely defined; most extend across

the saltpan to include one or more permanent fresh waterholes (see
Map 6). Estates in sections of Garawa country focus on varying lengths
of major rivers and creeks; the most systematic data obtained concern
the Foelsche, Robinson and Calvert Rivers, and the areas between them
(including other major creeks). The lengths of watercourse appear to
vary between 10 km in coastal areas and 30 km further inland (see
Trigger 1984). Estates in Waanyi country in the semi-arid zone upper
Nicholson River area have been designated as varying sizes (see Map 7);
they also may be seen as focusing on approximate lengths of watercourse,
e.g. 20 km (Seigal Creek in estate C), 35 km (Nicholson River in estates
A and G).

While there are unnamed features of the landscape recognised as
important foci in estates (e.g. a number of important red hills in the
Waanyi area, site Ha3 on Map 7), most of such features are named. The
names vary in the kind and size of environmental features they
designate: e.g. (see Map 7 concerning the Waanyi area) some focus on a
specific waterhole (A11), spring (Hb15), swamp (which may or may not
become a dry claypan in the dry season) (E1), or hill (A24), others on
specific sections of watercourse (G4) or mountain range (F2), and others
on imprecisely defined tracts (D1) or very long lengths of watercourse
(e.g. Ganalanja, the Waanyi name for the entire Nicholson River). In
the coastal Ganggalida area, named features include (considering
estate J, Map 4, as an example): entire watercourse (J1), section of
beach (J2), saltpan areas (J3, J6), swamp/lagoon (J4, J9, J10, J11),
well (J7), place where an area of trees growing along a sandridge stops
adjacent to a watercourse (J5), and a shallow crossing place on a
watercourse (J8). When I pressed one old man for the precise
geographical limits of certain place names, he finally said with some
annoyance: "You see that Whiteman name 'Burketown', he belong to all
round; Blackfella name same way"; i.e. as with English names Aboriginal
place names may focus on certain definable features but also refer to a
wider area around them. A good example is the site "Ngalanja" (located
on Stockyard Creek in Garawa country): the most precise feature
designated by this name is a flat rock on which are the two marks said
to have been made by the feet of Emu dreaming when it stopped here
during its mythic travels. However, the rock surrounds a waterhole
known as "Ngalanja rock-hole", which is located on "Ngalanja creek", and
the general estate focusing on this totemically very important area is
thus known as "Ngalanja country".

While many names have no literal meaning,[7] the meanings that have been recorded include environmental features which are physically present at the place (and often plentiful there): e.g. Bilguramba in Ganggalida country (F6, Map 4; _bilgura_ = the species of tree growing plentifully there [_Canarium australianum_]), or Najabarra in Waanyi country (A11, Map 7; _naja_ = tea-tree bark, and many large tea-trees [_Melaleuca_ sp.] grow there). The word(s) for environmental features common to part of an estate can be used to refer to the whole estate; for example, _mumuja_ stones (a kind of smooth, round, black rock) are known to be located in the hilly areas of estate G in the upper Nicholson River Waanyi country, and the entire estate is often termed "Mumuja country" (Map 7). Finally, many place names literally translate as the name of the dreaming at the place, e.g. Bijarrbanda (C6, Map 4) in Ganggalida country (_bijarrba_ = dugong) has "Dugong dreaming"; similarly site A7 on Map 7 in Waanyi country, Dirindiri (_dirindiri_ = water beetle), has "Water Beetle dreaming", etc.

4.3 The Ideal Model of Traditional Affiliation to Country

Having examined fairly briefly the nature of Aboriginal conceptions of the landscape itself, the principles by which people are affiliated to country may be discussed, firstly by focusing on links to specific estates through the four recognised lines of descent from four grandparents. However, each of these lines of descent ideally[8] ties Ego to each of the four semimoieties, and the following discussion also notes how individuals are thereby linked more generally to many non-contiguous estates on the basis of these areas' broad totemic and semimoiety significance. Then to be discussed are relationships to specific sites through place of spiritual "conception", and through places of the deaths of close relatives. There is a brief comment on links to large regions through their environmental features and a final reference to a relationship posited between estates on the basis of their location along a broad east-west axis. Appendix C presents further data in reviewing the discussion of this traditional land tenure system in the literature.

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[7]However, while this may be initially stated to be the case an unelicited meaning may then at later times be recorded; note Von Sturmer's point (1978: 253) for the western Cape York Peninsula region that people tend not to give the literal meaning of place names in the course of elicited conversation.

[8]That is, providing people marry correctly according to the systems described in Figures 2 and 3.

4.3.1 Affiliation to specific estates through descent, and associated more general links to areas on the basis of totemic and subsection/semimoiety significance

. Relationship to father's (and FF's[9]) country

People have a primary tie to the country and totems of their patrilineage. This is the country referred to most commonly as "my home", and also as "my father's home" or "my ganggu[10] [FF] home". There is a sense in which individuals are seen to belong to the same class of entities in the universe as do the totems in their patrilineage estate; indeed, older people at times note features of their own and others' physical appearance as a manifestation of these totems.[11] Some people have referred to the totems in their patrilineage estate as "me and my dad". Ego's patrilineage is mungguji for this country, i.e. the members jointly have a formally very close tie to it - they belong to it, and it is theirs, over and above other kinds of links that other people may have with it. Children should be given a personal name that is drawn from those belonging to their patrilineage, and these are commonly the name of a totem and/or place within the child's patrilineage estate. It is considered important that these names do not "get lost".

In certain major cult rituals, people are said ideally to have primary rights and duties as performers of dances and singers of song cycles based on these totems; they should also wear the totemic designs derived from their patrilineage estate in such settings. They are recognised as occupying a named social position (or role), known as ngimaringgi (or mingaringgi) in Garawa, in relation to such dances, songs and totems which belong in their patrilineage estate. This role is commonly translated in ethnographic literature for the Gulf region as "owner" (cf. Avery and McLaughlin 1977; Trigger 1982a; Maddock 1983;

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[9]As noted on p. xvi above, the following symbols among others are used below to designate categories of kin: FF - father's father; FM - father's mother; MM - mother's mother; MF - mother's father.

[10]Ganggalida terms concerning land tenure are also presented in Table 6 below. However, the account in this chapter generally emphasises the Garawa/Waanyi perspective on the ideal system of affiliation between people and country.

[11]This comment is made with greatest certainty by informants about many "old people" who are now deceased; e.g. the men of the owning patrilineage of estate I (Map 4) in coastal Ganggalida country are said to have resembled the major dreaming there, Shark, in that they did not have noticeable "whiskers" (or facial hair) and their skin was greyish.

F. and H. Morphy 1984; Bern and Layton 1984). Indeed, all individuals of the same semimoiety are said to occupy this social position for a certain set of major totems and the ritual sequences based on them. Names for children may be drawn from the repertoire of place (and other) names associated with estates of the child's semimoiety, i.e. not necessarily from his or her own patrilineage estate. However, patrilineage members appear ideally to occupy a primary position of rights over and responsibility for certain totems which may be within their own father's estate but not specifically tied to sites in the estates of other patrilineages of the same semimoiety (see Appendix C for further discussion).

. Relationship to mother's father's country

People have a close tie of another kind to the estate and totems of their mother's patrilineage. They refer to this country by use of the kin terms for mother, mother's brother and mother's father, i.e. "my ngada/gardidi/mimi country". They use the further terms buwaraji to refer specifically to the totems there and buwarajba to refer generally to the country. By extension these terms are also used to refer to all totems and country affiliated with a person's mother's semimoiety. People's relationship to their MF's estate and totems complements their relationship to their father's (and FF's) estate and totems. They occupy the named social position known as junggayi for the former, or "manager" as interpreted in the anthropological literature (cf. Avery and McLaughlin 1977; Trigger 1982a; Maddock 1983; F. and H. Morphy 1984; Bern and Layton 1984). People are in fact potentially junggayi for all totems and country (and ritual based on them) associated with their mother's semimoiety, although they are normally primary junggayi for their actual MF's country and totems.

The important responsibilities held by junggayi for their buwaraji are made clear. In some cases, without junggayi the relationship of people to their patrilineage estate has appeared incomplete - indeed unworkable. For example in estate A on Map 7, the two senior women of the owning patrilineage cannot go close to the water at the Najabarra (A11) waterhole; only their sons who are junggayi can draw water there. The two women have a song which can make the water (and the Bujimala [Rainbow Snake] Dreaming there) more approachable, but it is ineffective without the presence and ritual assistance of the senior junggayi for the estate. Indeed, people cannot visit some places in their patrilineage estate without the assistance of junggayi. These are
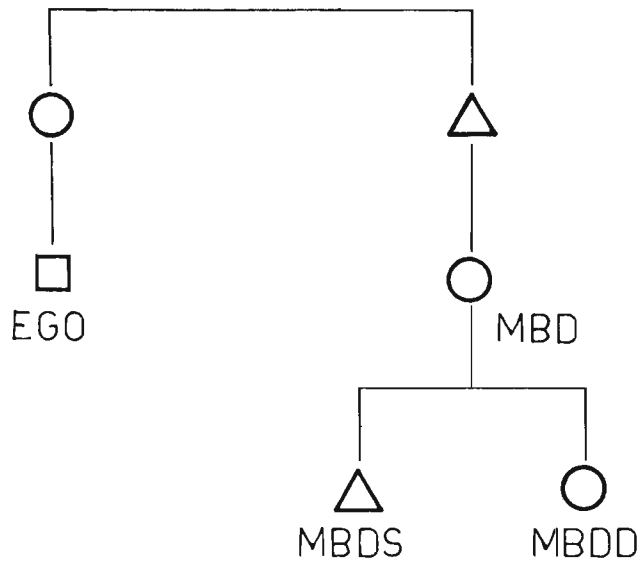
Ego ----> MBD: mother (terms of reference: cousin mother
[English], bujara [Gw/Wyi] and ngayandadu
[Gd] - both also being terms of reference
for mother's younger sister; terms of address:
mum [English], ngada [Gw/Wyi] and ngama
[Gd]

<---- : child

Ego ----> MBDS, MBDD: brother, sister

<---- : brother, sister.

Figure 4: MBD kinship skewing rule.

typically the most potent sites in totemic terms and/or localities at which hollow log coffins (laala) are (or were once) stored.

The role of junggayi has been explained in the following terms: "just like a J.P. [Justice of the Peace]", "for security", "if I go to bank I gotta take policeman to help me sign": people are thus attempting to illustrate the importance and indeed essential nature of the office. In ceremonial life junggayi are said to have to prepare the setting, assist people in painting and decorating their bodies, and generally ensure that things go as they should. Junggayi should wear the major totemic design(s) (barruwa - Gw; mangunyi - Wyi) of their MF's country when performing as dancers in male initiation ceremonies. The closeness and intimacy of a person's spiritual relationship to his MF's estate (and totems) is indicated by the phrase people often use for it: "my [mother's breast] milk", e.g. "my milk, that Bujimala barruwa [Rainbow Snake design]".

All junggayi for their actual MF's estate stand to each other as siblings in ideal kin terms. This is due to a skewing rule of the kinship system whereby Ego classifies his or her mother's brother's daughter (MBD) as "mother" and is reciprocally classified as "child". Ego thus stands as "sibling" to the children of his MBD (see Figure 4). The term nin.gara is used to refer to this classification of the MBD as a kind of mother. Ego is said to "sit down nin.gara" with his or her MBD and her children.

The full implications of this kinship rule will not be examined here.[12] Through it, all people affiliated to the estate through their MF, regardless of their generation level with respect to one another, are ideally siblings. This is because all female children of males of Ego's MB's patriline (MBD, MBSD, MBSSD, etc.) are structurally

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[12]Sharp (1935: 160-1) identifies it, but has incorrectly extrapolated certain other consequences of the rule in deriving two of his alternate marriage rules. In fact, the consequences of the rule are to formally disallow marriage with an actual MMBDD and MFZDD (see Appendix C). Reay (1962: 101) found no evidence of it in her work at Borroloola. Scheffler (1978: 396, 416) deals with a similar "Omaha-type skewing rule" in his review of Aboriginal kinship systems. Terwiel-Powell (1975: 74-80) discusses similar "Omaha" features in various Cape York Peninsula kinship systems and refers to Fry (1960: 17), who discusses Sharp's identification of this rule in the study region. Fry notes that "the term mother may be applied to three successive generations of women in the mother's brother's clan." Heath (1982: 6) also mentions this skewing in Aranda type systems, which is the type in the study region.

all _junggayi_: the estate is their mother's
father's country; all classify each other
as siblings
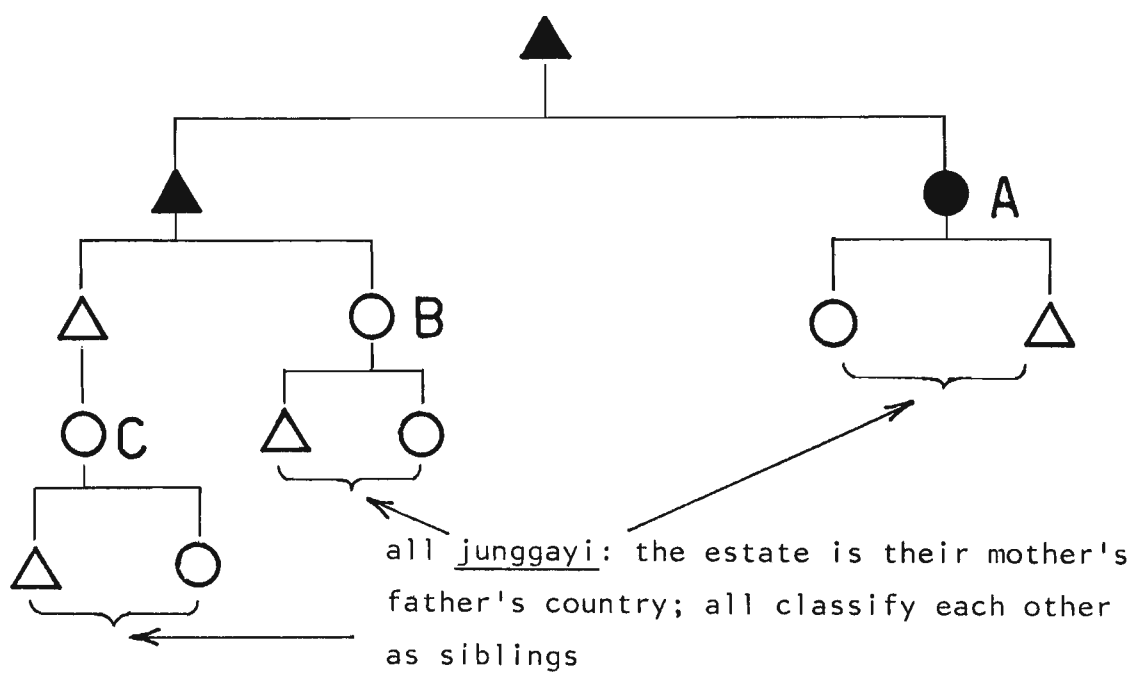
FIGURE 5. CASE ILLUSTRATION OF MBD KINSHIP
            SKEWING RULE

equivalent to his MBD, are classified as "mother" and hence their children are classified as "sibling". For example, in Figure 5 showing some of the people affiliated to estate A, Map 7, the children of the women A, B and C all structurally occupy the role of junggayi, and all ideally classify each other as brother and sister. This is because the children of A call both B (their MBD) and C (their MBSD) "cousin mother".

. Relationship to father's mother's (and FMB's) country

People refer to this estate by use of the kin terms for FM and FM's brother, i.e. "my ngawuji/ngabuji country" (indeed, these kin terms are applied to all females and males respectively, of Ego's FM's patriline). People use the further term ngajuliji to refer to the totems there and ngabujimba (or ngawujimba) to refer generally in discourse to the country. Ego's father is known as the "main junggayi" for Ego's "ngabuji country" (and totems and in ceremony the ritual based on them), and normally Ego "doesn't have a big say" and is "junggayi half-way". However, in some cases there are no primary junggayi for an estate or none who is sufficiently old (or knowledgeable) to take primary responsibility for the proper management of the more esoteric totemic dimensions of some of the estate's sites. In this case, an appropriately senior and/or knowledgeable individual can "take over" such primary responsibility for their FM's estate. In the case of an estate in Waanyi country in the upper Nicholson River area, one such man expressed the situation as: "I'm taking over from my father - he was junggayi, now I'm junggayi."

. Relationship to mother's mother's (and MMB's) country

People refer to this country by use of the kin term for MM, i.e. "my gugudi [grannie] country"; the term for MMB, ganggu, is not usually used in this context, possibly because of its normal use for FF's estate. Ego uses the further term guguliji to refer to the totems of his MM's country and gugumba to refer generally in discourse to the country itself. By extension these terms are also used for all totems and country affiliated to Ego's MM's semimoiety. Ego is said to have secondary ("half-way") spiritual responsibilities for his MM's totems and estate; he is said to give the "full ngimaringgi" a "hand for dance", i.e. assist the ngimaringgi as secondary supportive performers in ritual contexts.

It should be generally noted that (according to the ideal system) Ego's semimoiety and that of his MM constitute one (unnamed)

patrimoiety, while those of his MF and FM constitute the other. This relationship is formally recognised; Ego and the totems and estates of his semimoiety are said to "sit down _murigara_" ("_ganggu_ [FF/MMB] together") with the people, totems and country of his MM's semimoiety. Two further terms are used in this way: Ego and the totems and estates of his semimoiety "sit down _marruwarra_" ("_mimi_ [MF/cross-cousin] together") and "sit down _manjigara_" ("_ngabuji_ [FMB] together") with the totems and estates of both semimoieties of the opposite patrimoiety. A BULANYI man, for example, will "sit down _marruwarra_" in relation to WUYALIYA semimoiety, but his son who is of course within the same semimoiety as he, will "sit down _marruwarra_" in relation to WUDALIYA semimoiety. These latter two terms are thus used primarily to describe the relationship of individuals to specific estates and their totems, whereas the term _murigara_ more generally describes the unity of the two semimoieties of each patrimoiety, often when referring to their ideal complementary roles in ceremonial life.

Table 6 summarises the data given above (which gives Garawa and Waanyi terminology), and also presents the corresponding terminology for Ganggalida.

4.3.2 Affiliation to specific sites through place of spiritual conception

An important association is believed to exist between a person and the place he was spiritually "conceived". The place is usually described in English as the place the individual was "found" (or "made") by his parents, and as where the "baby spirit" entered the mother, indicating the belief that he or she had a pre-existing, pre-natal spiritual presence at the place. The individual has an intimate relationship with totemic properties of his "conception" place. Sometimes parents (and others) will point out physical likenesses between their child and a totemic feature of the place, e.g.: a person born at or near a place which is "Brolga dreaming" (E1, Map 4) is said to "have that same round head" like a brolga. The totemic feature at the "conception" place is referred to by the individual as "my dreaming", i.e. as a personal totem, and the phrase "my country" (commonly emphasising the word "my") is used to refer to the place.

Spiritual conception usually occurs in conjunction with an unusual "sign" revealing itself to one or both of the parents, commonly the father with the mother later confirming the sign as linked to the spiritual conception:

TABLE 6

TERMINOLOGY FOR PERSONS' RELATIONSHIPS TO KEY KIN, TOTEMS AND ESTATES

Language	Line of descent	Kin term	Term for totemic affiliation	Typical statement of relationship to "country" - vernacular phrase - creole phrase	Position Ego occupies in relation to these totems and "country"	Other descriptive terms for Ego's relationship to these totems and estates
Garawa/Waanyi	F (FB+) (FB-) FF	wulugu/ wuluginya barnangi ngawuli ganggu	mungguji	yaji/gala country, mungguji totemic relationship of close personal identity i.e. "my home country" or "my father [or ganggu] country" or ngayu jibiya ... I/belong/to ...; ngagi mine	ngimaringgi/mingaringgi (i.e. primary "owner" of the totems, country and ceremony based on them)	[Ego's position within the corporate patrilineage does not give rise to any further term; for the relationship of patri-lineage members to this country and its totems is one of close identity (and alignment)]
Ganggalida	F FF	gandadu ganggaliju	dulmara	nijinda durlga my country or nijinda dulmara my patrilineage estate or "my ganggaliju country", etc.		
Garawa/Waanyi	M MB MF	ngardanya gardidi mimi	buwaraji	yaji/gala buwaraba country totemic aff through M or "my mimi country", "my mother country", etc.; ngagi my	junggayi (i.e. primary "manager" of the totems, country, and ceremony based on them)	"sit down marruwarra" (or "mimi [MF/cross-cousin] together")
Ganggalida	M MB MF	ngamathu gaguda jamba	mangayi	mangayimara totemic aff through M or "my jamba country", "my mother country", etc.; dulga country, nijinda mine		
Garawa/Waanyi	FM FMB	ngawuji ngabuji	ngajuliji	yaji/gala country totemic aff through FM or "my ngabuji country", "my ngawuji country"; ngabujimba country, ngagi mine	Ego's father is the "main junggayi"; Ego normally has a secondary ("half-way") managership role, but can "take over" primary role in some circumstances	"sit down manjigara" (or "ngabuji [FMB] together")
Ganggalida	FM FMB	babi babiju	babimara	babimarinda totemic aff through FM or "my babiju country"; dulga country, nijinda mine		
Garawa/Waanyi	MM MMB	gugudi ganggu	guguliji	yaji/gala country totemic aff through MM or "my gugudi/grannie country"; gugumba country, ngagi mine	Ego has a secondary ("half-way") ownership role and is required to "give ngimaringgi hand for dance", i.e. assist as a secondary supportive performer in ritual	"sit down murigara" (or "ganggu [in this context MMB] together")
Ganggalida	MM MMB	ngariju ngariju	gudariyanda	gudariyanda totemic aff through MM; dulga country, nijinda mine		

> [man speaking] ... I was fishin' down here [by the Albert
> River] and big whirlywind come straight across and pull up
> here end of waterhole ... and that's a sign ... his mother
> said [after being told of the event]: 'Oh well, this is
> [X's] country' ... and then they all give [X] this country
> then ... this lagoon ... they just said: 'Oh well this is
> little boy country here' (T10).

The totem at the place of spiritual "conception" may be the focus of the sign to one or both of the parents. A man described how he was spiritually "conceived" and born at a "Goanna dreaming" place: his father saw a fat goanna and thought, "Will I spear that goanna?"; he speared it in the chest and that is the mark on the man's chest that he was born with. His "conception" totem is goanna. In other cases, the sign itself becomes a personal totem of the individual even though it may not be a specifically localised totem at the place it was encountered; a man gives the following description of his daughter's acquisition of goanna totem:

> I was goin' 'long river - Leichhardt River, Lorraine
> Station - I put line round goanna's neck, tie up la
> tea-tree, was going to kill 'im; he jumped in the water and
> twisted his neck and mouth and broke the line - I nearly
> lost that big girl with the whooping-cough [i.e. after her
> birth during her early life], ... that come against her
> that - chok 'im that goanna, that sign belong to her - I
> sent wife back in 'plane ...[X was later] born la Doomadgee
> (T13).

Such signs always represent unusual occurrences; often there is a sense of some mystery about them.

Personal names at times derive from conception totems. In the absence of confirmation from living old people, individuals normally assume that when the personal names of their deceased parents and grandparents are also the names of sites, the sites are the conception places of their deceased relatives. While people do refer to conception totems as "dreamings", the terms given above (ijan, bungurdu, guwari) are not normally used. Rather (in GW/Wyi), the term galaluji (or galalaluji) is used in reference to the process of "spiritual conception" and galawirri for the "baby spirit" itself; both terms are clearly based on the term gala, meaning "river" or "country". The Ganggalida term is bulubuluwa.

Conception filiation to a site does not necessarily mean incorporation into the patrilineage owning the estate the site is within; however, people may be described as having a "countryman" relationship to the members of that patrilineage. People say they are

"one water" with others who share their conception site.[13] There appear
to be times when such people suspend normal kin relations and classify
each other as sibling on the basis of this joint tie. In the ideal
system, the conception site should be within the baby's FF's or MM's
estates, i.e. within the estates of the baby's patrimoiety. Thus while
conception filiation to a site does not mean personal affiliation to the
subsection couple/semimoiety category of the place, the ideal system is
clearly oriented towards consistency between the individual's
conception totem (and its "skin") and the totems (and "skins") of his
patrimoiety.

4.3.3 Affiliation to specific sites through place of death of close
       relatives

A further point is that a deceased individual, and to an extent
his close relatives (particularly his children who live longer than
him), are associated with the place of his death. This is so regardless
of where the death occurred. He or she is often referred to in normal
conversation by use of the name of the place of death followed by a
suffix meaning "belonging there": -manyi in the case of males and -mara
in the case of females. This is not the only context for use of these
suffixes, but it is a major one. (This is apart from the fact that a
special term, mudinyi, is applied to recently deceased individuals.)
For example, men who have died at Dumaji (D4, Map 4) are referred to as
Dumajimanyi. In earlier times, such a place was also the site near
which the initial stage of disposal of the body was carried out - i.e.
the placing of it in a tree-fork or on a platform (bulabula). While the
spirit is clearly believed to leave the body at the time of death (the
corpse is referred to in English as "body", rather than as "man",
"woman", "fella", etc.), it is not believed that it remains at the place
of death (see further discussion in Chapter 9). While association with
place of death would not necessarily be association to a place within
any particular estate, some evidence indicates the ideal as the person
returning to his patrilineage country to die. It is also the case that
a sign of the impending death of a child (or other close relative) may
appear to the parent (again often the father), similarly to the sign
indicating spiritual "conception".

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[13]Avery and McLaughlin (1977: 34) describe the same phrasing for
belief systems on the western periphery of the study area.

4.3.4 Affiliation to broad types of environments and relationships between areas of country according to locations on an east-west axis

People are also known broadly as "saltwater people", "running water people", "blanta river country", etc. according to the location of estates and sites they are affiliated with in terms of the principles described above, and also according to their actual historical association with areas in such environmental settings. Finally, an ideal distinction designates all country to the east as in the "lead" of country to the west. Thus, through their respective affiliation to certain country, two (or more) individuals may be said to be "la lead" or "behind" with respect to each other. One consequence is that those who are "la lead" in this way assume the senior position in their classificatory kin relationships with those from "behind", that is with those affiliated with country to the west of their own. For example, men of the BANGARINYI subsection whose patrilineage country is estates H and I (Map 4) in coastal Ganggalida country, ideally stand as older brother to BANGARINYI men regarded as being on the same generation level, whose patrilineage estate is to the west (e.g. Manan.gura country at the mouth of the Wearyan River, in coastal Yanyula country). The former's seniority in formal kin terms is independent of the relative ages of the people involved.

4.4 Affiliation to Country in Settlement Sociopolitical Processes

Having presented an overview of the ideal conceptions of persons' affiliations to areas of country throughout the study region, I turn now to consider the way such affiliation actually operates politically in settlement social life.

4.4.1 Affiliation to country, social identity and group formation

As with persons' affiliations to broad linguistic territories, affiliation to country on a finer scale is a significant feature of their social identities. The ideal system of such affiliation as described in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 involves a variety of ways people may be linked with many areas. Moreover, people state the similarities of their identities according to such jointly held ties to country, e.g.: "We two got one grannie country [MM's estate]"; "Me and her come from that same water [i.e. have the same conception site]"; etc. However, the majority of such assertions amount to situationally determined alliances between individuals on the basis of one aspect of their personal identities. If we ignore for the moment the issue of wider

semimoiety groups, the question is whether any other larger groups based on the joint ties to country of individual members, are conceived as discrete in the contemporary settlement. For example, the ideal of how the traditional system of land tenure should operate, as described in the previous sections, might be expected to lead to discrete patrilineages (or groups of "owners" for specific estates) and even possible similarly discrete groups of "managers".

The first point to make is that because of their extensive repertoire of ties to country as described above, individuals are never solely grouped with one particular set of others on the basis of jointly held ties to country. People are able to manage the historical and genealogical aspects of their publicly known biographies, in order to claim a considerable array of ties to different areas of country and collections of people, depending on their aims in different social contexts. Nevertheless, they are constrained by that aspect of the ideal system which designates their ties to the estates of their own patrilineage and that of their mother in particular, as primary among other ties to the landscape. Yet rather than discrete sets of "owners" and "managers", what emerges are different groups variously containing both these categories of people. These groups amount to cognatic lineages containing members who can trace ties to a specific estate through either their FF or MF, although they have a patrilineal core in that ties through women are not routinely asserted as the basis of a tie to country beyond the women's children (or sometimes grandchildren).

People are thus commonly members of two such cognatic lineages within the village population. However, individuals often identify much more with either the estate of their FF or MF, according to the same historical factors as those described in Chapter 3 as affecting persons' choice of primary affiliation with father's or mother's linguistic territory. Finally, it is the joint tie to a particular estate which is the conceptual referent for the degree of corporateness attributed to such cognatic lineages.

Aspects of two such groups are illustrated in the following examples. The main work in documenting the groups' constitution was done in the context of a formal land claim being lodged by these and other such groups under the Aboriginal Land Rights (N.T.) Act. It could be argued that the politicking within the groups which is described below was particularly intense because of the perceived material benefits that would accrue to those officially accepted as "traditional

(see these women [and their descendants] numbered 3, 4 & 5 on Fig. 7)
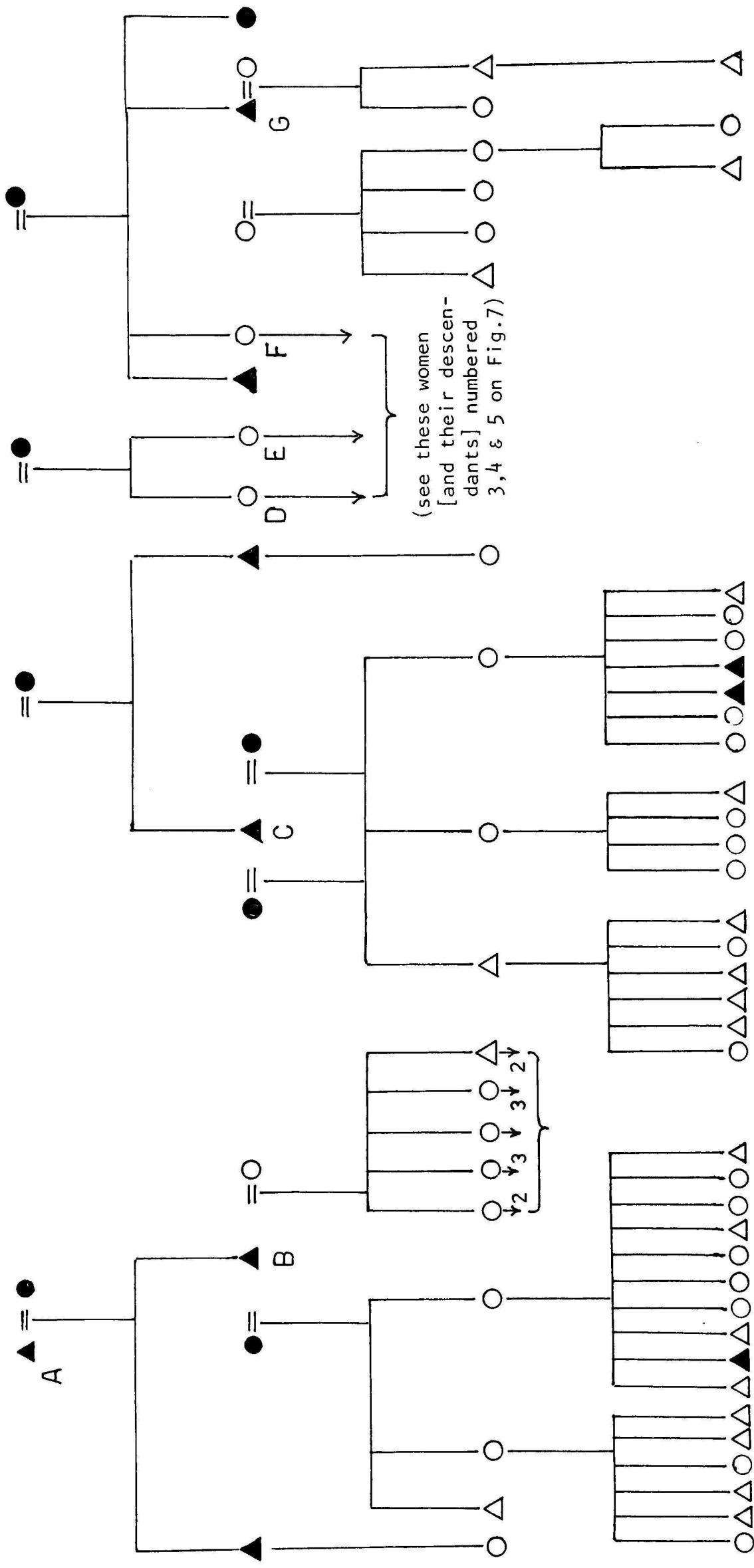
FIGURE 6. COGNATIC GROUP AFFILIATED TO ESTATE C ON MAP 7

owners" under Australian law. However, the possibility of obtaining such recognition and resources has been a "live" issue for most such groups at the settlement during the last ten years or so. Furthermore, I have recorded similar data as that presented below for most such country-affiliated groups.

The following two groups were claimants for the adjacent estates marked on Map 7 as A and C. Firstly, Figure 6 presents the group asserting "ownership" ties to estate C. The group consists of a patrilineage plus the children of the women of the patrilineage, i.e. the estate is either father's and (FF's) or MF's country for all members. All descent links are ultimately traced to the senior man A, who had four wives. While it is agreed by most people that these individuals are "all one mob" in that all can "sit down" at estate C, considerable disagreement over certain genealogical and historical details remains. Moreover, factions within the group actively dispute these details with each other, particularly as they can be brought to bear on the issue of which faction should control any valued goods and services provided to the "traditional owners" by governmental and other bureaucracy. In this process, the factions seek and variously receive support from different old knowledgeable people. The following aspects of this group have been foci for such disputes.

1. The descendants of B and C (two of A's sons) dispute each other's rights to the estate. Those who emphasise the stronger rights of C's group point out that while C's conception site is the focal site within the estate, B's conception site is in another Garawa estate of the same semimoiety. In response, B's group and their supporters either deny this fact or discount its significance in determining the rights of B and his descendants to the estate in question. Another charge against B's group is the suggestion that B's children should rather assert their ties to their two mothers' patrilineage estates in Ganggalida country. An extremely contentious matter has been the allegation that B's living wife has attempted to interfere in (if not control) the affairs concerning her deceased husband's (and his children's) patrilineage estate. Though rarely stated, a point held against B's living wife by her adversaries is that she originally adulterously eloped with B after she had been married to another man.

    The case against C's group includes the allegations that: C is not the genitor of his socially recognised son who he nonetheless "grew up"; and that both C's marriages were "wrong" in terms of the subsection system, thus his children do not unambiguously have the same "skin" as their father's estate. While B's second marriage was also wrong, his first

was "straight" and therefore the children from this marriage are regarded as having the "full" skin affiliation of their father's estate.

None of these matters is sufficient to dislodge either group's rights to the estate. Yet while B's and C's sons appear much less committed to the dispute than the women involved, it has continued to cause a series of arguments and fights. While many people suggested that B's living wife was the real cause of the matter, in fact the dispute continued just as strongly after she left the settlement for a lengthy period. Before leaving, she apparently smashed the windscreen of the vehicle which had been acquired for the entire estate-owning group via government funds. It was in relation to use and control of this vehicle that arguments and fights stemming from the dispute would commonly erupt.

2.   The children of the women, D, E and F all virtually ignore their ties to this estate, in favour of their ties to their patrilineage estate (which is the adjacent one marked "A" on Map 7, and is the one dealt with below). Apart from their statements about the greater importance of "father's country", they make it clear that they have been historically associated much more with their father's than their MF's estate.

3.   All but two of G's descendants have lived most of their lives outside of the study region. Thus this group remained fairly neutral in the dispute between B's and C's group. However, it can be noted that G's daughter's father-in-law idiosyncratically maintains that both B and C have their patrilineage country at the other Garawa estate (of the same semimoiety) that was mentioned above when noting the allegations about B's real conception site. By this view then, it is only G's descendants, those of D, E and F (and those of another man not shown on the genealogy but who will be discussed further below) who can legitimately claim rights to the estate.

Secondly, Figure 7 shows a similarly structured cognatic lineage asserting primary rights to estate A (on Map 7). The following are the relevant details.

1.   It is only the descendants of A (who had five wives) who actively assert their rights to the estate. The few marked living descendants of B's parallel cousins (marked at the top of the chart) are considered to lack historical contact with the estate, and most assert more primary ties to other estates. Indeed, while their inclusion within the group represents the knowledge of their particular kin links with group members, it is only remotely based on their perceived link to the estate itself. Their kin link is through the senior man B who is said to have lived in the vicinity of the estate on the Nicholson River. However, it can be noted that his grandchildren (the contemporary oldest generation among his descendants) frame the continuity of ownership and residence in this vicinity much more in terms of their parents' generation; and here it can be noted that wives 3,
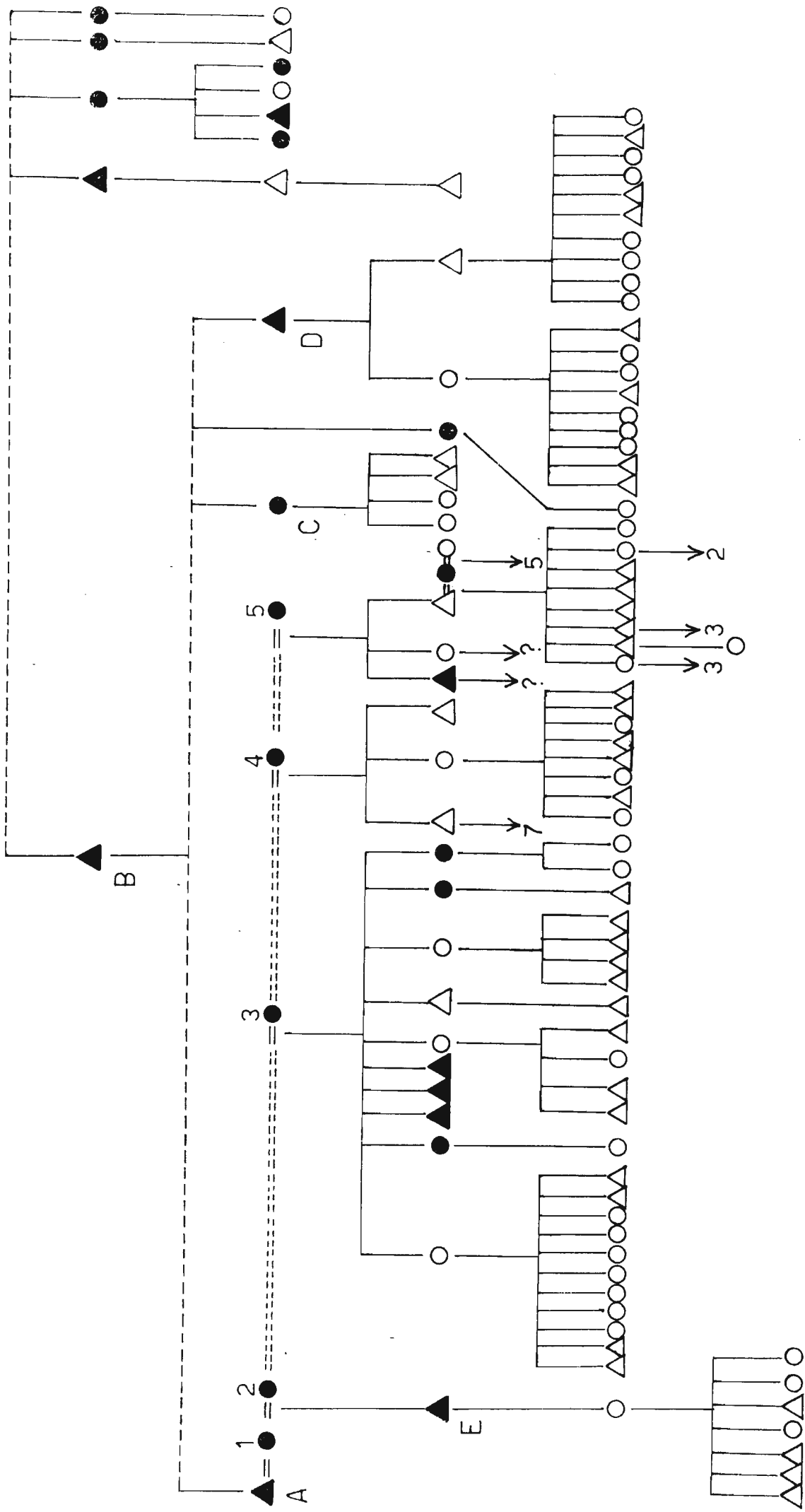
FIGURE 7. COGNATIC GROUP AFFILIATED TO ESTATE A ON MAP 7.

4 and 5 of A were born in their husband's (and thus his children's) patrilineage estate, and lived there for some time until forced by Whites to move east to Turn Off Lagoon (see Chapter 6, p. 145) - their names are those of their conception sites within this estate. A, and these three of his wives are thus the focus for perceived historical habitation of the estate. The more general point is that while the ideal system of territory-affiliation across the study region makes continual reference to the grandparental generation (see Table 6 above), it is not uncommon for there to be little knowledge of the actual lives of grandparents, and for the assertion of actual (as different from potential) ties to estates to be rather framed in terms of the parental generation's occupation of their country.

2. C also has close historical association with the estate (her name is taken from her conception site there). As a very old lady who died only recently, she was unquestionably the senior living "owner", despite being too physically and mentally unstable to take an active part in the group's assertion of its land claim. However, neither have her children taken an active role here. Three of them are of mixed racial descent (and one of these lives permanently away from the settlement, at Burketown), and this factor may be relevant in their lack of participation in the land claim (though this touches on a complex issue - see Chapter 7, Section 7.6). Their lack of knowledge of the country has been emphasised by others in the group when showing a distinct lack of enthusiasm about their inclusion, however many others who have been always included without hesitation similarly lack such knowledge. Possibly a factor more important than mixed-descent is the simple fact of these people consisting of a numerically small nuclear family as compared with the much larger families who are descendants of A and B.

3. The two senior descendants of D are known by all to be authoritative about Aboriginal "law" matters generally, and to be personally aligned with the major totemic features of their father's estate. The woman (like the senior female descendant of A) has certain body features and birthmarks which are stated to be due to her close personal relationship to (and indeed, her manifestation of) the major dreaming at the estate.[14] D's two senior descendants actively participated in the wider group's land claim over the estate, and were accompanied in this endeavour by several of their children. However, it is commonly known that these two old people identify more with their MF's, than with their father's estate. This is due to historical factors: their father (D), with his brother A, came east in Wild Time (see Chapter 6), but while A went to Turn Off Lagoon (i.e. stayed in close proximity of his father's country) and his children lived parts of their lives there, D went northeast to Ganggalida country. D married a coastal

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[14]See Trigger (1982a) for substantive examples of such cases.

Ganggalida woman and their children thus were born and grew up in Ganggalida country - the vicinity of their mother's patrilineage estate. While D's children thus acknowledge their ties to their father's estate, they remain much more committed to courses of action directed towards their MF's country. D's daughter is quite emphatic in stating her preference for her "mother country": she states her distaste for the environmental features of her father's estate ("that mountain country"), and her preference for those of her MF's estate ("flat country la saltwater where you not boxed up"); furthermore, she consistently gave to me variants of her mother's name as her own, and only unenthusiastically acknowledges that her more formally owned name is one drawn from a Garawa estate of the same semimoiety as her father's estate. Indeed, she has referred to this latter name as a "rubbish name".

4. A further relevant point is that the daughter of E also identifies much more strongly with her MF's estate in Ganggalida country, than with her father's estate, and as she married a Ganggalida man her children trace their primary ties to Ganggalida estates through their father and MM and show little interest in their own MF's (i.e. E's father's) estate.

5. Finally, the two oldest living children of A are recognised by all as being the most authoritative persons in relation to the estate. The group is commonly known by the names of these two women followed by the term "mob", although the name of the oldest woman predominates. The respective children of these two women dispute who among them should be prominent in such matters as dealings with White officials, and control over any goods and services given to the wider group as a whole. While the children of the oldest woman argue that they are structurally senior junggayi, and that the two men among them should be prominent within the group as a whole, the fact remains that two of the children of the younger woman command greater prominence because of their own seniority in age and their vastly greater knowledge of "Blackfella law". A final point which perhaps illustrates the pervasiveness of this kind of politicking is that these latter two men themselves argue over who should be predominant in the wider group's affairs and handling of goods, and the older of the two regularly suggests that he will take his own "mob" (i.e. his own wife, children, grandchildren, etc.) and establish a separate outstation (away from the existing one) elsewhere in the estate.

These examples of the groups affiliated with two estates provide a very small proportion of the data that I have recorded concerning the contemporary constitution of country-affiliated groups in village social life. While the details differ between groups, the implication of such data is generally the same: there is no strong impetus towards maintaining broad solidarity throughout country-affiliated groups. Indeed, if anything, social relations rather operate according to a

principle of emphasising the discreteness of interests in and ties to country among individuals. Thus, while the wider "mob" asserting ties to an estate is typically conceived as a broad cognatic lineage, the political strategies of singular parent-children factions within such groups are normally evident in actual social behaviour. And predominant among such strategic behaviour are disputes which focus on control of material goods and services provided by wider bureaucracy for the use of the whole country-affiliated group.

These ongoing disputes disallow any but the loosest behavioural unity across such country-affiliated cognatic groups. While they may be conceived as "one mob" in relation to their joint tie to the estate, their ability to effect collective behaviour is severely limited by the divisive nature of their internal politicking.[15]

4.4.2 Subsection/semimoiety affiliation, ties to country and group formation

As discussed in Section 4.2.3, each person ideally inherits subsection/semimoiety affiliation, and in Section 4.3.2, persons' ties to the estates of their four grandparents are extended to embrace all estates of the same semimoiety of each grandparent. People thus potentially have the categories of rights described in Table 6 above, over all estates of the four semimoieties. As noted in Appendix C, this builds considerable further flexibility into the process of people asserting ties and rights to land, particularly in cases of succession.

It is practicable to present here only one example of such assertion of flexible rights to country. In the case of estate C dealt with in the first example above, a man not shown on Figure 6 argued at times during the preparation of the land claim that he could be regarded as a claimant because the estate stood to him as father's (and FF's) country. On one occasion, his claims were recorded and they are

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[15]While I am not reviewing in this chapter the various recent studies of Aboriginal land tenure which are relevant to the points made throughout this discussion, a recent comment by Hiatt (1984: 20-1) about two tendencies which orthodox views on this subject have ignored is apposite:

> One concerns the incorporation of non-agnates; the other concerns competition between agnates. The former leads typically in the direction of land holding by cognatic formations ... . The latter tends towards fission or dispersal of agnatic cores, giving rise in the extreme case to individual ownership.

documented in Trigger (n.d.: 38-47). At various places in this text, this man refers to A (on Figure 6) as his ganggu (i.e. FF); then qualifies this by explaining that his own FF was the "brother" of A. Similarly, he explains that his own father was the "brother" of B and C, and he refers to the latter two men as his fathers.

Such classificatory kin relationships are in this case based on subsection/semimoiety relations: the man, his father, his FF, and of course his entire patriline are considered part of a broad group of classificatory agnatic relatives which includes all members of the man's semimoiety. In fact, as this man also makes apparent in the text referred to, his own father's (FF's) estate is north of estate C, is of the same semimoiety, and has the same major totemic features as estate C (he stated that part of the route of a major dreaming joins the two estates). Yet in asserting rights to estate C in the land claim context, he referred as well to the close historical ties between the "owners" of both estates. Firstly, his own FF's estate is acknowledged by some as the one referred to above as containing B's conception site. But much more importantly, this man's father is acknowledged as having resided in and been the main custodian for estate C after others left it. As he puts it (Trigger n.d.: 38), his father: "bin hold a spear la this place, he bin look after this country."

The claim to this estate eventually went ahead without this man as a formal claimant, as the degree of public acceptability of his assertion remained unclear. Elsewhere,[16] I have explained that public acknowledgement of such assertions is necessary before they can be regarded as having been accepted, and that "forceful personalities" are likely to obtain "communal assent" for their assertions more quickly than others. However, the example illustrates the way the subsection/ semimoiety systems entail the existence of four potentially very broad categories of country, totems, etc. and four corresponding broad categories of people. I have referred elsewhere (Trigger, 1982b: 3) to the conclusion of another researcher concerned with traditional land tenure in the Borroloola area (Reay n.d.: 11), that there could be no "valid objection to designating the semimoiety a putative descent group and a clan ...".

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[16]Transcripts of Proceedings of Nicholson River (Waanyi/Garawa) land claim (T.O.P. 1982: 536-7).

Thus, the question foreshadowed throughout this section is whether subsection (and/or subsection couple) groups are salient in village social life. Reay (1962: 109-13) reported for the Borroloola township from 1959 to 1962 that there was:

> ... a pervading awareness of the subsection system ... and a marked consciousness of the irregularity of unions that do not conform with the pattern of ideal marriage choice (p. 110).

Moreover, she found that subsection and semimoiety groups were important in ceremonial life, that subsection membership was one among other considerations concerning choice of residence site, and that it had some salience in certain women's hunting groups and in the giving of support in certain disputes. At Doomadgee, the awareness of these categories centres on country, ritual and marriage. Their relevance to country has been dealt with. While they are considered central to ideal conceptions of much ritual and ceremonial life, only a comparatively small proportion of Aboriginal residents have been actively concerned with such matters during that period. I have described elsewhere (1982c) the one major ceremony involving a large number of Doomadgee residents that has occurred during the study period. Subsection/semimoiety affiliation and groups were important there, yet while this event was regarded as highly significant across the Aboriginal population, as a single event it was not a typical feature of settlement social life.

The final issue here then concerns marriage and the subsection system. I discuss in Appendix C where the literature for this region refers to the consequences of "wrong" marriages for the inheritance of affiliation to totems, country and subsections. I also report there the predominant beliefs in the contemporary settlement, that there are degrees of "wrong" marriage, and that in cases of wrong marriage, while it is mostly believed that children should inherit their subsection affiliation as if their mother had married correctly, in many cases such people simply acquire two "skins" and emphasise the relevant one according to social context. The data below present the results of two surveys of the correctness of marriages in relation to the subsection system, conducted in 1978 and 1980. However, a point first is that as discussed in Appendix B and Chapter 5, the other factor prescribing correct marriage partners is the kinship system. While this latter issue is not discussed fully here, it must be noted that it is quite possible for a marriage to be "straight" according to the subsection system but still regarded as very wrong because the partners are too

close in terms of a blood kin relationship - this unacceptable closeness is commonly referred to by stating that the partners' kin relationship is "full" or "full blood" or by referring to the sameness or closeness of the partners' country to make the same point, e.g.: "They straight kin, only they close country - that's why they [others] say it's wrong." The fact of inappropriate kin categories is always regarded as predominant and hence the few such marriages are not included in the category of "straight" marriages in the emic Aboriginal view, and are not included in that category in the following calculations.

In 1978, a sample of 88 marriages revealed that 39 (44%) were regarded as straight and 49 (56%) as wrong. The figures for 1980 are that of a sample of 139 marriages, 58 (42%) were regarded as straight and 81 (58%) as wrong.[17] Given that for these substantial samples of the married population such a large proportion of contemporary marriages thus produce children who have or will inherit dual subsection affiliation, and given also the absence of a consistently applied rule for tracing such persons' "skin" through either the father or mother, it is clear that many people could not belong to a single group based on subsection/semimoiety membership. As with the inheritance of dual linguistic affiliation, many such people are identified primarily with a "skin" derived through their father or mother, but as noted above they will often focus on the other one in the relevant social context.

It must also be noted that while the "skin" affiliation of most younger people is known by their older relatives, the younger people themselves often appear to show little interest in the details of this aspect of their social identity. The role of subsection affiliation in designating marriage partners has apparently been reduced over the years. For when the data given above from the 1980 survey are cross-tabulated with the age of the marriage partners, the result (as shown in Table 7) is that approximately 61% of those aged over 51 years have married "straight" to their current spouse, as compared with 39% of those aged 31 to 51 years and 26% of those aged under 31 years. Older people argue that before Whites came everybody had to "follow the law" and marry "straight". Nevertheless, as mentioned in Appendix B,

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[17]As mentioned for the calculations involving marriages in Chapter 3, an alternative way of expressing these data would be to double all the frequencies and thereby give the number of individuals who married correctly and incorrectly.

TABLE 7

CORRECTNESS OF MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO THE SUBSECTION SYSTEM,
BY AGE OF THE PARTNERS

(Row Percentages, chi square = 17.82, p < .001)

Age	Correctness of Marriage		
	"Straight"	"Wrong"	Total
< 31 years	19 (26%)	53	72
31-51 years	44 (39%)	70	114
> 51 years	42 (61%)	27	69
			255*

*Note that the ages for 23 of the 278 partners in the sample of
139 marriages were not available.

genealogies indicate that there has in fact been a significant proportion of "wrong" marriages for as long as the old people can remember.

Thus, my conclusion from the data presented on subsection/ semimoiety affiliation is that such affiliation does not entail collective action. It is conceived as an important aspect of identity within Aboriginal social life, whereby individuals are linked together through their ties to similar estates, and through their resulting structural positions in ideal conceptions of how ceremonial life should proceed. However, both the non-corporate nature of country-affiliated groups as described in Section 4.4.1, and the lack of substantial ceremonial life at the settlement, result in subsection/ semimoiety affiliation not entailing groups which evidence collective behaviour. The large proportion of dual "skin" affiliation as a result of "wrong" marriages, further weakens any tendency towards enduring collective action on the basis of common subsection/semimoiety affiliation.

4.5 Affiliation to Country as an Aspect of Status Situation

Having discussed affiliation to country and group formation, the further key issue is the place of affiliation to country in the broader power relations analysis of settlement life. As with languages, areas of country are attributed varying amounts of social honour in different ways by different individuals and groups. There are a few places which are regarded by most, if not all, Aborigines throughout the study region

as distinctly important. For example, such an area is that containing the sites Dalwajinda and Jin.gula (E1 and E8, Map 4), in coastal Ganggalida country; for this is the area to which the "spirits" of individuals go after death (see Chapter 9, Section 9.5 for discussion of beliefs about the events that take place there after the "spirits" arrive). While many people simply know the general significance of this area, older people recount much more detail; for example, one of the ways its importance was manifest (at least in areas to its west and southwest) was that dead bodies were positioned (on a "bunk" or platform, or in a grave following certain White influences) so that the head "faced" towards (or was the closest part of the corpse to) Jin.gula. In a similar way, certain places are known as much more important than others because of the nature of their totemic significance or because various secret/sacred objects are now and/or were once stored there. This is to suggest more than the differentiation of discrete areas of country, for it implies a ranking of some areas as more important than others.

However, apart from the small number of such unambiguously critical places as Jin.gula, there is little agreement about the attribution of status to country. As with language, people generally state the virtues of country to which they themselves assert a close tie, and also (though less commonly) assert its superiority over other country - speakers are aware that such comparisons can give offence to others closely affiliated to the country stated to be inferior. Comparisons are made on the basis of key attributes of country, e.g.: desired resources - the nature and extent of available water, and plant and animal resources; dangerous or annoying features - e.g. mosquitoes, flies, or ticks; and preference for certain kinds of topography and climate. Great pride is taken in such material features of one's country. This has been evident partly from the actions of individuals whom I have observed visiting their country either for the first time, or after a long absence. People have taken containers of what is regarded as "my water" back to the settlement to show and distribute to other members of the country-affiliated group (particularly children). Also taken back and presented with great pride have been "bushes" (leaves, twigs and branches), and stone tools found in the country. Similarly, people have requested that photographs be taken of them at their country, and these have been subsequently viewed with great interest and pride by those affiliated to that country. The material evidence of earlier Aboriginal

occupation is treated with pride, awe and nostalgia: stone tools, old camp sites, rock art, marked trees, etc. are interpreted as evidence of previous habitation by one's own "old people", and commonly lead to people stating with great nostalgia about such places, e.g.: "must be my ganggu [FF]/mimi [MF] bin here." Some grinding stones are said to have been the property of specific deceased women, and in several cases a daughter of those women has taken these back to the settlement. On another occasion, stone tools were placed in crevices near where they were found, for safekeeping.

Apart from its material features, the status of country is derived from its totemic features. Indeed, the environmental features are seen to be ultimately dependent on the totemic forces in the country. It is not only totemic forces productive of immediately beneficial resources which can be regarded as positive features of one's own country, for while a potentially malevolent force such as that at a "sickness dreaming" place must be treated carefully and normally avoided, such a feature can be regarded as evidence of the strength or perhaps potential power of one's country. Furthermore, a repertoire of songs and associated ritual which can be used in sorcery contexts for offence and defence normally belongs to each of the four semimoieties; in the emic view, their power derives from certain of the major totems of each semimoiety, and hence these powers are intimately tied to various sections of country.

The point I have stressed so far is that an aspect of the social identity and status situation of all individuals is entailed in their affiliation to country. To the extent that people engage in politicking in managing this affiliation, their status through publicly acknowledged links to country is achieved as well as ascribed. However, the further point concerns the way expert knowledge of country, its features and the principles of affiliation to it, is itself a potential source of personal prestige. As Hiatt (1984: 23) has put it in concluding a review of several recent studies of traditional Aboriginal land tenure (though without stipulating a settlement context): ties to country provide people with "a potential springboard to fame".

4.5 Knowledge of Country and Status Situation

At Doomadgee, a comparatively small number of individuals are generally considered distinctly knowledgeable about country and associated matters. As such a wide body of traditional knowledge

includes reference to country, these people are in fact normally considered expert in a more general way about "Blackfella law". They are usually aged in their 50s or over; however, a marker of their knowledge and associated prestige is that they are all typically referred to as "old man" (malbu) or "old lady" (bardibardi), regardless of their age. Both men and women are thus represented among them. In the case of men, with only a few exceptions they are initiated - most to what can be glossed as the "first degree" (in ceremonies involving circumcision), plus a few who have also been initiated to the "second degree" (which has involved subincision).

The knowledgeable "old people" hold among themselves that each is ideally aligned with the broad body of "law" of their own semimoiety. Moreover, through historical circumstances and personal capacities, some individuals become widely acknowledged as one of the few remaining people (at times the only person) with detailed knowledge of certain areas. As the controllers of a scarce highly valued resource, such people thus acquire high social esteem in their relationships with other Aboriginal residents. As a scarce resource such knowledge is not flaunted; nor is it often given away for free - to be told detailed information about an area of country to which one may only know simply that he is affiliated, can in fact occasionally mean being publicly ridiculed. More commonly, it simply involves being publicly manoeuvred into the socially junior position of the pupil in the presence of the knowledgeable teacher or expert. While this may not be regarded by younger people as a threat to their social honour, in fact they tend not to approach the experts - indeed, local Aboriginal etiquette requires that they await instruction until the teacher chooses to impart it. However, for middle-aged and even some old people who have failed to acquire extensive traditional knowledge of country (and Blackfella law), to be put in the junior pupil position is to be socially humbled and they thus tend to avoid participating in discussions about these matters in the presence of the knowledgeable "old people".

The experts themselves engage regularly in competitive social jousting over such issues as the nature and location of particular areas of country, the totems (and ritual) associated with these areas, the people who have various rights to assert affiliation to the country, etc. This kind of competitiveness has been evident from comments made to me in private, where various experts have denigrated the knowledge of their rival(s), e.g.: "They tell you anything [not necessarily the

truth] you know"; speakers similarly assert their own knowledge as more expansive and accurate than that of their rivals. There is a general recognition among these people of the competitiveness within their social relationships; one man explained to me how a certain person "don't want to see me get ahead of him." Many people regularly expressed sympathy for my position, because of the way individuals were (accurately) perceived as trying to commandeer my time (and the resources at my disposal) by constantly having their version about a particular area recorded. Those expressing sympathy would often do so publicly, so as to distinguish themselves from such overt seeking of status, e.g.:

> ... I only wait for him [D. Trigger] ... when he ready well
> I go [to an area of country he wished to visit] ... he only
> gotta [say]: "Come on brother me 'n you go now"; I no more
> [do not] hurry 'im up - he gotta lot of job y'know (T69).

In other cases people have chided a person giving me information in what is to them an obviously biased manner: "... you wanna tell him straight way!" or "right way", etc.

A range of tactics and strategies is used in the process of politicking around the issue of country and associated matters. One tactic is to feign an attitude of indifference about whether one gets the opportunity to speak authoritatively, or be acknowledged in some other way as expert on the matter. This tactic is mostly used when one is sure of the scarcity of the knowledge or service one has to offer. For example, at a meeting of men convened to form an "Aboriginal Law Council" in response to an initiative from people at Mornington Island, one man was suggested (albeit indirectly) as the main Ganggalida "representative". While he knew that he is generally accepted as the most knowledgeable man about Ganggalida tradition he stated: "Leave me out please ...". After a period of about two minutes during which nobody made any further suggestions, a man introduced another subject but was immediately interrupted by the knowledgeable Ganggalida man who thus maintained the focus on himself: "Yes, well ... what we gonna ..., who we gonna get for that part now, Ganggalida?" Again, people said that he should be on the Council, but it was not until after considerable procrastination that he pronounced formally: "Put my name on there then ... 'cause not too many of these fellas here'll talk Ganggalida y'know - these younger people."

A situation similarly illustrative of the use of subtle understatement of one's position, was where a man known to be a "great
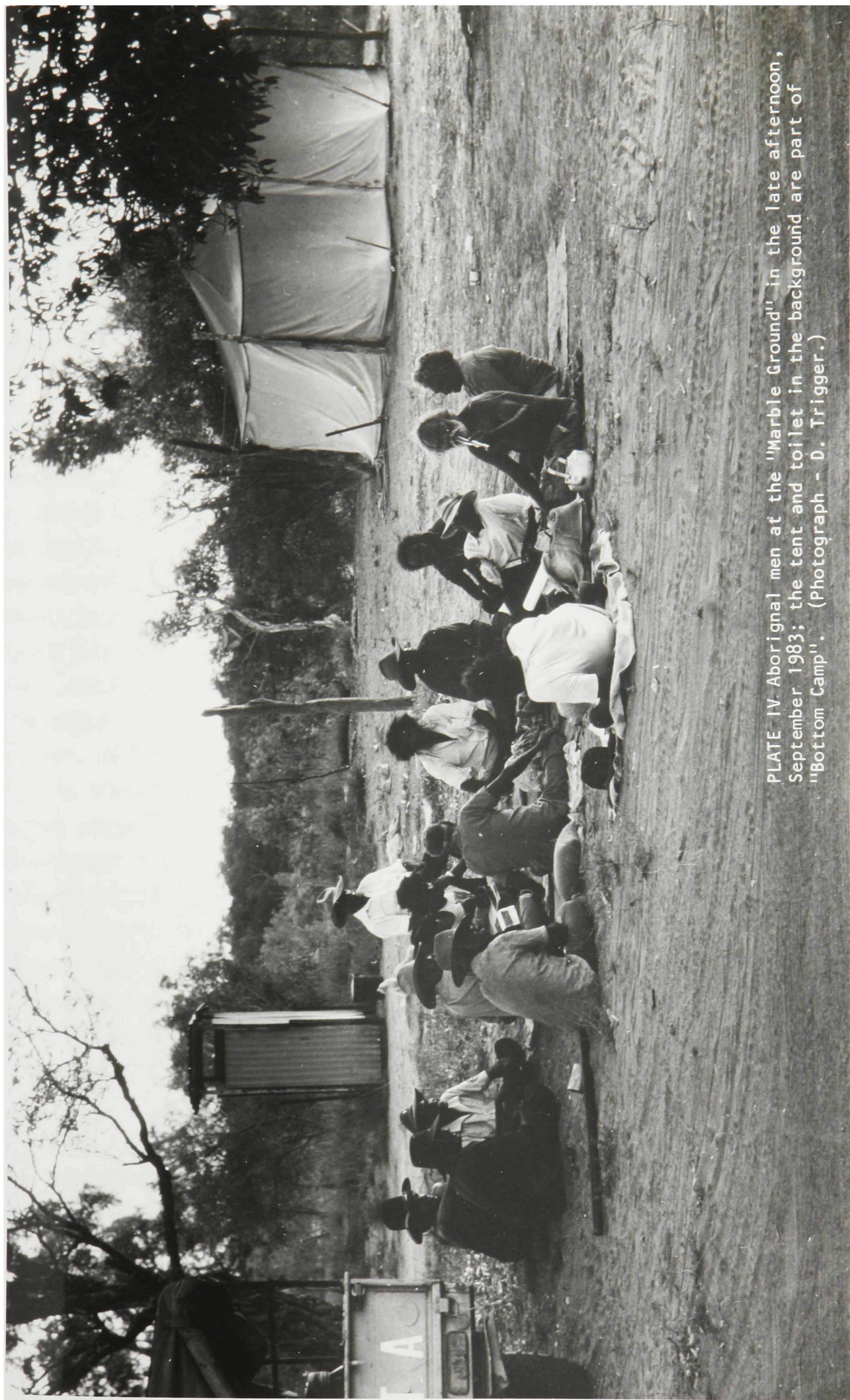
PLATE IV. Aboriginal men at the "Marble Ground" in the late afternoon, September 1983; the tent and toilet in the background are part of "Bottom Camp". (Photograph – D. Trigger.)

singer" suggested in a group setting at the Marble Ground[18] (see Plate IV) that he would enable me to record on tape some of his songs. After I had recorded one verse (sung repetitively as usual) he gestured towards another man in the group, saying to me: "... I give it over langa mimi [your MF] here too, he wanna put'im now"; this other man is known to be his major associate-cum-rival in the composition and performance of the major series of song verses that he had started to sing, and the gesture indicated that I should also record some of this man's verses. The "great singer" thus made it clear that his own status was sufficiently well-established for him not to have to ignore his more junior rival; as an acknowledged expert he could afford to flaunt magnanimity. However, the rival was not to be drawn into the position of junior follower given the opportunity by the "great singer" to have his singing recorded. He refused the opportunity: "No, you're right, you can put'im all yours - put'im down yours and I can put'im mine some other day." He thus implied that he is by no means dependent on the "great singer" for such an opportunity of an audience, tape recorder, etc. However, the formality with which he made this statement contrasted with the relaxed and more secure attitude of the "great singer"; indeed, another man then somewhat trivialised the younger rival's statement with a word-play on its sexual innuendo: "[to the 'great singer'] you can put'im yours tonight", i.e. indulge in sexual intercourse tonight. Through skilful social manoeuvre, the "great singer" immediately collaborated in the joke: "... mightn't be here tonight, might be la Burketown [in this case a reference to sexual activity there]"; and then soon after, further assured the goodwill and responsiveness of his audience by jokingly downplaying his capacity as a singer: while himself beginning to clap his boomerangs in preparing to sing - "kill'im finger [clap] please, make'im good hey - I'm not very good singer y'know ..." (see T83).

Other kinds of politicking over country involve much more overt competitiveness. For example, on one occasion two men located approximately 15 metres from the group at the Marble Ground played a tape recording of themselves singing a particular gujiga (ritual song

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[18]The place where many senior (along with some other) men routinely congregated in the village, typically in the afternoon, was known as the "Marble Ground" because of the habit of some men to occasionally play a game with marbles there. The place was also referred to at times by such locutions as: "the old people's shade."

cycle); the tape was played very loudly, so that any conversation in the group was impossible. Despite their obvious purpose of flaunting publicly their knowledge of the verses and prowess in singing them, both men feigned indifference to the reactions of the group. As with the knowledgeable Ganggalida man and the "great singer" in the examples above, the political style of these two men was to seek status indirectly. This approach is part of a tactical etiquette designed to notionally mask the quest for social honour. Yet this very etiquette entails making sure that one's indirect statements of personal prowess are recognised; in the case of the two men playing their tape, after about ten minutes one turned it down and called to the group: "You fellas right there, with your talk?" To respond that it was obviously impossible to talk above the singing would have been completely inappropriate; instead all in the group remained silent, the music was turned up loud again, and was accepted as legitimate politicking behaviour by the two singers.

Even more direct competitiveness is evident from the following examples. In a group setting where I was eliciting information about traditional fishing techniques, one man asked aggressively of another: "Come on now boy![19] You should know, how they bin make that fish hook early day?" After this man could not give an answer, and none was forthcoming from the group, the speaker made his point directly: "Only two man, me and [X – a man present who has very high 'expert' status] – we know!" He and the man he had aligned himself with then explained an unusual use of certain animal bones as fish hooks, which they had clearly talked about on an earlier occasion after hearing of my enquiries on the matter. The initial speaker on this occasion not only sought to state his own superior expertise directly, but also to belittle the man he addressed in a similarly direct fashion.

The second example concerns a setting where a senior woman was giving me information about certain country. When during a break in the conversation, another woman present offered a short comment which added to those the older woman had just made, the former was forcefully rebuffed: "[X], you young generation – don't tell me: '[a]'long lagoon there'; I bin all over this country, I know every water! ...". For the

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[19]While I am not sure of the classificatory kin relationship between these two old men, this term may have been used here as part of the joke whereby the man was being addressed somewhat playfully in this aggressive fashion.

older woman, part of the integrity of her explication of the features of the country relies on that explication standing alone, certainly without qualification from a junior kinswoman. The younger woman is her MBDD, i.e. her "sister" according to the skewing rule of the kinship system described in Section 4.3.1; her junior status derives mostly from her younger age and comparative lack of knowledge, and is evident not only from the reference to "young generation" but also from the use of her first name (represented as "X" in the quote) as a term of address by the senior woman.

The third example of direct politicking concerns a group's arrival at an area of country that is father's estate for one in the party. This was his first visit there and the knowledgeable old man who had, in his own view, taken the younger man there, constantly made clear the latter's lack of knowledge. For example, within hearing distance of everybody as we disembarked from the motor vehicle, the expert patronisingly asked the younger man to indicate the features and/or dimensions of his father's country. The purpose was to joke about the latter's lack of knowledge and associated lack of status.

Directly expressed competitiveness between people who are generally of more equal status than the protagonists in the above examples more commonly involves public argument over different opinions on matters of country and "law". In such situations, the protagonists at times argue vehemently, and while the interchange of words usually finishes when one party is no longer prepared to allow the disagreement to escalate, I have observed one situation where an old man flew into a rage, swore at his adversary, stood up abruptly and walked away (which according to local etiquette is very rude behaviour). Admittedly, this particular man is regarded by most as always seeking to provoke an argument; on this occasion at a gathering of men at the Marble Ground he had interjected in a general discussion about a certain area of country, to aggressively ask rhetorically of one of the other old men who had been speaking: "Now you tell me who [is] this boy's mimi [MF]?", referring to a young man present whose country was being discussed. The argument occurred after the other old man replied to this question (correctly, according to most present). The overt seriousness of the argument was, as already implied, atypical; and after the aggressor's departure there was considerable comment that he was mudu ("mad"), and support for the other man's explanation that: "[in such circumstances with this individual's provocation] a man got to say something back ... ."

However, I provide the example to illustrate the way these experts' knowledge of country and associated "law" is for them (as well as other Aboriginal residents), a critical aspect of their social status. Incidentally, there was little likelihood that the young man present, whose country and relatives were being discussed, would participate directly. He remained silent, the behaviour commensurate with his status as a "youngfella" whose knowledge of country is regarded as quite limited.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described traditional Aboriginal conceptions of country (Section 4.2), and the ideal system of land tenure by which people are believed to be affiliated with it (Section 4.3). These formal systems of beliefs have been shown to allow individuals a wide range of ways by which they can assert a variety of ties to different areas. In the contemporary settlement context, cognatic groups based on joint ties to particular estates have been illustrated, however it has been argued that internal politicking within such groups typically undermines their potential for behavioural unity. While affiliation with country is a critical aspect of persons' social identities in village social life, it is thus not productive of enduring corporate groups or collective social action. This is also the case for subsection/semimoiety affiliation, which is conceived largely as an aspect of affiliation to country. Like linguistic groups, country-affiliated groupings (and also subsection/semimoiety groupings) are thus usefully defined as quasi-groups, and I will return to this point in the concluding comments for Part B (in Chapter 5, Section 5).

The chapter has also considered (in Section 4.5) affiliation to country as an important aspect of the status situation of all individuals. However, it has been expert knowledge of country and closely associated "law" matters that has been shown (in Section 4.6) to be an important means by which a relatively small number of older people compete for and maintain singularly high status within the Aboriginal social field. A variety of political styles employed in the seeking of this status have been illustrated, but the theoretical point which will be returned to in the concluding comments for Part B is the importance of this kind of achieved and widely acknowledged status for the question of stratification within Aboriginal social life.

CHAPTER 5

KINSHIP AND STATUS RELATIONS IN SETTLEMENT SOCIOPOLITICAL PROCESSES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter first considers the pervasiveness of the idiom of kinship throughout Aboriginal social life: in Section 5.2, background data are presented concerning certain features of contemporary kin term usage and kin classification; while in Section 5.3, extensive kin links are shown to be congruent with marriage patterns. An examination of residence and the provision of material support (in Section 5.4) highlights the importance of kinship as a principle determining social action, and this point is then made in much greater detail (in Section 5.5) through description and analysis of conflict between Aborigines. In Section 5.6, I consider the importance of kinship in regulating social action, in terms of the concept of status. The conclusion to the chapter then includes some summary treatment of the comparative theoretical significance of Aboriginal affiliation to language, country and kin, as examined throughout Part B of the thesis. These aspects of Aboriginal social identity are thus considered in terms of the concepts of group formation, status and stratification.

5.2 Aspects_of_the_Contemporary_Aboriginal_Kinship_System

The most pervasive principle invoked by Aborigines to structure their social relationships with other Aborigines is kinship. By kinship, I mean ties with individuals of both an actual and putative nature. Actual kinship ties consist of consanguineal and affinal relationships which are traced genealogically (through descent and marriage). A set of kin terms is used by Aboriginal residents, and these are polysemic, i.e. to follow Scheffler (1978: 26): "... each term has a structurally primary and specific sense and a derivative, expanded, or broader, sense (or senses)." The primary sense of each term denotes the genealogically closest actual relative of that kind, while the broader senses denote other more genealogically distant actual relatives (as well as putative relatives) who are regarded as within that kin category, e.g.: the primary sense of the kin term of address "wulugu" denotes one's actual father, while in its extended sense it denotes one's FB, FFBS, etc.

Certain kin are distinguished in Aboriginal English parlance as "really", "full" or "blood" relatives; they are also referred to by the

expression "my own X" (where X is the kin category), emphasising the word "own". An actual genealogical link (either consanguineal or affinal) to such kin can usually be demonstrated, although the term "blood" is not usually applied to affines. Kin are also referred to as "close", and while these are always among persons' "really"/"full"/ "blood" relatives, the range of relatives distinguished as "close" varies according to a variety of social factors. Actual kin are thus ranged along a continuum of social closeness.

Indeed, all of Ego's kin are in a sense ranged along a continuum of social closeness, for those not designated as "really" (nor "close") relatives are referred to as "long way" people. Rather than through descent and marriage, putative ties to these kin are traced through the subsection system described in Chapter 4. As shown in Figure 2 (p. 70 above), relationships between the subsections are framed in terms of descent and marriage, thus subsection membership entails "kin-like" relationships to the members of one's own and other subsections, cf. Scheffler (1978: 32-3):

> ... kinship terms are sometimes used ... between persons who do not suppose that they are related by birth or by marriage [as is the case with relationships derived solely from subsection membership]. Of course, when so used, they do not designate kin classes or signify genealogical relationships; instead they signify (rather than connote) kin-like social relationships that are assumed (not ascribed) between the parties who so designate one another. That is, they may be used metaphorically to designate classes that are kin-like in that the parties who so designate one another treat one another as though they were kin of certain kinds.

In Figure 2, it is possible to take an Ego in a particular subsection, and mark which of his actual consanguineal and affinal relatives belong to each subsection, and thus also which of his general categories of putative kin belong to each subsection; I will not present such information diagramatically here (but see Maddock [1972: 86] for such a figure). While the kinship and subsection terms are thus ideally congruent in a general way, a number of features of the kinship system contradict the system of relationships implicit in the subsection system, and in such cases the kinship rules are predominant; the skewing rule described in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1) is an example of this situation.

Thus, the kinship idiom pervades social relationships among all Aborigines at Doomadgee (and indeed throughout the study region). While I will not treat in any detail here the system of kin terms nor the

rules for behaviour associated with them,[1] the following background data are provided. I have presented a near-complete set of vernacular kin terms and their denotata for Garawa in Appendix D. Most older residents know (and variously use) the full set of vernacular terms and the rules ideally stipulating various kinds of relationship between different kin categories. Middle-aged and young people possess this knowledge partially; some know many more terms than they normally use. A small proportion of vernacular terms are used regularly across the entire village population (including children). Terms have been drawn from Garawa, Waanyi and Ganggalida in a mixed fashion, to constitute part of the contemporary Aboriginal English repertoire. It can also be noted that many speakers reduce the scope of the denotata of the vernacular terms that they use, e.g. while "babi" (Gd) denotes FM, FMZ, FMBD, FMBSD, etc., it is most commonly used for FM and FMZ only. As well, some vernacular terms of address are now also used as terms of reference in Aboriginal English, e.g. "my ganggu [FF/MMB]" where the vernacular term of reference is in fact "ngagi [my] gujanganja [FF/MMB]".

There are two further types of kin terms used. Firstly, there are a few words that appear to have been incorporated from Aboriginal English spoken much more widely than within the study region. The most common of these is banji, used by both genders to address (or refer to) one's spouse's sibling, and also those who are in the category of a potential spouse (referred to as "straight" in relation to the speaker). The term of reference is sometimes "banjiman". Secondly, English kin terms are used widely, apparently according to a combination of their English meaning and features of the Aboriginal kinship systems. For example, same sex parents' siblings (FB and MZ) are referred to as "father" and "mother" respectively (or some expression including these terms, e.g. "my second father"), and cross sex parents' siblings (FZ and MB) are distinguished as "uncle" or "aunty". However, there is variability in such use of English terms, and "uncle" and "aunty" can sometimes be used for FB and MZ, particularly as terms of address.

Certain English kin terms are used more narrowly than by Whites, e.g. "granny" is used only with MM and a vernacular kin term with FM, while "pa" is used only with MF (and at times for WF) and a vernacular kin term with FF. Other English words are added to some terms to provide the specificity required in designating particular kin; this

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[1] The system appears to be of the Aranda type (Warner 1933: 68; Sharp 1935: 160).

normally occurs with terms of reference: e.g. "big uncle" or "old uncle" to refer to MB$^+$ (and at times FB$^+$), "little aunty" or "youngest aunty" to refer to FZ$^-$ (and at times MZ$^-$), "cousin-brother" or "cousin-sister" to refer to parallel cousins, or "cousin-mother" to refer to actual MBD (as described in Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4). As well, kin terms which are normally only terms of reference in standard English (e.g. "my cousin") are also used as terms of address (often in a modified form, e.g. "cous"), and English words which are not kin terms in English are used as kin terms by Aborigines, e.g. "boy" and "girl" to refer to and address one's children and siblings' children.

A final background point can be noted before turning to examination of kinship as a principle generating certain social action in the contemporary settlement. This is the extent to which different formal kin relationships, ideally entailing different modes of appropriate behaviour and attitude towards people, may be said to entail different social statuses - not only different statuses in the sense of the discrete roles of individuals, but also in the sense of different positions in a scale of social honour. For while kin relationships commonly entail reciprocal rights and duties, people may also be said to be formally super-ordinate to some categories of relatives and subordinate to others. Hiatt (1984: 3) has recently put Sharp's important views on this matter as that "all kinship relations" among Yir Yoront males "are characterised by an imbalance of status". In Sharp's (1958: 5) own words:

> ... every individual relationship between males involves a definite and accepted inferiority or superiority. A man has no dealing with another man (or with women, either) on exactly equal terms.

It is clear to me that such precisely defined kinship rules do not regulate the status relationships of Aborigines at contemporary Doomadgee, in anything like the complete fashion described by Sharp. Nevertheless, some such ideal kinship rules are important in regulating the status dimensions of certain relationships. For example, a position of seniority over one's younger siblings (or parallel cousins who are children of one's parent's younger siblings) may demonstrably stem from the formal kin relationships involved, particularly in the case of older people. Yet it would be a rare individual who retained super-ordinate status in his or her relationship with his younger siblings in all aspects of their social lives. Thus, personal status as derived primarily from the structural aspect of kinship relations is not a key

issue in my data. To the extent that it examines kinship relations as status relations, this chapter is rather more generally concerned with how part of the status situation of individuals is determined by who are their close kin. The issue of one's own personal prestige being closely (but certainly not exclusively) tied to the publicly attributed esteem of one's close kin is most evident from my data on conflict, and this matter will be discussed in Section 5.5.

5.3 Marriage and the Extensiveness of Close Kin Links

I have referred above (in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2, Footnote 12) to the consequences of an Omaha-type skewing rule as formally disallowing marriages with an actual MMBDD and MFZDD. This point is discussed in somewhat more detail in Appendix C, where I also mention the further kinship rule by which a man cannot marry his actual FMBSD or FFZSD. As I state in Appendix C, while marriage to these categories of second degree cross-cousins is regarded as the ideal, the partners must not be genealogically close. In Appendix C, I also refer to the point that marriages to genealogically close kin are regarded as much more "wrong" than marriages rather only "wrong" according to the subsection system.

While I have not undertaken a comprehensive study of kinship and marriage in the contemporary settlement, I wish to note here that such an ideal preclusion on marriage with close consanguineal relatives entails what Maddock (1972: 45) has termed the widening of sociality and mutual dependence, in his discussion of clan exogamy. That is, to the extent that the ideal marriage rule influences social action, it entails the continual forging of close kin links with people who are at that point classified as genealogically distant. These close kin links are of course initially affinal, then consanguineal as children are produced.

My figures from the survey of marriages undertaken in 1980 (referred to in Section 4.4.2) are that of the 278 people for whom reliable information was available, 30 (approximately 11%) had married in a way that was regarded as "too close"; by this count, these 30 individuals constituted approximately 19% of the 162 whose current marriage was regarded as "wrong" to some degree, i.e. the others had married genealogically distant people who were not "straight" for them

according to the subsection system.[2] The old people particularly, complain about such genealogically close marriage: they comment that young people nowadays "marry like dingo", that is: "any way"; and they point out that people contracting such marriages are breaking "Blackfella law" and hence are likely to suffer severe consequences. At least one couple who married "full blood barn₊ga [cross-cousin] together" (i.e. the man married his actual FZD) are said by many Aboriginal residents to have suffered constant ill-health along with their children, and to have had two of their children die, as consequences of their very wrong marriage.

People forming such unions (whether formalised under Australian law or not) appear commonly to leave the settlement when beginning to live together, and then return after a period of time when their union is accepted as a fait accompli. Ultimately, their behaviour is regarded as "their own business" (i.e. once young people reach late teens). Indeed, the old people explain a myth which accounts for the phenomenon of people illegitimately forming sexual liaisons and marriages with their close kin:

A mother "devil" [sometimes said to be Marrarrabana] had several sons and an equal number of daughters. One of the older brothers was going hunting and told his mother he wanted to take one of his siblings with him. She told him to take one of his younger brothers, but the young man going hunting refused, saying the boy would be too much of a nuisance. So the mother told him to take one of his younger sisters. When out hunting he speared a wallaby and caught it after chasing it; his sister was thus approaching from a considerable distance behind.

The young man quickly cut open the wallaby's abdomen, spread its blood over his foot, threw the wallaby away into long grass so it was not visible, and as his sister approached he cried out feigning great pain and holding up his bloody foot. His sister asked him with much concern: "Brother, what's wrong with you?" He replied that a stick had speared his foot, and asked her to come up close and assist him. His sister said, "Brother, I can't touch you or help you, because you are my brother." But the brother replied, "No, it doesn't matter, I'm hurt too badly."

When the girl came close to him, the young male "devil" grabbed her and raped her, and after he had done this, he went back to his mother with "shut eye", i.e. with his arm over his face so that he could not look directly at his

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[2]Because these figures are derived from a sample (albeit a large one), they must be regarded as giving only a general indication of the extent of such genealogically close marriage.
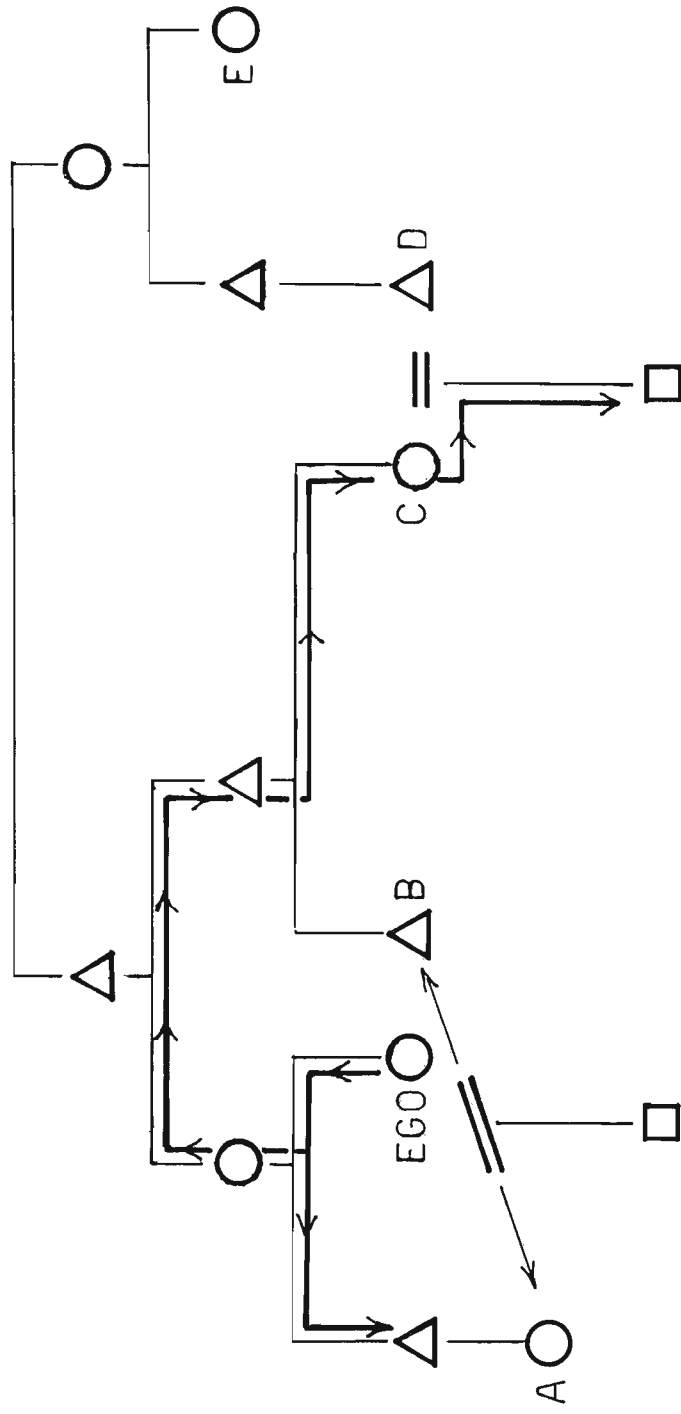
EGO ----> A=B's offspring: miminya (grandchild - BD's children)

EGO ----> C=D's offspring: bawanya (brother) and balaginya (sister)
(ie. sibling - MBD's [cousin-mother's] children)

FIGURE 8. EGO'S TRACING OF KIN TIES TO THE OFFSPRING FROM
TWO "WRONG" MARRIAGES INVOLVING CLOSE KIN

(Heavy line shows how EGO tracks her relationships to the
offspring from the wrong marriages of A & B and C & D; she tracks
through A and C respectively, as these are the most closely rel-
ated to her of the marriage partners in both cases)

mother. When the mother saw this, she said: "You are no longer my son, you've got shut eye, you must be my son-in-law, and brother-in-law to your sisters!"[3]

That is how Aborigines started to marry "wrong" in this country. (T44, and field notes [rendered here in standard English].)

I have presented this myth at some length because it illustrates graphically the recognition in traditional doctrine of the ever-present possibility of illegitimate sexual relations between close consanguineal kin. Yet, while the myth is referred to by old people as explaining why human nature is such that these kinds of "wrong" relationships will inevitably occur, it does not in their view justify such behaviour. In fact the myth could be interpreted analytically as a kind of charter to remind humans not to succumb to such moral weakness as did the mythic character.

I have insufficient data to assess the accuracy of the old people's claim that there is a much higher rate of marriage to close kin in the contemporary settlement than in certain pre-mission settings when everybody had to "follow the law". However, my summary point here is simply that even if my figure of 11% is considered only a minimum for these kinds of contemporary unions, the evidence is that we are certainly confronted with an Aboriginal population at Doomadgee where the majority of adults have continued to widen their universe of genealogically close kin, rather than segment such kin into independent groups by marrying within them.

The further issue here is that when people do marry their close consanguineal kin, their relatives are confronted with the pressing choice of whether to trace their relationship to the offspring through the latter's father or mother. For people have close consanguineal ties of a different kind to the father and mother. This situation is mostly resolved by tracking through the person to whom one is most closely related. For example, two wrong marriages to close kin are represented in Figure 8: A married B (her FMBS [ngabuji]) and C married D ([also classified as her ngabuji]). Ego traces her relationship to the children of A and B through A (her BD) rather than through B (her MBS); she therefore calls the children miminya (grandchild, for they are her BD's children), rather than "uncle" (gardidi [MB]) and "aunty" (bujara

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[3]By the rules of the kinship system a man cannot interact directly with his WM.

[MZ]) (for they would stand to her in this relationship as her MBS's children).

However, Ego traces her relationship to the offspring of the marriage of C and D through C, for (unlike C's brother in the previous case) C is the closer of the two relatives involved in the marriage. As Ego puts it, she thus leaves her relationship to D's father (her MFZS) "one side" and tracks through C's father (her MB). Therefore, Ego calls the children of C and D "brother" and "sister" for they are the children of C (her MBD - bujara or "cousin-mother"); through D, she would rather stand to them as ganggunya for as D's father is her "brother", the children are her BS's children.[4]

A final point is that on Figure 8, E could be said to be related more closely to B than to A: A is her MBDSD (structurally equivalent to her BD) while B is her MBSS (structurally equivalent to her MB). Yet she traces her relationship to the offspring of this marriage through A (whereby they are equivalent to her BD's children, or her grandchildren), rather than through B (whereby they would be equivalent to her "cousin-mother" and "cousin-mother's" brother). Rather than closeness of kin link, her decision to track through A appears to be based on her greater personal feeling for A's FM (E's MBD) as compared with her personal historical relationship to B's father (E's MBS). The role of such features of personal relationships must not be underestimated as influencing the way people manage their extensive kin relationships throughout the village community.

5.4 Kinship, Residence and Material Support

From the early stages of fieldwork it was apparent to me that many households in the village consisted of more than a nuclear family with one married couple. Accordingly, I investigated the principle(s) by which household composition was organised.[5] A survey in 1980 of 85 (out of the total of 96) households for which adequate data were available, indicated that 38 (i.e. approximately 45%) contained more than

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[4] However, because of an alternate generation agnates equivalence rule (cf. Scheffler 1978: 223, 249), Ego's relationship to her BS's children is structurally equivalent to a sibling relationship. Hence, there is a sense in which the children stand to her similarly whether she tracks through C or D.

[5] By households, I mean here separate dwellings that are mostly discrete houses, except for two block sets of four units and several humpies.

✳ Residence of Senior Woman

① Households containing a child, sibling or sibling's child of a senior woman

② Households containing all other consanguineal relatives traced through the woman's mother

③ Households containing all other consanguineal relatives traced through the woman's father

FIGURE 9, DISTRIBUTION OF CLOSE KIN FOR A SENIOR WOMAN

one married couple; approximately 37% had two couples, 14% had three couples, and 4% had more than three couples. Nevertheless, I can state that in all households containing more than one married couple, at least one partner of each couple had what was regarded as an actual kin link of some kind with one or more others in the dwelling. Indeed, while I do not have comprehensive data for all residents, I am satisfied from examining the composition of individual households over the fieldwork period that apart from occasional exceptions, residents are inevitably linked by consanguineal or affinal ties. That is, it was uncommon for an Aboriginal resident to be living in a household where he or she could not demonstrate what was regarded as a "really" consanguineal or affinal relationship to at least one established household member. In this sense, members of cognatic lineages plus various of their affines are the typical residence groups. The exceptions included a few occasions when "single boys" (usually young unmarried men) lived in a dwelling by themselves, and also cases where a married couple looked after a child who was apparently not a genealogically close relative. However, in general it was unusual for people related only putatively to reside together for any substantial length of time.

The second point here is that because of the extensiveness of consanguineal ties, most people have many households where close kin live. Particularly if their affinal kin are included, the spatial distribution of the close (or "really") kin of many people is extensive throughout the village. It would be cumbersome here to present more than minimal data, so Figure 9 illustrates only the spatial distribution in 1980 of the consanguineal relatives of one senior woman. Figure 9 shows the locations of her relatives traced through her children, her siblings and her parents. There are some households in which she has different relatives through both parents, and some where she has links to the same individuals through both parents. I must add that this woman may have a few further consanguineal links which could be revealed from further discussions with her. The figures represent a minimum number of consanguineal links to households in the village for this person.

After correcting for overlapping ties through both mother and father to the same households, this old lady thus has consanguineal ties to 45 (47%) of the 96 households in the village in 1980, and these relatives are not concentrated in any one section of the village. This case of such consanguineal kin links should be regarded as involving one

of the most extensive networks as through her mother she is a member of one of the largest (if not the largest) cognatic lineages at Doomadgee. The genealogies for other cognatic lineages indicate that most Aboriginal residents have such networks of consanguineal kin, though some are less extensive than others.[6] It is unusual for people not to be tied to one or more such networks; even individuals who have come at some point from outside the study region are normally incorporated into such networks as "really" relatives through their usual affinal tie to a member of the network. These individuals rarely remain at Doomadgee unless they contract such a marriage.

However, the exceptions are a few individuals who appear to remain somewhat socially isolated. One example is a man from outside the study region who married a female member of a fairly large kin network many years ago, but after several children were produced he and his wife separated. Though he has continued to reside at Doomadgee, his following comments may be regarded as an honest statement of his apparent feelings of isolation; they are part of his statement given at a public meeting where speakers had been asked to express their opinion on whether the Queensland Aborigines Act should be abolished, and many also spoke more generally about various states of affairs at Doomadgee:

> ... I'm deserted, not by me wife, I'm deserted by the whole Mission. I got no friends; and I'm a proud man. When you got no friends you don't get into trouble, when you got friends you're in trouble; you're friend'll ask you to do this, do that [if] you do anything wrong. I'm glad I give up drinking and I give up gambling - since I lost my son [i.e. since he died]. Not like you people; what do you do [when] you lose one of your mob? Do you walk out to the cemetery to see him? No. I did. I loved my son; he was the only friend I had ... . I'll speak up for my bit of rights - my old place, it's falling down, if it fall down on top of my head I think I'll get out, go back to Lorraine [Station] somewhere, or get a tent somewhere, go back on the Leichhardt [River], and stay with me own people (T62).

The situation of this man is atypical. Without ties to many consanguineal (or close affinal) kin, he is "deserted"; if his own house became too run down to live in, he implies he has no other households to which he could go. While several of his children live at Doomadgee, his

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[6]While I present only a few partial genealogies in this thesis, others which are more complete are lodged at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, as part of the materials produced by my research in completing the University of Queensland Site Recording Program, and also the research for the Nicholson River (Waanyi/Garawa) land claim.

perspective is that his "own people" live elsewhere. Thus, without broader kin ties to other close kin, he is without social support. That is because such kin links are the primary basis for the giving of social support.

Apart from issues of residence, the importance of kinship in social action is evident from degrees of economic and material support given within the group of close kin. Women appear to draw particularly on their siblings and husband's siblings for food, on occasions when the family may be short of cash or for example, if something is needed for a child at night or on a week-end when the store is closed. I have not obtained systematic data on such transactions, but rather simply recorded in field notes when I have observed them. Children are commonly sent to a close relative's residence to request basic items such as bread, tea, sugar, etc. Some close relatives, particularly men without wives and old people, eat occasionally or regularly at the houses of certain close kin, but sleep elsewhere; food is also sometimes sent to old people at their dwellings. Requests for goods and assistance would rarely be made to a person other than a close kinsperson. Not only would such behaviour be considered in breach of etiquette and the request usually refused, but it is also considered unsafe to take food from "stranger people" (i.e. in this context genealogically distant people) because they may have a reason to perform sorcery against you and do so through the medium of the food. For this reason, people are even more careful who they allow to wash their clothes, for notorious forms of sorcery are known to be effected via persons' sweat lodged in their dirty clothes. While tobacco is requested and consumed with less concern about whose possession it has been in, it too is regarded as a prime vehicle in the performance of sorcery.

The level of requests made on close kin appears quite high, and individuals at times complain that others squander their money or goods unwisely and then request cash, food and other items. For example, on one occasion when I was present a man complained vehemently to his MZ[+] that "people" had been requesting him constantly to drive them places in the motor vehicle in his charge. He was not disputing that his parallel cousins (the old lady's children) had rights of access to the vehicle, as it had been presented to the entire country-affiliated cognatic lineage to be used in establishing an outstation. However, his deeply felt complaint was that those constantly requesting transport did not

supply money for fuel and other vehicle running costs. Towards the end
of the argument he complained to me, indicating the great frustration
that he felt in having to suffer the constant barrage of requests:
"These people drive you mad, you know, if you get motor car, diesel
[etc.] ... ."

5.5 Kinship and Conflict

The further major aspect of village social life in which kinship is
evident as a key principle determining social action is conflict among
individuals and groups. The first point to make is that such conflict
is quite pervasive in Aboriginal social life, and is carried on largely
independent of the formal settlement administration. Consider the
following comments by the Chairman of the Aboriginal Council, at a
public meeting, where he endeavours (with a hint of futility) to
convince people to involve the Aboriginal Police (and hence the formal
administration) rather than just fight it out among themselves. His
references to "domestic" disputes in fact refer to conflict which
commonly ramifies throughout extensive kin networks:

> This has been a concern. I know, everybody has domestic
> problems ... . Domestic trouble gets out on the street,
> gets out on the flat here sometime, and that's how domestic
> trouble can start [i.e. ramify], where it shouldn't come out
> ... it should be kept at home. I know it's a little bit
> hard, but a lot of these problems that we have as domestic,
> as family affairs and so on, in relations - we have some
> trouble sometime and ... it gets out of hand ... . Any
> problem come up, or you start a fight, or you hear something
> [i.e. rumours, gossip] that's not true ... you take it
> straight to the Police (T71).

Conflict most commonly erupts over rumours and/or accusations about
sexual infidelity of a pre-marital or extra-marital nature. Moreover,
people draw on what appears to be an established verbal and behavioural
style used only in conflict settings. Such conflict is thus not
regarded as aberrant, but rather as an inevitable part of social life.
The conflict style is part of the conventionalised verbal-behavioural
repertoire of all social actors. Even children model their conflicts on
this style. I have observed several young girls aged 10 to 13 years,
while playing, mock the adult style of conflict with great precision:
e.g. with wild aggressive gesturing, waving sticks as fighting weapons
and smashing them into the ground and against objects in a mock rage,
statements of personal prowess and fearlessness and of the strength of
one's kin support, and invitations to each other to "come out" and
fight.

C knocks B out with a
single punch

C's movement to
intersect B's
path

B moves off this
way, asserting his
prowess

C's movement
to a viewing
position

A knocked to the
ground by B

lane between
rows of
houses

A's
house

Female kinswoman
retreats this way
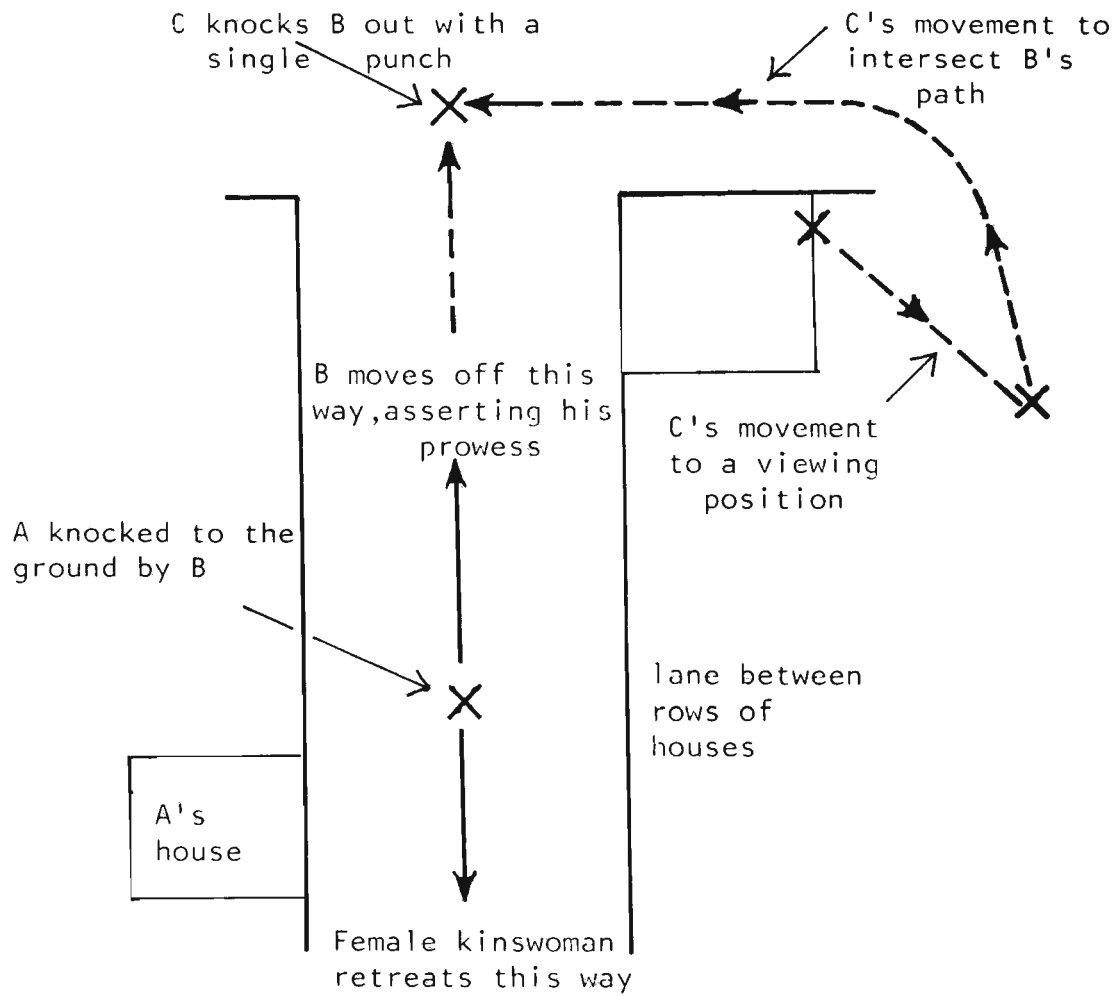
FIGURE 10. CONFLICT CASE 1: Indirect involvement against
a drunk in a conflict

The second general point is that in this consideration of the importance of kinship in conflict, I must deal initially with contexts where people are drunk. In such contexts, fights involving two or more drunk individuals appear to develop quite haphazardly as compared to sober conflict. Moreover, the cardinal rule for behaviour of sober people towards drunks in most settings is to ignore them, or at least to feign that one is ignoring them while observing them indirectly. One should simply not "take notice" of "drunken fellas", close kinsmen or otherwise. However, if a drunk person does become embroiled in conflict with sober people who are not his close kin (usually because his verbal and/or physical attacks on the latter have finally become intolerable), his own sober close kin would then most likely intervene to support him. On one occasion, a sober man explained while making ready to support his drunk brother-in-law (WB) against sober people who had beaten him with sticks: "You can't hit a drunken fella!"; indeed, his opinion was that in attacking a drunk person (though the behaviour may well have initially been a defence against the drunk's attack) those who had assaulted his WB had broken Australian law as well as Aboriginal etiquette.

Sober people also occasionally become involved in conflict between two or more of their close kinsmen where one who is drunk is regarded as the physically superior protagonist in a formally unequal match. For example, if a drunk man attacks a female kinsman, or an old male kinsman, other close sober relatives may intervene. This is much less likely to occur if the victim is also drunk. In any case, intervention by sober people against drunks (apart from in the case of the Aboriginal Police) is usually circumspect, with the sober person(s) avoiding if possible direct involvement at the actual point of drunken physical conflict. Figure 10 illustrates such indirect involvement against a drunk in a conflict.

Conflict Case 1

A, a drunk man aged 50-55 years who is quite frail, was punched and kicked to the ground by B, a young drunk close male kinsman of A. At the same point B also kicked and punched a young drunk female close kinsman of both A and B, who had been trying to protect A with the aid of a fighting stick and by throwing stones; B forced her to retreat down the laneway. B then moved off down the laneway in the opposite direction, loudly verbally asserting his fighting prowess in typical drunken male style.

As B had advanced on A and made it clear that he was about to escalate from verbal abuse to physical attack, A had called several times for his sober son-in-law, C, a big young man (and known as a good fighter) to come and help him. C's movement from his house to a viewing position, and then to the end of the laneway to intersect with B's course and knock him unconscious with a single punch, is shown in the Figure. Without providing further details about this conflict, the significant point here is that C did not intervene to stop B's (drunken) attack on (drunken) A and his female assistant. His initial avoidance of getting embroiled within a fight between drunks is quite typical of the sober behaviour of close kin in such circumstances. In knocking B unconscious, he behaved swiftly and without saying anything - i.e. without engaging in the typical verbal-behavioural conflict style referred to above. C probably acted partly to stop B doing any more damage in his drunken rampage although I cannot ignore the additional possible motive of revenge. C's action was regarded as appropriate and necessary by all, but he was not perceived as engaged in the social business of conflict with B, simply because such "full drunks" are not considered capable of rational social action. One has to be sober to participate meaningfully in the social business of conflict (or for that matter in any other social action).[7]

A further point must be made concerning attacks by drunk men on their sober wives. People are extremely unwilling to intervene in fights between married couples when both are sober, and this inclination remains strong when the husband is drunk; for example as one man explained: "You can't come in on husband-wife, you married - that's it." While the husband's relatives clearly hold to this principle more than the wife's relatives, the general pattern is for sober wives to avoid their drunk husbands if possible, e.g. by going to the houses of sober close relatives, where the drunk husband is unlikely to follow.

The subject of drunken comportment generally and how it is regarded by sober people, is a complex one and requires considerable discussion which I will not provide here. The point to be made here is that drunks

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[7]People are sometimes described as "full drunk" when emphasising that they are not in normal control of themselves. Most drunks are recognised as "full drunk". Only those whose drinking has been interrupted (e.g. if the "grog" has prematurely run out) retain sufficient normal social composure to rather be referred to simply by such a locution as: "He bin drinkin' too", or as "half-shot".

are normally left to fight among themselves. Though there are exceptions, they cannot normally draw on the support of close kin in the way people can in sober conflicts, as described below. For drunken conflict is not regarded as serious social business because the protagonists are known to be "mad" (murdu) or out of control. Their antics are in fact regarded to some extent as verging on presenting a slap-stick style of comedy for sober observers. I have also observed young children emulate the adult drunk style of conflict, where they stress its haphazard (albeit violent) nature; and in response to my query about their yelling and gesticulating on this occasion, they illustrated the emic conception of the drunken style as quite distinct from sober social action: "We gammon [pretend to emulate] drunk talk."

Turning to the importance of kin ties in sober conflict, the primary point is that people support their close consanguineal and affinal relatives in disputes. This is such a general aspect of social life that it is rare for conflicts to involve solely two protagonists. People expect that their opponents will receive kin support where necessary. In the course of their verbal assault on others during conflict, individuals constantly refer to the extent of their kin who will come to their assistance and to the fighting prowess of individuals among them.

While people are generally assisted by their close consanguineal and affinal kin, it is most commonly groups of same sex siblings together with their parents and grandparents of their gender which may be said to constitute fighting units, each of which is inevitably mobilised when one of its members becomes involved in a dispute. That is, a fight is commonly regarded as predominantly a "woman fight" or "man fight"; and in fact the former have been much more prevalent at Doomadgee during the fieldwork period. Perhaps more accurately, the considerable number of sober fights I have recorded have most commonly begun with women as the main protagonists; men have at times then become involved as the fight has continued. Several points are explicated in the following cases. I will first provide a case of a fight involving a dispute between close kin.

Conflict Case 2

A fight developed with two couples (A and B) as the primary protagonists, following arguing and fighting between their respective teen-age daughters apparently over rumours and innuendos associated
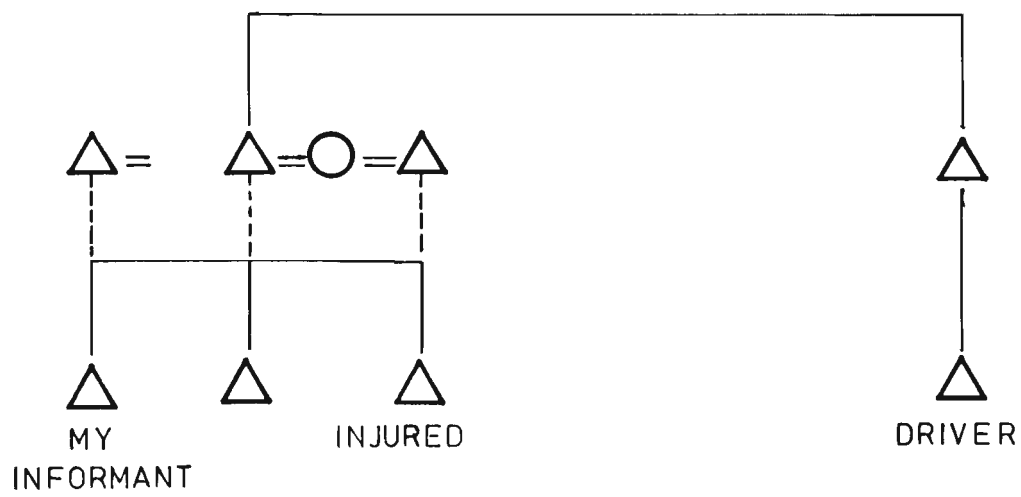
FIGURE 11. CONFLICT CASE 2: Reticence in confronting close kin

with their boyfriends. The man in couple A and the woman in couple B were children of two sisters, hence they were parallel cousins or "brother" and "sister" in Aboriginal terms. The closeness of kin relationships between the two parties certainly did not lead to restraint in either verbal abuse or physical conflict. After several physical clashes, the two parties engaged in a long bout of yelling vicious verbal abuse in the direction of each other's houses (which were separated by two streets and a row of houses). Yet the closeness of the kin tie was clearly an issue as both parties referred to it continually, e.g.: "You not my [re]'lations, you my enemies!", "I'm not related to you anymore, I'm your enemy!", "I've got no [re]'lations here!" (all statements made by the man in couple A); "You married to my brother, my fuckin' brother!" (woman in couple B to woman in couple A). The last comment was intended as an accusation about the impropriety of the behaviour of the woman being addressed; it rests on the ideal that close kin should rather support one another. In commenting on this dispute later on, several people stated as its most significant feature that: "They [i.e. the two parties] close too." While it is not unusual that serious conflict occurs between close kin in such cases as this one, both participants and onlookers are conscious of a sense in which the situation contravenes an ideal in a way that conflict between more socially distant people does not.

This ideal has also been apparent on occasions when people were reticent about confronting others despite provocation which would usually lead fairly quickly to conflict, and where they have justified their reticence in terms of the others being "close to us". For example, the brother of a young man seriously (though temporarily) injured in a car accident explained that: "We can't hold anything against them", i.e. the family of the driver of the car. His stated reasons included the fact that the young men of that family had always "been good" to his injured brother in the past - "stood up for him" in fights, and looked after him "if he bin too long drinkin' in Burketown", etc. However, these factors appeared to rest on the primary issue that: "they close to us too"; the speaker explained that his (and the injured man's) other brother was in fact the son of the driver's father's brother (see Figure 11). He explained that he and his two brothers had "one mother" but three "different fathers". This case thus also

B
×

Initial trading of
verbal abuse between A and B

× A

A retreats
to her house

× Subsequent attack on A
by her HZ and HM
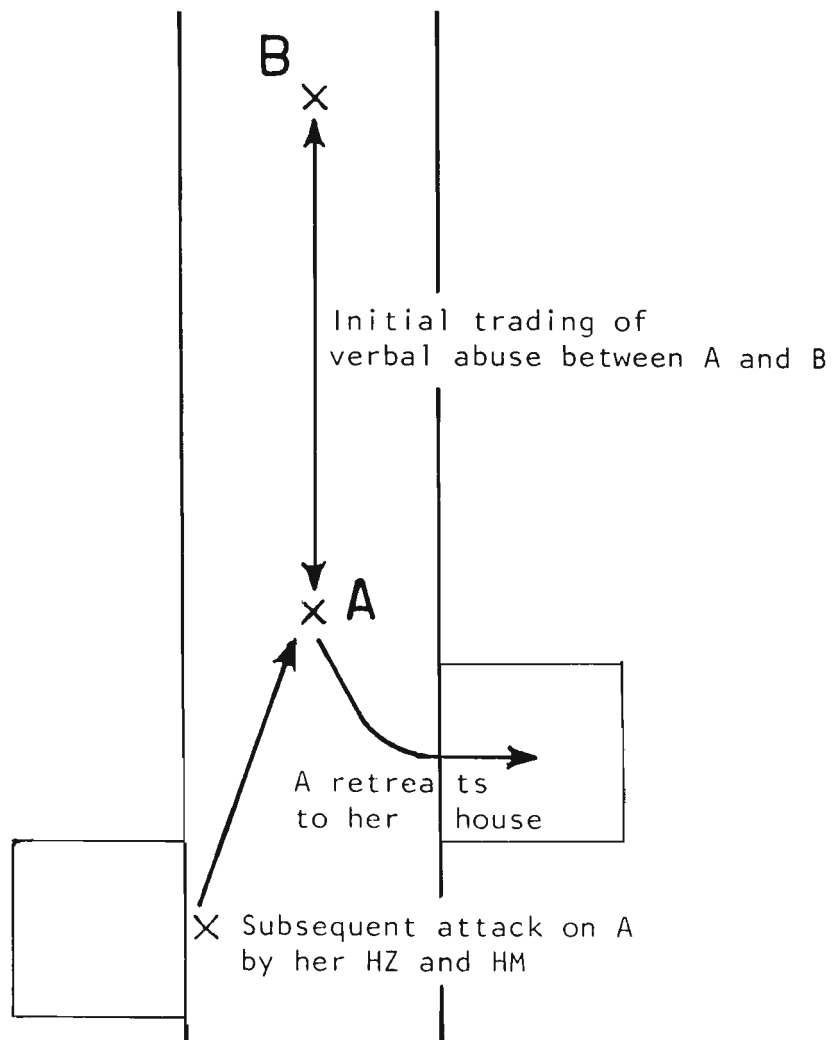
FIGURE 12. CONFLICT CASE 3: Primacy of support
as related to closeness of kin tie

illustrates the flexibility with which people can be considered close kin if circumstances warrant such inclusion.

In social relations between close kin, affinal ties are by definition less permanent than consanguineal ones. Thus, I have observed close affines, who have supported each other in previous disputes, become adversaries through the break-up of marriages.

Conflict Case 3

One such case involved a woman (A) located at one end of a street, engaged in verbal abuse with a woman (B) at the other end of the street (Figure 12) who had, as an onlooker put it to me: "... robbed her for husband in cold blood!", i.e. the latter had openly lived with the former's husband while his wife had been away for some weeks. The adulterous woman was known as a strong fighter, and she was aggressively unrepentant: "It's between you and me, you wanna fight, come on! [If] I belt you [then] he's mine." The wife did not wish to fight, e.g.: "I got my [other] man - you can have him [i.e. her husband]." But in the course of trading insults, she used abusive language in reference to her husband, and at this point her husband's sister and husband's mother began vigorously verbally attacking her from their location in the yard of their house some distance behind her: "you running my brother down! ... [If] my father was alive you'd be dead again [i.e. dead for sure]!" A did not acknowledge this attack from her HZ and HM, but rather kept her back to them and continued facing in the direction of her adversary B at the other end of the street. However, A was now being attacked simultaneously from two locations and she soon withdrew to her house, indicating that the conflict would not escalate. Through the change in her marital circumstances, her previously close and supportive affines (HZ and HM) had become adversaries in a situation where their support for their brother and son respectively had been primary.

Conflict Case 4

The following case illustrates the way a dispute can ramify to involve extensive numbers of kin on both sides. A young woman (A) had been living adulterously for some time in Burketown with another young woman's (B's) husband. B's mother (and other female kin of B's) had therefore given a "hidin'[g]" to A in a public place in Burketown. Soon after all the protagonists returned to Doomadgee, a long fight erupted
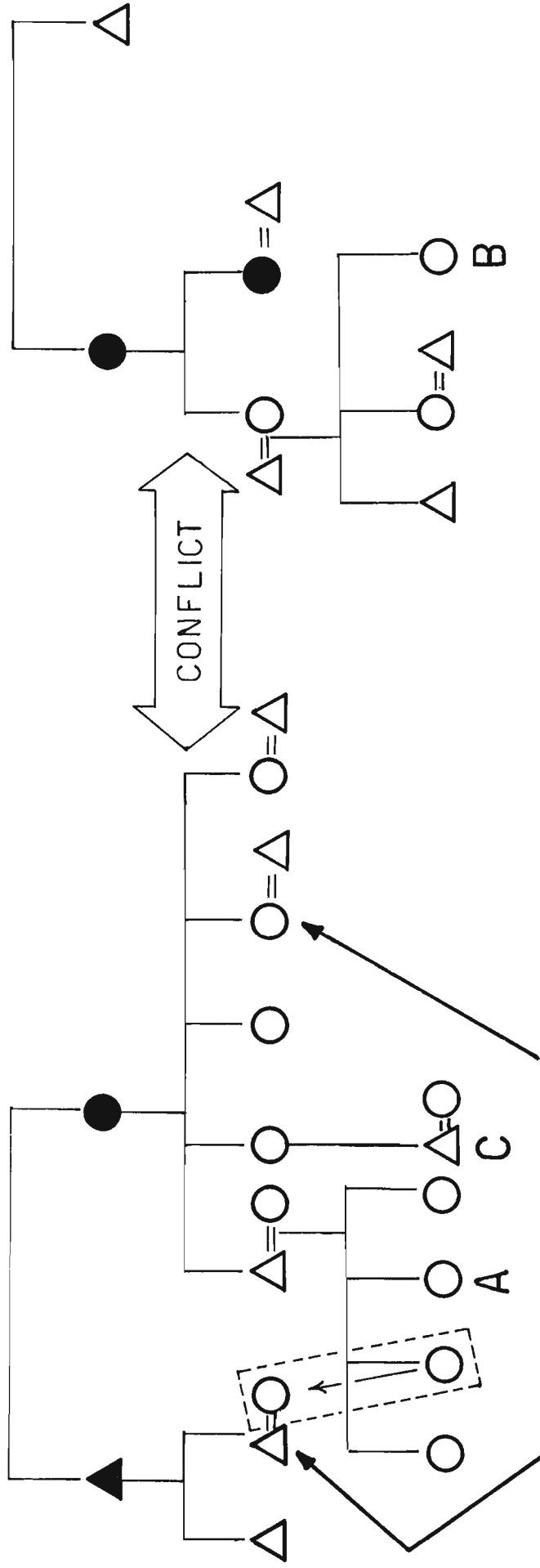
Houses of these persons used as
congregation points for A's group
during the conflict

MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF A'S GROUP   MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF B's GROUP

FIGURE 13. CONFLICT CASE 4: RANGE OF KIN INVOLVED

(Note that A's HB and HMMZS were also involved [see text]
but are not shown in this Figure)

in the early evening (the typical time of day chosen to express grudges against others). To describe how a range of individuals become involved in conflicts, I will present the data largely from the perspective of certain people who were aligned with A's grouping (see Figure 13 representing only the central protagonists).

Several young children in the household were the first to hear sounds of a fight, and announced excitedly: "They fightin', they fightin'!" As all household members moved quickly outside to observe, several asked: "Who fightin'?" People listened and watched keenly in the direction of the yelling, and quickly resolved who were the major protagonists by considering the general area of the village in which the yelling seemed to be coming from: e.g. such assessments determine whether the location is "top end", "bottom end", "river side", etc. By drawing on background knowledge of which families living in those areas currently had reason to fight, the "mobs" involved were quickly determined. At that point, A's FZ came hurrying to the house to get the senior man of the household (C), the eldest son of another of A's FZ's, "to try hold them back", i.e. to try to restrain some of A's kin who were incensed over the beating she was subjected to in Burketown. C and his wife and children returned with this woman to the house of yet another of A's FZ's where there were then congregated a group including at least four of A's FZ's plus the husbands of two of these women, C (i.e. A's FZS) plus his wife, and one of A's FMBS's. All these people were extremely upset. The group then moved to the house of one of A's sisters (who is married to another of A's FMBS's), where a further large group of A's relatives were gathered, including her mother and several of her siblings. A's mother and sisters were trading insults loudly with the women of B's grouping located at a house several streets away.

Fighting erupted and continued intermittently for several hours, however as I witnessed only part of it the following description of blows exchanged was given by one of A's relatives. While it may well thus be biased in terms of who were the victors, I am really concerned only to demonstrate the extent of the range of protagonists (supporting their close kin), and the account is almost certainly accurate in this regard:

- B's older sister was knocked down by A's older sister.
- B's father then aggressively restrained A's older sister.
- B's father was then cautioned by A's FZS, and simultaneously pushed back by A's sister.

. B's brother and older sister's husband were present but
did not intervene.

. At one point just after B's mother had been successful
against a woman with her fighting stick, one of A's FMBS's
warned her off with his own stick, but B's mother then
sent for B's MMB who came up quickly from his house
several streets away, carrying boomerangs. However, he
did not become involved in any actual physical clash. Men
aligned with A later said that this man brought his
boomerangs mainly as a bluff for they claimed that he is
not skilled in their use as fighting implements; however
his older brother is known to be an expert with these
weapons and the implication was that it would therefore
have been dangerous to engage the younger man in physical
conflict because his brother would most likely then have
become involved.

. A's own husband's brother apparently also threatened to
attack A (for in forming the adulterous relationship with
B's husband she had also slighted her own husband's
family), but he was warned off by some of A's male kin
present.

It can be further noted that during the next day, B's MZ's widower made
statements in support of his deceased's wife's kin, in reference to the
dispute, e.g.: "They [i.e. A's grouping] got to get drunk to fight", a
supportive reference to an assertion by B's grouping that some of those
supporting A had been drinking alcohol beforehand, and therefore their
social position and general posturing during the conflict lacked
legitimacy as sincere social action. Furthermore, the adulterous
husband himself had remained in Burketown when the fight took place at
Doomadgee. One of his MMZS's (structurally equivalent to his MB
["uncle"]) went into Burketown several days later for a number of
reasons, but while the two were in the hotel (initially drinking with
separate groups) the "uncle" embraced his "nephew", cried, and told him
he would take the latter back to Doomadgee. The "uncle" said that
nobody would confront the younger man while he stayed at his "uncle's"
house, and after they arrived back at Doomadgee this was indeed the
case, although the two young women protagonists and their relatives
continued minor arguments over a longer period.

This case illustrates the way a wide range of relatives are drawn
into conflict in support of their close kin. The two kinds of kinsmen
in the latter comments, B's MZ's widower and the adulterous man's MMZS
were not directly involved in the fighting or verbal abuse, yet they too
later aligned themselves with certain protagonists because of their kin
links. This illustrates the way it is difficult to designate how
extensive will be the network of kin which will be drawn into conflict

(shepherded C and her daughters back to their house) →

STICK FIGHT

'good friends'

B's "mate"

(not at settlement during conflict)

C

B

(blocked against C for her FFZDD, classified as DD)

CONFLICT

A's MM

A
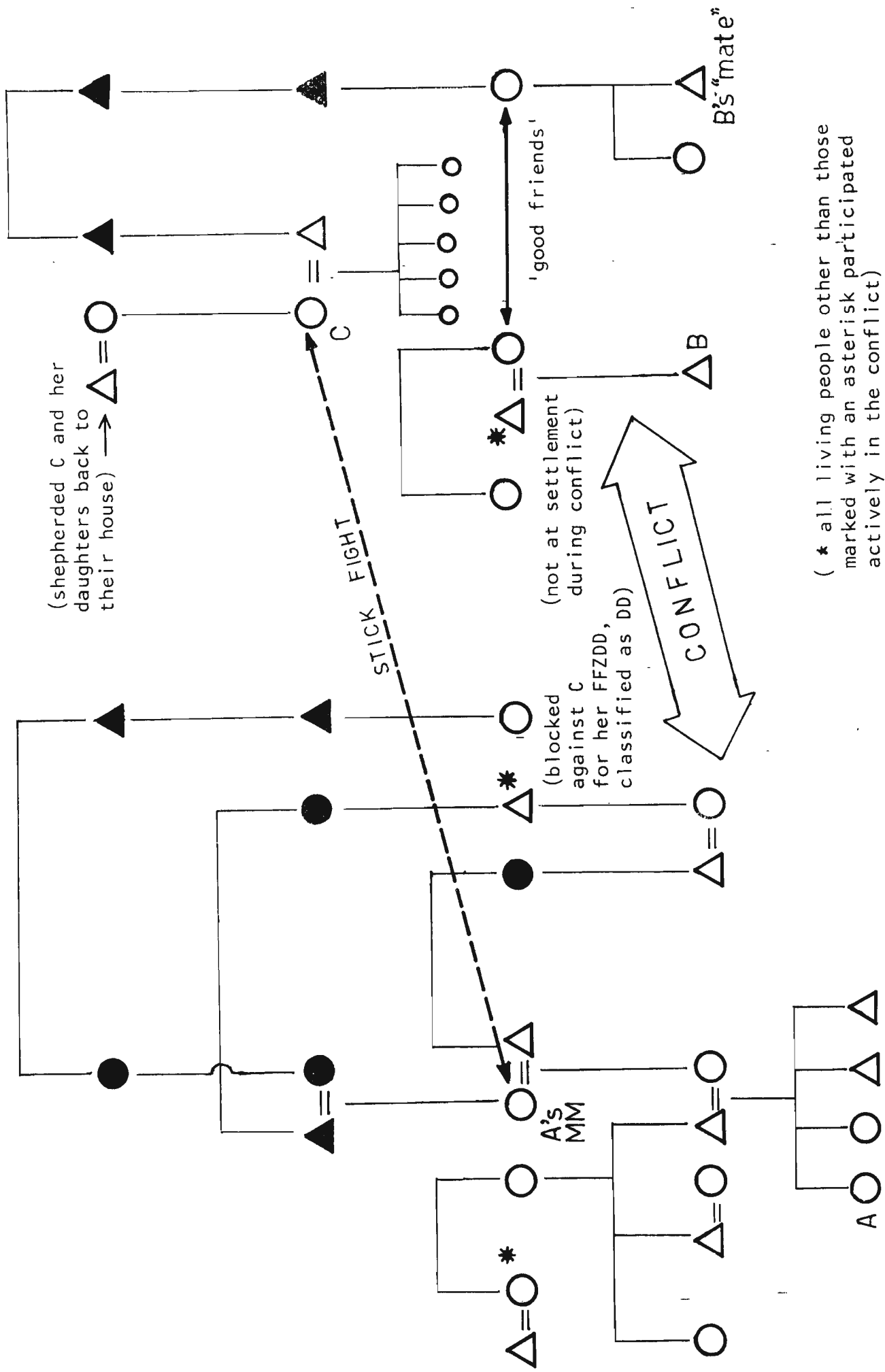
(* all living people other than those marked with an asterisk participated actively in the conflict)

FIGURE 14. CONFLICT CASE 5: People drawn into conflict though not originally aligned with either party

focused on an individual. Situations vary according to such factors as: the personalities and verbal and physical skills of individuals; and also the nature of the issue over which the conflict is occurring. The final case illustrates how people can sometimes be suddenly drawn into conflict though they may not have been aligning themselves with either party disputing over the original issue.

Conflict Case 5

A long and complex dispute began at about 8.30 p.m., initially between two parties: the family of a young teen-age girl (A) fought with the family of the teen-age boy (B) whom the former grouping accused of luring A "down the river" in order to have sexual intercourse with her. In brief, the dispute involved (see Figure 14):

. A's mother discovers her daughter is "down the river", probably with one particular boy (and possibly with other young teen-agers).

. She proceeds towards the river loudly and abusively referring to B and his family. She is accompanied by her husband (A's father), and A's FB and FBW, FM, and MM, plus several of the girl's younger siblings. The women carry fighting sticks and predominate in the verbal abuse directed mainly at the boyfriend (B) and his family, but also more generally berating the state of affairs whereby the community is unable to stop this kind of behaviour among teen-agers.

. A's father and two of his brothers (another [somewhat drunk] brother had joined the group in the river bed) catch the boy and beat him up quite severely.

. As A's family return through the village (without A herself who has run away through the river bed), they exchange vicious verbal abuse and insult with the boyfriend's (B's) family, particularly his mother and MZ (his father was absent from the settlement at the time).

. After regrouping at their house, and being joined by A's MFZS (known as a good fighter) and his wife (also the girl's MMFZSD), A's family return toward B's mother's house, pressing the fight aggressively towards the other party. (It can also be noted that the girl's FMZH had unsuccessfully tried to restrain A's father.)

. A's family had also been swearing at and abusing the boyfriend's "mate" who they alleged had been his accomplice "down the river", and thus the mother (and sisters) of this second boy also retaliated. (The two mothers of the offending boys were later said to be "not [genealogically] close to one another"; though when I pressed the question it was mentioned that the mothers of these two women had at different times lived with the same man. One woman suggested that they "bin back up together because they bin good friend.")

However, the fight then took a new direction:

. A's MM moved towards the house of people who up to this point had not been involved, yelling out that the mothers of the two boys had warned that they would enlist the support of their "sisters" in this household. B's mother is only a subsection "sister" to these women, but the mother of his "mate" is a "blood" sister to them for they are her FFBS's daughters. A's MM is also consanguineally related to these women, for their mother (C) is A's MM's FMZD (classified as FZ). Because A's MM was interpreted as swearing about the possibility of these women supporting her adversaries, the mother of the women (C) immediately moved out of her yard and down the street to attack her. A's MM and this woman then had an intense stick-fight, both women being supported by their daughters. A third woman, uninvolved in the fight but related closely to A's MM began blocking C's blows once it became apparent that she was winning and had injured A's MM. The woman blocking for A's MM is MMBSD (classified as MM) to her. C's MH (not C's father) then shepherded C and her daughters back to their house, where the women intermittently yelled abuse in the direction of A's MM while crying quietly. (It is not uncommon for such relatively neutral individuals, often close kinsmen, to perform such blocking and shepherding roles once it is clear that one protagonist has demonstrated they have won; such people are commonly referred to as "referee".)

I will not describe further the long and complex details of this fighting, which largely resumed its original focus after the stick-fight between the two women finished. Firstly, the case again illustrates the way an extensive range of kin quickly become involved in disputes. Secondly, we can also note the fact that A's MB and B's "mate's" Z are married, and thus these two had conflicting loyalties to both sides. Although their respective consanguineal kin could generally be expected to claim greater allegiance than their affinal kin, these two behaved in the typical fashion in such circumstances - they stayed out of the fighting and dispute altogether. Thirdly, the case illustrates how conflict settings involve highly emotional expectations about who should give one support, or at least do this indirectly by not giving one's adversaries support. Thus, in this case a woman and her daughters became involved in a conflict because one of the protagonists swore about them being referred to as allies by her adversaries. Their situation was that they were related consanguineally to one side, but they had not been drawn into the conflict from its early stages. What they had done was listen intently to the verbal exchanges from the beginning of the conflict. Most people do this, because they find the mutual antagonism of great interest; verbal argument is graphically referred to by the label "tongue-bang", and apart from its competitive

aspect it is of interest because of the humour perceived when speakers mis-pronounce a word or phrase in the emotional "heat" of the argument. However, for those within the network(s) of genealogically close kin of one or more protagonists, it is particularly necessary to monitor what is said for any references to themselves by either party in the dispute. Such references typically engender an immediate involvement in the conflict by those so referred to.

Finally, this case illustrates that on occasion in conflicts people may align themselves with people who are not close kin; in this case, such alignment was most likely due to B's and B's "mate's" groups being jointly attacked by A's group. The comment that B's and B's "mate's" mothers were "good friends" is also relevant, however such "friendship" would not in itself have been sufficient reason for either of these people to take an active part in the conflict. The major point of this section has been to illustrate that it is typically genealogically close kin links to the main protagonists which rather engender active participation in conflicts within Aboriginal sociopolitical life.

5.6 Kinship and Status

In considering explanation of the social action described in this chapter, I have focused on kinship relations. Yet in seeking the causes of this social action, I am left to evaluate why kinship relations should entail the attitudes and behaviour they do, as described above. The question may be answered, if tritely and somewhat tautologically, by reference to the simple fact that Aboriginal tradition places great and continuing emphasis on the social primacy of those considered to be socially familiar as compared to others. Such a reference avoids over-emphasis on emic perceptions of biological links, and so can account for the not uncommon adoption of non-consanguines as close relatives.

However, it is not my purpose here to try to unravel the roots of such apparent motivations as loyalty between close kin, or the sense of identity with and belonging to close kin as it clearly operates among social actors. Rather, I wish again to return to the concept of status in the broad analysis of relations between close kin, and between groupings of close kin and others. For I wish to argue that in Aboriginal social life at Doomadgee, those to whom one is acknowledged as having close kin ties impinge substantially on one's "status

situation". That is, the statuses of one's close kin are linked to and determine one's own status to a significant degree.

Individuals sometimes make overt statements asserting high prestige for their close kin, mostly their parents or grandparents, such as: "My father bin great man with a spear - bin feed all the Yanyula people in the early days." This statement implies that a Ganggalida man was more skilled at hunting than Yanyula people who had come from the west and are generally acknowledged as having been great hunters indeed. Similar statements proclaim great knowledge and skills in fighting, singing, dancing, and occasionally capacity for effective sorcery, etc. However, people also make these comments about people who are not close kin. The personal interest that individuals have in the social honour of their close kin in particular is rather revealed less ambiguously in the process of conflict.

There is a loss of status for an individual entailed in the fact of one or more of his close kin being beaten in conflict with other Aborigines. People are therefore very reticent to admit that a close kinsperson has lost a fight or argument, unless the loss was absolutely clear, e.g. involving the person being knocked unconscious. Demonstrable physical injury to one's close kin engenders the desire for retaliation, and I have observed those injured deliberately exhibit the injury to kin in obtaining their support. One woman who received a head injury in a fight at night did not wash off blood covering part of her face for at least 24 hours. The blood as a visible manifestation of the injury she had suffered at the hands of people who were not close kin, served partly as a public statement of the attack on her social honour.

Pronouncements of loyalty when supporting close kin in such circumstances are made regularly during and following periods of conflict, e.g.: "I'll fight with my brother till I drop!", "Fight one brother, they fight them all!" But in examining such statements and the behaviour associated with them more critically, the applicability of the more general concept of status is clear. For example a woman (A) approached a group of her close kin and said in relation to a conflict some distance away that all had been listening to: "They call 'im 'bout my name now." Her husband, who was with her, said: "We go look first [i.e. now]." Several of their close kin then accompanied them, physically walking and standing beside A as she verbally abused the woman (B) who had referred to her insultingly. When they reached B's mother's house where B was located they found one of A's nieces

hurling insults at B; the niece was later described as having "stood up for her aunty." A made her attack not only on B, but also on B's close kin: "[X: B's mother], you better not say anything when I belt ... [B]! I'll hit ... [Y: B's father] too - back-biting me [i.e. insulting me when I'm not there]!" A's warnings to B's mother and father again illustrate the widespread emic assumption that when one is engaged in a dispute with an individual, the latter's close relatives are also entailed in the conflict. However, the general question here is whether the kind of entailment described in this case, and in those presented in Section 5.5, is adequately explained by the notion of loyalty.

I would rather argue that that the initial public insults against A in the above case were considered an attack on her social honour, and this engendered the typical response of counter-attack. Moreover, because such attack on and defence of an individual's status is viewed emically as entailing the collective status of her close kin, the motivations of those supporting her cannot be solely analysed in terms of the latter's loyalty to and concern for, their kinswoman. Their action must also be seen as oriented towards their own status situation (both as individuals and collectively), for their own status is also threatened by the threat against their kinswoman. To put the point succinctly: when individuals "stand up for" their aunty, granny, brother-in-law, etc. in disputes, there is an equally fundamental sense in which they are standing up for themselves.

The final point is that such status concerns are also evident in the cases presented above involving disputes between close kin. As a further graphic example, consider the following old man's description to others of his interference in a fight between his daughter and her husband; according to his account, he said to his son-in-law:

> Don't you belt my daughter in front of me! If you can't beat her got a knuckle [with your fists] don't hit her got a stick [as he was doing]; if you can't beat woman got a knuckle you must be pretty harmless ... .

He then went on to explain how his daughter "got the better of him [her H] with knuckle y'know." His personal stake in his daughter's performance in the conflict was implicit to all hearers of this statement. As an assertion of an aspect of the collective status situation of his daughter and himself, the statement was typical of Aboriginal discourse about conflicts. The fact that the old man's son-in-law and those close kin supporting him, would inevitably describe the events so as to maintain the honour of their own reputations and public esteem would also be unsurprising to those who were present.

Such behaviour is expected in a society where kin relationships of varying degrees of closeness are a fundamental determinant of much social action.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the pervasiveness of kinship in Aboriginal social life. An important emic distinction has been posited between "really", "full" or "blood" (i.e. actual) kin and "long way" (i.e. putative) kin, although actual kin are themselves ranged along a continuum of social closeness. The management of just who is to be considered "close" kin varies somewhat according to social contexts. People can certainly trace their relationships to some individuals along more than one genealogical track, and I have discussed how they do this in the case of their relationships to the children of parents who are both their close kin. However, I have suggested that it is marriage to non-close kin which has prevailed in the majority of cases, in accordance with a requirement of the formal traditional kinship system, and I have noted that this practice engenders wide open-ended kin networks rather than independent segmental kin groups.

Three fundamental dimensions of collective social action involving close kin have been described. Firstly, I have presented residential household units as groups of close kin linked through consanguineal and affinal ties to members of other households throughout the village. Secondly, the giving and receiving of material and economic support has been noted as proceeding along networks of close kin. Thirdly, a substantial amount of data on conflict has illustrated the following points, among others: most conflict between sober people involves individuals giving verbal and physical support to their close kin; such support is drawn from a wide range of actual kin – though precisely who participates varies according to context, the most common "fighting unit" consists of a person and his/her same-sex siblings, and parent and grandparents of the same gender; in conflict between close kin people generally support those genealogically most closely linked to them although, if conflicting loyalties are not separable in this way people may well stay out of the dispute altogether; and finally, disputes commonly ramify to include, and indeed themselves generate, issues other than the one which initially started the conflict.

The further discussion has sought to incorporate kinship relations within a theory of power relations, and I have posited that at this level of analysis kinship relations are best regarded as a dimension of status relations. That is to say, that part of the status situation of

individuals is determined by who are their close kin, and I have illustrated this point mainly with reference to analysis of motivations (not necessarily consciously held) involved in giving and receiving support from close kin in conflict settings. I have argued that it is necessary to subsume the notion of loyalty within the broader concept of status, in explanation of kinship relations as they regulate this major dimension of social action.

PART B - Summary considerations

It is now appropriate to summarise the findings of Part B of the thesis. Firstly, in contrast to the discussion to be presented in Part C below concerning colonial social relations, in considering social action derived predominantly from Aboriginal tradition I have not obtained data in support of relations of domination. Aboriginal tradition at Doomadgee does not generate a social formation of institutionalised authority and hierarchy, and in this sense it may be indeed considered as generating an egalitarian society; cf. the general arguments of Hiatt (195), Meggitt (1966) and Sharp (1958) concerning traditional Aboriginal politics. The argument between the latter three writers and Elkin (1964), Berndt (1965) and Strehlow (1970), over how extensive is the ritual authority of senior men, has little relevance to the Doomadgee setting. For as will be noted at a number of points in Chapters 6 and 9, traditional Aboriginal ritual life has always been peripheral to social action at Doomadgee. Certainly, a body of religious knowledge has continued to be held (and monopolised) by senior men (though senior women also appear to have monopolised a domain of ritual knowledge); yet because the application of this knowledge in social action has been so restricted, those holding it have simply wielded authority over ideas - they have had the authority to define the orthodox religious ideal, but not the ability to put the ideal into practice. They have had high status in certain social contexts (as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.6 above), but not authority; they have held prestige but not the power of command.

Bern's (1979) reconstruction of the relations of domination within the traditional Aboriginal social formation is also of only marginal relevance to power relations stemming from Aboriginal tradition in the contemporary settlement. Age and sex simply do not operate as the main criteria on which is based a hierarchy of authority. Senior men no longer control either religious cults (because they are not practised)

or the right to bestow women in marriage (because few women are any longer "promised" as future wives [cf. Bern 1979: 126]). While I certainly agree with Bern (1979: 123) that in Aboriginal society accumulable social wealth "encompasses more than durable economic goods", the major dimensions of that wealth in contemporary Doomadgee social life are not controlled by senior men. A partial exception not mentioned so far is traditional healing knowledge, and references will be made to "Blackfella doctors" in Chapter 9. However, as with expert knowledge of matters concerning country, this knowledge of "Blackfella medicine" is by no means so critical to a wide spectrum of Aboriginal social action to support positions of institutionalised authority for those who hold it.

Nor does my research indicate that domination via a constellation of economic interests is generated within Aboriginal society by Aboriginal tradition at Doomadgee. The class situation of Aborigines, to the extent that it will be shown to exist in Part C of the thesis, does not stem from Aboriginal tradition. The class situations of both Aborigines and Whites, and any implicit relations of domination, must rather be viewed in terms of the capitalist market which does not derive from Aboriginal tradition.

However, what Part B illustrates in detail is that the absence of relations of formal domination via authority or economic power in social life stemming from Aboriginal tradition, does not imply an absence of political life stemming from that tradition. If contemporary Aboriginal tradition generates a formally egalitarian society, it nevertheless provides the resources for intense competition for social status. Thus, the chapters in Part B have examined how persons' socially recognised affiliation to language (Chapter 3), country (Chapter 4) and kin (Chapter 5) determine important aspects of their status situation within the Aboriginal social field. Two key theoretical issues require summary and clarificatory comments: group formation; and the egocentric designation of status hierarchies.

In the above chapters I have described the collective affiliation of numbers of individuals to languages, areas of country and kin. An important research question has been to examine the extent to which such affiliation determines collective action, and also the sense in which it therefore entails the existence of status groups. Bern (1979: 126) for example, identifies segmentary groups (such as clans, language groups, and totemic groups) engaged in competition, presumably for "social

wealth" though this is not stated clearly; he sees this segmentary political competition as between "structurally alike" groups (that is as distinguished from hierarchical political relations between senior men and others). Alternatively, Sutton (1982: 198) has put a very different view:

> The material transactions of Aboriginal society involve the expenditure of vast amounts of time, talent and energy on personal competition. Desires for both power and autonomy - inherently contradictory - result in a society of Goffman-like loners endlessly working their way through scenes and encounters, who are often to be heard appealing to notions of group solidarity, but the latter, like the mirages of the desert, dissolve upon close inspection into the tenuous wraiths of egocentrism.

What then of the contemporary situation at Doomadgee? Does Aboriginal tradition generate social groups among village residents?

In Chapter 3, I have concluded that language groups are spoken about, rather than given collective behavioural expression. I have borrowed Nadel's label and termed them ideational "quasi-groups" (see Chapter 2, p. 20), in that while they are conceived to exist and proclaimed as groups, they are rarely evident in collective social action. In Chapter 4, I have similarly concluded that while broad country-affiliated cognatic lineages are conceived as "one mob", it is the divisive politicking between different parent-children factions within them which is most evident in social action associated with such affiliation to country. As well, I have shown in that chapter that subsection/semimoiety affiliation does not lead to group formation. I have mentioned in Chapter 4 that Nadel's label is also applicable in analysis of country-affiliated groups and subsections/semimoieties.

The data in this chapter have rather illustrated three important dimensions of social life in which numbers of close kin (including consanguines and affines) do engage in collective action: co-residence, material support, and conflict. To the extent that enduring action and interest groups may be said to derive from Aboriginal tradition in village social life, they are thus kin networks of varying size and consisting of varying kinds of close relatives. A typical core of such units can be characterised by designating the following kin of a middle-aged married couple: their children (and their children's spouses if the latter are married), their siblings and these persons' spouses and offspring, and their parents. As illustrated in this chapter, much wider networks of actual kin enclose such cores and a wide

range of individuals within the networks may be observed giving support to their relatives in different contexts.

While my data do not support Sutton's description of "tenuous wraiths of egocentrism", it is nevertheless true that even groups of such close kin cannot be regarded as unambiguously corporate. Like language "groups" and country-affiliated "groups" they are not sufficiently discrete and well-bounded to be corporate groups or corporate categories in M.G. Smith's sense as outlined in Chapter 2. Cross-cutting ties to two or more languages, to multiple countries, and to a broad continuum of close kin militate against the formation of perpetual discrete units. There is certainly no "corporate apparatus" (to use Weber's phrase referred to above [p. 14]) attached to such "groups" deriving from Aboriginal tradition. Indeed, to this extent "political communities" in Weber's sense are not generated by Aboriginal tradition, however (as already noted in Chapter 2), I do not find much value in such a restricted evolutionary conception of "politics" (cf. Hiatt 1984b: 8), and I have used the latter term more generally to refer to the operation of competitive status relations throughout Aboriginal society.

The second key issue in Part B has been an analysis of Aboriginal affiliation to language, country and kin in terms of social inequality. In Chapter 3, I have concluded that the linguistic affiliation of individuals is one of the features of their social identity which is entailed in their political relations with other Aborigines. For it is one means by which status honour is sought and attributed to their social identity. In Chapter 4 and in this chapter, I have presented different data to make the same point for affiliation to country and kin respectively. My conclusions have described competition for status on the basis of these three aspects of social identity deriving from Aboriginal tradition.

The clarificatory point necessary here is that I have not thereby described single status hierarchies for languages, areas of country or networks of close kin. For it is basic to Aboriginal management of these aspects of identity and status that people do not agree on their ranking. The seeking and attributing of much status honour to aspects of Aboriginal identity must be recognised as fundamentally egocentric and chauvinistic. The Aboriginal conception of different languages, areas of country and networks of close kin inevitably proceeds by means of unfavourable competitive reference to these dimensions of one's own

status situation. Indeed, it seems arguable that Aborigines at Doomadgee have no means to conceive of the status of say, other Aboriginal languages, other than by reference to one's own. In this sense there are as many emic status hierarchies of Aboriginal languages, as there are languages (or at least language-name composite categories) to which people are affiliated. The same point can be made generally for status hierarchies of areas of country and networks of close kin.

Given this fact, different people may be said to simply rank the social honour of their own language, country and kin as distinct from that of all others, and not distinguish in this way among the latter. However, in Section 4.6 I have described a further basis for the attribution of status where much more agreement about a single status hierarchy prevails. There is much wider agreement about who are the small number of individuals holding expert knowledge of country and associated ritual matters, and/or skills in the performing arts deriving from this knowledge. While the experts engage between themselves in politicking over this kind of "social wealth", their expert status is nevertheless recognised widely throughout the village population. While their prestige is egocentrically asserted (through a variety of personal political styles described in Section 4.6), it is not derived or maintained solely through chauvinism about such aspects of one's ascribed status as affiliation to language, country and kin. It is rather achieved, and hence is not deniable or challengeable simply through the alternative chauvinistic proclamations of others.

There is thus a sense in which such achieved status as a knowledgeable and/or skilled expert entails a super-ordinate social position over others (in contexts bearing on the experts' knowledge and skills), in a way that ascribed statuses over which people chauvinistically compete do not. No individual or grouping of individuals can ever win widespread recognition for their assertions about the superiority of the aspects of their ascribed social identities which have been treated in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. To the extent that it is the latter kind of competitive status relations which embrace the entire village population, Aboriginal social life as it derives from Aboriginal tradition may be viewed as mostly lacking formalised agreed-upon status inequality which extends across the population. The achieved super-ordinate status of the small number of Blackfella law experts is the exception to this generalisation, however the latter's position is restricted to a small range of contexts within the broader pattern of Aboriginal social life.

PART C

DOMINATION, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY IN COLONIAL SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER 6

COLONISATION – THE HISTORY OF CHANGING POWER RELATIONS

6.1 Introduction

I have found in Part B that social life generated from certain key dimensions of Aboriginal tradition contains intensely competitive status relations, but not institutionalised social inequality or stratification based on a system of domination. Together with the other chapters of Part C of the thesis, this chapter deals with the question of domination in colonial social relations, i.e. in social action deriving from the articulation of Aboriginal and European traditions. The chapter examines the history of power relations between, and to some extent within, the Aboriginal and colonising White Australian societies in the study region. Its theoretical focus is the issue of domination as discussed in Chapter 2. The presentation and analysis of specifically historical data in this chapter has been a necessary part in the more general study of Doomadgee social life during the research period.

The data are presented under three main headings which designate three gross categories of history as conceived by contemporary Aborigines: Wild Time; station and fringe-dwelling life; and life at Doomadgee Mission. The periods so designated do not have precise beginnings and ends, but rather merge and overlap. While the first heading unambiguously refers to an epoch, the last two focus more precisely on certain lifestyles which occurred during particular periods. The three periods also began and ended at somewhat different times for different Aboriginal groups in the study region. Both oral and written sources are drawn on in this chapter, and the discussion makes use of both Aboriginal and White Australian accounts. Most of the original unpublished written sources have not previously been available to researchers.[1]

To foreshadow this chapter's main findings, apart from a brief initial period lacking open hostility, Wild Time is shown (in Section 6.2) to have involved the domination of Aboriginal society by

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[1]This unpublished material is referenced in the text by stating the author's name, and the complete date of writing including day, month and year. The full reference is given under the separate heading of unpublished material in the Bibliography.

the invading society, largely through the use of physical force or the threat of it. However, the data illustrate a diversity of social action being pursued by various Aboriginal and White Australian groupings, rather than two solidary race-based groups solely engaged in perpetual conflict. While certain Aborigines are thus shown to have aided the establishment of White domination over Aboriginal society, there is at the same time little evidence for a general attribution by Aborigines of legitimacy to the pattern of White rule.

Nor is such attribution of legitimacy by Aborigines apparent from the data on station and fringe-dwelling life (Section 6.3). The domination of Aborigines during this period is shown to have operated most critically by virtue of the economic power of White employers. However, as well as the importance of labour relations, I show that an adequate analysis must also consider: Aboriginal compliance associated with dependency on certain White Australian material goods; continuing alliance between individual Aborigines and Whites; and also the continuing role of state ideology and the use of physical force by the state.

In Section 6.4, I make clear that the establishment of Doomadgee Mission and the ensuing institutionalisation of Aborigines was the process which resulted in entrenched authority relations between Aborigines and their White administrators. Finally then, three major dimensions of domination are summarised in the chapter's conclusion: economic power; physical force controlled by the state; and entrenched authority relations.

Before presenting data concerning Wild Time, station and fringe-dwelling life, and life at Doomadgee Mission, a note is necessary about a further period that is referred to by contemporary Aborigines - "Wanggala Time" or "Dreamtime". Older people are the ones who refer most authoritatively to this "time". It contains within it the earliest of all known time, the creative period when the major features of the physical and social universe were shaped. Avery (1977: 30) interprets the Garawa term wanggala as meaning "a past creative period"; a Summer Institute of Linguistics English-Garawa Dictionary (n.p.) translates it poorly as "olden times". However, in interpreting contemporary Aboriginal discourse about Wanggala Time, it is difficult to separate the temporal dimensions of the period, from those of the imperatives stemming from it. The latter are certainly conceived as continuing beyond the creative era. Indeed, some accounts indicate that it is the

disruption of social and spiritual order which has occurred during colonisation, which marks the end of Wanggala Time.

It is those older people oriented towards "Blackfella law" who are perceived to be closest to Wanggala Time. Occasionally very old people who are known to have learned little about White Australian society (e.g. speak little English) may be referred to as "belonging" to Wanggala Time. References to Wanggala Time often emphasise the relative strength of "law" then, as compared with the present. When given the opportunity to formally record on tape a statement about local Aboriginal history, two older men explained how people "sat down with" (i.e. obeyed the requirements of) Wanggala for a long time, and that it is only "lately generations" (buyingginyi) for whom "Wanggala [is] gone now." This is because the young generation(s) is "mad" (murdu: "migu yaji_guwarda" ("nothing ear"), i.e. they cannot listen to or understand proper custom and "law" (T77). Thus the imperatives still stem from Wanggala Time, but no longer properly control Aboriginal society.

This manner of imposition on the present of the Dreamtime has been described elsewhere (e.g. Stanner's classic paper [1965a]). However, this chapter is concerned with establishing a chronological framework for the history of colonisation in the study region. In this chronology, I designate the earliest period as the pre-colonised past, and to the extent that Wanggala Time (or Dreamtime) has a chronological focus within the contemporary Aboriginal world-view, it certainly incorporates this period.

6.2 Wild_Time

In contemporary Aboriginal discourse, this phrase describes the period from before White incursions through subsequent phases of interaction with Whites, until people were "quietened down". The period is also referred to as "early day" or "young day". Extensive violence in the bush is the focus of it when the "old people" were "wild" in that they "belonged to bush" and did not know about or understand White people, their material goods or their customs. People are recognised as having become "quiet" with their semi-sedentary location at cattle and police station camps, and this time varied greatly throughout the study region. May (1983: 65), for example, notes remote Gulf country squatters (in the eastern area) using local Aboriginal labour from as early as 1867, and a policeman on patrol as recently as 1944 (Bowie 28.4.1944: 3) reports at Redbank Creek (in the NT not far from the Qld border) a "large tribe" of about 80 Aborigines "practically in their native state".

Such phrasing as that of Bowie is clearly difficult to interpret. However, written sources can assist in establishing a general chronology for Wild time. Dymock's (1982) historical work provides an account of contact history in the region. In brief summary, he describes: early mainland exploration from 1845; the first phase of pastoral invasion from 1864, its gradual abandonment, then re-establishment from 1874 onwards; conflict and violence between Aborigines and Whites, and the introduction of Native Police in 1889; the early infiltration of large numbers of cattle and sheep into the region; attacks on Whites, their cattle, sheep and other property, and reprisals by Whites through the 1890s and into the first decade of the 20th century; and much movement by Aborigines throughout the study region. From his presentation of written sources, Wild Time may certainly be viewed as extending up to 1910.

My own account focuses on key themes which emerge from Aboriginal oral perspectives of Wild Time, and draws on written sources where appropriate.

6.2.1 Early Contact

The account of the earliest period of contact comes from an Aboriginal man, told (by his father) about the first times Aborigines in the coastal Yanyula country encountered Whites. They perceived them as their deceased relatives returning from the domain of dead spirits, located in "the middle of the sea". The Whites came in boats from the west. The Aborigines cried for the Whites, calling out kin terms for father and father's brother; they fed them with marine meat resources, and then "hand[ed] them over la 'nother lot tribe", until the Whites returned westwards. They "helped them all the way" (T73).[2]

It is unclear how long this illusion about Whites was maintained. It has been reported for other parts of the Australian frontier (Reynolds 1981: 25-32), as have initially friendly encounters where Aborigines offered Whites hospitality and assistance (Reynolds 1981: 20-1). For the east of the study region, Dymock (1982: 18) quotes a newspaper source indicating friendly relations between Aborigines and

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[2]Several old people now refer to the first contact as with Captain Cook; thus the Aborigines fed Captain Cook and received tobacco from him. In fact, Cook did not travel through the southern Gulf area (see, for example, Rienits 1968). The White Australian perspective of Captain Cook being the first to discover "the country" has been interpreted to refer to the local area (see Chase [1980: 88, 1981: 11] for a further interpretation of similar references among contemporary Aborigines at Lockhart, east Cape York Peninsula).

Whites in 1866, Bauer (1959: 22) comments more generally that by 1862 advancing Whites had found Aborigines numerous but not hostile, and early pastoralists Little and Hetzer (8.6.1868: 1) provide a general comment:

> Outrages by the blacks are seldom committed in the earliest stage of the settlement of a new district, and this has been particularly the case in this district of Burke, where for the first two years the blacks were quiet enough to make many settlers believe them incapable of violence and to consider them quite harmless.

6.2.2 Violence on the frontier

However, the period lacking hostilities was very short. Aboriginal oral accounts describe bloodthirsty killings of Aboriginal men, women and children by both Whites and members of the Queensland Mounted Native Police Force. Recounted attrocities by Native Police include smashing children against trees and rocks "so their brains came out" and after shootings, the cutting up of bodies, burning bodies, and hanging up parts of corpses in trees where other Aborigines would later find them. People were often shot at daybreak in camp. One old woman explains certain Aboriginal tactics:

> ... when Mandagi [Whites] come this way, y'know look about want to shoot'im down people, my dad and mum used to go that way, behind their back, all the way like that now, my mum used to tell me ... (T66).

She also describes the tactic of hiding beneath "bush passionfruit" (Passiflora foetida) vegetation which afforded good cover; and there are also references (e.g. T73) to people fleeing from Whites and Native Police having to leave children hidden amid the foliage of trees in beach areas. People lit fires in some circumstances to avoid Whites, although in other circumstances Whites used fires to make Aborigines leave hiding places. It is also related how certain Aborigines would "sing" the firearms and bullets so that they would not work properly, then move in to spear their adversaries (T52).

Specific shootings of certain relatives at known places are remembered in oral tradition. However, many old people are unsure of what happened to their grandparents; some surmise that they "must have been shot". People also surmise how some kinds of country would have provided safer hiding places than others, e.g. in reference to the "cave country" in the vicinity of the China Wall in the upper Nicholson River area: "I think our people bin more safe here hey? - not like on that plain country." Contemporary people see themselves as descended from

the survivors of very violent times. Those who survived were made "quiet", i.e. forced to accept White settlement:

> ... [in reference to coastal Ganggalida country] them White man now cheeky one where they bin kill'im 'bout people ... most they bin kill'im now ... old people they bin kill'im, some of them young people they bin kill'im ... some what sit down with them [i.e. remain under control], they take 'em, quieten 'em make 'em work ... some woman too (T78).

In the Aboriginal view, part of the evidence for the deaths of many Aborigines is the large amount of country for which "Blackfella all finish". While evidence of Aboriginal occupation is often clear in the form of stone tools, old camp sites, rock art, marked trees, etc. and the totemic and subsection affiliation may even be known, the land owning units are either no longer remembered or else known to have died out.

The written sources referred to by Dymock (1982) confirm Aboriginal accounts of violence; his summary maps (1982: 78-9) indicate violent encounters at many locations in the study region.

Cattle-spearing by Aborigines is known to have been a major source of conflict, e.g. oral accounts describe how people were pursued for this reason away from Lawn Hill Station up Lawn Hill and Louie Creeks.[3] In one incident, two sisters reputedly hid in the water under lily leaves and Pandanus tree roots and leaves while Native Police watched the water to shoot at any movements. While hiding they could see the fire where the bodies of those who had been shot were being burned. One man describes a "heap of bones" and a "heap of grease patch" at the Louie Creek site where bodies were burned. As recounted a White tactic at the Wollogorang Station house was the strategic placing of a "square" of string with attached bells at night; the openings in the hut walls from which rifles would fire into the square area when the bells rang, are still observable in the old house-structure.

Oral accounts also describe conflict over Aboriginal women. In a well-known event at Wollogorang a party of Whites (and at least one "yellafella" - see p. 138 below) from the station attacked a large group of Aborigines holding a major cult ceremony at a site some twelve miles from the station house on Settlement Creek. They shot many people and abducted a woman, taking her back to the house. Her husband, Yilibara, escaped and came to the house that night. There are different accounts of precisely what happened, but the result was that he speared

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[3]See Map 8 showing station homestead locations.

the White abductor in the thigh, and was himself shot by the latter with a shot-gun. Both men survived (despite the fact that only the White was apparently taken to Burketown for medical treatment). As the story is described in a typical Aboriginal account (T73), the woman was able to get away from the station house and: "then [later on] ... when everything bin get settle down, two fella bin get friend up." That is, Yilibara eventually came with others to live at Wollogorang and was made "king" of that station.

Dymock (1982: 81-3) gives an account consistent with this one, and dates the event at 1897, by reference to the written report of the Police Constable who investigated it.

The huge impact of the Whites of the frontier on Aboriginal society is clear. The Native Police as their agents were equally violent but much less culturally alien. They were clearly perceived by local Aborigines as both culturally familiar in a general way and yet socially distant through originating from "another country". Native Police were known as yabayiri "because they didn't go through bora", i.e. they were not circumcised. However, the yabayiri were not regarded as juga, the local term for uninitiated boy, but rather as having gone through their own style of initiation where they had come from. The old people say the yabayiri originally came predominantly from the Cooktown area, and that they came into the study region from the direction of Nguburinji, Galgadungu, etc. linguistic territories to the south. Dymock (1982: 39-41) documents their first establishment at Turn Off Lagoon (on the Nicholson Rivher some 26 km west of the contemporary Doomadgee site) in 1889, and prior to this since 1878 Native Police had been at a location on Carl Creek to the south of the study area. One oral account (T68) indicates that an area further to the south was regarded as a home-base among Native Police at Turn Off Lagoon: when singing and dancing malgari, the term for their version of the widespread secular shake-a-leg dance style, they would break the verse and movement with stylised exclamations such as: "How far Cloncurry! shu ... shu ...".

Chase (1980: 238) mentions malkari or "shake-a-leg", "a secular camp 'corroboree' form which was often the venue for contact story re-enactment", as general in Cape York Peninsula. This supports the view that the Native Police at least came from the latter region. They may have moved from a base at Cooktown to the Cloncurry area, and later further north into the study region. In the local Aboriginal view, they were certainly like people to the east in being uncircumcised. The term

yabayiri is used in the languages to the south where the Native Police appear to have spent some time, for a boy who has reached puberty, both before and after his initiation which includes circumcision (Roth 1897: 66, 170-4). The term appears to have been historically adopted into the study region to refer to young uncircumcised men from elsewhere.

It is difficult to say precisely when the Native Police contingent left the district. Official records apparently indicate the transition to use of civil police in dealing with Aborigines throughout Qld after 1897 (Rowley 1970: 181). However, several unpublished sources concerning the study region are unclear on this point. In one source (Dunn 15.5.1897), the Acting Police Sergeant at Burketown in 1897 states that the local situation does not warrant establishing a detachment of Native Police in the district but that if this was to occur Point Parker would be the appropriate place. Rather, he recommends that three or four Aboriginal trackers be stationed at Turn Off Lagoon with the two White Constables apparently there at the time. In another source (Lamond 7.2.1899: 6) the Inspector of Police at Normanton in 1899 reports that he instructed the Native Police to patrol all the country between the border and the Leichhardt River, and south to 20° latitude. As well, the Report of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals for 1899 (Roth 1900: 11) refers to "the Turn Off Lagoon Native Police Camp". It is possible that groups of Native Police were brought in and out of the region as the need arose, and it is probable that they had a presence in the area until 1897. In any case, Aborigines continued to work for the civil Police Force after that date.

The violence of the Native Police is described in terms of their not belonging to the region. However, at times the old people do not distinguish clearly between Native Police, Aboriginal Police Trackers who were employed somewhat after the former's departure, and other Aborigines perhaps working for Whites on stations, who were violent towards local Aborigines. The "yellafella" in the attacking party from Wollogorang in the event described above (known as "Yella Paddy") appears to be an example of the latter category, yet he is talked of similarly to the Native Police (T66, T68, T73): "real bloodthirsty ... 'cause he wasn't belong to the country", and was eventually killed using sorcery. Indeed, while he was clearly not White it is even unclear whether he was of Aboriginal descent, though McIntyre's (1921: 8) description of him at "Wollargorang [sic]" in the 1890s makes clear

where his allegiance lay: "... yellow Paddy, the half-breed (one of the smartest and whitest hearted black-fellows that ever ... [etc.]".

Local Aboriginal men also worked for White Police when some Aborigines were still operating independently in the bush (through the 1890s and into the first decade of this century according to Dymock's research [1982: 84, 87]). While there have been one or two comments that Whites "made them do it" and Dymock (1982: 83) reports the comment that some local Aborigines were told they would be shot if they did not assist the White Police, the more general reason given for these men working as agents for the White Police is the same as that given in response to most questions about why any people were violent: "because the country bin wild." Some local Aboriginal Police Trackers are remembered as traitorous, and others as "good men" deliberately missing when shooting at those still in the bush, warning them of encroaching Police parties, and generally trying to defuse the situation by "quietening down" their relatives in the bush without further violence (see Trigger 1982a: 94; Dymock 1982: 84). Most of the descendants of these men now live at Doomadgee and elsewhere in the study region.

Sorcery is said to have been used effectively against all kinds of Aborigines "who bin kill their own colour" as agents of Whites, but only rarely against Whites themselves. It may be argued that the Whites were seen as belonging to a social domain highly resistant to sorcery because of its cultural distance from the Aboriginal domain. This was not the case with Native Police, for although they were dealt with socially as outsiders, contemporary Aboriginal accounts also refer to local women joining in dances with them, forming sexual relationships with them, and to some of them staying in the area after their group was officially moved out.

Interpretations of Aboriginal social life in Police correspondence cannot be accepted uncritically, but it may be noted that in 1899 the Constable in the Turn Off Lagoon district (Ordish 19.10.1899) states that local Aborigines "are on the best of terms with the ... constable [i.e. himself] and Troopers [i.e. Aboriginal Police]" and that his patrols keep "in close touch with the Queensland Blacks, who are always glad to see the Troopers" (Ordish 12.11.1899). He also states that the "shy" Aborigines further up the Nicholson River "will gradually come in when they find the others of their tribe on such good terms with the Troopers." The Constable's superior in the region

(Lamond 20.11.1899) then comments on the local Aborigines and Aboriginal Police being on "most friendly terms", in forwarding the Constable's report to the Commissioner of Police. It may be further noted that a correspondent from the Albert and Nicholson Rivers to The Queenslander (22.4.1882: 498), generally discussing the need for Native Police in that area, says that the correct modus operandi when Police detachments arrive at "the scene of action" is for the White officer to "take particular care that the troopers should not mix or have intercourse with the station blacks." While he does not elaborate, his meaning may well be that such "intercourse" was likely to have led to alliances forming between Native Police and the local Aborigines.

Violence between Aborigines, not directly involving Whites (or Aboriginal Police as their agents), also continued during Wild Time. Two examples may be given. The first is the killing of a large number of Gananggalinda people on Bayley Island (Jurrmanggi) and Pains Island (Marranggabayi), offshore from Bayley Point (see Map 4). The mass killing was carried out by Yanyula and Garawa people who had deliberately travelled there from a long way west for this purpose. Written sources indicate the event occurred early in 1897. In investigating a report of the incident the Acting Sergeant of Police at Burketown appears to have mis-understood the location of the massacre, and thus wrongly concluded that it did not occur (Dunn 15.5.1897). However, a report in The Queenslander (10.4.1897: 774) extracted from the Burke Telegraph (a local Burketown newspaper) gives information more consistent with oral Aboriginal accounts:

> During the past week (... of 19th March) there has been an invasion of Borrolooloo [sic] blacks in town, and they bring with them a gory story of having wiped out a tribe on the islands off Point Parker. They certainly look equal to their yarn, being tall and well-built, with blood-thirsty countenances. They are about 300 strong, including their captured gins and pickaninnies and are gorgeously dressed for the most part in a spear and a rag. They have also put the fear of death into the town blacks, who are scared out of their wits ... . Some of these newcomers are magnificent specimens of physical strength, over 6 feet in height and broad in proportion.

A compilation of several contemporary Aboriginal accounts of what occurred is as follows (T30, T85).

A man and woman, both belonging to Garawa/Yanyula country to the west, "bin run away gunjiwa [had eloped]" and had travelled together (from at least as far west as Magundi, near Massacre Inlet) to Gananggalinda country. They were living together on Bayley Island

(Jurrmanggi), when the man was killed while asleep; his throat was cut (and according to some his body was further mutilated) by a certain local man who wanted the woman himself. Others were present and were subsequently regarded by the victim's relatives as condoning, if not assisting in, the killing. The body was buried on Bayley Island by a certain local man, and the woman subsequently ran away westwards along the coast and informed the people in her and the murdered man's countries of what had happened. Meanwhile the murderer had gone to live at the Aboriginal camp at Burketown.

A "really big mob" of Yanyula and Garawa people (confirmed by the figure quoted above, even if it is an over-estimate) then travelled eastwards for revenge, attracting people as they went. Two men had travelled in the lead all the way and when reaching Gaabula (Site C5, Map 4), the Bayley Point area, established that the target group was on the island(s) off-shore. Members of the revenge party eventually surrounded and viciously killed many people (men, women and children) as they slept in camp. It is difficult to estimate the number killed, and while most accounts say this occurred on Jurrmanggi (Bayley Island), there is some evidence indicating there were also killings on Pains, and possibly Forsyth, Islands. The revenge party then proceeded to Burketown, finally killed the initial murderer, and eventually returned westwards. At least two women from the Gananggalinda-Yanggarala area went with them.

The second example is of violence within Aboriginal society in which a White man was in fact used as an agent. An Aboriginal man was shot at a mustering camp (at Dawarrayi, "Sampling Yard", on Settlement Creek) by the White cook. The incident most likely occurred during the second decade of this century. However, a number of old people say consistently that certain Aboriginal men were the real killers; they performed sorcery known as wabugamba. This enabled them to (magically?) spear the man in the forehead, then mask the scar by use of a certain song. This process of sorcery ensures that some time after the oblivious victim "wakes up", he will be killed by having a fatal wound inflicted in the same place as where the initial wound has been masked. In this case, the wabugamba technique resulted in the White cook shooting the victim in this way. The Aboriginal men are said to have had various reasons for killing the victim.

However, it must be noted that accusations of sorcery are rarely accepted unanimously, and in this case some people do simply regard the White cook as the murderer; these people know he "got off" by arguing

self-defence against an attack with a shovel by the man killed. Some claim that he fabricated evidence of the alleged attack. On visiting the site, one old lady left no doubt about who she regarded as the murderer of her kinsman: "... mongrel bastard Wayjbala [Whitefella] should be finish [deserves to be dead]."

Certain sources also relate incidents where Whites were saved and protected from hostile Aborigines by other Aborigines. McIntyre (1921: 20) refers to the small-scale miner Masterton at Redbank Mine in the second decade of the century who would have been killed by "Murdering Tommy"[4] if not for his "own boys". A good example from oral Aboriginal accounts involves "Bad Peter" who in 1917 eventually murdered the first missionary on Mornington Island, Reverend R. Hall (Bleakley 1918: 5; Memmott 1979: 252). Peter had been working for various White cattle men on the mainland, though he had initially come from his country on Mornington Island. He came from Touchstone Station to the Dumaji area on the coast, and told the Aboriginal people camped there that he was going to go back and kill the White man there for whom he had been working. Eussen's popular account (Sunday Mail Colour, 6th June 1976: 6) describes him as an excellent stockman and in demand as a drover, but simply says he "went bad", while McIntyre (1921: 93) says no one employed him for long because he was a "cheeky nigger", and that he had been punished (i.e. beaten) with a pair of hobbles by his previous boss for having "spoke[n] decidedly out of his turn". In any case, the Ganggalida people on the coast told him not to kill the White station man: "hey, we can't hunt'im away that Mandagi [Whiteman], he stay here, work here." They took Peter to a canoe on the beach and told him to go back to his country on Mornington Island; they told him not to "sneak back" and watched him to make sure he did not come back. They are now said to have "saved the life" of the White station man because they knew him and some had worked for him, and because "everything bin settle now", i.e. they felt the period of earlier violence had settled down. They regarded Peter as a "mad fella" (T81). Soon after reaching Mornington Island, Peter murdered Reverend Hall.

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[4]McLaughlin (1977: 4, 21-2) uses extracts from Borroloola Police Journals to state that Murdering Tommy led the "last pocket" of cattle killing and threatening of Whites at Wollogorang 1916-1919. Though he states that this man was captured and sent to the Kimberleys, my information is that he was sent to Yarrabah in 1920 (see Table 8 below).

6.2.3 Dislocation of local groups, moving and mixing

A major feature of White impact in the study region was clearly the dislocation of local land-using and land-owning groups from their territories. Some movement to large gatherings for ceremonies occurred in pre-contact times; the operation of the subsection/semimoiety systems and regional cults no doubt encouraged it. Travel and trade between the mainland and the Wellesley Islands (and the Sir Edward Pellew Islands just to the west of the study region) was perhaps greater than in coastal areas without off-shore islands. However, it is clear that the residential land-using group remained generally sedentary within ranges (Stanner 1965) of various sizes in different environments. Consider, for example, one old knowledgeable man's comment in reference to all over the study region: "Lot of people, long way back, never go shift ... [they] blanta there [in the vicinity of their patriclan estate]" (T70). For Garawa and Yanyula areas, a formal traditional mechanism has been described for negotiating movement through certain territories; people might take as a "guarantee", a wirrbi, a certain kind of decorated stick, from their own people (see Spencer and Gillen's [1969: 551] reference to the "wi-airpi or sacred stick" used by the "Anula" [i.e. Yanyula] in certain contexts to "pass with impunity from group to group").

However, the White invasion led to an unprecedented widespread series of movements. The movement was generally from west to east, but not entirely. Some Waanyi groups moved west to stations on the Barkly Tableland and north to other stations, yet the majority moved east down the Nicholson River, Elizabeth, Musselbrook and Lawn Hill Creeks to Turn Off Lagoon Police camp and various stations (see Map 9b). A considerable number of Garawa and Yanyula people moved east, often along the coast, to stations in Qld, and many Ganggalida people joined others in camps on the fringes of Burketown.

Movements from the NT east into Qld appear to have continued into the first and second decades of the twentieth century, and some contemporary old Garawa and Yanyula people can describe their trips (often completed as children accompanying their parents and other kin). One man (T74) describes his trip as a young initiated man in a dug-out canoe, using calico for a sail; in all, six canoes, accompanied by other people walking along the beach came west at about the same time. Most of the people had travelled from Borroloola, and they stopped at Ngurrurri (an "island area" on the east side of Massacre Inlet) where many Ganggalida (or "Nyangga", as termed by those from the west [see

Appendix A]), Yanyula and Garawa people had congregated at a "big camp" and were holding dances. Apart from their residence here, people travelled inland to stations (particularly Westmoreland), and east as far as Burketown.

The movements of members of example country-affiliated groups from the different linguistic territories are shown on genealogies in Appendix E. To maintain general privacy of family records, I have named only those few major figures who became "kings". Only movements during Wild Time are discussed here. Map 10 shows the approximate locations of the estates of these cognatic groups.

In case 1 (showing people affiliated with an area in Yanyula country), A (Garinjamaji or "Peter") travelled east in Wild time and eventually became "king" of Westmoreland Station, obtaining seven wives and much influence during his lifetime. He was shot in the shoulder by "Yella Paddy" in the event near Wollogorang described above (in 1897), was later caught by him again and held captive for two days, and (with one of his wives) would have been killed but for the intervention of a mixed-descent kinsman who had been reared by a White couple at Westmoreland. A's sister's son, B, travelled east as a young boy (c. 1910) from the same area later on "when everything bin settle down" with his mother and others. He saw A, his uncle, for the first time at Westmoreland. One of his brothers was "caught" by a policeman in Ganggalida country after having been "put up" by a local Aboriginal man working as a Police Tracker. It can be noted that the approximate distances over which these people initially relocated themselves were 130 km (Duyarana area to Wollogorang, and 160 km to Westmoreland) and a further 150 km from Westmoreland to the Burketown area. The arrows on the genealogy for this case indicate that the descendants of the old people shown in case 1 now live predominantly at Doomadgee, but also at a number of other widespread places.

In case 2 (showing people affiliated with an area in Garawa country), the senior man is said to have lived in the vicinity of his patriclan estate on the Robinson River. His son A was apparently born in the area and spent his early life there. A "worked Wild Time" at Robinson River Station, having "followed" his son B in after he had been "picked up" by the White boss there. B's approximate birth date is 1906 (from Doomadgee Mission records) and it was likely well into the second decade of this century that his father (A) came in to camp at the station. During B's youth, periods of residence and work at the station were interspersed with periods spent in the bush. C was taken as a

young boy from the Robinson River Station area westwards by a "surveyor", and has not been seen by his family since that time. D died when in the charge of a White Policeman; it is said that she was made to walk with chains around her legs from the Calvert Hills Station area towards Borroloola, was fed only with salt, and eventually died at a site on the Wearyan River. Contemporary old people allege that the Policeman on this occasion also beat several Aboriginal people with a stick, in order to obtain an apparently false confession from them that the group had killed and eaten a cow. (See the film Two Laws for an account of these alleged events [set in 1933, cf. Cavadini et al. 1981: 68], told by Aborigines predominantly resident at Borroloola during the study period.)

It may be further noted that contact between areas on the Barkly Tableland and western parts of the study region had been well established by the end of Wild Time: B's mother had originally come to his father's country on the Robinson River from her patriclan country in the Eva Downs Station area, approximately 300 km to the southeast.

In case 3 (showing people affiliated with an area in Waanyi country) the senior man is said to have lived in the vicinity of his patriclan estate on the Nicholson River although, as already noted for this group in Chapter 4 (p. 85), his grandchildren (the contemporary oldest generation) frame the continuity of residence and ownership in the vicinity much more in terms of their parents' generation. It is Gundawarinya (or "George") and his brother A who are known to have come east in Wild Time, to have both been wounded (probably by a Police party) at Magunmali (on Cliffdale Creek), but saved from being killed by a local Aboriginal man who was working as a Police Tracker. Dymock (1982: 87) states that "Gundawari" was finally captured about 1907 on the Nicholson River (although he provides no reference as a source for this conclusion), escaped, then was finally "captured again and persuaded to 'come in' to Turn Off Lagoons or else be shot."

Contemporary oral accounts certainly indicate that Gundawarinya finally came to Turn Off Lagoon, was made "king" there, and acquired five wives and much influence. However, his brother A travelled northeast into Ganggalida country, and eventually married, had children and died there. He did visit Turn Off Lagoon occasionally. Both Gundawarinya and his sister B (born approximately 1899 according to Doomadgee Mission records) had their children at Turn Off Lagoon, as race relations "settled down".

In case 4 (showing people affiliated with an area in Ganggalida country), the most senior generation (like the one below it, represented here by only one man, however, this is only an extract from a much larger genealogy) had died prior to White contact. The next generation experienced first contact and while they lived in the vicinity of their estate for most of their lives, some died in a fringe camp at Burketown. In the third generation down, both A and B were born at the patriclan estate area. The woman (A) travelled occasionally to the Burketown camp, and spent time at Dumaji (before it became the first site for the Mission – see below). The man (B) spent some time working for a White man in the Burketown area. In the next generation down, people spent most of their early lives at Dumaji on the coast, Burketown and stations in the region. At this time things had mostly "quietened down". E, F, G and H were born approximately 1900, 1910, 1914 and 1918 respectively (according to Doomadgee Mission dates); I was the child of a White man who had attacked and raped her mother in the bush. She was adopted by A when a small girl.

In case 5 (showing people affiliated to Bayley, Pains and Forsyth Islands in Gananggalinda country), substantial interaction was occurring between the islands and the mainland in both pre-contact and Wild times; it can be noted that the patriclan country of the father of many of B's children was nearby on the mainland. B travelled by raft with certain of her children to the mainland to live when her mother died on either Bayley or Pains Island. C and D were taken a long way west (in 1897) by the Yanyula and Garawa people who had come on the revenge trip described above. E was taken to Normanton by a police party, F and G spent a substantial part of their lives at the Burketown camp, and H was sent to Palm Island (off the east coast of Qld), though the reason for this is unclear. The latter's two daughters were kidnapped on Allen Island off Point Parker by Bentinck Island men who were camping there. This event apparently occurred well after Wild Time proper in 1940 (Tindale 1962: 269) when the dinghy the two girls were travelling in simply stopped to obtain water, however contemporary Aboriginal historical perspective acknowledges the special case of the Bentinck Island people who remained "wild" right up until 1948 when they were finally shifted from their bush camps and moved to Mornington Island Mission.

The kinds of movements represented by these five cases are now said to have occurred for two main reasons. Firstly, to escape violence: "give it [Whites] room y'know – all run away." For Garawa,

Waanyi and some Yanyula people, the "Wild Time stations" in the east appeared to offer physical safety; initially things generally "quietened down" earlier in the east in Qld, although violent disputes continued to occur over cattle. The second main reason was the attraction of White Australian material goods, particularly food and tobacco: with sentiments of ironic and sad humour, people listen to the stories of old people about how Aborigines at various places did not know what the goods' uses were; they feared foods were poisons, threw them away, initially thought flour was body paint and then tried to cook it dry on the coals of a fire. They are now said to have been "myall" and "wild". However, they soon acquired the desire for certain items in particular: the benefits of iron for various uses became clear, but it was tobacco which people are said to have been unable to do without (cf. Stanner's [1979: 47] comment for the Daly River area). Some occasional exchange of goods is said to have occurred, e.g. coastal Aborigines providing fish to individuals in return for a nip of rum and some tobacco. However, government sponsored rations and blankets were also provided at certain centres.

Various written sources provide data relevant to the distribution and movements of Aborigines during the 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century. Turnbull (1911: 39-40) indicates in 1896 that there were wild "Myalls" west of the Nicholson River, and Parry-Okeden (1897: 8) mentions in 1897 "the shores of the Gulf westward of Burketown and the adjacent islands" as being without much influence from White society. The latter's map (1897) indicates an Aboriginal population of 2,000 between the Nicholson River and the coast (in Queensland) and including the Wellesley Islands, and 200 west over the border in "Waangyee" territory. Parry-Okeden (1897: 10) also refers to these Aborigines, particularly around Burketown, as suffering badly from diseases.

In 1899, Burketown police correspondence (Old n.d.) states: that tribes including the "Eulo" (referring to Yugulda, equivalent to Ganggalida [see Appendix A]) were "fairly healthy" except for the few at Burketown "suffering from venereal and other diseases especially among the gins and children also sore eyes [sic]"; that the approximate Aboriginal population in the Burketown sub-district was 700; and that "Carawah [Garawa] blacks" had left Burketown for the border. Further correspondence in the same year from the Inspector of Police at Normanton (after a trip to Turn Off Lagoon) to the Commissioner of Police in Brisbane discusses the need:

> ... to keep all Northern Territory blacks on their own side
> of the border line, as I am of opinion if these blacks are
> allowed to come freely in to Queensland that they will
> commit depredations sooner or later (p1) ... . The
> Queensland blacks would give no trouble whatever as their
> numbers are few [he later states there are no more than 200
> from the border to the Leichhardt River] but when those
> Northern Territory blacks come over the border to
> participate in the Lawn Hill bullocks [sic] trouble may
> arise at any time (Lamond 7.2.1899: 1, 3).

He refers to the impossibility of overtaking Aborigines fleeing into
"almost impassable" country across the border (i.e. west of Lawn Hill).

Also in the same year, the Constable at Turn Off Lagoon (Ordish
12.11.1899) states that he has had to carry out constant patrols to "put
a stop to cattle killing which was carried on to a great extent by South
Australian [i.e. NT] Blacks", and to keep them on their own side of the
border. He states the number of Aborigines throughout the District as
about 430 and their distribution as follows:

> "Carrawa" [Garawa] Tribe 130 camping at the head of the
> Nicholson.
> "Minkins" [Min.ginda] 30 camping on the Lichardt [sic].
> "Waggias" [Wagaya] 50 camping on Gun Powder Creek.
> "Wanyee" [Waanyi] 30 camping on the Gregory.
> "Yanular" [Yanyula] 10 camping on the Nicholson.
> "Point Parker Tribe" 130 camping on Moonlight Creek.
> "Euchlo" [Yugulda] 50 camping between Point Parker and S.A.
> [i.e. NT] Border.

However, the best source concerning the movements during Wild Time
is Roth (14.8.1901).[5] He firstly describes how large areas much greater
than the legally leased blocks were "controlled" by cattle men, for they
stocked the country according to the carrying capacity of the waterholes
rather than of their particular block area. Aborigines were thus
excluded from the major water sources which were invariably enclosed by
a block, but also from "legally unoccupied" land into which the large
numbers of cattle would range from the water, as (p. 2): "... where the
cattle are - and where legally they have not th[e] slightest right to
remain - the blacks have to be hunted away, ..." Roth (p. 3)
then describes the easterly "migrations" of "three main groups of"

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[5]Three critical unpublished Roth reports have not yet been located:
"The Boundaries of the North-West-Central Queensland Border Tribes (with
map)", and "Group Relationships among the N.T. and Qld. Border Tribes",
both referred to in his Report of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals
for 1900 (1901: 9); and "Report on the half-caste children in the
Camooweal, Burketown and Turn Off Lagoon police-patrol district",
referred to in the Home Secretary's Office Register for 1900 (Qld State
Archives).

NT Aborigines into Qld (see his map reproduced as Map 11): the coastal ones, who travel "both along the coast-line and behind it as far as Wollogorang, ... eastwards as far as Burketown"; the mountain ones, who travel generally parallel to and both north and south of the Nicholson River, crossing Hedleys, Settlement, Lagoon and Cliffdale Creeks; and the desert ones, who travel via the major stations of the eastern Barkly Tableland to Camooweal and further east, and down the Georgina River system through Lake Nash to Urandangie. That is, the route of the "desert" Aborigines is to the south of the study region, although Roth's accompanying sketch map also shows a route off this "desert" one from Alexandria Station to the upper Lawn Hill Creek area. According to Roth (p. 3) these migrations were all along Aboriginal "trade-routes" which were well-established in pre-contact times due to water and other bush resources along them. During contact times they had thus come to be used as stock-routes, and also (p. 3) "as avenues of escape for horse-thieves, and cattle-duffers into Northern Territory and for the surreptitious immigration of Chinese into Queensland."

Roth (pp. 2-3) gives reasons for the Aboriginal "migration eastwards": "... due, partly to the desert water-holes giving ou[t] in certain times of the year", although it is unclear to what extent in southern parts of the study region the return trip west in such a traditionally seasonal movement was being made during the post-contact times Roth was referring to:

> partly to the mountain and wilder blacks making descent on the more peaceful aboriginals occupying the plains, partly to the fact of more highly prized articles of barter (iron, blankets, tobacco) being obtained from the more settled (Queensland) districts and partly to other causes.

This account thus supports and enlarges on oral Aboriginal accounts that describe the "quietening down" of Wild Time as coterminous with Aborigines moving east into Qld and "settling down" there.

However, Roth (14.8.1901: 3) also evaluates White attitudes towards the Aborigines from the west:

> The consensus of opinion among the Europeans along the Queensland side of the border is that these Northern Territory blacks are not to be trusted though, with the exception perhaps of the McArthur [River] boys, it would appear tha[t] when they come into Queensland, they do not appear to be very troublesome. That those same blacks have a locally bad reputation, I am not at all surprised, considering - what I have every reason to believe is true - the treatment to which they and their women are apparently

> still being subjected. Kombo-ism [White men living with
> Aboriginal women] is ... rife ...: half-castes continue to
> be bred into the world.

Whites clearly viewed the "half-caste" population as different from those of full Aboriginal descent. Elsewhere, Roth (23.12.1898: 3) gives a general estimate for northern districts of "one half-caste among every 25 aboriginals":

> This of course does not present the total average of h.c.
> children actually born, because many are killed as a matter
> of principle – the colour being sufficient. It is quite
> possible therefore that when the blacks can once be given to
> understand the proposals of the Government to provide for
> such children, that this form of infanticide will cease.

In his annual reports as Northern Protector he also refers (1900: 10) to "half-caste" children being killed at birth specifically in the Burke district, and (1902: 7) to the fact that if "left to themselves" the "half-caste" girls become prostitutes and the boys become cattle thieves. Thus, in the "far western and Gulf country" it is "better to remove half-caste girls to the Missions." He gives examples of two such girls (aged six and seven years) being removed from the study region to Mapoon, one in need of better care and the other because the station manager reported that "the blacks knock this child about very much ... ."

The question of mixed-descent Aboriginal people being constituted as a distinguishable group is dealt with further below in this chapter, and again in Chapter 7. To complete the discussion of Wild time, the following section examines further, several critical attitudes within White Australian ideology.

6.2.4 Aspects of White Australian ideology

The official White ideology of protection, segregation and control was embodied in 1897 in the Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act (see Anderson 1981: 61-5; Loos 1982: Chapter 6). It enabled the formal creation of Reserves (Sections 4a and 4b) and the removal of Aborigines to them (Section 9). Some local Whites in the east of the study region supported the creation of reserves, e.g. Turnbull (1911 [1896]: 39):

> I do not see why the Governments of the colonies should not
> be compelled to look after the poor remnant left, to give
> them reserves, to heal their ailments, and generally to
> smooth the path of the people from whom we have taken one of
> the finest countries under the snu [sic].

Some local pastoralists supported the establishment of Reserves, however more to control and segregate Aborigines away from their cattle, than

for the welfare of the Aborigines. The examples of Gregory Downs and Lawn Hill Stations have been drawn from available records.

The pastoralist at Gregory Downs wished to have Aborigines shifted away to a Reserve for the reason that:

> ... they are all runaway boys and bad characters; they are continually hunting on my run frightening cattle, stealing from the station when I am away from home, ecc. also they keep several gins simply for letting to any traveller who may come along, and ... [therefore there are] usually one or more white men of the lowest order camped with these blacks, and as they give them rum and all get drunk together you can imagine the hideous rows they make during nighttime (Watson 10.8.1898).

He recommended that a Reserve be created further upstream on the Gregory amid "good watered hilly country" which was "vacant and not fit for anything else". The Policeman investigating Watson's complaint (Casey 3.10.1898: 4) reported that it was "without just foundation", but that the "Camp tribe" (rather than the "Station Blacks", i.e. Watson's employees) would be "more than pleased" to be able to form a camp up the river at the site designated because of the bush resources there:

> ... it appears they had a fear to go there as they were warned off some years ago [by then local pastoralists there who had since abandoned their "run"].

Casey reports that on understanding they were free to go there they soon moved off but that it was questionable how long they would remain due to their being "such an unsettled people and of a roving disposition". While Watson saw the move as further reason to create a Reserve there (31.10.1898), the Inspector of Police for the District (Lamond 10.2.1899) recommended against this because: more than half of it was unoccupied anyway; the "tribe" did not number more than 30; "the Northern Territory blacks would ... take advantage of it and be a great trouble"; and the Aborigines concerned would not stay on it preferring to "hunt all over that region". He concludes by stating:

> The squatters treat them well and both black and white will soon understand that the black is to have the unoccupied country and not to go near stations or stocked country.

The Lawn Hill Station owner was highly critical of certain Police and Roth, the Northern Protector, in their administration of the 1897 Act. In a letter to a Queensland Government M.L.A., he complains (Macintosh 6.12.1902):

> You will ... see the difficulties we are labouring under and how we are simply at the mercy of these nomadic notorious half-civilised blacks under an Act which I consider should be restricted to those parts of the State where the

> aborigines do not come in contact with stock particularly so, those portions which by nature afford the utmost protection for those blacks of the class referred to above ... . Blacks must obey and be taught to obey otherwise they will, as the saying is, "ride rough shod over one" - Blacks and Stock in this country will not do together for many years ... at the present and as the Act is administered under useless unbinding [employment] agreements these people are being schooled to all kinds of trickery which will in a few years require harsh and severe treatment to control.

He complains of horses and cattle being speared, and of not being allowed under the Act:

> ... either to bring the perpetrators to punishment or chastise them but most unreasonable of all according to Dr. Roth we should not be allowed even to requisition the Police and if these officers or men do come they at their peril correct these people.

Macintosh concludes on this issue:

> ... the question is one that is becoming almost intolerable and steps must be taken by individuals unless the Police are allowed to use their discretion and bring to justice offenders.

The M.L.A. pressed enquiries (Forsyth 30.12.1902) saying he had letters similar to that from Macintosh "from men all over the Gulf complaining of the working of the Act", and Roth replied (30.12.1902). He questioned the accuracy of the accusation concerning stealing of cattle and horses, and enquired polemically whether Macintosh could provide "accurate information as to the number of blacks who have been shot in the neighbourhood of Lawn Hills during the same period." He argued for Aboriginal offenders to be "brought to justice", not "chastised" by Police, and that until Reserves were established there would continue to be trouble. Among the three Reserves later formally requested by Roth (21.4.1903) was the one along the border west of Lawn Hill initially requested and designated by Macintosh.

There was also local opposition to Reserves. Dymock (1982: 66) quotes a newspaper source (Burke Telegraph 4.6.1897) which argues against a Reserve at Turn Off Lagoon because: it would attract "hundreds of myalls from the Northern Territory ..., whose character for bloodthirstiness and wanton destruction of stock is [well known]" and moreover these people would have to be fed; Whites believe Aborigines pollute water sources, and thus could no longer use the water at Turn Off Lagoon; and a Reserve would be better located in a more remote area like the country between Point Parker and Borrolooloo (sic).

The clearest statement concerning Reserves comes from Roth, in his official report as the Northern Protector of Aboriginals for the year 1902 (1903: 23):

> The time has now arrived when it is imperative that various areas in the extreme Western and Gulf districts be dedicated wholly and solely to the natives ... . The whole question resolves itself into one of either sacrificing human lives, or losing a few pounds derived from rents. So long as the land can be taken up at a few shillings per square mile, and no provision made for the dependent blacks who can and are being hunted off it, there certainly will be trouble ... . The value of one human life, no matter the colour of the skin which clothes it, is more to me than that of all the cattle in creation.

The Report then refers to much Police correspondence reporting complaints against Aborigines by stockowners who invariably request that the Aborigines be shifted away from the waterholes. One report states that the Aborigines "are often dispersed by the station hands" and that: "Of course, such dispersals are not reported to the police." The Policemen consistently say that Reserves are the only answer. Roth's comment on the situation is: "I blush in shame that I should be personally powerless to remedy such a state of affairs."

In 1897, Parry-Okeden's report (1897) had recommended a reserve (his No. 4) over a large area from Burketown to the border, including the Wellesley Islands, and one (his No. 5) adjacent to the border between the Nicholson and Gregory Rivers. However, only a section of the former was to be declared, and the mainland area of it was not gazetted until 1917 (QGG 1917: 757).

A further dimension of White Australian views concerned the physical conditions of Aborigines and their access to White Australian material goods. The main "rations" distributed by Police appear to have been blankets, tobacco and beef. On at least two bush Police patrols from Turn Off Lagoon in 1898 (Lyne 1.6.1898, 30.11.1898) the Constable tracked Aboriginal groups into the ranges west of Lawn Hill Station to supply rations. The Aborigines explained their temporary move away from the station ("for one 'moon' meaning one month") in terms of all the game around the station camp being depleted and the White station man not allowing them to hunt on the cattle country and not giving them beef.

Apart from this particular officer's zealousness in distributing rations, official opinions on the manner of distribution and its desired consequences were by no means oriented solely towards Aboriginal welfare. The Inspector of Police (Lamond 7.2.1899) opposed:

> ... the present system of killing cattle for them ... as the
> blacks congregate together and some times wait for days for
> the bullock to be killed for them.

He argues that Aborigines have no shortage of bush food, and suggests that solely the Police at Turn Off Lagoon should control the distribution of tobacco and the killing of cattle for "Queensland blacks", and that the latter receive these commodities "as good will offerings" and "now and again as a reward for good conduct and to show them the Police were friendly and not hostile." He appears to have believed that by selectively providing for certain desires of Aborigines in Qld they could be "kept perfectly quiet" and that Aborigines from the NT could be better kept there if they were not given tobacco and beef in Qld. In reply to the Inspector, the Commissioner of Police (1.3.1899) agrees with him and focuses particularly on the importance of Aborigines maintaining their own system of bush food production, and so not coming to rely on regular rations.

The Commissioner's reply also indicates the bureaucratic desire to maintain low government expenditure on ration distribution. This may well have been the motive underlying the White concern that Aborigines maintain their own mode of material production. However, despite the notion that "native food" was plentiful in the bush, the Police Constable at Turn Off Lagoon in 1905 argues for more material assistance to the Aborigines there (Smith 31.12.1905). He issued during the year: 20 lb tobacco, 20 tomahawks, 50 clay pipes, 30 fishing lines, a small box of hooks, and 17 pairs of blankets. Yet this was not sufficient:

> This small amount of Relief is little or no use to the
> number of Blacks that are here .... . If supplied with these
> items regularly. no doubt it would do a lot of good in
> helping them to procure their native food ... . [I] ask
> that these Blacks be supplied with ... [tea, sugar, flour]
> ... combined with the other items 3 or 4 times a year.
> These Blacks have a very hard times [sic] in the dry season
> ... . By procuring a few head of cattle it will keep them
> from killing cattle (on their own) and will keep the Blacks
> on their own Runs.

The attached comment from the Constable's superior is that "expenditure on healthy blacks ... would incourage [sic] idleness" and the habit of killing other cattle at their whim.

Nevertheless, government rations continued to be distributed. During 1899 (Roth 1900: 3) the lowest estimates of blankets required were Burketown 100, Gregory Downs 50, Lawn Hill 100 and Turn Off Lagoon 100. A later report (Roth 1903: 4) states that only infirm NT Aborigines were given blankets. For "purposes of conciliation" in 1903

a "small expenditure for fish-hooks" was made at Turn Off Lagoon (Roth 1904: 7).

While reports generally indicate Aborigines to be under control during this period, their health was clearly debilitated. For example, the Constable at Turn Off Lagoon who asked for more material assistance (Smith 31.12.1905) also reported that he had "all the Bush Blacks well under his control and they are little or no trouble so far", but that a lot of the "wanjee tribe" were suffering very badly from syphilis. Other sources indicate that Aboriginal health was particularly bad at the Burketown camps. Telegrams from the Police in 1897 and 1899 (Graham 13.1.1897; Lamond 8.3.1899) show Aborigines to be starving there in the wet season, and in need of government rations. A report in 1906 (Progress Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, May 1906) observes that they "are suffering from pose [catarrh, head cold] and unable to walk to the barracks for food" and that they were "receiving relief".

The maintenance of bush food production was also regarded by Whites as an important factor in maintaining better standards of Aboriginal health. The Constable at Turn Off Lagoon in 1899 gives his opinion (Ordish 19.10.1899) that a particular group camped on the Nicholson:

> ... are in a far more healthy condition now they are back to their old hunting grounds and native food, than they were when camped in Burketown, they look contented and happy ... .

Similarly later that year (Ordish 12.11.1899):

> The Blacks are all in very good health especially those who have been constantly living in the bush on native food.

> The only tribe that does not show the same condition and health as all the other tribes is the Point Parker tribe, but they are improving now they are away from Burketown, they did not like the idea of leaving the town and living in the bush, now they are settleing [sic] down to their old native food, their health is improving.

The Police Inspector (Lamond 20.11.1899) commenting on these reports notes:

> The blacks are also resuming their old modes of getting food etc. and are in consequence much more healthy and contented than they were when loafing about the townships.

Some local officials at least clearly preferred to see Aborigines away from town, and maintaining bush production of resources. Any Aboriginal threat to cattle or station Whites was, in their apparent view, manageable, and preferable to Aborigines living in a debilitated condition in town camps.

6.2.5 Wild_time_-_a_critical_summary

It is clear from the above data that the colonising society achieved broad domination over Aboriginal society during Wild Time. However, this did not occur simply through a conflict between Aborigines and Whites as two homogeneous and exclusive groups. For a short period, Aborigines attempted to incorporate Whites into Aboriginal society as deceased kinsmen. As violent encounters began, Whites introduced Native Police as their subordinate allies who effectively reduced the local Aborigines' tactical advantage of superb bush skills (cf. Reynolds 1981: 85) - thus right from the early stages of Wild Time, the local Aborigines were engaged in conflict with other Aborigines (though socially remote people) as well as Whites. Not only were the Native Police who were armed with rifles and horses superior opponents in the bush, but they also appear to have operated as intermediaries between local Aborigines and Whites. This was even more the case for the local Aborigines who were later recruited as Police Trackers.

Moreover, violent encounters between Aboriginal groups, some quite unrelated to the White presence, continued during Wild Time. Political life within Aboriginal society continued. At times, Whites were defended by certain Aborigines against other Aborigines, and were also occasionally aligned with particular Aboriginal individuals in their conflict with other Aborigines.

An explanation of the motivations of Aborigines who aligned themselves with Whites (particularly the Native Police) must make reference to a number of factors: the material advantages obtained by such alignment; the physical prowess obtained through access to White weaponry; the possibility of escape from certain traditional constraints. From the viewpoint of analysis, powerfulness in Aboriginal society changed in that a new way of achieving influence became possible - to operate as a middle-man between one's own society and White material goods. Colonisation also resulted in individuals gaining influence throughout a wider immediate social field, as the key groupings of pre-contact social life were dislocated from small-scale physical occupation of territories, and larger congregations of people formed at places strategically located in the bush and at White towns, stations, Police camps, etc.

I have no evidence indicating that the Native Police accorded legitimacy to the process of White domination. Indeed, the White apprehensiveness about restricting social interaction between the Native

Police and other Aborigines suggests that the former are better seen as paid mercenaries rather than as an integral part of the ruling apparatus (cf. p. 26 above). Considerable diversity in degrees of Aboriginal compliance clearly operated during Wild Time. Those working for stations and thus incorporated into the capitalist economy were distinguished by Whites as under greater control than "camp Blacks" or "bush Blacks". Similarly, Aborigines from the NT coming east into Qld were considered "not to be trusted" (p. 149) as compared to those in Qld who would "give no trouble whatsoever" (p. 148). However, to regard even those Aborigines considered by Whites as under control, as solely "voluntarily" complying with White domination would be simplistic and counter to the data. A definition of domination which stresses voluntarism renders the concept inadequate in accounting for colonial power relations during Wild Time. What rather needs to be emphasised for this period is the exercise of power by White Australian society through the overt use of physical force.

While the concern with establishing control over Aborigines pervaded White society, different sections of that society sought the control in different ways. Local stockholders were preoccupied with segregating Aborigines away from their cattle (and during early periods also sheep) herds. As with one pastoralist's view quoted above (p. 152): "... Blacks must obey and be taught to obey ...". There appears to be little concern with legitimating domination in this view. As described above, there was considerable tension between pastoralists and local officials (including some Police) who were concerned to exercise legitimate control on the basis of formal Australian law and through state-regulated bureaucratic administrative practice. This view saw legitimate control as including some concern for the material circumstances of Aborigines. Of course, the basis of the monetary income and material standard of living of such salaried bureaucrats was not in conflict with Aboriginal interests to the same degree as was that of the stockholders. The process of "quietening down" Aborigines during Wild Time did not have the same implications for differing sections of White society.

6.3 Station and Fringe-dwelling Life

Contemporary Aboriginal accounts indicate that by the time the country had "quietened down" large camps had formed at certain stations, e.g. Wollogorang, Westmoreland, Lawn Hill and at Turn Off Lagoon and Burketown. Through the 1920s and 1930s in Qld, people congregated at

the latter two places and at Gregory Downs Reserve and went from these places to stations for employment, while in the NT the larger groups remained in the vicinity of stations. Throughout the region men worked as stockmen, in droving teams, as fencers and in various manual jobs of the cattle industry; some women were employed as domestic workers.

Large categories of people are now seen as associated historically with the area of their residence, e.g. "Burketown [or Munggabayi, see Map 12] mob" in the case of the predominantly Ganggalida people who had come from the coast country to live in the Burketown fringe-camps; "running water people" in the case of the predominantly Waanyi people who had come east to reside at such stations as Lawn Hill, Gregory Downs, Elizabeth Downs and Riversleigh, adjacent to the spring-fed "running water" streams of Lawn Hill, Musselbrook, and Elizabeth Creeks and the Gregory River. Such people acquired knowledge of the country where they resided, and in the case of many contemporary old people, where they were born. Few of the Min.ginda people or Nguburinji people whose territories encompassed the Albert River (including the Burketown area) and Gregory River areas respectively, appear to have survived Wild Time. At least, specific knowledge of the land-owning units in these areas is not held by contemporary people. Maps 12 and 9a show knowledge of place names and some other data for the examples of the Albert River-lower Nicholson River area, and the Lawn Hill Gorge area respectively. Those who moved into these areas from the west incorporated such knowledge into their own traditions.

6.3.1 Independent movement, official "removals" and movement with "bosses"

People were also able to maintain physical contact with their own countries when working for travelling drovers and others, and also in some locations in the course of intermittent or fairly regular work for stations. This was particularly so for Aborigines based at certain stations in the NT, some of whom later came east to stations in Qld and eventually to Doomadgee Mission in the 1960s and 1970s. These people remained in close proximity to their estates, and were congregated in large numbers at nearby station dwellings. For example, a Patrol Officer (with the NT Department of Native Affairs) reported in 1948 (Kyle-Little 16.12.1948): approximately 60, 40, 30 and 40 Aborigines in the areas of Manangoora, Seven Emus, Robinson River and Wollogorang Stations respectively (see Map 3), plus numbers of Aborigines "employed"

at these and other stations; he also reported (21.12.1948: 6) "a party of nomadic natives" on the "Fulche [sic] River". Police Constable Bowie's report (28.3.1944: 3) of 80 Aborigines on Redbank Creek in 1944 has already been referred to above (p. 133).

Independent Aboriginal movement also occurred in Qld. Some places away from the White settlements were used as sites to hold prolonged cult ceremonies, e.g. Julujuluyurdi on Accident Creek to which people came from Turn Off Lagoon, Lawn Hill Station and stations as far westwards as Alexandria.[6] "Burketown side" people did not come to this site; their range of movement was oriented towards the coast (T42). Ritual was also performed near to the stations, and many contemporary Aboriginal men were initiated at or very near Turn Off Lagoon and Westmoreland. To instigate such initiation ceremonies, wardunguji (novitiates decorated with hair belts, to whose arrival people must respond by returning with them to their jaman.gi [initiation] ground) would be sent, e.g. from Turn Off Lagoon to Westmoreland and Wollogorang.

Some old people describe how during their youth White "Managers" of certain stations did not "block" them from moving independently around the bush, unlike the Managers' more recent counterparts: "this last lot they cheeky!" (T78); the speaker was referring to her generally unhindered movements as a girl with her mother in the 1920s along the coast to the Magundi area, her mother's mother's country, just west of Massacre Inlet.

However, apart from these kinds of independent Aboriginal movement, authorities in Queensland "removed" many people. Those official records available to me (partly reproduced in Table 8, omitting persons' names) indicate that from 1912 to 1936: 44 Aborigines (including 23 children) plus one family of unspecified number were removed from Burketown; 50 (including 21 children) were removed from Turn Off Lagoon; and

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[6]Note the supporting comment by Schaffert (1981: 4), who was apparently the Manager at Gregory Downs Station from 1931 to 1944 (M. Waldon personal communication):

It was the usual thing for our Aborigines to go on a walkabout towards the end of the year. Once the end of September came it was near impossible to hold any of them back.

I remember the time when the Aborigines were ready to walkabout from Gregory Downs Station. From 100 to 150 were headed for Accident Creek where they would put all the young bucks through their initiation and so forth.

TABLE 8*

INCOMPLETE LIST OF INDIVIDUALS REMOVED 1912-1936,
FROM BURKETOWN, TURN OFF LAGOON AND CERTAIN STATIONS

Year	From	To	Reason
1912	Burketown	Barambah	Going about armed and killing station cattle
1914	Burketown	Mapoon	Reported bad character, refuses to work under agreement. Stirs up discontent amongst other Aborigines. Wife to accompany him
1920	Burketown	Yarrabah	Threatening murder and immorality
1929	Burketown	Mornington Island	Destitute; for their own protection
1931	Burketown	Mornington Island	For their own protection and welfare
1931	Burketown	Palm Island	For her own protection
1931	Burketown	Palm Island	Suffering from severe skin disease; for treatment
1933	Burketown	Palm Island	Refuses to work and destitute [wife and child?] to accompany him
1934	Burketown	Palm Island	Convicted horse stealing in May 1933. Unable to obtain employment. Family destitute and in rags
1934	Burketown	Palm Island	Troublesome character absconding from employment and suspected of suffering from V.D.
1935	Burketown	Fantome Island	For Medical treatment
1935	Burketown	Fantome Island	Suffering from V.D. To accompany parents
1935	Burketown	Fantome Island Hospital	Suffering from leprosy
1935	Burketown	Palm Island	Laziness, refuses to work and generally unsatisfactory conduct. To accompany husband. To accompany their parents
1930	Wood Lake [adjacent to Burketown]	Mornington Island	Very lazy; continually interfering with other Aboriginals' wives

*List in Gulf Country History File (AIAS library).

TABLE 8

(Continued)

Year	From	To	Reason
1914	Turn Off Lagoon	Barambah	Subject to morphia habits
1919	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	For his own benefit
1919	Turn Off Lagoon	Mapoon	For her own protection
1919	Turn Off Lagoon	Palm Island	Very dangerous aborigines. Have threatened life of station manager
1926	Turn Off Lagoon	Palm Island	Uncontrollable; general nuisance; to be made an example of
1927	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Running wild in aboriginal camps. For their own protection
1930	Turn Off Lagoon	Palm Island	Uncontrollable; for the good of other aboriginals
1934	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Morally weak; children to accompany mother
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Destitute; immoral associations
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany husband
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Children to accompany parents
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Immoral associations
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany mother
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Immoral association
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany mother
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Destitute immoral associations
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany husband
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany parents
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Immoral associations
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany husband

TABLE 8

(Continued)

Year	From	To	Reason
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany parents
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Immoral associations
1935	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	To accompany parents
1936	Turn Off Lagoon	Mornington Island	Unemployable/begging for food useless type unable to find employment/low moral character/ [wife] to accompany husband/children to accompany mother
1914	Lawn Hills	Mapoon	For her own protection
1933	Gregory Downs Station	Mornington Island	Sick and nearly blind; unable to maintain himself
1935	Gregory Downs Station	Palm Island Settlement	Indecently interfering with female children. Wives to accompany husband; children to accompany parents
1923	Gregory Downs	Mornington Island	Conduct has not been good
1916	Escott Station	Barambah	Stealing; terrorising residents
1931	Marless Station	Mornington Island	Mothers deceased; for their protection
1913	Augustus Downs	Cape Bedford	Mother died and left children destitute
1927	Augustus Downs	Mornington Island	Destitute; for their benefit
1916	Wernadinga Station	Mapoon	For her own protection
1935	Donors Hill Station	Doomadgee Mission	Sent to Mission to be cared for and educated instead of handing over to White employers

22 (including 14 children) were removed from various stations. Of these 116 people, 60 (including 44 children) were sent to Mornington Island, one to Old Doomadgee Mission (see below), and the rest to quite distant places outside the study region (particularly Palm and Fantome Islands and Yarrabah, but also Mapoon, Cape Bedford and Barambah). A majority (36) of those removed from Turn Off Lagoon were sent to Mornington Island in 1934 and 1935. The two kinds of reasons for removal, given in Table 8, are: (a) because individuals were seen as some threat to Whites and/or other Aborigines; and (b) because they were seen to be in need of some form of "protection" and/or medical treatment. In the case of the former reason people were most commonly sent to Palm Island, and in the latter case to Mornington Island (although certain medical cases were sent to Fantome Island).

The removals from Turn Off Lagoon in 1935-1936 were apparently due as much to the closure of the Police Station there as to such stated reasons as "immoral associations". Contemporary Aboriginal accounts are that the Police said they could no longer give them rations and that the children had to go to school. They told them to go down to Old Doomadgee Mission (see below), but the people said they did not want to go there, because they were Waanyi and did not belong to the coast country. So the Police sent them to Burketown and from there they were sent to Mornington Island (a few were apparently later sent to Aurukun for having broken certain Mission rules). By most accounts these people did not want to go to Mornington Island (see also their sentiments as similarly reported by M. Tonkinson 1982: 5). Some remained for many years while others returned to the mainland (and eventually to Doomadgee Mission), e.g. one family quite independently by means of a dug-out canoe circa 1942.

Apart from those in Table 8, contemporary Aborigines recount many other removals, and another source (personal communication 20.1.1980, 27.1.1981 from D. Belcher, ex-Superintendent, Mornington Island Mission) names at least 13 further individuals sent to Mornington Island via Burketown circa the 1920s and 1930s. He also states that Reverend Hall during 1914-1917 "took some half-caste children (& F.B.) from Burketown because of their neglected condition", and that: "The Police tended to send children to Mornington Island without regard to kin factors at Burketown (early 20's) ... ."

Some children were apparently regarded by White officialdom as orphans without adequate family care (e.g. in Table 8 the removals from

Marless and Augustus Downs Stations), although this may well have been due to perceived physical conditions in camps more than the real absence of any related adults willing to look after them. Nevertheless, some children were also regarded by Aborigines as "kids without parents" (bujiji [Wyi], guwaliwali [Gw]). Other Aboriginal accounts are that White police would invariably want to remove children of mixed racial descent; examples include children being hidden by their mothers fearing they would be sent to Palm Island (at Riversleigh Station, see Trigger [1982a: 98]), and being taken away from grandmothers and sent to Mornington Island during what were intended as merely visits to Burketown from stations in 1922 and 1929 (see e.g. an account in Transcripts of Proceedings of Nicholson River Land Claim [T.O.P. 1982: 292-3] and also M. Tonkinson's [1982: 7] report of this 1922 event).

By most contemporary Aboriginal accounts, the removals of mixed descent children were opposed by their mothers, and in some cases by their socially acknowledged White fathers as well. Chinese fathers are said to have remained with their Aboriginal women and children more often than White men. Occasional accounts indicate hostility from Aboriginal men when their wives gave birth to mixed descent children; e.g. one account (circa 1935) where the mother is said to have been attacked by her husband soon after the birth, and despite attempts by his brothers to restrain him, the woman eventually died of injuries sustained (T46).

Liaisons between White (and Chinese) men and Aboriginal women at bush camps and stations were reasonably common, despite the laws in both Qld and the NT prohibiting such unions.[7] The activities of the Whites

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[7] In Queensland: The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1901 (Section 9 requiring Ministerial approval for any marriage between Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal men; Section 16 prohibiting any unauthorised non-Aboriginal person from being in an Aboriginal camp), followed by an amending Act in 1934 (Section 9) and The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Acts 1939 to 1946 (Section 29, prohibiting "carnal knowledge" of female Aborigines by non-Aboriginal men). In the NT: the Aboriginals Ordinance of 1918 (Sections 28, 45, 51, but particularly 53 which prohibited non-Aborigines "consorting with" Aboriginal women, etc.). These legal provisions continued in Qld until 1965, and in the NT until 1962 (Stevens 1980: 67). It can be noted that both the Qld and NT legislation provided that non-Aboriginal fathers of "half-caste" children were in certain circumstances liable to contribute to the support of such children. These provisions appear to have continued in Qld from the 1901 Act (Section 19) until 1939, and in the NT from the 1918 Ordinance (Section 44) until 1953.

with cattle and horses were not always legal, and Police investigations into both breaches of the law were often combined. For example, an Order was issued by the Queensland Director of Native Affairs on 8.5.1941 (Order No. 23[8]) for the removal of a woman and her children to Palm Island during "the Director's pleasure" for the official reasons of: absconding from (station) employment with her children, taking her employer's horses, and absconding with a White man. Contemporary Aborigines know the White man to have been the father of two of her children, and this family eluded Police at their bush camps until January/February 1943. The report of the NT Policeman who then took them into custody (Graham 15.3.1943) states that he is satisfied "that a definite cattle-stealing ring has been in existance [sic] in the area patrolled", and mentions one other White man as having been "greatly assisted" in this illegal activity by his female Aboriginal consort. This man was arrested and convicted for the charge of consorting with a female Aborigine, and was fined 50 pounds with 10 shillings costs, and allowed a fortnight to pay or two months' imprisonment. The Policeman also strongly recommends that the NT Director of Native Affairs not grant this man permission to marry the woman, which he had requested after his conviction. A further White man was similarly charged and convicted for "consorting with a female halfcaste".

The report of the NT DNA Patrol Officer referred to above (p. 158) (Kyle-Little 16.12.1948) also indicates the official concern to investigate the situation of mixed-descent people and have them removed if necessary. He reports three stations (Manangoora, Seven Emus, Pungalina) where the White owners had maintained long conjugal relationships with Aboriginal women, and in all cases notes close and caring relationships between these men and their "half-caste" children, and also the likelihood that the latter would inherit the stations after their fathers' deaths. These include one situation where the Aboriginal mother had died and one where she had "run away" (after 25 years) with an Aboriginal man. At one station he questioned the White owner as to why he had not fulfilled his obligation to marry the Aboriginal woman he had been living with for 25 years (and the couple were married three weeks later). At two other stations he questioned people about who were the fathers of mixed-descent children and recommended that a certain White man "be made to pay an amount each week for the upkeep of

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[8]In Gulf Country History File (AIAS library).

the child" if he admitted to being the father. Throughout his long report he describes the situation of "half-castes" and "natives" separately. The prevailing view in the report is that the needs of the former, and their capacity for development could not be appropriately met in the life of the "native camp".

At Wollogorang, he recommends "that the half-caste girls, ... be shifted from the area as it is quite apparent that nobody is looking after their interests." At Redbank Mine near Wollogorang, the old White owner (aged 77 years) who lived in a cave, had a 16 year old "half-caste" girl living in an adjoining cave:

> Masterton [the White owner] stated that he had taken this half-caste girl from the native camp at an early age and had looked after her interests ever since. He had given her a little education, clothed and fed her. He requested that I remove the girl as the residents of the various stations and people in Burketown claimed that he was living with the girl ... I am quite convinced that in the past Masterton has acted in the best interests of the girl.

Other comments in this report on the NT stations in the study region are relevant to the situation of mixed-descent (and other) Aborigines in the system of labour relations, and they will be discussed further in Section 6.3.2.

However, it is first necessary to describe general Aboriginal movements as "employees" of White (and other non-Aboriginal) "bosses". For example, in case 1 (Appendix E), B was "picked up" from Westmoreland Station as a boy when about 12 years old (circa 1914) by a White man: "he bin pick me up there want to grow me up, for boy for him - take me away" (T71). The two travelled to Burketown, Turn Off Lagoon and various stations. The White man had a small number of horses of his own, and would get work on stations breaking in horses and doing general stock work. After a while, B obtained his own station job (at Punjaub), while the White man was working at Lawn Hill. However, when the latter returned to live at Burketown for a while and married a woman of Aboriginal/Chinese descent, B again went to live with him: "... you know, just like my home, come up sit down might be here for Christmas - like that" (T71). He took the White's surname as his own English surname.

Similarly, in the same example group, C (who together with most of the children of "King Peter" was born at Westmoreland Station) was

"picked up" (circa late 1920s) from there by an "Afghan"[9] hawker: "He bin ask'im me ... you want a job?" (T72). They travelled to many stations throughout the study region and beyond it selling clothes, etc. brought originally from Townsville. When the hawker returned there for more goods, C waited for him at Kamilroi Station, was injured when breaking in a horse and spent time recovering in Burketown Hospital, then returned to the station: "my boss bin still away". He had originally been left to look after the hawker's buggy, and on his return the latter abused the station Manager for getting C to work with horses at the station. Eventually, C and his "boss" argued over the former being required to cut a lot of wood, his boss threatened him with a rifle, and C reported him to the Police Sergeant. The boss subsequently asked the Sergeant if he could "have the boy back", but C would not go, and another "boy" went with him. They then "had a row" on their first trip and the Aboriginal man is said to have killed the hawker with lightning using a sorcery song. C later married a woman (in case 4 in Appendix E) who was working at the Burketown Hospital. Although the marriage was opposed by her family because she was promised to another man, they were married by the Police Sergeant and appear to have thereby used White authority to dissuade their opposition.

After their initial movement away from Westmoreland Station where their families had been based, both men discussed above (B and C, with their wives and children) lived and worked on many stations. They spent some time in the bush in "off-seasons" (e.g. when it was too wet to work), and returned to the Burketown camps for some periods. They also went on long droves to Cloncurry and Julia Creek, to the south of the study region. Such movements in accordance with the availability of work on stations, in Burketown, and with "bosses" who were themselves itinerant workers was the prevailing pattern.[10] Further examples

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[9]Barker's (1964: 88-101) discussion of "Afghans" in outback Australia notes that: most really came from Karachi (in present day Pakistan), they were nomadic, and many drove camel teams transporting goods.

[10]However, on some NT stations Aboriginal youths were simply being abducted right up until the 1930s, e.g. Kyle-Little (16.12.1948: 2) reports Aboriginal statements at Manangoora that "evidently 8 to 10 years ago [i.e. circa 1938-1940, Police] had always taken young men away in handcuffs for no apparent reason", and the White owner's statement that these "boys" were then "forwarded ... on to drovers or cattle stations on the Barkly Tablelands for work." Consequently: "... the natives in the area are still very frightened of the Police".

from Appendix E are: case 1-D worked (and consequently moved around the region a lot) as a Police Tracker in Burketown for many years; case 3-C was "picked up" as a young boy (circa late 1930s) from Turn Off Lagoon by a White drover; case 4-G was "picked up" as a boy (circa late 1920s) in coastal Ganggalida country by a White drover then based at Westmoreland but at the time just moving around the bush during the wet season: "I'll take this little boy, I'll bring him back [he said to G's mother]" (T79); etc.

Some old people now recognise the impact of their long experience in the pastoral industry on their commitment towards maintenance of traditional Aboriginal ritual knowledge and practices: "I bin forget now - too much cattle 'n horse bin make'im me silly"; "We didn't worry for that - ... work for White man all the time." However, it appears that many station Whites were not particularly concerned with changing such areas of Aboriginal life. Their major concern, and indeed the critical focus of race relations, was the obtaining of Aboriginal labour.

6.3.2 Labour relations and the class situations of Aborigines and Whites

A complex series of laws and amendments have provided the legal framework for labour relations between Aborigines and others in the study region. In Queensland, The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts, 1897 to 1934 and successive Regulations under them, required that people had to apply for a permit to employ "Aboriginals" and "half-castes", and then complete a written "agreement" containing the names of the parties, the nature of the service to be rendered by the employee, the wages or other remuneration, length of employment (although after 12 months a new agreement was required), etc. Applications for permits, permits themselves, and agreements were all set out on various forms. Police officers and local Protectors were expected to oversee and witness these arrangements, and they could (from the time of the amending Act of 1901 [Sections 12 (2), 13]) receive the wages of Aboriginal workers and manage this money, as well as the property of all Aborigines. Subsequent Queensland legislation retained the emphasis on "protection" of the Aboriginal worker through paternalistic management of his labour, wages, property, movement, etc. Indeed Queensland law may be said to have generally maintained "colonial labour arrangements" until the late 1960s. Similar legislation operated

in the NT until the same period (see Rowley 1972: Chapters 10-16; Stevens 1974, 1980: Chapters 3-5).

Long before the NT (or any other government in Australia), Qld established special minimum wages for Aboriginal pastoral workers, and by the 1919 Regulations these were about two-thirds of the general Qld pastoral award wage, on the basis that the value of the Aboriginal worker was inferior because he lacked a sense of responsibility. By 1964 the Aboriginal station hand still received approximately the same percentage of the general award rate, and the percentage was less for other jobs in the pastoral industry (Rowley 1972: 237).[11]

Throughout the years, the legally stipulated wages for Aboriginal pastoral workers were always much higher in Queensland than in the NT, e.g. from 1955 the worker in Qld received over twice the amount paid to his NT counterpart from 1959 (Rowley 1972: 232). Stevens (1980: 44) states the first minimum rate for NT Aboriginal pastoral workers to have been stipulated in 1938, however what appears to be the correct date of 1928 may be found in his Ph.D. thesis (1973: 159). Rowley (1972: 285) refers to criticism of the fixed rate in 1928. The rate was: 5 shillings per week plus keep, tobacco and clothing (the general NT award rate was then 2 pounds per week with keep, and similar discrepancies exist for the drovers' rates given). However, the Regulations allowed the Chief Protector to absolve an employer from paying any wages when he was maintaining the relatives and dependants of an employee. In any case, the Qld 1919 Regulations (QGG 1919: 1579-82) give a minimum rate for adult male pastoral workers of 40 shillings per week. Rowley's point (1972: 236-7) is that this difference looks less impressive during later years in the light of Qld Aborigines' (at least those not exempted from the relevant legislation) compulsory contributions to various state-administered welfare funds from 1934.

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[11]Before 1919: the 1899 Regulations (QGG 1899: 746-7) did not stipulate any wage rate, but that the employer shall provide "suitable shelter, blankets, rations (including tobacco), clothing, and maintenance during sickness" and shall return the employee to his "native place" when the job is finished; in the Act of 1901 (Section 12 [1]), the minimum wage (for those [presumably adult men though this is not clear] employed other than "in connection with a ship, vessel or boat") is set at 5 shillings per month ("exclusive of food, accommodation, and other necessaries"); and in the 1904 Regulations (QGG 1904: 1187-9) a lower scale for female employees (variable "at the discretion of the Protector") is provided, with the stipulation that small amounts are to be paid weekly as "pocket-money".

Aborigines were finally included in the pastoral awards of both Qld and the NT during 1968 (Rowley 1972: Chapter 16). While in the NT mixed descent Aborigines were legally entitled to receive non-Aboriginal conditions of employment from 1953 (Rowley 1972: 295-6; Stevens 1980: 64-5), this was not the case in the cattle industry because "Aboriginals" as defined in the 1918 Ordinance (i.e. including "half-castes") were excluded from the Cattle Station Industry (NT) Award (see I.G. Sharp 1966: 157-8). In Qld, while "Aboriginals" (including "half-castes") could be exempted from the legislation specially regulating their employment, they were in any case excluded from the Queensland Station Hands Award (I.G. Sharp 1966: 156).

Rowley (1972: Chapters 10-16) and Stevens (1980: Chapters 3-5) refer to many reports of Aboriginal station workers (particularly in the NT) not receiving the legally stipulated Aboriginal minimum rates of pay and conditions. From current oral history, Aboriginal workers in the study region apparently knew little of what they were legally entitled to receive. Rowley's general remarks (1972: 232-3) for Qld are certainly applicable for the study region:

> In practice, signing on was an arrangement which a settlement superintendent or a Police Protector negotiated with the employer ... .
>
> In the frontier areas, the police officer had to 'get on' with the local employer. There must have been those who were ready to compromise. The actual procedure, until 1966, was that the Protector kept the bank book, into which a proportion of the wage (which he decided) was paid, irrespective of the wishes of the employee, who could make withdrawals only through him. Especially where the worker is illiterate, such a system is open to abuse, and abuses inevitably occurred.

However, data available from a survey in 1949 (Davis 19.9.1949) of the wages paid to 118 Aborigines employed on stations under agreements show that the average wage was approximately 43 shillings and six pence per week under agreements arranged by the Doomadgee Protector, and approximately 35 shillings and 6 pence per week under those arranged by the Burketown Protector. The difference in rates paid under the two Protectors is actually greater than these figures indicate, because a larger proportion of the Doomadgee based employees were aged under 21 years and therefore entitled to less pay (28% of those Doomadgee based, 16% of those Burketown based). The wages of individuals vary considerably, however both these averages are above the minimum rate for adult (21-45 years) General Stations Hands (30 shillings per week) in

the 1945 Regulations. Another 13 Aborigines were employed by drovers (all but one under the Doomadgee Protector) and their average wage was approximately 61 shillings per week, i.e. considerably more than the legally stipulated drover's rate in the Regulations (40 shillings per week). While official Aboriginal minimum rates may have been raised by 1949, it is more likely that both Protectors were operating according to the instruction in the Regulations that Protectors should claim higher rates than the prescribed minimums "when satisfied the ability of the aboriginal warrants such higher payment".

Contemporary old people describe the payment for their labour on stations as young teenagers, as mainly consisting of rations:

> ... they [the speaker's mother and father] come down here [to Gregory Downs Station from bush and station areas to the south, following their child's removal to Gregory Downs by a Policeman] and they stayed there, they used to come to the station and Manager give'em tucker 'n flour ... beef ... they give'em anything - tobacco - been so pleased to get the kids off them ... (T23).

When a White station man picked another contemporary old man up as a boy from the Burketown camp, the White reportedly said to the boy's mother:

> You give me the boy, we give you some tucker, clothes - she [would subsequently] go up to the [Burketown] Police Station and get it on the order.

While some report unambiguously that they received no wages for long periods, others remember receiving wages as they grew older, particularly those who were picked up by itinerant bosses.

Some arrangements not involving wages were apparently regarded as satisfactory, e.g. during parts of the dry season Aborigines normally based at Westmoreland would move down to the coastal area of Ngurrurri, taking station horses there "to fatten them". Following some time spent in the bush they would return to the station with the horses as the wet season began (thus providing better water and feed sources in the vicinity) and then receive rations for a period. In other cases, despite some wages the "trade" is now perceived to have been unfair. The following man recalls his fencing contractor boss paying his wages into the bank and providing his family with food:

> I done a lot of that mill work, sawmill, I done a lot of yardwork, and terrible lot of fencing too. No mate, on me own, nobody with me, no off-sider ... me old boss used to just lay down in the shade, I used to make the money ... old man, he just lay down there while I earn the money for him

SALT-GETTING. ESCOTT STATION BURKETOWN.

PLATE V Aboriginal workers obtaining salt from saltpans in coastal country northwest from Escott Station homestead, circa 1914. (Courtesy Mrs. M. Walden).

[laughing] ... when he die I got an old motor car off him there he had an old Ford car so the Policeman said: "You can have that old car ... the old man died, he won't be using it" (T23).

However, the long-standing relationships between Aboriginal workers and their itinerant bosses commonly developed as close and supportive. For example, the above man also relates with fondness how his old boss would usually cook for him. Such itinerant bosses were often apparently unmarried and without other kin support, and in a number of recorded cases they died at remote bush locations with their Aboriginal worker(s). Some are now remembered with great affection. During the youth of the Aboriginal workers the boss was a father figure and many workers came to be known in English by their boss's name, through public recognition of their close association with him. The support and trust of a boss is now recounted with pride. Thus, old people tell of occasions when: during the manager's absence they were entrusted with custodianship of station buildings and equipment and given open access to food and other stores; they intimated they would soon "finish up" at a station, but their boss would say he could not cope without them (e.g.: "no you can't pull out, you our boy") - their knowledge of the country is said to have been essential for adequate mustering; they have been told by station owners where they have worked a long time that they have "always got a home" there and may come to live at any time. A further boast is that an individual could (and in some cases still can) always obtain beef from certain stations. Many bosses are now described as having been "good old fellas". Indeed, to remark about an individual: "poor fella he got no boss", is still understood by old people to mean he lacks the kind of material support and status that this kind of employment is seen to have historically entailed.[12]

Aboriginal workers are also proud of the extent of their movements during their working careers on stations (and in some cases at towns like Burketown and even Cloncurry). While some have spent very long periods on particular stations, others have moved much more regularly. A trend towards shorter work periods is evident by the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

When hostility arose between Aboriginal people and their bosses, the relationships appear to have ended fairly abruptly, e.g. the case

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[12]Cf. Anderson's (1983: 490-1) similar comments on relationships between Aboriginal workers and their bosses in small-scale tin mining enterprises in southeast Cape York Peninsula.

reported above (p. 167) where the Aboriginal worker refused to continue the relationship and enlisted the authority of the local Policeman in doing so. Another man recounts how he and other Aboriginal workers simply "pulled out" from a bush mustering camp, because of a dispute over food (circa 1935). They walked back to Wollogorang Station, their wives joined them and they walked casually through the bush for several months. Much later (1961) this man was sacked from Riversleigh Station "over a row", and in 1970 "pulled out" with his two working sons from Escott Station, over similarly disputed conditions (T79).

Written sources provide further data on material conditions, and White views. The pervasiveness of the Aboriginal worker in the cattle industry is generally recognised, e.g. Carrington's (1977: 17) reminiscences of the region in the 1920s and 1930s:

> I think it is only fair to mention the part played by the aboriginal stockman over the years. They were mostly excellent horse and cattlemen and were the backbone of most mustering camps in the Gulf.

An early source (Turnbull 1911: 40) indicates prevailing White folk wisdom regarding the use of Aboriginal labour on stations. He was writing in 1896:

> The early settlers usually, and even now ..., try and get blacks out of the camps, say 8 or 10 years old, sometimes younger, and break them in to station work. These get their clothes, tobacco, some few presents at times (but no money), and with a strict boss who knows how to work them, prove valuable servants in a country where wages are very high and produce very low in price. In fact, inasmuch as they are good bushmen, good horsemen, and when well treated take an interest in the station, and are not so flighty as the somewhat independent white man, we are otherwise dependent on for stockmen up here. I prefer them to the whites. I cannot, however, say that one could do altogether with blacks; one must have a white out with them to steady and boss them.

Turnbull (1911: 59-60) also notes how "station boys" keep up such "savage customs" as respect for old men, initiation and artefact making, and how "with the exception perhaps of an old 'boss nigger' [those on stations] are not allowed to keep gins of their own" because of the disruption allegedly caused by the presence of women. While "gins as well as boys are largely used as stockmen", Whites at this time apparently attempted to keep the sexes separate. Turnbull states his preference for the then unregulated and White-dominated labour relations of the region:

Finally, I have worked cattle in Southern and Central Queensland, where we used blacks very largely, but it was the fashion to pay wages and to "take notice" from a boy when he wanted to leave the employ, and I can honestly say that the blackboy of the far north - that is, taken from the camp as a youngster - should he have a good master, is a better man, happier, and less free from vice [sic] than his southern brother, who requires freedom and 10s. or 15s. per week ... (I must state, however, to clear myself of any suspicion of practising slavery, that if a boy wants to leave me he can always do so.)

While such early White attitudes had to adapt to much greater regulation of labour relations by Police Protectors, they appear to have changed slowly. From contemporary Aboriginal accounts, arguments on such matters between station Whites and Protectors were not uncommon. Two examples from the early 1940s may be given from written sources: one concerning a relatively poor station in the Gregory Downs Protectorate, and one concerning the well established Westmoreland Station.

In 1943, an elderly station lessee who had in his own words (Murnane 2.4.1943) "battled" alone in his remote bush setting since 1918 complained bitterly to a Qld Parliamentarian about the treatment of him and his Aboriginal "boys" by the Protector at Gregory Downs Police Station. The complaint referred to among other things, inferior quality work clothes and other goods being provided to the station's Aboriginal employees, and lack of provision of Aboriginal workers to him as compared with other station employers. The Protector's reply (Hagarty 26.5.1943) argued that shortage of goods due to "War conditions" could not be blamed on him and that those goods provided were always good quality and that the lessee was a bad employer:

Few, if any Protectors, in my opinion would have put up with ... [the lessee] as I have done over the last five years. He writes down here and wants certain boys, and if they are not available and are substituted by others, he takes a dislike to them, and nothing they can do for him in their work is right. He, with each and every boy, from what Aboriginals say, is continually growling at them regarding their work. This is evidently why none of the boys like going there, and never want to go back ... . [The lessee] has always been an uncertain proposition regarding payment of wages ... . As the Department knows the demand for Aboriginal labour exceeds the supply.

This reply was supported by the Protector's superior (Calligan 9.6.1943, the Inspector of Police at Cloncurry), who added details of the Protector's work for the benefit of Aborigines at the Gregory Downs camp:

> For years past he has worked a vegetable garden to provide
> vegetables for the Aboriginals, and has also pit sawn bush
> timber and erected huts on the camp site, he has also sunk a
> well on the river bank ... [etc.].

Other correspondence (e.g. Murnane 7.3.1944) indicates that this dispute carried on for some time, with both sides claiming that the other treated Aboriginal workers unjustly.

While supply of labour to this station was particularly difficult because the White lessee was known as a hard employer, other stations also complained about the shortage of Aboriginal labour, prompting the Protector to write (Hagarty 15.6.1944):

> Do these people who write to Head Office imagine they are
> being penalised. I have a totally insufficient boys [sic]
> and gins to satisfy all demands. Someone must go short, as
> they cannot be manufactured at a minutes notice and put to
> work.

Similarly, five years later (Hagarty 8.5.1949), when he also gives his opinion on the arrangements necessary to maintain appropriate labour relations:

> As the Dept knows all the able bodies blacks [sic] in this
> Protectorate are in constant employment, and the demand for
> Gregory Downs Aboriginals has always totally outweighed the
> supply.
>
> I have found that an Aboriginal, in 99 cases out of 100, if
> worked and treated properly is always willing to return to
> his job after a spell, except of course in very isolated
> cases where a boy is a bit of a "head" or a "pointer".[13] It
> will be found that in many cases where a boy is reluctant to
> return to a job, that it is bossed by some incapable
> jackeroo, who understands nothing of working blacks, and
> less of the work in hand, and consequently cannot command
> obedience or respect. Interference with boys gins,
> bullying, liquor, and familiarity generally are some of the
> many causes that result in walking off jobs, or failing to
> return after a spell, and the origin of station labour
> problems.

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[13]Hagarty (personal communication 15.12.1984) has explained in correspondence that:

> The term "head" or "pointer", "Stirrer", "Big mouth", "too
> much yabber", "Tongue to the arsehole" were labels that
> indicated an agitator or trouble maker among other blacks.
> He was the ... type who knew it all, and invariably had it
> badly twisted, and after leading others into strife left
> them to foot the bill and denied any connection.
>
> He was the bad apple to be avoided if you desired harmony in
> the camps ... .

> ... [a certain station Manager] gives the impression that he believes that the black is merely a chattel, and whether he likes it or not, or regardless of circumstances should be forced to return to a job. He evidently has much to learn in this line.

The correspondence indicates continuing tension between certain station employers and Protectors over poor working conditions.

Sources relating to Westmoreland Station concern complications caused by lower pay rates legally payable in the NT. Qld authorities made enquiries regarding the station's Aboriginal labour in 1943 (Director of Native Affairs 29.1.1943), and were informed by the Protector of Aboriginals at Borroloola (McKinnon 9.4.1943) that regardless of whether their place of birth or usual residence was in the NT, when working in Qld Aborigines would be entitled to Qld conditions and rates of pay. He pointed out that it would no doubt suit the station lessee to dodge Qld conditions as NT conditions were only 5 shillings per week or nothing at all if their dependants were maintained. The Qld authorities had stated Qld conditions to be 12 shillings and 6 pence to 30 shillings weekly depending on age, plus keep but without clothing. The two sets of authorities were in agreement that Qld conditions should apply at Westmoreland.

This issue continued for many years and involved the Doomadgee Mission administration, and it will therefore be discussed in Section 6.5 below. However, it can be further noted here that an NT Department of Native Affairs Patrol Officer reported the following in 1948 (Kyle-Little 16.12.1948): Aborigines employed on Manangoora (5),[14] Seven Emus (6), Pungalina (5), Wollogorang (7), Seigal Creek (1), Calvert Hill (4), Robinson River (7) and Fulche [sic] River (4) stations (as well as others further west), and that no wages were paid at any. At all stations workers and some dependents were provided with varying amounts of food, clothing, shelter, and so on. Only for Wollogorang (where the Manager falsely claimed to be paying 5 shillings per week) does the officer recommend wages "of at least 15/- to 1 pound a week" plus certain improved conditions. This appears to be due to his judgement that, unlike the other stations, Wollogorang was doing very well economically, and that this was largely due to Aboriginal labour.

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[14]Only the numbers of working men are given here, but most had wives (and some had children) and some or all of these may also have been employed, but this is unclear from the report.

Also of interest in this report are the Officer's comments specifically concerning the further "half-caste" employees. The comments reflect his attitude that such individuals have the capacity to develop broader skills and possibly become owners of capital rather than remaining as wage labourers:

> [The head stockman at Seven Emus Station, "an exempt half-caste"] ... is ... a good type of man with a reputation throughout the district as far as Burketown as being an exceptionally good cattleman and shrewd businessman. He has a Savings Bank Account and a [large] credit ... . He expressed to me his ambition was to own his own property (p.3).

> [At Pungalina Station, a "half-caste" stockman and the White lessee's two "half-caste" sons] ... were a good class of lad and were all recognised as smart stockmen (p.4).

> [At Wollogorang, three "half-castes"] ... are all classified as stockmen and carry out their duties as such. They work hard and long hours and no attempt has been made to educate them in any way. They live and eat in the native camp and in general are treated as an average Aboriginal stockman. I can see no reason why ... [the White Manager] should not be made to employ these half-castes as apprentices and provide quarters and better class of food. Each boy should have a bank account and their weekly wages paid directly into same (p.7).

No such comments are made regarding the prospects of people of full Aboriginal descent.

6.3.3 "Kings" as leaders

Station Whites and Policemen introduced the practice of designating certain men as "kings" of stations or areas encompassing them. This occurred in the first decade of this century and possibly earlier, and the kings lived on through the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Aboriginal people now name kings whose "runs" focused on the following stations in the study region: Egilabria, Escott (and Burketown), Augustus Downs, Westmoreland, Lawn Hill (three of them), Turn Off Lagoon, Wollogorang. Only in the cases of Wollogorang and Egilabria were the kings' genealogically inherited estates within the vicinity of the station block. The other kings had generally moved eastwards to the areas that became their "runs". At least one man from coastal Ganggalida country left the region to become king of a station on the Barkly Tableland to the southwest.

From contemporary Aboriginal accounts it is clear that the kings were middlemen between camp populations and local Whites with authority, especially Policemen and station Managers. They would obtain material
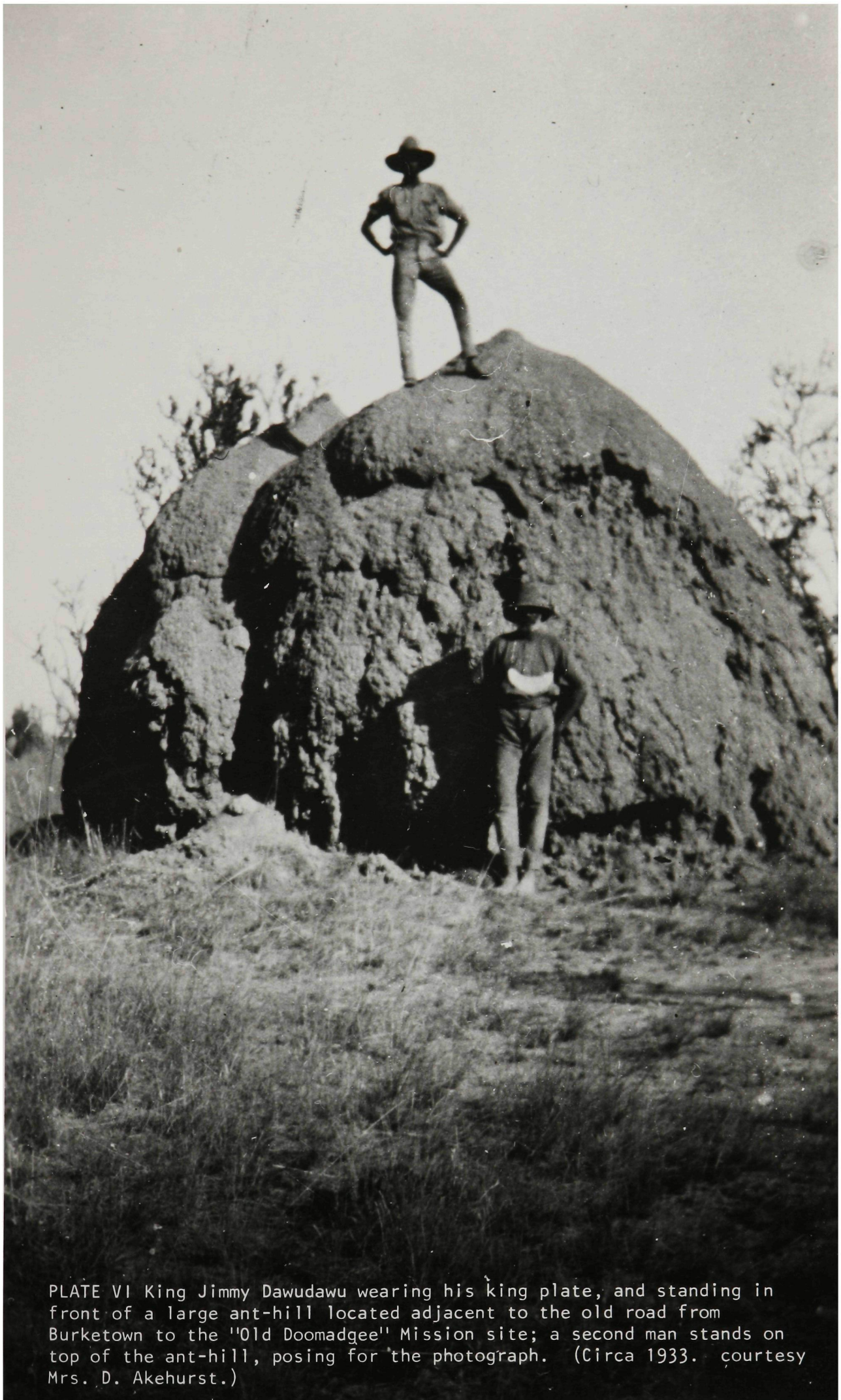
PLATE VI King Jimmy Dawudawu wearing his king plate, and standing in front of a large ant-hill located adjacent to the old road from Burketown to the "Old Doomadgee" Mission site; a second man stands on top of the ant-hill, posing for the photograph. (Circa 1933. courtesy Mrs. D. Akehurst.)

goods for "their mobs", i.e. any Aborigines currently within what was known to be their "run" which encompassed their normal field of authority. The following account begins with reference to a "Burketown king", then deals more generally with kings elsewhere in the study region:

> ... he can go to the Police Station in Burketown: "I wanna get so much ration, I got about big mob down here [to] look after." Well he buy the tucker ... you [will] see load of tucker come out ... no matter where they [Aborigines he is looking after] come from he still find'im 'em tucker, because he's the leader in Burketown. If we go'n ask, me'n you come from somewhere else: "We got no tucker." He put his plate on, two of them, small one on the side and the big one in the front [however most kings had only one crescent-shaped plate which was hung around the neck (see Plate VI)] ... and ... Police see him: "Oh yeh ... what the trouble?", "Oh I got a big mob out here at the lake - big camp there ... I wanna get so much tucker for 'em." He might get four or five bag of flour or might be more ... two bag of sugar ... tobacco might be ... .

> ... He [the king] just like the, y'know ... owner of the station ... he can go to that Manager there and tell him: "Oh you better kill a bullock, I got a big mob down here." He [Manager] say: "Oh right, away you go, bring the killer [beast to be slaughtered] in," or might be out in the bush, just kill'im themselves ... (T45).

Such provision of material goods was evidence of the way "the Government" would "look after" kings.

To some extent, they were viewed as carrying the authority of "the Government" in that they were seen as being able to mobilise White support:

> I seen that king mix in [fight] amongst'em, no matter how serious - he spear fight, boomerang fight, he gotta be there no matter how he goes if you knock the king over, well you gone good-bye [i.e. you have committed an offence against the White system of authority] ... well the king was the leader for everybody (T45).

The king plate itself was regarded as the extremely important emblem of office, which empowered the wearer:

> ... you can't break that plate off him [in a fight] ... if that chain come out of them two little holes, you gone now ... (T45).

The king's status was seen as ultimately backed up by the White Police.

It was apparently regarded as appropriate that a child of the king inherit his plate, and its attendant office. The oldest sons of the Escott and Turn Off Lagoon kings were known in English by the name "Prince", the former as a first name and the latter as a surname. In the case of the Escott king it was also considered possible that a

daughter inherit the plate and office: "... like Elizabeth Queen y'know ... they can take over them things blangta their father, hey?" (T45). The Aboriginal conception of king-ship was borrowed from the local White understanding of the European system of royalty. However, in fact only one possible case of a son actually inheriting the plate has been recorded.

While their children (and others) now describe kings as having held authority over large numbers of people (e.g. "my father bin king of all the Garawa"), their influence appears to have been most commonly confined to contexts involving their dealing as middlemen with local White Police, employers and other officials. Contemporary discussion normally attributes to each of them one or more admired qualities, e.g. very knowledgeable, great fighter/dancer/singer, etc. The kings at Westmoreland and Turn Off Lagoon are attributed particularly high status (at least among contemporary men) on the basis of the large number of wives they obtained throughout their lives. These two kings therefore have much larger numbers of descendants than the others.

Sources on White attitudes to kings include Turnbull's note (1903: 10) for the Leichhardt River to the east of the study region, where he distinguishes between "the gentleman whom the native police crowned with a brass plate" and "the hereditary king", the latter thus being represented as an authentic indigenous leader unlike the former who was given a king plate. The Report of the Protector of Aboriginals for 1903 (Roth 1904: 16) mentions the official removal of "Toby":

> ... on the complaint of the manager of Lawn Hills. The police report that Toby has been the cause of many fights between different blacks and the organiser of all depredations of the tribe of which he is 'king' ... . [He was] previously convicted at Burketown of having meat illegally in his possession.

This man does not appear one who co-operated with the White authority system, although it is unclear whether he actually had a king plate. A further "King Tabby" is mentioned by Schaffert (1981) as "the head aboriginal" in the Lawn Hill and Gregory Downs area in the early 1930s.

McCarthy (1952: 327) provides a general consideration of the White Australian attitude in distributing king plates:

> ... they found in these breast-plates a convenient way of recognizing the loyalty and faithful services, or of establishing the position of whoever appeared to them to be the highest in rank, of natives on cattle and sheep stations, government reserves, and mission stations.

He adds that (1952: 327):

> ... an award of this kind to some men, particularly those
> without the necessary status who became spokesmen for their
> groups with the Whites, no doubt caused some bitterness and
> strife among their people.

However, my data indicate that in general terms the kings were recognised as appropriately negotiating with Whites, particularly for the continued supply of material goods.

6.3.4 Summary

With sedentarisation, Aborigines became vitally dependent on White "rations" and other material goods, and incorporated within the pastoral economy. Race relations were largely constituted by Aboriginal relationships to White employers and government officials. The former desired Aboriginal labour as cheaply as possible, while the latter attempted to regulate labour relations according to the official ideology and law of the state, which was committed to the "protection" of Aborigines through paternalist supervision and control of many aspects of their lives. The structural domination of Aboriginal society had strong foundations in both the region's economic life and Police enforcement of law.

White Australian society exercised economic power over Aborigines in that a constellation of the latter's material interests in sedentary camp circumstances, necessitated their becoming wage labourers. As Aborigines became incorporated into a relationship with the capitalist market, it is possible to posit their class situation in relation to that of their employers (and also that of the bureaucrats in the region). Clearly, Aborigines did not control any means of economic production in relation to the capitalist market. They appear to have maintained skills on which was based the Aboriginal mode of production, to varying degrees throughout the study region as the intensity of contact with White settlements increased. However, the Aboriginal mode of production required continued access to bush resources, which Aborigines in the study region did not always have (although the situation appears to have varied considerably with time and place in this regard). As well, our analysis must note a considerable Aboriginal attraction to and dependency on certain material goods available from White employers and officials, particularly tobacco, flour, tea, sugar and beef from cattle. The desire for these and other goods necessitated working for non-Aborigines.

As wage labourers, Aborigines had little control over their working conditions and income, although a fine-grained analysis must deal with

an Aboriginal repertoire of manoeuvres designed to avoid blatantly exploitative labour relations with non-Aborigines. Some tactics involved enlisting the support of local White Police. Moreover, the mutually supportive dimensions of many Aboriginal worker/White boss relationships must be recognised. Indeed, some employers of Aborigines were seemingly not greatly different from their employees in the extent to which they controlled material goods and in their general material standard of living. This is particularly so for certain Aborigines of mixed-descent who were apparently encouraged to accumulate some of their own capital by sections of local officialdom.

It is difficult to characterise the pattern of Aboriginal compliance from the data presented above. What emerges most clearly is the economic domination of Aborigines rather than the according of legitimacy to the White system of domination by Aborigines. Moreover, the power exercised by the state did not rely on legitimations by Whites. The laws enabling the removal of Aborigines, particularly those who were violent or disobedient towards White interests, represent continuing domination by physical force. Other aspects of the law, such as the disallowance of inter-racial sexual relationships seem to have derived at least partly from the state's continuing notion of protection of Aborigines. This notion caused most tension within White society when the state insisted on regulating White (and Chinese, "Afghan", etc.) use of Aboriginal labour.

Finally, the imposed office of kingship as a form of leadership as conceived by Whites and of contextually confined brokerage as conceived by Aborigines, further complicates any simple model of conflict or struggle between Aborigines and Whites. From the perspectives of both employers and bureaucrats, establishing kings was an attempt to systematise the necessary dealings with Aborigines. It cannot be seen as any real attempt at incorporating certain Aborigines into the ruling apparatus, and at thereby legitimating White rule. Kings did achieve power over other Aborigines through regulating their access to material goods from the broader Australian society, and through associated high status. However, while kings were perceived by Aborigines as being able to draw on powerful Whites for support, they were not perceived as part of the ruling apparatus. They did not engender the attribution of legitimacy from Aborigines to the pattern of White domination.

The only data indicating perhaps partial attribution of legitimacy concern Aborigines aligning themselves with White authority in order to win out in disputes with both Aborigines and non-Aborigines. The data above include the case of a man getting support from the White Police in his dispute with his "Afghan" employer (p. 169). After getting the Burketown Police Sergeant to legalise his marriage, the same man was able to effectively counter the opposition to it among Aborigines. By all accounts, it was not uncommon for White authority to be regarded by Aborigines as a highly useful ally in disputes within Aboriginal society. To the extent that White authority was perceived as potentially useful by Aborigines, it can be viewed as engendering some legitimacy. However, it has been the institutionalisation of Aborigines at Doomadgee Mission which has involved a much more effective establishment of entrenched authority relations between Aborigines and Whites. I now turn to an historical account of life at Doomadgee Mission prior to my fieldwork period.

6.4 Life at Doomadgee Mission

In 1930, a missionary couple who had recently severed their connection with the Australian Inland Mission were directed to Burketown by the Brisbane Office of the DNA, after calling there "seeking a place where the Lord was not known among the dark folk of our land" (D. Akehurst n.d.: 1). They received "commendation" (i.e. religious authorisation) from Open Brethren Assemblies in Sydney, and together with another young man from Sydney, established a base at Burketown by early 1931. They cared for young children in their Mission home in Burketown, and by 1933 had been joined by several others of similar religious background and had established a Mission on the Bayley Point Reserve at Dumaji (Site D4, Map 4, subsequently referred to as "Old Doomadgee").[15] By late 1935 this site had been "condemned as unsuitable for an expanding work by the visiting Director of Native Affairs" (D. Read n.d.), early in 1936 a cyclone destroyed many of the buildings and later that year the Mission was shifted to its present site on the Nicholson River.

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[15]Missionaries could be appointed Protectors and/or Superintendents of reserves under Sections 6 and 7 of the 1897 Act, and under The Aboriginals Preservation etc. Acts, 1939 to 1946 (Section 9) reserves could be placed under the management and control of a religious organisation.

Correspondence from the Chief Protector of Aboriginals (n.d., but almost certainly written in early 1936: 3) indicates the reasons underlying official White support for the move to the Nicholson river site:

> The site of the present reserve on Doomadgee Creek is unsuitable for the purpose of the mission, as it is not sufficiently near to the existing Aboriginal camps in this district, and moreover has very little suitable agricultural land, and is difficult of access.

> The Wallace Block [on the Nicholson] on the other hand is centrally situated, being only 10 to 15 miles from Turn Off Lagoons on the one side, and about 50 miles to Burketown on the other side, and is convenient of access to the natives employed throughout the district. Its proximity to the Turn Off Lagoons Police Station would enable greater co-operation between the Protector, and the Mission Authorities, thus resulting in better control of the natives, and improved facilities for the employment of Aboriginal labour by land holders of the district.

> At the present time there are resident on the Doomadgee Reserve between 50 and 60 Aboriginal children, and approximately 20 adults, who are either too old or incapable of further work, and by the gradual development of the mission services, it is anticipated that this population will more than double in respect of children, and also will become the recognized permanent home of the various adult Aboriginals of the district.

The latter certainly occurred. Long (1970:49) summarises the subsequent demographic history of Doomadgee:

> The first large group of Aborigines removed to the new mission was reported in 1938 when forty-eight destitute and old people from Burketown and the cattle station camps were taken there. These removals increased the mission population to 138 for that year but evidently the population remained less than 200 until 1947. After that the numbers increased rapidly from 152 in 1946, to 357 in 1956 and 519 in 1965.

6.4.1 The founding attitude

Throughout written sources containing missionary accounts there are many references to the rate of Mission success in engendering Aboriginal embracing of the Christian Brethren faith and beliefs. The major manuscript concerning the initial period prior to the move to the Nicholson river site (D. Akehurst n.d.: 11) describes one of the earliest Meetings (the Brethren term for a collective prayer service) at the Old Doomadgee site (on 31.12.1931):

> On the Sunday night we had a meeting at Hussien's [sic] camp[16] at which King Jimmy Dow Dow[17] and his gin were present. I count it a great privilege to tell these people the wonderful story of Jesus and his love.

At subsequent dates the manuscript refers to: the work being encouraging "from a spiritual standpoint" and Aborigines "beginning to understand" (p. 16, 31.10.1931); people gripping the truth of the Gospel and growing in knowledge (p. 28, 20.10.1932); the routine at the Old Doomadgee site of Bible reading and teaching and prayer with "our working boys" after breakfast and dinner, and the associated cleanliness, lack of swearing, truthfulness and good work of the latter (p. 38, 14.4.1933); the baptism of two "boys" (adult men) (p. 48, 26.11.1933), four "boys" and then "one boy and three women" (p. 52, 11.2.1934), later two girls (p. 54, 1.4.1934) and a reference to "seven of our baptised believers" (p. 58, 25.4.1934); and in the absence of the White men on a Sunday, several Aboriginal men for the first time taking an active part by praying in a Service (p. 72, 19.5.1935).[18]

The manuscript also refers to periods of opposition to their work, in "spiritual" terms:

> Continue much in prayer for Satan is strongly contending us and is meeting every forward move with a counter attack (p. 26, 1.10.1932).

> We are sure by now that Satan and the powers of darkness don't want us to establish a work for the Lord at Doomadgee or anywhere else up here as hindrance after hindrance has come as we make any advance (p. 31, 16.12.1932).

> This last six months has been a time of great spiritual blessing but the devil also has been contesting every step forward, attacking us in unforeseen ways from unforeseen quarters and he is still at it (p. 60, 15.6.1934).

Elsewhere (D. Akehurst 1933: 175), initial Aboriginal opposition is described as having been overcome through preaching of the Gospel.

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[16]Since his marriage to a woman of Aboriginal/European descent in 1909, an "Afghan" (or "Arab") stockman by this name (with his White boss until he died a few years after the marriage) lived at a camp at what subsequently became the Old Doomadgee site (see Dymock 1982: 109). Local Aborigines intermittently camped nearby.

[17]Contemporary Aborigines state that "King Jimmy Dawudawu" was a man of much influence among Ganggalida people (see Plate VI above).

[18]Although at least one White woman was present, women cannot speak at Meetings for worship according to Brethren doctrine (Van Sommers 1966: 30).

However, possibly the more significant role in which contemporary Aborigines remember the early missionaries is in compassionate work which partially fulfilled the severe medical needs of people who were suffering obvious and immediate effects of dwelling on the fringe of White society. The material conditions of the Aborigines at Burketown are described in D. Akehurst's (n.d.) manuscript: the "town camp" was about a mile from the town across a plain that was "a sea of mud in the wet and a barren, cracked earth place in the dry" (pp. 3, 8); colds were very prevalent (p. 19) as was venereal disease (pp. 37, 71) and there were cases of leprosy (p. 71). From another source (D. Akehurst personal communication n.d.a):

> When we came to Burketown ... there was no one to care for the physical well being of the poor wretched Aborigines we found. True the local protector was kindly disposed toward them and faithfully dispensed Government rations and saw that they went to hospital if they were ill but that did nothing for the state in which they lived poor in every way, smothered in dirt, sores and flies in the heat and no one to care in any way. What else could we do but care for their bodies as well as their souls. [Then follow two relevant Biblical quotations.]

The town camp residents are also described (D. Akehurst personal communication 16.10.1979) as:

> ... that sad and sorry remnant ... . Filthy, smothered in flies when Trachoma was bad and often hungry ... . They were without hope and without God in this world and He directed us to help meet both needs ... .

In correspondence to the Chief Protector the missionary concern with material well-being is also clear:

> The people in these parts are of nomadic habit, and very much diseased, and whilst it is our chief desire to gather them together for religious teaching we would also be able to minister to and relieve the diseased bodies by treatment ... (L. Akehurst 25.4.1931).

They also had to justify the material side of their work to their supporters in the Brethren Assemblies:

> Some do not hold with us touching the temporal side of things, saying that it should be left to the Government. It is very difficult to make them see the state in which the people live and how impossible it would be to make them feel a spiritual need while their bodily need is so great. We believe the Lord, seeing their need, would have us meet it ... (D. Akehurst n.d.: 25).

Apart from medical attention, the missionaries provided food and clothing to certain Aborigines in return for their labour (e.g. Akehurst

n.d.: 25), and also paid at least one man wages at Old Doomadgee
(D. Akehurst 1933: 176).

While the poor physical conditions were an important factor in the
missionary justification for gathering Aboriginal children under their
care away from the parents (both in Burketown and at Old Doomadgee),
they also stressed the "moral danger" to the children in the camps:

> ... no little girl is really safe, such is the depraved
> condition of the people here. From the very earliest years,
> the children are conversant with the evil that goes on round
> them. You will understand what it means to get the children
> from such a place into the pure, clean atmosphere of a
> Christian home and daily being taught of the cleansing power
> of the Blood (D. Akehurst 1933: 176).

Some parents are described as wanting their children in the Burketown
home because of the better food and other material resources there (e.g.
D. Akehurst 1933: 176), and because otherwise the children (at least the
girls, especially the "half-castes") would be sent away from "moral
danger" to Mornington Island according to government policy (D. Akehurst
n.d.: 9; Cantle 1980: 55). After the first missionaries' arrival at
Burketown, apparently no further children were sent away for this reason
(D. Akehurst personal communication 17.9.1981).

The early missionaries appear to have distinguished between
acceptable and unacceptable aspects of what they perceived as Aboriginal
culture. For example, they greatly enjoyed some dancing put on for them
at Burketown on 16.10.1931, although it is noted in the manuscript
(D. Akehurst n.d.: 14) that other corroborees "were very crude and we
could not sanction them." The "pull of the old time way" was seen to
provide "trials and temptations" for the Aboriginal Christians
(D. Akehurst n.d.: 70). Yet the "evil" that they had to "unlearn", and
the "old life" to which the children did not wish to return (D. Akehurst
n.d.: 43-4) was not really regarded as Aboriginal culture but rather as
the product of squalid camp life and the influence of "ungodly" Whites
(D. Akehurst n.d.: 26, 52). The missionaries did not learn much of any
Aboriginal language or perceive much of the traditions:

> ... in my day they did not show any special interest in
> tribal ways. I know they kept certain customs especially
> among those that came from Westmoreland way as they tended
> to live away from ... homesteads (D. Akehurst personal
> communication 17.9.1982).

And again (M. Read T91):

> I don't know whether there would have been many, if any, ...
> living tribally ... . And I wasn't worrying much about old
> time stuff, excepting that I got to know enough about their

PLATE VII Mrs. D. Read, one of the early missionaries, bathing a child at "Old Doomadgee", among a group of other Aboriginal children and adults. Two of the missionaries' small children are standing among the group, under the supervision of two Aboriginal teen-age girls. (Circa 1933, courtesy Mrs. D. Akehurst.)

beliefs to use it to help them try to understand what I was trying to teach them.

There was a certain closeness in the founding missionary-Aboriginal relationship. D. Akehurst's (n.d.) manuscript refers to the missionary couple's children: learning a song in an Aboriginal language (p. 13); being assigned fictive kin relationships with the Aborigines (p. 21); growing used to Aborigines so that one asked if his mother had a baby would it be black (p. 44); and one of them believing he would grow into "a black boy" some day (p. 80). This was despite the fact that the missionaries would not let their own children "play with the native children except under supervision as they aren't very clean in their habits" (p. 17). Five "boys" were at one point being cooked for by the White woman at Old Doomadgee (p. 38), and the Whites were eating substantial amounts of bush food, much of it procured by the Aborigines (pp. 53, 57-8). In the words of this woman's contemporary retrospective reflection (D. Akehurst personal communication n.d.b): "We lived very close to them and our lives were open before them"; and:

> I would like to return not as things are now [1980] but as they were, when we loved and were loved in return by the dark folk and were trusted (D. Akehurst personal communication n.d.c).

When this woman did return in 1969 (D. Akehurst n.d.: 77): "... - what hugs and kisses, black arms coming from all directions 'my old boss' 'my old missus', we were patted and stroked." She summarises the situation of the early missionary endeavour well (D. Akehurst n.d.: 74):

> We believe we had a good relationship with the natives as they found we did not live on any luxuries but lived on the very plainest of food, that often we were hungry and were glad to get a wallaby for meat, and often they would bring something they had caught for us. In many ways we sat where they sat and our lack of money was noticeable ... .

> Never at any time were we in danger by any hostility and I was completely safe even when left alone [without her husband, etc.] ... and never at any time did I carry a firearm as most White women did, neither for that matter did my husband, except for shooting wallabies. The Lord gave us favour with all the natives and we thanked Him.

D. Akehurst's manuscript indicates that the missionaries were ostracised by other Whites in Burketown and the general district:

> We are finding great acceptance with the dark folk ... . However, we don't have much acceptance from the white folk, especially the women who seem to have decided as we devote ourselves to the care of the natives that we are very much beneath them - or perhaps it is that they don't understand us (pp. 9-10).

And elsewhere:

> I suppose our stay here has been one of the biggest trials
> so far owing to the open hostility from white folk. You do
> not realise how hostile they are ... . We believe their
> consciences are pricked over their treatment of the
> Aborigines over the years and we have disturbed their way of
> life by caring and trying to lift them from their
> degradation (p. 21).

They did not participate in such events as drinking alcohol and gambling
at the annual races, and were branded "ascetics" (p. 25) and the White
women in Burketown did not visit the missionary women (p. 28). Another
source (D. Read n.d.: 1) also states that the 30 or so Burketown Whites
"completely ostracized the missionaries", and D. Akehurst (1933: 176)
believed that Aborigines "had been prejudiced against us by evil White
men" before gathering at Old Doomadgee. A. Hockey (1970: 1) notes the
report of a time of six months when the Burketown Whites would not talk
to the missionaries. The opposition from some Whites appears to have
mellowed, e.g. in the case of some station men cut off from their
homestead by floodwaters whom the missionaries assisted at Old Doomadgee
(D. Akehurst n.d.: 67). D. Akehurst (n.d.: 64) also reports
"opportunities for personal work [i.e. of a religious nature] among the
White folk" on one trip.

As indicated above, there was official governmental White support,
particularly for the establishment of the Mission at the new Nicholson
River site, although the DNA appears to have had to argue strongly for
this in the face of opposition from the Lands Department "to any
Aboriginal institution in the midst of pastoral holdings" (Chief
Protector of Aboriginals 29.6.1936). The DNA argued that the objection
was groundless as surrounding land was not occupied, and that in any
case the Mission would enable better control over "nomadic and other
natives", thereby "removing risk of disturbance to stock". The DNA
stated the Aboriginal population of the district to be 200, including 40
under agreement in employment, and pointed out that if the Department
(rather than the Mission) had to "undertake relief of the indigent ones"
it would cost from 500 pounds to 1,000 pounds annually.

However, support was not always forthcoming from the local
officialdom. The Protector at Burketown expressed some reservations
when the Mission was first being established at Old Doomadgee. He was
particularly concerned that "active males" would be:

> ... induced to go to the settlement instead of taking up
> employment, where they do good and useful work, and get paid
> for same. To my way of thinking the taking of active males
> to the Settlement would be a mistake, for many of them are
> first class stockmen, and they would be a far greater asset
> to the country employed at station work, than roaming about
> the settlement (Hosier 19.9.1931).

He also doubted whether many Aborigines, apart from those "few that always live on the Reserve" could be induced to live there permanently:

> The old natives have what they term their own country, and
> would rather die there in poverty (if necessary) than leave
> it for any Promised Land. The young and active males when
> their term of employment is over are in the habit of drawing
> on their accounts for provisions, with the old people, and
> go on the walkabout, and apparently enjoy their freedom,
> until such times the stock season opens again, when they
> gather round the different Stations and are ready and will
> [sic] to go to work again (Hosier 19.9.1931).

It is possible that the Protector did not understand that the general vicinity of the Bayley Point Reserve was the "country" of many of the Burketown residents, although as reported above (p. 163) the Waanyi people at Turn Off Lagoon were certainly not prepared to settle at Old Doomadgee.

The Burketown Protector also stated that while they appeared to be "very respectable people" he did not consider the missionaries there in 1931 "suitable persons to control and train natives." He does not elaborate, but his conclusion seems partly due to the missionaries' apparent lack of substantial financial support and practical achievement during the nine or ten months they had been there. However, the Protector seems to have later changed his mind, writing on 25.4.1936 to the early missionaries who had then left the area (quoted in D. Akehurst personal communication 26.11.1980):

> ... although you had many difficulties to contend with, I
> say without fear of contradiction that the success attained
> ... was due to your personal efforts and supervision.

The final issue to emerge from source documents concerning the founding of the Mission is the effects on the health of the missionaries. D. Akehurst's (n.d.) manuscript constantly notes their "trials, difficulties, problems, disappointments troubles" (p. 6 26.10.1920), with individual missionaries: getting trachoma badly (p. 9); being physically exhausted (p. 12); and contracting malaria or "Gulf Fever" (pp. 19, 69), boils (pp. 24, 48) and diarrhoea "brought on through bad water and nervous strain" during a trip from Burketown to Old Doomadgee, when they became bogged and stranded for nearly

three months in the wet season (pp. 32-4). Moreover, the Akehursts' third child was still-born during the trip by boat from Old Doomadgee to the Burketown Hospital (p. 39). While made "tired and weary with the continuous strain" of all this (p. 60), and while having had to "retire from the field broken in health after five years" these missionaries (as did others) maintained their faith and regarded their work as "abundantly worthwhile" (L. Akehurst n.d.).

6.4.2 Aboriginal movement to Doomadgee through Mission management of labour relations

There are a few references by the early missionaries to Aborigines being well treated on certain stations, e.g. at the Waldens' stations (variously Touchstone, Marless and Escott) and Lawn Hill, while there was "trouble" with stations "in the Turn Off protectorate" (D. Akehurst personal communication 22.9.1979). Aborigines are said to have been illegally given alcohol on some stations "which caused problems" (D. Akehurst personal communication 17.9.1981), and there are other descriptions of very bad conditions:

> One well known station used to throw the meat ration on to the ground for them. I could tell you of at least one boy who was chained and beaten (D. Akehurst personal communication 17.9.1982).

There are missionary references (M. and D. Read T79) to inadequate wages for Aboriginal labour on stations ("paying them just a few bob a week and then working their wives for nothing") and in Burketown ("get them to come and scrub or wash for them for a little bit of sugar ...").

M. Read was the Superintendent and Protector at Doomadgee from its initial establishment at the Nicholson site (1936) until 1951. He describes (T91) how wages were an arrangement between the Protector and station employer, and how he constantly tried to raise them each time the agreement had to be renewed. It is unclear whether he was aiming for the legally stipulated minimum rates or just trying to get as much as he could for the Aboriginal workers. In any case, the desire for higher wage rates plus other incentives including relatives there, led increasing numbers of Aborigines to request transfer of the handling of their agreements from other Protectors (Burketown, Gregory Downs) to Doomadgee. The Reads explain (T91) that through such events the missionaries were unpopular with many station people: "They set themselves against us actually but over the years we won their respect"; and with some of the Police and officials in Burketown. Some station

people were also apparently unimpressed with and embarrassed by the missioners' moral disapproval of the circumstances that had led to the presence of the mixed descent children on the stations.

Successive Burketown Protectors mostly opposed transfers of Aboriginal workers to Doomadgee. The Doomadgee Protector was accused of inducing good workers to transfer so their services could be used at the Mission where an otherwise "mostly ... lazy useless crowd" resided; and it was asserted that workers under Burketown supervision were better off by being in constant better paid employment (Chambers 28.10.1948). The latter claim was disproved by a DNA investigation (Davis 19.9.1949) which found that nearly all Doomadgee males between the ages of 16 and 60 were out at station employment, and that Aborigines from Doomadgee "in most cases obtain higher wages than those signed on from Burketown" (see my discussion above on pp. 170-1). Davis's report concluded that families were better off at the Mission because of the schooling (not available on stations), hospital (at that point apparently better staffed than the Burketown Hospital), better diet and accommodation than on stations and the "habits of cleanliness and discipline inculcated in the children" at the Mission. The report found the only disadvantage of transfer for such married men with dependants was that in accordance with the 1945 Regulations (No. 6) those resident at the Mission had to contribute 10% of their wages to the DNA managed Welfare Fund, while those resident elsewhere contributed at the rate of 2.5%. Moreover, families at the Mission had to pay "for rations not locally produced, such as tea, sugar, and flour" supplied to their dependants, except for dormitory children "for whom the Mission receives Institution Child Endowment." Davis recommended that such Missions should provide all standard rations free of charge to the dependants of working Aborigines and to the workers themselves when holidaying at the Mission, providing that the Regulations were amended so that the compulsory wage deductions were paid direct to the Mission rather than to the Welfare Fund. Following Davis's report, the Mission was also instructed (Director of Native Affairs 14.11.1949, 5.4.1950) to cease charging the accounts of Aborigines not attached to the Mission (at the rate of 7 shillings and 6 pence per day) for treatment at the Mission hospital, for Aborigines were entitled to free treatment at any hospital in the State.

A subsequent Burketown Protector accused the Doomadgee Protector of issuing to visiting Aborigines (i.e. through funds in their Burketown-based accounts) goods and "Pocket Money", "prior to

persuading them to transfer their accounts" to Doomadgee (Champney 2.2.1950). The latter also argued (Champney 1.2.1950) that all Burketown-based Aborigines were "happy and contented in employment, until after a visit to the Mission ...", where they were persuaded that Mission life was much better than elsewhere. His opinion was that Mission life was best only for old people and school-age children. His telegram to the Doomadgee Superintendent (Champney 31.1.1950) requested the latter to "cease immediately underhand persuasive tactics" in the matter of transfers, otherwise he would not allow Aborigines in the Burketown Protectorate to visit the Mission. Champney (1.3.1950) also claimed that despite the great demand by stations for Aboriginal labour, a large number of Aborigines were living in idleness at Doomadgee (and Mornington Island) until their previously earned money was used up, and that such people should be directed "to suitable employment, as was done in the distant past."

The problem of regulating Aboriginal employment at Westmoreland was also a vehicle for contentious argument between successive Protectors at Doomadgee and Burketown. The station had apparently constantly attempted to avoid paying either Qld or NT wage rates for "years past" (M. Read 21.4.1949, and see discussion p. 176 above). A Burketown Protector (Nuss 12.11.1942) claimed the Doomadgee Protector was not co-operating in efforts to rectify the matter, and in later correspondence (M. Read 7.6.1948) the latter states his opinion (derived, he says, from an earlier DNA notice) that "NT natives" should not be employed under Qld agreements; another matter mentioned here was the alleged illegal employment (without wages) of Aboriginal children at Westmoreland. The Protectors continued to accuse each other of avoiding their responsibilities in these matters (M. Read 7.6.1948; Chambers 3.9.1948), then the families at Westmoreland gradually came to reside at Doomadgee.

Various successive station managements were apparently opposed to the Mission. In 1962 the Director of the owning company at Westmoreland claimed that from previous experience he "had found that mission controlled labour" was unreliable, that the Aborigines at Westmoreland had "little in common with the Doomadgee natives", and that "recognized rates of pay" and conditions were to operate at the station (Cunneen 8.2.1962). The company received some support from the Burketown Protector, concerning the alleged desire of Aborigines to remain resident at the station in familiar surroundings and conditions

(Jessen 6.2.1962, 16.5.1962, 2.7.1962), until the Protector finally decided that the Aborigines would be better off at the Mission (15.12.1962) and that while the station Director was "making out he is kindly disposed towards the natives, [he] desires their labour on the cheap" (15.6.1963). Disputes between Doomadgee and Westmoreland over employment matters continued until the early 1970s.

From its inception at the Nicholson site a major task of the Mission administration was the management of continuous large-scale Aboriginal employment on stations. Long (1970: 153) describes such employment as still occurring in 1965, however by the 1975-1976 financial year only approximately 20% of those in the workforce were employed in the pastoral industry, and those were on short-term contracts (DAIA 1976: 15). As noted in Chapter 1, during the years of the research period the Annual Reports of the DAIA (1978 to 1983) indicate only small numbers employed on stations mostly on short-term contracts, although the Mission administration also managed some employment of people with the Burke Shire Council. The main employment has been at Doomadgee in the provision of essential services and local industries. Large numbers of people have been unemployed, and the Mission administration has managed the provision of various Social Security benefits to the population.

6.4.3 Continued missionary commitment to evangelism

Written sources indicate the missionary perspective which continued from the founding attitude. M. Read's opinions are that while the old law kept up a reasonably high level of moral conduct, the "true Myall or Nomadic Tribal" people's knowledge of the spirit of man and of other spirits leads only to fear (1946: 2): "Truely [sic], apart from the Gospel they are a spiritually hopeless and helpless people, few having even a false hope to cling to." The "Detribalised" people were at a very low moral level, and (1946: 3) "outside the effective influence of the law and moral ethics of both the old and new codes." Ungodly White and "asiatic folk" had introduced such moral degeneracy. The "ideal environment" for Aborigines was (1946: 3) "a native community center under direct christian control and influence":

> The moral ethics of the scriptures are clear, plain, and profitable to follow. The moral tone of those on the reserve is far above that of their less fortunate peoples (1946: 4).

M. Read points out that while there may be some cause for doubt as to the effectiveness of spiritual work among Aborigines:

> ... there are others who bring joy and satisfaction, and it
> must be remembered that few of the natives of the present
> generation have anything in their background which will help
> them in their christian walk, and much that is against them
> because of their hereditary tendencies inherited from their
> forebears (7.7.1946: 4).

Elsewhere (T71), he describes how he never belittled their beliefs, but rather constantly argued that the greater spirit, God, was the source of overcoming fear of evil spirits, etc. He describes "an assembly of accepted believers" of about 50 as operating when he left in 1951.

An account written in 1953 (Doomadgee 1953) claims "85 natives in fellowship":

> ... some of whom can and do take an intelligent and valued
> part in the spiritual exercises of the Assembly, although,
> as yet, help is necessary from those who labour for and with
> them [i.e. White missionaries] (1953: 3).

The number had doubled over the previous four years, and 22 had been added during the previous three months:

> Long had they been captive to the power of darkness, bound
> by superstitious fears, enslaved to vice, to uncleanness, to
> dishonour. Contact with White civilisation, apart from
> Christian influences, did nothing to emancipate them, but
> rather worsened their moral condition ... . Add to these
> practices which still persist amongst the non-Christians –
> such evils as fathers giving their young daughters for money
> or other considerations, the pull of tribal custom evidenced
> when old men urge and force young fellows to submit to
> initiation rites ..., the pitiful wailing for the dead, and
> the cutting of themselves with knives, and the offering of
> food to appease the spirits of the departed (1953: 4).

Thus the Christian revival was regarded as a "wave of spiritual blessing"; however:

> There has appeared a smouldering resentment on the part of
> some of the old-time native men and women – this may develop
> to test severely the new Christians (1953: 5).

The 1953 account concludes by requesting more "consecrated personnel", i.e. missionaries, from the Assemblies around Australia; at that point Doomadgee apparently drew comparatively little financial support from the Assemblies, and was rather dependent on government grants, child endowment payments, local sale of cattle and local store profits.

In Annual Reports of the DNA, Mission Superintendents report on the changing rates of success of the evangelistic endeavours of the staff, e.g.: daily religious instruction with good attendance (Read 1947-48: 31), encouraging results (Talbot 1953-54: 40), men and women coming almost daily for spiritual help (Talbot 1956-57: 33), a falling off in attendance at Meetings and a decline in spiritual tone, due to

"increased amusements", particularly possession of radios (Talbot 1958-59: 33), attendances at Meetings fluctuating (Hockey 1961-62: 10), and daily scripture lessons in the school (DAIA 1968: 6).

Other comments include the point that school children were receiving "far more Biblical instruction and training than the majority of children brought up in [White] Christian homes" (Dempsey 1948, quoted in G. Hockey 1969: 2). G. Hockey (1969:B3) states that generally:

> No human policy has been sought as an over-riding aim. The workers have sought only the wisdom and will of God as their guide.

A. Hockey (1970: 2) points out that apart from the many government regulations in other areas of administration:

> ... we function autonomously and there has been absolute freedom in regard to the proclamation of the Gospel and the conduct of such meeting as have [sic] been thought profitable.

He also offers comment on the long-term degree of effectiveness of the evangelical endeavour (1970: 3):

> The joys and disappointments of the spiritual side of the work have been many and varied over the years. As in every phase of their life, stability is lacking. From time to time there have been those who would appear subjects of becoming towers of strength in the Assembly, then, alas, the evil one comes in and they are set aside. However, there always seem to be the ones and twos to encourage and to these we commit the things that we have heard that they may teach others also (2 Tim. 2:2). Approximately 150 have been baptised over the years, but few have maintained a consistent testimony. There are an average of 30-40 who gather to His Name each week to remember Him in the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup.

The final point here is that written sources indicate that strain on missionary staff continued through the years of institutional life. People appear to have worked very hard at their tasks, and throughout assorted newsletter clippings compiled by Talbot (a Mission worker from 1949 to 1958 and variously after that) there are references to physical difficulties and periods of illness experienced by various staff. Some people had to leave permanently or temporarily through ill-health. A quite specific reference (Bedford and Rossow 1960: 5) is to the over-worked medical Sister:

> ... it is rare for her to have a full night's rest without interruption. The natives are inconsiderate and restless with sickness, particularly with children, and if cured, well that's all right - but in the event of death Sister is to blame.

In the same source (p. 4), prospective visitors and workers were warned of the strain of the climate, and that:

> ... unless you are adaptable to the native people, [you] may well have a conscience, which is affected over some things you may see them do - such as smoking - and may not understand that their conscience is not as tender as your own and must wait till they grow in moral grace.

Throughout the sources, a broad theme in the missionary perspective is that the evangelical and material efforts made by missionaries over the years have involved considerable personal sacrifice on their behalf.

6.4.4 Administrative authoritarianism

The missionary evangelical strategy included a high degree of routinisation of Aboriginal lives:

> Even under the more primitive conditions earlier [the early stage at the Nicholson site], a regular routine was followed - daily baths and clean clothes to all dormitory children and five days a week school ..., daily infant welfare with mother and babes, a weekly women's meeting, a girls' sewing class, bible class for older dormitory children and camp adults, a workers' fellowship, then Sunday morning worship meeting and evening gospel meeting with camp visitation and open air meetings Sunday afternoon when possible (D. Read n.d.).

In 1953 (Doomadgee 1953: 3-4), a time of revival:

> Each Lord's Day [Sunday] morning at 9.45 the Christians assemble ... . On the same day at dusk, a Gospel meeting ... . On Tuesday evenings, a meeting for the ministry of the Word is held. Besides all the dormitory inmates, quite a number from the village, Christian and non-Christian, are present. Native brethren are largely responsible for the Wednesday evening Gospel testimony in the village, whilst on other evenings the native Christians gather around their camp fires for fellowship ... . Usually on Friday night one or more of the missionaries joins them.

> The women folk are cared for by a meeting conducted by the missionary sisters on Wednesday afternoons, whilst on Saturday nights a class of some twenty-three senior native girls ... meets in one of the [White] workers' cottages for fellowship and edification.

> For the dormitory girls and boys there are morning prayers at 8 o'clock, ... whilst every week-day evening devotional gatherings are held in both dormitories. Needless to say there is ample opportunity for personal work.

A somewhat less constant, but still very intensive, weekly routine is described for 1960 (Bedford and Rossow 1960: 16).

Considering the additional secular supervision of Aboriginal residents, the reasons for the following missionary view in 1953 are clear (Doomadgee 1953: 6): "It may be truly said that the Mission

personnel becomes complete caretakers of the people from babyhood to old age." However, periodic accusations that the caretaking has rather been over-authoritarian control, have been made against the Mission. The 1949 DNA investigation (Davis 19.9.1949) discussed above, also reported that children remained in dormitories from reaching school age until they went to station employment (boys) or married (girls). While the Burketown Protector had alleged that the Doomadgee staff were discouraging the single girls from marrying, the Davis report supported the Doomadgee Superintendent's denial of this. Under The Aboriginals Preservation etc. Act 1939 (Section 19), the local Protector's permission was required for the marriage of any Aborigine to occur. The application form required answers on issues including the "character" of applicants, whether they were "free from disease" and their financial position. Apart from such formal considerations, Davis (19.9.1949: 3) reports the Doomadgee Superintendent's only proviso as being that he is satisfied that the couple "are sufficiently acquainted with each other to be sure of their own feelings in the matter."

In 1950, a government report concerned with a number of Missions in north Queensland (Director of Tuberculosis 9.5.1950: 4) described the Doomadgee Aborigines as "the cleanest, the best fed and the best housed" but also as "the most severely restrained". It focused particularly on the dormitory, terming it a prison in the case of young women:

> Doomadgee is the worst example of the ills of the dormitory system. It is here indistinguishable from slavery. There are only a few men on the station, all males over 14 or 15 being away at work, and the whole of the work of the mission, including the construction of buildings, cultivation and irrigation of the gardens (about 60 acres), as well as the domestic work of the mission, is done by the dormitory girls, who include many of mixed blood and who range up to 24 years of age. Girls are forbidden to leave the mission compound unaccompanied during the day and are locked up overnight. No amusements, other than hymn singing are permitted [my emphasis].

In reply (M. Read 14.6.1950), the Superintendent justified the restrictions on "young girls" because of the Aboriginal population's low moral level in the recent past:

> It takes time to overcome the influence of past years filled more completely with evil contacts than with good dinners. Our aim has been to lift the natives up morally and socially by all possible means, and to slacken off necessary restrictive control as it is found the folk can rightly use and not abuse freedom.

He also argued that "the vast majority of the natives", i.e. apart from "a bad element about, from western parts", supported the dormitory system; for "practically all" parents were away at stations for much of the year. Some men apparently requested that their wives get "added care and protection" by being allowed to re-enter the girls' dormitory in their absence. Finally M. Read argued that Doomadgee Aborigines were not "noted for docility" and would not stand for too severe discipline.

Dormitories apparently continued to operate until the late 1960s. Still, in 1965, was Long (1970: 152) able to refer to:

> ... a girls' dormitory with thirty-five inmates and a boys' dormitory with twenty-three. Both served as means of imposing a relatively rigorous mission discipline on the children in substitution for upbringing by their parents. Formerly the girls remained in the dormitory until they were married and the main purpose of the girls' dormitory was to postpone the girls' marriage and sexual experience. Recently the older girls have left to return to their parents before marriages have been arranged.

In 1972, a Commonwealth Senator (Keefe 1972: 680-1) accused the Doomadgee administration of "inhuman conduct". He alleged that in 1972 a girl was punished for wearing a mini-skirt, and also referred to an incident in 1960 when 12 girls "all around the age of 14 years" ran away from the dormitory because they "could no longer suffer the discipline." When the girls were caught:

> They were subjected to physical beating by their parents under the supervision of the superintendent and were told that if they struggled during the beating they would have their hair shaved off. Some of the girls struggled and one of them ... was among those who had the whole of her hair shaved off ... . That was a disastrous and traumatic experience for a little girl of 14 years. Admittedly this happened several years ago, but the punishment has been repeated since then on more than one occasion. A number of girls were punished for talking to a white man employed on the mission (Keefe 1972: 680-1).

A letter signed by a woman who had been one of these girls, to the Editor of the Courier-Mail newspaper (16.3.1972: 2) then appeared, confirming certain of the Senator's allegations and adding various others: bad meals in the dormitory (including having to restew tea leaves already thrown out by the management); and when she had returned to visit the Mission with a White husband the management had expected her and her children to "sleep at the camp" while the husband slept in the Acting Manager's house:

> Apartheid is the policy of the missionaries. Any contact with outsiders is strictly supervised by the management.

> All dancing ... is forbidden ... . If I was asked to choose
> a word to sum up the feelings of my life the word would be
> fear. I was frightened for 20 years at Doomadgee ... . If
> I was married to an Aboriginal I don't think I would write
> this letter because we would be too frightened of what White
> authority could do to us ... . If I was asked to say what
> was wrong with Aboriginals I would say they have been too
> frightened for too long.

While there was apparently some argument over who actually composed the
letter (its style indicating perhaps substantial involvement by the
woman's White husband), many aspects of this account are confirmed by
contemporary Aborigines.

Extracts from Doomadgee administration records[19] further indicate
aspects of disciplinary control:

> 4.2.62
>
> Advised ... that two girls missing from Dormitory
> approximately 4 a.m. Two girls ... approached Miss ... as
> she returned to Dormitory and said they had been with boys
> under the Dormitory.
>
> Found tracks early in the morning that led to the camp to
> different boys sleeping tents etc. Got all suspects to give
> a footprint to satisfy and confirm our decision
> (P[olice]/Boys and Councillors) that they coincided with
> those found.
>
> 5.2.62
>
> Had an inquiry into the above those who confessed as to
> having visited the Dormitory in past weeks were ... . Girls
> who admitted they had been out of the Dormitory at night
> over past weeks [were] ... .
>
> All Camp boys given 3 weeks punishment. First job to do is
> clean out septic tank. They are to pay for all rations out
> of 2 pounds per week.[20] Only receive beef on Fridays ...
> not allowed to visit Mission Centre. No washing to be given
> to girls.[21] Not to resume talking to girls after work at
> night when punishment finished until speaking with the
> Superintendent and obtaining his permission not allowed to
> choose place of employment. ... [two names] ... who had
> been allowed down the camp from B[oys]/Dorm on condition
> that they behaved themselves to forfeit their payment of
> 2 pounds per week.

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[19]Copy in author's possession.

[20]This was clearly an amount received by the boys, however I have
not established precisely on what basis they received it.

[21]I am unsure what the basis of the girls receiving washing was,
however it may have meant the boys could therefore receive no clean
clothes.

> All girls involved to have hair cut as sign of being in disgrace and be dealt with [hit, smacked?] before other girls in Dormitory at night.
>
> ... [X] became abusive after her hair was cut. Was put in Detention overnight.[22]

Many of the 1945 Regulations were relevant to the operation of the Superintendent's authority (and that of his staff), e.g.: every Aboriginal shall obey all his lawful orders (No. 18), and observe habits of orderliness and cleanliness to his satisfaction (No. 19); he may permit, in writing, dancing and/or other native practices providing such practices do not continue after midnight or commence before the specified time (No. 21); he may prohibit any game and take any money or articles used in it (No. 22); no Aborigines shall leave a reserve without his permission (No. 25); he may, through force if necessary, confiscate anything which is in his opinion likely to be the subject or cause of a disturbance of the harmony, good order or discipline of the reserve (No. 24); he may direct Aborigines to work up to 32 hours per week without pay at tasks deemed by him necessary for the reserve's maintenance and development (No. 28); he may control the movements of Aborigines on reserves (No. 30); he may, with the approval of the Director, open and peruse any letters or mail matter addressed to or written by Aboriginals of the reserve (No. 32). As well, the Superintendent could constitute an Aboriginal Court (Nos. 35-44) to deal with various offences, there were gaols on reserves (No. 51), and he could appoint and control Aboriginal police (No. 52). An Aboriginal Court or the Director could order that any child under 16 years be detained in a dormitory. While certain of such Regulations were modified in, or absent from, the Regulations of 1966 (QGG 1966: 2105-34) and/or 1972 (QGG 1972: 1457-79) others were retained.

Contemporary accounts indicate that a number of restrictions appear to have caused further controversy around the early 1970s, e.g. the requirement that people wishing to marry had to inform the Manager, and most importantly the ban against Aboriginal people having motor vehicles - the Senator's accusations noted above (Keefe 1972) also include a reference to a person not being allowed to bring a car onto the reserve, and some Aborigines tell of a petition complaining about the Mission's policy against motor vehicles, which they sent to the

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[22]Contemporary Aboriginal accounts describe a "detention centre" in which teenage children were detained, sometimes for long periods.

Director of the DAIA in 1971. A letter to the Editor of The Australian (1.3.1973: 6), from an Aboriginal man normally resident at Doomadgee but then at a station, complained bitterly about a "long list of wrongs done to me by the missionaries of Doomadgee" and in particular about allegedly having his nomination as a candidate in an Aboriginal Council election not accepted "because I have always been an independent voice."

Over the years some individuals had attempted independent action in the face of opposition from the local authorities. Two example cases involve the dormitories and certain parts of Aboriginal ritual life. In isolated cases parents kept their children out of the dormitories for periods, e.g. in 1952 a couple took their two school-age children back to the station where the father was employed. The Doomadgee Superintendent's enquiry to the DNA (Talbot 9.4.1952) about his right to compel the parents to leave the children, elicited the response (Deputy Director of DNA 13.5.1952) that "it is not Departmental practice to forcibly separate children from their parents" even for such a desirable objective as their education, and that "all moral suasion" should rather be used. A more common tactic to avoid the Doomadgee dormitories was to move to Mornington Island; Belcher (personal communication 20.1.1980) reports that dormitories were discontinued there in 1954 and that "around 1958 there seemed to be a flow from Doomadgee to Mornington Island". He also claims that other attractions at Mornington Island included the environment being "largely controlled by Aboriginal people themselves" and the administration's encouragement of "traditional and cultural factors".

Some contemporary older people certainly indicate they avoided Doomadgee because of the dormitories, e.g.: "We bin mad for [i.e. emotionally attached to] kid - like to see them sleep with us." Aboriginal accounts indicate that it was constant complaint from mothers throughout the 1960s (with at least one woman putting her complaint in writing to certain government officials, politicians, etc.) which finally resulted in the Mission discontinuing the dormitories (apparently after some pressure from the DAIA). However, the positive feelings expressed by certain people must also be noted, e.g.: "hard days but good old days"; "hard life for us ... but children better behaved then ... straightened them up." Consider also the following quote from a man who spent many years in the dormitory; after referring to the uncontrollable children of today, and to the physical punishment

("beltings") that used to be meted out to rule-breakers in the dormitory, he went on:

> ... and that's why we're civilised, most of us bin in the dormitory. We might say that's bin a hard and a tough time. I can appreciate it on the other side of things (T55).

The dormitories are recognised by certain old people as partly the reason for the lack of continuity of ritual life: "... this young generation, they bin 'long dormitory - that's why they got lost" (T16). The Doomadgee missionaries have been known to be largely ignorant of, and opposed to, many "Blackfella ways". Most were not happy for children to speak their language, for marriage and other affairs to be organised according to kin obligations, or for "Blackfella medicine" to be used in healing. They have been against all forms of sorcery. Their antagonism has been most evident on the issue of ceremonies, which have never been allowed in or near the Mission.

The last time some men held an initiation ceremony a few miles west of the settlement (around 1953) is well-remembered by the Aborigines and missionaries alike. The Aborigines say the Superintendent threatened to call the Burketown Police Sergeant to stop them, then did so, but he replied that it was not his province to stop Aboriginal ceremonies. The account given by the then Superintendent indicates the missionary strategy of insisting that such ceremonies could not be carried out on the Doomadgee reserve, while knowing that for historical reasons, material necessity and ties to children in the dormitories, people would not leave:

> I wondered when I discovered that quite a lot of young men were missing and elders ... and I found that they were at a gathering up the river ... having some old time things ... I confronted them: [X] was spokesman, he'd just come to the Mission. He confronted me and said: "We're going to do what we like, that's why I've come here, that's the Aboriginal way and we're going to do it." I said: "There's plenty of room in Australia, and I won't bar you from doing exactly what you want - but not here." He said: "Well I'll be leaving...", but he stayed ... [D. Trigger: "Why?"] ... He knew it was better on the Mission, better conditions altogether, they were sure if things went wrong they got their food.

No further initiation (or other large-scale) ceremonies have been held at Doomadgee since then, although certain rituals associated with death have been practised. Over the years, a comparatively small number of (mostly Garawa) people have sent their young men to Borroloola to be initiated.

The final general point here is that the written discourse of the missionaries and Police Protectors indicates a system of bureaucratic practice based on concepts of authoritarian supervision of the total lives of Aborigines. Each person was referred to in all correspondence by a label consisting of the first letter in his or her first name followed by a number. Aboriginal men are always referred to as "boy". The latter could be "loaned" for employment by one Protector to another (M. Read 5.2.1949), or "withdrawn" from employment when considered necessary (e.g. Talbot 9.7.1958); the arrival of Aborigines "without covering letters" was regarded as improper by Protectors (e.g. Talbot January 1950 and 11.2.1950); and "pocket money" was distributed selectively to Aboriginal workers and mothers receiving Child Endowment. Such discourse itself indicates the authoritarian nature of White colonial administrative practices, apart from accounts of the concrete actions and consciously held opinions of individuals.

6.4.5 Summary

The founding missionary attitude was to cater for the perceived spiritual and material needs of Aborigines. While remaining largely ignorant of local Aboriginal culture, the early missionaries lived closely with Aboriginal people, partly because of their own material poverty, and partly through their social and intellectual distance from prevailing patterns of local White social life. These missionaries were people without much power in their own society. They received official bureaucratic support for largely economic reasons, and local station people opposed them partly for similar reasons as they increasingly came to regulate Aboriginal employment. The missionaries thus came to constitute a third major White interest group dealing constantly with Aborigines in the region. Along with Whites (and other non-Aborigines) in the pastoral industry and local bureaucrats, the missionaries constituted part of the ruling colonial apparatus.

However, for a considerable period the missionaries were in competition with both station people and government officials over control of Aborigines. Then, as the Mission community became firmly institutionalised, the Mission endeavour became inextricably entwined with secular administration and firm control of an increasing population. Both the missionary perspective on the "needs" of Aborigines and the legal framework led to authoritarian control by Whites of Aborigines becoming a key feature of Mission life. Particular

aspects of such control were the routinisation of Aboriginal life, the institutionalisation of children and young female adults in dormitories, and the opposition to significant parts of Aboriginal tradition.

6.5 Conclusion

Three major aspects of power relations are discernible from the description and analysis presented throughout this chapter. The general domination of Aboriginal society by White Australian society has developed by means of (1) economic power; (2) physical force controlled by the state; and (3) entrenched authority relations.

(1) Domination via economic power

The desire for the successful development of the pastoral industry led to White society establishing control over land and its resources, and the incorporation of Aborigines into the pastoral economy as a cheap labour source. While an Aboriginal mode of production focused on bush resources has been selectively maintained, major Aboriginal strategies have concerned a constellation of economic interests oriented towards acquiring material goods from White society - whether new attractive goods during Wild Time, a reliable source of "rations" in station and fringe-dwelling camps, or better wages by being based at Doomadgee Mission. The class situation of Aborigines as wage labourers in relation to the capitalist market, must be recognised as one dimension of their powerlessness. It is necessary to note that the material situations of certain small-scale pastoralists (at least up to the 1940s) on the one hand, and the early missionaries (also at least up to the 1940s) on the other hand, were also quite poor. Thus, throughout the history of the study region, not all Whites have been in a position to wield substantial economic power over Aborigines. Rather, the continuing incorporation of Aborigines into a relationship with the capitalist economy has historically rendered them structurally powerless in general terms.

(2) Domination via physical force controlled by the state

The data describe White society developing domination over Aboriginal society by establishing the "power of command" (Weber 1968 III: 948). This occurred through the readiness of White society to resort to physical force: military action during Wild Time, and government "removals" then and later on. The major modes of legitimation used by the state in this process were the laws and associated regulations which empowered White officialdom. Particularly following

Wild Time, the protectionist aspects of these legal provisions legitimated enforced White control, from the perspective of White society. This is evident (albeit often implicitly) from available documentary sources. However, I have little evidence from contemporary Aboriginal people indicating the historical attribution by Aborigines of legitimacy to the use of physical force by the state. Any recognisable Aboriginal support for the enforcement of certain aspects of White Australian law is best viewed in the context of the historical development of authority relations.

(3) Authority relations

In identifying authority relations, I am concerned to demonstrate the system of domination establishing among Aborigines (to some degree at least) an acceptance of the legitimacy of that domination. As discussed in the respective summaries above, it is not clear that Aborigines have conceived the powerfulness of Whites as legitimate in any general fashion throughout the history of race-relations. Certainly that does not follow from their having become dependent on certain aspects of White material culture, and consequently seeking continued contact with centres of White settlement throughout the post-contact historical period. Nor does it follow from the fact that mutually supportive and socially close relationships with individual Whites (particularly "bosses" and missionaries) were formed. It is not necessarily true for those who came to operate selectively as agents of White authority, e.g. as Native Police, Police Trackers and kings. Such people operated to obtain material (and to some extent status) advantages for themselves (and also for other Aborigines to the extent that these agents operated as middlemen). Their strategies and actions do not indicate any necessary intellectual embracing of White ideology concerned with local race-relations. They cannot, for example, be solely and simplistically portrayed as "alienated from [their] traditional culture", in "active collaboration with the White regime", and helping to keep other Aborigines in "exploitable order" (cf. Evans's [1984: 194-5] analysis of kings).

There is no doubt that Aborigines generally viewed Whites (their law, its agents, etc.) as exercising fundamental control over them during Wild Time, and through periods spent on stations and on the fringes of towns. However, for the period up to the establishment of Doomadgee Mission, there is no evidence that Aborigines generally accepted that control of their lives was appropriate, as things should be, correct - in short, legitimate. Therefore, my conclusion is that

authority relations did not operate up to this period. Aborigines were not controlled hegemonically during this period so that they came to embrace the world-view of the system ruling them, but rather they were controlled through direct physical force, coercion or the threat of it, and indirect economic power.

Yet, with institutional life at Doomadgee Aborigines were confronted with fundamentalist Christianity as a new legitimating ideology purveyed from within White society. Strong and long-term social bonds developed between Aborigines and the missionaries who controlled the former's children in dormitories. This chapter has presented data that mostly relate the missionaries' views concerning much Aboriginal support for their evangelistic work and material assistance, and Aboriginal conceptions (though mostly concerning the contemporary settlement) will be presented in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. However, on the basis of the data from the missionary sources, the voluntary element in Aboriginal compliance may be seen as having increased with their institutionalisation. Some Aborigines appear to have actively embraced Christian beliefs intellectually; they certainly participated in the appropriate Christian rituals. A concomitant of this was attributing considerable legitimacy to missionary control. Those Aborigines who did not embrace Christianity were nevertheless confronted with an organised system of stable bureaucratic administration through which was channelled the rule of the state. The missionary administration also controlled the capacity of Aborigines to satisfy their economic interests. As children were born into and grew up in this institutionalised setting, its administrative authoritarianism may be seen as engendering greater legitimacy from Aborigines than had occurred in pre-Mission times. Thus, it is with the establishment of Doomadgee that I distinguish the historical consolidation of domination of Aborigines via authority relations. What follows in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 is a detailed description and analysis of subsequent power relations in the settlement during the research period.

CHAPTER 7

BLACKFELLAS AND WHITEFELLAS: THE CONCEPT OF DOMAIN
FOR THE ANALYSIS OF RACE-RELATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines settlement race-relations during the research period in a fine-grained manner. The analytical concept of domain is used to describe two distinctive areas of social life at Doomadgee; they may be characterised in local Aboriginal terms as the "Blackfella" and "Whitefella" domains. These will be shown to be domains of physical, intellectual and social activity. It is my contention that the concept of domain has been incompletely developed for fine-grained research on race-relations. On the basis of data presented in this chapter the concept is refined and extended as a descriptive device.

While the bulk of the chapter presents much descriptive data, one issue emerges from it which is of most general theoretical import for my broad analysis of power relations in this thesis. That issue concerns the extent to which the operation of social closure among Aborigines entails some resistance to colonial domination. What analytical significance attaches to the operation of the Blackfella domain in the broader pattern of Aboriginal compliance? It will be argued that the legal authority of Australian society is restricted in the Blackfella domain, and that the maintenance of that domain enables Aborigines to retain some autonomy. The concept of domain is thus also used as a tool in the analysis of power relations.

The first section (7.2) of the chapter establishes the concept of domain, drawing on studies done in Australia and elsewhere. The following sections describe relations between Aborigines and Whites at Doomadgee in terms of: two spatial domains (Section 7.3), conceptions of Blackfella and Whitefella domains (Section 7.4), and social interaction between the two domains (Section 7.5). Before the concluding discussion, a further section (7.6) considers the issue of "Yellafellas" - phenotypically distinctive people of mixed descent - who are nevertheless located firmly in the Blackfella domain in terms of settlement race-relations.

7.2 The Concept of Domain

The Longer Oxford Dictionary gives multiple relevant meanings of "domain". These include: estate or territory held in possession; a district or region under rule, control, or influence, or contained within certain limits; a realm, sphere of activity, influence or dominion; a sphere of thought; a field, province, scope of a department of knowledge. In applying the term to the analysis of society, I use it to designate an area of social life with a number of dimensions: physical space, sphere of thought, and style of behaviour.

The concept of domains of particular linguistic behaviour and competence has been used for some time in sociolinguistics (Fishman 1972: 19; Lyons 1977: 584-5; Saville-Troike 1982: 52-3; McConvell 1983). The concept appears not to have been used much by anthropologists, although Leach's (1964) classic study of Burmese political systems uses it as a translation of a "category of place", not fully separable from an associated Kachin category of persons (1964: 125); the concept as employed by Leach has primarily political significance (1964: 114). More directly relevant to my study is its use in a recent collection of papers by anthropologists concerned with male-female relations (Ardener 1981a). In the initial chapter Ardener (1981b: 12) argues that space reflects social organisation, but cautions that while divisions of space and social formations are "intimately associated" no simple one-way "cause and effect" obtains. She later (1981b: 26) notes for example that social distance between people may be great, though the corresponding physical distance may not be so great. Other contributions to the volume consider the role of ideology and power relations, e.g. to what extent can the particular situation of women in space be interpreted as a reflection of "basic cultural ideologies" (Skar 1981: 35; and see also Callaway 1981: 169-70)?

Callaway (1981: 170-1) in fact defines "an anthropological approach" to the analysis of space. She establishes three analytical levels of "spatial domains": physical space - e.g. those between and within buildings, and constructions allowing and arresting movement; social space - to do with "traditional anthropological interests" such as kinship and socio-economic organisation, but apparently (although this is not really clear) primarily associated with cycles of actual behaviour stemming from such principles of societal organisation; and metaphysical space - belief systems which prescribe and legitimise social and physical space. These are close to the dimensions of the

concept I have designated above, although my term "intellectual domain" surely describes a particular "sphere of thought" less ambiguously than does the term "metaphysical space".

In considering Australian studies, brief mention should be made of Stanner's (1965b:2) use of the term domain to refer to an "ecological life-space", in discussing the traditional Aboriginal relationship to broad territories. Stanner's "domain" is a physical space or territory only, although it is an area defined by its human use; he states in a footnote that he uses the term life-space "without psychological and philosophical overtones". The more relevant Australian studies are those dealing with the separation of White and Aboriginal areas of life, typically at settlements and missions where there is an Aboriginal majority and a comparatively small number of White staff. However, before dealing with such settings, a general designation of the notion of Aboriginal domains in parts of remote Australia has been given by Von Sturmer (1984: 219); in his view Aboriginal domains are:

> ... areas in which the dominant social life and culture are Aboriginal, where the major language or languages are Aboriginal, where the dominant religion and world views are Aboriginal, where the system of knowledge is Aboriginal; in short, where the resident Aboriginal population constitutes the public.

Von Sturmer (1984: 218-37) describes for his study area an interface between Aboriginal and White domains at the western boundary of Arnhem Land. He notes among other features of race-relations there, that Aborigines and Whites have little knowledge of each other's domain, stating at one point that: "Aborigines and Europeans still stare at each other in mutual incomprehension" (1984: 235).

Bern (1977: 107-8) deals directly with the issue of power relations in describing two political fields at Ngukurr: the village and the settlement. (We may assume that Aborigines do not reside in the "settlement", for elsewhere [1976: 214] he describes the White staff houses as occupying the top of a ridge while the Aboriginal village is built on the slopes and surrounding flat.) He states that control over the settlement's internal organisation and external relations is by government. However, the "aboriginal community (the village) does not see itself as being deprived of autonomy by its subordination." He says that there is indeed little interference in the village by the settlement, and that "the village regards itself as autonomous, by

organising its internal affairs as if the locus of power is contained within the village." While this is an Aboriginal ideal, Bern says it is objectively false. Though village meetings attempt to organise internal affairs, they operate in a context of domination where government agencies control the major areas of community life. Aborigines are confronted by a hierarchy of authority which directs much of their existence (1977: 121).

Tonkinson describes more fine-grained detail on interaction between Aborigines and Whites. He describes (1974: 26-7; 1977: 67) how at Jigalong most of the Aboriginal camp was at least 200 yards from the main settlement on the opposite side of a large creekbed, and how (1974: 124-5) Aboriginal-missionary interaction was "of a formal structured nature and implies differences in status and authority." The missionaries saw the camp:

> ... as a polluting influence on the children whose souls they are attempting to save. It is a place of "vice, sin, and filth", to quote the superintendent, so the missionaries rarely go there and they forbid their children to play there (1974: 124).

There were no close friendships between missionaries and adult Aborigines and no reciprocal visiting; indeed, apart from housegirls and children doing chores (with the exception of one Christian Aboriginal couple), Aborigines did not enter missionaries' houses. While more Aboriginal-missionary interaction occurred in the main settlement area than in the Camp, most was "characteristically brief and confined to the business of the moment."

Tonkinson (1977: 68-9) further reported that despite attempts at instituting elements of Aboriginal self-government since the departure of the missionaries, "all that is across the creek is still as much the 'Whitefellas' business' as it ever was." He referred to the "deeply embedded attitude of dissociation" held by the Aborigines. More recently still (1982a: 115-6) he has described the White and Aboriginal domains at Jigalong as two conceptually quite distinct social fields or arenas of power. With the increasing administrative changes towards Aboriginal self-management these arenas can no longer be so clearly distinguished conceptually by Aborigines. Tonkinson's work (1982a) generally discusses the Aboriginal desire to keep the Whitefella domain out of the Blackfella business of the camp, in order to maintain autonomy over Blackfella business.

Maddock (1977) described two physical areas at Beswick Reserve, with Aboriginal and White residential areas on either side of a main road and a zone in between consisting of the service and administrative buildings. Aborigines and Whites did not interact much beyond working, school and canteen hours and most of this interaction was in the intermediate administrative zone. Maddock comments on the similarity of this situation to the spatial duality described for certain traditional encampments by Howitt. He describes (1977: 18) the "spatial dualism" at Beswick as "complementary opposition in social function":

> To the south live those whose function is to be administered. To the north live those whose function is to administer. The social distinction is, of course, correlated with a racial distinction, but not exactly, ...

He goes on to refer to mixed-descent Aboriginal children with very light skin colour living in the village. Maddock depicts the Beswick Aborigines as consciously desiring to maintain "blackfellow law", and speaks generally of their desire for "biculturalism". While thus describing separation of the two domains, he deals only generally with power relations.

Other sources also do not discuss issues of power relations in any depth. Terwiel-Powell (1975: 119-21) distinguishes between two main parts of Hopevale: "the administrative and staff residential area and the Aboriginal residences, or 'the village' as it is commonly called by local white residents." She states that "the church and the white staff are considered to be on a higher social level than the Aboriginal population", and gives as (rather incomplete) evidence for this:

> Although there is no noticeable slope in the settlement topography, the Aborigines speak of "going up to see the manager or the sister", whilst the staff, in their turn, talk of "going down to the village" (1975: 119).

Chase (1980: 24-5) describes staff housing at Lockhart River which actually physically occupies the high ground of a centrally located small hillock, thereby "placing the European staff exactly at the centre of the settlement and its activity, and ... creating a central zone of prohibited entry to the Aboriginal population." Anderson (1982: 106) also describes the White housing at Wujalwujal on the Bloomfield River as located on the best sites on a ridge, and thereby sharply separated from the Aboriginal housing. The Aboriginal residents resent the White domination of the best locations as well as the latter's occupation of far better housing. The physical segregation between the two groups of houses "reflects the almost total social separation of [European] staff

and [Aboriginal] residents." Stanton's (1982: 66-8) description of the spatial organisation of Mount Margaret is similar. Koepping (1977: 167) reports for Cherbourg that the White administrators were "removed spatially" from the Aboriginal community, and that no Aborigines "- even when invited - 'dared' to approach the area in which the administration personnel were quartered", being apprehensive about the attitude of the White Manager. Memmott's (1979: 337) study on Mornington Island distinguishes the "Mission", consisting of "the main settlement service centre" and staff residences, from two Aboriginal domiciliary zones; he states (1979: 445-6) that for Aborigines to be inside a Mission building is for them to be "inside the Western power system" (without being more specific about what this means) and that except for "church services and intrusions of authority on odd occasions, activity in the village is largely Aboriginal motivated and directed."

A further source is Theile (1982: 16-7), who spends some effort in portraying the "dichotomy" at Ngukurr between the "modern" (European orientated) and the "traditional" (Aboriginal orientated) sectors of settlement life. Young (1983: 66) describes all Whites living in a "core of permanent buildings" separate from Aboriginal dwellings at Yuendumu, although also recent movement into the White area of a number of Aboriginal families which have members holding important administrative positions. The latter moves have greatly improved social contact between Aborigines and Whites during the last decade. Young also describes the situation at Numbulwar (1983: 180), which is:

> ... split into two distinct sections - the European area to the north and the Aboriginal area to the south, with the school, office, community hall and store forming a service nucleus in the centre ... .

And later (1983: 183):

> Separate development of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal settlement at Numbulwar has had, and still has, a profound influence on social interaction between the two groups. Aboriginal people rarely visit non-Aborigines except for highly specific reasons and, in the same way, it is uncommon to see non-Aborigines sitting down in casual conversation within an Aboriginal camp.

She goes on to describe an Aboriginal family moving into the White section in 1979, and this leading to an increase in Aboriginal movement there, although this was not regarded with favour by all the non-Aboriginal neighbours. Finally, Harris (1980:132) defines two domains with their respective behavioural expectations at Milingimbi: balanda (lit: European) which is the domain of the cash economy and

modern technology and operates during week-day working hours; and yolngu (lit: "person" in the local Aboriginal language), where the "Aboriginal world-view and social priorities reign, and those of the other domain are virtually nonexistent."

The literature thus overwhelmingly describes fundamental separation between Aborigines and Whites in remote institutionalised communities. Similar findings are reported for Darwin fringe-dwellers. Sansom's (1980: 22) fringe-dwellers reduce to a minimum their interaction with Whitefellas (and non-countrymen), thereby expanding the realm of "blackfella business". They restrict their behaviour when they do have to deal with Whites, for example they swear less, thereby indexing participation in a different social domain (1980: 30-1); they also generally "talk high" in dealing with Whites, and regard the use of unwhite (or "rough") English away from Whites as speech "to be promoted and desired" (1980: 31, 41, Footnote 7). Sansom states that swearing away from Whites is used by people to "flag their independence". In saying that Whitefellas use their own style of speech, fringe-dwellers concede "whitefellas their separate reality" and confirm the Aboriginal adherence to their own (1980: 216).

Stevens (1974: 104-9) has reported a similar division between Aboriginal and White domains on cattle stations in northern Australia. The homestead, machinery sheds and White employees' quarters occupied any available elevated positions over the Aboriginal dwellings. It was the White buildings which were "situated to collect the breeze, or to take advantage of the limited shade ... ." He described the White residential area as an "oasis of green" distinct from that of the Aboriginal employees responsible for keeping it that way, who are "out there, somewhere in the billow of haze, ... across a dusty paddock, ...":

> Indeed, the social and economic gap existing between [White] management and [Aboriginal] labour on properties in the Northern Territory must have very few parallels throughout the world (1974: 108).

May (1983: 73) describes early north Queensland cattle stations:

> Traditionally black and white workers were quartered separately. The station blacks' camp was located some distance from the remainder of the buildings - far enough away to be out of sight, yet close enough to be accessible when workers were required ... [this arrangement] created and maintained a barrier between the Aborigines and Europeans from the outset.

Young (1983: 132) notes that at an NT cattle station recently purchased for the Aboriginal community, the few White families reside in the one area.

What then of the Doomadgee situation, concerning Aboriginal people with a history both on cattle stations and in a highly institutionalised Mission? This chapter firstly seeks to provide a much more detailed description of the nature of the separation between Aboriginal and White domains, than has previously been provided in the studies reviewed. Secondly, it seeks to develop the theoretical implications of this institutionalised separation, for analysis of race relations at Doomadgee.

7.3 Two Spatial Domains

In local Aboriginal parlance Doomadgee was physically divided into the "Mission", the Whitefella domain, and "the village", the Blackfella domain.[1] An open strip of bare ground varying between approximately 100 and 200 metres in width separated the two areas (see Figure 15, and Plates I, VIII and IX). The main roads in the settlement ran between (and through) the village and the Mission parallel to the river, roughly along an east-west axis. The roads crossed the open median strip to proceed through two gate-sized openings in a somewhat dilapidated fence, which ran along the western ("Mission") side of the strip. At the northern end of the strip, farthest from the river a large well-fenced rodeo ground separated the two domains.

The Whitefella domain physically consisted of the residences of the White "staff", plus the buildings and fittings housing the institutions and enterprises which serviced the settlement: e.g. medical facilities including the hospital and base for the Aboriginal Health Programme mobile team; education facilities including school and pre-school; store; administration office area including post office, banking and air transport bookings facilities; gaol; petrol and diesel pumps; electricity generating plant; airstrip and refueling facility for aircraft; mechanical workshop and an area from time to time under

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[1]The predominant use of the past tense to indicate the research period in this chapter, and also in Chapters 8 and 9, is designed to represent most precisely the administrative settings from which my data are drawn. As discussed further in Chapter 8, some major administrative changes occurred during 1983, involving the departure of the Manager and his family.
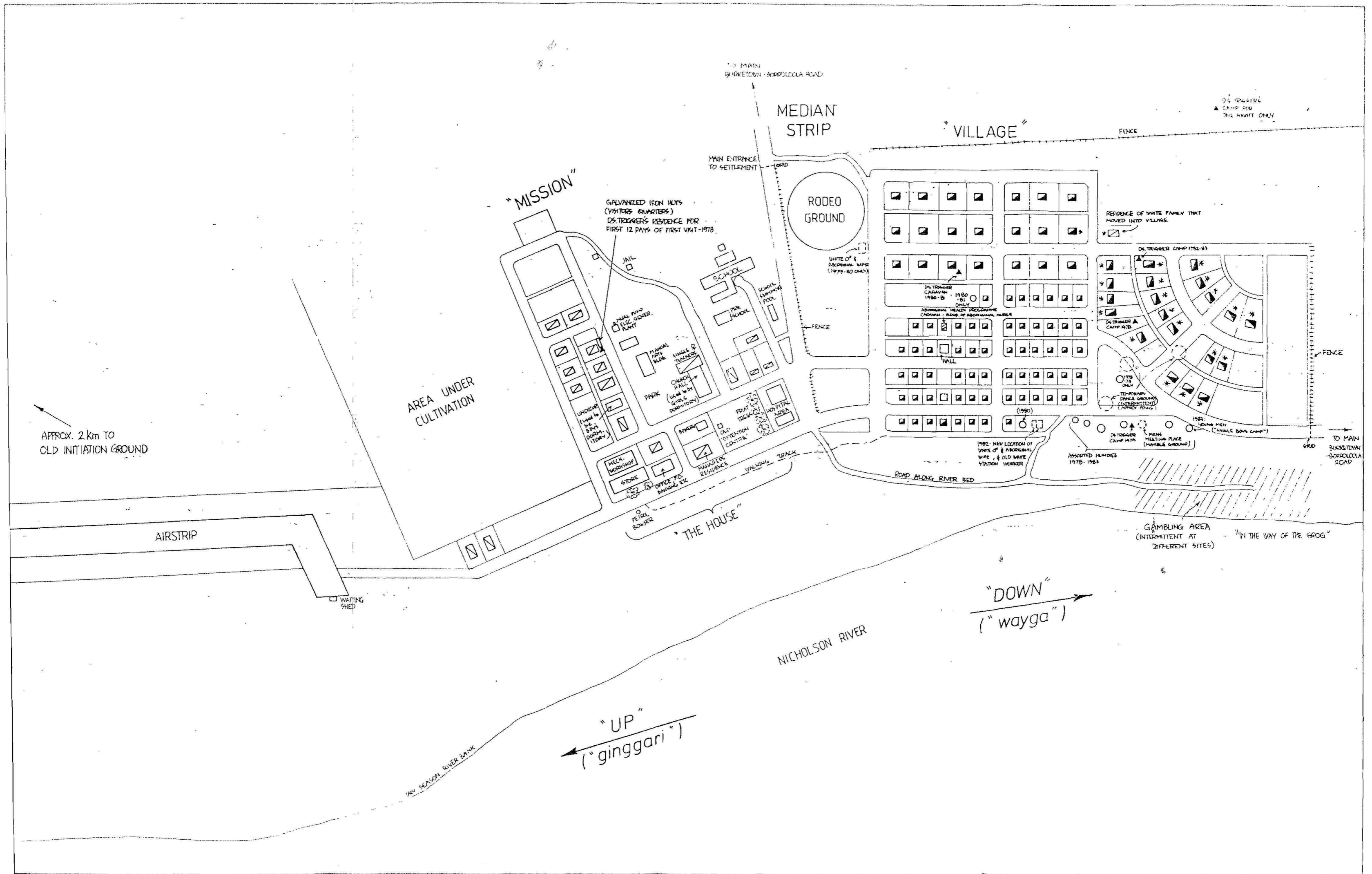
FIGURE 15   SITE PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT

PLATE VIII Looking from the White domain across the median strip towards the "village", May 1978. (Photograph - D. Trigger.)

PLATE IX Doomadgee, September 1983, looking northwards; note the newly built church in the median strip between the Whitefella domain on the left and the Blackfella domain on the right. (Courtesy R. Robins, Queensland Museum.)

cultivation. The large hall used (up until 1983) as the church was also located here.[2] The majority of White residences were located with the service buildings between them and the village. Until 1983 there were no Aboriginal residences in the Whitefella domain. Following the appointment of a DAIA Manager and associated administrative changes in 1983 (discussed in Chapter 8), two mixed–descent Aboriginal men and their families established residences in the White domain; one had spent much of his life away from Doomadgee, and returned in 1983 as an evangelist, and the other had been provided with accommodation there after becoming a DAA-funded Outstation Co-ordinator.

The Blackfella domain physically contained the Aboriginal residences, nearly all of which were located according to a basic grid system plan. As referred to below, there has been a substantial increase in the number of Aboriginal houses during the research period. However, the dwellings have always varied between essentially European–style three–bedroom houses and small galvanised iron structures on concrete slabs, with a smaller number of humpies and tents located in one area. The very few Whites who have resided in the village on occasions will be discussed below. There were no service facilities located in the Blackfella domain.

Aborigines moved to the Whitefella domain for specific purposes, commonly during Monday to Friday: to go to work, or school in the case of children; to visit the hospital when requiring treatment or visiting others there; to go to the airstrip to send off or welcome people departing or arriving on planes; to see the films screened there on one or two nights a week; etc. However, the occasions when the largest number of people would spend long periods of time there were when Social Security cheques arrived, were obtained from the office counter and then spent at the store. The days when cheques arrived were known and large numbers of people would congregate outside the office and store at the appropriate times; men and women used two separate mango trees for shade while waiting in this area. The area and its facilities were collectively referred to in a general way as "the house", and the

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[2]During 1983, a new church was built in the median strip (see Figure 15, and Plate IX). A group of Aboriginal and White Christians achieved this location in the hope that the result would be decreased social distance between Aborigines and Whites, however the then missionary Manager apparently opposed the location ostensibly on bureaucratic grounds concerning the existing town plan.

phrase probably derives from a primary reference to the "Mission house" (i.e. the nearby Manager's residence) which has historically been seen as the point from which all facilities were ultimately controlled.

It was rare for Aborigines to spend time in the Whitefella domain for reasons other than stated above. On weekends when no service facilities operated (other than the hospital in special cases), few Aborigines indeed moved through the White domain. (The exception to this was the Sunday morning church service - see below.) It was rare for Aborigines to casually visit White residences, or to spend leisure time in the White domain. Aboriginal children rarely played after school or on weekends in the White domain, either with the White children or between themselves.

Different Whites visited the village for administrative and work-related reasons, e.g. some attending Christian Meetings at the "hall" early in the morning Monday to Friday, or "open air" Meetings on Sunday evenings; manual workers worked on building and maintenance jobs; medical personnel came regularly as part of the mobile Aboriginal Health Programme team (which at times provided mid-day meals for old people), and occasionally from the hospital to attend emergency cases. Most Whites hardly ever visited Aboriginal dwellings casually. At most, a few White women, particularly school teachers, very occasionally paid visits to the homes of Aboriginal women (usually those in European-style houses) with whom they may have established friendships. A number of committed Aboriginal and White Christian women sometimes met for such purposes as Bible study, at one of the homes of one of the Aboriginal women (again usually those in three-bedroom houses). White male staff visited casually in the village only rarely indeed. White children did not play in the village.

By late 1983, the most obvious evidence of behavioural change concerned children; the departure of the missionary Manager's family appeared to have lessened restrictions on their movement. Aboriginal children generally moved more freely in the vicinity of White residences, and through the streets of the White domain on week-ends. Occasionally a few young Aboriginal children apparently went to several White homes to play after school.

The extreme social distance between the two physical domains is illustrated by the separate areas for Aboriginal and White residence. Apart from in-patients in the hospital and people in gaol for the night, I know of no Doomadgee adult Aborigines to have spent the night at White

residences during the research period. Apart from the family discussed below, I know of no White[3] staff to have ever spent the night in the village. Also, to my knowledge there have never been any marriages between Aborigines and Whites at Doomadgee, nor during the research period any relationships such as courtships which were intended, or ever appeared, to lead to marriage. Indeed, the notion of White women establishing sexual relationships with Aboriginal men was considered almost unthinkable; consider the following Aboriginal man's reaction when a Torres Strait Islander with a White wife stopped briefly at Doomadgee: "He introduced me to her [and said]: 'This is my wife mate.' I got the biggest shock! I thought she was his boss! I never seen Blackfella get White woman in this country." In the one case I know of where a young Aboriginal man recently returned from Mount Isa showed his family a photograph of a White woman he said was his girlfriend when he was there, the young man's father asked me in a bewildered tone: "How man get White girl like that?" If his bewilderment was at all feigned, his question was nevertheless put in order to stress his son's extremely unusual achievement as worthy of considerable status.

It appears to have been only in comparatively recent years that occasional White men from outside of Doomadgee who have established de facto or marriage relationships with Aboriginal women have been able to live in the village. In the past, such men were stopped from doing so by the authority of the White Manager, and such couples would invariably leave the settlement altogether. During the research period an occasional White man has lived with an Aboriginal woman in the village, but usually only for a short time; in the few cases with which I am familiar, the main base for the couple has been Mount Isa or Mornington Island. Such relationships have often been accurately perceived by both Aborigines and staff as fairly temporary. The one exception to this was a relationship between a White man and an Aboriginal woman of long standing. After living in nearby towns, this couple negotiated with the Council and Manager to establish their caravan in a position on the edge of the median strip opposite the Council Chairman's house (see Figure 15). After a few years, they then moved their dwelling into the village proper to a position near some of the relatives of the woman. After the woman died, the man continued

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[3]Occasionally there have been Asian staff, and the same applies to them.

living in the same section of the village. A second White man came to reside immediately adjacent to him; this man had apparently moved there with Council permission during 1982 after he became too old to work on stations any more. Both men were said to have "spent all their lives with Blackfella", and people accepted them because they were seen as needing looking after in the face of the remote wider White society of which they were not really part. They were seen as exceptionally different Whitefellas and to a large extent as able to live in the kinds of material conditions Blackfellas live in.

While there were statements made by some Aboriginal residents that it was "time for us to mix up now" or that "it's stupid - we should be living together", there was clearly solid sentiment across the community that it would provide too much social discomfort, for Whites other than those who have "spent all their lives with Blackfella" to live in the village. During the research period a missionary family moved into a new house located on the outskirts of the village, amid much discussion. The man was a son of the Manager and had spent a substantial part of his life at Doomadgee - of course, living in the Whitefella domain up to this point. Prior to the move, while some village residents appeared to approve, others were against it; those close to where the family was going to move remained apprehensive. An Aboriginal Elder of the church commented:

> ... some people might accept it some people might not ... some on account of the condition of their house ... Blackfella 'shamed of their dirty home and he don't like Whitefella to come in ... I know these old people, if they're sitting round in a group, if they ever see Mr ..., Mrs ... [the Manager and his wife] they'll say: "[whispering] Mandagi [lit: Whitefella], Mandagi, Mandagi ...", and get up and run away then ... [and the young child] will know what to do when he see a White man - he'll learn that habit ... from an early age ... (T75).

Opinion appeared also to be divided on the question among the Whites; the couple were themselves aware that village residents remained apprehensive, and they were concerned not to offend people by moving there.

The missionary family did live in the village for approximately nine to twelve months, after which they left the settlement altogether (for reasons noted in Chapter 8). To some extent, Aboriginal residents appeared to get used to their presence, although one nearby resident suggested they may have been "spying", as the Manager (the man's father)

seemed to "know more about what's going on down here" since their move. While some people visited them, much of this appeared to be in order to get administrative or technical advice or goods of the kind typically obtained from Whitefellas, e.g. the woman was a qualified nurse, and also the couple worked hard to provide goat's milk from their small herd for undernourished babies. The children of the family did not play outside the yard, although some Aboriginal children went inside the yard to play. In summary, the family residence and yard appeared to be perceived by village residents as a transplanted piece of the Whitefella domain.

The other kind of Whitefella who has lived in the village in recent years has been myself. The process of my first attempts to establish residence in the village reveals again, the social gap between the two spatial domains. On the first two nights of my first visit to Doomadgee, I had rented accommodation in the White domain. On the third night, I set up camp in the bush adjacent to the northern side of the village, but some 50 metres outside the fence along that side. A young man had assisted me in putting up the tent, at his mother's direction, partly because I had asked her and partly because she felt sorry for me being alone. However, no visits from village residents that night, and a dust storm, had left me feeling very disheartened the next morning, and I returned to the accommodation in the White domain. My unedited diary entries read:

> Residence is a real problem. Because the gulf between the staff and Aborigines is so wide, I have to either stay in the staff section or try to live in the village or find a 3'rd. independent place.

> The weather is bad. A very strong wind ... . Everything in my camp was covered in dust and all was chaos. As well, no-one had come over to my camp. I had mis-judged the size of the barrier between all Whites (by definition) and Aborigines in the village. I have moved back to the quarters on the missionary side.

> I am currently viewed as the same as other Whites who come and go ... .

The diary goes on to document my perception on the fourth day, of the options for residence (see Figure 15): Try to move directly into the village; stay in the White domain; camp in the river-bed (where I had been told by concerned Aboriginal people I would be "in the way of the

grog"); or camp in the median strip (which I decided was too public a position as far as both Aborigines and Whites were concerned). I stayed in the White domain.

The diary records how over the next few days the news filtered around that I was interested in "Blackfella ways" and "country". I had made it known that I was looking for a place to camp, and on that fourth day an authoritative old man, separated from his wife, offered me a place in the area of his humpy. However, I now wanted to gauge the attitudes of more people; in particular, I did not want to be aligned so quickly with this particular old man and his "mob". I remained in the relative comfort of the quarters in the White domain, with the further thought that I might be able to "interview" people there. On the fifth day a diary entry reads:

> Started by going down and bringing [X] up to my quarters. He was not at ease [e.g. he asked me if it was alright to smoke there], and I will not try it again ... .

For the same day:

> My residence is certainly a vexing problem. When asked about where I should camp (in the village) many people say with a worried tone that I should be "up the river" - i.e. away from direct observational access to the action. They talk about how I should be out of the way of the grog. Yet are they just using "grog" as an excuse for a more fundamental difficulty they have in accepting a Whitefella living in the village at all?

By the twelfth day I had been working continually by going to the village each day, and had spent two nights away from the settlement on short trips to places in the bush to which people had wanted to take me. On this day the diary reads:

> The issue of residence is still a difficult one. I have "taken the plunge" and asked [the Council Chairman] "what he thinks" about me setting up camp in the village. His response was that if the councillors agree, it will be O.K. It will be interesting to see what part [the White Manager] plays in the issue ... [X] has agreed (with the tiniest trace of uncertainty) to my using his toilet and bathroom facilities.

On the thirteenth day:

> Not much time for writing now due to a terrific "breakthrough". Camp is now down at the "village" ... .

Since that time, I have always lived in the Blackfella domain on field trips to Doomadgee. Unlike the missionary family, I have not been regarded as a transplanted piece of the local Whitefella domain. Also unlike the two White men referred to above, I am not thought to be in need of "looking after" in the face of White society. I have been

regarded as another kind of exceptional Whitefella; one whose work involves learning about "Blackfella ways" and who can to some extent operate socially like a Blackfella and (for a time at least) live in the same material conditions as Blackfellas. At times I have been referred to by Aborigines as an example of the kind of Whitefella who is acceptable in the village:

> You just like one of us in the village, sometimes I don't know who you are when you're talking ... like listening to one of them old Blackfella from down the village [the speaker is blind] ... .

> I said to [X] the other day: "If those missionaries, any of these White men want to come in, mingle with the Aboriginal down here, get right into it ... really commit themselves with us, all right - they [should] come about like old ganggu [reference to D. Trigger] ... old ganggu be accepted in any place ... anybody's home ... that's making himself to become one of us ...". And it put me into a spiritual line ... Jesus had to become one of us, from heaven, ... he couldn't come in his glorious form - he'd blind us; he had to become one of us ... . And if those White men up here [had] seen that in the first place, instead of putting a fence across up there ... (T75).

The Council Chairman informed me at one point how in response to certain plans that were formally discussed to relocate certain White staff in the village, he had pointed out that they would have to be able to operate in a way similar to me before it would be acceptable. As he explained to me: "I wouldn't class you as a Whitefella!", which I interpret as: "You don't behave like a Whitefella." The significance of my area of residence at Doomadgee, from the Aboriginal perspective, was also evident on the number of occasions where my introduction to Aborigines at places outside Doomadgee would include as a focal statement: "He camp with Blackfellas all the time."

To describe two spatial domains as I have done in this section is not to suggest that each is necessarily the locus of homogeneous groups. The heterogeneity of Aborigines has been discussed throughout Chapters 3, 4 and 5, and further heterogeneity among both Aborigines and Whites will be discussed in this chapter and others below. However, it may be noted that the Whites, as well as the Aborigines, have apparently been linked by kin and other close historical ties throughout the history of Doomadgee. Precise data have not been obtained, but one staff member described 17 adult staff as linked through marriage and blood ties during the 1980-81 period. Five married couples then there had

PLATE X Returning to a typical old style home in the "village", with goods purchased at the store in the White domain, June 1978. (Photograph - D. Trigger.)

PLATE XI New style (high set) Aboriginal home in the "village", September 1983; note author's caravan in the yard. (Photograph - D. Trigger.)

originally met at Doomadgee. There appears to be a strong preference
for endogamy among the Brethren. The wider families of Mission staff
have typically taken interest in the Mission, with many visiting from
time to time. Children and some grandchildren of earlier missionaries
have come to work at the Mission over the years. Doomadgee has been a
meeting place for people from certain Brethren Assemblies throughout
Australia. During the research period the White domain has contained
individuals with considerable social commitment to one another.[4]

7.4 Conceptions of the Two Domains

Aboriginal residents have conceived of the White domain as
containing White (Christian Brethren) values, and of the state of the
material world there as manifesting those values. The White residences
were more substantial structures and equipped with many more facilities
than Aboriginal dwellings. They were also patently used differently,
e.g: Whites did not use the areas outside the house for cooking fires
and domestic living in the way Aborigines did; Whites were stricter than
Aboriginal residents in controlling the treatment by children of floors,
cupboards and other furniture, and about certain parts of the house
being used only for certain purposes - e.g. Whites did not generally use
the lounge-room and verandah for sleeping; White houses contained fewer
people and it was known that Whites regarded Aboriginal homes as dirtier
and containing more vermin than White homes, as containing far too many
badly controlled dogs and cats; and so on.

As well as perceiving the different domestic lifestyle in the White
domain, Aborigines commonly conceived of the general conditions there as
distinctly reflecting the material complexity and richness of White
technology. When items broke down there they were repaired fairly
promptly by the Whites with trade skills. The White domain directly
received essential goods (e.g. spare parts for machinery, food and
medical supplies) from the wider Australian society; it, rather than the
Blackfella domain, was the base for White technology and material
culture.

An extreme example of the conceived power of White technology, and
the lack of understanding of the material mechanisms by which it works,

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[4]Only since the administrative changes of 1983 have non-Brethren
(including some apparently without strong commitment to any Christian
faith) joined the staff.

was the widespread belief concerning the standard cameras used by White Police at the scene of a crime. It was believed that by photographing the scene of a crime after its occurrence, Police can make a picture which recreates past events there, in particular the crime being committed by the offender(s). Traditional techniques were used historically in this area to identify a guilty person (particularly a sorcerer) after their offence; e.g. in earlier periods, Aborigines at Burketown apparently at times would, under cover of darkness, exhume a relative's body which had been buried at the direction of White authorities, and by keeping watch over it and using certain ritual singing and other techniques, interpret through various signs the identity of the individual(s) who caused the death. The role of such "inquests" in traditional practices has been discussed by other writers, e.g. Maddock (1972: 163-9). Thus, the White Police were presumably seen during the research period as simply using their own techniques to achieve a logically familiar result. However, the powerful means by which the White technique actually creates a material picture of the offender was marvelled at. While most would admit that they had never actually seen such photographs, I have witnessed one occasion where the Aboriginal Police Sergeant produced a photograph showing himself looking at tracks at the scene of a crime, and pointed out that the White Police took it some five hours after he had been in the position shown. The comments of onlookers indicated that they regarded the White technique as very powerful and marvellous: "must be powerful thing inside camera - sort of draw them [i.e. the image] back"; "must be magic - gudugudu [term for secret-sacred phenomena]"; "Mandagi [Whitefella] clever bugger hey ... nugami [footprint] hold'im [the image of the body] there hey?"

However, while the material complexity, wealth and sophistication of the White domain was recognised and (as in the above case) at times marvelled at, White technology was not always valued highly. Nor was it regarded as indicative of any general intellectual and cultural superiority within European traditions, as has been reported for Hopevale during the early 1970s (Terwiel-Powell 1975: 302-3).

Because it was the setting for perceived technological sophistication, there was a tendency for the White domain to be regarded as safer for important material items than the Blackfella domain, e.g. a person purchased an expensive present for a child at the store but left

it there for "safe-keeping" until the child returned from a visit to a nearby town; similarly a man entrusted with the use of a Toyota from the station he had been working at parked it for several days "up at the house for safety", rather than at his house in the village. Aboriginal people would commonly worry about the safety and security of my caravan and other gear in the village; this was so particularly when I was absent on bush trips, and at times somebody would be designated to camp there to protect it from unpredictable dangers such as children or drunk people. A few Aboriginal people suggested that I leave very valuable or important items in the White domain.

My continued leaving of the caravan with a particular family over the research period, for them to look after and use, was regarded as further evidence of my being an unusual kind of Whitefella. The White staff very rarely lent valuable items to Aborigines; indeed, my leaving my Toyota with a family in the village during a three-week absence and my entrusting of it to two Aboriginal men for a day's driving over rugged bush roads, struck at least several Whites as foolhardy. From the Aboriginal perspective, Toyotas were thought to be extremely valuable and high-status items, and like most "Mandagi cars" the one in my possession was perceived to be in very good material condition, unlike "Blackfella motorcars" which were known to be conspicuous for their poor condition. My willingness to entrust such a vehicle to the Blackfella domain was contrary to the normal tenor of race relations.

. The conceived material complexity and sophistication of technology in the White domain as compared to the village may well be the basis for the implication in local parlance that the former is "higher" than the latter. In the speech of both Whitefellas and Blackfellas, you go "down" (wayga) to the village, and "up" (ginggari) to the "house" or White domain. It must also be noted that the village is downstream from the White domain. However, the fact that the settlement was organised this way in the first place may indeed reflect prevailing conceptions of the positions of Aboriginal and White domains with respect to each other. If such an argument is correct, the prevailing conception of race-relations would have deemed it inappropriate for the White domain to have taken water downstream from where Blackfellas were using it, and more generally, to have been located physically "below" the Blackfella domain. For this would have conflicted with the conception of the White

domain as socially "above" (i.e. more advanced, sophisticated and civilised than) the Blackfella domain.

People would commonly wash and "dress up" to go to the White domain. It was viewed as a "clean" place. One man referred to the Manager not wanting to "get his shoes dirty" as the explanation for the way he at times drove slowly through the village without getting out of his car. Despite a badly infected leg which had been causing him intense pain during several days with me in the bush, one old man was most concerned that he "get cleaned up" before being taken to the hospital for treatment. When returning from bush trips people generally did not like going to the White domain before getting "cleaned up". It was also known that in the wider society of towns in the region Blackfellas are regarded as "dirty", and that indeed it is usually possible to determine whether, for example, a dwelling in Mount Isa is a "Mandagi house" or "Blackfella house" according to its material state and the neatness of its yard. In the settlement, the fact that visiting Whites such as public servants rarely, if ever, met with people in the village did not, of course, go unnoticed. One such male liaison officer, concerned with social welfare matters, told me he would not go anywhere near Aboriginal dwellings at Doomadgee because of their smell.

The White domain was of course also conceived of as containing extensive bodies of knowledge and opinion which are not derived from Aboriginal tradition. This was clear for such formalised knowledge as European religious belief and systems of jurisprudence which differ from "Blackfella law". However, the difference between certain kinds of more informal background knowledge held in the two domains is also evident. It would impinge on Aboriginal people whenever situations focused on background knowledge which does not normally operate in the Blackfella domain, e.g. people having to enumerate for administrative purposes the precise ages of their children or the number of weeks they have worked for an outside employer; people trying to understand issues broadcast on ABC radio, but remaining baffled by complex English speech; people trying to understand at the times of elections, matters concerning levels of government, differing electoral boundaries, the existence of different political parties, etc.

From 1983, a new source of information about White society was video cassettes, as a number of families acquired the machines to play them. This information, including all kinds of fiction, was taken as

further evidence of the great expanse of White society which was seen as yet remaining unfamiliar to most local Aborigines.

The local White domain at Doomadgee was thus viewed as linked to the wider knowledge and resources of Australian society - to the towns and cities which are more remote White domains, where Blackfellas are expected to live and behave like Whites, yet usually cannot do so. Alternatively, the local Blackfella domain was linked to the bush, to "country", from where "Blackfella ways" were thought ultimately to derive and where most local Whites were thought to be incompetent. Whites only rarely took any Aboriginal people with them in their vehicles, on bush trips on weekends. To my knowledge, no White staff have ever travelled on bush trips in any vehicles owned by Aboriginal people. Groups of Whites, e.g. schoolteachers, sometimes themselves went on camping trips to waterholes in the bush. There was some feeling among certain older people that the Whites should have consulted with key old people before visiting some areas. On one occasion a senior woman complained bitterly about how a younger Aboriginal man had shown a White family the way to a certain area without consulting her. Another old man complained that Whites had used certain water inappropriately at a particular site. It was thought that Blackfellas have a much more intimate relationship with the bush; Whitefellas were said to "have no country".

Indeed, the conception of the separate origin of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal things extended to the natural environment where "Mandagi [Whitefella] trees", i.e. apparently introduced species such as "bean tree" (Parkinsonia aculeata) and "mimosa" (Acacia farnesiana) are distinguished from the rest of the bush. Similarly, introduced trees such as frangipanni, poinciana, mango, etc. which grow in yards and along streets in parts of Doomadgee (Mornington Island, Burketown, etc.) were known to be "Mandagi trees". Whites were known to be selective in the bush foods they will eat, e.g. mullet but not catfish, so that exceptional individuals become well-known: "he not Mandagi - he eat anything" (said about a White man from Mount Isa who often camped out in the bush in the Doomadgee area with his mixed-descent Aboriginal defacto wife). Jokes are often based on accentuating the common knowledge about differences in taste, custom and etiquette between Whitefellas and Blackfellas: "I can't boil crab - I'm not Mandagi!" (the Blackfella style of preparation being to cook such food on coals); or "[jokingly] Waybala! Waybjala!", said when a person behaves in what is known to be

a stereotypically Whitefella fashion, e.g. by cooking "johnny cakes" or fish in a frying pan rather than in ashes or on coals, by "hunting away" dogs from a sleeping area, or by making a point of sitting on a drum or chair near a fire, rather than on the ground.

From the Aboriginal perspective, Blackfellas and Whitefellas have historically constantly divided themselves into two domains for living. This was so on the cattle stations where there were separate Aboriginal camps, and in the mustering camps:

> One time ago, a White man, in the mustering camp, he'd dish his tucker out and the Blackfella he couldn't go over there and get his tucker out from the saucepan into a plate - White man had to do that ... . He'd just ring the bell and one [Aboriginal] man would walk over, or two, one carry the billy, one carry the tray of stew or something ... and we'd go and have a feed underneath the shady tree ... [Blackfella and Whitefella] never sit together ... [Whitefella] won't let him touch the saucepan, won't let him touch the bread ... can't let him touch the syrup or jam ... (T75).

This man went on to say that the young stockmen tell him that nowadays Aboriginal and White stockmen eat together, and generally live closer together. No doubt this is partly true, however the old forms of race-relations on the stations are maintained to some extent. After eating his meal outside at a station, while I was entertained inside, an old man explained how he would have been "too 'shamed" to eat inside even if this had been possible (which it was not).

Yet there are ways in which some of the Whites on the stations were regarded as having once lived closer to Blackfellas than do the Whites of the contemporary settlement. Many did not interfere with Aboriginal ritual life, most swore and smoked and some even chewed tobacco - sometimes "bush tobacco". The White children once at particular stations (and also those of a Police Sergeant in the area for many years) were often described in affectionate terms: "lovely kids - real Blackfella kids" or "they eat anything [i.e. bush tucker] - they really Blackfella kid." The willingness of such White men to seek Aboriginal women as sexual partners appears also to be regarded (by Aboriginal men at least) as evidence of a previous closeness to Blackfellas not operating in the contemporary settlement, e.g. "[with amused affection about a man once at a station in the area] real gin burglar too."

Nevertheless, the Aboriginal perspective clearly recognises continuity in the separation of Blackfella and Whitefella domains from the earliest times at cattle stations and ration depots, through to the

Mawulinji well (located on
north side of watercourse).

approx. location of
"Afghan's"
pre-mission camp

approx. 440 m to "the camp":
the residence of most adult
Aboriginies.
(approx. 730m from boys'
dormitory.)

"Afghan's" goat yard

COURSE (Seasonal fresh water only)

LINE

Z

line

temporary camp of male
missionary (camped "mission side"
of tree)

"sand-paper fig tree"

boys' dormitory

single male missionary
dwelling

gum trees

approx. location of graves of
three key Ganggalida men.

WATER

Tree

Tree

"butcher shop"

Post-school-age girls'
residence

First missionary family
dwelling, then girls' dorm.
(also used as school).

contemporary settlement. There is also continuity of separation from the organisation of Old Doomadgee Mission. Figure 16 shows a plan (surveyed on site) of the spatial organisation of the Old Mission, where "the camp" residence of most adult Aborigines was located approximately 730 metres from the nearest parts of "the Mission" area. One old woman has given an account of how this spatial organisation began. In her words, the missionaries said:

> Oh, we've gotta have house here for the children's school-house, you'se can go down and camp down there, stay there [eastwards down the sand ridge] ... we bin go down then ... (T82).

She described how they would walk "up" for rations and to sit with Aboriginal children who were being looked after by the missionaries. Missionary accounts concur in indicating the different styles of behaviour in the two domains, e.g. Akehurst (n.d.: 76) states that while the "entirely unselfconscious" nakedness of Aborigines was not offensive: "in deference to the white folk, we had to insist that some kind of covering was used when coming up to the house." Similarly:

> When the women came up the ridge to greet us, they came one at a time and each one had the same dress on, so it did not take us long to realise that they did not have proper clothes and each had to wait their turn for a loan of the one and only dress (Cantle 1980: 61).

Aborigines knew that during the research period Whites were aware of the separation of Aboriginal and White lives in the contemporary settlement, e.g.:

> I tell you one old [White] preacher come up here from [X] and he said [to the White missionaries when preaching publicly]: "I'm glad you've [done many good things here] but, you've lost your first love ... you're not living with them, you're so busy in the office ... store, ... garage, ... elsewhere, and your love for the Aboriginals that you said you've got - not even showing to anything" (T75).

The speaker went on to say that he thought that many of the missionaries were aware of the gap between them and the life in the village and that they were concerned about it. Indeed, such concern was a major reason for the move by the White family described above into the village. After having lived there for some months the couple explained how they felt much closer to village life; they felt easier about walking and driving through the village whereas prior to the move they had felt somewhat like intruding administrators. They were still aware of the gap between themselves and Aboriginal village residents, partly through the way it constrained their own behaviour, e.g. the woman could not put up the curtains of her choosing as she was apprehensive about being

considered "too flash", and they constrained their habit of working under the house into what by White norms was the early hours of the night, using an electric light, as this was apparently disliked by some nearby Aboriginal residents.

Other Whites were generally also aware of the social distance between the two domains; at least two have referred to the median strip as a "no-man's-land", in my presence. Some, such as several schoolteachers, have expressed the opinion that regardless of how different may be the lifestyle in the village, the role of the school is to prepare the Aboriginal children for operating in the wider White society. By their perspective, it is thus appropriate for the school domain to reflect a White Australian lifestyle. Others can point to the decrease in the social distance, e.g. one woman discussed how during the early 1970s "it wasn't done" to go down to the village: "I was too frightened", i.e. she knew the senior missionary management were opposed to such movement. Yet by 1983, she explained that on occasions she was making arrangements for some Aborigines to come up for meals, and that she was generally having much more social contact with Aborigines. Some Aborigines also conceived of the distance as decreasing since the move out during 1983 by the Manager and his family, although several made the point that this had so far involved Aborigines going to the White domain, more so than Whites coming into the village.

Thus, Aboriginal and White conceptions both recognised the fact of sharp separation between the two domains, although neither perceived the other domain terribly accurately. For example, there was a tendency among many Aboriginal people to blame local White office (and other) staff for problems encountered in obtaining Social Welfare benefits or other services from government departments whereas it was most often not the fault of the local staff, but rather the fault of the wider bureaucratic system. Some Aborigines understood little of the way the banking system operates. A background hostility towards Whites generally was often framed in terms of the superior material conditions that they certainly did have; however, at times complaints about the alleged self-interest of the Whites appeared somewhat exaggerated: e.g. complaints that "those White missus really boss for [i.e. dominate the purchase of] that fruit" when it periodically became available in the store, or that White staff were generally making a lot of money in the course of working at Doomadgee. For their part, the Whites remained ignorant of all but a few trappings (about which they were nearly always

PLATE XII House in the "village" lived in by a missionary family for approximately 9 to 12 months during 1982/3. (Photograph - D. Trigger.)

PLATE XIII A group of missionaries wait on the verandah of the church in the White domain, for an Aboriginal bridal party to arrive from the "village". (November 1978, photograph - D. Trigger.)

misinformed) of the Aboriginal systems of kinship and social organisation, beliefs regarding country, illness, injury, good health, the causes and aftermath of death, and so on.

It now remains to give an account of social interaction between Aborigines and Whites.

7.5 Social Interaction between Aborigines and Whites

Most Whites hardly modified their behaviour at all when in the Blackfella domain. There was at times an exception where an individual appeared to learn a few words from one of the Aboriginal languages or something of Aboriginal styles of interaction, but this was rare, and when it occurred was the subject of much Aboriginal comment. Indeed, it has historically been a matter of principle to many missionaries that they provide a (White Christian) model of behaviour and speech for the Aborigines to follow. The Whites rarely modified their use of standard English when conversing with Aborigines in either the Blackfella or Whitefella spatial domains. This was particularly obvious when they preached publicly or spoke at public meetings. They did not become aware of general rules of Aboriginal communicative style, e.g. the indirectness of forms of address and reference (they would address and refer to people directly by name rather than by pronoun or kin term - or nick-name in the case of terms of reference);[5] nor did Whites learn the indirectness of general facial expression and gesture (they would point openly with the arms and hands rather than subtly with the eyes and lips). Whites would walk or pass things across the direction of someone's path of movement, vision or personal orientation, rather than proceeding behind such lines of personal social presentation; they would hardly ever sit on the ground, and arrive and leave abruptly in social interaction rather than more slowly announcing arrivals and departures; and so on. That is, Whites understood and practised little, if any, of Aboriginal styles of etiquette.

Aborigines largely accepted that Whites have never and will never

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[5] When Aborigines do use names to address people, the speaker is usually socially senior to the addressee, e.g. parents at times address their children by first names. The exception to this rule is during arguments when using someone's full name or first name is a means of insulting him/her. I have also observed children occasionally address a parent by first name when very excited, e.g. when requesting assistance in catching a large goanna. However, in general the use of names in Aboriginal society is much more circumspect and less frequent than the pattern of use in White society.

modify their behaviour. An example of this is an Aboriginal woman's response to a White staff member who asked her whether people should call the name of recently deceased persons. She said that while Blackfellas should not and generally would not do it, "White is White" and therefore it is alright for Whites to do it. Such White behaviour has reportedly been obvious for years at funerals where, as during the research period, the White speakers have continually referred to the deceased's (usually first) name. Aborigines who preached at funerals would usually use a kin term or some other form of indirect reference although some combined the kin term with the deceased's first name (e.g. "uncle John"). Some said that in certain other places (e.g. Normanton), White "preachers" at funerals have been asked not to use the deceased's name, but such a request appears never to have been made at Doomadgee. Rather, the operation of two sharply demarcated domains of styles of behaviour and speech has become the norm.

When Whites were in the village, their movements were monitored closely. This was particularly so if they were on foot or push-bike, rather than driving by quickly in a car or on a motor bike. It was known that there will nearly always be an administrative reason for the White person's presence, and if this is not immediately evident, such features of the situation as to which service the White is connected, which dwellings or people he or she is visiting, and for what lengths of time, will usually enable sufficiently precise conclusions to be made. As a White approached specific groups of people or a particular dwelling, certain preparations would be made to deal with him or her. These included notifying the household member with whom it is thought the Whitefella wants to converse where this is known, e.g. a nurse wanting to visit an old or sick person, a tradesman wanting to see a man about work-related matters, etc. In any case, the household would most commonly be notified of the impending visit by statements such as: "Wayjbala [Whitefella] comin'", or "Mandagi [Whitefella] there, look!" The presence of the general category of "Whitefella" would usually be announced first in this way, because it is the most significant social fact of the situation. The particular individual may then be referred to specifically.

As long as the residents are ready for the White person's visit, the interaction provides little social discomfort for those concerned. I have observed women express great affection for a nurse after a visit: "She just like ngardanya [mother], like a mother - she looks after

people." On the other hand, when the visit of the same nurse was unexpected, I have witnessed the women of another dwelling hastily covering meat and the contents of a cooking pot (knowing that uncovered food is strongly disapproved of by Whites), and one of them exclaiming with great annoyance: "What she want?" The presence of an approaching Whitefella in the village was commonly considered as an uncomfortable intrusion by many; this was particularly so if there had been insufficient time to modify the appearance of the dwelling, the behaviour and general appearance of the children, etc., in the direction of conceived White standards.

An excellent case of Aboriginal restraint over behaviour in the presence of Whites in the village concerns the occasions of death of a close relative. The White Manager was usually informed by radio of the death of people who had previously been taken to Mount Isa hospital, or who may have been living temporarily or semi-permanently at places such as Borroloola, Mornington Island, or Burketown. He (sometimes with his wife) would then drive to the village to tell the relatives of the deceased. At times he also did this when a person had died at the Mission hospital. If the death had been at all expected, people would sense the nature of the "bad news" as the Manager's vehicle slowly stopped outside the house of the deceased's closest relatives. While the Manager told the people concerned the details of the death, all would remain very quiet. It was commonly only after the Manager had got back into his car and driven off that loud mourning behaviour would begin and continue for a long time; the subsequent intensity of wailing and shrieking indicated great restraint in remaining quiet in the presence of the Manager. At a later stage, at the funeral, people would cry and mourn loudly in the presence of White people. Indeed, on a few occasions I have witnessed, the White Manager has told them to "stop crying now"; all present have certainly wished to proceed with the preaching for the formal part of the funeral, but perhaps the Whites have regarded too much intense mourning as inappropriate (see the quotation on p. 194 above). Whites have never joined with Aborigines in the village in the physically and socially intimate mourning following news of the death.

Aborigines have been normally competent in speaking and understanding a number of varieties of Aboriginal English. They speak as standard English as they can when conversing with Whites, for it is known that Whites will thereby understand more and that they value standard English highly. Aboriginal speakers by no means always wished

to give Whites understanding of particular subjects, however this was not normally achieved by speaking very non-standard English to them, or in their presence. Rather, it was achieved through silence, by briefly professing ignorance about the matter or by as briefly as possible agreeing with whatever the White person says. Information was generally not offered to Whites. There have been specific occasions when Aborigines have known that certain information would incriminate an Aboriginal person to White authorities or employers. However, more generally, it was also known that local Whites invariably view many aspects of village life with disdain (e.g. ritual life), or disgust (e.g. social grooming behaviour associated with head lice – see Trigger 1981b). Nor was information concerning kinship relations given freely by Aborigines; in fact White misconceptions on this subject have at times been deliberately allowed to continue.

In interaction with Whites, behaviour has usually been formal. People have avoided behaviour known to be disapproved of by Whites, e.g. some who openly smoke tobacco or chew bundija (a mixture of tobacco, ash and water) in their homes or in the village generally, did so only covertly or not at all in the presence of Whites. If fights or arguments broke out in the White domain, onlookers would usually call out to the protagonists to stop fighting and swearing, whereas such behaviour was simply observed keenly (and often with some enjoyment by those not involved) in the village. The following man describes the time many years ago when he first came as a young man to live at Doomadgee, and discovered the rules there concerning behaviour:

> ... I didn't know nothing about Christian people ... [I was] meeting me old mates ... swearing away [in the presence of the White Manager] and everybody looking guilty y'know, they bin tell me: "These fellas don't swear, this the Mission and all this and that ..." ... I was 'shamed too ... see I was so used to all the Mandagi [Whites outside Doomadgee] y'know ... (T59).

The difference between the behaviour of the local missionaries and that of some Whites from outside the settlement can still be commented on in contemporary times, e.g. during the research period a number of men were impressed by how a White man from a nearby station addressed the Manager's wife by her first name. The other missionaries would always address, and usually refer to, her and her husband using "Mr" and "Mrs" followed by the surname. And it would have been unheard of for any Aborigine to use first names to address this senior missionary couple; in fact it was unusual for them to do so in the case of all other White

staff (much to the concern and embarrassment of some of the younger staff). In my case then, it became difficult if Aborigines had to address me in the presence of Whites: to behave as usual as if in the Blackfella domain and use the appropriate kin or subsection term would be breaking the rule of speaking as standard English as possible, particularly in addressing a Whitefella. One man stuttered in addressing me in front of a nursing sister at the hospital: "... Mr Trigger, or ... what's it your name ... whatever you're called ...".

Other Aboriginal behaviour towards me, at times reflected the contrary usual style of behaviour for White staff, in that people would comment on how their behaviour towards me was an exception. This occurred when people have offered to me, and requested from me, food, cash and a place to sleep, or when they have requested to be transported somewhere in my Toyota or asked to borrow or buy petrol. People commented continually that you cannot request such favours from the local Whitefellas, and they would not usually offer any of these kinds of assistance to Whitefellas. There were complaints that Doomadgee Whites should, and did not, stop on the road to assist Blackfellas with cars that had broken down. One young Aboriginal man, when somewhat drunk, phrased his request to me for transport to the airstrip in order to avoid the Aboriginal Police, in a way which indicated both his perception of the kind of people you may ask such favours of, and the tactics which he may have thought would give him the greatest chance of my agreeing: "Come on Blackfella ... you gotta take me Blackfella ... yeh, you ... Blackfella ...". Similarly, one man related a conversation as I approached a gambling school:

Person A: "Hey look! One Mandagi coming!"

Person B: "No more, that 'un countryman."

It would be unthinkable that a group of people would continue gambling in the presence of a Doomadgee Whitefella, as happened after this exchange when I reached the group.

Aboriginal people occasionally disregarded the presence of Whites, e.g. in the course of a major dispute the White Manager's presence would not stop the protagonists from fighting. Some individuals were less prepared than others to try always to appear to staff to accept White values. For example, I have observed one man handing a can of soft drink to his son during school time, when the class visited the store in the White spatial domain. The young teacher who was looking after the class was unsuccessful in his attempt to cloak his disapproval within a

half-joke: "Favouritism, hey?" The man's reply forcefully stated a strongly held Blackfella value which he considered to over-ride the constraints of the White schooltime domain: "That's my son, mate, I gotta feed him!"; he then moved away angrily. At times there was talk of how certain "old people", usually individuals now deceased, did not modify their behaviour for Whites, e.g. one man apparently continued to wear a short bone through his nose, even when working up at the Mission: "he didn't care about White man - nothing" (T83).

Finally, there has been evidence of a belief among an increasing number of people that Aborigines should not always have to appear to Whites to conform to their values. One woman stated with respect to Aboriginal people showing the local Whites their knowledge of obtaining and preparing bush resources: "... we used to be quiet [i.e. reserved] about our dandi [earth oven - a reference to cooking of bush resources], but now we're open ... we're still hunters - no good saying we're not." Another man explained how it has been only after the departure of the missionary Manager in 1983 that certain people (including himself) smoke in the area outside the store and administration office. Previously they were "too frightened" of the Manager's disapproval. It was also only after the administrative changes that tobacco and cigarettes were being sold in the store.

7.6 The Issue of "Yellafellas"

The final empirical data appropriate in this chapter concern the situation of people of mixed Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal descent - known most commonly within the Blackfella domain as "Yellafellas" (or sometimes by such terms as "half-caste", "quarter-caste", etc.). The first critical point to make is that Aborigines of mixed racial descent are unambigously part of the Blackfella domain. Fairer skin colour, and to some extent European and/or Asian physiognomic and body features are simply used by all Aborigines to designate such people as a separable social category within the Blackfella domain. White staff also appear to have perceived mixed-descent Aborigines separately (to a much lesser extent); yet they have certainly conceived of such people as kinds of Aborigines.

Thus, mixed-descent Aborigines do not lie at the conceptual centre of what might be designated a "Yellafella domain". In that no such "Yellafella domain" exists, it would be quite possible to go on and analyse social relations between the Blackfella and Whitefella domains without reference to mixed-descent people as a specific social category.

However, I present the data in this section partly to clarify the conceptual basis of the social category "Yellafella" in Aboriginal discourse. To the extent that this basis involves the phenotypic features of individuals and the racial identity of their ancestors, it is similar to some of the criteria by which Blackfellas and Whitefellas are distinguished. Thus, data concerning mixed-descent people must be presented here to make clear the fact that their socially recognised existence does not confound our analysis of social relations between the broader categories of Blackfellas and Whitefellas.

In the Aboriginal view, three main criteria are used in the designation of Yellafellas: fairness of their skin colour and associated non-Aboriginal physiognomy and body build, knowledge of their parents (and grandparents), and aspects of their behaviour. In the case of typical Yellafellas the first two criteria were of course linked, so that fair skin colour (and associated non-Aboriginal physical features) were known to derive from mixed Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal parents and/or grandparents. However, the designation of certain persons with physical features more marginally different from those of Blackfellas, is not so unambiguous. These appear often to be children of one full-descent parent and one parent of mixed-descent. The details of the parentage (particularly of the genitor) of such people are not always known; several individuals were simply said to have been "too light" to be descended from their socially acknowledged Blackfella father, yet not exclusively designated as Yellafellas.[6]

When persons' physical features do not mark them unambiguously as Yellafellas, yet indicate some difference from the normal range of Blackfella features, it is generalisations about their behaviour which are used by full-descent people in considering whether or not they are appropriately labelled as Yellafellas. The question is whether or not their behaviour leads others to conclude that they regard themselves as "classed" with people who are designated unambiguously as Yellafellas; e.g. a person descended from a full-descent mother and a father apparently of Aboriginal/Chinese descent may be designated as a Blackfella, because: "He don't class himself as a Yellafella," or because "He got no time for them Yellafellas." However, these kinds of

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[6]However, other factors besides mixed-descent can occasionally be considered the cause of "light" skin colour: one man deceased at the time of my fieldwork was said to have been "light" because his conception totem (see Chapter 4) was "rock possum", which apparently has fair coloured fur.

judgements enable some flexibility so that the physical features of such people which indicate they are not of full Aboriginal descent can still be focused on by speakers in the contexts they choose. When using the term "mixed-descent" without qualification below, I am referring to people regarded unambiguously and constantly as Yellafellas, by Aboriginal residents at Doomadgee.

The issue of relations between full-descent and mixed-descent Aborigines is complex, and I can deal with it only briefly here. Having stated unequivocally that the latter are located (both socially and physically) within the Blackfella domain, I am simply concerned to overview the extent and broad nature of separation between these two categories, which operates within that domain.

While mixed descent individuals are distributed throughout many otherwise full-descent families, and engage in social relations with full-descent people in the course of normal daily life, the conceptual separation of Blackfellas and Yellafellas is evident from Aboriginal discourse.[7] For example, one man spoke of the fear on the part of some full-descent people that once White men started coming to live in the village they would marry (or at least engage in sexual relations with) Aboriginal women, and the "half-caste" population would thus become the predominant majority. At the time of his statement, I was discussing with him the forthcoming move into the village of the White family discussed above:

> Some people are saying ...: "Oh if we let one White man come into the village, they'll all be wanting to come ... and live, ... and marry our Aboriginal race, dark race, and ... biggest advantage of children be here then be all half-caste. What going to happen to the black ones? They all gonna die away. The black one will be destroyed in 50 years time, won't be a black race in the village ... ." Old Blackfella, he's waking up to himself now [laughing] ... (T75).

Mixed-descent people were themselves said by full-descent people to prefer marrying each other; one man stated that this was particularly so for mixed-descent women who would not want to marry full-descent men.[8]

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[7] However, it should be noted that my data disproportionately focus on the perspective of the full-descent people with whom I worked most closely during fieldwork and do not seek to portray the perspective of the mixed-descent people to the same extent.

[8] He also suggested that mixed-descent women commonly seek White husbands.

A survey I conducted during 1980 found that of 38 mixed-descent married residents, only 13 (34%) were married to full-descent residents. Given the much larger full-descent population, this figure in fact represents a significant degree of endogamy within the mixed-descent population.[9]

However, beyond the issue of a degree of social separation as such, it is the question of status relations between these two groups which is of importance for this thesis. Blackfellas have complained in general terms that Yellafellas "reckon they're next to Whitefella", i.e. that their status is higher than that of Blackfellas - somehow in between Blackfellas and Whitefellas.[10] Three dimensions of this assumed higher status are asserted: the fact that mixed-descent people commonly adopt a "flash" style, predominantly in their domestic life; that they have been able to develop comparatively higher socio-economic status than those of full-descent, mainly because of more favourable treatment from Whites; and that they are uninterested in (some would suggest they are against) "Blackfella law". In what follows, I shall briefly consider these assertions.

Firstly then, some persons of full-descent have suggested that mixed-descent families have desired, and been able to develop, the material aspects of their domestic lifestyle in a way closer to the White ideal, than have full-descent people. The houses, yards, cars and general physical appearance of some Yellafellas themselves have thus been known as "flash". The association of mixed-descent status with spruced-up cleanliness and the outward signs of good health as valued highly by Whites, was evident from one full-descent woman's statement about an old full-descent man who in 1982 was frail, crippled and

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[9]A survey conducted in 1980 showed 50 adult residents to be of mixed descent, however only 38 were married. These 50 persons represented 15% of the 324 adult residents for whom information was recorded. It should be noted that there were many mixed-descent children in the settlement as well, however I am unable to say whether a count of all residents would vary the figure of 15% for mixed-descent persons. I doubt that it would vary it much.

[10]As is evident from Chapter 6 (particularly Section 6.3.2) this was indeed the kind of arrangement fostered historically on cattle stations by White officials (if not employers as well). Stevens (1974: 129-31) has stressed the "in-between" status of mixed-descent people on NT stations as recently as the late 1960s. McGrath (1978) makes clear the way relations of inequality among Aborigines were fostered by White station employers during the period 1911-1939; she notes (pp. 2, 10) that mixed-descent people were commonly placed in positions of authority over those of full-descent.

decrepit. She contrasted his appearance with how he once looked very healthy as a younger man, and thus described him as having once looked "real half-caste", "like properly clean and Yellafella."

The designation by Blackfellas of mixed-descent people as "flash" is in fact tied closely to their perceived greater ownership and use of material items obtained from the White Australian market, and this is viewed as part of their general higher socio-economic status in relation to full-descent people. The latter allege that Yellafellas have always been favoured in the allocation of jobs and European-style housing. For example: "If half-caste fella miss a day he still keep job. If Blackfella miss it, he get sacked." Resentment concerning the allocation of recently increased numbers of jobs was particularly evident in 1983 after the DAIA takeover of the administration. The following statements by a full-descent Doomadgee Councillor in that year were reported in a Brisbane paper under the headline "Black vs. Black":

> The full bloods respect me but the half-castes say 'He's only a black fellow.'
> The half-castes get all the best jobs and the responsibility. They also get the best houses while we are in the humpies by the dump (Sunday Sun 27.11.1983: 10-11).

Indeed, in October 1983 the DAIA apparently employed seven Aboriginal full-time staff (personal communication from the then DAIA Manager), and all were of mixed-descent.

Using figures from my 1980 survey which recorded information about the employment situation of householders, I have prepared a cross-tabulation of employment situation by racial descent. Table 9 thus shows that a statistically significantly greater proportion of mixed-descent Doomadgee adults were employed at the settlement (and in a

TABLE 9

RACIAL DESCENT BY EMPLOYMENT SITUATION (DOOMADGEE 1980)

(Column Percentages; chi square = 17.96, p < .001)

Employment Situation	Racial Descent	
	Full Descent (N = 245)	Mixed Descent (N = 46)
Employed	66 (27%)	27 (59%)
Unemployed	179 (73%)	19 (41%)

few cases, by the ·Burke Shire) than were full–descent Doomadgee adults; indeed, the best estimate derived from these figures indicates that mixed–descent adults are just over twice as likely to be in employment. If those employed on nearby stations are included, the difference between the two groups is reduced but still statistically significant (see Table 10).[11] Incidentally, the fact that mixed–descent persons have historically inherited several pastoral leases from their White fathers is seen as the ultimate exemplary evidence of the way mixed–descent people can be advantaged socio–economically over full–descent people:

> Yellafella where they got Black mother and White father, they got all the station – they no more [do not] follow mother blood, they follow father blood.

Another objective measure of the superior socio–economic status of mixed–descent people was my census of those who owned (or at least had the use of) operational motor vehicles in 1980. The result shows that of 273 full–descent adults, only 5% (13) lived in a household at which was stationed one or more working motor vehicles; whereas of 48 mixed–descent adults, the comparable figure was 33% (16).

Finally, with respect to the issue of mixed–descent people being favoured in the distribution of new housing, my data for 20 new houses constructed between 1972 and 1976 (DAA n.d.: 9) do not support this

TABLE 10

RACIAL DESCENT BY EMPLOYMENT SITUATION (DOOMADGEE AND SURROUNDING STATIONS AT WHICH DOOMADGEE PEOPLE WERE EMPLOYED, 1980)

(Column Percentages, chi square = 12.66, p < .001)

Employment Situation	Racial Descent	
	Full Descent (N = 265)	Mixed Descent (N = 47)
Employed	86 (32.5%)	28 (59.6%)
Unemployed	179 (67.5%)	19 (40.4%)

[11]No distinction is made in the table between part–time and full–time workers. The DAIA figure (DAIA 1980: 31) of 146 people in employment is probably meant to represent the number of persons who were employed for some period throughout 1980. In any case, my figure for those said by informants to be in employment at the time of my survey is 114. However, it can be noted that my informants included a small number of people as workers who had ceased working just prior to the survey period.

allegation. However, of 22 further new houses occupied by around mid-1983, nine went to mixed-descent couples and a further two went to families where one of the spouses was of mixed descent. Given that the proportion of mixed-descent adults in the population was approximately 15% (p. 238 above), these houses were thus indeed occupied disproportionately by mixed-descent people.

Yet the above data concerning socio-economic status, showing an association between mixed-descent and proportionally higher employment, access to vehicles and occupation of newer European-style housing, do not indicate mixed descent as necessarily a causal factor with respect to these variables. Capacity to obtain both vehicles and good housing may well be best related to employment, which enables people to purchase the former and keep up rental payments on the latter (I discuss the allocation of housing further in Chapter 8). Furthermore, the obtaining of regular employment (at least in office work, as teacher aides, etc.) may be best related to having obtained a High School education. I do not have completely adequate data concerning whether, say, contemporary mixed-descent young adults have historically achieved higher levels of education as compared to young adults of full descent. However, one fact indicating this to be the case is that in 1983, all 15 Aboriginal pupils in a Special Program Grade (SPG) in the school (also consisting of all White pupils, numbering eight), were of mixed descent. This grade represented an attempt to enable the "high achievers" to move towards the standard of mainstream schools operating outside Doomadgee (see discussion below in Chapter 8). According to the relevant teachers, the criteria they used for selection of children into the SPG were: parents' high aspirations for their children's education; standard English competence; previous academic achievement; and the ability to work for periods independently of teachers in the classroom. Though I have no figures for other years, the teacher responsible for the class in 1983 said on one occasion that she thought that mixed-descent children had also predominated in the SPG in other years. It can also be noted that Murray's (1982: 11) listing of the first two Doomadgee students to attend High School (in 1967) and the first to complete Senior (in 1977), indicates that these persons were of mixed-descent.

Associated with the assertion that mixed-descent people enjoy higher socio-economic status have been complaints that they have on occasions disproportionately been able to thwart the authority of the Aboriginal Council and even of the Aboriginal Police. For example, it

did not go unnoticed that the Council Chairman was quick to aggressively warn and threaten the full-descent protagonists of a fight one night that they would be arrested, whereas several nights later he did nothing when drunken and disruptive conflict broke out among the group known as the "top end boys". The latter were a group of mixed-descent young men who lived (until 1983) predominantly with their mixed-descent parents in the northwest corner of the village. They formed a particularly separate grouping. On an occasion when one such young man accompanied his wife on foot to my camp so she could deliver a message to me, he made it perfectly clear that he did not usually traverse in the village very far from the "top end". In response to my comment that I had never seen him walking in that area before, he replied that I would never see him doing it again for he would always drive a car or ride a horse, and in any case he would: "stay up in the corner [of the village], where I belong." The fact that the "top end boys" stayed together was known routinely throughout settlement social life, e.g. "Those top-end boys don't drink down there [where most drinking of alcohol was done], they go bush in their cars when they got grog."

The third issue in status relations between those of full- and mixed-descent was noted above as the latter's disinterest in "Blackfella law". Again, I can only treat this question very briefly here. Among those Aborigines who remained committed to "Blackfella law" (see Chapter 9 for some discussion of what such commitment entails), there was a general expectation that mixed-descent people were typically disinterested in it. The following statement of an old expert on "Blackfella law" matters (cf. my discussion of such people in Chapter 4, Section 4.6) is typical in the way it links the lack of knowledge of the mixed-descent person being referred to, with the latter's perceived preference for a lifestyle derived from European traditions: "He don't know law - he Mandagi [Whitefella] too much." The full-descent Councillor quoted above from the Sunday_Sun newspaper (27.11.1983: 11) also pointed out that:

> The half-castes have taken the place of the missionaries
> .... But they don't seem to respect the black man's
> culture which is being wiped out.

When three young men of mixed descent were among the eight Doomadgee young men initiated in 1982 (see Chapter 9), one "law man" marvelled: "That three Yellafella got me beat [i.e. have me very surprised] - that's big thing that [i.e. the initiation is highly important in terms of Blackfella law]."

While the speaker was very surprised about participation by mixed-descent persons in the ceremony, the fact that this happened highlights how mixed-descent status certainly does not necessarily lead to disinterest in Blackfella law. Particularly among those mixed-descent individuals (usually men) who have married full-descent spouses, participation and orientation towards such matters can be very strong. As a full-descent law expert remarked about one such mixed-descent man: "No matter he Yellafella, he can sabby [understand and embrace] law!" In the course of explaining how many young people neglect the requirements of Blackfella law until they or their close kin get sick, and then approach local Aboriginal "doctors" for a cure, one man emphasised that this was even the case for some mixed-descent people in the settlement:

> Even this Yellafella here, [he] believes on the Christian, Mandagi [Whitefella] way, but when White doctor couldn't fix his wife he came to ... [a Blackfella doctor, and said] – "I'll give you $50 if you can fix her ...".

In summary, the data in this section illustrate the broad nature of a degree of social separation between persons of full- and mixed-descent. The summary statement of this fact within the discourse of full-descent people is that: "Yellafella got his own way." The evidence of this other "way" is at times certainly perceived as unequivocal; the following elderly full-descent woman spoke with great conviction when she said of her sister's mixed-descent son:

> He Wayjbala [Whitefella] that one, we all call him Wayjbala. I call him tight hair Wayjbala! [12] – can't [i.e. won't] give his sister lift [from store] ... .

She regarded her nephew as blatantly "flash" in his emulation of Whitefellas. Yet the accurately perceived diversity among mixed-descent people must be made clear. I have noted above that some have recently participated actively with full-descent people in Aboriginal ritual life. Some are said to have "never been flash", particularly those who were not removed from the influence of their mothers by White officialdom; e.g. in the words of one old lady a group of younger mixed-descent people related to her quite closely: "... never bin flash, because ... [their] mother was still alive ... – because they bin told." In one conversation, mixed-descent people in Burketown were divided into those who "don't class themselves with us – won't talk to

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[12]While this may well be a reference to a physical feature of the person being referred to, I suspect that the speaker is referring to the person being "tight" in not giving sufficient material assistance to his close kin.

us" and those who "class themselves with us all the time." The very fact that the "top-end boys" have remained at the settlement was seen by one full-descent man as evidence of their desire to stay with full-descent people; for he saw them as having the option of leaving Doomadgee and living in predominantly White towns to a greater extent than full-descent people. Moreover, it is clear that even the most "flash Yellafellas", i.e. those who among village residents were most able to emulate aspects of the lifestyle in the White domain, rather (along with full-descent people) derive a degree of autonomy in the face of White society through living firmly within the Blackfella domain.[13]

7.7 Conclusion: Social Closure, Domination and the Blackfella Domain

The data in this chapter indicate that the imperative for Aborigines is generally to insulate the domain of Blackfella space, thought and behaviour from the administrative White domain. Three dimensions of the concept of domain have thus been illustrated in presenting the data. The concept emerges as an analytical construct for the organisation of ethnographic material concerned with the operation of major diversity in a population. While selective occupation and use of physical space has been the base for this description of social closure, it is clear that domains of social life for any group are by no means solely constituted by control over such physical areas. Rather, control of physical space stems from social conditions such as the people present, and the subject, style and context of social interaction. Therefore, constitution of a domain or a particular physical space can never be permanently fixed by the location itself: through dependence on social conditions a normally operating spatial domain can be dominated by intruding styles of social interaction. To take an example from the above data, sites within what is usually the Blackfella domain of the village can become areas where Aborigines temporarily restrict their behaviour because of such social conditions there as an open-air Christian meeting, or a visiting Whitefella performing an administrative task.

The point is further illustrated by the case of the cemetery, located some 4 km from both the village and the Mission. On the one

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[13]The degree of social separation between full- and mixed-descent people at Doomadgee is certainly unlike the firmly ranked "colour classes" described by Terwiel-Powell (1975: 299-325) for Hopevale settlement in north Queensland. For example, she notes (p. 303) that fairer coloured skin was generally associated with intellectual and cultural superiority there.

hand, Aborigines conceive of it as intimately linked to the Blackfella domain through the burial of relatives there; there are no Whites buried there. However, the social context of the operation of the cemetery over-shadows this physical association. Our analysis must designate this area as more fundamentally conceived by Aborigines as within the White domain, for certification of death and burial is done by Whites via bureaucratic written means, and sometimes involves White Police and/or an autopsy performed by White medical personnel in Mount Isa or Brisbane, involving the transfer and receipt of the body by Whites using what Aborigines and Whites both view as serious official Whitefella means. These White-controlled operations are culminated by the White-administered burial proceedings.[14] It is on such fundamental social processes that the analysis of domain must focus.

In this chapter, different domains have been identified according to cultural (and racial) diversity. However, the broader analytical question is whether the imperative for the maintenance of a high degree of social closure between these two broad domains is indeed due solely to cultural difference. While this is in fact given as the reason by certain Whites and as a reason by certain Aborigines, cultural difference does not explain fully the facts of separation as described above; e.g. why are Whites not impinged upon to take the Aboriginal domain into account in any way similar to the way Aborigines defer to White modes of behaviour? Indeed, why do Aborigines appear to be generally more committed than Whites to the maintenance of the separation of the two domains?

It is clear from the data, and from literature sources, that the answer must deal with the issue of power relations between the two domains. I have argued in Chapter 6 that the historical dimensions of the domination of Aboriginal society have included economic power, administration of the laws of the state, and (particularly during Aboriginal residence at Doomadgee) entrenched authority relations. Aspects of these dimensions of domination in the contemporary settlement are considered further in the chapters below. However, a critical fact emerging from this chapter must first be recognised: any simple analysis solely positing continual domination of Aboriginal society would be inadequate. Through maintenance of the separate Blackfella

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[14]There were initial apparent increases in Aboriginal control of funerals, after the 1983 administrative changes.

domain, Aborigines effectively distance themselves from the administrative intrusiveness and perpetual ethnocentrism of White Australian society. The legal authority of the state and its local representatives does not intrude completely throughout settlement social life; for in real social terms this authority does not have access to the Blackfella domain - Aboriginal control of physical space, and withholding of access to Blackfella styles of behaviour and spheres of thought ensure that this is so. Moreover, this collective Aboriginal maintenance of the separation of the Blackfella domain, operates over and above the diversity within that domain. The designation of Yellafellas as a separable social category "closer to Whitefellas" is irrelevant to the major features of race-relations and power relations between Aborigines and Whites.

Of particular relevance to this issue is the work that has been done on total institutions. Goffman's (1968) analysis of relationships between staff and inmates in such places as prisons, hospitals, invalid homes, army barracks, boarding schools, monasteries, etc. bears similarity to the data presented in this chapter. Features of total institutions include: social mobility between a large managed group (termed inmates) and a small supervisory staff, is "grossly restricted" and social distance is "typically great and often formally prescribed" (pp. 18-19); "Two different social and cultural worlds develop, jogging alongside each other with points of official contact but little mutual penetration" (p. 20); inmates collectively develop an "underlife" (generally unseen by staff) (p. 180); inmates (to some extent with tacit co-operation from staff) establish "free places" consisting of space away from staff presence and surveillance which are "pervaded by a feeling of relaxation and self-determination" in contrast to other areas of the institution (p. 206).

Aboriginal settlements may well be aptly described as kinds of total institutions, as at least one writer has suggested (Koepping 1976). Indeed, Goffman includes "colonial compounds" in his list of examples (p. 16). However, it must be noted that a major point of this chapter has been to illustrate the lack of "totality" in the institutionalisation of Aboriginal lives. Rather than only a small number of spaces and social contexts remaining "free" from the staff domain, the Blackfella domain is the norm in that it constitutes the setting for all of domestic life, quite apart from other social contexts (e.g. certain aspects of religious ritual, folk-healing, gambling,

drinking). The material presented throughout Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in Part B indicate only certain aspects of the sociocultural content of the Blackfella domain, yet it is clear that a vibrant social life derived distinctively from Aboriginal tradition operates there. The legal authority of White society is peripheral to some fundamental dimensions of social life in the Blackfella domain. Thus, the coercive impact of the authority of White staff at Doomadgee is more restricted than is the power of staff in the total institutions described by Goffman.

A final point is that a propensity for the kind of compartmentalisation of life domains described in this chapter may be particularly implicit within Australian Aboriginal traditions. Certain literature has reported divisions within traditional Aboriginal society into differently constituted domiciliary groups (see Memmott [1979: 127-9] for a review of these sources). Divisions of the social and physical order have generally been reported for Aboriginal social organisation and ritual life (see Maddock 1972). For example, Meggitt's concept of "space" (1962: 52-6) describes Walbiri camps and their environs as divided into two strictly segregated main zones, constituted by men's space and women's space. Apart from the physical dimension of the use of such zones, Meggitt suggests similarity to the notion of life-space developed by the psychologist Lewin and his colleagues (see Lewin 1952; De Rivera 1976). By such a notion, the "life-space" of an individual or group designates a broad "field" of behaviour and thought. It may be that Aboriginal tradition has brought to settlement life a propensity for constructing relatively closed compartments of the social and physical world, to which groups of people, plus their perceived intellectuality, social attributes and material culture are assigned. I interpret Meggitt's "life-space" as referring to such compartments. In this chapter, such compartments have been termed "domains".

CHAPTER 8

THE OPERATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

8.1 Introduction

In both Chapters 6 and 7 I have referred to entrenched authority relations at Doomadgee. This chapter considers the operation of authority in the administrative process, particularly as this authority is apprehended by both those with administrative power and those who are subject to that power. In general terms, the former category of people consists of White staff and the latter category consists of Aboriginal residents. I first (in Section 8.2) consider the missionary administration, and deal with divergent perspectives among these staff. Secondly (in Section 8.3), I examine Aborigines as those administered and identify several dimensions of their relationship to administrative authority. Thirdly (in Section 8.4), the issue of the incorporation of certain Aborigines into the administrative hierarchy is discussed. The conclusion to the chapter focuses particularly on the theoretical issue of the legitimacy of administrative authority in settlement social life.

8.2 Missionary Administration

8.2.1 Background data

Under the Aborigines Act of 1971 (hereafter referred to as the 1971 Act) and its amendments, the reserve Manager has formally been the local administrative instrument by which the state authority of the Director of the DAIA has operated. While the extent of that legal authority during the study period has been much less extensive than under previous Queensland law (as compared, for example, to the 1945 Regulations given in Chapter 6, p. 200), aspects of it have been considered as still in breach of various international human rights conventions (Nettheim 1981: 139-52). This criticism has related specifically to questions including access to reserves, the operation of local Aboriginal courts, the infringement of the privacy of Aboriginal homes, the management of Aboriginal property, the manner of election of Aboriginal Councils, and wage rates paid to Aboriginal workers on reserves. A further issue is that official philosophies and policies of the past may be continued in administrative practice after their repeal,

and this is most likely where individuals have remained in authoritative administrative office over long periods (Nettheim 1981: 32).

The number of White staff at Doomadgee remained quite small until 1975, varying between 5 and 8 during the late 1930s and the 1940s, increasing to between 6 and 13 during the 1950s,[1] and while no data have been available for the 1960s, by October 1975 the number had increased to 18 staff (DAA n.d.: 6) though it is unclear whether there were also several extra spouses and children then. After 1975, the number of Whites increased rapidly due to the expansion of school and certain health facilities, e.g. in May 1979 there were 34 adults plus 14 children (DAA n.d.: 6). Staff at Doomadgee have typically remained for considerable periods of time. During the research period the school teachers in general have been more mobile than other staff, yet Murray's (1982: 3) data indicate even for them that in 1982 the average length of stay among 17 teachers (excluding the atypically long period since the Principal's arrival [26 years]) was approximately 2.6 years. Doomadgee staff have certainly differed from those in the contemporary NT communities described by Gerritsen (1982: 27); he states of the "service whites" that "very few spend any [sic, meaning much?] time in the community", and that these staff are seen as "ephemeral".

Accounts from senior missionary staff indicate that only members of Brethren Assemblies were accepted as staff at Doomadgee by the Mission. If there have been occasional exceptions to this rule, such people appear to have been committed Christians of other fundamentalist faiths, mostly Baptists. Baptism by total immersion and being spiritually "born again" (see Chapter 9) has been a prerequisite.[2] The first change in this situation was in 1982 when several teachers with non-fundamentalist backgrounds joined the school staff, and in 1983 the staffing of the school was completely taken over by the Department of Education. From 1983 the Mission also ceased to control all other staffing and the DAIA took over this role. However, a substantial number of Brethren staff remained.

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[1]See _Australian Missionary Tidings_ magazine for the months during 1939, and Annual Reports of Queensland Government Department of Native Affairs for the years 1940-1960.

[2]There have been accounts of one or two White Christians of other denominations who have undergone baptism by total immersion soon after joining the Doomadgee staff.

Brethren Assemblies (i.e. church-focused congregations) are organisationally independent of one another.[3] There is no over-arching administrative body. Individuals have received "commendation" from their Assembly to go as missionaries to Doomadgee. The Assembly has thus given them religious authorisation and undertaken to support them financially when, and to the extent that, it is thought possible by the Church Elders. However, the financial support may well be irregular. It has been suggested that the home Assembly would give, not so much according to a perception of the missionaries' material needs, but of what God wants them to give. Apart from such direct receipt of money from the "commending" Assembly, the missionaries have received from the Doomadgee Mission organisation rent-free furnished accommodation with electricity supplied, and some also received free food. As well, there were occasional small extra amounts of money distributed by the Doomadgee Church Elders if, say, an amount had been sent to the Church from an Assembly for all the "voluntary workers". The missionaries did not receive wages from the Mission organisation.

All staff at Doomadgee appear to have been unpaid in this way until 1975, when all teachers became paid employees of the Department of Education (Murray 1982: 11). An official account given for 1980 (_Australian Missionary Tidings_, September 1980, Daily Prayer List insert) lists seven married couples with nine dependent children among them, plus three single people, as "voluntary workers". Three of the couples and the three single people were receiving money for food from the Mission organisation, as well as the free accommodation received by all "voluntary workers". Fourteen school teachers (three with non-working wives and two couples with five children between them) and four health personnel were employed on normal award wages by government departments. The total number of non-Aboriginal people for 1980 was thus 52. During 1982, there were 18 teachers employed in this way (Murray 1982: 3), plus at least four nurses, and 24 "voluntary workers" (DAIA 1982: 32). Additional non-working spouses and children meant that

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[3]All unreferenced data below concerning the missionaries have been drawn from field notes based on informal discussions. However, on this particular point, note also Van Sommers (1966: 29-30):

> Each of their assemblies or local congregations is entirely self-governing. There is no central governing body and consequently no centrally laid down policy. Each congregation bases its activities on its own interpretation of the Scriptures ... .

the total non-Aboriginal population during 1982 probably varied between 60 and 70 (although one source [Murray 1982: 1] has estimated it at approximately 80).

Regardless of whether people have come to "voluntary" or paid jobs, they have believed they have come to do "God's work"; however, those not receiving regular wages could, from their viewpoint, certainly indicate a very tangible sense in which their well-being was in "God's hands". Several staff have said that they expected to leave Doomadgee on the same basis as they came - when God told them it was his will for them to leave. People who have grown up in certain Brethren Assemblies have usually been hearing about Doomadgee from a young age through such media as newsletters, personal letters from relatives and friends there and other literature. A few Christian Aboriginal people have also maintained a widespread awareness of Doomadgee through visiting some Assemblies and attending Brethren study courses at various "Bible Colleges". One young missionary related how she had always felt from a young age that she would go to work at Doomadgee. Thus the missionary staff has consisted of people with very firm commitments to what they perceive as their evangelical task. As described above in Chapter 7, they have been largely socially self-contained.

In Brethren Assemblies, no formal order of clergymen is established: "There are no ordained clergy among the Open Brethren" (Van Sommers 1966: 30). Nevertheless: "... those who are gifted by God for the public ministry of the Word are gladly recognized, ..." (Douglas 1974: 789). Thus, "Elders" of the Church generally hold considerable authority in relation to instruction and guidance on religious matters within the Assembly community, and aspects of their role in Church affairs at Doomadgee will be discussed in Chapter 9. It suffices to say here that the Manager during the fieldwork period was also a Church Elder, and indeed that according to the 1971 Act (Section 15) from which his secular authority has derived, he was required to be "the person in charge" of the religious organisation on the reserve. The Manager was appointed in 1958 (DAA n.d.: 2), having already been at Doomadgee since 1951. Not until 1975 did he formally relinquish control over any aspect of administration, when the affairs of the school were partially taken over by the Department of Education. In 1978, his personal authority over Mission policy and financial matters, and over such issues as staff welfare was (in formal terms at least) further reduced through the

formation of a "Management Committee" consisting of him and his wife and four other staff.

The only further background points concerning formal White administrative structures during the fieldwork period are firstly, that it has been the school Principal (also a Church Elder) who has occupied the only office of authority comparable to the Manager in terms of influence over a large number of staff; he has also been at Doomadgee for many years, having first arrived in 1957 (Murray 1982: 10). Secondly, these two men were also the only Doomadgee residents on a Brisbane-based "Doomadgee Mission Committee", apparently formed in the early 1970s, and consisting of men from various Assemblies. This committee had little influence over missionary administration at Doomadgee until 1983, when it apparently directed the Manager to resign; the latter and his wife then left the settlement, as did his son, accompanied by his own wife and children. Finally, no Aborigines have ever been members of the "Management Committee" or the "Doomadgee Mission Committee".

8.2.2 Divergent administrative perspectives

. The Manager-centred administrative perspective

The key administrative position has clearly been that of the Manager. Both he and his wife express clear commitment to the evangelical task: "... my commitment is to preach the word of God, so that they [Aborigines] can become Christians and know how to become Christians ... ."[4] From this perspective, the job is to lead people to develop personal faith in God and live what is regarded as the Christian life. Like many other staff, the Manager and his wife have regarded aspects of White Australian lifestyle as necessary for a Christian life. They could thus view with considerable satisfaction the material results of their labour over the years; indeed, on at least one occasion during the fieldwork period they were able to screen slides and movie film demonstrating to other (mostly younger) staff present, the sequential establishment and improvement of material services (particularly, but not exclusively, in the White spatial domain) since their arrival many years ago.

These long-term missionaries have always been engaged in teaching Aborigines how to live, in physical as well as spiritual terms. They

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[4]Nationwide television programme screened 20.7.1982; copy held at University of Queensland Audiovisual Library (Aboriginal tape 17).

have indeed considered their relationship to Aborigines as akin to one of parents to children, although the Manager's wife has argued publicly that they have not stifled Aborigines with paternalism:

> I feel exactly as I ever endeavoured to care for Aborigines as I've cared for my own sons, and my four sons had to be untied from mother's apron strings and the Aboriginal people just the same.[5]

As they see it they have received great affection in return: "... there's that bond of love that's grown over the years that nobody will break."[6] The following passage is from a statement made by the Manager at a public meeting held in the village in 1980 just after a visit from the Commonwealth Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. While long, it illustrates well the didactic paternalism that permeated his perspective as a missionary and an administrator:

> You know, I've said before: what sort of a place would Doomadgee be, if everybody in Doomadgee was just like me? Now you ask that question. If you're the type of person that throws a tin on the ground, and everybody was just like you we'd have lots of tins on the ground wouldn't we? If everybody did - and we could think of all the things that are wrong. But let's think the other way: what sort of a place would Doomadgee be if everybody in Doomadgee was just like me? If you had a desire to see Doomadgee as your home, [if] you desired to see it as we used to see it, with gardens around the home, ... with an interest in children. You know, there's nothing more rewarding and satisfying than to see the things which a child has been trained, ... as he gets older, to see him carrying on doing those things. You know ... [a certain Aboriginal woman] is not here tonight, but ... [she] was our house-girl back in the 50s, and I'm thankful for ... [names three other women in their forties and one old lady] and others ... . There was a time when Mrs ... [his wife] was sick and she had to go to Brisbane, and those girls looked after our boys [his own sons] as well as Mrs ... [his wife] did. They did it because they loved them. And we're thankful for that. But you know when ... [one of the women] had children of her own many years after there was an incident where ... [she] was doing something, and Mrs ... [his wife] commented on what she did. She said: "Mrs ..., you used to do that." So she [had] carried on. You know that gave us joy to think of that. You know if you train up a child in the way he should go, the word of God says when he is old he'll not depart from it. But that's your responsibility. Sometimes parents, they have heartaches, they have sorrows, because they've had no thought, they've had no care. You know Mr Read [when he was Superintendent] used to say: "Sometimes the people, they

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[5] Nationwide 20.7.1982.

[6] Nationwide 20.7.1982.

sits and thinks, but sometimes they just sit." That means to say they sit and they don't think, and that's true isn't it? You know we can be like that. If everybody in Doomadgee was like the person who just sat, and he never thought, he didn't think, ... of his home, ... his family, ... his wife, didn't think of anything, what sort of a person would that person be? What sort of children would that person have? What sort of a family would that family be? ... He's [God] our leader, and as our lives are lived before Him, you know we won't be worrying about cleaning up the house inside and outside, that just automatically follows. So we can be thankful tonight that we have, in spite of us, we have a God who cares, not only for our spiritual good but also for our welfare as far as our homes, ... children, ... the future is concerned. But the rest, as ... [the Chairman of the Council who was the previous speaker] said, is up to each one, individually, what they're going to do with it. So I'll just leave these words with you: what sort of a place is Doomadgee going to be, when every ... person in the community is just like me? — speaking of oneself, not speaking of me, yet it includes me doesn't it? If I want to do things silly, if I want to act stupidly, and all those sort of things, ... and everybody was just like that, what a terrible place it would be. If I want to be more kind, more loving, ... So let's see that with the good news that we have [following assurances of substantial funding from the Commonwealth Minister of Aboriginal Affairs], with the hopes for the future, with plenty fishing down at Old Doomadgee, and all that sort of thing, let's see [if] we can't revive some of the old interest that we had in the past (T64).

From this perspective, there has been little question of learning anything worthwhile from Aborigines. Indeed, some other staff have suggested that in the Manager's view, the role of "White people" as morally senior to (and thus as the teachers of) "Black people", had "scriptural authority". For such is apparently an interpretation of Genesis 9:21-29 and 10, by which the descendants of one among Noah's three sons were cursed to be the servants of others, and it is interpreted by various means that the cursed son was the ancestor of the dark-skinned people of the earth.[7] I am unable to confirm or deny whether any staff held to this interpretation during the research period or whether staff there in earlier times did; the majority of staff during the fieldwork period appeared to reject it. However, it must be noted that the blind Aboriginal Church Elder quoted on pages 270-1 and 326-7 below appears to have held it at the time of his statements at least, and it is most unlikely that he would have developed it without White tutelage.

The Manager has claimed that he would like to be able to have administrative positions taken over by Aborigines:

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[7] See Buckland (1929: 189) and Pettingill (1971: 338-9).

> As far as the administration is concerned, well with
> administration goes accountability, and if there are those
> who rise to that situation, who can take over the
> administration, well it would give me a greater opportunity
> to do the main [spiritual] work which I came for, and that's
> to be able to move and sit with the people, to be able to
> talk to them ... .[8]

However, on the television programme where he made this statement, he

further pointed out that Aboriginal people do not usually complete

sufficient training to be able to do the administrative jobs:

> ... and if we were only looking at the results [of our
> attempts at training people] that we get from what we put
> into it, well then one would give up - but there's no
> thought of giving up, we're out here to help the people
> ... .[9]

The following passage, also extracted from the 1980 public meeting at

Doomadgee, illustrates his constant instruction that people must develop

"responsibility" in order to work in administrative positions:

> The matter did come up [with the Minister] as far as
> responsibility is concerned, taking positions. It's not
> Mr ... [the Minister's] idea nor the Commonwealth
> Government's idea, that one day we're just going to change
> things just like that. He realizes that it requires those,
> as ... [the Council Chairman] has said, who are prepared to
> put themselves out and have an aim to achieve something.
> And when that person has achieved something, it won't be
> very long before he'll be given a responsible position
> (T64).

Moreover, by this view the earlier dormitory generation of people were

more responsible and better suited to jobs in the White domain than

contemporary young adults. The methods of the past were favoured, and

such new approaches as the teaching of "culture" in the school (see

below) and the development of "indigenous" (or "distinctively

Aboriginal") Christianity were firmly rejected; there was seen to be no

scriptural authority for such notions: as the Manager's wife put it -

"We'll all be together in heaven so why separate now?"

It is important to note that in the Manager's view, the "hand of

the Lord" was evident in all things, including whatever administrative

processes may have been in operation at various times. Thus, also at

the 1980 public meeting, he explained for the edification of Aboriginal

listeners how a number of then current events reflected God's work. The

events were: the Minister's visit and the request put to him about

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[8]Nationwide 20.7.1982.

[9]Nationwide 20.7.1982.

funding for construction of a direct road to Old Doomadgee; in conjunction with the arrival of some White men saying they were establishing a new cattle enterprise on the property between the "old" and "new" reserves, and that if they could hire the Mission grader and operator to make the road for their purposes, the Doomadgee people could use the road to get through to the coastal reserve. Some of the Manager's comments were:

> ... You know, the Bible says: "Before they call I will answer", and we've had so many instances here in the past of God answering prayer ... but there's so many circumstances in connection with these things, they all dovetail in together. These [station] men came back Sunday morning, and they saw me and one man he said: "Well I know some of your friends, I know some of the Brethren down there in Dalby, and ... in Toowoomba." So he mentioned a name, and I said: "Well, you might know some of the Brethren, do you know the Lord?" And he said: "Praise the Lord I do, I'm born again." He said: "We were coming back this morning to come to church but we couldn't make it." Then one of the other fellows that was with them - I don't think he was a Christian - he said: "You know, things have happened on this trip ... everything has just gone well." And you know what the Bible says about the person who's blessed?: He that God blesses is blessed indeed. He can't be unblessed. God is in control. And so we give Him the thanks tonight, for the Federal Minister. We're told in the word of God, to pray for those who are in authority. We're to pray for men in authority that they might be given wisdom, so that we might live a quiet and peaceful life in all Godliness and honesty (T64).

In fact, at least some of the station men turned out to be charlatans engaged in various criminal activities such as the growing of marijuana plants, and departed owing the Mission a large amount of money for stores, equipment hire and wages. Yet from the Manager's perspective, all things must continue to be viewed as part of God's plan.

. The school-centred administrative perspective

Many school staff during the fieldwork period have developed quite different views. Unlike the Manager and his wife (and various others) some have sought administrative changes, in order to attempt to improve the school's relationship with the Aborigines and the general educational servicing of the community. Most significantly, some teachers have tried to monitor the degree of success of the school, and have been prepared to acknowledge certain problematic issues. For example, a survey attempting to establish "Community Awareness of Aspects of Education" was carried out at one point, and came to conclusions including:

> Aboriginal parents seemed to be uneasy about approaching the
> school personnel or environs because of lack of information
> about procedures and layout [quoted in Murray (1982: 26)].

While it is not clear that the various steps taken by the school completely achieved what had been aimed for, nor even as much as some teachers argued had been achieved, it is the increasing awareness of problems on the part of a majority of teachers which distinguishes them from many (though not all) other White staff.

I will refer below to certain Aboriginal advisory groups which were instituted by the school. From the teachers' perspective, the formation of such groups were consecutive attempts at facilitating information flow between the school and the Aboriginal community. In analytical terms, they must also be viewed as (at least partly) attempts at legitimation of the school's role in the broader administrative servicing of the Aboriginal population; the provision of educational services by White staff is one dimension of administrative authority in practice.

A school innovation known as the "culture program" may be similarly explained. The "culture program" was funded by the Aboriginal Arts Board from 1978 onwards. The Board responded initially to a request from an Aboriginal resident who was attempting to form what was locally termed the "Nguduri culture company" (Nguduri being the Aboriginal place name for the settlement site); i.e. a legally incorporated body which could receive funds to teach "culture" to the children. Despite a strong desire on the part of the Aboriginal people who wished to form the "culture company" that they control the receipt and spending of the money, neither the school Principal nor the Manager agreed to this proposition. They pointed out (to the Arts Board as well as to the Aboriginal members of the proposed company) that without assistance from White book-keepers, the "culture company" would be unable to organise the purchase of equipment, payment of wages, and other necessary bureaucratic tasks, while thereby implying that such assistance would not be forthcoming from them for an organisation which was to be independent not only of White administrative structures, but of the (White-influenced) Aboriginal Council as well. After some time, involving rather unsuccessful attempts by the Arts Board to communicate effectively with the Aboriginal members of the proposed company, the money was sent to the school and the arrangement desired by the Whites

operated throughout the research period. The idea of an independent "culture company" subsequently subsided.[10]

The school's arrangement was to consult with its "Parents' and Citizens' Association" (P & C), which began in 1975 after the first administrative involvement of the Department of Education (Murray 1982: 11). The result was that a "culture committee" was formed as a sub-committee of the P & C, consisting mainly of several old people, and a "culture syllabus" was written as a list of topics thought to be important (e.g. food collection, bush medicine, history of arrival of missionaries, etc. [Murray 1982: 36]). A teacher's written review of the culture programme (Murray 1982: 34-8) outlines varying degrees of success over the years, and such developments as the appointment of a full-time Aboriginal Culture teacher in 1980, then his replacement in 1982 with a younger Aboriginal teacher-aide to assist older "culture teachers" maintain pupil interest.

From the early stages of the "culture programme", the school Principal (and other teachers) had been concerned not to foster anything "sinister", i.e. the parts of local Aboriginal society perceived as unacceptable from a Christian Brethren viewpoint; examples of such unacceptable forms are initiation rituals where, it was believed, unwilling young men were in the past forced to participate, and beliefs in such malevolent "spirits" as the "short people" (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4) about which the Principal had heard snippets of information over the years. The Principal's aim was to "foster a sense of pride" in the pupils about the fact that they were Aborigines, by having them taught the "acceptable aspects of their culture" (from his viewpoint) that their people "once had". However, it appears that as the program

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[10]The DAA Community Study of Doomadgee (n.d.: 8-9) points out that the initial letter sent to the Arts Board from Aboriginal residents was signed by 18 people including three Councillors, one of whom was the Chairman. It is broadly correct in describing the company as an ill-fated formal attempt at self-management, though incorrect in describing it as the only one apart from the Council (e.g. note the data presented in Chapter 3 concerning the "Ganggalida Society"). Further comments in this report can be usefully quoted:

> The Company was suppressed by the mission on the grounds that it received outside advice (from Mornington Island) and was not a mission initiative. It nevertheless aroused enough community support to convince the school principal to take the cultural program on under the administration of the school rather than the Company.

progressed he and some other teachers learned more about various Aboriginal beliefs and about their contemporary currency, and were adopting a less uncompromising attitude to precisely what was "unacceptable".

If the teachers' support for the "culture program" (although it must be noted that not all teachers supported it) is to be viewed analytically as partly a dimension of their attempts at legitimating their authority, the Manager-centred faction was certainly not concerned with such legitimation. Regardless of undertakings from the teachers that they would control its content, there was considerable opposition to the culture program from the Manager and other staff aligned with him on this issue. Reasons for opposing it included the fact that it is not possible to separate the acceptable aspects of Aboriginal "culture" from those that are unacceptable, that to teach pupils that they are different (or at least distinctively Aboriginal) will lead to racism (though it remains unclear whether this was envisaged as racism on the part of Aborigines or Whites), and that there is no "scriptural authority" for the fostering of separate "cultures".[11]

The second innovation in the school to be considered here is the "Special Program Grade", a reaction to an issue raised solely by, and largely only concerning, the White staff; most of the following empirical information is drawn from Murray (1982: 31-3). In 1980 both teacher-parents and other White parents made it clear to the Principal (himself the parent of school-age children) that they were very concerned that their children would not be able to re-enter mainstream schools without disadvantage. Perceived problems included: their children lacked motivation for learning because of a classroom atmosphere where peer group pressure was against individual children excelling above their peers; because of this pressure some White children no longer contributed to discussions because of fear; White children were exposed to a restricted language variety both inside the classroom (as teachers generally used simplified English) and outside the classroom among their Aboriginal peers.[12]

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[11] The DAA Community Study (n.d.: 17) notes that: "In 1975 strong opposition to teaching of Aboriginal languages was expressed to a DAA visitor by the Superintendent [i.e. Manager]."

[12] Indeed, several White parents pointed out that at times they had difficulty understanding what their children were saying at home, away from Aboriginal children.

The teaching staff decided to withdraw all White children plus those Aboriginal students performing well above their peers into one class known as the "Special Program Grade" (SPG), while acknowledging the dangers:

. children in main class groupings would miss the
  stimulation of the "models" and "pacesetters";

. school becomes open to the criticism of creating an
  elitist group;

. the children in the SPG may be in danger of thinking that
  they are more "special" than their peers.

The class proceeded from 1980 with standard English as the medium of instruction and the aim that the group would reach mainstream standards. I have data only on class constitution for 1983; during that year all White pupils in the school (eight in all) were in the SPG along with 15 Aboriginal pupils.

The significance of this case is that it illustrates well a problem facing White staff as a minority among the Aboriginal majority. I have noted in Chapter 7 the extent of social closure among White staff, and that this was due to close sectarian, historical and in some cases kinship ties among them, as well as the desire by Aborigines to exclude them from the Blackfella domain. I will consider further below how aspects of the missionary subculture may be viewed as engendering marginality within their own society, and hence how residence at Doomadgee for missionaries was to some extent a retreat from the wider Australian society. However, it was clearly not a niche where missionaries could simply live completely as they wished. The felt need for the SPG indicates that Aboriginal society (though structurally dominated) nevertheless impinged upon the missionary lifestyle through force of the former's much greater numbers.

As stated above, the school Principal has been the only staff member with influence among a number of staff (and probably among Aborigines as well) comparable to that of the Manager. A survey of teacher attitudes conducted by Murray (1982: 17-9, 45-50) found that he was very popular and believed to be "sensitive", "interested", "warm and supportive", "dynamic, energetic, innovative, hard working, caring", etc. The survey also found that all teachers (18) agreed that there was "a high level of positive staff morale" in the school. The Principal contrasts with the only other long-serving staff there during the fieldwork period, i.e. with the Manager, his wife and adult son, in his

capacity for change during ten years or so prior to the end of the research period. For example, towards the end of the research period he stated his belief that children should not historically have been separated from their parents in the dormitories and been coerced (through physical punishment at times) to live a highly restricted and routinised lifestyle, and wished that he and others had simply come in as missionaries preaching the Gospel and allowed people to make their own decisions about "their culture". He also discussed how one consequence for those in the dormitories for so many years was that as adults they had no adequate parenting model in the care of their own children, and was aware of the way he was still perceived as an authority figure by those (now adults) whom he and others supervised in the dormitory for so long. Murray's report on the school comments (1982: 12):

> The Principal who is the 'authority figure' of their youth is still in charge of the school today. For some this may inhibit their full participation as adults in the life of the school.

> Most parents of school age children have not lived in a normal nuclear or extended family during their youth. Consequently they have not had models in decision making for the day to day business of life. The missionaries provided everything and directed their lives. As a result, we now have a generation of parents who are used to 'white' people making decisions for them.

Finally, unlike most other staff, the Principal has in recent times taken an interest in some historical research on early race relations in northern Queensland and in some of the broad dimensions of Aboriginal affairs, e.g. the issues surrounding a treaty between Aboriginal and White societies, and Aboriginal land rights.

While there was an awareness of past mistakes and present problems on the part of the Principal and other teachers, they had totally continued their commitment to evangelism. The co-ordinated Christian message from teachers to pupils was transmitted informally as much as formally. In response to some media criticism that the school was "Christianising" the children at "the taxpayer's expense",[13] the teachers issued a statement arguing that time allocated to religious education was no different from other State schools and that "our

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[13]Nationwide 20.7.1982.

religious program is essentially educational rather than evangelical."[14] Nevertheless, the first two of six general aims of the school, in a booklet apparently prepared by the school as a teacher's guide to a wide variety of matters, are:

1. To present Christ and encourage personal faith in him.

2. To teach the Scriptures in relation to practical Christian living.

The Principal appears to have varied during the study period in his opinion on whether there should have continued to be a totally Christian teaching staff. Certainly, from his perspective the Doomadgee school operated much more successfully (e.g. had a much higher pupil attendance rate) than the school at Mornington Island, where teachers did not have to be Christian to be appointed. And while the record of academic achievements by pupils is certainly not outstanding,[15] all staff would most likely have argued that Christian teachers would have more commitment to their work and produce better results than would other teachers.

. Further dimensions of staff divergence within general administrative unity

Disagreements over administrative issues have been quite divisive. One staff member mentioned during 1982 that the extent of disagreement meant that any possibility of a meeting of all the staff to discuss the issues was precluded by the fact that it would be too volatile. The two major factions as described above have derived their bureaucratic authority during the study period from two State Government Departments (DAIA and Education), and the two senior people in these factions (Manager and School Principal) were both long-term missionary residents with personal followings among the White staff (as well as among some Aborigines). However, neither faction was without its own

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[14]*North West Star* newspaper July 1982 p. 16; also see *Queensland Teachers' Journal* July 1982. The difference between "educational" and "evangelical" religious education remains unclear from the teachers' defence, as does the extent of such possibly ad hoc routine practices as hymn singing at morning assemblies.

[15]The first pupils to attend high school (away from the community) went out in 1967; in 1968 and 1970 two men received one year's assistant-teacher training; in 1969 the Mission opened Woongoora Student Hostel in Malanda on the Atherton Tableland to the east of the study region, and all students deemed academically hopeful were sent there and attended Malanda High School; in 1979 the first Doomadgee student completed Grade 12 at Malanda High School; in 1981, 16 Junior Certificates were presented (Murray 1982: 11).

internal diversity. For example, within the Manager-centred faction was a grouping of people who emphasised their distinctiveness from the teachers (and two of the nurses) in terms of the latter not being "voluntary workers". Tension between teachers and "voluntary workers" thus focused on the fact that (along with two of the nurses) the teachers received wages for what was supposed to be "God's work" and some "voluntary workers" regarded this as inappropriate, not involving sufficient personal sacrifice, etc. Other antipathy on the part of some non-teachers was towards what were thought of as the teachers' unrealistic ideas and opinions arising out of their more extensive education - particularly any social science or non-technical expertise asserted by some teachers seems to have been resented as impractical and based on "highfalutin" ideas. The latter feeling was described by one staff member as "reverse snobbery". A small number of staff had little formal education, and not a great number seem to have had much education about Aboriginal society. When I explained that it had been established through the radio-carbon dating technique that there had been occupation of the Lawn Hill Gorge area (to the south of Doomadgee) for up to 30,000 years, one man asked me if I meant occupation by Aborigines or Whites, and another couple rejected this information because it was inconsistent with the Biblical account which indicates that the entire universe is no more than approximately 6,000 years old.

Another focus for division was that throughout the research period increasing numbers of non-teachers came to align themselves with widespread staff opposition to the Manager, his wife and his son and his wife. Thus, the Manager-centred faction lost members throughout the fieldwork period. Firstly, people resented the Manager's and his wife's assumed role as senior staff who should oversee all matters regardless of their competence in the different occupational areas. The clearest example of this problem was their perceived interference in the affairs of the medical clinic.[16] Secondly, the Manager was perceived as autocratic in appointing some office staff to various jobs, and his alleged desire for his son to occupy certain positions (and apparently eventually succeed him as Manager) was a source of considerable

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[16]While this facility was known locally by Aborigines and staff as the "hospital", it did not warrant this term as, despite its fully qualified nursing staff, it was formally administered by the Mission, which meant the Manager in real terms, and he was medically unqualified.

resentment. Thirdly, as self-appointed guardians of morally appropriate social life, the Manager and his wife were accused of interfering in the personal lives of staff, e.g. attempting to control both public and private courting behaviour among several young couples.[17]

As well, many staff were critical of various aspects of the Manager's administrative style as it pertained to the Aboriginal residents. Staff criticisms from individuals have included concerns over: his total loyalty to the senior DAIA administration in Brisbane, and alignment with its policies, rather than a more open-minded approach to other policies and initiatives being developed by other State and Commonwealth Government departments; the possibility of his using funds for purposes other than for what they were intended; and his failure to keep as separate as possible the administrative and evangelical tasks. The latter criticism has at times focused on somewhat minor issues like an individual staff member disliking the Manager preaching on Biblical themes at a public meeting in the village called to discuss a politician's visit. However, it has also focused on the major issue of a few staff concluding that it is not possible to jointly administer secular affairs and carry out effective evangelical work - in the words of one person: "The whole institutional concept is wrong," and:

> When does an administrative body recognize the fact that the
> institutional work has outgrown the spiritual work to an
> extent that the original aims and objectives are hampered or
> in fact no longer achieved [personal communication from a
> Doomadgee staff member]?

The resultant position was that the Church should withdraw from its administrative role, but the Manager's faction (along with the majority of staff though) would have opposed that position vehemently. Finally, many staff have disliked what has been perceived as the patronising attitude often taken by the Manager and his wife in interaction with Aborigines. Reported examples include a case given by one staff member where the Manager embarrassed a person seeking re-admittance to Church fellowship (see Chapter 9) by asking the person to state the reason for her previous expulsion, and another case where the Manager's wife apparently told an Aboriginal person to put her false teeth in.

Having described this disunity among staff it is also necessary to state the extent of their unity. Broad common commitment to shared

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[17]I have noted above that Doomadgee has been the place where many young Brethren people, often from widely dispersed Assemblies, have met and then later married one another.

interpretation of Biblical precept has united all staff; for example, there was simply no questioning of the firm Mission opposition to any use of alcohol and tobacco (such use being regarded as a "vice").[18] Disagreements over interpretation of scripture have occurred, e.g.: several school teachers have refused to attend "open air evangelical Meetings" held regularly in the village (see Chapter 9); several female staff (also mostly teachers) have expressed frustration with and opposition to the subordinate position to which women are relegated in public life;[19] and in 1980 there were apparently at least four idiosyncratic people who regularly and conscientiously objected to voting in any elections, because of their view that God rightly controls the world and it is not for people to interfere in such "worldly" matters. Yet such disagreements have remained as opinions held and sometimes expressed by a few people. They have not led to substantial factionalism.

An aspect of the unified commitment among the missionaries should also be viewed in terms of their collective sectarian relationship to the broader White Australian society, many aspects of which they disapprove of with deep conviction because of the "vices" common there. Tonkinson's comment concerning Apostolic missionaries at another Aboriginal settlement in the 1960s makes the same point:

> By coming to Jigalong these people are escaping from a society in which a majority of people are steeped in many "vices" that the Apostolics cannot tolerate or bear to witness: drinking, smoking, swearing, blaspheming, gambling, dancing, fornicating, wearing "indecent" clothing, breaking the sabbath, and failing to attend church (1974: 120).

The fact that a number of Doomadgee staff found it psychologically difficult living in the wider White society was suggested to me by one staff member, although another strongly denied my assertion that in going to live in Doomadgee the missionaries were concerned with a need

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[18]The relevant Biblical passage is 1 Corinthians 6:19-20, which directs that "your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost", and these substances are believed to defile the body.

[19]Note the comment in Van Sommers (1966: 30):

Women take no part in Church government, doctrinal or administrative, but act as teachers and workers in Church welfare undertakings ... . They are not permitted to speak at meetings for worship.

in themselves, as much as with the needs of Aborigines.[20] The same point has been made more generally by Loewen (1970: 19-20) who discusses how missionaries are often "culturally marginal" people in their own society. He suggests that the missionary's remoteness from his own culture appears to grow with each successive term in the field. As with the situation Tonkinson deals with elsewhere in Australia (1974: 118), Doomadgee missionaries may be said to have a distinctive "subculture" with some similarities to that of certain American missionaries in urban Africa, described by Wolcott (1972).

8.3 Aborigines as Those Administered

It is first necessary to consider Aboriginal perceptions of the operation of state law in relation to settlement life.

8.3.1 The influence of the state and its officialdom

Various government departments have had administrative influence over the settlement during the research period. In fact the number of such influences increased during the 1970s: direct grants from the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs began in 1974 (DAA n.d.: 11); in 1975 the State Department of Education began the process of taking over the administration of the school from the Mission (Murray 1982: 11); and in January 1978 a State Department of Health mobile community health team was first stationed permanently at Doomadgee (personal communication Sr M. Sault, Department of Health).

However, the strongest external government influence has clearly been the DAIA, largely via the local White staff, most particularly the office of the Manager. Under Section 15 (3) of the 1971 Act, the Manager is formally "subject in the administration of this Act to the Minister and the Director [of the DAIA]". The historical continuity of strong influence from Qld Government law specifically concerning Aborigines (see Chapter 6) has meant that "the Act" has been known as the most critical external government influence by most Aborigines during the fieldwork period. Indeed, being "under the Act" was perceived as having always been coterminous with being resident on the

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[20] I had made this assertion when interviewed on the Nationwide television program referred to above (screened 20.7.1982).

reserve; the term "the Act" thus refers to the successive Qld laws dealing with Aborigines.[21]

The following passage from an Aboriginal Council Chairman, during a public meeting in the village, argues that certain people of mixed descent who have not lived on a reserve have not been under the authority of "the Act", and that they did not publicly identify with reserve Aborigines until certain government financial assistance became available. The issue of the relations between persons of full Aboriginal descent and those of mixed descent has been discussed in Chapter 7, but the point of the passage here is to illustrate the perceived pervasiveness of "the Act's" jurisdiction at Doomadgee:

> ... I went as a Council[lor] [to a Mount Isa] DAA Area Conference]. When I went in there I saw hardly any fella look bit like me colour. They were Yellafellas, half Whitefellas ... and here with their top education lot of fellas never got, and they bin fighting for Aboriginal money! When there bin no grants given out to Aboriginal [after that] they bin come back and put themselves as Aboriginal, that's how I criticise them. I told'em [delegates from the Gulf region]: "Any you fellas bin under the Act?" None of them fellas could give an answer for that because they bin live in a place, live free, they bin brought up free ... I said: "The Act was the Act and we were well under it!" We're gradually getting away now - we don't want to say the Act gonna abolish or something like that [when] it's helping us a little bit; it helping us to get up, look, and stand up strong on our feet a little bit more, give us more understanding, more knowledge you young people gotta take this stand for it (T55).

Thus, it can also be noted that this speaker presents what he sees as good aspects of the pervasive "Act".

Aboriginal perceptions of the effect of "the Act", held during the fieldwork period, are not easily represented. The following transcribed passages from a tape recording (T62) present most of what eight Aboriginal speakers said at a public meeting held just before my first

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[21]The 1971 Act and its amendments largely focus on reserve residents although they can concern the management of property of non-reserve resident Aborigines, but only with such persons' consent; however, the necessity for that consent to be properly obtained has been apparently due in part to over-riding Commonwealth law as much as the State Act (see Nettheim 1981: 73-98, 117). The Aborigines .... Act of 1965 (Part III) concerned non-reserve residents if they were declared an "assisted Aborigine", however I am not aware of any available data on the number of such persons in the study region. Prior to 1965 the relevant State law automatically applied to all Aborigines, although there was a provision for the exemption of individuals from 1939 to 1965 (The Aboriginals Preservation .... Acts 1939 to 1946, Section 5 [3]), and of "half-castes" only from 1897 to 1939 (The Aboriginals Protection .... Acts 1897 to 1934, Section 33).

fieldwork, early in 1978. The meeting was called specifically to discuss the community's feelings on whether "the Act" should be abolished or continued in some form, as the State Government was considering that issue at the time. The meeting also followed a short visit by a researcher conducting part of a State-wide survey on this and other matters on behalf of the Brisbane-based Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action (FAIRA) and the Aboriginal and Islander Legal Service. These passages are presented in a lengthy form because they not only illustrate certain attitudes then expressed about the major external State law and administration impinging on the settlement, but also because they introduce other issues concerning local conceptions of the administrative process:

Speaker 1

As far as abolishing the Act, I agree with it, 'cause I'll tell you why. We're no better out of the Act than what we are under the Act ... . I been a long time under the Act ... I got nothing when I started, today I still got nothing, so what can I do; try another way, get out of the Act ... I came here in 1946, I had nothing from that time, right till today ... . What the Queensland Government done - done nothing, ... I prefer the Commonwealth ...

Speaker 2 (then Council Chairman)

... You're free as the breeze today, if you want to handle your own [bank] account,[22] you can do so, ... go anywhere you want to go, you can do so, transfer to another settlement, you can do so;[23] you got all that, but the thing [issue] is if you abolish it and to be equal with the White ... Yes or No?

Speaker 3 (then a Councillor)

... [if the Act is abolished] the bigger responsibility come back to the Council, ... all the authority the whole lot of

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[22]The speaker is referring to Aborigines being able to manage their own money (and property) if they so chose, unlike the situation in earlier times by which legal provisions had authorised a District Officer (at Doomadgee, the Manager) to undertake this management. Nettheim (1981: 78-84) discusses gradual improvements in the freedom of choice in this regard allowed reserve residents, from the situation according to the 1965 Act, through the 1971 Act, to the 1974 Aborigines ... Amendment Act and also certain Commonwealth legislation during the 1970s. While the Management at Doomadgee still handled a substantial number of DAIA "Trust Accounts" for Aboriginal residents during the early part of the research period, only a few (mostly of old people) appear to have been maintained after an agency of the Commonwealth Bank was opened there in 1979.

[23]Nettheim (1981: 42-52) also discusses the restrictions on the movement of Aborigines on and off reserves, that historically operated prior to the research period.

it the heap of it. It's gonna push on us [the Councillors who have got] no education, no spelling right sometimes comes with me, no adding up ... yet you want to heap it all up now to abolish the Act so that we can have the power, more power, that's the idea of it - not on your life! My boy might ... if he climb the ladder; every other children might if they climb the ladder; only few here that did climb the ladder - I don't have to tell you the names of the few. You see education got to come first ... . The responsibility, that's what I'm scared of ...

But I was told, and asked the question that I can't even work out yet: "What the Act? How we gotta abolish the Act? What are we abolishing? What are we, doing away with everything and live like a White man?" ... look, the moment they abolish the Act and they gonna hit me up a bit more [rent] on my house over there, I'm back in the humpy ... . We say like this, abolishing the Act, we gonna hold our own affairs ... we gotta think first, get ourselves up first on higher ground ... . I tell you what we're gonna let go a real big protection, and a protection that I agree to stay under ... I don't think I can handle my affairs good enough yet, I think I'll get robbed for writing a cheque out and make a mistake about that, and I think I might make too much money and end up wouldn't keep up the account of it, and lose half of it, and couldn't care less about what I lost, and give ten dollar to anybody who come along and ask for a loan. You see? I'm not ready for it; all these things what we not ready for ... I'll let my children agree with that [become more independent].

... If anybody want to try abolishing the Act or if it's a Whiteman Act, you can get on the plane tomorrow, go down to Brisbane live in the city somewhere there or up in Mount Isa ..., and you try and walk around there like you're a free man ... and you try and live out there for couple of month or something. Look I went that far ... but old Doomadgee, old home, bin make me come back here. Look I can live here in peace where nobody can come here and put me somewhere where ...; I reckon I got good protections against me ... outside you'll get pinched. You're away from your next door friend that can help you. You're away from it all, and the moment we gonna abolish the Act we're away from it all.

Speaker 4 (then Sergeant of Aboriginal Police)

[the FAIRA researcher] said to me: "The Council here and the Chairman has not got the power to remove anybody off the community." Then I said to her: "Where did you get this idea from?" She said: "Oh it's laid out in the law book." And I said: "Show me." So she refused to show me the book and I told her: "Here, amongst my own people I can say for myself they have a real fair go." She say: "In what way?" I said: "Well, many many times here, I [as Sergeant of Aboriginal Police] bring people before the [Aboriginal] court here, lay a charge against them, and the Chairman of the Council lays a penalty on them, give 'em a light penalty here, like fine ten or thirty dollars, without getting sending away." I said to her: "They have the power to remove you off the community for twelve months or more, if

they want to be nasty." So I told her that the Council do have the power to put anyone off the communities, doesn't matter who it is, even if it's a White bloke, we not all by ourself, we got somebody else behind us [referring to the authority of the State Police] ... that's all I want to say, on behalf of the Police Force and the Council ... .

Speaker 5

... to abolish the Act, it means that Aboriginals take over into the Mission, and the Councillors supervise in the office, and White men come under them and whoever supervises ... he gives the White man the job to work in the Mission. But, take it from long way back, from years back before we ever was born; you know, if it wasn't for the White people that discover Australia, us Blackfellas wouldn't be as we are today – educated. And you know, there are some Aboriginals that got too educated that they want to be on top of the Whites, well that's not right you know we want to be all the same. And now they want to be the big boss, and you know what – they are making trouble for us Blacks. Soon there'll be White and Black fighting against each other if you don't wake up ... . I've only come back from Mount Isa last week and I've heard few stories in Mount Isa where the Whites are beginning to complain about Blacks throwing all the blames and troubles on to them for everything that they do and what's wrong. Now we don't want that, we don't want trouble in the Mission, we don't want to have any troubles with our missionaries here; they come from a far away, just to teach us education, and I'm very thankful for what I've learnt ... and I want my children to grow up not to think himself better than the other. We all want to be on that same level. And as for Palm Island [an Aboriginal settlement on the east coast of Qld; the speaker is apparently referring to assertions for self-determination there] ... they're so smart now they think they can do anything some of these Aboriginals ... but ... they bringing trouble amongst us all.

Speaker 6 (then Aboriginal Elder of the Church)

... I haven't got the faintest idea what is the Act that we gonna abolish. I know we bin under it for a long time, but what are we gonna put away? And ... about the White man coming under the Black, y'know what White man[24] is doing today they going against the word of God really. You know when Noah had three sons, he had Shem, Ham and Japheth ... one of them was a Black man, one ... was a White man and one ... was a Yellow man. And you know, because the Black man saw the shame of his father, God gave this command, he said: "From this time on ...", because the White man corrected this young dark man, God said: "From this time on, ... for all throughout life on earth, the dark man [will] come under

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[24]Probably a reference to those Whites outside the Reserve who were known to be supporting the notion of Aboriginal self-management and abolishing "the Act".

the White man." And ... men are trying to change this today, they're trying to break the word of God ... .

But, about changing the Act you know, ... what I heard the other day, you'll get no money. But ... way back ... over 21 years ago when I last stick a brand in a calf ... [and worked at other stockman's tasks] we were getting something like 15 bob a week. And if it to be on the complaint of that time to abolish the Act I would've said yes. I won't say it now. You know why? ... today you get a big cheque, bigger than you can handle - what are you talking about abolishing the Act, what do you want to get out for? ... and the cheque that you get today from just sitting down here, and the man sit in the office down in Brisbane, he writes out a cheque for about one thousand, fifteen hundred or something like that and you just go up and spend it just as you like. What more do we want? You're getting enough aren't ya? ... and if you're talking about getting equal with White man, ... you know some of the poor White men today they would like to have your profit ... . We need to climb up, ... before we can handle anything - we won't know where to start, won't have the faintest idea where to start about caring for ourself ... .

Speaker 7 (same person as Speaker 2)

Yes, it's quite true you got everything, ... award wages,[25] ... education, slowly getting your homes, and what more? ... you can amend the Act, take away some, ... and you've got your UB [Unemployment Benefit] on top of it, hundred dollar, you're given it, while you're waiting. There's no complaint. I'm glad that few here got brains and can explain these things. Now we don't want radicals, ... heard lot about 'em, and I don't want 'em, ... sort of wheel you off your mind [your thoughts] because you might say to different ones outside: "Oh it's the Chairman that persuade me." [i.e. outside radicals are likely to persuade you with arguments you don't really believe, and thus lead you to suggest you had only come to your previous opinions through the influence of the Council Chairman]. I'm too cunning for that [to be beaten by radicals in that way], been too long in the game.

Speaker 8 (then working outside Doomadgee but returned during the research period)

... just like to let you know I appreciate coming home here [for a visit] and it's been a home to me, and [the FAIRA

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[25]In fact, Aboriginal workers on reserves were not paid award wage rates at the time of this meeting (early 1978). In 1980, after considerable industrial disputation between the DAIA and the Australian Workers' Union on behalf of Aboriginal workers on reserves, the wages of the latter were increased to bring them into line with guaranteed minimum wage rates. However, these rates are still below award wage conditions (see Nettheim 1981: 73-78).

researcher] said: "Well, forget about the missionaries."
And I pointed to her that it took the early missionaries,
White people that were interested in Aborigines to come out
here and raise us. And I'd like to tell you some of the
experiences I've had, away from here. On the money line
it's very hard, ... you've got to save up, and ... it took
me three months before I could get a job ... . I do know
there is discrimination [against Aborigines seeking
employment], but ... Black people discriminate against White
too. When she [the FAIRA researcher] said to get rid of the
European people here, and to have Doomadgee just run by all
Blacks, I said: "Don't you think that's discrimination?"
She didn't have a right answer; but people like that who
come in here and try and influence us and talk you into
things ..., you gotta be very careful ... . You must
remember that Satan is very active in the world today and
that he's using people like that to come in and break down
the Gospel from going through to us ... . It's not a
woman's privilege to preach in public but this is some
experience that I've had away from home ... I just like to
tell you young people that when you go out to the world to
be very very careful and to put things right with God if you
going to get away from here and try and look after yourself
and also, that with your money the White man will cheat you
if they're not Christian people ... .

Apart from the first quotation, these Aboriginal speakers argue
(some indirectly) for no change in "the Act". However, it must be
said that the sum total of public statements at such meetings is not
necessarily a reliable indicator of a valid cross-section of community
opinion. It can be noted that the Manager was present at the meeting
(DAA n.d.: 8), and this may have dissuaded some people from making
statements known to be contrary to the former's views. Furthermore,
some of the statements indicate considerable confusion about the nature
of the law, its current administration and the consequences of changing
it, e.g. the notion that if "the Act" were repealed (and possibly if it
were changed) people would no longer be able to maintain sufficient
social and physical distance from the broad White society to continue
living a Blackfella lifestyle - they would then have to "live like a
Whitefella". Confounding issues not relevant to the key question
include: the fact that material conditions (particularly wage rates and
Social Security benefits) and also personal liberties, are believed to
have improved greatly since earlier times; local Aboriginal opposition
to perceived anti-White beliefs and actions on the part of certain
Aboriginal groups and individuals outside the community (and indeed some
local Aboriginal expressions of approval of the long-term consequences
of colonisation); and certain beliefs stemming from the Christian
commitments of some speakers. The possibility of local White

administrative assistance without the operation of "the Act", also seems to have been wrongly thought to be impossible. Indeed, the relationship of the existing external law and its administration with community life, and the question of possible alternative options were not understood clearly by those who spoke at this meeting.[26]

Moreover, this has generally been true for all administrative processes stemming from external law and organisations, during the research period. While such Commonwealth and State Government-funded services and projects as those mentioned above have engendered continuing, though mostly irregular, visits to Doomadgee by various officials (and occasional politicians),[27] these rarely involve many Aboriginal residents. The visitors simply carry out their business within the relevant section of the White domain. To the extent that the visitors are noticed by Aboriginal residents, they are mostly lumped together as "government" people. Visits from the State Police (usually from Burketown, although also from Mount Isa in the case of more serious criminal investigations) are unusual in that they involve Aboriginal people and are the focus of great interest and comment. Royal Flying Doctor (a non-government enterprise) visits are also important generally to Aboriginal residents.

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[26]The DAA Community Study (n.d.: 8) makes a similar point. However, it also inaccurately suggests that the opinions on the tape can be summed up by the first speaker's declaration that he had received no benefit from "the Act". In fact, all other speakers expressed either directly or indirectly that they thought they had received benefits from it over the years. In presenting the results of the FAIRA/Legal Service survey, Pryor (n.d.: 147-8) gives a more balanced account; after describing "considerable discontent toward management and administration" on the basis of 62 completed questionnaires, she deals with the opposing view:

> I feel that those who spoke in favour of Church Mission Control were so used to this life and did not want to see the Missionaries leave in fear there would be no place for them to go. These were staunch believers in the church who had a christian outlook. I respect their opinions as individual people. One thing I did notice though, was most of these people with this outlook were housed in the new homes, whether by coincidence or otherwise can be only left to one's discretion to judge. I found the ones in the old shacks and tents with more of a militant attitude.

The question of whether distribution of new houses has favoured particular groups will be dealt with below in this chapter and in Chapter 9.

[27]A further example are visits from Commonwealth Department of Social Security personnel in conjunction with the payment of benefits.

Because Aboriginal residents rarely actively sought meetings with visiting officials and politicians it cannot be assumed they remained uninterested in putting a case to such people. The following complaint was made after one visit by the Commonwealth Minister for Aboriginal Affairs in 1980. Though the speaker was blind, his lack of awareness of, and involvement in, the visit is by no means atypical:

> ... [official visitors] see nobody, talk to nobody, ask nobody question, everybody down here [in the village] waiting with their question ... . They come out here [and we] never get one single information, [about] what we want, what we would like to do for our self, we never get anything like that from government man what comes out here. Then ... [Chairman of the Aboriginal Council] and ... [Manager], and they broadcast it over the loudspeaker [at a public meeting in the village]: "Oh we're sorry, we wanted so-and-so to remain for a little while ..., we're sorry we didn't bring him here, we had too much to talk about [in the White spatial domain]", and all the rest of it. No, I reckon that's a big excuse. We hardly ever see anyone. Sometimes they [official visitors] come and go here and I hear after they've gone, and I hear the plane going away [and I ask]: "Who's them group?", [and the reply is]: "Oh they government – Aboriginal fellas [i.e. White people working on government matters concerning Aboriginal affairs]"; think they'd make a speech or something but they never make a speech (T75).

While the world of White officials beyond the settlement thus remains completely remote from most Aboriginal residents, "government" personnel are also conceived (sometimes wrongly) as having an important status and considerable power in White society, by virtue of the importance that it is believed is attached to their official tasks in that society.

Before turning to look at administrative structures and processes, it can be noted that such Whites are known as "flash", a reference which in most contexts connotes a derisive attitude towards what is perceived as their own ideas of their self-importance. An excellent example of this perception are some unelicited joking comments made during a sequence of an initiation ritual (see p. 313 below). Several elaborately decorated men performing important tasks in the course of the ritual were jokingly referred to by others present as "government man", and for example, when giving such a man the cue to carry out part of his task in the ritual: "Where that man from Canberra?"; and: "that [A]'merican man."[28] These references embody good-natured sarcasm about

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[28] It appears that people are thus familiar with some White Australian views of Americans thinking of themselves as important.

any sense of self-importance the men may feel, or feign to feel as part of the joke.

8.3.2 Familiar and supportive Aboriginal attitudes towards local missionary staff

There was a body of Aboriginal opinion which viewed some dimensions of local White administration very positively. The extensive quotations in Section 8.3.1 of this chapter in support of "the Act" and missionary activity generally have already graphically illustrated such support. Though it must be said at the outset that many individuals have expressed verbal support for some administrative activities on certain occasions and opposition to the same and/or other activities on other occasions (e.g. consider one person's support for the missionary administration as expressed in the quote on pages 270-1 [Speaker 6], and his opposition to it as expressed in the quotes on page 274 and page 277 below). An important factor to be aware of is what the Manager's wife is quoted above as terming a "bond of love". It is probably better termed a "bond of familiarity", although some Aborigines undoubtedly have had great affection for some of the missionaries who lived at the settlement over long periods of time.[29] For example, at the 1978 public meeting discussing "the Act":

> ... really we should be thankful here ... . I've had the wonderful Christian upbringing and I'm not ashamed to tell people ... and that's one thing that Doomadgee has offered to us ... in the early years when I was brought up here, ... when I go away from here ... the thing I miss very much is the Christian fellowship, and the love that was shown here over the years ... (T62).

And again:

> ... And another thing, ... she [the FAIRA researcher referred to above] said openly - me and her had a tongue-bang [argument] ... - wipe away with the missionary, wipe away with the White people. Look I reckon I'll see [be happy for] somebody coming in with a White somebody, hey? And I said: "You go back now to where the missionary first got who to build the place, who to form a Mission, what tribe of people ..., where all the heart came from to form a Mission?" You see, it was all God's plan ... that's where it all comes from, ... (T62).

These quotations are typical of statements expressing affection and support for the missionaries in that the speakers were at the time committed to a Christian outlook. The latter speaker (who was a

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[29]These include a substantial number of people who had left Doomadgee prior to the beginning of my fieldwork period.

Councillor at the time) went on to indicate the necessity for continuity
of missionary provision of religious and associated administrative
services:

> ... and I thought of something really solemn then straight
> away, and I think you'll help me to think about this very
> hard. I'll try say it, from the bottom of my heart on this.
> We think of the death at times, we think of the Service at
> times we have, we think of important time of our life when
> we can come to a position concerned about a loved one bin
> put to the grave. Who takes all the funeral service and all
> that sort of thing? You see, we got no actions yet of
> nothing, we not putting nothing into practice of what we
> know. We're gonna go bury our people like dogs and cats [if
> the missionaries leave], like they're doing outside now,
> even putting 'em to ashes [a reference to cremation]! We
> want a decent funeral here. We want a decent mob of people
> here on this place! ... (T62).

Apart from such support couched in Christian terms, some old people
express support for the missionaries because they are seen to "look
after" people: "He helps me when I need him" (said in relation to the
Manager). The comments in Chapter 6 about support historically derived
from "bosses", are also applicable to many old people's conception of
the missionaries, particularly those who have been at Doomadgee for long
periods. The present Manager was apparently referred to as "father
boss" (bugaga mambuga [Gw/Wyi]; ganda madara [Gd]), in earlier times;
one person remarked during the study period how the Manager and his wife
were: "... the biggest part of the grandfather for these people" – i.e.
virtually like grandparents. Some old people have also exhibited an
openness towards certain missionaries by attributing to some of them
subsection affiliation, although no White people at Doomadgee have ever
understood the subsection system. Similarly, one of the Manager's sons
was apparently given an Aboriginal language name when a baby, which was
the name of an old Aboriginal man, and the Manager himself was known
familiarly by a nick-name derived from an animal he was said to look
like, in one of the normal ways that nick-names are apportioned to
Aboriginal people. Indeed, even some of those people (of all ages) who
have been opposed to the Manager quite bitterly at times, appear to have
felt sorry for him in the circumstances of his departure in 1983;
comments included the observations that he had been treated unfairly by
the Church's insistence that he resign, and that he had "kept the place
together" for a long time and it would "bust apart" without his paternal
controlling administrative presence.

8.3.3 Attitudes of opposition and resentment

However, there was also widespread general feeling that the power of the Manager was too great. For example, comments commonly made that "he bin here too long", and that he ultimately controlled certain aspects of formal settlement life only nominally carried out by a small number of Aborigines, e.g. the Aboriginal Police and the Aboriginal court system:

> ... if we want anything we go up and ask somebody up there [in the White domain] who is responsible [White staff or Aboriginal Councillors] - they [are] all put on responsible places ... some jobs or something up there - and we go and see them and they say: "Oh you go and see ... [the Manager]." ... [the Manager] seems to have the last say in everything - [Aboriginal] Police, you can't say anything to the Police. He always make [direct] the Police, and the Police are doing wrong, [of] course they're doing wrong, they're not doing things right. But then he argue he says: You can't put [say] the Police [are] in the wrong ...". He make the wrong look right ... . I tell you another thing, I don't like ... [the Manager] in that [Aboriginal] court, I don't like him coming down here ... I can't understand why ... [the Manager] got to come in (T72).

Though to a much lesser extent, the school Principal was also occasionally similarly accused; e.g. in relation to school Parents' and Citizens' Association meetings: "He doesn't get the mind of the people - he's got everything in his mind what he wants to talk about." While all missionaries were known to have very firm ideas on what should happen at Doomadgee, it has been the Manager and school Principal who have been recognised as having authority to put those ideas into effect; the capacity of other staff to implement their personal ideas has been perceived accurately by Aborigines as more ambiguously held.

Aboriginal statements of opposition to staff were mostly associated with personal issues in the speaker's circumstances at the time, particularly when people were dissatisfied with the apparent way office staff were handling such financial affairs as receipt of their wages or social welfare benefits; e.g. some people would regularly complain that "the Mission" was stealing "half the wages" (and had been doing this for years), or that office staff were stopping their welfare payments either because they were being deliberately vindictive and spiteful or just were insufficiently motivated to properly present the Aboriginal person's case. There has been widespread resentment among Aboriginal workers concerning their receiving wage rates well below award wages (see Footnote 25 above). People also mis-trusted what they saw as the

Manager's handling of rent monies paid by all Aboriginal families.[30] The rate of material improvements in the village was compared unfavourably with the rate in the White domain, and mainly the Manager was said to be responsible for this inappropriate allocation of materials and labour.

Office staff generally, and the Manager in particular, were also accused of withholding information from people. The most common example here was the feeling that while telegrams for people would simply be kept at the office (or, according to several people, deliberately misplaced), the message should have been immediately taken either verbally or on paper down to the village and delivered to the relevant person.[31] It was again the Manager (together with his wife, and to a lesser extent, his son) who was most commonly accused of "stickybeaking" into the private affairs of Aboriginal residents. Examples of such accusations include: the habit of these staff of driving slowly through the village looking at people's houses and yards, and indeed occasionally taking visiting Whites (some of whom took photographs from within the moving mini-bus) for a drive up and down the village streets; and one woman complaining about how the office staff would never provide her with assistance concerning paperwork to do with certain training courses she was enrolling in unless her dealings with the outside organisations were completely known of and controlled by the Mission - e.g. by her account, counter staff at the office would intrusively ask her in relation to the relevant forms - "Where did you get this ...?"[32]

Aspects of the evangelical process have also been regarded as uninvited interference in Aboriginal lives. Personal interactions with some missionaries were said to be fraught with the possibility of their

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[30]In 1979, the weekly rent on the 20 government funded European-style houses was approximately $10 to $12, and on 67 older Mission-owned dwellings was $3 (DAA n.d.: 10). From the Aboriginal perspective this money went into the White domain and was controlled by the Manager.

[31]On several occasions the Manager and office staff were said to have given the message wrongly or incompletely, either deliberately or through incompetence.

[32]The DAA Community Study (n.d.: 18) has also reported that after completing a course as an alcohol counsellor at a Brisbane institution, this woman was not accepted by the medical staff in the clinic at Doomadgee. However, it must be noted that it is unclear what approaches the woman made to the White medical staff.

referring to the requirements of living the Christian life, and this was felt by some Aborigines to impose an uninvited pressure. One man requested me to deal with the Manager on his behalf concerning a personal administrative matter, because if he had to hold a discussion with the Manager the latter would most likely "bore it up him on religious matters" because he no longer lived a Christian life. A further example concerns an Aboriginal widower's account of how the missionaries interfered after they learned he had "run away gunjiwa" (i.e. in this case spent a couple of days in the bush engaging in sexual relations with) another man's wife. When the adulterous couple returned, there was little, if any, trouble caused by the event among the relevant Aboriginal families.[33] However, according to the man's account, at least two missionary men (including the Manager) heard of the incident and came together after "morning prayers"[34] (see Chapter 9) to the man's front yard and asked him: "Why did you take another man's wife?"; to which he answered: "Wouldn't you if a woman took off her clothes and tempted you?" By the man's account the missionaries then apparently turned away with shame, and knelt and prayed in his yard. He regarded the adulterous incident as none of the missionaries' business, and took great offence at their actions in visiting his house.

Apart from specific events the more general imposition of the evangelical enterprise was the weekly Open Air Evangelical Meeting held at rotating positions under street-lights in the village. A loudspeaker would be set up at the Meeting and speakers would "blast the Gospel"[35] into the night atmosphere of the village; most speakers were usually White. While some Aborigines attended these meetings (see Chapter 9), most ignored them and those residing in houses near the Meeting site either extinguished lights, kept their fire low and watched while seated in their yards, or totally withdrew into their dwelling. The "open air" preaching has been carried on at Doomadgee for a very long time, and Aboriginal people mostly appeared to treat it as a fact of life.

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[33]However, this should not be taken as typical of the consequences of such situations.

[34]Indeed, it may have been announced at this "Meeting" as a "downfall" for one or both of the couple involved.

[35]This phrase was first suggested to me by a Brethren man who had visited Doomadgee for a short period.

However, negative comments were occasionally made such as the following complaints after the White Manager had typically loudly and repetitively used much reference to Biblical passages to stress the constant theme that if you die before being spiritually "born again" you are in for a terrible time from Satan and his realm: "... make me wild, these missionary people. They're so worried about Blackfellas, why they go on and on about it?" And again: "They just come down [to the Blackfella domain] for what they want, they don't even spend five minutes for a yarn or anything." The latter speaker went on in a sarcastic parody to predict accurately what some of the final stages of all such Meetings typically involve:

> ... [the Manager] will start soon, he'll cover [generalise
> from] everything others've said: "What Mr ... has said
> reminds me of when I was in the army ... [etc.]."

An important point for the discussion below on Aboriginal Christianity (Chapter 9) is that much Aboriginal opposition to the Manager's administrative style (and that of other staff), has had consequences for their Christian commitment. Comments were at times made by Aboriginal residents about people once, but no longer, "in fellowship" (see Chapter 9) that certain missionaries turned them away from Christian beliefs by not showing them "brotherly love" or by making people grovel socially when seeking re-admittance to the Church after a "downfall" (see Chapter 9). Others appear to have maintained a Christian commitment, but been turned away from church participation during periods of hostile feelings towards the Manager (and at times other staff), e.g.: "I felt like to go to church today but I didn't go"; "A lot of Christian people here, some lonely Christian people too, but they don't go to [Church] Meeting"; "They [missionaries] haven't even got the guts to ask me why I don't go to Meeting." Aboriginal people have also expressed the view that the missionaries do not themselves live up to the Christian standards they set, e.g. in reference to their alleged tendency of not stopping on the roads away from the settlement to assist Aborigines with broken down cars: "They Christian people, they shouldn't do that hey?"

The final aspect of hostility towards the evangelical process concerns its attempted elimination of many aspects of Aboriginal belief and behaviour. The issue will be dealt with further in Chapter 9. However, the following statements are by a man giving evidence at Najabarra in the NT (see Map 7) at the Waanyi/Garawa land claim hearing

(TOP 1982: 61-3), with questions being put by the Northern Land Council lawyer acting for the claimants. The statements illustrate a perspective towards the administration at Doomadgee, held by a substantial number of people (particularly older ones, although the speaker is only in his mid-forties) who have over the years felt unable to pursue openly aspects of their traditions:

Question (Q) Do you sometimes talk with the people about this land?

Answer (A) We talk a lot because today is one of the happiest moments in our life, today we can talk freely, and I hope that it remains that way, the days that lie ahead. There have been talks, but we haven't talked this way before as a group of people as a big number of people. Our talk had been secretly, only in family groups. We have lived in the State of Queensland where there was fear that rides us. We couldn't talk freely. Today and the days that lie ahead [i.e. following the land claim, with the prospect of moving permanently away from Doomadgee into the NT] we feel free to speak how we like, and we speak things that are very important to us on the Aboriginal culture side of things.

Q What sort of things do you feel free to talk about, ...?

A We are free to talk about our dreamings, secrets of men, of women, these secrets that are very close to our people as Aboriginal people, our way of life - that we can['t] speak freely,[36] say, in the State of Queensland.

Q Why do you say that, ...

A Because I believe that there is a difference. There is ill-feeling [towards such things on the part of the administration at Doomadgee]. It may not be law, but there is ill-feeling, and we don't want to cause ill-feeling in a State where it is hard for us to believe that we have a right to speak about our way of life.

Q The people in Doomadgee, when you are in Doomadgee - can they talk freely about dreamings and that sort of thing?

A There is to a certain point; there is to a certain point. I believe that if it got out of a group of people [i.e. received overt

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[36]There is almost certainly a mistake in the transcription here, which renders this word as "can".

> expression] it may cause an inquiry [by the administration] into something, you know? Along these lines, we have to think that way.

Q   You might want to have some sort of ceremonies and <u>yarambaja</u> [lit: ceremony] at Doomadgee. Do you think you could do that?

A   I don't think so, ... I believe that there would be a very, very ill feeling in the place. I mean, it is in us as Aboriginal people. We feel that we carry on; we must pass this on to our children, but we are in a place that we are not free, in a State that we are not free to be able to practise and go on with that.

Thus, this speaker saw the possibility of living away from the Doomadgee administration (and outside the jurisdiction of the Qld "Act") as a means of ending the stifling of parts of Aboriginal tradition. Furthermore, he and others perceived the Manager's opposition to the land claim, and (although certain staff were thought not to oppose it) some claimants were worried about repercussions for them and their families resident at Doomadgee after the hearing; e.g. one worry was whether the large number of children absent from school due to their parents taking them to the hearing, would cause some administrative "inquiry" or lead to the children being excluded from the Doomadgee school altogether. However, these feared consequences did not eventuate.

A further issue is that some Aborigines recognise the controlling aspect of missionary "help". The following man expressed his suspicion of an offer of assistance in establishing an outstation on the Nicholson River land claim block: "I know that trick. They cunning bastards ... [They say]: 'Can I help you? I'll pray for you ...'." Such cynicism was also clearly demonstrated when a group of men were generally discussing the prospects of leaving Doomadgee for outstations in their country on the land claim area. Much to the amusement of the men, a young man in his late teens parodied the predicted bewilderment of the school Principal when hearing of the departure of two individuals. One (X) was a talented painter the Principal had tried to assist some years ago by arranging a display of his art in White society, and the other (Y) was a man who had been teaching "culture" in the school: "[parodying the Principal's bewildered reaction] - and ... [X] was my painter-boy, and ... [Y] was my culture-boy! ... ."

The old pattern of missionary control through "advice" and "assistance" is foremost in the minds of such people. Thus, despite the

good intentions of the Manager's son when appointed on DAA funds to be an "advisor" to the Council, there was considerable suspicion and resentment towards his appointment:

> ... you know ... [the Manager's son] went with ... [two community representatives] for that meeting last time [in Mount Isa] ... [one of the representatives, also a Councillor] said: "I'm a bit disappointed to see ... [the Manager's son] there." ... [the Council Chairman made the decision to appoint him] I said to ... [the Chairman]: "I don't think I'll agree with you ... . In time to come government gonna say: 'What he doing there?' All this ... new law, and the rights for Aboriginal is given to the Aboriginal ... we want your voice not the White man voice. He [the Manager's son] could be say anything what he think up in his mind. It might please you, it mightn't please you, it mightn't please the rest of the Aboriginal. It'll only please him." I don't agree with that and I reckon it should be the Black man (T75).

On one occasion a Councillor who got drunk in Mount Isa rather than attend the meeting he had gone down for, said he had done this because he had not been happy having the White advisor with him in the meeting.[37]

Further miscellaneous complaints about the staff have included: one man's account of how he told a school teacher about a relative of his having been shot by a White man during Wild Time, but concluded from the teacher's reaction that "they don't want to hear"; a man complaining that some years prior to the study period the Manager had taken away to Brisbane a small bag containing secret sorcery and healing implements and also later (very inappropriately) referred to it publicly when preaching at Doomadgee; allegations made public by one man through an ABC radio program that the Manager gave jobs to Whites instead of Aborigines, that Council elections usually resulted in Councillors who were loyal to the Manager being elected, and that the banning of alcohol from the settlement led to drinking sessions totally away from medical facilities, thus risking dangers associated with drunken fights and episodically acute illnesses being suffered by some drinkers;[38] a man's allegation that "those White people cause disturbance between families" at a time when his wife had made a prior commitment to assist some female teachers with a "girls' camp" and he wanted her to accompany him

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[37]This should not be taken to indicate that no White person would have been acceptable as an advisor to this Councillor.

[38]See transcription of ABC radio "A.M." program 29.8.1978 (in author's possession).

elsewhere. The latter two complaints are examples of the small number of Aborigines who were known by the reputation: "he's not frightened of Mandagi [Whitefellas]." That is, unlike the majority, they were known to be prepared to speak their mind to White staff when sufficiently roused, while others would wait until the Whites had gone, or until they themselves were drunk, to voice their disapproval.

A further issue is that life at Doomadgee has had the reputation elsewhere of being very much controlled by the Manager and other staff, particularly among Aborigines resident at such places as Mornington Island, Mount Isa and Borroloola. Like, and sometimes together with, many of the Doomadgee residents who visited them, they contrasted the authoritarian Doomadgee administration with perceived less powerful White staff elsewhere. Several researchers have certainly also recognised the strong control of the Doomadgee staff: Long (1970: 155) ends his report on the situation there in 1965-6 by suggesting that:

> ... it seems essential for its [the community's] healthy development that it should become a town and not remain an institutional community, however benevolent and competent its administration may have been.

Keen (personal communication 4.4.1978), who carried out linguistic work there c. 1970, commented that:

> The mission has stepped on the people very hard and beaten out a lot of their spirit and self-respect. It's preposterous what's happened in the past.

Finally, a DAA Community Study (n.d.: 23) concludes a short report on Doomadgee in 1979 by stating that "the mission is more firmly in the hands of the Christian Brethren than it has ever been."[39]

While I have described quite pervasive Aboriginal complaint about White administrative control, an important summary point is that such attitudes of opposition and resentment must be viewed in a context of necessary continual Aboriginal dealings with the White administration. Moreover, these dealings do not solely involve Aborigines as passive recipients of administrative practice, e.g. as consumers of money, goods and services organised and delivered via White bureaucratic means. For

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[39]Articles in the popular press have given varied accounts, e.g. The North-West Star's (25.3.1980: 1) story describing Doomadgee as "another world" where Aborigines "have to do very much as they're told by their administrators", although the Aboriginal Council was "slowly changing" that situation; as compared to the Sunday Sun's (22.5.1983: 19) story of Doomadgee where Aborigines "dream of a place for all, white and black" and where people "had hoped his [the Manager's] son ... would perhaps take over" when his father had to leave.

example, the extent to which Aborigines also actively align themselves with White authority in disputes with other Aborigines must also be recognised. The threat to report an opponent to the "White Police" is commonly made in Aboriginal discourse during arguments and fights, and indeed people do sometimes attempt this course of action. However, often such threats do not result in the involvement of Police, either because the Police cannot distinguish between competing Aboriginal claims, or because the nature of the dispute is irrelevant (or peripheral) to Australian law (e.g. cases involving what is regarded by Aborigines as illegitimate pre-marital or extra-marital sexual affairs). While the local missionaries are clearly not perceived as the direct agents of White law, as are the White Police, they are known to have direct access to the Police. Thus, I know of two occasions when Aboriginal women have been reported to have "run up la house", i.e. retreated into the White domain, knowing that the Manager's authority and ultimately his access to the White Police would preclude their being attacked there by their Aboriginal opponents; in one case a woman was fleeing from a furious attack by the wife of a man with whom she had allegedly had a recent sexual encounter, and in the other case a woman (and her young children) were fleeing from the threatened attack of her drunken husband.

Indeed, I know of a number of occasions when Aborigines apparently vigorously abused the White Manager because he had failed to actively support them in a dispute with other Aborigines - i.e. he had failed to heed their requests to get their opponent(s) charged by the White Police. Such active Aboriginal attempts at use of the administration are important factors in considering the issue of their attributing legitimacy to White authority. However, before commenting further on this wider issue in the conclusion to this chapter, we must examine the incorporation of Aborigines into the apparatus of White rule.

8.4 The Incorporation of Aborigines into the Administrative Process

8.4.1 Background data

The major means by which a small number of Aborigines were incorporated into settlement administrative matters was through the Aboriginal Council. Other means included: becoming a Church Elder (discussed in Chapter 9); working as an Aboriginal Policeman, particularly the Sergeant; or serving on one of the advisory committees associated with the school, viz. - the Parents' and Citizens' (P & C)

Association, the "culture committee", and the School Advisory Committee (formed in 1982 [Murray 1982: 24]). The latter advisory committees were small in size and by no means had broad impact throughout settlement life.

Qld law appears to have first allowed for the office of Aboriginal Councillor on reserves under the 1945 Regulations (Nos 45-50).[40] Through a number of stipulations in these Regulations, the Council remained firmly under the control of the local Protector or Superintendent. Regulation No. 50 (5) precluded the Council from having any jurisdiction over:

> ... the aboriginal police, aboriginal workers while so employed, or any person, matter, or thing, unless such jurisdiction has been allocated to it in writing by the Director through the protector or superintendent (QGG 1945: 1067).

Whereas by the 1945 Regulations (No. 45), three to seven members (who had to be male) were to be elected by majority vote,[41] according to the 1966 Regulations (No. 19) four-member Councils were constituted by two being elected and two appointed by the Director. Regulation 19 also simply stated that the Director could remove any members of an Aboriginal Council. According to the 1972 Regulations (No. 18 [1]), three Councillors were to be elected and two appointed by the Director, however these were amended in 1974 to stipulate that all five Councillors were to be elected. The 1972 Regulations, and also a set of standard By-laws, applied during the study period and I will refer to them selectively below. However, I first note Nettheim's (1981: 60) summary opinion of the legal situation:

> ... a perusal of the [1972] regulations establishes that the councils are completely subordinate to the management, just as managers, district officers and councils are all responsible to the Director.

What follows in this section is partly concerned with examining the nature of this alleged subordination.

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[40]However, in the Torres Strait the Qld Government apparently instituted a system of elected councils around 1900 (Beckett 1965: 154).

[41]However, if an insufficient number of Councillors were elected or if no candidates offered for election, the required number could be appointed by the Director (No. 48 [1]). As the nomination of every candidate had to be supported by not less than ten electors, in writing (No. 4 [27]), it is quite likely that insufficient numbers of Councillors would have been elected on many occasions. Councils appear not to have operated consistently on many reserves until after the 1966 Regulations.

According to the Doomadgee Manager in 1982, certain Aboriginal men were used as "welfare liaison" personnel by M. Read who was Superintendent from 1936 to 1951. It appears that the first formally constituted Aboriginal Council was in 1966 or soon after. Certainly, throughout the research period the Council was an established institution. Widespread interest has been shown by both Aboriginal and White residents in its role and affairs. I have data on the number voting for one full Council election only (in 1978) although at least one other election was held during the research period (in 1982).[42] In the 1978 election there were eight candidates.[43] The votes they received total 1,198. Although the 1972 Regulations (No. 35) stipulate that each elector shall have one vote, the Manager indicated to me that at Doomadgee electors were given five votes (and that the five candidates with the five largest numbers of votes were then considered elected to the five available positions in a first-past-the-post fashion). However, the total number of votes cast does not divide evenly by five; the resulting figure is 239.6. I can only assume that some electors did not cast all their five votes, yet the votes they did cast were not regarded as informal. I do not know how many such votes were cast, so it is not possible to derive accurately the number of voters. On the assumption that only a few people did not cast their five votes the number of voters would be approximately 235 or 55% of the 429 people shown to be aged over 18 years in 1978 in Mission records (see p. 41 for reference). However, the voters as a percentage of eligible electors resident at the reserve at the time is no doubt larger than this figure because official population figures for Doomadgee residents actually include a substantial number who are away from the reserve (see the discussions above in Chapter 1 [p. 7] and Chapter 3 [p. 41]).[44]

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[42]Under the 1972 Regulations (No. 32), elections are to be held every three years.

[43]One further person attempted to stand for election, but was disallowed by the Manager because he had broken a local By-law; under the 1972 Regulations (No. 31), a person convicted before an Aboriginal Court of an offence within a period of two years immediately preceding the election is disqualified as a candidate.

[44]I also have data indicating that 148 votes were cast in a Council by-election in 1982; there were then two candidates for one position, however I do not know whether people cast one or two votes on this occasion.

8.4.2 Council affairs and the White domain:

Both Councillors and other Aborigines regarded the official role of the Council as substantially derived from, and appropriate to, the White domain. On the occasion I attended a Council meeting (for part of its business), the procedure was very much organised according to formal White Australian bureaucratic style. One report (DAA n.d.: 8) has commented for 1979 that:

> The Council's room [within the general office building in the White domain] is used mainly for storage. Council meetings are held in the office of the Superintendent in his presence, and the Superintendent's wife takes shorthand minutes.

While this arrangement did not always operate, it was the common one throughout the research period. Indeed, Chapter 2 of the council By-laws (Commissioner for Community Relations, 1977: 102-3) stipulate that various aspects of bureaucratic meeting procedure must be followed: ordinary (as apart from "special") meetings are to be held regularly at pre-set dates and times; the Chairman or Deputy Chairman is to preside; no business is to be transacted without a quorum; resolutions or motions are to be carried formally by a majority; and written minutes of all proceedings are to be kept and subsequently confirmed. Indeed, it appears that throughout the research period, the minutes of all Council meetings have been sent to the Director of the DAIA for his routine perusal. It can also be noted here that the meeting I attended was opened with brief prayers, and from the reports of several Councillors over the years this has apparently been standard practice (as has been closing the meetings with prayers). While the practice has no doubt been considered as appropriate by many Councillors (though not by all), my point is that the prayers would index to meeting participants the formal authoritative nature of the proceedings.

Aboriginal conceptions of the formal written procedures necessary in official dealings with White Australian law are evident from the following statements at a public meeting in 1980 by the then Council Chairman. In assuring listeners that the formation of a new formal organisation (Ganggalida Society - see Chapter 3) would not be advantageous solely for Ganggalida people, the speaker referred to the "Mandagi [Whitefella] way" of written discourse:

> ... But if this Society ever comes up we must remember, there's constitution sort of thing, laws, rules and all that - you get a big length of paper. You gotta read what that say, and you gotta do what that paper say on it. That's Mandagi way about it (T55).

Later in the same meeting, the Chairman mentioned that:

> ... to do this [form the Society] I think it have to go
> through channels properly. You know, we've got to bring it
> to the note of our Director, and finalise the thing properly
> there ... (T56).

Such public meetings, though usually held in the village, were themselves associated by most residents with Council business which pertained to the Whitefella domain. Through use of a microphone and loudspeaker usually set up near the village centre (at a road intersection), what was said could be heard by a substantial number of residents, whether or not they actually moved over to the meeting site. However, many people did not usually take much notice of what was said. Speaking at such public meetings was certainly not something which all residents felt they could do. To take only the most obvious point, women only rarely spoke at them. The small number of people who spoke at them with considerable gusto were usually Councillors, Police, Church Elders, or people who once occupied one of these offices but did not at the time of the meeting.

The Council Chairman and Manager in particular have spoken for long periods at the meetings I have attended, and indeed they appear to have been commonly responsible for calling public meetings. As other White staff were not routinely informed of these meetings, the Manager, his wife (and at times his son) were commonly the only White staff at them. While these persons' presence may well have deterred larger numbers of Aborigines from speaking, the reticence of the latter was also due to the prevailing general Aboriginal conception of the meetings' business as derived from the Whitefella domain and hence as appropriately expounded by Councillors (particularly the Chairman). A general antipathy may be identified among many Aborigines towards asserting oneself publicly on matters that remain hypothetical, or at least peripheral to their immediate life-concerns. Speaking at the meetings was one among a number of aspects of exhibiting public behaviour about which people used the concept of "shame". This is an important concept in Aboriginal etiquette and discourse which I cannot deal with in detail here, however in this context people would imply by use of the concept that they did not wish to be the focus of attention in such settings. The more confident speakers would allude to this fact by commonly exhorting other people not to be "frightened" to speak at the meeting,

or if they were too "frightened", to speak to Councillors during the few days following the meeting, etc.[45]

Other factors conducive to the prevailing conception of Councillors as the ones appropriate to dealing with administrative matters included the fact that in 1979 a number of their houses had been linked in to the internal settlement telephone network which included most dwellings in the White domain. Though they thereby had communication with many staff in the White domain, it was the fact of communication between the Council Chairman and the Manager that Aboriginal residents appeared most aware of. Besides certain Councillors, the only other homes in the village to have telephones installed were those of the Aboriginal Police Sergeant, the senior Aboriginal Church Elder and an Aboriginal man then working in the administration office. It was also the Councillors who formally administered the proceedings of the Aboriginal Court (according to the 1972 Regulations [Nos. 45-55]), and nominally controlled the "Council Welfare Fund" (according to Regulation No. 4) which could apparently authorise minimal welfare assistance of a material kind to residents judged to be in dire need.

8.4.3 The situation of the Councillors

Councillors have, to a significant degree, embraced what they have perceived as the status accorded to their office by White Australian society. Key concepts in their discourse have been the "authority" and "responsibility" of the office. In exhorting people at the public meeting discussing "the Act" to speak their mind the Council Chairman in 1978 said: "I might be in authority but I'm not speaking strictly or anything like that" (T62). Another Council Chairman voiced his concerns at a public meeting in 1980 about people "living together" without being married:

> ... you know, it's my responsibility here because I'm in authority, and I feel it's wrong to continue like that ... [living together when not married] ... (T71).

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[45]Cf. Myers's (1979: 361-5) comments on "shame":

> The concept of "shame" is usually associated with the discomfort of being observed by others in the public domain, especially at being seen to do something that is poor etiquette, ill-mannered or wrong.

He notes (p. 362) that considerations of "shame" make individuals "reluctant to overtly impose themselves or their wishes on others", and refers specifically to "embarrassment" often accompanying public speaking occasions.

And again:

> ... I only say this here tonight because it's [being married] an honouring thing, and I feel responsible and I'm guilty before God, upholding somebody else responsibility about living [in a conjugal relationship] and not getting married ... because there is a By-law here in this community saying it can't continue to happen. I might do something about it (T71).[46]

The Manager's commitment to an administrative perspective entailing hierarchically organised legal authority is clear from a number of passages quoted above (pp. 265-6), and his influence over Councillors in this regard appears to have been considerable.

However, at public meetings both men who have been Council Chairmen during the research period have also indicated their dislike of having to enforce local rules. In the following quote, the Chairman makes his point, while also speaking of the difficulty he experiences in having always to be the one who bears the brunt of dealing with matters involving White bureaucratic discourse:

> I feel sometimes I'm alone in my position as a Chairman, as a representative for you people. I feel it. I had this complaints [discussed and complained about this] first thing this morning with Mr ... [Manager]. I feel myself alone, and I feel sometime, I shouldn't be talking ... but I have a job and I have a responsibility, and that is all of your concern.
>
> ... I don't want to get any praise or backing up and saying: "Look you're a good Chairman", or something like that; but sometime I do feel I'm alone. You've got to have backstoppers, you got to have people to encourage you, ... to give you strength ... and you're the people, think what you want, and think for yourself for the future. Just imagine, we're gonna take the control of [administrative] things and all that - how it's [going to] come about I don't know. But one thing ... and I don't like to say it here tonight before you's all. You don't want to be a depending type of people, and depending upon the few. We want to come to the point where we want to be independent. Not saying [i.e. people like Councillors having to say]: "You clean up, keep your rubbish clean, keep your children together and so on." [The speaker then refers to how people should seek training and employment at the settlement.]

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[46]The set of standard Council By-laws that have apparently applied to all Qld Aboriginal reserves (having been originally formulated by the DAIA) do not contain any specific reference to living in a de facto conjugal relationship. However, it is quite likely that a By-law making this illegal was passed by the Doomadgee Council under the supervision of the Manager. A Government bureaucrat implied to me that this occurred during 1980.

> ... It might take us a long time before we can be a
> self-management and so on, but it's got to come I
> know I can never be it [part of a Council which takes
> control of the "whole of Doomadgee"], 'cause I wish some-
> time I don't like to be a Chairman, but I'm here for you
> people, you put me here ... (T64).

As the next speaker, the Manager spoke of the "loneliness of leadership"
with reference to the Chairman's situation, and strongly requested the
Aboriginal public not to worry the Chairman with their personal
requests, especially at inconvenient times:

> The person doesn't [i.e. shouldn't] go along to the Chairman
> with all sorts of problems that are only his and he's only
> using the Chairman for what he can get from him ... . And
> the Chairman doesn't do something just for his own aim, as
> we know he doesn't. There's a time and a place for
> everything (T64).

Pressure on Councillors (particularly the Chairman) has derived
partly from requests for use of several vehicles controlled by the
Council. Such requests from close kin have been especially difficult
for one of the Chairmen to handle. Several people stated that on
one occasion it was the pressure of many people constantly taking their
problems to the Chairman which had led him to lose his temper earlier
that day and use a tyre lever to kill one of three of his dogs that had
been fighting each other. On another occasion, this Chairman apparently
refused to "judge" his brother in the Aboriginal Court when the latter
had broken a local By-law. Another matter which caused him to support
his close kin with great anguish was when his wife's sister was
allegedly beaten up when drunk by certain of the Aboriginal Police. For
their part, the Police denied this allegation; indeed, the Sergeant of
Aboriginal Police explained to me on one occasion that he tried to get
the Manager to appoint Policemen from a number of families, because if
they were "close relation" of only one or a small number of families the
"public" accused the Police of "favouritism" (i.e. nepotism).

Despite the theory of representative government according to which
the authority of the Council was supposed to work, there were thus
confounding influences from the kinds of strong alignments to close kin
that have been described in Chapter 5. I noted in that chapter (p. 112)
an occasion at a public meeting when the Council Chairman appealed to
the public to work their conflicts out through the settlement's
administrative authority structure, particularly the Aboriginal Police.
On the same occasion, he also mentioned the difficulties the Council had
in operating authoritatively in relation to such matters:

... I was only talking to ... the [White] Constable from Burketown the other day, and we don't want to let Doomadgee get it over us y'know [i.e. allow a bad situation to develop at Doomadgee], we want to be the right sort of people ... live by the Regulations, the rules and the law and so on, we uphold it, it's good because it's you people who have respect for it. There are certain things, domestic trouble, we can not enter unless the [Aboriginal] Police [have] been called upon, and we leave domestic trouble to Mr ... [Manager] and ... we usually talk to husbands and wife when they having domestic trouble, but we only talk as a help-out, and some other people say we should look into it and muck into it and get stuck into it and so on [take a more active role in solving disputes] ... (T71).

Councillors found enforcing By-laws concerning the control of conflict a most difficult task. They did indeed leave most such attempts to the Manager who directed the operations of the Aboriginal Police, however the latter also of course operate in the strongly kin-aligned Aboriginal social world. Finally, there have been references to people voting for Councillors according to kin-aligned interests. "People vote for [their] countryman."

8.4.4 Aboriginal attitudes to the Council

Throughout the research period there has been widespread and sustained dissatisfaction with the Council on the part of other Aboriginal residents. The dissatisfaction has been evident from continual verbal complaint focused around two issues: that Councillors have pursued their own interests; and that the Council has been merely a means by which the Manager has achieved his will. In relation to the former criticism I will simply state here that Councillors did receive regular economic benefit from their office, apparently receiving a small nominal "fee".[47] An irregular benefit was the option to travel to Brisbane, Mount Isa and occasionally other places for official meetings, however some Councillors have in fact not liked such travel and tried to avoid it. Councillors did not appear to have regular access to Council vehicles for their personal use, although some benefits accrued to the Chairman in this regard, particularly concerning his mundane week-day transport needs within the settlement.

Although some residents have argued that Councillors (particularly the Chairman) could at times ensure that they and/or their own close kin

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[47]Section 56 (20) of the 1971 Act enables Regulations to stipulate fees to be paid for the purposes of the Act; however I am unable to say how much Councillors were paid during the research period. The Chairman apparently received a marginally higher fee than other Councillors.

received employment, the number of jobs over which the Council had control appears to have been limited for most of the research period. However, the Council did have considerable influence over who was to occupy the new housing that became available in the latter stages of the research period, and there was some feeling in 1983 that the then Chairman's "own people" had been favoured in the apportioning of houses. The alleged evidence for this was that six out of the available 21 new houses were occupied by the Chairman's "own people". In fact, two houses went to two of the Chairman's married daughters, three went to married siblings of one daughter's spouse, and one to the married sibling of the other daughter's spouse. The Chairman was thus said by one person to have favoured his daughters and his "in-laws", and it can also be noted that a spouse of one of these in-laws was in fact the Deputy Chairman of the Council (who thus got a house).

It must also be recognised that prior to 1983, most Councillors themselves occupied the newer European-style three-bedroom housing in the "top end" of the village. These houses had been built and occupied between 1972 and 1976 (DAA n.d.: 9), and from most accounts the Manager had considerable influence in apportioning them to new occupants. Yet, apart from their awareness of this fact, Aboriginal residents also acknowledged the truth of what Councillors, White staff and others have implied directly and indirectly a number of times throughout the study period. That is, the criteria for getting a new house have included the demonstrated capacity to maintain rent payments and "look after" the house.[48] Thus, any simple analysis solely positing for this area of settlement life, favouritism by the Manager towards Councillors, or

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[48]The Manager and his wife are said by Aboriginal residents to have inspected persons' houses over the years, although they had apparently ceased doing this by the beginning of the research period. Indeed their legal authority to carry out such inspections had been confined under the 1971 Act "to situations where the occupier consents or where a justice issues a warrant" (Nettheim 1981: 33). Although the law prior to 1971 appears to have enabled only visiting justices to make inspections without this consent or warrant (see Section 15 of the 1965 Act and Section 10 of the 1939 Act), a By-law which appears to have been in force right up to and throughout the study period states that a householder shall allow "an authorised person" to enter his house for the purpose of inspection (Commissioner for Community Relations 1977: 106). In practice, the Manager would certainly have had few problems in asserting a right to carry out such inspections up to the early 1970s.

nepotism by Councillors themselves, is confounded by these other factors. Most of those who occupied the new houses in 1983 were regularly employed and thus were most likely to be able to meet rent payments. This was the case for the Chairman's "own people", although it is plausible that these persons were favoured over some others with regular incomes (and records of maintaining well, the material condition of their dwellings).

My point here is that some qualification is necessary when acknowledging the possibility of Councillors having obtained material benefits for themselves and their close kin by virtue of their office. It is the same kind of qualification that was necessary when considering whether persons of mixed racial descent derive economic benefits because of their mixed-descent social identity (see discussion above in Chapter 7). As with the latter status, being a Councillor or the close kin of a Councillor, is only one of the variables associated with better housing and regularity of employment; it cannot be designated as a cause of these better conditions, without qualification. For example, such people may well be disproportionately represented among those with the highest educational achievements, and hence with skills suited to maintaining regular employment, which in turn leads to being apportioned a house.

To return to the main issue then, I do not regard the expectation or actual derivation of material benefits as a major motivation influencing people to seek office as Councillors. I would rather consider the stakes as having more to do with status and power than with money and other material benefits as such (cf. Von Sturmer's comments concerning the western Arnhem Land region [1982: 96]).

The second criticism of the Council among Aboriginal residents as noted above was that it has been merely a means by which the Manager has achieved his will. The general criticism has simply been that Councillors "take orders" from the Manager, were "too frightened" to speak their mind on issues and have generally been unable to assert any administrative independence whatsoever. The kinds of specific criticisms have varied from solely local government issues such as the Council allegedly not organising a truck to provide people with firewood or transport from the store to the village with their purchases on shopping days, to issues with wider political implications such as the Council allegedly not providing backup logistic support for certain

persons attempting to establish outstations away from the settlement, and also not actively pursuing broader land rights issues for the community.

Though it is not an easy task to determine the indirect influence of the Manager on the Council, the following cases are relevant. In 1979 a DAA official visited Doomadgee for a short period and compiled a report (DAA n.d.) that was in part critical of the administration. After examining the report together, the Manager and the Council apparently sent letters to the DAA rejecting it in toto. While the report certainly contained some inaccuracies which were no doubt rejected by the Councillors, the rejection of all of it appears to have rather reflected substantially only the Manager's opinion. When I discussed the criticisms of administrative practices in the report with some of the Councillors at a later date, I found them in agreement with those criticisms.[49] An important point here is the Manager's opportunity to influence the Councillors when in such a key position of interpreting written bureaucratic discourse.

The Manager's influence also derived from his being able to state authoritatively what the official governmental reaction would be to courses of action being considered by the Council. For example, a school teacher put to the Council that adult education funds would be available to employ one or two of the younger Aboriginal residents with High School education, to conduct a short voter education course shortly before a Commonwealth Government election in 1980. The teacher reported that the Councillors were initially very enthusiastic about the prospect of thereby engendering an improvement in the degree of local Aboriginal understanding of the voting process, however they were ultimately persuaded by the Manager that this would be inappropriate in terms of official procedures.[50] The more general point here is that when the Manager stated something to be appropriate or required at law, Councillors would generally accept that as legal fact. At times the Manager was proved to be broadly correct, e.g. when he persuaded

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[49]Moreover, a staff member who perused the report concluded that "much of it" was accurate.

[50]What occurred instead of the house-to-house educative visits initially envisaged by the adult education teacher was a public meeting in the village one night soon before the election. While the Manager explained the voting procedure without favouring any particular candidate, the Council Chairman did briefly express his personal preference for the National Party candidate with whom he was apparently acquainted personally.

Councillors that increased DAA funding would not be obtained by forming an incorporated organisation separate from the Council (the Ganggalida Society - see Chapter 3). On other occasions he was not correct, e.g. in his reputed claim that I could not be allowed to reside in the village because it was against local By-laws. However, the fact of his influence in both cases lies in the Councillors having to accept the Manager's interpretation of the official requirements, without the means of confirming it independently of the bureaucratic process under his control.

The further kind of influence of the Manager is seen in certain Councillors' embracing his personal authoritarian style, when operating in a setting that focused on their office. The Chairman's style of discourse, e.g. that quoted on p. 291 above, is very similar to that of the Manager (quoted on pp. 253-4 above) which I have labelled didactic paternalism. I provide one further quote from a public meeting illustrating how the Chairman in 1980 had taken on at least the inclination to do what was in earlier periods the Manager's task of checking on how people were maintaining the material standard of their houses:

> ... I think we're a really needy mob of people. I walk from time to time, I drive all of this street, every day, trying to take up notes on who looking after home - the older home better, who's keeping it up, who's [has] interest in keeping their old home up. They might be the one that might enter into some of them [new] houses over there, into a new home, because that person's showing the interest. That's the way it just have to go about it. Other people just want to get out from where they're at and go into a new home. Others want to go into a home and not finishing [paying] off their bills, y'see because of all money, because of lack of it. These things will be going up ... money on the rents of the house, it goes back on the repair, for breakdown of that house, that's the maintenance. Y'see all this has to come about (T56).

The Chairman has thus embraced intellectually the rhetoric of an ostensibly very practical administrative perspective. His style entails presenting his own position as one part (albeit a pivotal one for the Aboriginal community) in the broader administrative process which engulfs the settlement. Both Chairmen and a number of Councillors during the research period have adopted such a position in relation to the wider Aboriginal public, and in doing this they have emulated important aspects of the Manager's style of legitimating the authority of the administrative process.

The final example data I must present in this chapter concern the extent to which Councillors have nevertheless sought independence from the Manager's control. Councillors have certainly themselves given accounts of their having complained bitterly to the Manager about such issues as tradesmen on the staff putting all or most of their work effort into construction work in the Whitefella spatial domain, while important maintenance work (and in one case work on new houses) was required in the Blackfella domain. On one occasion, the Chairman indicated that these complaints had resulted in the building workers being instructed to leave their jobs in the White domain and begin work in the village. The Chairman also claimed that he controlled the Aboriginal Court whereas in the recent past it had been the Manager who did so; and, on occasions, the Council has sought without success to control the Aboriginal Police.[51]

Councillors (and other Aboriginal residents) have been very much aware of the widespread debate on the media and in governmental and bureaucratic circles about Aboriginal self-management. Two Councillors (one of whom was also a Church Elder), together with several other people from Doomadgee and Mornington Island, were able through a DAA-funded project to visit two Aboriginal communities in the NT in order to observe "leadership" there. As stated in the report prepared after their return,[52] one of their most significant impressions was of the extent of Aboriginal control over a variety of administrative practices. There is no doubt that the Manager's influence over the Council decreased throughout the research period. As well as the increasing confidence of some Councillors, this has been due to their greater access to government departments other than the DAIA (with which the Manager has always been so closely aligned). Murray (1982: 25-6) has outlined how the Deputy-Chairman of the Council in 1982 actually thwarted at least the initial opposition (from the DAIA according to

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[51]Under the 1972 Regulations (Nos 64-6), it is the Manager who appoints, promotes, suspends, or dismisses Aboriginal Police, and who "makes rules" for them. Although these Regulations include references to the Manager carrying out certain of these tasks in consultation with the Council, in practice at Doomadgee during the study period it has been the Manager from whom the Police have sought direction.

[52]Aboriginal Leadership: Sharing Impressions on Aboriginal Community Leadership, by Aboriginal Leaders from Doomadgee and Mornington Island, June 1982, published by Aboriginal Training and Cultural Institute, Sydney.

"rumor" [sic] as she puts it) over the school's attempts to attract funding for a School-Community Liaison Counsellor. The Deputy-Chairman achieved this by making an independent approach to another Government department.[53]

In April 1983, the Manager finally retired from his office and, with his family, left Doomadgee. Although I do not have any confirmatory data, it appears that he was instructed to resign by the Brisbane-based Doomadgee Committee. He appeared to have been losing support in some Church circles over a period of time, but I do not know the specific issues over which he was finally requested to resign. The important point for this study is simply that his leaving Doomadgee, and the subsequent take-over of formal administration by the DAIA, marked a significant point of change in the settlement's history.

8.5 Conclusion

The first substantive section of the chapter (8.2) has described features of the missionary administration, including a significant split within it. The members of one faction (which was school centred) may be seen as more concerned than the members of the other faction (which was Manager-centred), with legitimating their administrative authority and that of the missionaries in general. That is evident from the former faction's greater sensitivity to the way aspects of the school's provision of services (and of the general administrative process) were being apprehended within certain sections of the Blackfella domain. The teachers were concerned quite directly about the legitimacy of the school's operation as conceived by Aboriginal residents, though their concern was expressed overtly within the framework of their professional interest in improving the education process. The Manager-centred faction was more ethnocentrically concerned with controlling the broad administrative affairs of the settlement, simply on the basis of power derived from State law. The two factions were led by two long-serving missionaries who exercised bureaucratic authority over different (but on some issues overlapping) groups of White staff. Section 8.2 has thus described divergent administrative perspectives, but also the extent to

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[53]Although this Department's personnel came to Doomadgee and later supported the Deputy-Chairman's request, it is unclear whether a person was ever appointed to the position. It should be further noted that this Deputy-Chairman of the Council was not typical of other Councillors in his capacity to handle White bureaucratic discourse, his greater confidence being partly due to his not having grown up in the institutionalised Mission setting.

which there existed among all White staff a unified set of fundamental assumptions about their work as missionaries at Doomadgee.

The next section (8.3) has considered the complex nature of Aboriginal compliance with administrative authority. While I have documented widespread Aboriginal opposition to and resentment towards aspects of the administrative process, this must be recognised as diffuse dissent mostly confined within the Blackfella domain. It thus represents resistance in analytical terms, only to the extent that the maintenance of the Blackfella domain generally can be conceived as a form of resistance resulting in Aborigines achieving a degree of autonomy (see the conclusion to Chapter 7). Moreover, I have also presented data illustrating the according by Aborigines of considerable legitimacy to the State law affecting them, and to the local missionary administration.

Aboriginal preoccupations in according this legitimacy reflect the way they have been enmeshed in the set of practices deriving from both their economic powerlessness and historical institutionalisation. The former aspect of their structural position in relation to the White administrative process, has led to Aborigines perceiving no realistic alternatives to the continuing consumption of goods and services provided by that administrative process. To the extent that the administrative process has been perceived as ensuring the continuing provision of material necessities, it has thus engendered substantial legitimacy. Firstly then, the attribution of some legitimacy to the administration by Aboriginal residents can be conceived as determined by their economically defined class situation.

However, the economic dimensions of administrative power must be recognised in analysis as tied closely to its political dimensions, i.e. to the necessary bureaucratic dealings in settlement affairs with government departments on the basis of the laws of the state. In the context of their historical institutionalisation, Aboriginal residents have considered such bureaucratic discourse to be inevitably part of the Whitefella domain; most have therefore considered it necessary that the White staff deal with this discourse, although by no means have all residents found the resultant White administrative control desirable. Apart from economic considerations, an adequate account of Aboriginal compliance with administrative authority must also recognise the lack of alternate political options available to the ruled. To the extent that Aboriginal residents in general have recognised a lack of such options

concerning the White-controlled nature of the administrative process, they must again be viewed as according a degree of legitimacy to the White system of authority under extremely coercive conditions.

The incorporation of a small number of Aboriginal Councillors into the administrative apparatus (as dealt with in Section 8.4) cannot be viewed as effectively legitimating administrative authority across the Aboriginal population. What is clear is that Councillors themselves accorded greater legitimacy to the administrative authority of which they were formally a part, than did the general population of Aboriginal residents. Aboriginal Councillors during their periods of office have commonly embraced significant elements in missionary ideology; yet they have been thereby perceived by other Aborigines as seeking increased status (and other aspects of power) from within the Whitefella domain, partly by emulating the administrative style of certain senior staff (cf. Von Sturmer 1982: 94). Despite the view among many White staff that the Council legitimates the wider administrative system through representing the views and sentiments of those administered, it is clear that the concept of representativeness is simply not given much credence within the Blackfella domain (cf. similar comments for other areas by Hamilton [1974: 19-20), Coombs [1978: 45], Sackett [1978: 44, 46] and Myers [1980: 315]). Thus the operation of an Aboriginal Council does not engender throughout the wider Aboriginal population, an experience of incorporation into the White administrative system; nor does it engender the degree of attribution of legitimacy to that system which could otherwise be expected to follow from such an experience of political incorporation.

Finally, consideration of authority relations at Doomadgee is incomplete without an account of Christianity as a key legitimating ideology. That is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

THE OPERATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN SETTLEMENT SOCIAL LIFE

9.1 Introduction

The chapter first describes prevailing conceptions of the process of becoming a Christian (Section 9.2), then presents an overview of the Christian routine at Doomadgee (Section 9.3). In the following two sections (9.4 and 9.5), I am concerned broadly with relationships between the minority of Aborigines actively participating in the Christian Assembly, and the majority of other Aborigines. In Section 9.5, the issue of widespread syncretism between elements of Christian doctrine and Blackfella law is also assessed. I consider the significance of Christianity in the administrative process in Section 9.6. The conclusion to the chapter discusses the operation of Christianity as a legitimating ideology for the wider system of White authority.

9.2 Becoming a Christian

Avowedly Christian Aborigines describe the process by which people become Christians as involving three stages. The first is that the person is "saved", and this involves their approaching a Church Elder and making "a profession of faith". During most of the study period there were five Church Elders: two Aborigines and three Whites; towards the end of the study period a third Aboriginal Church Elder was appointed. The second stage is when, largely it seems at the discretion of the Church Elders, the person is baptised by means of total immersion. The third stage involves the person continuing to live an authentic Christian life, and if he or she fails to do so and commits sins of various kinds he or she has thus had a "downfall"; the person is then publicly named at a Christian Meeting and must wait some time until the Church Eldership again re-admits him or her to "fellowship" and allows the person to "take bread and wine at the Lord's table" (i.e. participate in what is referred to within mainstream Christian denominations as the rite of Communion).

The following passage presents the senior Aboriginal Church Elder's account of this process:

> What the Gospel says: you get saved – you don't have to get
> baptised to be saved. Two things – being saved and being
> baptised are two different things. You're saved, what I

mean being saved, the Gospel here preaches that Christ ...
was crucified, and it preaches his death, burial and
resurrection, and if a man believes that he died and that he
was buried and rose again, and in his faith if he see that
he's a sinner ... we believe that, we're saved. Then we
follow up that salvation with baptism ... person who is
saved, the next step is baptism. We show in our openness,
righteousness, publicly that we have died with Christ, and
buried with him and raised in new life - so he [the person
to be baptised] walks in the water and he is put under the
water, that's what you do when you bury people, you put them
right under, you don't put'em half-way down and hold his
head up, you don't put'em in the grave and leave his head
out, but you put him right down underneath the water ... .
He died and buried and then you lift him up from under the
water and [he] walk out - he's raised with Christ, he's
shown now that he believes inwardly, this is the work that
has been done inwardly, he believes that he had died with
Christ, was buried with him and raised again ... (T57).

The same speaker went on to point out that the trouble with many people
was that they have only "a bit of religion, just to last you about a
month":

I know one fella come up here one night and he said: "Oh
I'm gping to change my life." You know when Ben Mason was
here?[1] He walked out there [to the public speaking position
at the evangelical Meeting] and he said: "I'm finished ...
with the old ways, giving up drinking ... everything. I'm
not having anything more to do with it." All right, in
three days' time [laughing], ... we heard he was in ... [a
known grog runner's] car blind drunk ... . See they fell on
that stony ground,[2] he only had religion for about three or
four days (T57).

The process of having a "downfall" and then being "re-dedicated" after
some time appeared to be quite common, although many people would not
"return to the Lord's table" until such a life-crisis as the occurrence
of a death (or perhaps near-death) of a close kinsman. The most common
form of sin constituting a downfall was seen to be drunkenness and
associated violence and sexual promiscuity. Indeed, drunkenness was
posed by Christians (both Aborigines and Whites) as the inevitable

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[1]Pastor Ben Mason was an Aboriginal evangelist (apparently
affiliated with the Aborigines' Inland Mission organisation) who
travelled through Doomadgee on several occasions during the study
period. During at least one of his visits (in 1980), approximately
17 people were "saved" following an open air evangelical Meeting at
which he spoke. He appeared to have considerable impact with his
Christian message on such occasions.

[2]This is a Biblical reference (e.g. Luke 8:4-15, and elsewhere) to
passages containing the parable of the sower sowing his seed, where the
seeds falling on rocky ground represent those who: "... for a while
believe, and in time of temptation fall away."

alternative to Christianity; thus, by the Christian perspective, without being "saved" from a life of sin, people were inevitably destructive of themselves and others, and this was quite apparent in the widespread drunkenness among Aborigines not "in fellowship". As Tonkinson (1982: 126) has suggested with reference to fundamentalist objections to alcohol use held by Christian Aborigines, the latter's interest in Christianity "may prove to be less focused on its theological content than on its coercive potential". Thus alcohol use was perceived as a "vice", a substance representing the "work of the Devil" and therefore as something which typically led to sinfulness and the life-crises inevitably associated with sin. The senior Aboriginal Church Elder (T75) expressed the view to me that "the first flagon" was made at the time of Noah's drunkenness as described in the Bible, and as I have noted above for the interpretation of this passage, the associated consequence of this drunkenness was believed by some to be that the descendants of one of Noah's sons were cursed forever. The sinfulness and destructiveness of gambling was also perceived as evident by Christians, in the consequent loss among many of money for essential material goods for children and the family generally. While there were certainly large numbers of once baptised people who remained out of fellowship for long periods after a "downfall", others were keen to return to active fellowship as soon as possible; one man told me that he complained to a (White) Church Elder about how he was being made to wait too long (several months according to his account) before re-acceptance.

This distinction between the large number of people who had made a "profession of faith" and been baptised over the years on the one hand, and the small number who at any one time were "in fellowship" is an important one. I noted in Chapter 6 (p. 195) the Manager's statement in 1970 that approximately 150 people (then living) had been baptised over the years, that few had "maintained a consistent testimony", and that an average of 30-40 then attended Meetings regularly. Twelve years later (in 1982), the overall number of people (then living) who had been baptised had increased to approximately 260, but the number "in fellowship" had remained at 30 to 40.[3] These numbers refer mostly to

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[3]Figures provided by a White Church Elder. A proportion of the 260 baptised persons would have been living away from the settlement. Another indication of the number of Christian Aborigines was obtained by systematically questioning the senior Aboriginal Church Elder about the residents of households. Of 301 adults for which he provided information, he stated that 164 (54%) were baptised; of 308 adults for

people aged over 18 years, apart from a small number of younger teenagers who had been accepted as having sufficient "understanding" and faith. Children are not baptised according to Brethren doctrine.

A similar distinction between kinds of Pentecostal Christian Aborigines has been made by Calley (1958). He distinguishes (pp. 300-310) "crisis" or "contingent" converts from "permanent" converts. A significant difference between his data and mine is that his "contingent converts" most commonly experienced "salvation" and began to participate in the Pentecostal cult at the time of sickness, and "hard core" cult members would attempt to cure the new convert through prayer. Whereas illness at Doomadgee was most commonly understood in terms of Blackfella law, and to the extent that non-medical cures were drawn upon, these were deliberately obtained in consultations with "Blackfella doctors" rather than Christians. Nevertheless, an illness or injury had marked the time of "salvation" among several of those saved "permanently" at Doomadgee (to borrow Calley's term), e.g. the senior long-time Aboriginal Church Elder explained that he had been "saved" soon after an accident which resulted in his becoming blind. Calley points out that "very few hard core members had been converted during illness" (p. 307), but also that some crisis converts continued to participate in the Christian cult long after their contingent illness had passed (p. 306). His point that: "There is no definite dividing line between contingent and permanent converts" (p. 306), is relevant to my data in that many of the 30 to 40 core members at Doomadgee appear to have been active "in fellowship" for lengthy periods, but then eventually had a "downfall". Only a small number of Aborigines in my study have thus been really "permanent" in their active participation in the Christian Assembly.

I have also referred in Chapter 6 (p. 194) to a time of revival in 1953. Such revivals appear to have occurred on a few occasions over the years, and they have involved much larger numbers of people being

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which he provided information about Church Meeting attendance, he stated that 34 (11%) attended regularly, 33 (11%) attended "sometimes", and 241 (78%) did not attend. It appeared to me at the time that he might have exaggerated the number of regular attenders among those we discussed. Nevertheless, these figures are consistent with those provided by the White Church Elder, to the extent that they indicate a large number of people once baptised but no longer attending Christian Meetings.

"saved", baptised and then attending Church Meetings for a period. The most recent of these events was during the research period in late 1980. As I was not present at Doomadgee during the revival, my only information comes from missionary correspondence. The following letter was published in the Australian Missionary Tidings newsletter (January 1981); it was written on 16 December 1980 at the height of the revival and published under the names of the Manager and his wife. I quote a large section of the letter because of both its factual content and its representation of an important staff perspective at the time:

> There certainly has appeared to be barrenness, particularly among the teenagers, which has caused us concern. Only three weeks ago hardly a soul sat to hear the gospel message as it was told out on the basket-ball court in the village on a Sunday night.
>
> Our concern has been heard before the Lord, and we are full of joy as God's Holy Spirit has worked in the hearts of many, some making a profession of faith for the first time, some having made a profession in their childhood days and never gone on, and others wanting to be restored from lives of sin.
>
> It began through last week when ... [two missionary staff] distributed Don Stanton's booklet The Great World Holocaust. Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights saw European and Aboriginal Christians counselling many - till about 1 a.m. Saturday. On Sunday night after the open-air meeting there were many more, and we are hearing of others who want to talk with someone but said they could not get near. It makes one think of those who wanted to see the Lord Jesus when He was on earth, and of those who let down their companion through the roof of the house.[4]
>
> Never before can we remember using every available seat for the Sunday morning meeting, but the people just flocked to the hall. Friday morning saw the village hall full for morning devotions, and so it was decided to hold this meeting in the larger main hall this week. Every morning the hall has been so nearly full that it has been decided to use the P.A. system so that the speaker can be heard above crying babies. On Sunday night at the open-air meeting, crowds sat around and listened.
>
> Our house-help, ... , who had never previously made a profession of faith and for whom we often had prayed, accepted the Lord on Saturday night, and her twin sisters and her brother, ... , on Sunday night. So, with others of

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[4]This is a reference to a Biblical passage (Luke 5:19 and elsewhere), where a handicapped person had to be let down through the roof of the house in order to get near Jesus, because of the multitude all around him.

the family wanting to put things right, they are a united happy family. ... , our other house-help, and her husband, ... , were among the multitude who came on Sunday morning, and each morning since.

Twenty-seven were baptised last Sunday, and yet more are requesting baptism - the most ever in one day since we have been here. Our hearts were full of praise to God, yet prayerful knowing that there will be many attacks of the evil one when the strength of the Lord will be needed to be drawn upon. Be with us in constant prayer that those who have turned to God, and those who have returned, will be steadfast in their Christian faith, growth and walk.

Another missionary suggested to me that "about 200" people were attending meetings regularly around this time. According to another, the large number of people came to a dozen or so meetings over the Christmas holiday period, but by March 1981 the "revival" was finished, i.e. numbers had returned to normal. This person also stated that what had started the "chain reaction" remained unexplained.

A further comment I can make about this "revival" is that the booklet referred to in the letter above[5] warns in graphic fashion of the "great tribulation" (referred to in the Bible [Mathew 24:3]) about to descend on people everywhere. According to the booklet, the "Coming Holocaust" will be directed by a Satanic figure known as the "Antichrist", and will involve horrific suffering and death for those who have not been "born again". At one point, the author suggests that the great tribulation may well begin in 1982. Thus, no doubt fear of such a holocaust played a considerable part in so many people seeking salvation for a short time, through baptism and attendance at Christian Meetings.

The final comments I will make here again result from my discussions with the senior Aboriginal Church Elder (see Footnote 3 above), about those baptised and usually attending Christian Meetings. Firstly, of the 164 baptised people among those we discussed, 96 (59%) were female; more significantly, of the 67 people attending Christian Meetings regularly or irregularly, 45 (67%) were female. Data available on the age of those residents we discussed also indicated that there were no people under 31 years of age said to be attending Church Meetings regularly, though some were said by the senior Aboriginal Church Elder to be attending irregularly.

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[5] It is actually entitled: The Coming World Holocaust, by Don Stanton, Maranatha Message No. 38, July 1980.

9.3 The Christian Routine

A pervasive routine of Christian meetings has operated during the research period. For example, the "events of the week" as listed in a typical Assembly newsletter (21 September 1980) were:

Sunday: 8.30 a.m. Sunday School in the Village Hall
            10.00 a.m. Morning Worship Meeting, followed by
                       Bible Study Time for men.
            7.30 p.m. Prayer Meeting in Village Hall and
                       then Open Air Meeting.

Monday   7.45 a.m. Women's Meeting
                       Youth Centre – boys.

Tuesday   2.30 p.m. Mini Rally, in the Meeting Hall ...
                       [for children].
            7.45 p.m. Prayer Meeting and Bible Study,
                       Speaker: Mr ... [the Manager, though
                       speakers rotated week to week].

Wednesday   7.30 p.m. Boys' Rallies [involving different
                       school grades having games, outdoor
                       skills and Bible talk, under the
                       supervision of members of the male
                       missionary staff].

Thursday   Youth Centre – girls.
            3.30 p.m. Good News Club ... in the Village
                       Hall – for interested young
                       Christians and their friends.

Morning Prayers – every day 7.35 a.m., leader: ... [this
job also rotated week to week among the male missionary
staff].

While Christian Aborigines and missionary staff formed the majority of adults attending these Meetings, many un-baptised children and teenagers would go to the "rallies".

The newsletter also lists "prayer points", thoughts centred on Scripture passages for persons' "quiet times" during the week, and provides general news of the Assembly's affairs (e.g. the distribution of Assembly money to some missionaries in other places is noted). A considerable amount of further Christian literature from the White domain circulated among Aborigines, e.g.: "Do-it-yourself Bible Study" lesson booklets prepared by the United Aborigines Mission and other similar organisations; "Home Bible Study" leaflets prepared by local missionary staff which typically pose questions to be answered by the reader referring to Biblical passages; and various fundamentalist Christian magazines.[6]

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[6]These included: Awake, The Aim, Today and Australian Missionary Tidings.

The two largest gatherings of people were the Morning Worship Meeting and the Open Air Meeting in the evening, both on Sundays. I shall briefly characterise the nature of these occasions. The Morning Meeting was held in the Church hall (the old girls' dormitory) in the White domain (until the construction of the new Church in 1983). Rough counts at the few Meetings I attended over the years indicated approximately 20-40 Aborigines and a minimum of 30 Whites usually in attendance. The Meeting would proceed by interspersing hymn singing with individual men standing and praying out loud while others listened silently. Only White men stood and prayed in this way at the Meetings I attended during most of the research period.[7] The Manager would typically preach for some time, before those present (except for the few like myself who were not baptised "believers") would partake of "bread" (considered to be Christ's body) and "wine" (which was in fact non-alcoholic grape juice, considered to be Christ's blood). Before the Meeting's conclusion, the Manager would make any necessary announcements, including mention of the names of any individuals who had recently been sinful, e.g. had been "overcome by drink [i.e. alcohol]", and who were thus being prayed for and "grieved for". Any persons who were being re-admitted to "fellowship" would also be named.

The Open Air Meetings were usually held in the village, usually under a street-light at different locations each week. A Mission truck would bring seats to the site; most Aborigines typically preferred to sit on the ground. Although the use of a microphone and loudspeaker, as well as a piano accordion and guitar, meant that quite a large number could overhear the proceedings, fewer people actually attended the Open Air Meeting site than the Sunday Morning Meetings. I have observed approximately 10 to 15 Aborigines usually present at these Meetings, although the number has varied from 5 up to 25. The number of Whites was usually 15 to 20. The procedure was again hymn-singing interspersed with individual men standing at the microphone to preach. Aboriginal Christians would more commonly preach (and occasionally sing) individually in this way than at the Morning Meetings. I have already described in Chapter 7 how many residents ignored the Open Air Meetings despite their intrusive style.

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[7]However, this was not the case in 1983 after the Manager had left, when Aboriginal Christians were becoming more assertive at such Meetings.

The content of the Open Air Meetings was similar to that of other Meetings though speakers were more aggressive in "blasting" their message at the Aboriginal public. The following is a quotation from one Open Air Meeting in 1978; the speaker was a White Brethren man from a southern State who was visiting Doomadgee at the time:

> ... You know this evening ... there is a need to take refuge from the coming storm of judgement that God is going to bring upon the world of the ungodly, who know not God and who obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ ... [etc.] (T11).

Although the rhetoric of the local missionary staff was at times phrased so as to be more comprehensible to a proportion of Aborigines than this passage, it was always aggressively didactic and paternalistic in its warnings about the consequences of not embracing Christian Brethren doctrine.

The final note I wish to make about Aboriginal participation in the routine of Christian social action concerns the typically large Aboriginal attendance at funerals. Funerals were an integral part of Christian procedure at the settlement, and a setting in which the inevitability of death and the clear choice of heaven as against horrific hell after death was put forcefully to mourners by those preaching. No alternative to a Christian funeral has ever existed at Doomadgee, although certain other traditional practices have also been carried on within the Blackfella domain. While many people not "in fellowship" at the time simply attended the Church service or Meeting before proceeding to the cemetery for the burial, others avowedly committed to Blackfella law at times waited outside the Church and then participated more actively in the mourning process at the cemetery. However, apart from such maintenance of some rites associated with death in Blackfella law, those who faced the crisis of a close relative's death commonly subsequently embraced attendance at Christian Meetings for a period (often having been "counselled" by the Manager and his wife), and this was seen by others as perfectly understandable: "He got to go to Meeting, he lost his wife."

9.4 Tension between those Aborigines in Christian Fellowship and Others

The view among many Aborigines "in fellowship" has been that becoming a Christian necessitates rejecting Blackfella law. This view was put to me quite consistently by the most senior of the Aboriginal Church Elders. Consider, for example, his rejection of male initiation: after agreeing with my assertion that Jesus was himself circumcised, he

went on to talk of the unacceptable way that circumcision had developed in Blackfella law:

> But since our people took it over, Aborigines, they've added things to it that wasn't suitable and it wasn't ... right in God's law, ... made it very hard even death come into it. This squaring up too ... they have to give ...; whatever young fella was circumcised his family have to give over to the man who done it [i.e. to the "doctor" who performed the operation], to their family ... . Otherwise [if] they didn't do squaring up, there would have been death ... . It sort of got out of hand, ... that put fear into the circumcision, ... fear of death (T57).

In 1978, a group of Christian Aboriginal Councillors (who formed the majority of the Council at that time) directed the organisers of an initiation ceremony that they were not allowed to hold the ceremony anywhere on the Doomadgee reserve. Two of these men[8] went so far as to assert to me that Ganggalida people (their own "tribe", as they put it at the time) had never had male circumcision as part of the "law", though it is doubtful whether they put this assertion directly to the old Blackfella law experts. They pointed out that their own fathers, like themselves, had not been initiated in this way (nor in any other way). Three of these Christian Councillors argued that I was encouraging people to perform the ceremony, and that most of the Aboriginal residents "don't want it". They said the ceremony was based on fear, and that people were coerced into participating, and also that if the ceremony were to be held at a good waterhole, people would subsequently be precluded from fishing and hunting there because of the resulting ritual importance of the area. Their latter concern indicated that they did not regard the ceremony as unimportant or to be scoffed at in any way; if anything they regarded it as dangerous in some spiritual sense. One of these men was particularly upset because the night before, he had driven down to the back of the village where bandari ("practice" of the dancing and singing to be performed at the initiation) was being held. He had come without realising the nature of the proceedings, thinking they simply involved secular matters. What made the situation very bad from his viewpoint was that he had his wife (and daughters) with him in the car. After the car stopped, he and his wife sat there watching for several minutes before one of the junior "law" men told him that women should not be there. He immediately left

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[8]These were in fact the only two men who sequentially occupied the office of Council Chairman throughout the research period.

with his wife, and both of them were very upset about the latter's unintentional transgression. It was the very next morning that this Councillor had met with the other Councillors and the Manager, before the three Councillors came to my camp to warn me that the ceremony (or even such "practice" as had occurred the previous night) could not go ahead on the Doomadgee reserve.

The Christian Aborigines opposing the initiation ceremony also claimed that it would not be carried out properly, because the novitiates would not adhere to the relevant restrictions on their behaviour for the required period after the ceremony. Some referred to several initiation ceremonies that were held on Mornington Island during the research period, and pointed out how the novitiates there "were breaking the law" by engaging in unrestricted social interaction (and even getting drunk) too soon after the ritual had finished. Indeed, certain Christian Aborigines opposed what they glossed generally in conversation as "Blackfella law" in toto, on the grounds that this law was "too strict" in requiring immediate death as punishment for transgressions, and that this kind of punishment was totally impractical in contemporary times. For example:

> Some of them saying: "Let the old Aboriginal law come back again. Let them have their own law." ... and if they going to have their law they going to be pretty sick. You can't hang'em in Australia now but that means that if they break Aboriginal law, they'll be speared to death (T57).

Their stated view was thus that Blackfella law was "too heavy" ("... it can't be made any lighter ..." [T57]) – a view which certainly takes Blackfella law seriously, while yet rejecting it.[9]

From the viewpoint of the "law" experts, the younger Councillors simply did not "know law". Some resistance against the ban was mooted.

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[9]Cf. Calley's (1964: 50) point for his New South Wales setting, that the missionaries:

> ... did not persuade their proselytes that the old gods were unreal, but only that they were evil. For this reason conversion to Christianity left much of the old system of belief intact, ...

A further point to be noted here, though, is that the historical missionary emphasis on physical punishment of transgressions according to the "old beliefs", seems to have been transferred to contemporary Aboriginal Christians. The latter's knowledge of actual practices within Blackfella law during earlier times was by no means always accurate, as the denial noted above concerning male circumcision indicates (cf. also some recent work on the re-invention of kastom in Melanesia [e.g. Tonkinson 1982b: 304], where the same point is made).

For example, the assertion was made that if the ceremony was banned, the old experts would be more strict about stopping people from visiting a good fishing place potentially dangerous because of the Dreamings there. However, all knew that in practice the only thing that had temporarily stopped people visiting this site over the years (at least since the early 1970s when residents began obtaining motor vehicles and could thus get there quickly) was when it had become known that one or more people had become sick after a visit there. The old people also knew that the Councillors had the Manager's authority behind them, indeed some said that the Councillors were just enforcing the Manager's opposition to the ceremony. The result was that the ceremony was not held, and many people continued to complain throughout the research period that the Council and the Manager (along with other missionaries) should not be able to stop Blackfella law.

It was not until some residents came to realise that they were going to be able to claim their own "country" under the Aboriginal Land Rights (N.T.) Act that they held an initiation ceremony in 1982 at the site of the main outstation (Najabarra) on the Nicholson River land claim area (see Trigger 1982c for a detailed account of this ceremony). This was the first initiation ceremony to be held predominantly by Doomadgee people since the early 1950s. In successfully applying to a Commonwealth Government body for some financial assistance for provisions, and travel of people from Borroloola and Doomadgee to the site, a senior organiser referred to the opposition to such ceremonies at Doomadgee over the years:

> ... Well we bin have'im plenty young boy[10] there la Doomadgee, we wanna put'em longa smoke y'know, la Doomadgee, and people there wouldn't [al]'low – Councillor wouldn't 'low run that place there. Turn Off Lagoon before, we bin hav'im [initiation ceremony] place, they [Doomadgee administration] wouldn't 'low that place [in recent times], and while we here la Najabarra I want to put'im all the boy la this place la Najabarra. Too much this'un our country now.[11]

On many other occasions throughout the study period a section of the older people similarly vigorously discussed how Blackfella law (sometimes termed "culture") had to be maintained, e.g.:

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[10]The first degree of male initiation (involving circumcision) is known by this phrase, which refers to a critical part of the ritual.

[11]See Trigger (1982a: 112-3) for further quotations from this tape recording, a transcription of which was exhibit 29 in the Nicholson River (Waanyi/Garawa) land claim proceedings.

See this culture now we want to talk up see, White man can't stop the Blackfella culture; see White man got his way, never mind about this missionary, God made everything, create everything for the Aboriginal too see, that bin start early days. We gotta keep on our great-grandfather culture see ... (T8).

Consider the following conversation between several men discussing ceremonial life, particularly initiation ceremonies:

[Excerpt from T7]:

Speaker 1	They don't [al]'low it here ...
Speaker 2	Yeh missionary don't [al]'low ...
1	Missionary don't [al]'low. They [some male novitiates] go away to Borroloola and Mornington Island, you know, get fixed up [initiated] but not in this Mission. They [the missionaries] don't [al]'low.
Speaker 3	Can do it here if Aboriginal fight strong for their culture ...
1	They never ever, they very weak ...
D. Trigger	This missionary here, what happen if this mob [referring to Aboriginal residents] got together [and] they said: "Oh well, we're gonna do it our way ..."?
2	Oh they can, but Council gotta say [agree], big mob [of those desirous of holding ceremonies] here, and I don't know, they won't try it you know.
D. Trigger	Council won't try it?
2	Won't try it, even the [Aboriginal] Police, won't try it, all this native Police ... they can talk up you know ...
3	Even the ... see they're [Police and Councillors] trying to stop the culture too, you know.
D. Trigger	Why they trying to stop it?
3	Well I just don't know ...
2	I can't go over there to Brisbane or to Cloncurry and stop White man not to dance. I can't do that, that's his dance, I can't ...
3	Like we still said, that's our culture, that's our great-grandfather culture, we can't go without it.
2	Long way back that's the way it's been. You can't stop White man dance, that's his, he gotta dance everywhere [wherever he likes] ...

The implication of the last statement is of course that Whites should therefore not be able to stop Aboriginal dancing. Finally, a similar

PLATE XIV A large Aboriginal crowd including performers and spectators disperses after a long bout of traditional (secular) dancing at the back of the "village" in the afternoon, November 1978; this was a time of "revival" of such dancing. (Photograph – D. Trigger.)
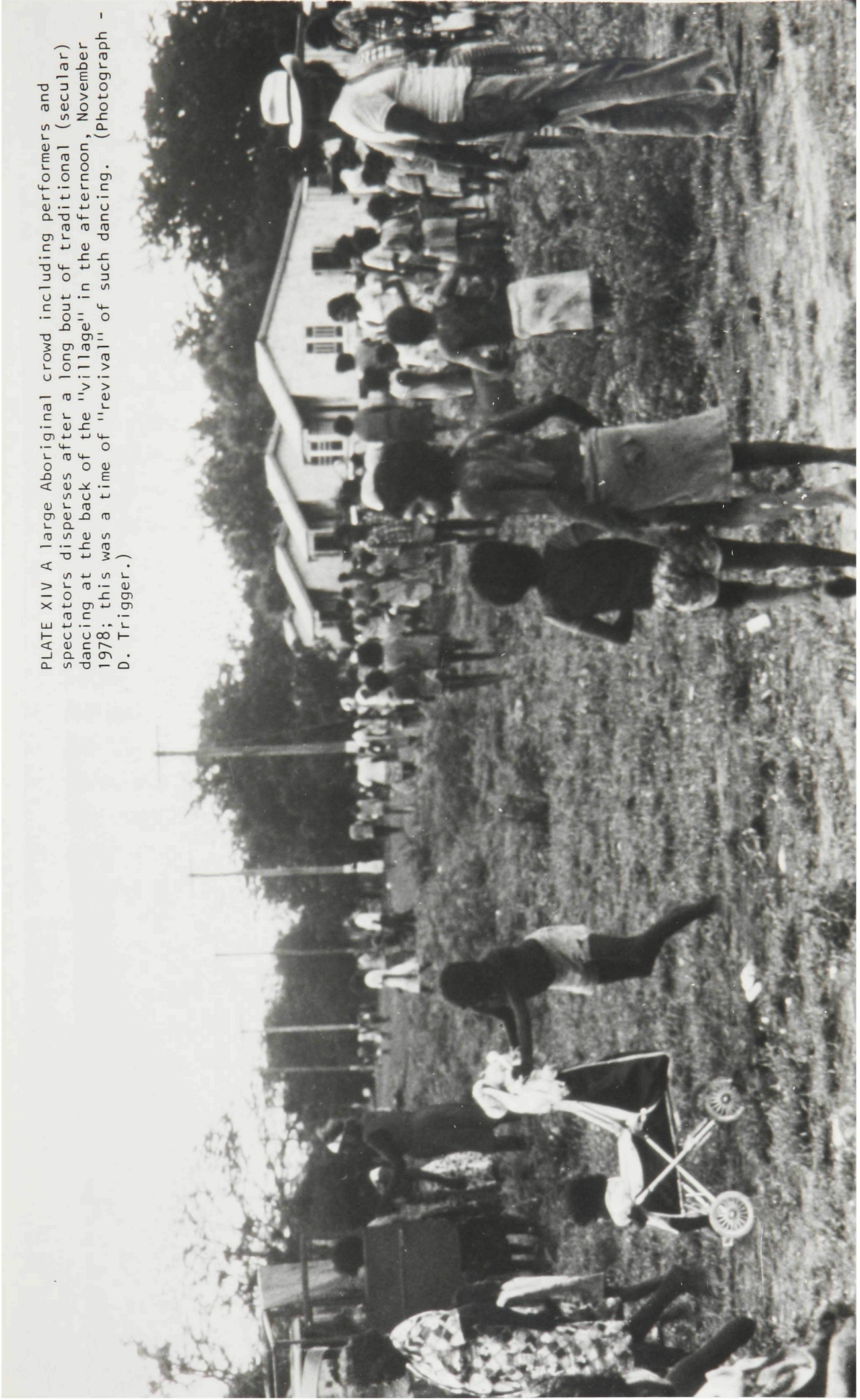
complaint specifically in relation to missionary opposition to initiation ceremonies:

> But now I gotta ask you [D. Trigger] another question: Why the government b'long to Queensland they don't [al]'low people to make a young man long Queensland - like a [in the] Territory? This law b'long to Aborigine he b'long to our father after this place land bin drainin[g] away see,[12] and alright this law he b'long to here, because they only White man they come from Egypt, England, somewhere ... (T16).

These old people would on occasions state that most young people were "lost", i.e. no longer interested in, nor properly controlled by, Blackfella law. Some appeared resigned to this fact, although they would vociferously complain about it at times, particularly when young men or boys committed crimes, e.g. the following comment was made after an alleged attack by a young Aboriginal man on a White nurse:

> This country got no [Blackfella] law. Young boy cross-breed, marry wrong, that's why they get loose, they lost - still juga [uninitiated] this country.

Others felt it important to leave their knowledge behind after their death. In the words of one old man: "That word where they [old people when he was younger] bin tell me, I can't go turn'im off, I gotta leave'im la paper"; he saw both my research and the school Culture Program as a means of doing this.

The disagreement between those in Christian fellowship and those committed to Blackfella law also surfaced quite graphically on some other occasions throughout the study period. In late 1978, during something of a "revival" of traditional secular dancing (see Plate IV),[13] the group that had been holding dancing in the evenings found that their venue one night would be adjacent to the men's Bible study group meeting in the village hall. There was considerable sentiment among some village residents that the latter meeting should not be impinged upon by the loud singing from the dancing site, and many of the dancers and singers were extremely apprehensive about how

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[12]The speaker is implying that a long time ago the country was under water. Several other older people expressed a similar notion (see e.g. p. 324 below).

[13]This had occurred following my screening of the film Lockhart Festival, about a Dance Festival at Lockhart River settlement on Cape York Peninsula (see Trigger 1978, Appendix B, for a brief discussion of this "revival").

the Christians (both Aboriginal and White) would "take it". After considerable prevarication, the main "boss" for the dancing eventually held out against the pressure for him to move the dancing to "bottom camp" (for this would have meant leaving the well-lit area which offered high visibility for his personal singing prowess and controlling role), but agreed to wait until the Bible study meeting had finished before beginning the singing and dancing. This problematic incident of the two events occurring together in this way, focused public attention onto the tension between Christian practice and Blackfella law.

During the same period, a heated verbal exchange took place between a Christian man and two senior women who were preparing a group of girls for a dance. The man directed his two daughters to leave the group, as he would not allow them to participate in such affairs. This man was also discussed on several occasions as having gone to tell certain missionaries that various rituals associated with the deaths of Aboriginal residents were about to be (or had already been) performed. He was said to oppose the smoking-out of the dwelling and belongings of recently deceased persons, square-up rituals, etc., and to have sought missionary support in having such activities stopped.

Two further verbal exchanges can be noted as indicative of similar tensions. The first concerned two Councillors talking of how best to deal with some young men who had come to Doomadgee recently from a station community in the NT, and had been causing trouble. One Councillor pointed out that he had been informed by a local authoritative "law"-man that the young men had "run away" from a forthcoming major cult ceremony, and that he therefore favoured directing the young men to go and talk to the "law"-man who would chastise them and send them back westwards. However, the second Councillor who was a Church Elder stated quite vehemently that he was not concerned with matters of Blackfella law but rather with the transgressions against "Whiteman law" that had been perpetrated by the young men. The first speaker then moved off aggressively, saying: "Yeh but I'm listening to a lot of other word too." - meaning that he regarded the requirements of Blackfella law as at least as important as those of White Australian law.

The second conversation began as something of a joking exchange, but finished with the two participants obviously very serious about what they were saying. The exchange took place near the Marble Ground

where a number of "law" experts were gathered, however the first speaker was a committed Christian:

Speaker 1   I only want God's law - no other law.

Speaker 2   That's the White man law.

Speaker 1   That law you talking about, that's Devil business.

Speaker 2   Devil business brought you into the world! - I'll have more to say to others [who oppose Blackfella law] directly too!

Speaker 2 was a man strongly committed to maintenance of Blackfella law; e.g. he was one among a number of senior men who innovatively composed new songs in Aboriginal languages during the research period.

Further examples of tension between those Aborigines in fellowship and others include the following situations. Non-Christians were often quick to accuse avowedly Christian Aborigines of hypocrisy, when the two categories of people became embroiled in major disputes. For example, consider the accusation by a non-Christian woman against her Christian opponents during one conflict: "You all Christian, you tell liar [lies] yet you all go to Church!" On another occasion, a woman was berating the general state of affairs at Doomadgee, after her daughter had been involved in a fight; she addressed the following comment to the general listening public, but it was directed particularly at the Christian family with whom her daughter had been in conflict: "I don't go to [Christian] Meeting, like those people with double mind." The non-Christian accusation has thus been that Christian Aborigines do not themselves live according to the behavioural standards that they preach. Several people made the point to me on different occasions that they were not Christians, yet they were "better behaved" than most of those who were. Of course, tension also arose when Christian Aborigines did hold strongly to their professed ideals; one women returned home one evening soon after leaving for the "gambling school" and explained the reason why: "... [a recent convert] bin baulking them - 'cause he preacher man now, they waiting for him to go away [before commencing gambling activities]."

Thus, the two perspectives on this question of appropriate world-view and religious life may be seen from the data presented so far as widely divergent. However, the issue of syncretism between the two traditions must also be considered. For there is also considerable evidence that Aboriginal residents generally have not kept Christian

doctrine and Blackfella law intellectually separate in any rigid fashion.

9.5 Syncretism of Christian Doctrine and Blackfella Law

Quite a number of people who were known to be experts in matters of Blackfella law have been baptised over the years, and at least one was baptised and attended church Meetings fairly regularly during the study period. Similarly, "square-up" rituals were held following the deaths during the study period of several avowedly Christian Aborigines, including the senior Aboriginal Church Elder who had consistently maintained that the two "laws" could not be "mixed up". Furthermore, the use of Aboriginal languages for Christian preaching has not been considered as inappropriate. Although such use of Aboriginal languages was said during the research period to have only been carried out regularly in the past, some people could relate several prayers in their language, e.g.:

Wuluginya	nyulu	junggu	ginggari	yarrayjba
Father [said here to mean God the Father]	he	is sitting down	up [there in the sky]	waiting

barrawuyadayjba	ginggari	juju	heaven
house made [ready]	up	a long way	heaven.

i.e.: God the Father is a long way up in heaven waiting with a home prepared [for us] (T7).

Those who in 1982 visited the two NT Aboriginal settlements as described above (p. 298), in fact strongly stated their attitude of approval towards the use of Aboriginal languages there for such Christian discourse as hymn-singing (p. 10 of their report [see p. 298 above]).[14]

Even those Christian Aboriginal people who when asked would state (along with the Church Elder quoted above) that the two laws were mutually incompatible, would sometimes indicate in unelicited discourse a mixing of concepts from Christianity and Blackfella law. For example, one such woman mentioned to me shortly before I was to leave with a group of people for coastal Ganggalida country, that it was alright for us to go there: "... as long as people don't swear in that country - it's holy country." She was referring to the dangers from the

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[14]Although some parts of the Bible have been translated into Garawa and Yanyula by Summer Institute of Linguistics linguists at Borroloola over the years, these translations were not used at Doomadgee during the research period.

extra-human figure known as Gudidawa, referred to in Chapter 4, Section 4. Another couple spoke of how Church Elders were the same as the old experts in Aboriginal law matters, in that both kinds of person carried important "law".

However, to assess adequately the issue of syncretism between Christianity and Blackfella law, we must consider in some detail relevant aspects of Aboriginal intellectual life. A number of dimensions of Aboriginal belief indicate that elements of Christian doctrine have been mixed with traditional beliefs. I shall consider here beliefs concerning sorcery and death.

The couple referred to above as commenting on the important role of "law"-carriers in both intellectual traditions, also discussed how spirits were similarly believed in strongly within both "laws". The man stated that there would not be one Aboriginal resident at Doomadgee who did not believe in "Blackfella witchcraft", and indeed such belief was widespread among avowed Christians as well as others. I will not list here the many sorcery techniques known to be available within Blackfella law for both offensive and defensive use by those so inclined. It will suffice to say that most Aboriginal deaths were attributed to sorcery, although definite culprits were rarely designated; reasons why people have had cause to desire to harm the deceased or one of his close kin, were commonly discussed. As well, several "Blackfella doctors" were consulted regularly for a wide range of ailments. Discourse and beliefs concerning sorcery and healing by "Blackfella doctors" were usually completely insulated from the White domain.[15]

My point here is that Aboriginal belief in sorcery had its counterpart within Christian doctrine – namely the Brethren stress on the Devil as the ever-present agency which ultimately causes all evil in the world. The constant missionary references to how the Devil works in devious ways to generate the downfall of Christians, was related easily by Aborigines to the evil spiritual forces believed to operate according to Blackfella law. The fit is by no means a complete one; Blackfella law stresses mostly sickness and death as a result of evil sorcerers, whereas Christianity stresses mostly sinfulness and a subsequent horrific time after death as the result of the "work of the Devil".

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[15]There may have been rare occasions when Christian Aborigines discussed a personal fear related to sorcery, with a White Church Elder.

320

Nevertheless, I believe that one Aboriginal Christian's comment on this matter is broadly correct. I was discussing with him his belief in an evil force in the world known as the Antichrist; this is apparently a belief among some fundamentalist Christians that the Antichrist is a force of the Devil which seeks to develop evil influence over people everywhere - e.g. the key role of the Antichrist is discussed in the booklet referred to above which warns of a world holocaust (Stanton 1980: 3-8). At the time of my conversation with this Aboriginal Christian, belief in the devious activities of the Antichrist had been fuelled via the repetitive screening of a hired video cassette film entitled The Final Conflict, which develops a fictional plot about the activities of these evil forces. The film was apparently interpreted as a factual documentary account by many Aboriginal viewers. My informant mentioned widespread receptiveness among Aboriginal residents towards the idea of the existence of these forces. He referred to two examples of people believing that the numbers 666 were evidence of the Antichrist's evil activity,[16] neither of which I attempted to substantiate. The first involved a man "sending back" a cheque he had received because it was made out for $666, and he therefore "couldn't get it changed [i.e. cashed]". The second was of a man who removed an insignia showing the number 666 from the outside of a car he had just bought in Mount Isa. But the comment of my informant that I wish to focus on particularly here is his statement that for him to believe in the Antichrist really amounted to believing in "Whitefella witchcraft", and that this was "easy" for him because he believed in "Blackfella witchcraft" (i.e. sorcery). He saw the conception of evil forces in the world within both traditions as quite parallel.

Contemporary beliefs concerning death and its aftermath illustrate further the mixing of elements of Christian doctrine and Blackfella law. I will first consider the account typical of the kind that makes no reference to Christian concepts.[17]

According to such traditional beliefs the spirit leaves the body after death and proceeds to Dalwaji, a site (E1) in coastal Ganggalida

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[16]Among fundamentalist Christians who hold these views, this number is said to be the mark of the Antichrist as stated in the relevant Biblical passage, Revelations 13:18 (see, e.g. Stanton 1982: 4).

[17]The following data on beliefs about death and its aftermath are drawn mainly from Tapes 7, 17, 69, 80 and 83.

country (see Map 4); songs sung in a ceremony known as Jawala are said to guide the spirit in its journey (as well as provide the musical accompaniment for certain dancing engaged in by the "new spirit" together with other spirit-figures at various points in the journey). The Dalwaji area was apparently believed to be the initial destination of spirits from across a broad area, including at least the Ganggalida and Garawa linguistic territories. When the body was placed on a triangular shaped platform soon after death, the head would always be faced towards the Dalwaji area. It has also been said that at dusk, one can sometimes see clouds of dust in the direction of Dalwaji, and that this results from new spirits being shown new dances there.

At Dalwaji the spirit climbs a tree (known as _laginda_) and looks northwards, the direction in which it has to go, and then proceeds a short distance to Jin.gula (E8, on Map 4) near the mouth of the watercourse on which Dalwaji is located. At Jin.gula, the spirit has a wash at a "well", climbs a tree there then goes down on to the beach. The spirit encounters an "old man" with a long _murrugu_ (spearthrower), who is a "sort of a gate"; this figure is said in some accounts to be a kind of bird, often a crow. The "old man" then asks the spirit whether it is a man or woman: women are taken east to a place called Bunggaladijarrbayi, where they can drink "good water", whereas men have to go north to a place in the "middle of the sea" called Ngududulamba, where they have to drink "dirty water" polluted with maggots, etc.

Another (seemingly contradictory) aspect of what happens is said to be that those who are _nyilanyila_ (Gd) or _ngabinyi_ (Gw), i.e. whose front tooth (or teeth) has been knocked out at an earlier stage of their life, can automatically proceed east to the place of "good water", while those who are not _nyilanyila_ (Gd), i.e. who still have their front teeth intact, must go north to the place of "dirty water". Both men and women are said to have traditionally commonly had their front tooth knocked out. Further variations on these accounts include the fact that the "old man" Crow attempts to hurt the new spirit by poking it with a long sharp or burning stick, but is "blocked" by Hawk (or sometimes Pelican) who thus protects the new spirit. Some have said that Crow does this in retribution for the disdainful attitude taken to it by humans.

Now some people have stated directly how Aborigines have recognised the missionaries' account of what happens after death as the "same story" as that outlined above:

> ... Our mob bin talk about that story, bla this country, we
> bin knew then when missionary bin read that Bible for us, we
> bin know then; that story, old story when dark people bin
> used to talk about it, ... same one ... that same story now
> (T80).

Thus, elements of Christian doctrine have been added to the account outlined so far. At the site of Jin.gula, "good people" were said to be separated from "bad people", the former going "up" to heaven and the latter being "pushed down" to hell. Apart from some variation in designating where the latter two places are, there has been a strong association of heaven with the place of "good water" and hell with the place of "dirty water". By some accounts, the separation of "good people" from "bad people" occurs via the agency of God or Jesus:

> Jesus tell him to go up - "you clean man you can come" and:
> "I don't want that [bad, dirty] man." - he push'im down:
> "You go down na [to] hell" (T80).

God or Jesus thus asks the new spirit if he is a "good man" or "bad man". The "good man" is wanted: "They have'im that one, they no more [do not] push'im away":

> He wanjija__walmuwa [climb up]. That's the way those
> missionary, you know, was preaching about Jesus now, Jesus
> and God, one time well they [old-time Aborigines] bin used
> to tell that part now before missionary bin come along ...
> (T80).

Other versions indicate that the "old man" at Jin.gula is in fact Satan:

> This wanggula [crow], that's the Satan ... this crow here,
> that's the Satan blanta Blackfella, you know spirit? You
> read im la Bible ind'it? Spirit, Satan, he wait [at
> Jin.gula] got a sharp stick, this crow ... (T69).

Aborigines have thus incorporated elements of Christian doctrine concerning death and its aftermath. They have certainly not found it necessary to oppose this doctrine in toto, in order to maintain some continuity in those dimensions of Blackfella law that deal with this subject.

A final point indicating the strength of such continuity is the maintenance of the traditional account of why animate things must die at all. A myth within Blackfella law relates how Moon Dreaming gave animals (including humans) the chance to "die" and then return "alive", the way it does at the end of each month. But in the myth, this opportunity was lost and that explains why all living things must die "for good" (see Trigger [1984: 33] for a full account of the myth). The myth has not appeared to many Aborigines as necessarily inconsistent

with the general Christian assertion that like all else, death is due to the Lord's will.

Apart from beliefs about sorcery and death, wide-ranging comments from people not in (nor seeking to be in) fellowship also indicated an attitude of toleration and in some cases acceptance of certain Christian concepts and practices. Moreover, these people were often simultaneously quite committed to some of the precepts of Blackfella law. A "law"-man spoke of an old lady just after she had died, and appeared to accept the legitimacy of the deceased's apparent Christian beliefs:

> She knew she was going to lose'im misal [die]; me'n old lady [his wife] went over 'nother day told her not to be frightened - [and that she would] meet all the other Christian people [when she dies] ... .

An old woman very knowledgeable about Blackfella law matters attended a brief ad hoc meeting at a village house, organised by several missionary women, and in response to my query as to why she had participated when she had not maintained any fellowship in the Assembly (at least not during the research period), she simply said: "they read Bible for us ... don't ask too many question, boy [i.e. son]!" A middle-aged man who was clearly knowledgeable about, and a believer in, dimensions of Blackfella law (e.g. he explained many details of ceremonial life to me throughout the study period), and who was also commonly drunk, nevertheless claimed to "believe in God": "God is only the one person today, because country would've been lonely."[18] Finally, I present below a lengthy quotation from a man who argued quite avidly in support of Blackfella law at times throughout the study period (see for example other quotations from him on p. 314 above), yet also pointed out his beliefs in Christian doctrine:

> From the beginning, like after the Creation ... when the moon and star and dirt and night and everything bin all together - I got the paper down there with me and I'll show you, I got tape too you can play it, see it [reference to Christian doctrine in written form and on tape, circulated by the missionaries] ... [D. Trigger: Where this come from, this missionary way?] Yeh missionary way now, and the Creation, the starting of the business when father, like the God and Son you know Lord Jesus was in heaven, before we. All right, and then we come then. The other lot of people before us first bin come, and then oh they bin too bad, all right he bin punish'em ... and they in heaven now. Then he

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[18]I did not query what this speaker may have meant by this phrase.

> bin try 'nother lot of people now, all this country bin
> under water, see saltwater, you go up the hill anywhere now
> you see all the sea shell ... out on the side of the hill
> anywhere, butt of the Bloodwood tree or anywhere at all you
> know.[19] Well we call'im long this country, ... Wuluginya
> [lit.: father], like God the Father ... [etc.] (T7).

And again later, referring to an area in Ganggalida country:

> ... [name of the place] ... out in the bush here, he just
> like father in heaven. You'n me go out there and we might
> be cursed something, we get lost, you can't see anyone track
> or you can't hear no-one sing out ... [goes on to refer to
> Gudidawa - see Chapter 4, Section 4]. ... When you go out
> there, you gotta be just like in the Mission [White domain
> at Doomadgee], like you gotta [be]'have yourself, you can't
> swear, you can't row with dog anything like that, just like
> Mission out here in the scrub, yeh them Gudidawa they make
> you get lost ... (T7).

And then after explaining in great detail the "old" beliefs about death
and its aftermath:

> ... that's one time ago before missionary discovered the
> country like. [D. Trigger: What happen now this missionary
> came here?] Oh well they [Aborigines] followed the ...
> trust one Lord because ... like the idea what was going on
> in this country, and they want give that ["old" beliefs]
> away, because Lord went to the cross and he died for you and
> me and God the Father himself and even the Lord [Jesus] they
> created this world in the beginning like for us to live in
> and therefore we must go one way, to get there sort of
> thing. [D. Trigger: Where you can get to now then, if you
> die?] Well I think I'm believe in the Lord, I think I'll be
> with the Lord, I'm a Christian man and I bin baptised long
> time over ten years ... . I don't think I'll go to
> Bunggaladijarrbayi [place of "good water" noted in the above
> discussion], I'll go ginggari [up] ... (T7).

The apposite summary point for this section is that the issue of
the intellectual incorporation of Christian doctrine by Aboriginal
residents is difficult to assess in any complete way. The data above
concern mostly what informants have said about certain of their beliefs.
While I have also referred minimally to behaviour indicative of
Aborigines' attitudes to Christian doctrine, a more complete account
would require a narrative describing behaviour in many more settings.
The point I have illustrated is that adequate assessment of the
operation of Christianity as a body of beliefs and practices, cannot
deal solely with the small number of people in fellowship in the
Assembly at any one time. Rather, the incorporation of aspects of
Christian doctrine has proceeded throughout a much broader number of

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[19]The speaker is most likely alluding to the story of the flood in
Genesis.

residents. The next section considers the quite pervasive integration of Christianity into aspects of settlement administrative life.

9.6 Christianity in the Administration Process

The pervasive role of Christianity in the administrative process has been dealt with in the previous chapters of Part C of this thesis. The further data presented here make several points to complement the previous treatment of this issue. The first point requiring further emphasis is simply that the White-controlled administration has always avowed a Christian basis in legitimating its operation, and that Aborigines as those administered, appear to have not perceived any possibility of a non-Christian administration. One quotation from a man who was Council Chairman for part of the study period illustrates this point excellently; he has been quoted above (on p. 267) when speaking at a public meeting, as forcefully distinguishing Doomadgee residents from those non-reserve Aborigines who in his terms had never been "under the Act". When expressing a similar opinion to me on another occasion, he referred to the antagonism commonly shown towards the Doomadgee missionaries and Christianity generally by such non-reserve Blackfellas (though more usually in his terms, Yellafellas). He reported his response to a group of these people, apparently in Mount Isa on one occasion:

> You rubbish the church and the missionary. I got my civilisation from church! You got your civilisation from Mandagi [Whitefella]!

His point was that as a Doomadgee resident he came to learn what he knew of White society from a specifically Christian administration; the settlement administration has been the constant arena of contact with White society for Aboriginal residents. His criticism of the non-reserve Aborigines who had in his view in the past benefited from a broader range of contact with White society, was that they did not seem to understand the essential protective and instructive administrative role of the missionaries in the remote institutionalised reserve setting.

While I have certainly indicated throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8 considerable opposition to missionary control, the acceptance of it by such avowedly Christian Aboriginal residents as the man quoted above has been couched in terms of the correctness of Christian doctrine. I also presented in Chapter 8 (p. 291) this man's publicly stated opposition to (predominantly young) unmarried couples living together in sexual

relationships. On that occasion he went on to make perfectly clear how the Council's opposition to this behaviour was derived from Christian doctrine:

> When God bin make Adam first, he looked down and he said like this: "Oh well, I got to make a mate for you Adam." And he took a rib out of Adam, one side you know one rib, so that Eve can be 'longside of Adam, be the right person for Adam. And today married life is a vow on the Bible. I take my wife as so-and-so as my beloved wife, and it's all upon the Bible, and it's a respect and it's shown before God. If the Lord Jesus had to call a trumpet tonight and those of you who are living like this now, I don't know how you're gonna stand before God's judgement. I don't want to speak or preach out here tonight, I want to bring some effect. It's going through me day by day and how to go about it by law. And only one law I can use tonight that is God law, God law, not the law of the land, not the law of anything else, not even Aboriginals' law ... the law that God has made - man and woman. Those of you who are prepared tomorrow, like properly man and properly woman, show youself out, nothing'll stop you tomorrow to coming up here [to the office in the White domain] signing a paper saying, "Look I want to sign a paper for marriage ... ." You realise again tonight, you gonna be in sin. When the Lord gonna come, all the Christian people ... been married [are] gonna go to heaven, and you behind here - don't look about marriage then it'll be all over. Tribulations, tribulations, big tribulations, that word's a big word that tribulations, mean all sorts of ... torment, all sorts of violence, not the little thing today that we see, they're only small, compared to that day to come ... (T71).

It is true that this man was much less effusive in such admonition of non-Christians and their sinful behaviour, in normal social interaction; his speeches at public meetings at times appeared deliberately tailored to fit the White Manager's expectation of an appropriate (and therefore necessarily demonstrably Christian) leader (i.e. Council Chairman). As I have stated above, the Manager was usually present at such meetings. However, having noted this qualification I can further state that I elicited similar opinions from this man in conversations where the Manager was not present.

That was also the case with the statements quoted in Chapter 8 (pp. 270-1) by the senior Aboriginal Church Elder, concerning the Biblical basis for Aborigines necessarily "coming under" White people in the administrative process. Those statements were made early in 1978. Some three and a half years later I discussed the same issue with him, and from the excerpt presented below it is clear that his views had not changed substantially. The Church Elder first explained how, in contrast to the appropriate behaviour of his two brothers, one of Noah's

sons had seen his father's "shame" by looking at him directly when he was drunk and naked. The other two sons rather walked backwards into Noah's tent and covered him with a sheet. The difference between this account given in late 1980 and the one quoted in Chapter 8 is that the Church Elder stated on the earlier occasion that the cursed son was Ham and on the later occasion that this son was Japheth. The fundamentalist interpretation in fact concerns the curse on Ham as the ancestor of dark-skinned peoples,[20] but the speaker's error on the occasion of our discussion is irrelevant to the substance of his beliefs on this issue.

[Excerpt from T75]:

D. Trigger	How that coming about now today, you still see that part there, or what? It's a very hard thing.
Respondent (R)	It's a hard thing. You can't believe it now [i.e. you can't understand how it could have happened], it's puzzling a mind to know a man, a White man [i.e. Noah] to have three different coloured sons. Shem was a White man; Ham was a half-caste man, he was in between, that's where the Chinese and the Yellow man comes from; ... and Japheth was the Black man. So there's three colour people in the world today.
DT	And that Japheth, all his descendants must be under?
R	Yeh. God says: "Now from now on Japheth, because you saw your father's shame you gotta come under."
DT	Now, it's really say that ...?
R	Yeh, it says it right there in Genesis ... .
DT	It's a very hard thing you know, because lot of Christian people will say that that passage doesn't really mean that too you know. You know what I mean because they don't like to think of Black people being under White people anything like that.
R	But it really happen ind'it [didn't it]? They can't deny ... .
DT	Well when I seen that passage there, ... but I never seen that word "black" or "white" ...
R	No not "black", I think it's "dark" ... .
DT	See, who believe that round here ...?

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[20]See Buckland (1929: 189) and Pettingill (1971: 338-9).

R   Oh all who read it, I know I've read that and I just can't place on it just now [i.e. give the precise Biblical reference] ... but I know.

DT   I know I talked to old ... [a man once but no longer at Doomadgee as a missionary, who was Manager for a period] one time. I think he believe that way ... .

R   Yeh.

DT   But where it lead him in his practical life, working with Aboriginal people ... if he gonna think Black people gotta be under...?

R   Well, that's where they got it from [i.e. such missionaries got the idea from the Biblical passage], and it been happening all over the world, all over Australia.

DT   You think they still got it here, like the White Christian people, you think they're still believing that way?

R   No, they're coming in to the point now where, they believe that ... the Black should be up now equal, working together with the White. Now there's a good illustration in a piano accordion. You can make good music just playing the white buttons ..., you can make good music just playing the black buttons ... sweet music. But, if you play the black and the white together, that sort of harmonise it, that's more better, black and white together make the better harmony of all ... . They starting to that point now where Black can come into better harmony with the White. I don't know whether these fellas [Doomadgee missionaries] thinking that, but I know everywhere else, I've spoken to a lot of Whitefellas ... .

Points that can be noted from these data include the emic notion that Noah was White; I did not directly question Christian Aborigines about whether in their view God and Jesus were also White, however I would expect their perspective to be that this was so at least in the case of Jesus. Secondly, the Church Elder consistently maintained his interpretation of the passage of Genesis in the face of my repeated confirmatory questions. Yet the excerpt concludes with his indicating that he simultaneously believes that "Black and White" should be "equal"; perhaps this phrase should be interpreted to mean "complementary" while yet unequal. I have already used several statements by this man as illustrative of the way Aboriginal residents were not consistent in their expressed attitudes on the issue of acceptance of missionary administrative control (see p. 275 above).

The further point here is that the illustration about the black and white notes on the piano accordion was stated by the Aboriginal Church Elder in late 1980, almost identically to the way it was presented by the White Manager at the public meeting in early 1978 (T62). This is simply another indication of the Manager's great influence over Christian Aborigines in particular. The incompatibility of real Christian commitment with what the Manager (and indeed most missionary staff) would designate as the "old beliefs", was made clear to Aborigines in "fellowship". The attitude of some staff, particularly those glossed in Chapter 8 as constituting a Manager-centred faction, was quite consistently uncompromising on this point throughout the research period.

The Manager indicated the rigidness of this staff view in the very first meeting I had with the Council (in 1978); he sought during the meeting to illustrate to me how the "old beliefs" had been long abandoned, by posing a leading question to the Christian Council Chairman: "You didn't have any of that old culture when you grew up, did you ... [X]?" This was as much a statement by the Manager, as a question seeking an answer. The Chairman's answer was: "No"; i.e. he confirmed the Manager's point. While he also indicated elsewhere in the discussion that he shared the Manager's view about the "old ways" being part of "the past", having been replaced by Christianity, the coerciveness implicit in this kind of interaction controlled by the Manager should also be recognised. The tone and style of his "question-statement" indicated the incredulity with which he would regard any answer other than the one given by the addressee. Particularly in such settings in the White domain, he was thus able to define what was the only appropriate Christian attitude on this issue.

Moreover, much of the Manager's face-to-face dealings in the White domain with Aborigines incorporated into the administrative apparatus, involved Aborigines who were avowed Christians. Of fourteen people recorded by me as having occupied the office of Councillor for some time during the research period, ten were avowed Christians "in fellowship".[21] Given the relatively small number of adult Aborigines

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[21]It can be noted that one of those counted as not attending in fact attended occasionally, while one counted as attending regularly in fact apparently missed a substantial number of Meetings during one period. As well, a few other people not recorded by me may well have been Councillors for short times during the research period.

"in fellowship" at any one time (as noted above on p. 305), this figure illustrates a strong tendency for Christian Aborigines to become Councillors in comparison to other Aboriginal residents. The fact of greater participation by Christians was recognised openly by both Aboriginal and White residents. For example, among the Whites, the school Principal on one occasion told me that the school Parents' and Citizens' Association meetings were attended predominantly by "the Church people". And among Aborigines, it was known quite widely that the Council Chairman during part of the study period consulted the senior Aboriginal Church Elder (who was not a Councillor) on certain administrative matters; certainly the Chairman explained to me on one occasion: "I don't put myself in front of ... [X], he's an Elder of the Church."

The final issue to be considered in this section is whether avowedly Christian Aborigines were favoured in material terms through the administrative process. Apart from allegations by some non-Christian Aborigines that Christians were favoured, some relevant quantitative data were obtained. Of those adults living in newer European-style houses in late 1980, the senior Aboriginal Church Elder was able to say of 56 of them that 42 (75%) were baptised. Of those living in the old Mission huts and humpies, he was able to say of 243 of them that 121 (50%) were baptised. The more meaningful figures concern the cross-tabulation of attendance at Christian Meetings with house kind. Of those said by the Aboriginal Church Elder in 1980 to be attending Meetings regularly, 59% lived in the newer houses, as compared to 14% of those said to be not attending regularly. Of those said to be attending regularly or irregularly, 43% were in the new houses as compared to only 13% of those not attending. Tables 11 and 12 present these cross-tabulations. The best estimate derived from these figures is thus that those attending Christian Meetings regularly were just over four times as likely to be living in the newer houses as were those not attending regularly; while this figure is just over three times as likely when comparing those attending both regularly and irregularly with other residents. I have not made this kind of calculation with respect to the more recent European-style housing occupied during 1983.

While the data would thus support the hypothesis that those attending Christian Meetings (and particularly those attending Meetings

TABLE 11

REGULAR ATTENDANCE AT CHRISTIAN MEETINGS BY HOUSE-TYPE (IN LATE 1980)

(Column Percentages, Chi square = 38.95, p < .001)

House Type	Attendance	
	Attending Regularly (N = 34)	Not Attending Regularly (N = 272)
New	20 (59%)	39 (14%)
Old	14 (41%)	233 (86%)

TABLE 12

ATTENDANCE (REGULAR AND IRREGULAR) AT CHRISTIAN MEETINGS
BY HOUSE-TYPE (IN LATE 1980)

(Column Percentages, Chi square = 31.75, p < .001)

House Type	Attendance	
	Attendance (Regular and Irregular) (N = 67)	Not Attending (N = 239)
New	29 (43%)	30 (13%)
Old	38 (57%)	209 (87%)

regularly) were favoured in the allocation of new housing, I have already discussed in Chapter 8 a number of other variables which must be taken into account when considering administrative decisions in relation to new housing. Foremost among these variables is employment, and I was able also to cross-tabulate this variable with baptism and attendance at Christian meetings. The data showed that much the same proportion of those baptised and others were in employment in late 1980; samples of 160 baptised and 128 others both showed employment at approximately 36%. However, as Table 13 shows, a significantly higher proportion of those attending Christian Meetings regularly (according to the senior Aboriginal Church Elder) were employed, than were those who were not attending regularly. Table 14 shows that if those working on cattle stations are excluded from the calculation (on the basis of the

TABLE 13

REGULAR ATTENDANCE AT CHRISTIAN MEETINGS BY EMPLOYMENT IN LATE 1980
(INCLUDING STATION EMPLOYMENT)

(Column Percentages, Chi square = 5.44, p < .02)

Employment	Attendance	
	Attending Regularly (N = 32)	Not Attending Regularly (N = 289)
Employed	19 (59%)	110 (38%)
Unemployed	13 (41%)	179 (62%)

TABLE 14

REGULAR ATTENDANCE AT CHRISTIAN MEETINGS BY EMPLOYMENT IN LATE 1980
(EXCLUDING STATION EMPLOYMENT)

(Column Percentages, Chi square = 8.27, p < .01)

Employment	Attendance	
	Attending Regularly (N = 32)	Not Attending Regularly (N = 269)
Employed	19 (59%)	90 (33.5%)
Unemployed	13 (41%)	179 (66.5%)

possibility that the missionaries may have had comparatively less control over the allocation of station jobs to Aboriginal residents), the difference in terms of employment between those attending Church Meetings regularly and all others is again evident.

I present these figures as a means of describing a tendency among those "in fellowship" of being somewhat more likely to obtain employment than others. However, this may well result primarily from greater conformity among those "in fellowship" to the White Australian ideal of a reliable sober worker. Indeed, it may well be that avowedly Christian Aborigines actively sought employment more than others. It cannot be concluded without such qualifications, that the senior missionary staff

favoured Christian Aborigines in the allocation of available jobs, because of the latter's maintenance of commitment to Christian belief and participation in Meetings.

9.7 Conclusion

I have described in this chapter the process of becoming a Christian and the behavioural routine in which those "in fellowship" participate. Dimensions of tension between those "in fellowship" and others have been illustrated, as well as aspects of syncretism between the two traditions in the world-view of Aboriginal residents. A more complete ethnography of Aboriginal Christianity would have to document further data on beliefs, participation in Christian rites and the implications for persons' status relations with others when they embrace Christian social identity.[22] I have not pursued in great detail the issue of intellectual syncretism raised by Stanner (1979: 57) when he wrote, seemingly over-simplistically that: "No true juncture of the Christian and the Aboriginal mind can ... be possible"; although my preliminary assessment of this assertion is that it is wrong.

However, the discussion in the chapter (and indeed also in Chapters 6, 7 and 8) is sufficient to establish an important point in this thesis, namely: that Aboriginal acceptance of Christianity has entailed parallel and commensurate acceptance of White administrative authority. This is evident, firstly in relation to the small group of those "in fellowship" at any one time, consisting of a permanent core and some who move in and out of fellowship through the processes of successive "downfalls" and "re-dedications". I have discussed how avowedly Christian Aborigines are incorporated into the administrative apparatus to a greater extent than others, and also how they appear to derive proportionately greater material benefits from that process. The further point has been that those "in fellowship" perceive the practice of White authority as intricately entwined with the practice of Christian doctrine, and as they quite avidly embrace the latter it becomes difficult to reject the former. For example, commitment to a Christian world-view and social identity has involved an attitude of alignment with the Church Elders, and two of the three White Elders (the Manager and School Principal) have been simultaneously in key positions

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[22]Cf. Calley's (1964: 56) study where: "Religion [Pentecostalism] provides the only avenue to leadership and status open to Bandjalang."; also Beckett's (1971) discussion of rivalry, competition and conflict in a Christian Torres Strait Island community, where he notes (p. 44) how: "Christian values create a field for rivalry."

of secular administrative authority. Christianity has thus partly operated as a powerful legitimating ideology for White authority generally.[23]

Secondly, we must consider whether this has also been the case for the great majority of Aborigines not maintaining active Christian fellowship in the Church Assembly. I have discussed syncretism in the world-view of this majority, indicating the incorporation of some aspects of Christian doctrine. However, the more theoretically pertinent question here is to what extent there has been widespread attribution of legitimacy to Christian doctrine and practices, by those not avowing personal commitment to this doctrine nor participating consistently in these practices. To put the question differently: has there been active Aboriginal rejection of Christianity? I have little data indicating such rejection. As documented in previous chapters, there has certainly been considerable hostility towards and rejection of missionaries themselves, whether as individuals, factions, or an entire group. This hostility has arisen through the kinds of administrative issues discussed in Chapter 8, Section 8.3.3. But certainly, Aborigines have never aggressively and totally rejected Christian doctrine in a way similar to the Brethren rejection of Blackfella law. While the Brethren may be said to have quite clearly and consistently regarded Blackfella law as illegitimate, the widespread Aboriginal attitude towards Christianity has been different.

Non-Christian Aborigines have never alleged that Christian doctrine should not be attributed legitimacy by the missionaries, in any way parallel to the Brethren attitude towards Blackfella law. Furthermore, they have regarded some of the key issues addressed by Christianity as fundamentally important ones, death and its aftermath being prime among these. The high proportion of people participating in baptism (with its powerful symbolism of being "born again") at some point in their lives, attests to this fact. The general point I wish to make is that the missionaries have engendered greater acceptance by virtue of their consistently religious world-view, than they would have if their administrative practice had been purely secular in character. A degree

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[23]Calley (1964: 56) also stresses the importance of Christianity in the process of the operation of authority. The interesting difference is that in his study Christian Aborigines were dealing with non-Christian White administrators, and thereby overtly disapproved of the latter's moral status. Pentecostalism thus provided Aborigines with a means for expressing self-righteous hostility towards and rejection of White authority.

of legitimacy has been attributed to Christian doctrine and practice by the non-Christian Aboriginal majority, though this has been part of a minor acceptance as compared to the attitude of those "in fellowship". The non-Christian Aboriginal majority have in general terms thus accepted the appropriateness of White administrative authority to a much less extent than those "in fellowship", but Christianity as a legitimating ideology for that authority must be seen as having a broader range of influence than just over the small group of Aborigines participating actively in the Church at any one time.

PART C - Summary

Finally, I can now outline briefly some of the conclusions of Part C of the thesis, which are to be discussed again along with the key theoretical points emerging from Part B, in Chapter 10, the conclusion to this thesis.

In Chapter 6, the historical data indicated the general domination of Aboriginal society by White society by means of economic power, physical force controlled by the state, and entrenched authority relations following the institutionalisation of Aborigines with the establishment of Doomadgee Mission. Chapter 7 has described for the settlement during the research period, how Aboriginal residents maintain through social closure substantial autonomy within what has been designated as the Blackfella domain. Chapter 8 has dealt with firstly: the nature of the missionary administration including considerably divergent perspectives within it in relation to the manner of legitimating administrative authority; secondly, while I have identified diffuse resistance within the Blackfella domain, the chapter has described the major Aboriginal concerns in complying with White authority. Chapter 9 has discussed how Aboriginal attitudes in according legitimacy to Christianity have entailed different degrees of commensurate acceptance of the general system of White authority. Indeed, the major theoretical issue treated in most detail throughout Part C, has been the description and analysis of a sociology of Aboriginal compliance, and I will return to this subject in the conclusion to the thesis (Chapter 10).

PART D

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The substantive theoretical conclusions of this thesis have been stated in the respective chapters and also summarised at the ends of both Parts B and C. Therefore, I will repeat them here more concisely and somewhat selectively, in the course of overviewing the study and returning to the major issues of formal theory discussed in Chapter 2.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the thesis has sought to account for a wide range of social action in terms of a theoretical framework stressing the centrality of power relations in social life. I have sought to explain social action, firstly through understanding its meaning as apprehended consciously by social actors, and secondly through interpreting its significance in terms of a number of formal theoretical concepts. While in Part B, the major concepts have been status, stratification and the nature of social groups, in Part C they have been domination, authority, legitimacy and social closure.

I concluded at the end of Part B that in considering social life generated by Aboriginal tradition, I have not found evidence of relations of domination either by virtue of authority or economic power. Thus, I noted that in this sense contemporary Aboriginal tradition may be said to generate formally egalitarian social life. However, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 demonstrated a body of intensely competitive status relations derived from Aboriginal tradition, and I have discussed the sense in which these status relations can be said to thereby generate social stratification. Two key issues concerning the extent of stratification deriving from Aboriginal tradition were discussed in summarising Part B: group formation and the egocentric designation of status hierarchies.

In presenting a complex pattern of individual and collective Aboriginal affiliation to language, country and kin, I have made it clear that the resulting status relations do not entail the operation of corporate groups. The study thus indicates the necessity to apply the notions of "status" and "status group" separately. Weber's work as discussed in Chapter 2 does not make this point clearly, and thus routinely conflates these concepts. Moreover, I have concluded that the competitive status relations deriving from Aboriginal tradition do not generally entail extensively agreed-upon status hierarchies. Apart from widely acknowledged agreement concerning the high status of a small number of Blackfella law experts, what rather operates is a general

pattern of mutually contradictory egocentric and chauvinistic assertions about the status of one's own language, country and kin. I have therefore concluded that with the exception of the achieved super-ordinate status of the small number of Blackfella law experts, Aboriginal social life as it derives from Aboriginal tradition may be viewed as lacking large-scale formalised agreed-upon status inequality which extends across the settlement population.

Thus, having made the point that competitive status relations operate in a social formation without corporate groups, it is also clear that such status relations do not necessarily generate social stratification. My contention has been that the extent of social stratification rather depends on the degree of broad agreement about status hierarchies throughout the population. For no matter how strongly people assert their own high status on the basis of a particular feature of their identity, that status will not be attributed to them unless there is reasonably broad agreement on their ranking as against the competing features of others.

Part C of the thesis has considered the important issue of domination in the analysis of power relations. The data have confirmed both the elegant and problematic nature of Weber's treatment of compliance as discussed in Chapter 2. Firstly, the domination of Aboriginal society via economic power (and the associated class situations of Aborigines and Whites) has been demonstrated for both the research period (variously throughout Chapters 7, 8 and 9) and during earlier historical times (Chapter 6). Aborigines have been enmeshed in a set of practices entailing a major dimension of their powerlessness, by virtue of a constellation of their economic interests. While these interests have clearly entailed Aboriginal compliance within the pattern of White Australian colonial domination, the relationship between voluntarism and coercion within this pattern of compliance has emerged as problematic. Weber's stress on the "voluntary" component in the formation and pursuit of economic interests on the part of the ruled has proven necessary, but insufficient. My data and analysis rather indicate the necessity to stress equally the coercion implicit in the lack of alternative means of generating and pursuing economic interests, available to the colonised.

Secondly, the use (and the threat) of physical force by the state during the history of race-relations has been demonstrated (Chapter 6), and it is arguable that this remained a factor in the maintenance of Aboriginal motivations directed towards compliance during the research

period. Certainly, in considering this operation of force and the threat of it, our analysis must stress the unambiguously coercive nature of state power, over and above any element of "voluntarism" which may be also identifiable within the social life of the subordinate.

However, it has been in the operation of authority relations that the issue of legitimacy is particularly significant. I have concluded in Chapter 6 that the voluntary element in Aboriginal compliance historically increased with the latter's institutionalisation at Doomadgee. Yet Chapter 7 has established that to the extent that Aborigines have simultaneously maintained a socially closed Blackfella domain at the settlement, they can be said to have maintained a substantial degree of autonomy (cf. Weber's point about socially closed groups forming most effective interest groups [Chapter 2, p. 16]). The maintenance of social closure so strongly by Aborigines cannot be ignored in the analysis of race-relations; indeed, I regard the development of the concept of domain in this thesis as having quite broad implications for such analyses. For the widespread exclusion of Whites by Aborigines constitutes a major index of the extent to which the latter withhold the attribution of legitimacy to the system of White Australian authority. I have in fact termed this social closure a form of resistance.

From Chapter 8 it is clear that the operation of administrative authority in the settlement has involved further complex dimensions of power relations. On the one hand, Aborigines have commonly (though certainly not unanimously) viewed the handling of bureaucratic discourse in settlement affairs as appropriately part of the White domain, and certain local White staff have been thereby perceived as having legitimate areas of work. Indeed, the study has presented evidence of considerable Aboriginal intellectual support for state law and its local administrators. Those Aborigines incorporated into the ruling administrative apparatus have accorded greater legitimacy to its authority than have other Aboriginal residents (cf. Weber's point about those constituting part of the ruling apparatus developing an "interest" in the continuance of the domination, by virtue of their own participation and the resulting benefits [Chapter 2, p. 26]). On the other hand, there has been widespread Aboriginal opposition to and resentment towards the White administrative process. The further data in Chapter 8 presenting missionary administrative perspectives have made clear the continuing coercive element within the local administrative processes enmeshing Aboriginal residents.

A fundamental factor in the legitimation of White authority at Doomadgee has been treated in Chapter 9, where I have argued for the critical importance of Christianity as a legitimating ideology. To repeat one of the major summary points of Chapter 9, the missionaries have engendered greater legitimacy from Aborigines by virtue of their consistently religious world-view, than they would have if their administrative practice had been purely secular in character. Indeed, a further analytical point that could thus be made is that Christianity is a legitimating ideology which has established "hegemonic" control of Aborigines, for in legitimating the system of local White authority it has led Aborigines to embrace a system antipathetic to their interests.

If the latter assertion is questionable, it is on the ground that it is much too simplistic to argue that the system of White authority has been antipathetic to Aboriginal interests in any complete way. More than likely, that would be Weber's comment; he could well refer to the necessary "elective affinity" between persons' ideas and interests (see Chapter 2, p. 29), by which the nature of their "voluntary compliance" is inevitably tied closely to their real interests. However, the data in Part C of this thesis support the assertion made in Chapter 2 about the necessity of accounting adequately for the social processes leading the subordinate to "voluntarily comply" with a system of domination. In seeking to provide such an account, I have sought to extend Weber's sociology of domination to more adequately treat the data on compliance, while yet maintaining a necessarily strong focus on the critical issue of legitimacy. The study has thus defined the need for a flexible interplay between the concepts of coercion and voluntarism in research concerning a sociology of compliance. It indicates the inadequacy of the conventional Weberian view which at best conflates these two notions, and at worst emphasises voluntarism at the expense of a sufficient treatment of coercion. The study shows the importance of analytically treating both voluntarism and coercion as critical components of the concept of legitimacy.

Finally, it is my contention that the modified Weberian theoretical framework used in this study embodies an elegant perspective on the understanding of major dimensions of social life. As noted earlier, it has been part of my research aim to articulate this study with certain fundamental theoretical concerns of anthropology and sociology. I have sought to achieve this aim in the course of providing the most adequate account of the social life with which the study has been concerned.

APPENDIX A

LITERATURE REVIEW AND COMMENTS CONCERNING SOME PROBLEMATIC ISSUES
IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GANGGALIDA LINGUISTIC TERRITORY[1]

The name of this language, the territory in which it was spoken, and its relationship to adjacent languages and linguistic territories are problematic issues as treated in the literature. To order the reports, which are sometimes conflicting and rather confusing, it is best to consider them separately.

However, firstly we can note that during the research period "Ganggalida" was mostly given as the name of the language, and the few older people who still spoke it fluently said that gangga means "word" or "talk". Keen's linguistic research on this language leads her to say (1972: 4) that the word Ganggalida "simply means 'language': /kangka-lit-a/ word - noun suffix - nominative". My data support her statement. However, her further statement that "Yukulta is the name of the tribe as well as the name for their own language" is more problematic. Keen says that "Ganggalida" is often given as an alternative for "Yukulta". My data are that "Yugulda" is occasionally given as the name of the same language as "Ganggalida". However, it is clear that if Keen's "tribe" is equated with what I am treating as a gross language-based social category, it was the term "Ganggalida", rather than "Yugulda", which was used during the research period.

1. Keen

Keen says that exact boundaries of Yukulta country are hard to determine, but gives the following description (1972: 1):

> ... the Yukulta territory did not stretch as far south as the Nicholson River but went south-west as far as the start of the Hilly country and south-east as far as a series of creeks and waterholes - Wild Horse Creek (pirila), Lilly waterhole (wininginta), Flying-fox waterhole (kultayara-tiyatjarpa) and Tarpot Creek. Most informants claim that Burketown was Minkin country not Yukulta country. For the eastern boundary, some say that the Yukulta territory went to the western banks of the Albert River and others say that it did not cross the Nicholson River [a footnote states that the western boundary may not even have crossed Cliffdale Creek].

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[1]Most of the material in Appendix A has been extracted from Trigger (1981a: 4-18).

She further states (1972: 2) that:

> Some informants claimed that Njangga was the name used by
> the Garawa people to refer to the Yukulta tribe (or perhaps
> their language) and that Yanggarala was the proper name for
> the tribe listed [in the literature] as Njangga.

She says that 80% of the words listed by Curr (1886) for a Yangarella tribe are cognate with Yukulta words, and suggests that there is one dialect, Yanggal (which she says is known to be the language spoken by the former inhabitants of Forsyth Island), with alternative names: Yangkala, Yangarlla, Njanggara, Njanggala, Njangga.

Keen further shows (1972: 5) that Gayardilt (spoken by the former inhabitants of Bentinck Island) and Yanggal are closely related to (i.e. mutually intelligible with) Yukulta, and that while Lardil (spoken by the inhabitants of Mornington Island) is perhaps not a related dialect, it is a related language.

She thus has different data from different informants, yet she does present a line on a map denoting "Yukulta territory" (see Map 1).

2. Tindale

Tindale (1974: 171) gives the location of Jokula (for which he gives Jugulda - clearly equivalent to Keen's Yukulta - as an alternative):

> From Burketown to Hann Creek and Massacre Inlet; on the
> coast west of Cliffdale Creek; inland nearly to Nicholson
> River; east to Albert River mouth from near Escott.

This description appears somewhat internally contradictory, however a glance at Tindale's map (see Map 1) shows that his view of "Jokula territory" is that while it proceeds westwards from near the mouth of the Albert River, it is broken along the coast by the intrusion of "Janggal territory". He locates Janggal (1974: 170) on "Forsyth Island ... and the mangrove-lined shore on the mainland opposite, as far west as Cliffdale Creek" (and also locates one Janggal "horde for which no name is now obtainable" on Denman Island). He gives several alternative names for Janggal, including Njangga:l, Janggaral, and Janggaralda (which he says is the name of the language, presumably rather than the name of the "tribe"). He states that the Janggal of Forsyth Island use two terms, Jungulda and Kanggaleida, for the people of the Burketown area. He gives two further "directional" terms said to be applied on the one hand to both Lardil and Jokula ("Limumbant": easterners) differentiating them on the other hand from the Janggal themselves ("Balumbant": "people of or from the west"). These

statements are ambiguous as, firstly, Tindale does not state clearly that it is Janggal people who apply these terms (while Ganggalida people now know them as Layardilda terms for direction, contemporary Ganggalida directionals are different), and secondly, because he describes Jokula territory as west, as well as east, of Janggal territory.

Elsewhere (1974: 227), Tindale notes that in his earlier map (1940), "the Njangga were treated as a separate tribe", but that from fieldwork at Doomadgee with "Janjula people" he concluded that "it is merely an eastern name used by the Jokula and others for eastern hordes or the Janjula, extending inland to near Wollogorang".

The multiple terms for languages and "tribes" given by Tindale in his text are simplified on his map (see Map 1).

3. Other Works

The maps and supporting text of Memmott et al. (1980) show Kangkalita, or Yukulta which is given as an alternative name, located on the mainland opposite Yangkal (which is located on Forsyth, Andrew and Denham Islands). Pains and Bayley Islands are shown as shared Kangkalita-Yangkal territory, and Allen Island is shown as shared Kangkalita-Kaiadilt (spoken on Bentinck Island) territory. Kangkalita territory is shown extending further westwards and southwestwards (into the NT) than is stated by Keen or Tindale (see Map 1).

Sharp's papers (1935, 1939) provide only general locations using numbers on maps (see Map 2); in the earlier publication, he places Yukula as centred just west of the Gregory River - that is, its reaches towards the coast after it has merged with the Nicholson River, and in the later paper Iukala is placed as centred further northwestwards, between the coast and the Nicholson River. Similarly, the earlier paper locates Yangkala as centred just west of the vicinity of the coastal reaches of Lagoon and Settlement Creeks, while the later paper puts Inagkala somewhat south of there. Sharp may have followed the work of Davidson (1938) who places Yukula and Yangkala similarly, although his map makes it clear that Yangkala is located also in the coastal regions of Cliffdale Creek (see Map 2).

In geographically locating Yugulda among the Tangic group of Australian languages, Oates (1975: 304) follows Keen, but confuses the issue by incorrectly giving Yanggal as an alternative name supposedly given by Keen. Oates then corrects a separate mistake in her earlier publication (Oates and Oates, 1970) where Yanggal was incorrectly listed

as an alternative name for Njangga. Finally, Oates follows Tindale's early map (1940) in locating Njangga in coastal territory west of Yugulda territory.

Capell (1963) locates Jugula "from Burketown to west of Cliffdale Creek on [the] coast" and inland nearly to the Nicholson River, and simply puts Ganggalida "near Burketown". He also locates "Nemarang" on "Forsythe [sic] Island". However, Tindale (1974: 155) documents well how this term represents a mistake by Capell. It comes from the name of a Forsyth Islander, Edward Namie, who told Capell that the island was his; as Tindale puts it, "The tribal name came to be recorded as Nemarang."

Some early references include: Parry-Okeden's map (1897) where he places Engarilla north of the Nicholson River, between it and the coast (see Map 2); Mathews (1900: 497) names Yookala and Yangarilla as two of the four tribes which "inhabit the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria from Calvert River to the Nicholson"; and Old (25.5.1899) states that:

> The Eulo Tribe consists of about two hundred eighty males
> 60 females and about sixty children under fourteen years of
> age. Their country extends from the Nicholson River on the
> South to the border on the west, thence to the sea.

After mentioning lack of accuracy in the accounts of tribal territories he had received, Curr (1886: 294) locates the Yangarella Tribe "eastward of the Nicholson River and between that river and the coast" (p. 296); however, from the position given for Yangarella on his accompanying map it is clear that he has meant to say "westwards" rather than "eastwards", of the Nicholson River. It should be noted that this is the language about which Keen (1972: 2) states that 80% of the words are cognate with Yukulta words. As well, Curr gives a word list (but no name) for a language located at Burketown (p. 298),[2] and it is mentioned (p. 300) that "The Eugoola Tribe" is "on the Nicholson River".

Finally, Roth states (22.6.1900) that the "Chief Camp" of the "Obarindi Tribe" (written subsequently by Tindale [1974] as "Ngoborindi") was "along [the] Nicholson River"; he adds in a note that the Obarindi and Yangarilla (who were "all dead now") "used to mate and walk about together" along the Nicholson (rather than along the Leichhardt as he apparently noted in his earlier publication [1897]). It is to be noted that Roth's word list for this language shows a

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[2]Note that Oates (1975: 29) states that this language has been found to have 66% cognates with what Curr gives elsewhere (p. 314) as Mingin.

considerable number of words to be cognate with Ganggalida words as given in Keen (1972) and from my own field data. Contemporary older people suggest that "Nguburinji country" was along the Gregory River, although there is some disagreement about this question.

Thus, the accounts given in the literature vary and Maps 1 and 2 provide a summary illustration of the different languages and locations given. Several issues appear as problematic:

(I)   the distinction between Ganggalida (or variant names) and Yugulda (or variant names);

(II) the relationship between both of these, and Nyangga (or variant names);

(III) the relationship between languages and linguistic territories on the Wellesley Islands and those on the adjacent mainland.

The following section will discuss these issues in the light of my data.

(I)   The distinction between Ganggalida and Yugulda

This distinction is referred to in a number of ways. A number of people say that "Ganggalida" refers to people, while "Yugulda" referred in the recent past to their language. If this was the case in the past, as fewer and fewer speakers of the language remained, the latter term may have fallen out of use and the former term come to be used to refer to the language as well – note that as described in Chapter 3 it is currently the term "Ganggalida" which is used in the phrase "Ganggalida country" (or "people", "side", etc.), rather than the term "Yugulda".

After saying that Ganggalida and Yugulda are "the same" ("use same words", "all the same talk", etc.), many people distinguish Yugulda as "bit heavy talk" or "bit slower", and Ganggalida as "bit light talk" or "bit faster". Thus they are distinguished as sounding different, while being lexically "the same"; the distinction may have been one between two dialects of the one language, which have now been collapsed into what is termed Ganggalida. Simultaneous with dialectal variation, it is possible that "Ganggalida" and "Yugulda" were associated with different geographical areas (which were most likely, but not necessarily, immediately adjacent). Indeed, some state that Yugulda speakers were originally further east than Ganggalida speakers (with a few idiosyncratically, and probably incorrectly, going so far as suggesting that Yugulda was originally spoken mainly east of the Albert River, and then became "mixed up" with Ganggalida in Burketown). If there were

two dialects associated with different areas, the locations were most likely both well west of Burketown.

While people who consider themselves to be "Ganggalida people" may sometimes refer to themselves (and be referred to by others) as "Burketown side", and to their language as "Burketown language", in fact the older people who know explain that the indigenous language in the Burketown area was Min.ginda (or Min.gin). They are supported by many sources in the literature; for example early sources such as Palmer (1883: 277) who places "the Myngeen tribe" as owning the country from Burketown to the coast, Curr (1886: 314) who places the "Mingin Tribe" "on the west bank of the Leichhardt River, near the sea", Turnbull (1896: 13) who locates the Minkin Tribe on the sea coast and the estuary of the Leichhardt River, and Old (25.5.1899) who states that the country of the "Minkin Tribe" "extends from the Leichhardt River to Nicholson River and from a line drawn between Armraynold Station west to Egilabria". More recent references (e.g. Tindale 1974: 181; Dymock 1977: 5) largely concur with the early sources.

The explanation of why current "Ganggalida people" at times refer to themselves as "Burketown people" is to be found in the fact that Min.ginda speakers appear to have decreased in numbers drastically during the earlier stages of contact with Whites. The causes were no doubt varied, for example killings by Whites (as documented well in an extract from The Brisbane Courier [9 June 1868], given by Dymock [n.d.: 3]), and illness, for example the "Eastern disease called "Yellow Jack" which reportedly wiped out a large section of the Burketown population in the 1870s (Watson et al. 1977: 10); see also Sharp's note (1939: 454, Footnote 41) that the Minkin tribe "is apparently extinct, probably having suffered severely from the yellow fever which decimated Burketown in the 1860s." Ganggalida people (probably somewhat later) came from the west to live, temporarily at first and more permanently later on, in camps on the fringe of Burketown. There appears to be a sense in which they "replaced" Min.ginda speakers, and thus became labelled as "Burketown people".

(II) The relationship between Ganggalida (and Yugulda) and Nyangga (or variant names)

Regardless of what "Ganggalida people" call their own language, it is now usually called "Nyangga", and the people "Nyangga mob", by those who consider their own primary language to be Garawa, Waanyi, or Yanyula. The question is whether Nyangga was thus simply another name

for the same language as Ganggalida, or whether these two names referred to two different dialects and associated different linguistic territories. If the latter situation obtained, Yanyula speakers may simply have historically branded both dialects and their speakers with the name for the dialect perceived to be immediately adjacent, that is "Nyangga", and this useage may well have spread to Garawa and Waanyi speakers during Wild Time. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that "Nyangga people" were located traditionally further west than "Ganggalida people". The former are said by some to have had their main camps in the vicinity of Ngururi ("Horse Island") on the western side of Massacre Inlet, while the latter's main camping places were further east at Dumbara, Gunamula, Wambilbayi, Dumaji, etc. (see Map 4 showing the location of these sites). The two are compared at times by saying that Ganggalida is "more in with Burketown", that is oriented further eastwards. Also, there are a few cases where different words have been given in Nyangga and Ganggalida for a few English words.

Keen's point that "Nyangga" is an alternative name for Yanggal, the language spoken on Forsyth Island, is not supported by contemporary Aboriginal opinion, and neither is Tindale's suggestion that "Nyangga" is a name used by Jokula (that is, Ganggalida or Yugulda) speaking people and others for "eastern hordes of the Janjula".

(III) The relationship between languages and linguistic territories on the Wellesley Islands and those on the adjacent mainland

"Ganggalida people", and those Garawa, Waanyi and Yanyula people who offer any opinion at all, agree that "Layardilda" is the name of the language spoken on Mornington Island. People also state that Yanggal (sometimes given as Yanggarala or Yangarala) is the language of Forsyth Island, however this term is not used much and some people state they do not know it. It is another term, "Gananggalinda", which is used more often in conversation by older Ganggalida speakers. "Gananggalinda" is used to describe the language of the people who lived "beach side" in the vicinity of Balan.gayi (Point Parker) and Gabula (Bayley Point) on the mainland, and also occupied from time to time Jurrman.gi (Bayley Island) and Marranggabayi (Pains Island) off Bayley Point, and Mildiji (Allen Island) off Point Parker.[3] The language is said to have been very like Ganggalida "but bit heavy"; it

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[3]Note that the names are used in this way to refer to the whole island, but may well have once been names for only major sites on the islands.

was mutually intelligible with Ganggalida. Both Ganggalida and Gananggalinda are contrasted with Layardilda, which is "too rough" and hard to understand. The language of Forsyth Island seems to be associated with Layardilda, rather than Ganggalida, that is with Mornington Island rather than the mainland. As stated above, Bayley and Pains Islands are associated with Gananggalinda (and hence Ganggalida), the language of the saltwater domain on the adjacent mainland, however people from Forsyth Island may well have occupied them temporarily from time to time as well (as portrayed by Memmott et al. 1980).

The language of Bentinck Island is usually referred to as "Bentinck language". Tindale states (1974: 13) that the Bentinck Islanders' name for their own language, Gayardilt (which he writes as Kaiadilt) was traditionally unknown to Layardilda and Yanggal speakers, and certainly, contemporary "Ganggalida people" still do not know it.

Tindale (at times in association with co-authors) has devoted a number of papers to Bentinck Island and its traditional inhabitants. One of his major arguments is that Bentinck Islanders were traditionally isolated from contact with people from the mainland and from the other islands in the Wellesley group, and in the most recent publication (1977: 270) it is suggested that this isolation has been operating since very early times in this people's prehistory. Tindale produces a number of kinds of evidence for this assertion, however it is only the issue of language which will be taken up here.

Tindale states (1962: 278) "the relative isolation of their [Bentinck Islanders'] language, which, save for Janggal, the tongue of the Forsyth Islanders, to the northwest, appears not to be very closely related to any neighbouring language." In the more recent publication (1976: 257) he refers to this similarity with Janggal as one of vocabulary. In the same publication he comments that:

> The language of the Kaiadilt seems to be of a type found
> chiefly in the southern parts of the continent, possibly
> indicating relative antiquity in a separation between people
> who drifted to the south and the ancestors of the Kaiadilt
> who remained in the area near the Sahul Shelf (p. 256).

He states as evidence for this, "clues [which] appear in the vocabulary." He presents the example of the Gayardilt term for water, which he gives as ngoko, and which he says appears elsewhere on the adjoining Gulf coast (to the west) but "in a southerly direction ... seems to be absent." It is difficult to know from this whether Tindale means that the term may well be found in a southerly direction elsewhere

on the Gulf coast. However, it is clear from his statement that he has either overlooked the fact that Gayardilt and Ganggalida are very closely related, or deliberately ignored it.

Aboriginal people in the region all state without hesitation that Ganggalida and "Bentinck language" are very similar. At times, "Ganggalida people" say that "Bentinck people" talk Ganggalida, "talk same like we", etc. Moreover, I have observed several old people communicating fluently in Ganggalida with Bentinck people, while the latter responded in Gayardilt. Keen's work (1972: 5), as has been referred to above, supports the Aboriginal view of how closely related are these two languages. To further quote her, she finds that out of a total of 144 words there was 83% shared vocabulary, and 95% when comparing 60 of the words listed in O'Grady and Klokeid's 100 word list (1969). To take Tindale's example, my data are that the word for water is ngugu in Gayardilt and nguguwa in Ganggalida; and this degree of similarity of vocabulary is usual with these two languages.

The fact that the languages are so closely related has implications for the comments made from time to time throughout the publications of Tindale et al. that the Bentinck Islanders traditionally lived "in complete isolation" (e.g. in Simmons et al. 1964: 66). The crucial question is, assuming that the two "languages" (probably better described as dialects of the one language) stem from the same parent language, how is it that they have remained so similar if their speakers have had no contact? Indeed, how could they have remained so similar over any substantial amount of time without their speakers having contact?

"Ganggalida people" associate "Bentinck people" quite directly with "Gananggalinda people", that is the people who traditionally occupied the mainland saltwater domain areas on the mainland adjacent (to the west) of Bentinck Island. Indeed, a problem which has proved difficult to resolve is that it is very widely stated by "Ganggalida people" and by Layardilda-speaking people on Mornington Island, that "Bentinck people" are really "mainland people", and that they fled to Bentinck Island in the early stages of contact with whites.[4] I suspect that this

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[4]Note one published account in an autobiography of a Mornington Islander (Roughsey 1977: 96):

> The Kaiadilt from Bentinck Island, the Yanggarl from Forsyth
> Island and the Yugoolda on the nearby mainland speak almost
> the same language and I suppose they were once one tribe.

oral history derives from certain "Gananggalinda people" having fled from the mainland to various of the Wellesley Islands (perhaps in the direction of Bentinck Island) during the early stages of Wild Time.[5]

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[5]Map 3 should be consulted for a summary diagram of approximate boundaries of linguistic territories as described by contemporary Doomadgee residents.

APPENDIX B

FURTHER NOTE CONCERNING THE LITERATURE ON THE SUBSECTION
AND SEMIMOIETY SYSTEMS OF THE STUDY REGION

The subsection terms given in Figure 2 (Chapter 4) have been reported in the literature for this region. Mathews (1898: 251-2) reports them, then reports five out of the eight differently (only male terms are given) (1899:77), then largely returns to his original set (1901: 73, 1905: 66). Roth (1910: 100) records four of them for what he calls the Obarindi (written later as Ngoborindi) tribe on the Nicholson River, and as Sharp says (1939: 455, Footnote 42), he probably failed to record the other four because he was used to the four-section system to the southeast. Roth did, however, know of the eight subsection system of "the Karawa tribe" (1910: 101). Ehrlich's general map (1922) wrongly shows a "four class system" in Qld and an "eight class system" in the NT, the state border being the boundary between the two systems. Turnbull's report (1911:80) (though ambiguous) indicates that the subsection system in fact extended eastwards as far as the Min.ginda on the Albert River, and Radcliffe-Brown's map (1930: 42) shows this reasonably accurately. Spencer and Gillen report several of the subsection terms (1904: 76) and semimoiety terms (1904: 119) from west of the claim area. Sharp (1935: 165) uses very similar subsection and semimoiety terms, but applies the two pairs of semimoiety names to the subsections of the opposite patrimoiety to what my data indicate. Reay (1962: 91-2) describes the systems similarly to my data.

The works of Sharp and Reay provide a background for the contemporary fusion of these two systems by the language-groups in the region. Sharp's map (1935: 159) states that "Yangkala", "Yukula", "Wanyi" and "Eastern Karawa" (among others) had a system of "eight subsections organized as unnamed patrilineal semi-moieties and moieties," while "Western Karawa" and "Aniula" had "named patrilineal semi-moieties." Reay (1962: 91) similarly includes "Eastern Garawa" in the group within the region having a subsection system and "Western Garawa" and "Anyula" in the group having a semimoiety system. Among contemporary Doomadgee residents, the semimoiety terms are used mostly by older Garawa and Yanyula people and usually by men rather than women; they are said not to have been used in earlier times by "Waanyi people"

or "Ganggaliḍa people" although some men from both these groups, who have travelled to the west, now use them. Throughout the recent past at least, the language-groups of the region have clearly fitted the two systems together, however in the contemporary Doomadgee setting it is the subsection system which is much better known.

APPENDIX C

LITERATURE REVIEW CONCERNING TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE
IN THE STUDY REGION

The major work available for the region is that of Sharp (1935, 1939, 1943). Only the main points of his material concerning land tenure are discussed here. The key feature of the system according to Sharp is subsection couple/semimoiety totemism. He states (1939: 456) that the primary association is between the individual and all the totems of his semimoiety:

> The totems of an individual are all the totems of his own semi-moiety and moiety. All other members of his own semi-moiety have exactly the same totems and the relationship of all these persons to these totems is of the same kind.

Similarly to the analysis above (Table 6) he cites (1935: 166) four terms (in "Laierdila", as he uses the Mornington Island system as illustrative of the regional one incorporating the study area) used by Ego in distinguishing each patrilineal descent line within his genealogy and in reference to the totems and country of each semimoiety. Two of these (for the totems and country of Ego's MMB ["kutarien"] and FMB ["babirien" or "babimar"]) are virtually the same as the Ganggalida terms given in the table above, and the general term "poretji" which he gives (1935: 163, 1939: 457) for totem in "Wanyi and eastern Karawa" is no doubt equivalent to the term for MF's totems and country ("buwaraji") given in my table.

While Sharp posits (1935: 172) "no association between totemic objects" and social groupings other than semimoieties (and patrimoieties), he also states in a somewhat contradictory way (1939: 457) that "... the patrilineage ... assumes a certain totemic character" due to the particular relationship between "homeland countries" and "a small constellation" of totems within the broader category of semimoiety totems; there exists "the small, unnamed, exogamous land-holding unit of a few siblings or parallel cousins and their known agnatic descendants, the patrilineage or joint family." Elsewhere (1943: 68), he describes such groups as "[not] named clans, but vaguely totemic unnamed patrilineages regulating land tenure."

My data indicate that while Ego clearly shares with others of his semimoiety the same general relationship to the major totems (and

affiliated estates) of the four semimoieties, this issue can be considered separate (though highly relevant) to his relationship to the estates of his actual parents and grandparents. People enjoy rights to and responsibilities for the estates of their own parents which normally supersede those of people who are closely genealogically related to other estates. This is also the case for totems, for it is clear that not all totems of a semimoiety are present in every estate of that semimoiety. For example, the major totem for the WUDALIYA estate known as "Ngalanja country" has been described (in Chapter 4) as Emu, and this is not the case for other WUDALIYA estates, e.g.: Estate C on Map 7 - major dreaming Tree Sugarbag (Wulungunari); and estate F on Map 4 - major dreamings Devil (Ngabaya) and Barramundi (Gurunda). Apart from subsection couple/semimoiety and totemic affiliation, it is thus genealogical closeness which regulates land tenure. Sharp's statements on this matter are somewhat contradictory. His account also fails to make clear the nature of the ties between Ego and the estates of his MF, FM and MM; i.e. he deals only with patrilineally inherited rights in land.

Identical formal relationship to the major totems of each semimoiety is certainly obvious in the context of ceremonial matters, where people constantly express the major groupings of people in terms of semimoieties. However, the qualification of genealogically defined closeness to focal totems in certain ritual contexts is again necessary. For example, an old man for whom "Ngalanja country" is FF country (yaji mungguji) describes his consequent primary role over others of his "skin" in ritual involving Emu dreaming:

> ... me really Emu ... [others] call 'im misel [call themselves Emu] for nothing ... I call 'em in - for corroborree ... if they come up ask 'im me, I put 'em one side [not in the focal role] ... me play [dance] first - [other] YAGAMARI bye'n bye.

Thus, all members of the semimoiety do not necessarily have the same relationship to all the totems of the semimoiety in all ritual contexts.

My data on associations of totems with particular subsections and semimoieties differ from Sharp's list (1935: 172-4) for the study area. He indicates here, and elsewhere (1935: 164), that each semimoiety pair of the two patrimoieties shares "a few totems in common". As stated above in Table 6, my data are that the two patrimoieties are said to be aligned in complementary opposition during ritual, with respect to their relationship to major totems. However, one semimoiety of the

patrimoiety is always said to primarily own the totem, and the other is secondarily associated with it by giving those with the primary ties assistance as secondary performers in song, dance, etc.

Reay (1962: 100) describes the semimoiety as the land-holding unit and (1962: 98) also as "the key unit in ceremonial life", in the nearby "Anyula" (Yanyula) system of land tenure. For the same system, and also for an area of "Karrawa" (Garawa) country within this study area, Avery (1977: 26-36) gives the land-holding unit as the unnamed clan (equivalent, for the purpose of this general discussion, to Sharp's unnamed patrilineage). Reay (n.d.: 6-13) criticises Avery for underrepresenting the role of the semimoiety as a wider more inclusive land-holding group. The point will not be dealt with further here. Both writers (Avery 1977: 33; Reay n.d.: 10) describe the way the semimoiety system enables flexibility in the process of people asserting rights in land, in that people can obtain rights in estates other than that of their own patrilineage or clan but of their own semimoiety. Elsewhere (1982a: 2), I have described for an area of "Waanyi country" similar processes of incorporation, and also of succession of whole groups, but these data cannot be discussed in detail here.

Research in this area has also discussed conception totemism. Sharp (1939: 459, 1943: 68) distinguishes belief in "spirit baby conception" from the "totemic system" and does not recognise any totemic association between the individual and their conception place. Reay (1962: 100), however, again in presenting the Yanyula system, states that any person born or, more accurately, conceived at a locality "belongs to the totem" there. Avery (1977: 34) also discusses "conception filiation" for the Yanyula, referring to the resulting strong tie to the place but not specifically to the totem there. Avery also notes that the conception site will be in an estate for which the father (and hence also his child) is nimaringgi, i.e. within an estate of the child's semimoiety (or MM's semimoiety). A further earlier source referring to conception totemism in the study area is Mathews (1905: 72-3).

Finally, the literature discusses the consequences of "wrong" marriages for the inheritance of affiliation to totems. All sources discuss a number of alternate marriage options. Mathews (1901: 70-3, 1905: 66-7) states that because of them it is difficult to trace the "descent" to totems through particular subsections. Sharp (1939: 456) claims that in most cases the offspring from such marriages are still

placed within their fathers' moiety and therefore "have all or certain totems in common with [their] patrilineal kin", and that (1939: 457) in any case:

> The offspring of alternative marriages, acquire patrilineage land although their totems may differ from those of their patrilineal kin.

Reay (1962) discusses at length many aspects of irregular marriage and the subsection and semimoiety systems, and (n.d.: 13) challenges Avery's (1977: 70) claim that because of an alternate marriage option, the "Karrawa" (Garawa) expectation is that persons will not necessarily be of the same semimoiety as their father (although he also states that this does not affect such persons' rights to their father's [father's] estate).

Adequate discussion of the treatment of these issues in the literature would be necessarily detailed and inappropriate here. However, I will selectively refer to certain points in briefly discussing the relevant findings of this study.

In the contemporary settlement the ideal "straight" marriage is according to the subsection diagram above (Figure 2), which "fits" with an Aranda type kinship system where a man marries his MMBDD or someone classified similarly (see Radcliffe-Brown 1930: 52, 333; Warner 1933: 68;[1] Sharp 1935: 160). Due to the skewing rule described above (p. 76, a female Ego calls her actual MBD "mother" and Ego's son therefore calls his MMBD "mother's mother" and his MMBDD "mother's sister" (or "mother"). Thus an actual MMBDD cannot be a "straight" marriage partner (and nor can an actual MFZDD, due to the reciprocal of this skewing rule; nor an actual FMBSD [classified as "father's mother"] or FFZSD [the reciprocal of this rule]). The kinship system thus designates genealogically distant second-degree cross-cousins as "straight" marriage partners (see Trigger 1981a: 39-46 for more detailed discussion).

Contemporary traditional belief also holds that there are degrees of "wrong" marriages: i.e. to marry certain classes of kin (and correspondingly, into certain subsection classes) is much more wrong than to marry others, e.g. marriage with a distant first degree cross-

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[1] However, Warner's more detailed description of the marriageable kin classes contains errors.

cousin is only a "little bit wrong", but with a "sister" is very wrong indeed.[2] As well, despite the ideal of marrying "straight" according to the subsection system and the kinship rules which "fit" with it, it is recognised that all kinds of wrong marriages occur and genealogies indicate this to have been the case for as long as the old people can remember. The question thus arises of how the subsection and semimoiety systems operate in the face of such wrong marriages.

It is most commonly stated that in the case of wrong marriages, children inherit their subsection affiliation from their mother, i.e. as if their mother had married correctly.[3] Genealogies also bear such statements out, although the opinions on what should happen vary according to the speaker and the social context in which he or she gives it. It is said that you must "follow the mother" as "... father only find you [a reference to spiritual conception] - mother carry you, he [i.e. she] got you all the time." On the other hand, particularly men may state, e.g.: "... gotta follow father, he the main boss." When people do "follow the mother", the semimoiety system is disrupted for children are in a different semimoiety from that of their father. Their "skin" will be different from that of their FF's estate (and totems there); it will also be "wrong" in relation to their FM's estate, but

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[2]Mathews (1901: 70-3) states alternative marriages to be with the subsections containing cross-cousin and (more rarely) mother's mother (or ZDD), and that these must be distant relatives, and elsewhere (1905: 66) adds the subsection containing a man's sister (FFZ, etc.). (It is difficult to see how this last option would not have been stated as very "wrong", as it is nowadays.) Sharp (1935: 160-2) states alternative marriages as allowable with a distant MBD, MBSD or FFZD and hence concludes that a man may marry "any woman of the moiety opposite his own." (However, my research indicates that in deducing the latter two options Sharp has inappropriately extended the consequences of the kinship skewing rule dealt with above [p. 76]). Reay (1962: 101-2) finds no evidence of Sharp's latter two options, but also states that marriage with a subsection (i.e. distant) cross-cousin is tolerated "if the woman is beyond the age of child-bearing", but otherwise results in offspring inheriting "a mob of skins" and no longer having "clear-cut" relationships to others on the basis of subsection membership. Avery (1977: 69-70) states that the "Karrawa" (Garawa) recognise an alternate marriage with a classificatory MBD.

[3]Sharp (1935: 162) and Reay (1962: 104) both state this to be the case, and although one early report from Mathews (1901: 70-3) indicates that such children inherit their "skin" through their father, in a later paper (1905: 66) he states quite clearly that this matter is rather determined through the mother.

"straight" in relation to their MF's and MM's estates.[4] However, in the contemporary setting discontinuity between an individual's personal subsection (couple)/semimoiety membership and that of his father's or mother's estates does not appear to impede the person's spiritual affiliation to the estate and totems concerned. If necessary, such people can apparently acquire two "skins" and focus on the relevant one in the relevant contexts.

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[4]Reay (1962: 104) actually refers to a person whose country is within the study area (in "Waanyi country") in showing how the consequences for the semimoiety system of one "alternate" (described above as only "little bit wrong") marriage with a distant MBD can in fact be corrected by a further alternate marriage of the same kind.

APPENDIX D

This appendix contains a list of Garawa kin terms. My data on Ganggalida kin terms are not sufficiently extensive to warrant inclusion (though certain terms are included in Table 6 in Chapter 4). The data below are not presented as a complete list of Garawa terms and denotata. While the list of terms is quite extensive, I have included only those denotata about which my data are conclusive. To my knowledge, the only accounts of Garawa kin categories are two inadequate lists, in Warner (1933: 68-9) and a Summer Institute of Linguistics draft English-Garawa Dictionary (1982).

Other than where indicated, the following are terms of address. The terms of reference are normally used in conjunction with a pronoun such as "my" or "your". The denotata are represented by letters indicating kin categories as explained in the section on conventions and abbreviations at the beginning of the thesis. Where the lower case letters "m" and "w" precede denotata, they indicate a man or woman respectively as Ego. Where these lower case letters do not occur, the term is used by both males and females.

List of Garawa Kin Terms

Term	Denotata
ganggu (ganggunya)	FF, FFB, MMB, MMBS, MMBSS, etc. (FFZ)
gujanganja	(as above, but reference only)
murimuri	mSC, mZDC, wBSC
gugudi	MM, MMBD
gugulinya	wDC, wFZDC
mimi	MF, MFB, MFZ, MBS, MFBSS
miminya	mDC, wBDC, mFZC (i.e. can be used as familiar alternative to jamagu)
ngabuji	FMB, mZSC, FMBS, FMBSS, etc.
ngawuji	FM, FMBD, FMBSD, etc.
ngawujinya	wSC
wulugu/wuluginya	F
gajagaja	mC, mBC, mFBSC, mMZSC
jandanyi	mC (reference only)
gulanganja	wC (reference only)
barnangi	FB+
barnana/bugaga	(as above, but reference only)
barnanginya	mB-C (alternative to gajagaja)
ngawuli	FB- (reference only)
gawuja	FZ, FFBD
gawujanya	wBC
labanyi	(as above, but reference only)
ngardanya (ngarda)	M, MBD (i.e. can be used as a familiar alternative for bujara)

Term	Denotata
gulagula	wC, wZ+C (wFZC, i.e. can be used as a familiar alternative for jamagu), wMFZDC, wFBDC, wMZDC
biligi	MZ+
biliginya	wZ-C
bujara	mZ-, MBD, MMBDD, MFBSD
gardidi	MB, MFBS, MMBDS
gardigardi	mZC, mMFZDC
bawanya	B+, FB+S, MZ+S
mayjunya	Z+, FB+D, MZ+D
bababanya	mB-, mZ-, mFB-C, mMZ-C, mMBDC
balaginya	wB-, wZ-, wFB-C, wMZ-C, wMBDC
ganyiya	B, Z (reference only)
marrawarra	MBC, FZC (reference only)
jamagu	FZC
ngunyari	mWM, mWMZ, wHM, wHMZ (reference only)
burinyi	DH, ZDH, BDH, SW, ZSW, BSW (reference only)
guwaninganja	mWMB, wHMB (reference only)
mimayi	mWMB, wHMB
muluri	mZDH, mZSW
gardunganja	mWF, mWFB, mWFZ, wHF, wHFB, wHFZ (reference only)
marninganja	mW
wulanbi	"promised W/H" (reference only)
miyanggi	mWZ, wHB (reference only)
nganawarra	mWB (reference only)
gaygayi	wH, wHB
nabinabi	mWB-, mZ-H, mWZ
nawinya	mZ+H, mWB+

(Note also: barn.ga – general term for cross-cousin, borrowed from languages to the west of the study region; and banji – general term for mWZ/WB and wHB/HZ [see p. 103 above], borrowed from Aboriginal English spoken outside of the study region.)

APPENDIX E

GENEALOGIES OF EXAMPLE COUNTRY-AFFILIATED GROUPS ILLUSTRATING
HISTORICAL MOVEMENTS (SEE DISCUSSION IN CHAPTER 6)

CASE 1 (showing people affiliated with on area in Yanyula country.) see MAP 10.

7.
6. } (no children by Peter)
5.
4.

A
come east "Wild time" Garinjamaji "King Peter" "Westmoreland Peter": Duyarona to Wollogorang and Westmoreland stations

* ALL BORN WESTMORELAND STATION

→ Doomadgee

* (killed, station accident)

3. → Doomadgee.

*

* → Doomadgee
(reared by M's 2nd. H.

* → Mt. Isa/Doomadgee

2. * → Mornington Is. and Darwin

*C taken by "Afghan" hawker; → Doomadgee then (as boy) to stations, then to Doomadgee.
* to Cherbourg/Doomadgee → Cherbourg to Brisbane

* → Doomadgee

1. O to old Doomadgee, → Doomadgee then new Doomadgee

White man ← - - - O (to Woorobinda ?) → ?

* eventually to Normanton → Normanton

*D to Burketown as "police tracker", then Doomadgee.

O

O B picked up by White drover from Westmoreland: spent → Doomadgee long time at Armraynald Stn.

died Escott Station

come east with certain children "when things were getting quiet" to Westmoreland, Burketown etc.

spent long time at → Borroloola area Wollogorang Station

CASE 2 (showing people affiliated with an area in Garawa country.) See Map 10.

E (at Doomadgee) (at Borroloola)

D

many children and grandchildren at Doomadgee.

(at Doomadgee

A

B

C (children at Katherine/Darwin.

CASE 3 (showing people affiliated with an area in Waanyi country).
See Map 10.

A — to Ganggalida country

born Ganggalida country and eventually to Doomadgee.

B — to Turn Off Lagoon

5.

4.

born Turn Off Lagoon area, and eventually to Doomadgee (with some resident at Mornington Island during the research period.)

3.

C (see text —: chapter 6, Page .)

2.

1.

(to Turn Off Lagoon)

Gundawarinya
"King George of Turn Off Lagoon"
"Wild Horse"

CASE 4 (showing people affiliated with an area
        in Ganggalida country.)
           * see MAP 10.

etc.   etc.

B
worked for Whites
for sometime at
Burketown.

"Gunamula country"

H

G

A
occasional travel to
Burketown camp; time
spent at Dumaji site.

F

D

White men.

I

E

CASE 5 (showing people affiliated to Bayley, Pains
and Forsyth islands in Ganangalinda country.)
see Map 10.

● died Burketown

●

◀

H

◀ died Palm Is.

● 2 kidnapped as small girls
by Bentinck Islanders on Allen
Island, when getting water
from boat going from Morn.
Is. to Burketown (1940).
○ (at Doomadgee).

A "Dumaji
country"
◀

|| 1.
B ● travelled from
the off-shore islands
to Bayley Point on
mainland, using Walbuwa
(raft) with kids and
fire-stick on it. Left
permanently when her
mother died. (took at
least 2-3 kids).

○ (at Mornington Island).

etc.

D
● was taken west by ●
Vanyula people when they
came on revenge party (1897).

○
Molly } at
◀ } Doomadgee

"Marranggabayi
country"
Pains Island and
Jurrmanggi,
Bayley Island.
●

||
2. ●

C
●
died Roper Mission

Roper R.
children.

Wilson.

G
◀ police tracker in Burketown.

F
● died Jilgura, Wood's lake, Burketown.

E
◀ taken by police to Normanton.
"for fighting"

◀ ⟶ family on Mornington Is.
went to Mornington Is.

◀ ⟶ family on Mornington Is.
went to Mornington Is.

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*The abbreviations QSA and GCHF stand for Queensland State Archives
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