CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

TURTLE COME UP. BUFFALO COME UP.

I get that car, drive to my country.
By myself. It's better that way.
Maybe two kid, mattress, fire, tea. Maybe radio.
On the beach, near running water. Oh, cold!
Turtle come up. Buffalo come up.
Oh! Wish I was there now! (pers. comm., Duncan, 1997)

1.0 PAKINYA

Duncan is ill. I am shocked by how much he has deteriorated since I saw him twelve months ago. He is basically wasting away from a degenerative sickness and is slowly losing his strength. I had a suspicion that something may have been wrong by the ominous message added to the Christmas greeting sent in a card by his family: "By the way, Duncan is not well". However, I was not quite prepared for the sight of Duncan inching his way out of the door of his family's house and onto the concrete verandah. He was unable to stand, but grasped my hand firmly and held it for several minutes as he smiled and patted me on my shoulder, whispering "my boy, my boy" over and over.

During the weeks that I am at Nguiu, I visit Duncan many times and take him ice blocks and ice creams to soothe his sore throat. When I go bush, I make sure that I return with some bush tucker. One night I take him sugarbag and kirimpika and he is delighted: he tells me that his Tiwi name Tjipalipwaingi means a type of sugarbag, "the biggest, best sugarbag". During these occasions Duncan tells me

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6 At first.
7 Wild honey.
8 Mud crab.
many stories. Sometimes, the stories are about his early life as a young man growing up in Darwin during the 1950s, where he worked for a long period with the Royal Australian Air Force as a groundsman. It was here that he worked at the Wing Commander's home. The Wing Commander was my wife's father. Duncan would often retell stories about "growing her up", and when words failed him he would either indicate that it was her by miming a crawling action, as she was only a baby at that time, or by tracing her initial in the air or on the ground. On one occasion when he was retelling a story about taking my wife out hunting, and unable to speak, he slowly ran his finger around the outline of his face. He then did the same to me, and repeated this action several times. Later, as I was looking through a few research articles I found a photograph of a Tiwi man painting his daughter's face using a similar outline as gestured by Duncan to indicate father/daughter relationship (Goodale, 1963).

Duncan resorted to signing quite often during our talk, and would use body movements and facial gestures to add to the telling of a story. Sometimes, these would be dance gestures such as the pose of a buffalo, outstretched arms representing the wings of an aeroplane, or gestures to indicate other movements such as the winding gait of a drunk man. One night I was visited by some Tiwi friends - Richard and Mary Josephine - who told me a story about visiting Duncan. Duncan, without speaking, questioned who Richard was by placing his fist on his lips to indicate mamurampi (pularti) ⁹, and then on his cheek to indicate mutuni.¹⁰ Richard replied by placing his hand to his cheek, thereby affirming their relationship.

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⁹ A kinship term.
¹⁰ A kinship term.
On other occasions Duncan would often talk to me about his country and the various hunting trips he had been on, about the camping places and the abundance of wildlife there. On one poignant occasion, he lamented:

I get that car, drive to my country.
By myself. It's better that way.
Maybe two kid, mattress, fire, tea.
Maybe radio.
On the beach, near running water. Oh, cold!
Turtle come up. Buffalo come up.
Oh! Wish I was there now!

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1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

David Malouf is being interviewed about his Boyer Lectures\(^{11}\), when he makes, what I consider, a significant statement. He says that what we, as Australians, need to ask ourselves is how we carry the past and what it means for the future. This thesis, in part, is closely associated to Malouf's statement as it seeks to find significance in the recent history of Tiwi society for the ACPOs' work and workplace education. The literature on workplace education offers the proposition that an understanding of the socio-cultural and historical context of workplaces is fundamental to thinking about workplace education (O'Connor, 1993; Sefton, Waterhouse, & Deakin, 1994; Hull, 1993a; Hull, 1995). Hull (1995) suggests that in order to understand literacy at work "one must situate one's study of literacy not only within the immediate work environment, but also within the larger cultural, social, and historical milieu" (p. 7).

\(^{11}\) Lateline, ABC Television, Thursday 28 November, 1998.
Workplace education, in part, is concerned with "the range of written and spoken language skills, maths, reading and comprehension, interpersonal skills, communication and problem solving, required in the effective performance of occupational tasks and functions and enabling participation in workplace and social processes" (O'Connor, 1991, p.195). Fundamental to the process of workplace education is the way organisations and workers carry out their work. Central to this issue, especially in relation to the Northern Territory Police's [NTP] assumptions about ACPO work, is the way in which organisations address proposed and actual change.

The literature on literacy also emphasises the importance of social, cultural, and historical contexts in better understanding literacy issues (Freebody & Luke, 1990; Street, 1994; Baynham, 1995; Walton, 1996; Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997). McLaren and Lankshear (1993) state that "literacy can be articulated in more than one form, depending on the cultural, historical, and ideological ways in which it unfolds within particular social formation and settings" (pp. 407-408). Walton (1996) sees literacy as "a variable social technology" (p. 3) which is inclusive of the discrete skills of reading and writing alphabetic text, and other meaning making systems such as art, song, dance and story. Such a view of literacy as a social technology positions literacy as not just a non-Aboriginal communicative tool. Rowse (1996, p. 8) states that "if Aboriginal people make repeated use of an introduced social technology, does it not make sense to see that technology as being 'Aboriginal' as well as 'non-Aboriginal'". Therefore this thesis constructs a socio-cultural and historical understanding of literacy as a social technology in order to provide a context for better understanding the
work of ACPOs. In order to do this, the recent history of Tiwi society is traced by uncovering the politics of literacy in the historical process.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

The research investigates how an ACPO's workplace is socially, culturally, and historically linked to Tiwi society and what can be learnt from this relationship. It is hypothesised that ACPOs have a dual consciousness of their profession and their workplace, and this consciousness has been formed within a syncretic historical moment. Underlying this moment is the process of acculturation where ACPOs draw on experiences with, and knowledge of, both Tiwi and murrintawî societies. On the other hand, murrintawî have a divergent view of ACPOs and ACPOs' workplaces because of two quite different consecutive historical moments: moment one - invasion/subjugation/监管; and moment two - adaptation. It is these moments, I surmise, that characterise work and workplace education in the past, but it is syncretism which has potential when thinking about and developing future workplace programs.

Syncretism is used in this thesis as a way of talking about a site of 'convergence' where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal world views meet and reciprocal exchanges occur. Rather than syncretism being described as an attempt at a union of different world-views, it is more concerned with the ways in which these exchanges occur, and the ways in which western items are transformed or 'Aboriginalised'. Such items include introduced technologies, concepts, knowledge, practices and materials. Philosophically, syncretism is when Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal approaches to the world are 'reconciled and draw...
strength from one another’ (Malouf, 1998, pp. 39 - 40). Examples of syncretism can be found across disciplines: in education it is the development of ‘both ways’ theory. Central to both ways theory is a ‘reciprocal exchange of a give-and-take of knowledge between black and white, and young and old’ (McConvell, 1994, p. 242). Pincher Nyurrmiyarri, a Gurindji elder, outlined both-ways education to McConvell (1994) as featuring power sharing between education authorities and the Aboriginal community; exchange of cultural knowledge between white teachers and Aboriginal people; and the sharing of knowledge between young and old in the Aboriginal community. Implied in these features, and central to much of what has been written about ‘both-ways’ education is the centrality of negotiation. For example, Marika-Mununggiritj (1990) considers negotiation within a teacher-learner relationship in a Yolngu context, while Yunupingu (1990) suggests the need for negotiation within the school curriculum. The process of negotiation is viewed as being central to syncretism.

This thesis attempts to construct a socio-cultural and historical understanding of a Tiwi community, in order to provide a holistic context for ACPO workplace education. This is done through an analysis of the significant moments in Tiwi society’s history by first looking at Tiwi society broadly and then narrowing the focus to that of a workplace in the Nguiu community.

The questions at the centre of this research can be stated broadly: what is the history of a Tiwi community, and what significance does this history have for workplace education and training? More specific questions that emerge from this broad
question, such as questions that deal with the history of individual
ACPOs and importance that this may have for shaping work and
workplace education processes, are outlined in Chapter 2. By
answering these questions, I present an alternative historical
analysis that views Tiwi contact with the interloper murrinhwagi
society as occurring within three over-lapping significant moments of
invasion/subjugation/ regulation, adaptation and syncretism. These
moments are presented as a way of viewing history within a murrinhwagi
construct: it is also a way of describing philosophical and pragmatic
shifts in relations between murrinhwagi and Tiwi. A Tiwi response
equivalent to these moments highlights cultural adaptation and
cultural continuity, and show considerable creativity and pragmatism.

The writing of history in this thesis differs from other
contrastive views of Aboriginal history: views that portray
Aborigines as passive recipients of colonialism, an ‘acquiescent
paradigm’, or resistance fighters of the frontier, the ‘frontier
paradigm’. This history is written within an alternative
‘interactive’ paradigm that portrays Tiwi as active subjects rather
than as passive victims who show considerable cultural adaptation and
cultural continuity; who are essentially creative in the historical
process; and who moved backwards and forwards ‘on both sides of the
frontier’ (McGrath, 1997). Throughout the thesis it must be kept in
mind that this history is written by a murrinhwagi and is about, in
part, the relationships between Tiwi and murrinhwagi entwined in the
historical process. It does not claim to be a Tiwi history, that is
one written from a Tiwi perspective, however, it does attempt to
bring to the historical process a Tiwi voice by recovering Tiwi
perspectives of cultural contact through alternative ways of documenting history, especially through yoyi\textsuperscript{12} and ngirramini.\textsuperscript{13}

The interactive paradigm allows for the documenting of significant moments which position Tiwi as actively and creatively engaging with the murrrintawi and their new technologies. This makes writing about syncretism possible and allows for exploring its significance for ACPOs’ work and workplace education.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH

The motivation for this research emerged out of my experience of working in an Aboriginal community as an adult educator, in which I dealt with a variety of workers in a variety of workplaces. The majority of my time was spent working with unemployed younger adults, however I conducted tutorials on a short-term basis with ACPOs, store workers, health workers and tradespeople. The unifying feature of this work was that the employers/supervisors, predominantly murrrintawi, all viewed the workers as being deficient in reading and writing skills, and viewed the adult education centre as the most appropriate organisation to respond to workplace learning needs. The unifying features of the workers were their culture and a shared history.

The literature on the Tiwi is quite comprehensive in terms of anthropology (Spencer, 1914; Hart, 1932; Berndt, 1950; Pilling, 1958; Goodale, 1971; Brandl, 1971; Hoff, 1988), sociology (Robinson, 1990; Venbrux, 1995), arts (Spencer, 1914; Grau, 1983; West, 1987, Hoff, 1988), linguistics (Osborne, 1974; Lee, 1987), history (Gsell, 1956;

\textsuperscript{12} Dance, ceremony.

\textsuperscript{13} Story, message, talk, words.
Morris, 1965a, 1965b, 1967; Krastins, 1974; Pye, 1977) and education
(Ward, 1990; Frawley, 1995). In my reading of this literature I found
a significant gap in anything dealing with work and workplace
education.

I was a young inexperienced adult educator with no formal
studies in adult education theory or practice. I was trained in
primary education and had been teaching for just five years, three of
these in the South Pacific and Papua New Guinea. I had a narrow
skills-based view of adult literacy, and for that matter adult
education. This view never included considered thinking about the
socio-cultural and historical context of workplaces and the
significance that this may have for workplace education. Later, when
I was undertaking postgraduate studies and completing a unit in
critical literacy, I was attracted by the writings of several authors
who suggested a socially-driven view of literacies (Freebody & Luke,
1990; McLaren & Lankshear, 1993; Street, 1994; Baynham, 1995; Walton,
1996; Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997). Most of the writers emphasised the
importance of viewing literacy within a social, cultural and
historical context. Similarly my reading on workplace education, and
my work as a Lecturer in Adult Education Studies at Batchelor College
where I taught Aboriginal students from a variety of organisations,
suggested a far greater role for workplaces in workplace learning.
Hence, I became interested in the socio-cultural and historical
construction of workplaces and the connections with workplace
literacy and workplace learning.

Much of the research cited on Tiwi, especially that of an
anthropological nature, was conducted within a qualitative framework
with an emphasis on participant observation and interviews. However, my reading of the studies gave me an impression that some of the previous researchers either neglected to "give voice" to the informants or established an unequal researcher/researched relationship. In much of the literature the Tiwi "voice" is either lost or de-emphasised. This study, in part, attempts to give "voice" to Tiwi subjects.

The idea for this research was formulated at a time when the NTP had published a report on policing strategies in Aboriginal and non-English speaking background communities (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993). This report made a number of recommendations as a response to issues raised by the Royal Commission Into Aboriginal Deaths In Custody [RCIADIC]. ‘Recommendation 228’ recommended that police training courses have a substantial component of training that relates to the historical interactions between police and Aboriginal people. Such training should explore the role of police as enforcement agents for previous regressive and discriminatory policies. Also, ‘Recommendation 230’ specifically recommended adequate pre-service and inservice training in general education for Aboriginal Police Aides (Johnston, 1991). The NTP’s report made similar recommendations to address recruitment and training strategies, emphasising that "literacy can be a major impediment to training" (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 49).

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The research was undertaken within a qualitative research paradigm, based on multi-methods of historical research, case study and life history. Each of these techniques is described in Chapter 3.
Multiple data collection methods of participant-observation, interviews, archival records, reflexive journal, field notes, photographs, and conversations were used. The data generated from these sources were interview transcripts, journal entries, observational records, documents, maps conversational logs, and artefacts such as workplace and community texts. The data analysis process involved an inductive analysis which meant that the categories of analysis emerged from the data rather than being imposed prior to collection.

When reporting my research, the intention was to write a more readable and accessible study that captures and portrays the "full flavour" of the setting. Therefore, I use a literary device of vignettes which are followed by a descriptive-analytical interpretation in which events and various aspects are described, analysed and interpreted.

Although the majority of the research for this thesis took place over a three-year period, the ideas and conclusions reached by this research took much longer. They were shaped by the entire experience of living and working at Nguiu, and the continual contact that has taken place with people in that community over a sixteen year period. It also draws on my critical reflections of being involved in Aboriginal adult education in the Northern Territory.

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organised into nine chapters. Each chapter commences with an introduction (pakinya) that outlines the purpose and content of the chapter. This is followed by the main body of work
which presents the essential aspects of the chapter. The last section is a discussion of the key points associated with the central thesis (nimarra). In this section a summary is made and, for the research chapters, a tentative link between the chapter and the central question is formed. Throughout most of the chapters I have used vignettes as a way of evoking a tangible insight to my research experiences, and to illustrate theme and issues addressed in the chapter. The stylistic device of vignettes, written in italics, is a key element in this approach. In this chapter I have outlined the background to the research question, aims and limits of the research and the methodology used.

Chapter Two is a review of literature addressing the issues of writing about Aboriginal history, literacy, workplace literacy, workplace education and workplace learning. This review unearths a number of questions that are considered in later chapters. Chapter Three is a detailed description and justification of the qualitative research paradigm that was used for this thesis.

Chapters Four, Five and Six contextualise the study and are written within a socio-cultural and historical framework. Chapter Four is essentially historical but includes an analysis of the ways in which textual activities were used in a deliberate, and systematic attempt to first occupy murrakupuni and then as a means to disempower the Tiwi. These texts included laws and regulations enacted by federal and state governments, official reports and

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14 Discussion.
15 Textual activities refers to stretches of spoken [sung], symbolic [performed] and written [visual] language that does a communicative job within a social and cultural context.
16 Country, land, place.
correspondence, some of which worked to the benefit of the Tiwi. Throughout these historical chapters two points are emphasised: firstly, I attempt to give a Tiwi voice to these historical events by analysing story, song, dance and art, as an alternative historical record; and, secondly, I analyse this history within an interactive paradigm. As mentioned earlier, my aim is to attempt to portray Tiwi as active subjects rather than as passive victims in the historical process. They are portrayed as a people who have considerable cultural adaptation and cultural continuity; who are essentially creative and pragmatic in the historical process; and who move backwards and forwards across the boundaries of the 'frontier'. Embedded in this history is the social technology of work and print literacy.

Chapter Seven is an examination of the rich repertoire of Tiwi meaning-making systems evident in cultural and social practices. This chapter includes an analysis of textual activities within this meaning-making system. The Tiwi meaning-making system consist of five social technologies: story, song, dance, art and print literacy. This analysis takes place within an interactive paradigm and is inclusive of a Tiwi response to new technologies. This response is portrayed as being essentially creative, intelligent and pragmatic. The analysis of the textual activities highlights a syncretic method in dealing with and accommodating the 'new' social technology of print literacy.

Chapter Eight narrows the focus further to examining an individual's workplace and the workplaces practices he engages in. An analysis of the ACPO's role in community policing will emphasise the creative, intelligent and pragmatic strategies in dealing with the
relatively new social technology of police work. The description will emphasise the centrality of yimiga\textsuperscript{17} and the tradition of pwankin\textsuperscript{18} in conducting ACPO work. These strategies demonstrate an intelligent response by the ACPO to the NTP’s new philosophy of ‘community policing’. This philosophy suggests greater emphasis on partnerships, and a changing role for police officers from law enforcement officers to “peace officers”. This emphasis proposes that the Northern Territory Police (NTP), through its ACPO Scheme, needs to build stronger relationships with the Aboriginal community in order to draw strength from the community’s diverse knowledge, experience, capabilities, and ways of doing things. The NTP’s community policing principles and its focus on relationships with communities suggests a new way of viewing police work: one in which new understandings are gained.

In the final chapter a number of recommendations are discussed for Tiwi ACPO workplace education. These recommendations emerge from thinking about the ways in which an ACPO’s work and workplace are socially, culturally, and historically linked to Tiwi society.

1.6 DEFINITIONS

Definitions adopted by researchers and educators are not always consistent. Throughout this thesis I have used certain terms that may need some clarification here. Aboriginal is used as an adjective while Aborigine is inclusive of all Australian indigenous groups

\textsuperscript{17} ‘Skin group’, maternal descent group. Yimiga also means 1. spirit, life, breath, pulse; 2. sun, hour or time of day; 3. gall bladder; 4. ‘craving for, thirst for, thirsty’. Pukuwiyi also has the same meaning and appears to be interchangeable with yimiga. The concept of yimiga is discussed more fully later on in this thesis.

\textsuperscript{18} A peacemaker; one who intervenes in, and settles, disputes.
except when specifically referred to, for example Yolngu, Larrakia\(^{19}\) and Iwaidja\(^{20}\).

Rather than use the term informant, I have used the Tiwi word mantawi (plural), mantani (singular male) or mantanga (singular female) in an attempt to more accurately reflect the relationship between myself and Tiwi community members involved in the research. Conversely, I refer to murruintawi central to my research as informants rather than mantawi as it was of a less personal relationship. The notion of mantawi as a research relationship is discussed in Chapter Three.

The definition of literacy is more problematic and is discussed in Chapters Two and Seven. Essentially though, I endorse the socially-driven view of 'literacies'.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF SCOPE AND KEY ASSUMPTIONS

This research is limited in five ways. First, it is limited geographically to Northern Australia, specifically the Northern Territory. This geographical limitation is important because the context of the research is affected by so called 'remoteness'. When considering 'remoteness' a number of points must be made: remoteness doesn’t extend to access to technology. This research was conducted in a community which had access to all the modern forms of communication e.g. telephone, mobile telephone, fax, UHF radio, internet and email. Although not all community members are familiar with all communication forms, these forms were present in the

\(^{19}\) There are several variations of spelling, with this one being the most common. Apart from in quotes, this spelling will be used throughout.

\(^{20}\) I have used the spelling suggested by the linguist Evans (1992). Other spellings include Yiwaja Dixon (1980) Yiwatja (Hart & Pilling, 1960), and Iwaidja (Osborne, 1974).
community. Moreover, radio, television and videos were widely utilised throughout the community. The community also had the facilities to produce its own radio and television programs through the government-funded program known as BRACS (Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme).

The community, which is situated about eighty kilometres from Darwin across the Timor Sea, could be considered as geographically remote as it isn’t easily accessible. However, considering that there are several regular flights daily to the islands by two companies, Air North and Wimray, and that is there is a barge service on a weekly basis, then ‘remoteness’ becomes relative. It is this relative ‘remoteness’ that becomes the issue. The actual concept of ‘remoteness’ from my perspective is a murrinjawi construct. For some, used to a more urban life in large cities, such a study could be characterised by its remoteness, as it is far removed from the mainstream. However, for me it wasn’t.

Second, this study is limited to the Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Island. Although other Aboriginal groups are mentioned throughout the study, particularly the Iwaidja, they are not the focus of the study. The social and cultural aspects which form the basis of the study are analysed in the context of Tiwi society.

Third, the bulk of the research was undertaken in one community, Nguiu, on Bathurst Island. There are two communities on Bathurst Island, Nguiu and Wurankuru, and two on Melville Island, Pularumpi and Milikapiti. Each of these communities are different: each has a unique history, each has differences in infrastructure and
services, and each has differing social aspects. The unifying feature for most people residing in these communities is the primacy of Tiwi culture. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the ideas and conclusions reached by this research were shaped by the entire experience of living and working at Nguiu, and the continual contact that has taken place with people in that community over a sixteen year period. My knowledge of other Tiwi communities, and especially my relationships with Tiwi in these other communities, is not as extensive and is somewhat limited.

Finally, this research addresses one workplace only, that of ACPOs on Bathurst Island. Again, as stated above, each Tiwi community is different, and therefore the workplaces of ACPOs in those communities would also display some differences. For example, in terms of staffing, Pularumpi has two murrintawi police officers and no ACPOs, Milikapiti has one female ACPO, and Wurankuru has none. Staffing could have implications for workplace practices. Furthermore, the discussions are restricted to the ACPO scheme and its operations within the organisational structure of the NTP. However, the focus of the investigation remains on the ACPO Scheme and its operations and relationships with the Nguiu community.

1.8 NIMARRA

This chapter has provided the framework for this thesis. It has briefly described the background to the research, and the research question and hypothesis. The research was justified, the methodology briefly described and the organisation of the thesis outlined. Some definitions were presented, and the limitations of scope and key assumptions were described. In the following chapters a detailed
description of the research, the research findings and their implications are given.
CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:

IN SEARCH OF QUESTIONS

There is not just one way to become literate . . .
(McLaren & Lankshear, 1993, pp. 407)

2.0 PAKINYA  The foundation for this research is the social, cultural and historical contexts of Tiwi society and the link between these contexts and the ACPO workplace. This literature reviews first explores the historical paradigms used in documenting Australian Aboriginal history with particular reference to studies in the Northern Territory, and specific historical studies of the Tiwi. Fundamental to this research is the concept of literacy. Firstly, literacy is used as a device to trace the recent history of Tiwi society. Secondly, in attempting to better understand ACPO workplace education, the issue of workplace literacy, and workplace learning, are investigated. Therefore, the review extends to covering the associated issues of history, literacy, workplace literacy, workplace education and workplace learning.

2.1 HISTORICAL PARADIGMS  The chronicling of significant Tiwi historical events has been the focus of several studies. Early writers like Searcy (1905, 1907), Basedow (1913) and Spencer (1914) present sketchy historical accounts. Gsell (1956) documents the early history of the Catholic Mission on Bathurst Island, as does Flynn (1963, 1966). Morris (1965a, 1965b) outlines the relationship between the Tiwi and Larrakia, and Tiwi contact with the Macassans (Morris,

These historical studies present a diversity of analysis and views. However, most of these studies fit two historical paradigms prominent in writing about Australian Aboriginal history: one in which Aborigines are depicted as being essentially passive, the acquiescent paradigm; the other, suggesting a 'frontier paradigm' (Reynolds, 1987) of conflict and resistance.

The writing of history in an acquiescent paradigm portray Aborigines as passive and assenting victims. For example, Gsell (1955) depicts Tiwi as being "children of the bush ... poor creatures" whose only hope was "contact with civilisation" (Gsell, 1955, pp. 24-152). Searcy (1907) portrays Tiwi as being resigned to their fate: "If the blacks did think, it must have been apparent to them that their long freedom from intrusion was now at an end ... [and] ...
that they were not to have the islands to themselves any longer” (Searcy, 1907, p.225).

In the 'frontier paradigm', historical descriptions "are dominated by conflict, by European violence on the one side and Aboriginal resistance on the other" (Attwood, 1990, p. 124). Forrest (1995, p. 18) writes that in Tiwi-Dutch encounters "the Tiwi were potentially hostile and aggressive, and well able to repulse any unwanted Dutch contact". Cameron’s (1998) discussion of the Fort Dundas settlement is based on a description and analysis of the conflict and confrontation that occurred between the British and the Tiwi.

Although some studies focus on conflict and violence, and it is acknowledged that this was a feature of Tiwi encounters with murrinjawi, I argue that it was not the deciding factor in determining the course of relationships between the Tiwi and murrinjawi. Such 'conflict' views are too particularistic. An alternative to these acquiescent/frontier paradigms is one in which Aborigines are dynamic agents in the historical process, engaging in essentially creative discourses and processes with the murrinjawi interlopers (McGrath, 1987). Writing Aboriginal history in an interactive paradigm creates possibilities for many-sided historical analyses. In terms of Tiwi history, it provides a creative explanation for the complex ways in which Tiwi dealt with, and fashioned, a range of encounters: from the Macassans to the British to the Missionaries to the policies of self-determination. For example, Tiwi did not categorically reject Christianity. On analysis, their response to the missionaries was essentially creative and
pragmatic. Attwood (1990, pp. 128-129) suggests that many Aborigines "came to see missionaries as a means of meeting their material needs (and wants) and to use them and their missions 'as tools in their strategy for survival'". The writing of history within an interactive paradigm, which has as its core belief that Tiwi actively and creatively engage with murrinawí and murrinawí technologies, makes writing about syncretism possible.

2.2 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF LITERACY

There is no agreement on the definition of 'literacy'. Beattie (1995) categorises literacy as being either essentialist or relativist. An essentialist definition views literacy as a neutral set of basic skills "with the speaker or writer as sender of messages and the hearer or reader as a receiver of them" (p.29). Walton (1996) states that this view of literacy is associated with the "passive mastery of so-called survival skills or basic literacy" where the learner is trained to "follow rather than to lead" (p. 11). De Castell & Luke (1986, cited in Walton, 1996, p. 12) are critical of this narrow skills-based construction of literacy and, in relation to the essentialist construction of functional literacy, ask "Functional at what? In what context? To what ends?"

A relativist view of literacy sees no separation of language and idea with both inextricably linked, and embedded in social practices (Freebody & Luke, 1990; Street, 1994; Baynham, 1995; Walton, 1996; Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997). Language, from a relativist view is seen not as a set of neutrally-positioned and context-free skills, but one in which the speaker or writer adopts a position to use the language rhetorically in his or her own community
(Beattie, 1995). Walton (1996) develops the idea of critical literacies as being understood as socially and historically variable technologies. Such a view sees literacies, not the singular literacy, inclusive of alphabetic print and semiotic systems such as film, video, and art. This framing broadens the concept of literacy to include indigenous literacies which use a variety of technologies, especially art, storytelling, song and dance. Walton (1996, p. 11) says that "critical social literacies in this context, become inclusive of reading and writing competencies across a wide range of discourses, texts and media." Cook-Gumperz (1986, cited in Black & Thorp, 1997) states that literacy is not just the "simple ability to read and write" but "is a socially constructed phenomenon" (p. 2). Wickert (1991) agrees that literacy is socially constructed and as such has multiple definitions to suit particular contexts and purposes.

Rather than creating an essentialist/relativist dichotomy, it may be more constructive to view literacy along a continuum [Figure 1] which is inclusive of these two views, and on which can be plotted the various "families of thought" (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997). Basically, these "families of thought" can be clustered into three groups: a skills-based model of literacy, a growth and heritage model, and a critical-cultural model. A skills model of literacy aims to produce learners who can control and demonstrate the essential skills of reading and writing through skills-based learning, emphasising the procedural and mechanical skills of decoding and scribing written language (Christie, Devlin, Freebody, Luke, Martin, Threadgold & Walton, 1991). A growth and heritage model concentrates on developing the expressive self of the subject through literature-
based learning and natural learning, with an emphasis on reading and writing around 'good' literature (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997). At the core of the critical-cultural approaches is the view that learners need to master literacy skills in ways which address specific social situations and cultural contexts (Christie et al., 1991) Literacy pedagogy includes experience-based learning, genre-based learning, critical literacy approaches and cultural-practice based approaches (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997).

A recent challenge to these "families of thought" is the concept of "multiliteracies" (New London Group, 1996) which appears to have its growth from the earlier work of writers such as Freebody & Luke (1990), Wickert (1991) and McLaren & Lankshear (1993). McLaren & Lankshear (1993) state that:

there is not just one way to become literate, but that there are multiple literacies ... literacy can be articulated in more than one form, depending on the cultural, historical, and ideological ways in which it unfolds within particular social formation and settings (pp. 407-408).

This concept is characterised by "a dynamic approach to meaning making" (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997) which recognises the multiple experiences, cultures, discourses, literacies and languages of learners through the use of multiple literacy pedagogies.
In an analysis of these debates, Searle (1999) suggests a number of 'literacy discourses'. Searle (1999) states that the "history of literacy in western societies is one of power and control, whether by the church, the state or certain groups with vested interests" (n.p.). In this discourse the underlying aim of literacy is social control "in order to achieve cognitive enhancement, social and economic development" (n.p.). Literacy as 'a crisis' discourse emphasises the link of literacy to "economic development, growth and progress" (n.p.): when society becomes unstable in some way, such as rising unemployment, literacy becomes the scapegoat. The 'autonomy' discourse views literacy as the acquisition of measured skills. In this discourse, literacy "is based on a narrow specific literacy practice - the essay-text form of literacy" (n.p.). When literacy was defined as a 'fundamental human right' at an International Symposium for Literacy in 1975, the results were a change in literacy educational practice. The focus shifted to "the learner's needs and interests; the educator as a facilitator and supporter of learning; and the belief in literacy as a fundamental human right" (n.p.). Searle (1999) describes discourse around this ideology as being "literacy as a right: social justice".
A further discourse developed through a radical ideology conceptualised by Paulo Freire which positioned literacy as a highly political act. This literacy discourse focused on literacy learning for social action. In recent years, literacy and literacy practices have been transformed by the growth of technology. Searle (1999) states that the 'literacy as technology' discourse is essentially about "the management of large systems or concepts" (n.p.) and is in effect a "recasting" of the basic skills model. In contrast to these discourses is the view of literacy in its role in the creation, production and distribution of knowledge. Central to 'literacy as social practice' is the belief that literacy is "a meaningful cultural practice, learnt in specific cultural contexts" (n.p.). In this discourse, multiple literacies exist.

The search for a definition of literacy ranges from skills-based conception to "very broad and all-encompassing definitions which integrate social and political empowerment" (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1996, p. 28). The other side of the argument is that agreement on a definition of literacy will never be reached, and in fact it is problematic to do so. Knoblauch (1990, cited in O'Connor, 1993) says that "no definition tells, with ontological or objective reality, what literacy is, definitions only tell what some person or group - motivated by political commitments - want or needs literacy to be"(p.73). Wickert (1992) agrees and suggests possible political reasons behind the need for public agreement on a definition "in the mistaken belief that if agreement could be reached effective solutions to the 'problem' would follow" (pp.29-30).

2.3 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF WORKPLACE LITERACY
The Government's principle of 'mutual obligation' views unemployment as a result, in part, of poor literacy skills. Mutual obligation is a government principle that believes that the unemployed who receive some form of social welfare payments should "seek work; constantly strive to improve their competitiveness in the labour market; and give something back to the community that supports them" (DEWRSB, 2000). Central to this principle of mutual obligation is that the unemployed must participate in an additional activity in order to receive their dole payments. Literacy and numeracy training is one of the approved activities and is compulsory for those who have inadequate literacy and numeracy competencies. Government believes that "improved literacy and numeracy standards could significantly reduce unemployment and improve the economy, including the competitiveness of Australian businesses" (Kemp, March 11, 1997). Government believes that good literacy skills, as well as other basic attributes, are essential for employment and for the building of 'knowledge societies'. Central to the building of knowledge societies is an investment "in the education and training of our young people, in updating skills and know-how of the workforce" (Kemp, 2000).

In terms of literacy discourse, what the Government is promoting proceeds first from the position of literacy as a 'crisis'. In fact a Kemp media release was titled just that: "Australia's Literacy Crisis a National Disgrace" (Kemp, September 14, 1997). Government also makes a clear link between literacy and the economic good of the country (Christie, 2000). The Government view is that an improvement in literacy skills will not only "improve the economy" but will also significantly improve the "competitiveness of Australian businesses" (Kemp, March 11, 1997).
This Government definition of literacy shifts the blame for poor economic performance onto the unemployed (Black, 1995). It also shifts the responsibility in finding employment from Government to the unemployed. Searle et al. (1996) reinforce this concern stating that government programmes, such as 'mutual obligation', perpetuate the 'literacy myth'. This myth is an unfounded belief that there is a link between literacy and major steps forward in trade, commerce or industrial development (Graff, 1986 in Searle et al., 1996).

O’Connor (1993) warns against such government sponsored 'magic elixirs' that 'oversells' literacy. Such a view suggests that the only barrier to employment for disadvantaged groups is literacy and numeracy. O’Connor (1993) states that literacy instead should be viewed as a modest contributor to workplace education reforms and efforts. Searle et al. (1996) also warns of the dominant philosophy supported by government and industry that views the unemployed as being in part to blame and in need of remediation.

The 'literacy myth' and the 'magic elixirs' view of workplace education sees workers in a deficit light and shifts the blame for poor job performance onto them. These stereotypical views of the workers held by government and some industries are somewhat limited and falsely constructed. Waterhouse & Deakin (1995) state that:

this deficit perspective focuses the problem on particular employees and then seeks to address the perceived deficit using various strategies, ranging from selective recruitment involving commercial language, literacy, or other tests for new employees, to application for government funding to provide general language training for employees identified as having problems (Waterhouse & Deakin, 1995, p. 498).
Hull (1993a) describes such a characterisation as troublesome and harmful and calls for more attention to be paid to "how people experience instructional programs and how they accomplish work" (pp. 41-42). This would give a "more comprehensive and accurate picture of the literate and other capabilities that are required in particular work situations" (Hull, 1995, p. 7).

Long (1990) reports research that aimed for an understanding of how employers and unions define literacy. The research concluded that the employers and unions definitions of literacy fell into the one of three categories: functional, criterion based, and observational. All emphasised a skills-based definition that focused on the ability to read and write. Searle, Smith & Cochrane (1996) concur that this skills-based "family of thought" dominates the workplace. This issue is compounded by an economically driven definition that equates poor job performance with workplace illiteracy (O'Connor, 1991). Such an equation suggests the emergence of a new workplace "family of thought" that adopts economic rationalist terminology and approaches and sees literacy defined in terms of "vocational functionalism" (O'Connor, 1991). This 'family of thought' has parallels with 'literacy as autonomy' discourse (Searle, 1999) in its focus on the acquisition of "decontextualised rules and patterns" (n.p.).

Wickert (1991) agrees with such a concept and expresses uneasiness about the situation, especially with the feeling that adult literacy educators are losing control of the agenda. O'Connor (1993) states that such an agenda is being premised as a skills-based "problem" that does not have the interest of workers or educational
(1993) states that such an agenda is being premised as a skills-based "problem" that does not have the interest of workers or educational concerns at heart. Luke (1992) sees such an agenda being supported by "government, political parties, representatives of industry and some educationists" that quantifies education in economic terms and sees literacy as serving their purpose to achieve economic aims and dividends. Hull (1995) describes a similar situation in the USA where in recent years "there has been a flurry of legislation to fund ‘school-to-work’ transition programs, even to set skill standards in order to measure and promote the competency of ‘work-ready’ entry level workers" (p. 6).

O'Connor (1991) defines workplace literacy as being inclusive of a "range of written and spoken language skills, maths, reading and comprehension, interpersonal skills, communication and problem solving required in the effective performance of occupational tasks and functions and enabling participation in workplace and social processes." This definition suggests a broader, more encompassing one linked to, and formed by, social practices.

Wickert (1992) also poses the question of an alternative reading of the workplace asking how literacy will be defined, how the literate worker will be constructed, and what literacy means in the workplace. Searle et al. (1995) concur with this sentiment stating that what is meant by ‘literacy’ or being ‘literate’ needs to be reconsidered. This requires an understanding of the nature of language and language learning in order to "identify where written texts arise: how they are used in different workplace contexts, what linguistic demands they make upon employees and how they interrelate.
with oral language texts" (Joyce & Burns, 1992, p. 29). Luke (1995) suggests that there exists multiple literacies in the 'new workplaces' that are "complex, critical and active, moral and political ... [which aren't completely about] ... coding and semantic practice, but ... pragmatic and critical practice on an everyday basis" (p. 29). These multiple literacies have emerged from workplace restructuring that has dramatically increased the communication demands of the workplace (Mawer, 1993), and sees workers engaged in a range of complex written and oral processes.

A number of writers give extensive accounts of the 'types' of literacies and the complexities of workplace literacy that take place in a range of workplaces (Morris & Brown, 1990; Joyce & Burns, 1992; Prince, 1992; Mawer, 1993; Wignell & Boyd, 1994; and Hull 1995). These literacies include a "high degree of intertextuality, i.e. cross-referencing between the elements of separate texts, both written and spoken and a movement towards visual representations and other ways of encoding information" (Joyce & Burns, 1992, pp. 34-35). For Luke (1995), workers need to develop what he calls 'pragmatic competence' in order to acquire "the verbal and analytic fluency to engage in talk around texts" (p. 29), positioning the worker in the role of code breaker, text participant, text user and text analyst (Freebody & Luke, 1990, pp. 7-13).

Sefton et al. (1994) suggest a strategy of drawing on the "strategic competence of trainees - that is of using their full repertoire of skills, abilities, experiences and interests" (p. 296). These concepts of 'pragmatic competence' and 'strategic competence' appear to be informed in part by communicative language
ability theory. This theory recognises that the ability to use language communicatively involves both knowledge of or competence in the language, and the capacity for implementing or using this competence. Bachman (1989) proposes a framework of communicative language ability that includes three components: language competence, consisting of organisational and pragmatic competence; strategic competence; and, psychophysiological competence.

This redefining of workplace literacy is not just the responsibility of theorists, educators, program developers and workers: it suggests a strengthening of partnerships with government, industry and unions where each other’s needs and responses are disclosed. Such a relationship, based on equality, could have exciting and substantial outcomes (O’Connor, 1991). Phillippi (1994) suggests that workplace literacy should be viewed as a hybrid as it is a result of merging education and training. Phillippi (1994) believes workplace literacy offers “instructions in basic skills applications, generally perceived to be education, using the vehicle of those technical job tasks the skills support, perceived to be training” (p.21).

The recent literature on workplace literacy suggests a different view of literacy: one which is characterised by workplace multiplicities, and which is not wholly dependent on essentialist skills-based nor vocational-functionalist approaches, and is inclusive of these concerns and methodologies [Figure 2]. Such a redefined approach could be described as having relativist characteristics, because multiple workplace literacy sees no separation of language and idea. Both are inextricably linked to
multiple workplace demands and methodologies, and embedded in multiple workplace and social practices.

\[\text{Essentialists} \quad \xrightarrow{\text{Skills-based, Vocational functionalism, Multiple}} \quad \text{Relativists}\]

\[\text{Figure 2: A new view of workplace literacy}\]

2.4 WORKPLACE LITERACY and WORKPLACE EDUCATION

The literature calling for re-defined workplace literacy also calls for new approaches to program development and issues of curriculum, learning, teaching, and assessment. Rhoder & French (1994) state that workplace literacy programs must be custom made for the workplace participants and that this requires an analysis of the workplace's text resources, communication procedures, and how work is organised within the industry. Waterhouse & Deakin (1995) stress the importance of establishing and developing a new work culture that emphasises a shift from the Taylorist principles of work organisation, to one where communication and learning systems are promoted and where the multiple needs of the stakeholders are met.

Phillippi (1994) suggest several key workplace literacy components essential for program development stating that needs analysis must be a collaborative effort by both employers and employees. For Phillippi the most successful workplace literacy programs are those that "are designed to facilitate maximum transfer
from the learning situation to job performance" (p. 22). The importance of context is highlighted and includes actual job scenarios and real workplace texts for the successful transfer and application of workplace skills. Searle et al. (1996) agree that what is needed is an integrated approach to literacy using highly contextualised materials which take place on or near the job. Sefton et al. (1994) state that integrated approach to workplace literacy encompasses the essential element of collaboration, particularly within the workplace curriculum process. They suggest that a collaborative approach involving all workplace parties will lead to the actual needs of the workplace being met, and one in which reflective practice is encouraged and used to continuously improve the program.

For Sefton et al. (1994) the development of a constructive and critical working-learning culture is paramount to improvement in the workplace. This culture is shaped by "building a shared vision, developing a holistic perspective, learning as a team, learning through enquiry and insight; and thinking systematically, so that all elements of the learning culture are integrated into a coherent structure" (p. 28). Francis (1990) concurs that workplace programs need to draw on the existing workplace culture through involving workers in discourse about the workplace's history, and workers' feelings about work and their jobs. The encouragement of hearing the workers' voices is an essential element to collaboration.

Collaborative curriculum for Francis (1990) must encompass the idea of negotiation, and that this includes input from workers, employers and unions into program objectives and course direction.
For this to be successful, Sefton et. al. (1994) outline a number of principles and strategies for the development of negotiated workplace curriculum, emphasising a responsive curriculum that is continually open to improvement and values the linguistic and cultural diversity of workers. A responsive curriculum also focuses on adult learning, aims for the development of strategic competence and is "underpinned by effective thinking, organizational, interpersonal, communicative and practical skills" (p. 28).

Rhoder & French (1994) state that programs must be grounded in current views of adult learning. Kazemek & Kazemek (1992) support the utilisation of the resources already within the workplace, and suggest a holistic approach to workplace education. Sefton et al., (1994, pp. 288-299) agree that a holistic approach to learning must include developing in the workers "a comprehensive understanding of the workplace systems and their interrelationships" and that this understanding extends beyond the workplace to include a much wider view of work. They state that such a systemic approach considers "entire systems, as networks, webs of relationships, or interdependent processes" which will assist the workers in seeing how "various parts or sections relate to one another." Wignell & Boyd (1994), reporting on the work of park rangers in Kakadu, imply that such an understanding is imperative as "many Bining [Aboriginal] workers enter the workplace with only a superficial knowledge of Balanda [Non-Aboriginal] cultural assumptions about the nature and context of work" (p.61).

A holistic approach to learning also has implications for the way educators view the learners. Sefton et al., (1994) suggests that
the workplace learner’s history is important to the learning process, as these experiences have a direct bearing on the way individuals develop. O’Connor (1993) also makes a call for listening to workers’ voices and their histories. Hull (1993a) emphasises the importance of collecting “other stories, with their alternate viewpoints, different voices, and other realities” (p. 61). Hull (1993a) believes that these stories will change the dominant view on literacy and work which will help to gain a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the literacy capabilities required in workplaces. Hull (1993a) believes that these stories will assist in the achievement of effective and relevant programs. Hull (1995) also suggests that in order to understand literacy at work “one must situate one’s study of literacy not only within the immediate work environment, but also within the larger cultural, social, and historical milieu” (p. 7).

2.5 WORKPLACE LEARNING

When thinking about workplace learning, two issues become discernible: the role of the organisation in the learning process and learning by individuals and groups within an organisation. Roth (1996) suggests that a consistent definition is almost impossible as the concept is so broad that it includes everything from models of organisational change, to individual and group learning within organisations. Schein (1996) suggests that a distinction should be made. Therefore, when discussing workplace learning, two distinctions are made: that which refers to learning by an organisation, and that which refers to individuals and groups learning within the organisation. The former is referred to as ‘learning organisation’ and the latter as ‘organisational learning’ (Schein, 1996). In
examining both of these topics, the concepts referred to by Roth (1996) are noted.

A learning organisation is defined as having "an ingrained philosophy for anticipating, reacting and responding to change, complexity and uncertainty" (Malhota, 1996, n.p.). A committed learning organisation has two senses (Addleson, 1996) in which first it learns, and, second, in which it promotes learning. Ayas, Foppen and Maljers (1996) define an organisation as being "a formal set of goals (strategy), a division of responsibility, accountability and authority (structure), a set of values, norms, and beliefs (culture) and their operationalisation through processes, information flows and rules (system)". Therefore, a learning organisation should aim to convert and transform its strategy, structure, culture and system (Jotham, 1996).

Central to change is the question on whether or not "the organization understands or comprehends the environment in which it functions" (Nevis, DiBella & Gould, 1999, n.p.). If change is to occur, then design of learning organisations must become congruent with the environment (Ayas & Foppen, 1996). This suggests a "collective mind shift" at all levels within an organisation (Santosus, 1996). This calls for an understanding of the "interplay between the actions and interactions of individuals" and their organisation (Argyris & & Schon, 1996, p. 190), and the same understanding between the organisation and the environment in which they work. Fundamental to these relationships are people. People in a learning organisation have to change "the way they think and interact with others" (Santosus, 1996). For an organisation to become a
'learning organisation' it "must have sophisticated ways of seeking out, listening to, interpreting and taking account of the needs and aspirations of members. It must enable, empower and empathise with each of them" (Burns, 1995, p. 60).

The link between the concepts of 'learning organisation' and 'organisational learning' is human resources. Organisations involves "people doing things for a purpose" (Addleson, 1996). These organisations could be educational, industrial or public service (Leicester, 1996), and are "repositories of skills, systems and values" where knowledge is created by individuals (Ayas & Foppen, 1996). Underpinning both concepts is the relationships individuals have with their organisation and the commitment of the organisation to community.

A learning organization embraces the point of view that in organizational life attitudes to one another shape people's relationships and through these relationships define what the organization is, how it does things, and what it is capable of becoming. The attitudes and orientations of people towards others are the 'binding force' of an organization. ... what identifies a learning organization is a widespread conviction about the importance of community and a general commitment to community. Encouraging a sense of responsibility towards others, and trust in them, establishes socially functional, robust organizations where creativity, flexibility, and individuals' sense of commitment flourishes. It is worth emphasising that in a learning organization ... [there is] ...a sense of responsibility, accountability, and commitment to others (Addleson, 1996).

Burns (1995, p. 302) believes that change in organisations cannot be achieved by just "sending people on courses": what is needed is development of the organisation’s "vision, structures, strategies, policies and procedures" (p. 302). Nevis et. al (1999, n.p.) agree and suggest that organisations that support variation in
these areas are better placed to deal with change and therefore able to enhance learning by providing "more options and ... rich stimulation and interpretation for all its members". The learning efforts made by organisations "must permeate the entire enterprise in order to be effective and long-lasting" (Santosus, 1996, n.p.).

Argyris & Schon (1996) make two learning distinctions: single-loop and double loop learning. The former "is concentrated on methods and tools to improve what is already being done" while the latter tests the "assumptions underlying what is being done (Nevis et. al., 1999, n.p.). These concepts of learning draw on the work of Senge (1990) who refers to adaptive learning and generative learning. Adaptive learning focuses on "solving problems in the present without examining the appropriateness of current learning behaviours" (Malhorta, 1996, n.p.). Adaptive organisations are concerned with "incremental improvements" and are not overly concerned with "the fundamental assumptions underlying the existing ways of doing work" (Malhorta, 1996, n.p.). On the other hand, generative learning is about "continuous experimentation and feedback in an ongoing examination of the very way organizations go about defining problems" (Malhorta, 1996, n.p.).

Education and training in a learning organisation is not just about "sending people on courses" but emphasises the process of learning. In such an organisation "learning is permanent, not intermittent; is holistic, not segmented; is problem-centred and context related; includes all members of the enterprise" (Jotham, 1996). Most importantly, learning is at all levels with the
organisation, and is not a one-way flow dominated by "top-down thinking" (Burns, 1995, p. 91).

2.6 IN SEARCH OF QUESTIONS

The literature review has raised numerous questions relevant to my research. The central question deals with history and, from an historical perspective, the significance this history has for workplace education. In this historical rendering of Tiwi society, what becomes evident is the Tiwi desire for new technologies and the way in which these technologies were first subject to experimentation and analysis, and then either eventually accepted or rejected. Through accordance, these technologies took on Tiwi qualities and design. By analysing actions within this ‘moment’, question about why Tiwi did not reject Christianity, work and centralisation, and the emergence of a fifth textual activity, print literacy, can be explored.

Kazemek & Kazemek (1992) speak of ‘pluralities’ of literacy and state that:

we tell stories as a means of expressing and explaining ourselves, learning about ourselves and others, and making some sense and connections between and among the different systems ... we listen to the many different stories from others in our systems as we attempt to understand and connect with them (p. 12).

From this perspective questions can be asked about how literacy was used and is used by the interloper murrinntawi culture, and how narrative thinking (as a process of storytelling), social contexts and relationships help shape and govern meaning-making in the Tiwi context. Similarly, these questions need to be asked in an attempt to
recognise some of the diverse ways Tiwi people read and write their world, and to investigate the major sites and the critical events that lead to the production of textual artefacts.

A number of writers especially Hull (1993a, 1993b, 1995) suggest that in order to challenge the dominant myths of workplace literacy, different stories and other voices must be heard. Hull suggests that as researchers we must seek out these stories, and, in doing so, ask about the importance of the direct experiences of the learner, and the need for careful and critical thinking and talking about those experiences in relation to work and workplace education. Sefton et.al. (1994) suggest that a holistic approach to workplace training will recognise and respect the uniqueness of the individual, and the importance of the worker’s history, feelings and perceptions to the learning process. Such a perspective underlines the importance of linking the ACPO’s history to the learning process and raises questions about histories and what significance these histories have for shaping workplace literacy and workplace learning processes. These questions also support the call for such research to be located historically, socially and culturally within the community. This is fundamental in asking questions about how an ACPO’s workplace is linked to Tiwi society, and what can be learnt from this relationship.

As stated earlier, Wignell & Boyd (1995) suggest that many Aboriginal workers enter the workforce with little or no knowledge about the nature and context of work. Hull (1993a) suggest that how work gets accomplished needs to be examined, while O’Connor (1993) emphasises the need to respect indigenous workplace practices.
Interlinked with the nature and context of work is the concept of workplace culture, and the "layers of context" (O’Connor, 1993) that are embedded in it. Sefton et. al. (1994) state that:

there is also a need for research which is ethnographic in nature, that is research which "writes the culture" of the workplace in rich descriptive ways. Such research would provide insights into how workplace communication systems really work, not simply in linguistic terms, but in terms of the aims, aspirations, beliefs and understandings of the people involved (p. 326).

Organisations committed to workplace education and learning must, as a consequence, address change. Change occurs as a process of undertaking workplace education and training reforms and affects essentially two areas: the strategy, structure, culture and system of an organisation; and individuals and groups within an organisation. Questions are then formed in relation to these two areas.

At an organisational level, questions can be asked about things like culture and system. Nevis (et. al., 1999) consider how learning conforms to culture and the ways in which organisations function as learning systems. At a more tangible level Nevis et. al. (1999) ask if there is more than one way for an organisation to accomplish work goals. They suggest that an organisation which supports variation in its strategy, structure, culture and system, is more adaptable and flexible when addressing learning questions.

At an individual or group level, questions about individual/group participation in learning processes, work processes, and learning contexts need to be asked. Ayas & Foppen (1996, n.p.) consider the organisation’s influence on the processes of learning.
and emphasise that "individual learning cannot be treated separately from the context within which it takes place". Roth & Kleiner (1995) recommend that participants in the learning process need to re-examine the way they think and see the world, and their role in it. Joatham (1996) suggests that the learning process, amongst other things, be related to context and include all organisational members. This implies social, cultural and historical questions about the workplace. Francis (1990) says that by asking questions about the history of the workplace, and the feelings of workers about their work, the culture of the workplace could be written. This culture is interlinked with how workers' identities are formed, how they view themselves, and how they are viewed by others. It is also linked socially, culturally and historically to a worker's community (Hull, 1995).

2.7 NIMARRA

An interactive paradigm of history makes writing about syncretism possible. The alternative acquiescent and frontier paradigms are too particularistic with little scope for exploring the "common ground" which was, and still is, "a speaking place, one of co-existence and dialogue between all kinds of Australians" (McGrath, 1995, p. 391). Historical interactions documented and analysed within the interactive paradigm, portray Tiwi as actively and creatively engaging with the murrinhw and their new technologies.

The literature on workplace education and workplace literacy revealed that there is an urgent need for a shift of focus from workplace productivity to the worker as an adult learner. For this shift to be beneficial to both the learner and the organisation, it
must include the role of the organisation in the learning process as well as learning by individuals and groups within the organisation. This shift should also involve a changing perspective to encompass the multiplicities of workplace education.

Hull (1995) suggests that in order to understand literacy at work "one must situate one's study of literacy not only within the immediate work environment, but also within the larger cultural, social, and historical milieu" (p. 7). An understanding of the social, cultural, and historical context of workplaces is fundamental to thinking about the processes of workplace education. What follows, after Chapter Three, is an attempt to construct a socio-cultural and historical understanding of literacy and work as social technologies in order to provide a context for better understanding the workplace of ACPOs. In writing this history I uncover and analyse the 'politics of literacy': what was written about the Tiwi; why it was written; and how it portrayed the Tiwi. Rather than depict Tiwi as either passive or resistant, the history is written within an interactive paradigm that positions Tiwi as dynamic agents in the historical process, engaging in essentially creative discourse and processes.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

MANTAWI

A call for history from below (Ludtke, 1995)

3.0 PAKINYA

The purpose of this study was to investigate the history of a Tiwi community, the parallels the history has with a community workplace, and what significance, if any, the history has for workplace education and training. This study was undertaken within the qualitative research paradigm, using social science and historical research methodology. Principles and processes of qualitative research are discussed below.

One research aim was to accurately capture and portray informants’ story from the perspective of the person involved. This was partly achieved by establishing a closer relationship between the various informants and myself: a concept I refer to as mantawi. The research process aimed for a more open and equal relationship through ensuring that informants had access to data, that their advice was sought for clarification on research design issues and that they were consulted during the writing process. The latter included commenting on drafts of the thesis to ensure that the data was accurate, and that the writing did not contain any information which the community might find offensive or misleading. Because I was ‘known’ to many Tiwi community members, this aim was possible.
A discussion of these qualitative principles and issues occurs in the sections below. Further, a description of the research process is outlined. The research process is best described as taking place over four stages: (1) inception and social relations; (2) data collection; (3) data analysis; and (4) propositions. Issues dealing with each stage, and how each stage was conducted are dealt with in the following sections.

3.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research project uses a multi-method approach to generate data on how an ACPO workplace is socially and historically linked to Tiwi society and what can be learnt from this relationship. This thesis attempts to construct a socio-historical understanding of a Tiwi community, in order to provide a holistic context for ACPO workplace education. This is done by analysing significant moments in Tiwi society's history and considering the outcomes of this analysis for the workplace. This is approached in two ways: first, a history of Tiwi society; and, second, a case study of a Nguiu community workplace.

The research aims, in part, to present the changes and underlying forces which influence ACPOs at work, and to relate events and experiences, both past and present, that are culturally and socially based, and historically formed. In order to see ACPOs in relation to the history of their time, and how they are influenced by the various social, cultural, economic and environmental currents present in their world, one must investigate the personal, institutional, and social histories within the Tiwi community.
A fundamental element of workplaces is the concept of literacy. An investigation of an ACPO's workplace is linked with the relating of literacy to the context of the various practices that promote or inhibit literacy's development. This in turn calls for an investigation of the different domains in which these literacy activities take place. It also means an investigation into the history of literacy in Tiwi society, including a focus on the Nguiu community as a site of literacy activity. As there is a focus on the workplace domain, the research may develop a far richer view of the expansive world of literacy in which ACPOs participate, and uncover counter-hegemonic perspectives on ACPO workplace education. This investigation, then, further develops the idea of critical literacy in terms of literacy being understood as a social technology, and inclusive of the ways in which Tiwi read and write their world (Walton, 1996).

3.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGY

The research methodologies used in this research has similarities with naturalistic inquiry, a parallel qualitative research term (Tesch, 1990). My research took place within a natural setting and involved observations of mantawi. The mantawi within this research were ones who have, over several years, displayed a certain amount of trust in me and knowledge about who I am. These mantawi freely gave information about various issues and, in return, showed a readiness to consider the information I supplied. The research utilised tacit knowledge which was formed by the entire experience of field work, living and working at Nguiu, and the continual contact

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that has taken place with community members over a sixteen year period.

The basic ideas of how qualitative research is conducted is evident in this research: it is based on the assumption that there are multiple realities; that the events under study are viewed holistically; and, it is the perceptions of those being studied that are important (Wiersma, 1995). The research is particularistic in that it focused on a specific situation, resulting in a rich and thick description. The implications for this study were that any propositions emerged from the data through inductive analysis, rather than being framed prior to the research. As such, the mantawi were not only partly involved in negotiating the interview questions, but also had input into the research design which was flexible and emerged as part of the research process. Mantawi suggested activities for me to observe and participate in, such as attendance at court day and accompanying them on coastal patrol. Mantawi also nominated community members who they thought could be helpful as sources of information. Notions of trustworthiness are displayed in this research through a variety of ways including, as mentioned earlier, a prolonged engagement with the Tiwi community, and through triangulation. Nevertheless, the results of this research can only be tentatively applied, and are limited to the workplace of ACPOs on Bathurst Island.

3.3 THE MULTI-METHOD APPROACH

The multi-method approach in this research consists of two major approaches: history research and social science research. The methods used in these approaches include those commonly used in
historical research, case study and ethnography. These include data collection techniques of interviews, participant observation and review of related documents. History research and social science research are particularly well suited as they call for a reporting of results that are readable and colourful, rich and thick, and which take the reader into the situation and life of the researched.

Life history and historical research approaches are complementary. German historian, Alf Ludtke (1995, pp. 3-40), uses the term alltagsgeschichte to highlight the importance of "everyday life" in the historical process. He draws attention to the importance of what he terms the "everyday, ordinary people" and the contribution that can be made by them to a number of historical themes, including the history of work. He suggests that by focussing on the "everyday, ordinary people" that attention is no longer on "the deeds (and misdeeds) and pageantry of the great, the masters of church and state". What is needed in this process is the call for "history from below".

Similarly, social research focuses on people’s experiences of their subjective world. It is people’s experiences, and the interpretation of these experiences, that give meaning in qualitative research (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Historical research, like case studies, "deals with the meaning of events" (Wiersma, 1995, p. 228).

Denzin (1989) lists a number of assumptions that were central to this research’s multi-method approach, in particular "that human conduct is to be studied and understood from the perspective of the person involved" (p. 183). He suggests that any supporting material
that can reflect the subject's experiences be employed. Ludtke (1995) proposes that much of this material can be found in documents such as government reports, letters, and other "visual testimony given by distant or only temporarily participant observers".

Marshall and Rossman (1989) state that the strengths of life history are demonstrated by the way in which the research process assures a face to face encounter with mantawi, and that it facilitates cooperation from mantawi. Similarly, case studies require developing friendly and informal relationships with those being observed, and that through establishing such relationships, a degree of trust is formed (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Other strengths of a multi-method approach include the immediacy of member-checks of the collected data. In this research clarification was sought from mantawi on any errors or omissions. Mantawi received copies of all interview transcripts, and a draft of the thesis so that they could bring to my attention any errors.

The multi-method approach endeavoured to establish a closer relationship between the researcher and mantawi. This was attempted for two reasons: first, to ensure that mantawi were not left out of the research process; and, second, so that the reader could enter into the mantawi's experiences and that of my own. Goodson (1981) says that historical research penetrates the subjective reality of the individual, which allows the reader to enter vicariously into the same experiences. Carlson (1991) states that the narrative mood of historical research "allows the researcher to illustrate not just events but individuals perspectives on the nature and meaning of the experiences in question" (p. 257). LeCompte (1993) agrees stating
that the promotion of the narrative is "a post modern remedy to the positivc canon of conventional science" in that it overturns "old dichotomies between the research/ practice, author/ text, subject/ object, knower/ known, method/ procedure, and theory/ practice." (pp. 13-14). This narrative mood is a feature of all three approaches. The historical analysis and sociological interpretation of the data in this thesis is presented in an edited fashion with interspersed vignettes, historical accounts, comments and stories from community members.

3.4 LIMITATIONS and WEAKNESSES OF MULTI-METHODS

Using two different research methodologies can be problematic as it could be argued that the results of the research, on the face of it, have to be dealt with separately, and that the outcomes of the research can quite simply be a jumble of ideas. However, in order to understand the present organisation of a workplace, it is necessary to appreciate how it has become what it is. Historical data and sociological data are therefore essential to this process. Nevertheless, the use of these methodologies in one study if not done methodically, carefully and creatively, can remain a weakness.

In doing research in a cross-cultural setting, there is a potential for bias due to cultural differences. Data can often be misinterpreted, and research can be fraught with ethical dilemmas. Despite the ethical intentions and grounded experiences of the researcher, he may still remain an outsider to the majority of the community in which research is conducted. Regardless of being accepted by some community members, this belief of being accepted cannot be applied right across the community. For some community
members, the researcher will always remain an outsider, and herein lies a weakness of participant observation as a means of data collection.

An initial blindness on the part of the researchers is an understandable consequence of their status as outsiders ... they cannot fully participate in or understand all of the circumstances of the informant life (Le Compte, 1993, pp 9-24).

A multi-method research design, using common data collection techniques, particularly historical documents as primary sources also uncovers a weakness. These documents may have been produced by their writers for purposes possibly different from that for which they are of interest to the present research. Therefore the meaning they were intended to carry could well be distorted in the present. Furthermore, these historical documents may have been through a process of interpretation and editing before finally being published, which creates another disadvantage in that the editing process increases the possibility of distortion.

Furthermore, researchers may dismiss stories that contradict their definitions or rhetoric. LeCompte (1993) states that by eschewing positivistic research frameworks one can trivialise the concern of participants and create "new and often idiosyncratic frameworks which are doctrinaire and as orthodox as those they discard" (p.14). McLaren (1992, cited in LeCompte, 1993) refers to this as the "evangelising tendency of critical ethnography". The resulting stories that flow from the research purports to let the mantawi "speak for themselves". However, in spite of virtuous intentions, it will always be a biased story because of its removal
from the context and the time of telling, and because it is written
by a murriniani.

The research design is limited in these ways, however, attempts
were made to ensure trustworthiness and to address these limitations.
Issues of trustworthiness are described and discussed below.

3.5 RATIONALE FOR MULTI-METHODS

I was drawn to the participatory nature of qualitative
research, particularly its consciousness-raising features which are
characteristic of the approaches chosen for this study. Armstrong
(1987) states, that if undertaken thoughtfully, such approaches can
"assist in breaking down the traditional authoritarian research
relationship which characterise most other research strategies" (p.6). This was one of my research aims.

Case study methodology, as an element of the multi-methods used
in this research, is an approach that is particularly well suited to
describing and analysing the work of individual workers in the ACPO
scheme. A case study seeks "holistic description and interpretation"
(Merriam & Simpson, 1984) and therefore the social, cultural and
historical contexts are emphasised. These are central in
understanding the holistic nature of being an ACPO in a Tiwi
community.

A socio-historical study, such as this, can help understand how
present workplaces and workplace practices have come about.
Historical research:
can provide a perspective for decision making about educational problems, and it assists in understanding why things are as they are... Issues are often better understood if the historical perspective is known. Historical research can also be useful for predicting future trends. There is an old adage that those who are unfamiliar with the mistakes of history are doomed to repeat them (Wiersma, 1995. p.228).

In order to create and understanding of the present, historical data is therefore essential. An understanding of work within its social and historical contexts, can in turn help inform workplace education. These recommendations could lead to further progress in the development of culturally and socially meaningful workplace programs for Tiwi ACPOs.

3.6 THE RESEARCH PROCESS: INCEPTIONS and SOCIAL RELATIONS

The procedure suggested by Lofland & Lofland (1995) encompasses most of what is proposed by Denzin (1989), and suggests four generic stages in the qualitative research process. These stages commence with the inception of the research and the establishment of social relations; data gathering; data analysis; and, the forming of propositions, with each step underpinned by a continued practice of reflection and retracing [Figure 3].

During the inception and social relations stage, the following key research issues were addressed: topic selection; negotiating access; identifying and selecting mantawi; and establishing research relationships. In selecting the topic, I was influenced by my own background and experience. Wiersma (1995) states that some information about the research topic will be influenced by the researcher’s background and that, broadly speaking, the research will commence with some already preconceived ideas and theories. As
mentioned earlier, I worked as a community based adult educator at Nguiu, Bathurst Island from 1984 to 1988 where I managed various adult community education programs which were initiated and developed in conjunction with the community after extensive needs analysis, community consultation and planning.

1. Inception & social relations:
   - topic selection
   - access
   - key informants
   - mantani formation
     * research agenda
     * consultations
     * member checks
     * outcomes

2. Data collection
   - multiple sources
     * primary
     * secondary
   - multiple collection procedures
     * interviews
     * participant observation
     * documents

The Research Process:
continual process of reflection and retracing research steps

4. Propositions
   - generic framing
   - writing ethnography

3. Data analysis
   - from data, topics & questions | through intensive immersion in the data | to answers and/or propositions.

Figure 3: The research process

These programs were essentially pre-vocational where I worked primarily with unemployed Tiwi adults who accessed the course to gain meaningful work skills tailored for the community's industries. Additionally, I prepared and taught lessons in adult literacy to Tiwi health workers, shop assistants and ACPOs. While working with the
latter, I was drawn to the fact that such programs were ad hoc and, despite my good intentions and those of the adult learners, were not achieving a great deal.

Later, while working at Batchelor College, I attended a lunchtime seminar by Peter Wignell who presented a recently completed research project, *Kakadu National Park As A Case Study in Workplace Literacy* (Wignell & Boyd, 1994). This rekindled my interest. On reading a report prepared for the Northern Territory Police (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993), my earlier hunch about the ad hoc nature of ACPO workplace education proved to be correct. The report stated that in relation to specific language and literacy training to assist ACPOs in administrative and clerical duties, training was provided on an ad hoc basis, with some ACPO receiving no assistance at all (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 49). Several other sources (NTP Aboriginal Community Police Review Working Group [ACPRWG], 1995; O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993; Etter, 1992) stressed the need for improvement in ACPO literacy training, while recommendation 230 from the RCIADEC specifically recommended adequate pre-service and inservice training in general education for Aboriginal Police Aides.

Lofland & Lofland (1995) state that in order to conceptualise the research and the research data, the size or the magnitude of the social setting must first be described. They state the basic dimensions of scale as being "the number of people involved, the period of time on which we focus, and the physical size of the territory the setting occupies" (p. 101). Firstly, this research involved key *mantawi*, but also included other Tiwi as sources of data through conversations undertaken during the observations and
activities. These activities included numerous bush trips for hunting and camping in country, fishing trips, visits to the club, visits to homes, and daily conversations with Duncan. All these conversations were a rich source of data. Secondly, as mentioned previously, this research had its genesis in the 1980s when I first came to live and work at Nguiu on Bathurst Island, and came into a sharper focus over a two month period in May and June of 1997, when field work was undertaken. Lastly, although the research was to conduct studies into the workplace literacy of ACPOs, the setting was not just isolated to the Nguiu Police Station. The setting included the town of Nguiu, as well as the land and sea of the Tiwi Islands, particularly Bathurst Island. Social setting details will become more evident in later sections.

The topic of this research encompasses what Lofland & Lofland (1995) describe as units and aspects, with the topic and the research taking place within the four substantive domains of Tiwi society [Figure 4]. These domains can be grouped into four categories that broadly focus on different concerns. Issues within these categories are not confined to each domain, and in some cases overlap. The economic concerns of a society are to do with the production of goods and services, and as such in Tiwi society would focus on concerns of employment, unemployment, enterprises, division of labour, and government programs such as Community Development Employment Programs. Social concerns are the ways in which Tiwi people stratify themselves and, therefore, deal with issues of kinship, families and marriage laws. The cultural concerns of Tiwi society are those that "address basic situations of human life that are unavoidably problematic" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 102) and encompass such
issues as language, law, councils, political issues, education, and ceremonies.

The fourth domain, environmental concerns, focuses on issues that deal with Tiwi society's relationship with the natural and built environments, such as country affiliations, resource development and depletion, and housing. 'Units', which combined with aspects form the research topic, means that research will encompass one or more of the following tendencies (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, pp. 103-122), and these will be observed and experienced by me as the researcher. 'Practices' are action or talk that are considered to have

Figure 4: The substantive domains of Tiwi society in which research was conducted.
significance to the research such as workplace dialogue and community talk. 'Episodes' are dramatic occurrences which, within the daily life of a Tiwi ACPO, occur regularly. 'Roles' are:

consciously articulated and abstracted categories of social "types of persons." In this sense, a role is both a label that people use to organise their own activity and one that they apply to others as a way of making sense of their activity (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 105).

This research involved a number of mantawi, particularly the Tiwi ACPOs, Duncan and various community members. Observation, interviews and conversation with these mantawi encompassed each of their roles in Tiwi society. Some of these roles included the formal ones of occupation and position. 'Relationships' between people were also central to this research, and it was observed the ways in which Tiwi ACPOs interacted with others and formed professional and social relationships. 'Social groups', that is 'people who interact with some regularity over an extended period of time and who conceive of themselves as a social entity' (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 107) were evident in observations. One of the most prominent unit was 'organisation': the NTP's ACPO Scheme, and it was this unit which formed a major part of the research.

Organizations are consciously formed collectivities with formal goals that are pursued in a more or less articulately planned fashion. Some major aspects of the analysis of organizations include the circumstances of their formation, how they recruit and control members, the types and causes of the goal-pursuit strategies they adopt, and the causes of their growth, change, or demise (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 109).

'Aspects' are one or more pieces of the substance of the selected units. Lofland & Lofland (1995) list these pieces as referring to cognitive aspects of meaning; emotional aspects or
feelings; and, hierarchical aspects or inequalities. The research topic has a focus on the first aspect, but also overlaps with the remainder. "Cognitive aspects of meaning" refer to the ACPOs' view of reality, both past and present, which "define their own and others' actions" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 113). This has primary significance in historical research when mantawi talk about issues dealing with world-views. However, the remaining two aspects also have some importance and cannot be omitted. As stated earlier, central to the multi-method approach is "that human conduct is to be studied and understood from the perspective of the person involved" (Denzin, 1989, p. 183). This will invariably involve 'emotional aspects' or feelings when mantawi talk about their practices and roles. "Hierarchical aspects" become more evident when ACPOs talk about workplace relationships.

The topic of this research is a combination of unit and aspect [Figure 5]. The research question displays its holistic qualities in that it encompasses several segments, described as units and aspects, which in turn assists in focussing the data for analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>Which one/s are the focus?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- practices: workplace &amp; community talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- episodes: workplace issues i.e. court, crimes, disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- roles: family, workplace, position, cultural etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- relationships: professional, cultural, social etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- social groups: workplace, community etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- organisations: ACPO scheme, councils, associations etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>Which one/s are the focus?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cognitive: world views, accounts etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- emotions/feelings: associated with practices and roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- hierarchy: workplace relations, community organisations etc</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| TOPIC | What is the history of a Tiwi community, what parallels are there with a community workplace, and what significance does this history have for workplace education and training? |

Figure 5: Topic selection
In order to gain access to the workplace and the community, a number of procedures were followed and a number of ethical issues were considered. LeCompte (1993) states that researchers have "an ethical imperative to operate under strictures of informed consent" (p.10). Cohen & Manion (1994), present guidelines for reasonably informed consent as being:

1. explanation of the procedures to be followed and their purposes; 2. a description of the risks reasonably to be expected; 3. a description of the benefits reasonably to be expected; 4. an offer to answer any inquiries concerning the procedures; and 5. an instruction that the person is free to withdraw consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without prejudice to the participant (p. 351).

The National Health and Medical Research Council (1992) guideline on ethical issues in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research see ethics around the criteria of consultation, community involvement and ownership of publication of data. Each of these criteria involves access to, and acceptance by, the community. Cohen & Manion (1994) state that before commencing the research, its precise nature and scope should be clarified so that the research community has a total picture of what the research entails. They say that this could be done by identifying:

the aims of the research; its practical application; the design methods, and procedures to be used; the nature and size of samples or groups; what; activities are to be observed; what subjects are to be interviewed; observational needs; the time involved; the degree of disruption envisaged; arrangements to guarantee confidentiality with respect to data; the role of responses and how finding can be best disseminated; the overall timetable within which the research is to be encompassed; and whether assistance will be required in the organization and administration of the research (pp. 354-359).
One of the features of the multi-method is the notion of partnership or mantawi, where a collaborative approach to research was undertaken and where the relationship was open and equal. I think that the fact that I was a 'known' observer, strengthened this relationship. This research took place within the four substantive domains of Tiwi society, especially in the area of community life and the ACPO workplace. This presented several ethical issues. Access had to be negotiated with the Northern Territory police because the proposed research primarily focussed on NTP employees, that is, Tiwi ACPOs and other officers associated with the scheme’s operation and management. This involved correspondence with an NTP Commander where I outlined the purpose of the research and the proposed research design. It was suggested that I meet with a Superintendent responsible for the ACPO scheme, to further discuss my proposal. After this meeting, in which the NTP approved in principle to the research project, it was recommended that I commence negotiations with the Divisional Officer for the Northern Region who agreed to arrange the assistance of the Tiwi ACPOs and with the Officer-In-Charge (OIC) of the Tiwi Island police stations. I then contacted the ACPOs and explained the research to them. I gave a detailed explanation of what would be involved, and discussed ethical issues of participation, the right to withdraw from the project, and access to data. Once consent was given, I then contacted the Tiwi Land Council and the Nguui Community Council to explain the project, seek their approval and gain permission to live and work at Nguui for the duration of the field study.

On arrival, I spent time visiting various people, including the Chairman of the Tiwi Land Council and the Nguui Community Council
President, and explained what I was doing. I also reworked an information sheet, which was given to anybody who requested further information [Appendix 1]. Several people queried whether I had been granted a permit, and I assured them that I had, and that this information was included in the ‘Information Sheet’. It puzzled me at first why this was mentioned, but after a few days I was told that there was an incident at the club where several murruntawi teachers were challenged. Things had settled down since then, however a number of friends were concerned that I may get caught up in the issue. One friend disapproved of the fact that I had to apply at all because I was 'known' by the community. This notion of being 'known' gave me greater freedom 'to move about, observe, or question in a relatively unrestricted way', however, I made sure that I kept 'common standards of decorum, tact, courtesy, and circumspection (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 73). One of these standards was to ensure that I had a permit.

Once accessed had been granted, I then spent some time locating mantawi. As stated above, these were primarily past and present ACPOs who had already been contacted, but I also intended to observe and talk with several mantawi. As a 'known' observer it was expected that I would carry on and participate in everyday conversations, which not only served the task of 'getting along' but also enabled me to collect data (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 70). Mantawi are those persons who:

(1) trust the investigator; (2) freely give information about their problems and fears and frankly attempt to explain their own motivations; (3) demonstrate that they will not jeopardise the study; (4) accept information given them by the investigator; and (5) provide information and aid that could jeopardise their own careers (Denzin, 1989, pp. 174-175).
As stated earlier, my mantawi were primarily ACPOs, but also included others. Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) suggest several questions that need to be attended to when selecting mantawi and informants. These were applied in my research design. These questions include asking the following questions:

- Has a range of viewpoints been covered by the informants used?
- Are different positions, roles, levels and status groupings being represented by the informants used?
- Has the informants behaviour and talk been monitored by the researcher across a range of situations so that the importance of context can be established?
- Do the informants used have specialised subject or general subject/area knowledge, occupy central or marginal positions?
- Has the selection of informants given due weight to the existence of unequal voices? (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995, p. 128).

These questions were useful in guiding my selection of mantawi and informants, in developing interview questions, and in directing my observations. There were several roles that mantawi provided, apart from the obvious one or providing data through answering questions and participating in conversations. In choosing the multi-method approach, I wanted to move away from a dichotomous positioning of the 'researcher' and the 'researched', to one of partnership or mantawi. This meant that it was important that I was 'known' and that I participated in an exchange of information. McGinty (1992) supports this notion of friendship to aid the reversal of unequal relationships in research.

The researcher is often seen as powerful, and the researched as powerless. However, if the researcher adopts a stance of genuine learner, then this differential should be reversed. The researched are in a very powerful position to withhold or give information thus making them powerful (p. 14).
My role as researcher and mantawi was multi-faceted. Lincoln (1993, pp. 29-47) outlines a number of responsibilities of the researcher. She states that the researcher must have an "open ideology" where the life history narrative is assembled as much by the "needs and nominations of the studied as by the interests, desires or biases of the studier". Through this process "epistemologies which deny or collapse the distinction between the knowers and known will emerge, and the constructions of texts will proceed from non objectivist standpoints". LeCompte (1993) describe the researcher as a "hermeneut whose task is to render the voices of the unheard in a language accessible both to them and to a wider and presumably more powerful audience" (p. 10). LeCompte (1993) suggests researchers need to document their own reactions and be reflexive in the research so as to consider "the reactions to and impact on both informants and their life situations" (p. 14). This was achieved by keeping a day journal in which I noted observations, logged reflective questions, and described what was going on in the setting. These regular periods usually took place during the evening of each day that I was in the field. Bateson (1982, cited in LeCompte, 1993) suggests that researchers need to adhere to the notion of double description so that:

with one "eye" they record what they "see" the subject doing, creating a record of the participant's activities - often in the participant's own words. With the other they record a whole range of other data, including what they themselves are doing and what everyone in the research setting is feeling and doing (p. 17).

Lincoln (1993) states that it is important for the researched to come to terms with the social, historical and cultural contexts of the research so that both:
the researcher and researched can engage themselves together in formulating questions which have high salience for the community which is the context of the study. In this way the silenced in becoming producers, analysts, and presenters of their own narratives, cease to be the objects of their history and knowledge (pp. 29-47).

Cole (1994) states that the most important thing in preparing participants for engagement in research is to "provide sufficient information about the research process, at the outset and throughout the inquiry, that will enable participants to make informed decisions about their participation" (p. 22). However, it must be pointed out that not all of the mantawi participated in all of these activities. For example, ACPO Luigi, was very active in the research design suggesting people that I should talk to, activities that should be observed, and activities that I should participate in. ACPO Stanley was more reserved, and offered only some suggestions.

The involvement of the mantawi was supported in several ways. I met with the ACPOs and explained the research design and discussed possible themes that could form the focus of the interview questions. A list of themes was drawn up, and questions were formulated. After the completion of interviews, the tapes were transcribed and each mantawi received a copy of their interview and were encouraged to check for any errors or to make comment. Table 1 describes the application of a number of the research and ethical principles discussed above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Application</th>
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| Informed consent. | a. Meetings and correspondence with the NT Police Force, Tiwi Land Council Chairman, Ngulu Community Council President and ACPOs explained the purpose of the research and procedures, a description of expected risks and benefits, and emphasised withdrawal of consent.  
   b. Face-to-face discussions and conversations with organisation representatives, community members and individuals occurred on a regular basis.  
   c. An information sheet was available for the community. |
| Confidentiality | a. It was agreed that informants would be given a pseudonym in any of the published reports.  
   b. Pictorial material and audio-visual material were made only with the consent of the organisation, local community, and individuals, and were handled in accordance with their wishes.  
   c. A summary of the research findings will be reported to the organisation representatives, community members and individuals before publication. |
| Control and equity of influence. | a. Informants were involved in nominating and setting research agendas, discussing the weaknesses and strengths of various data-collection methods, and negotiating the overall design strategy of the study.  
   b. Informants were involved in checking the data. |
| Access to data. | a. The secure storage of identifiable raw data were negotiated with informants.  
   b. Informant access to interview transcripts was granted throughout the period of research.  
   c. Regular timetabling so that research was included within ACPOs’ daily work tasks. |
| Critical reflexiveness. | a. Documenting my own reactions by keeping a written journal.  
   b. Regular reflexive periods during the research. |

| Table 1: Application of research principles. |

### 3.7 THE RESEARCH PROCESS: DATA COLLECTION

Data were obtained from a variety of sources through a variety of methods [Figure 6]. Central to data collection are the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources of data were the people interviewed and observed and primary documents such historical records. The selection of mantawi and informants was guided by several questions, and consideration was given to whether they had specialised knowledge and occupied positions central to the research. They became the key sources of data, and were the ones that were spoken to and observed the most. Primary mantawi were Luigi, Duncan, past and present ACPOs, historical records, oral historical records, and NTP staff.
Other *mantawi* were frequently used who were not central to the research but were able to place what the primary sources were saying into a wider picture, thereby presenting other perspectives. Secondary sources included other community members such as the ACPO’s family and friends, organisational members, and several friends and acquaintances with whom I interacted with during the period of the field study.

Historical documents are woven into the narrative to give meaningful explanations, and to place ACPOs’ stories within the history of the community. These documents can be classed as primary or secondary sources. Examples of primary source documents include
essays, songs and stories that involve the testimony of the mantawi.

Triangulation is a:

comparison of information to determine whether or not there is corroboration. It is a search for convergence of the information on a common finding or concept. To a large extent, the triangulation process assesses the sufficiency of the data (Wiersma, 1995, p. 264).

Figure 7 illustrates various triangulation of multiple primary sources of data.

![Diagram of Historical records, MTP staff, ACP0s, Oral history, Luigi, Duncan]

Figure 7: Triangulation of primary data sources

When considering the credibility and usefulness of primary and secondary source documents, a number of questions were applied. These questions were concerned with external criticism and internal criticism of documents as sources of data.

External criticism in historical research evaluates the validity of the document - that is, where, when, and by whom it was produced ... Internal criticism in historical research evaluates the meaning, accuracy, and trustworthiness of the content of the document ... Both external and internal criticisms are necessary for establishing the credibility and usefulness of the source (Wiersma, 1995, pp. 223-225).
Questions pertaining to external criticism and internal criticism of primary and secondary source documents consisted of asking:

[external criticism] ... was the author in a position to make a valid record of the event? Was the author an on-the-spot observer, if the document appears to be a primary source? Are factors such as time and place consistent with what is known about the event? ... [internal criticism] ... does the author have a tendency to colour the writings by eloquent but misleading phrases? Is part of the writing figurative rather than a record of the real event? Does the author borrow heavily from documents already in existence at the time of his/her writing? If so, is the document an objective restatement of the facts or do the authors own interpretations come into the writings? ... Was the author competent to give an accurate report and, if component, predisposed to do so? (Wiersma, 1995, pp. 223-225).

Data collection methods were those commonly used in history research, case study and ethnography. These methods consisted of structured interviews, participant observation, reflexive journal and field notes, unstructured conversations, review of related documents, artefacts, maps, and photographs. Figure 8 illustrates examples of triangulation of multiple data collection strategies.

![Triangulation of multiple data collection strategies](image)

Figure 8: Triangulation of multiple data collection procedures

The triangulation of these strategies assisted in assessing the sufficiency of the data collected.
Sociological data were collected over a six week period during May and June in 1997, but as stated above, was based on a more lengthy period of association dating back over some thirteen years. The collection of historical data was also a lengthy process and had its beginnings in a personal library which had grown over many years. Nevertheless, more comprehensive collections had to be accessed and these included Canberra's National Library of Australia, Australian Institute Of Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Studies, and the Australian Archives. Historical data were also collected from Sydney's Mitchell Library, the University of New South Wales Library, and the Sydney University's Fisher Library. In the Northern Territory, data were obtained from the Northern Territory Library, the Northern Territory Archive Service, the Northern Territory University Library, the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education Library, Nguiu Nginingawila Literature Production Centre Library, and records held in the Bathurst Island Museum.

In determining the procedure to conduct interviews and make workplace observations of ACPOs, a tentative operational timetable was drawn up. During the course of the fieldwork, a number of changes were made as other observation activities became available. ACPOs suggested a number of these activities, specifically the coastal patrol and the court day trip. As mentioned earlier, all interviews were taped and then later transcribed and given back to mantawi for checking, and field notes were completed at the end of each day. In planning for interviews, several issues had to be considered, namely, if I was to employ an informal and casual approach, or a more guided technique. McMillan and Schumacher (1989) state that:
In the informal conversational interview, the questions emerge from the immediate context and are used in the natural course of events; there is no predetermination of questions topics or phrasing. Informal conversations are an integral part of participant observation. In the guided interview approach, topics are selected in advance (p. 405).

I chose the latter for interviews with NTP and ACPOs, and the former for community mantawi. In keeping with the principle of control and equity in the research process, I discussed the research topic in general terms with the mantawi and informants, and when preparing the life history interview guide received some input from Luigi in relation to the interview question topics. In the open-ended structured interviews mantawi and informants were given some idea of how long the interview would last. I also made sure that the nature and purpose of the study was explained.

During the interviews I was aware of trying to avoid what Field & Morse (1985) term as common pitfalls i.e. interruptions; competing distractions; stage fright, which may be a problem for the interviewer and/or mantawi and informants; awkward questions; jumping back and forward, asking illogical questions; presenting my own perspective; and, superficial or shallow interviews by moving mantawi and informants along too quickly. I also endeavoured to remain fully focussed on the mantani and murrintani informant.

At the completion of each interview I transcribed the tapes and returned transcripts to the mantawi and informants within two or three days of the interview. Interviews and workplace observations took place over a number of weeks and were scheduled so as to cause minimal interruption to the daily ACPO work routines. Additionally,
observations were made for the entire period and included participation in a wide range of activities, the majority of which were spontaneous and unplanned. Denzin (1989) defines participant observation as a 'field strategy that combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and mantawi and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection' (pp. 157-158). A participant observer is one who makes his 'presence as an investigator known and attempts to form a series of relationships with the subjects' (Denzin, 1989, pp. 162-165). Denzin (1989) also states that there are a number of assumptions about participant observation:

Sharing in the subjects' world. A central assumption of participant observation is that the investigator shares as intimately as possible in the life and activities of those under study ... Direct participation in the subjects' symbolic world. Direct participation on the part of the observer in the symbolic world of those under study is also involved. This often entails learning their language, their rules of etiquette, their eating habits, and their work patterns ... Creating an identity. A third assumption of participant observation is that there will be a continual attempt by field workers to carve out an identity for themselves in the ongoing interactions they are observing (Denzin, 1989, pp. 161-162).

These assumptions were evident in my research in a number of ways. Firstly, I participated in a number of activities at a community level, including attendance at community events, as well as different family activities such as hunting and bush trips. My involvement in these activities implies that I was aware of certain cultural customs and obligations, and that I was reasonably competent in understanding some Tiwi language. I knew, for example, language restrictions associated with pukumwani and was careful not to contravene these. My identity within the Tiwi community was already well established through my previous work as an adult educator, and
this was evident by the way in which I 'fitted' within ngirimipi - the Tiwi kinship system. These 'assumptions' help support the importance of the idea of contextualisation in observation, that is "to understand behaviour, the observer must understand the context in which individuals are thinking and reacting" (Wiersma, 1995, p. 261). Although I participated in a number of activities, I strove to remain unobtrusive as possible in order to not interfere with normal daily activities, or special community events. My participation in these activities was by invitation. My observations were guided by several questions, which in turn facilitated the production of field notes.

Throughout this research data were recorded in various forms. Lofland & Lofland (1995) refer to this as 'data logging' which involves the registering of events that unfold in the research. The logged data in this research included interview transcripts, journal notes, photographs, artefacts, observation notes, documented conversations, examples of community texts, relevant documents and reports, songs and art objects. Interview transcripts are the written records of interviews conducted with the primary sources.

Fieldnotes were a record of conversations, description of events, observations, and ideas generated during my time in the field. The field notes were combined with a reflexive journal in which I jotted questions, critical comments and my own thoughts and feelings. Some of these jottings were in response to how I privately felt about the setting and its participants at various periods during the research. Photographs also form part of my data and were a record of various events including court day, coastal patrol, and bush trips, as well as documenting various writing and visual displays.
around the community. Photographs of texts were analysed in terms of wider social and cultural meanings. Artefacts that were logged as data included workplace texts and community texts which were collected during field work. Documents logged as data covered any material that was related to the mantawi experiences: these included a number of primary and secondary records. Maps were also logged as data: one particularly good source was made available by the Chairman of the Tiwi Land Council.

The process of recording observations consisted of making mental notes, jotted notes, and full field notes. Mental notes were remembered during observations, and then recorded at a later date. Jotted notes were recorded during observations and consisted of key words, phrases, quotes and other notable items and then elaborated on at a later period. My field notes were a chronological log of what was happening in the field and, for the most part, consisted of "a running description of events, people, things heard and overheard, conversations among people, conversations with people" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 94). My field notes also included impressions and feelings, and usually contained one or two observational questions that prompted in the field analysis and follow up questions to ask particular people, or things to look for. The latter also included listing other sources, particularly documents and records, for review which are often referred to as artefacts. As mentioned above, artefact collection included samples of ACPO's notes and day journal entries, as well as organisational reports and letters, and community texts.
3.8 DATA ANALYSIS

Once data were collected, collated and sorted, the more formal stage of data analysis took place. The data analysis process is illustrated in Figure 9 where through a process of immersion in the data, propositions are formed. The first step in the formal process of data analysis is focussing the data, which involves considering data in relation to the 'topic'. Focussing took place informally in the field through the processes of reflection, transcription of interviews, and the act of making journal entries. These procedures called for the handling of data, and during this process data analysis occurred simultaneously. The more formal process of breaking down the data through an inductive approach took place once I had returned from the field. Inductive analysis means that the categories of analysis emerge from the data rather than being imposed prior to data collection (McMillan & Schumacher, 1989).

Drawing conclusions about the research is the typical outcome of data analysis. However, rather than seeing it as a final step in the research process it should be viewed as being integrated much more with the other stages. Throughout data analysis, and to a certain extent throughout the whole process, tentative conclusions were made and reviewed as I moved forward and then retraced the research stages. Wiersma (1995, p. 269) states that producing an ethnographic account "requires insight, reflection, and typically, some rethinking of initial conclusions."

The final phase of the research stage is the presentation of the findings. In producing readable studies the researcher as writer
takes on the roles of artist, translator/interpreter, and transformer.

**Figure 9: Data analysis process**

Lincoln (1993) states that "it is the researcher's responsibility to take part in faithfully reproducing stories" and that the writer creates authentic texts of "fidelity and rigour" which exhibit a closer relationship with the life of the researched. The narrative is written as a descriptive-analytical interpretation in which events and various aspects are described, analysed and interpreted. The data are presented in a descriptive language in which field notes and quotations are cited, 'the context of the naturalistic events, the site and selected settings and social
scenes, the participants, and the entire data collection time period' (McMillan and Schumacher, 1989, pp. 419-421) are described. LeCompte (1993) raises a number of important questions which were considered during the writing phase - "whose 'being' is being reflected? How does the reality constructed during the research process get presented in a way which preserves the authenticity of all who experienced it and the collaboration which generated it?" (pp. 9-24).

Throughout the research project I was guided by these questions and thoughts which state that the 'educational study should be more collaborative, more broad-based, publicly available. [and] ... it should be possible too ... to make it interesting, critical, vital and useful" (Goodson and Cole, 1993, p. 92). My whole research process, including the presentation phase attempted to adhere to these principles.

3.9 THE STRUGGLES AND DILEMMAS OF A RESEARCHER

As a socio-historian\textsuperscript{21} engaged in cross-cultural research, I record realities. The outcome is a picture of a culture reality that only a relative few murrintrawi will experience and have some degree of really knowing. However, the fact that this construction is reliant on the words of one researcher means that the picture will always contain a degree of personal bias. This creates a dilemma in that the research is highly dependent upon the ability of the researcher to control personal bias (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

In order to control bias, Denzin (1989) suggests that a researcher needs to be resourceful, systematic and honest in the

\textsuperscript{21} I use this term as a way of describing the traditions from which I am researching and from which a new methodology is emerging. I see it as neither being solely historical or sociological, but as a convergence of the two, especially where there are commonalities in the theory and practice of conducting research.
research processes. In being resourceful, I strove to ensure that I did not favour one source of data over another, and that other sources were given relatively equal importance. I also looked for meaning in the 'everyday', that is common daily activities that are taken for granted, and may go unnoticed. In the following chapters, these are highlighted in several vignettes. Furthermore, Duncan's retelling of historical events are cross-referenced with other sources that not only give weight to Duncan as a reliable source, but also highlight the authority and importance of the oral tradition. I tried not to intrude on the full flavour of these accounts by presenting segments, rather I used the less obtrusive device of footnoting throughout Duncan's full accounts.

My approach to the research had to be systematic and not blinkered by favouritism which, given my personal relationships, was a difficult task. The fact that I was reliant on the goodwill of mantawi to participate in social and cultural activities meant that I could maintain a degree of detachment, thereby ensuring that my focus remained on the study. Several times during the fieldwork, mantawi dropped by to either to arrange for me to go out bush with them, or to spend some time in conversation. Other times, I experienced lengthy periods of privacy both in town and out bush. These periods allowed for reflective thinking and analysis, which in some cases led to readjustments or further inquiry.

Finally, I tried to remain honest, not only in personal relationships but also in the recording of the research. Honesty in personal relationships meant that I had to be open to mantawi for questioning and also the possibility of criticism. The writing up of
stories with an aim of letting the informants speak for themselves presents another dilemma. No matter how the stories are presented it still is a partial discourse because of its removal from context, and my presentation and analysis. However, keeping this in mind, my intention was to frame these stories in an approximate reality. The device of writing vignettes is not just a stylistic choice, but one which attempts to present vicarious experiences. It is incumbent of writers of culture to do this.

3.10 NIMARRA

In this chapter a justification for using a multi-method approach was put forward. The research was designed to maximise contributions from the research group, and in so doing, the notion of mantawi as an integral concept in the four stage process was developed. Similarly, it was pointed out that a multi-method could not be understood without considering interrelated issues, and that this called for a holistic approach to the research process inclusive of the four stages. An important element was the action of critical reflection by retracing the research stages on a regular basis. As such, the practice of keeping a research journal not only aided data collection and data analysis, but also promoted reflection and the framing of propositions, and the construction of the narrative.
CHAPTER 4

POSSESSION

WHITEMAN THEY CALL HIM

First time they see him - whiteman. First time they see whiteman.
Murrintani, whiteman they call him. First time.
(pers. comm., Duncan, 1995).

4.0 PAKINYA

This chapter, and the next two, contextualises the study in
terms of a history of Tiwi society since first contact with
interloper cultures. The historical narrative is presented in three
parts: prelude to the British invasion; the appearance of murrintawi
in murrakupuni; and, the missionary influence. In this chapter,
detailed accounts of Tiwi interactions with Macassans, the Dutch and
the early British navigators are described. Chapter Five gives a
detailed description of a dogged attempt by the British to establish
themselves in murrakupuni and, later, the emergence of murrintawi by
way of government representatives and individuals. Chapter Six
documents the missionary effort to firstly establish themselves as a
presence, then as a power, and finally, their decline in the sphere
of influence. These events had dramatic social, cultural, economic
and environmental consequences for Tiwi society.

4.1 SIGNIFICANT MOMENTS

Smith (1998) describes three significant moments in his
discussion on cultural imperialism and the 'formalesque', a concept
to describe art of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
He presents three distinctive moments of cultural imperialism in which the first is characterised by the:

devaluation and rejection of the traditional indigenous styles. The second moment ... brings the Formalesque style to the colonised and at the same time seeks to reinstate the status and values of the traditional indigenous styles which the first moment rejected ... A third moment of cultural imperialism may be discerned wherein contemporary indigens responding to the challenge of the second moment, begin to create work that combines the traditional arts of their own culture with the techniques and aesthetic of the Formalesque (p. 307 - 308).

In Smith’s ‘significant moments’ framework, the first moment is usually succeeded by a second moment and the third moment is often conflated with the second. Although not agreeing completely with Smith - in the third moment, for example, one could argue that although the techniques have been adapted, the aesthetic is still an indigenous one - it is a useful framework for considering Tiwi history. Throughout this history, textual artefacts were used as devices to make claim on Tiwi country. In this historical context textual artefacts include ships’s journals, maps, charts, correspondence and government legislation, regulations and reports. The history presented here in this chapter, and the next two, is written within an interactive paradigm. A historical analysis of Tiwi society, from a murrin tawi perspective and within the interactive paradigm, depicts a linear method inclusive of two significant moments: moment one - invasion/ subjugation/ regulation, and, moment two - adaptation. A third moment is beginning to emerge. This third syncretic moment has parallels with what I consider to be the existing Tiwi experience which is defined as operating alongside the murrin tawi moments but in a cyclical fashion [Fig. 10].
Like most societies, Tiwi society has been shaped by internal and external forces. Externally, Tiwi society's experiences of interloper cultures can be traced via a series of significant moments.

**Murrinh-athun Linear Method**

**MOMENT ONE**
INVASION/SUBJUGATION/REGULATION: murrinh-athun seek to possess, dominate and subjugate Tiwi through regulation. Tiwi society and culture is devalued as murrinh-athun seek to civilise/christianise.

**MOMENT TWO**
ADAPTATION: murrinh-athun continue to seek to dominate although vestige of power sharing with Tiwi. Elements of Tiwi society and culture are allowed back and adapted by murrinh-athun for their own purposes.

**MOMENT THREE**
EMERGENT: draws on experiences with, and knowledge of, both societies. Essentially syncretic.

**Tiwi Cyclical Method**

**CONCURRENT MOMENT**
SYNCRETISM: draws on experiences with, and knowledge of, both societies. Underpinned by a process of acculturation, that is essentially creative and pragmatic, and affirms a dual consciousness.

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Figure 10. Historical methods frame

These moments describe two quite different methods in dealing with cross-cultural contact. The murrinh-athun experience has proceeded in a linear manner. The linear method is characterised by two phases, although the boundaries between these phases, and the boundaries of
the moments themselves, are more blurred than they are distinct. Firstly, there was a colonising phase where early exploration of Australia’s northern coast was undertaken by European naval powers for economic purposes. Maps and charts were drawn, landforms were named, country was described in terms of potential economic gain and Tiwi were portrayed negatively as a people who had little to exploit in terms of economic wealth. These explorations by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were a precursor to the first dogged attempt at colonisation: the establishment of Fort Dundas by the British.

Concurrently, Macassans established an economic relationship primarily with the Yolngu of north-east Arnhem Land but also to a lesser extent with Tiwi. The British sought to capitalise on this established trade by occupying prime locations such as Fort Dundas, Melville Island and Fort Essington on the Cobourg Peninsula and exploiting the situation. This they did by first trying to establish trade with the Macassans, and then much later by introducing levies and trepang licences.

With the growing presence of murrinjavwi came a series of incursions into murrakupuni. This eventually led to a permanent presence by Catholic missionaries whose aim was of Christian conversion. Typical of this pattern was the initial incursion by buffalo hunter Joe Cooper on Melville Island which made it easier for Missionary François Gsell to establish a presence on Bathurst Island. These events are described in much greater detail later in this thesis. This heralded in the second phase characterised by “christianising and civilising” features. These were the desire to
convert, to protect and then to assimilate Tiwi into mainstream society. The dominant features of this phase were regressive and discriminatory laws enacted by federal and state governments and implemented by the Catholic missions.

The second moment occurred when elements of Tiwi society were allowed 'back in' and adapted by the murrintawi to suit their own purposes. During this moment the mission moved from forbidding Tiwi rituals (Venbrux, 1995) to adapting elements of Tiwi cultural and artistic practices for Catholic objectives, especially in education and religion. The murrintawi method of engaging with Tiwi society now appears to be moving into an emerging third moment, one which displays syncretic qualities. This emergent moment is analogous to the Tiwi frame of historical experiences.

The Tiwi experience, as I present it, is characterised by a cyclical method in which introduced technologies were first subject to experimentation and analysis, and then either eventually accepted or rejected. Through accordance, these technologies took on Tiwi qualities and design. This syncretic moment occurred - and continues to occur - concurrently with that of the murrintawi experience. It is underpinned by a process of acculturation, that is essentially creative and pragmatic, and affirms a dual consciousness.

These moments are not void of violent conflict or oppression which were a feature of the historical experience in northern Australia. Conflict occurred on both sides of the frontier and was evident in both societies. However, it is argued that it was not

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22 Conflict and violence has been the theme of several studies on Tiwi society. See Pilling (1958), Robinson (1990) and Venbrux (1995).
the deciding factor in determining the course of relationships between the Tiwi and murrintawi.\textsuperscript{23} The focus here is not the ways in which Tiwi resisted or submitted to the interloper society, but the ways in which they creatively, intelligently and pragmatically engaged with them and their technologies.

4.2 COUNTRY ALL ROUND

I arrive at the Darwin airport in time to book my baggage through, and collect my ticket at the Air North counter. There are several other passengers, mainly Tiwi, who are bound for one of the three communities on Bathurst and Melville Island. I notice a hospital wristband on one of the passengers, who is returning after a stay in the Darwin hospital. I have excess baggage, which is no surprise, as I not only packed all my study-related materials, including a portable computer and several books and reference materials, but also kitchen things. I also optimistically packed fishing gear, a swag and a mosquito net in the hope of going bush.

The passengers for Air North flight 202 depart through Gate 6 and then take a short walk along the covered walkway and onto the tarmac, where crew are busy loading a Cessna with freight and baggage. I climb in to the seat next to the pilot and as he goes through a few safety procedures, I buckle the safety belt and prepare for departure. The heat starts to build inside the plane as we taxi along the runway, and, as we turn, there is a thrust of power as the plane hurtles down the runway and lifts into the air.

\textsuperscript{23} I am not arguing here that this was the common experience for all Aboriginal groups in northern Australia. Clearly, in some cases, violence was the defining characteristic of the colonial encounter.
Darwin falls away below me, and as the plane climbs to 2 000 metres I get a glimpse of Bathurst and Melville Island to the north as we fly out over the Timor Sea and the Clarence Strait towards the first stop, Milikapiti\textsuperscript{24}, on Melville Island.

* * *

Bathurst and Melville Islands are located approximately eighty kilometers north east of Darwin and form a geological unit of approximately 7,900 square kilometers. Bathurst Island, approximately 2,200 square kilometers in area, is separated from Melville island, approximately 5,700 square kilometers, by Apsley Strait (Hughes, 1976). Both islands are reasonably flat apart from a small ridge running from east to west on Melville Islands, some sand dunes, and scattered hills on Bathurst Island (Venbrux, 1995). The land is predominantly covered by eucalypt open forest with a grass understorey, but there is a scattering of other vegetation types including tropical woodland, acacia open shrubland, melaleuca open forest and monsoon vine thicket. In some places, the coastline of both islands consists of dense mangrove thickets and tidal salt plains, as well as ochre and fossil-bearing cliffs and long, white sandy beaches. There are several salt-water creeks that flow inland from the sea, as well as freshwater streams, and swamps (Tiwi Land Council, 1996a). According to Tiwi cosmology, this country, that

\textsuperscript{24} Formerly Snake Bay. Milikapiti was set up by Native Affairs in 1941 as a settlement for 'incorrigibles', mainly Tiwi, but also other Aborigines who were living in the Darwin area (Forrest, 1993, p. 20) It later became a war base in 1942 (Pye, 1977) until the end of the war. It then reverted to the Native Affairs Branch where it was 'increasingly used by the Welfare Branch as a place to which "troublesome" Aborigines might be sent' (Forrest, 1993). Pilling (1978) also notes that the descendants of Iwaidja men and Tiwi women lived at Milikapiti.
appears to float on the horizon, was formed by the work and travels of a very old woman.\textsuperscript{25}

Pukwi made the country the first time. The sea was all fresh water. She made the land, sea and islands. She came out of the sky in daytime. She was as big as Karslake Island. Like an alligator she was and she was black. First she camped at Urampuramum. She had paperbark and fire. Here she made the animals and trees. Then she started walking and as she walked, the waters bubbled up behind her. First she went to Darwin, then to Cape Don, then around Melville and Bathurst Islands counterclockwise. On her walks she made all the creeks. Then she went up Apsley Strait to Piper Head, Tauipu, and sat in a freshwater billabong as a turtle. Two hunters, Iriti (jabiru) and Puruti (a fish), saw something move in the billabong. They didn't know what it was so they moved up and made ready to spear it. Puruti said, "Don't kill our mother." But Iriti went ahead and killed her. He struck her on the head. Her urine made the sea salty and her spirit went into the sky. Now she travels from east to west and back along the Milky Way at night. At midday she makes camp and builds a big fire and causes great heat (Told by a nine-year old Tiwi child, in Goodale, 1971, p. 3-4).

The southern tip of Melville Island and Gunn Point on the mainland are partly bridged by a chain of small islands called the Vernon Islands - the Tiwi call these Muma, Walapanji and Punarliyi. There are several other islands that are uninhabited, including Buchanan Island - Yirripulingayi (Ward, 1993, p. 11), that make up what is known collectively as the Tiwi Islands.

Spencer (1914, pp. 44-45) states that the Larrakeyah people of the Darwin region once referred to Bathurst and Melville Island as Wongok, while the Iwaidja of the Cape Don area called Melville Island Wamuk. The Portuguese referred to the islands as Luca Anatara via Java Minor by the Portuguese (Tiwi Land Council, 1996b, p.6),

\textsuperscript{25} There are several written accounts of this story. For example in Mountford (1958, p. 24 - 25); Pye (1977, p.24); Forrest (1995, p. 5); Le Brun Holmes (1995, p. 32-33); Kerinaiau (1989) the woman is referred to as Mudungkala. Each written account varies in some details however the main themes of creation of land, sea, flora and fauna; and of light and darkness, are constant.
however this is somewhat unreliable. The information supplied to the 
Tiwi Land Council is based on an infamous 1602 map by an equally 
infamous Portuguese ‘eccentric and confused enthusiast ... [who was] 
... fired with a vision of the great continent in the south ... 
[and]... obtained permission to go exploring down that way, but 
because of circumstances beyond his control never got there’ 
(McIntyre, 1977, p. 362). It is more likely that Luca Antara, India 
Meridional or Jave-la-Grande, names that appear on fourteenth and 
fifteen Portuguese maps, refer to the land mass of northern 
Australia rather than individual islands or locations (Schilder, 
1975). Elsewhere, the islands have been referred to as van 
Diemenslandt by the Dutch (Forrest, 1995, p. 13); Aimba Mootiara by 
the Macassans (Campbell, 1828 in the Historical Records of Australia 
- hereafter HRA - Series III Volume VI); Yoyi Yoyi\(^2\), again by the 
Macassans (Simpson, 1951, p. 131); and then Bathurst and Melville 
Island by Phillip Parker King in 1818, after Viscount Melville, the 
Head of British Admiralty, and Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary 
(King, 1827, p. 117).

The word tiwi was a term first used to classify the people of 
de the islands by an Australian-born anthropologist Hart (1930, p. 
170).\(^3\) Linguistically, tiwi is a plural noun meaning ‘people’ (Lee, 
1996, p. 134). Since it was adopted by Hart (1930) to refer to the 
people of Bathurst and Melville Island, it has gained acceptance, 
but, nonetheless, still takes on differing meanings: from the 
biblical ‘we, the chosen people’ (Tiwi Tours, Pty Ltd n.d.), to the 
exclusivity of ‘we, the only people in the world’ (Le Brun Holmes,

\(^2\) According to Simpson (1951), after he had titled a section of his book The 
Islands of yoyi, he came across this name used by Malay for Melville island. He 
concludes that the naming was based on the Tiwi ‘operatic sense of drama’ (p. 
131).

\(^3\) Hart later became an American citizen in 1953.
At the time of imposing the term 'Tiwi', Hart listed nine 'countries'— Tiklauila, Wrangwila, Mingwila, Malauila, Wilrangwila, Munupula, Turupula, Yeimi and Mandiimbula (1930, p. 72). The size and number of the countries, as well as the boundaries have changed since then.

In 1976 the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act granted Bathurst and Melville Island to the Tiwi. However, as they did not want to be represented by the Northern Territory Land Council, Tiwi decided to form a separate land council in 1979. Membership of the Tiwi Land Council was based upon twelve 'countries'. Membership of a country is obtained in several ways particularly by birth or residence in the area, father's membership, or when an ancestral grave is situated there (Venbrux, 1995). In 1981 consolidation of these twelve 'countries' to seven occurred, and later was increased to eight in 1992. At the time of writing, these countries were Mantiyupwi, Murnupi, Malawu, Tikilaru, Wulirangkuwu, Wurangkuwu, Yimpinari and Mirrikawuyanga (Tiwi Land Council, 1996b, p. 7).

'Tiwi' is also generally accepted as the name for the vernacular of the Islands. Australian languages can be classified as Pama-Nyungan, which are typologically very similar and represent almost nine-tenths of Australia, or non-Pama-Nyungan which show greater diversity (Dixon, 1980, p. 21). However there are a couple of exceptions which do not fit these classifications, Tiwi being one of them. Tiwi is a language:

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Hart's spelling These terms actually describe the country affiliation rather than the names of the country. For example, a person who belonged to the territory of the island named Tikilaru would use the word Tiklauila to describe that affiliation.
in which all elements of a sentence may be combined in a single highly complex morphological structure ... [and] ... most striking and unusual of all is the capacity which Tiwi has for incorporating noun-like forms into the structure of the verb, principally as direct object (Osborne, 1974, p. 2).

According to Osborne (1974) this sets Tiwi apart from other Australian languages. However, Tiwi language has undergone considerable change over the years due to constant contact with outside cultures, and the increasing 'bombardment' (Wignell, & Boyd 1994) of English language. This 'bombardment' occurs through the presence of written texts in the community such as English language newspapers, magazines, government-related forms and notices, and books. Most people now have access to television and radio of which the majority of the programmes are broadcasted in English. Videos are also very popular.29 As a result of this 'bombardment', Tiwi language has changed to an extent when discussing Tiwi as a language community, four distinctions are made - Traditional Tiwi, Modern Tiwi, Tiwi English and Standard Australian English.

In the traditional language the verbs have very complex structures, with a root having the basic meaning of the verb and a number of other parts showing various things like who is doing the action, when it is done, who it is being done to and many other things. Younger people can understand some of the traditional verb forms but normally can only produce simplified forms. In speaking, young people often do not use a traditional verb form at all but a loan verb from English or an imperative form of the traditional verb which they use as a free form verb ... The term 'modern' Tiwi is being used for the simplified or modified form of Tiwi used by younger people, particularly in writing and more formal speech (Lee, 1996, p. ix).

29 A common practice of some Tiwi, particularly with popular songs and videos, is the constant replaying of either the full item or a particular segment that captures the listener/viewers attention.
Traditional Tiwi is still used in the community but by an ever decreasing few. Lee (1987) states that it is typically spoken by people over about fifty-five years old whereas Lesser Traditional Tiwi\textsuperscript{10} is more common between middle aged Tiwi. This would be the case for Oscar who was forty-six years old at the time of interview: ‘Old Tiwi hardest language, I can speak that. We speak it together. Some of those words are very long’ (pers. comm. Oscar, 1997). Traditional Tiwi, in some cases, is the language for songs performed at ceremonies. Two mantawi, Richard and Mary Josephine, told me that their son can sing and compose songs in ‘hard’ Tiwi. According to them, their son learnt the skill by watching the mouths of older people when he was a young child. This strategy was also mentioned by Oscar: “Well I listened to my father, you know. Like pick it up here, go through here and come to my mouth. So I pick it up” (pers. com., Oscar, 1997). The present language situation is not just the result of the influence of English, but also earlier contact with the Macassans and Iwaidja. This will be discussed later.

As well as identifying with a country, Tiwi belong to a yimminga through his or her mother. The yimminga can be conceived of as an exogamous matrilineal clan’ (Venbrux, 1992, p. 29). Each clan is identified by a name drawn from the natural environment: woollybutt flower, pandanus, red flowered swamp grass, ironwood, stingray, stonefish, mudskipper, fish, mullet, silver mullet, oyster, white cockatoo, small bird, brolga, flying fox, crocodile, march fly, mosquito, fly, freshwater, brown mud, red ochre, stone, fire and sun (Ward, 1990, p. 18).

\textsuperscript{10} See Table 1.1 Comparison of codes in the verbal repertoire of the Tiwi speech community (Lee, 1987, pp. 12 -13).
Men of the Bird clan! You too are a group by yourself. You are one big group - a totem - a clan. You are one clan. You are one totem ... You men of the Flying Fox clan, too, are one totemic group (Foxy Tipungwuti in Osborne, 1974, p. 2).

My main mantawi identified as belonging to the yiminga of stone [Duncan and Luigi], pandanus [Sam and Leon], and mullet [Oscar]. Spencer (1914) and Hart (1930) recorded the grouping of yiminga into three. Hart (1930, p. 177) wrote of three groups as 'phratries' and described each as 'an exogamous group containing a number of clans'. Later, Goodale (1971) noted the division of these three groups into four phratries or arimipi 31 referring to the individual clans as 'sibs'. Goodale (1971) also noted some confusion in relation to the naming of the four. However, Ward (1990, pp. 18-19) arranges yiminga into four large groups – 1. Wantarringiwi; 2. Miyartiwi /Mantirikuw/Arikijinniliyipwayini; 3. Marntimapila/ Larrlua/ Putupula; and, 4. Takaringuwi/ Murntangipila. It is worth noting that all but one group, Wantarringiwi, are known by various names, suggesting that this confusion, at least to murruntawi, remains. Members of mutual yiminga usually fulfil obligations to each other: “Ideally, 'relations' support each other physically, [join in fights] materially [supply food, money services and goods], and verbally [speak up for one another]” (Venbrux, 1995, pp. 30-31).

One of the main functions of yiminga is to determine the correct marriage line. This is illustrated in Figure 11 where the arrows indicate the correct group Tiwi can marry into (Ward, 1990, pp. 17-19).

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31 Goodale’s spelling. Venbrux (1995) mentions arimipi and gives its meaning as 'relations'.
The current marriage system is 'cross cousin marriage' (Hart et al. 1988, p. 31) where, ideally, a Tiwi male marries his mawana or 'mother's brother's daughter', while a female marries her amini or 'father's sister's son'. A second preference is that a Tiwi male marries his amo, or father's sister's daughter, while a female marries her mawanyini, or 'mother's brother's son' (Osborne, 1974; Venbrux, 1995). Prior to mission interference, the marriage system was based on infant bestowal and widow remarriage - all Tiwi female babies were betrothed before or as soon as they were born, and widows were remarried at the graveside of their late husbands. Hart et al., (1988) states that infant bestowal was based on the belief of 'the unpredictability of spirits' in conception, so, the logical step would be for every female to have a husband 'all the time'. Tiwi refer to these spirits as pitipituwi.\footnote{spirits who become children by being 'dreamed' into the physical world [for further discussion, see Goodale, 1971, p. 136 - 143].} Paranala became lonely. She wanted children to hold in her arms. Her sister Piyankala also wanted children. Piyankala said to her older sister, "What shall we do?" So they went and talked to Purrukupari. He said to them, "I will go and look for children for the two of you." So Purrukupari went off. For many days he looked around but didn't see any children. Then he saw the little island called Wayilawu. When the tide was low he could walk on the reef and so he arrived there. When he arrived at the sandbank he saw that tiny little person.
He was climbing high up on the rocks as he saw him. That little person spoke to Purrukuparli and said, "I'm Pitipituwu." So Purrukuparli asked him for children for his two sisters. The little person replied, "I will become a spirit person and you and I will return to your camp. There I will cease being who I am and enter your younger sisters. Thus Paranala and Piyankala had many children and grandchildren (Kerinaiua, 1989a, pp. 39-40).

Both levirate and sororal polygyny\textsuperscript{1} were features of the Tiwi marriage system which, due to missionary influence, are now not as common. What does appear to be the most common arrangement now, at least at Nguiu, is what Goodale (1971) calls a 'Type E' contract which is arranged by the young couple themselves, or, in other words, 'marry for love' (pers. comm, Emily, 1996). Tiwi still place great emphasis on marrying the right way.

This is important. This is about the right marriage partner to marry. On the mother's side the boy should marry his uncle's daughter [not the close cousin, but far out] e.g. either Takaringa or Miyartina. If he is Warntarringini or Marntimapila. That's the right girl for his wife. If a boy [who is Miyatinini] lives with a relative the elder will say, "You are not allowed to have that girl, [either Takaringa or Miyartina or if the boy is Warntarringini he's not allowed to have Warntarringa or Marntimapila girl] because she's related to you." Also we will tell the girl that she is not allowed to have the boy because he's related to her. Then the boy will say, "Alright, I didn't mean to fall in love with her but because she wanted me, I thought she was my right woman." Then another man gives his son to his niece e.g. a Warntarringini or Marntimapila male whose son Miyartini or Takaringini can give him to his niece in either Warntarrunguwi or Marntimapila tribe. And also a man whose friend has a father who comes from the same tribe as his friend are Yurruma Warntarrunguwi or Yurruma Marntimapila [same blood] who can give his daughter [who is Warntarringa or Marntimapila] to his friend's son who is either Miyartini or Takaringini. And that is the right road we have to follow (Kantilla and Tungatalum, 1996).

\textsuperscript{1} When a man remarries his dead brother's wives, it is known in anthropology as the 'levirate', and where sisters married the same husband at the same time it is known as 'sororal polygyny' (Hart et. al. 1988, p. 17 - 18).
Another important role of yiminga is that it determines relationship terms - ngirimipi. Goodale (1971) lists a number of criteria for kinship terms based on sex, generation, and age. For example, a father when calling out to his son will say mirani and to his daughter as miraniga, while a mother will use the vocative mwarti and mwaninga respectively. When calling out to an older brother the term yuwuni is used while for a younger brother is yuwani. For an older sister the term is yipunga, and younger sister yipwaka. When referring to older brothers and sisters collectively the term used is ngi-yuwupi, and younger brothers and sisters ngiya-ngipi. However, some of the calling-out terms are not identical as referral terms. For example the vocative term for one’s mother is nginari, while the referral term is ngiya-naringa with all kin nouns being prefixed with the full personal pronoun ngiya or ngi. Also, a person can be related in more than one way depending on one’s father yiminga and yirruma\(^4\) which will also determine relationship terms (Ward, 1990 p. 13). How one refers to another is not only declared in spoken language but is also demonstrated through dance at pukumwani\(^5\) and kurlama\(^6\) ceremonies.

\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]

The eight-seat Cessna drones on as its makes progress towards Milikapiti. The air-conditioning vent is positioned to blow directly onto my face so that I can get maximum cool air. As the pilot attends to his administration, I have a look at the landscape below me and

\(^{4}\) Paternal totem group.

\(^{5}\) Also can refer to, apart from the pukumwani rituals, a person closely related to the deceased, and the belongings, house, country and name of the deceased. All of these are said to be pukumwani. Words that have a similar sound to the deceased person’s name can also be pukumwani. The closest English word to describe this association would be ‘taboo’.

\(^{6}\) Also refers to a type of thin yam used in the kurlama rituals.
can see off to my right Purrumujuwu [Gunn Point], Muma, Walapanji and Punarliyi. Each time I see these islands, I am reminded of the time that a number of us were stranded on Muma after the boat we were travelling in stopped due to a mechanical fault.

We had travelled from Nguiu down the South West coast of Melville Island towards Cape Gambier to hunt turtle and dugong that are often found in areas of the Clarence Strait. On reaching Cape Gambier the spears were readied as we slowly circled around the waters. The tide was out, so the water level had dropped and was quite still. A turtle was spotted and the motor was given full throttle to speed up on it before it dived. It was then that the motor stopped.

After quite awhile of trying various things, including fiddling with the wires, it was decided that it was a lost cause. By this time the tide had turned, and the channel, in which we were floating, between Cape Gambier and Muma, began to quickly fill. It was decided to paddle towards Muma, from where we could consider our options. With the racing tide and no oars, it was a struggle but after a short while we eventually made a dry reef. We then walked for a short while before continuing to paddle to the mangroves of Muma. From here we could see the southern coastland of Melville Island. To our south lay the northern coast of mainland Australia.

* * * *

According to popular belief, Tiwi developed in relative isolation. This belief has been put forward by a number of writers
(Forrest, 1995; Mountford, 1955). Mountford (1955) bases this belief on his experience of a hazardous trip to Melville Island in which he encountered strong tides, high seas and a heavy tropical storm.

'It is doubtful if any of the simple and frail bark canoes of the Melville Islanders, their only water transport before the introduction of the dugout canoe, could have withstood the turbulence of that passage. This fact helps to account for the unusual isolation of the island and its long freedom from the influences of civilisation (p. 417).

However, other accounts suggest Tiwi contact with mainland Aborigines occurred well before so called ‘civilisation’. There is evidence to suggest that Tiwi were already visiting the mainland before the establishment of Darwin, using Muma, Walapanji and Punarliyi as a bridge, and landing on the mainland at Purrumujjuwu. The primary purpose of these voyages was to steal Larrakeyah women, and possibly Woolna women (Morris, 1965a, 1965b; Pye, 1977; Venbrux, 1995). Morris (1965a) states that the Tiwi would have become aware of murruntawi either through personal observation ‘or from information received from the Larrakia or Woolna’ (p. 4).

From the Vernons it was but a short paddle to the country of the Larrakia tribe ... The raiders launched their attacks upon various parts of the coast between the Adelaide River and Port Darwin, as a short list of captured women shows. Tari-pung-naral was taken from Larrakia country after a fight there; Pawpaw-mo was kidnapped from Shoal Bay (the shoal Bay off the mainland); Nar-larka was brought from Tree Point, while Tamarala was taken at the Adelaide River. Yet another woman, Tumu-mung-arma was captured at Cape Hotham on the Adelaide River “before white men used to be there” (Morris, 1965a, p. 3).

A popular account of these raids concerns a number of Yeimpi and Mandiimbula men who hunted in the vicinity of Shoal Bay. While camping on the beach, their catch was eaten by a dog belonging to a
Larrakeyah, Nin-u-archee. When the Tiwi killed the dog in retaliation, a fight ensued between Tiwi and Nin-u-archee and other Larrakeyah. During the fight, the Tiwi canoes were destroyed and, so, after winning the fight, they departed for Melville Island via Muma, Walapanji and Punarliyi [the Vernon Islands], on logs (Morris, 1965a; Pye, 1977; Kerinauia, 1989b). Other accounts suggest that, as a result of these fights, Tiwi were able to claim ownership of Larrakeyah land. Duncan tells it this way:

What happened, what happened, they fight there. They fight spear. Boomerang37 - Larrakeyah mob. They had a fight. Larrakeyah mob and the Tiwi mob. They countrymen you know, they countrymen38, from Melville and Larrakeyah mob - but they fight. They had a fight they reckon. They had a fight together. They kill39 one another. They keep going this mob here. That mob they lost - Larrakeyah mob. All this Tiwi mob, 'this our land - in Darwin'. That belong to that Tiwi mob because they beat all that Larrakeyah mob. Tiwi mob they went over there, they beat all Larrakeyah mob. They beat 'em. They finish. They fight and they won. Tiwi mob - they won. Larrakeyah mob - they lost. Now, 'we own that country' they said. Tiwi mob - 'we own that country'. They won that country. They finished. They all friends, all friends, Larrakeyah and the Tiwi mob. They belong to that country - Larrakeyah - in Darwin. Here, right there in Darwin, yeah Tiwi and the Larrakeyah they belong to that place40. Its a long time ago, long time. Long, long time ago. That's the story (pers. comm, Duncan, 1995).41

From these accounts, it appears that the Vernon islands were an established route to the mainland. Morris (1965a, p. 3) makes mention

37 Tiwi never had boomerangs as such but had an array of throwing and fighting sticks - kurjangka, takamuli, kirlilmurrufunga, japurrangga, ariukwa, timirrikimaka, murrkuwungu, mujurruke (Ward, 1990, pp. 56-57). These are still made today but mainly for the art market.
38 The fact that Duncan uses the term 'countrymen' to Larrakeyah suggests a degree of familiarity which could have been born out of regular contact, rather than sporadic interactions.
39 When Tiwi say 'kill' it can refer to several action. The Tiwi word -pirim means to hit, beat slap; to kill; to beat someone in a game (Lee, 1996, p. 238). Used here by Duncan, it could mean that people were physically murdered, hit or even beaten as in a contest.
40 The Tiwi Land Council state that “Our people consider they do have an interest in this land [Gunn Point] in common with Larrakeyah people from Darwin. Tiwi owners believe their interests are continuing and may form a part of general Larrakeyah/Tiwi ownership” (Tiwi Land Council, 1996b, p. 12).
41 One of the best remembered Tiwi involved in several mainland raids was Tuningalumi (Pye, 1977, p. 15). Tuningalumi was Duncan's aminayi [grandfather].
of the existence of a well that, according to his informant, was dug by Tiwi and was used by Tiwi on their travels.

A permanent contact with white 'civilisation' became an increasing reality during the late 1800s, although earlier attempts at Fort Dundas on Melville Island and later Port Essington on the Cobourg Peninsular were not successful. In 1863, South Australia annexed the Northern Territory with the hope of developing pastoral industries there. Consequently, the South Australian Government began selling land to prospective settlers in Australia, and also in England and other countries. In 1864, the South Australia Government sent a survey party under the command of Colonel Finniss who founded a settlement at Escape Cliffs in Adam Bay, but this proved to be a disaster and was abandoned. Later, the area around the Liverpool River in Arnhem Land was suggested as a possible site but this was passed over in preference to an area surveyed by G. W. Goyder in 1870. The new town of Palmerston\textsuperscript{42} was established under the administration of Captain Douglas as Government Resident (Flynn, 1968).

Through the establishment of Palmerston, Tiwi increasingly came in contact with murruntawi. To suggest that they remained isolated from the mainland and from the influences of murruntawi is not quite accurate.

\* \* \* \* \*

\textsuperscript{42} Palmerston was later re-named Darwin when the Commonwealth took over administration of the Territory from South Australia in 1911 (Flynn, 1968, p. 36).
As the plane nears the south coast of Melville Island, Duncan’s country, Mantiyupwi, comes into view. To my right is Yimpinari country. I can also see across to Yirripulingayi and the southern coastline of Bathurst Island. Smoke rises from several fires burning across the landscape - it is kimirrakinari, the season of fire.

* * *

Tiwi structure their seasons into three major ones and thirteen minor ones. This is in contrast to the murruntawi system of two - the wet and the dry - or sometimes three - the wet, the dry, and the build up: ‘There are two seasons, the wet and the dry; one is hot, wet and often humid; the other is dry, cold and ideal in the winter (Pye, 1977, p. 4).’ There are three major Tiwi seasons that correspond to ‘the wet, the dry, and the build up.’ Jamutakari is the season of rains; kumurrupunari, the season of smoke; and, tiyari, the season of cicada song. The minor seasons vary in length, sometimes as short as only a week and are based on environmental features ‘that are characteristic of that time of year’ (Stevenson, 1979, p. 3). These environmental features are also indicators for the availability of seasonal foods, and for the performance of the kurlama ceremony (Table 2).

The seasons follow a well-known sequence to which Tiwi can apply certain knowledge and exploit the resources accordingly (Stevenson, 1979). Goodale (1971) lists a number of foods that are hunted according to gender, noting that men usually hunt the larger game such as wallaby, pig, geese, turtle and dugong, while women gather plant foods such as yams and cabbage palm. There are certain
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Major season [season of rains]</th>
<th>Minor Season</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Seasonal food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. to April</td>
<td>jamutakari</td>
<td>mumpikari</td>
<td>*muddy possum tracks</td>
<td>*possum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tawutawungari</td>
<td>*kurlama yam [season of the clapsticks during which kurlama ceremonies are held]</td>
<td>*green plum</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wurrijingari</td>
<td>*flowering plants e.g. jimijinga [diarrhoea medicine plan - persoonia falcata]; jarrikarlini [wattle tree - acacia auriculoformis]</td>
<td>*yam</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>marakati</td>
<td>*spear grass [sorghum plumosum]; *arrival of migrating birds e.g. black-faced cuckoo-shrike and the rainbow bee eater</td>
<td>*white fruit</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>warringawunari</td>
<td>*speargrass is flattened by strong winds - the ‘knock-em-downs’</td>
<td>*cooky apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. to Aug.</td>
<td>kumurrupunari [season of smoke]</td>
<td>kimirrakinari</td>
<td>*speargrass and countryside is set alight</td>
<td>*pied goose</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yirrwinari, munputari</td>
<td>*night time temperatures are cooler: 15° - 20°</td>
<td>*whistle duck</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kumari</td>
<td>*in the morning, low fog in valleys and creeks sometimes form.</td>
<td>*dugong</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pumutingari</td>
<td>*strong dry winds [season when skin flakes]</td>
<td>*flying fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. to Oct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>yartupwarri</td>
<td>*strong winds dry creeks into chains of waterholes</td>
<td>*possum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>milikatorinari</td>
<td>*minimum and maximum temperatures rise [season of hot feet]</td>
<td>*carpet snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. to Dec.</td>
<td>tiyari [seasons of cicada song]</td>
<td>pumwanyingari</td>
<td>*increase in humidity and thunderstorms</td>
<td>*wallaby</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kurukurari</td>
<td>*mangrove worm breeds</td>
<td>*periwinkle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*goanna</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*mangrove worm</td>
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<td>*yam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*spike rush root</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*sand palm</td>
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<td>*cycad nut</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Tiwi seasons [from Stevenson, 1979; Ward, 1990).

Foods that both sexes get including possum, crab, turtle eggs, bandicoot, frill-necked lizard and sugarbag.

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43 Most major and minor seasons overlap.
44 Some foods are available all year round e.g. turtle, turtle eggs, crab, mussel, whelk, fish and shell fish. Introduced pigs and buffalo are also hunted year round.
45 Throughout the year, at various intervals, there are times when specific plants flower - wurrijingari is also used to describe these periods.
This, to a certain degree, still applies today although not as rigidly bound as suggested by Goodale. However, where once the bush was the total source of food, Tiwi now also rely on murruntawi food, primarily obtained from the community stop. Although most Tiwi now live in communities, hunting and gathering traditional foods still play an important part in Tiwi society, especially during kumurrupunari. Most Tiwi return to their country for a period of four weeks during this season, but hunting groups regularly assemble if transport and equipment are available.

4.3 WHITEMAN THEY CALL HIM

As the plane comes into land at Milikapiti, the northern coast comes into full view. I can see the northernmost tip, Cape Van Diemen and around due west to the mouth of the Apsley Strait. The coast, to the east of Milikapiti, stretches in the distance towards Dundas Strait and Van Diemen Gulf, which separates the island from Cobourg Peninsula. The plane circles the community before coming to land on the sealed runway. The pilot informs us that we have landed at Milikapiti, located in Wulirangkuwu country, that we will be here for approximately 15 minutes and that it is 30°. We get off and walk to the shelter of the airport building and sit there while freight is unloaded and the manifest is checked for any new passengers. There is one, but the Air North agent has forgotten to pick him up, which annoys the pilot who states that we will have to leave on schedule regardless of whether the passenger is there or not. There is also a dispute over an esky of fish that was overlooked by Air North the day before, and the owner, who wants to send it on to his family in Darwin, argues with the pilot. Once the issue is resolved, and the
missing passenger turns up, we board the plane for the next short ten minute flight to Pularumpi.

* * *

It has been suggested (Hart et al. 1988; Pye, 1977; Venbrux, 1995; Goodale, 1971; Morris, 1967; Pilling, 1978) that the Portuguese raided Bathurst and Melville Island during the eighteenth century to capture Tiwi for the flourishing slave trade market operating from Dili in Timor.

According to ... the older inhabitants of Timor, Melville Island was only less a source of slavery than New Guinea, in proportion to its smaller extent of surface, at the period in which the slave-trade was encouraged or connived at by the European authorities (Earl quoted in Hart et al. 1988, p. 106).

The Portuguese settlement at Dili in East Timor, just a few hundred kilometers north of Melville Island, was a well known slave trading port during the eighteenth century.

I was informed by Mr. Hazard, the Resident for the Dutch Government at Coeparang, the regular export of Slaves takes place from the Portuguese Settlement at Delhi in Timor, and that a French Brig had a few weeks before been there and procured as many as she could take (Miller, 1826 in HRA Series III Volume VI, p. 683).

Major John Campbell, the Commander of Fort Dundas on Melville Island from 1826 to 1829, also concluded that Melville Island was a source of slaves. Campbell noted that the Macassans referred to Melville Island as Aimba which was their word for 'slave', and he also notes the use of the word "piccanini" for children. Furthermore, Campbell describes an account of meeting a group of Tiwi whose
reaction to being presented with a trinket from Campbell, led him to
believe that the Tiwi had come in contact with slave traders.

Having previously prepared a medal, attached to a piece
of scarlet tape, I expressed a wish to hang it round
the neck of a fine-looking young man, who bore a
feather in his hair, and appeared to have some
authority. This young man remained at a short distance
(two or three paces), took hold of his wrists, and
appeared as if struggling to escape from the grasp of
an enemy; he then pointed his hand towards his neck,
looked upwards to the branches of a tree, shook his
head significantly (evidently in allusion to being
hung), and avoided coming nigh enough to receive the
proffered gift. This led me to imagine that the island
had been visited by strangers, and the natives forced
away by them as slaves (Campbell, 1834, p. 155).

Pilling (1978), like Campbell, also notes an incident involving
Phillip Parker King who, in 1818, conducted a coastal survey of
Bathurst and Melville Island. On entering the northern end of Apsley
Strait and sailing towards Luxmore Head on Melville Island, he was
met by Tiwi who called out ‘vin aca, vin aca’ (Campbell, 1834,
p.155), which, according to Pilling, is the Portuguese word for “go
away”\(^{46}\). Pilling also mentions two other points that he suggests adds
strength to the slave trade proposition.

First, Campbell records the Portuguese word “piccanini”
for “child” among Melville Islanders. Secondly, from
what is known of slave operated industries in Timor,
the Melville Islanders would have been admirably suited
as slaves. Timbering for sandalwood was a state
monopoly operated with slave labour; Bathurst and
Melville Islanders are today most successfully employed
as axmen in timbering (Pilling, 1978, n. p.)

However, most of the evidence to suggest Portuguese contact
with Tiwi is anecdotal and not entirely reliable. On the other hand,

\(^{46}\) McIntyre (1977, p. 85) suggests another meaning, which appears more probable:
"Now Ven aca, as Captain King renders it, is clearly the Portuguese imperative
Venha-ca. And in an island subject to raids from slavers, no words would be more
remembered, no words more ominous or more dreaded than those two words, Venha-ca!
Come here!"
accounts of early exploration by the Dutch are much more accurate. The Dutch recorded in various journals, maps and books their experiences of discovery and contact with the inhabitants of Nova Hollandia.

By 1605 the Dutch had captured Ambon from the Portuguese and had established themselves in the Banda Islands (Spillet, 1988). Several Dutch companies were formed and a keen rivalry developed in sending ships to the East to procure spices such as cloves, nutmeg and pepper. However, due to poor results and loss of ships and crew, the States General amalgamated the former companies and set up the United Dutch East India Company [VOC].

Like most competitive businesses, the VOC was concerned about increasing its commercial operations and profits, and so began to explore alternative shipping routes and increased trading opportunities in the surrounding area. The main objectives of most voyages can be seen in these terms. Interest in the unknown Zuidtlandt grew after the voyages of the Duyfken in 1606 and Dirk Hartog in 1616. In 1622 the Dutch ships the Pera and Arnhem mapped the western coast of Cape York Peninsula. During the Arnhem's return voyage the Dutch "came upon the east-coast of what is now Arnhem Land and then sailed northwards along its coast" (Schilder, 1976, p. 94), and a chart was made of this discovery.

47 Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie [VOC] (Schilder, 1976, p. 38)
48 'Southland'.
49 Carstensz kept a very detailed journal of his trip and surveyed the coast very carefully, making many landings and going ashore personally (Robert, 1973). A chart of this voyage was made by Arent Martensz de Leeuw, the chief pilot of the expedition (Schilder, 1976, p. 314 - 315).
50 "Neither the journal nor the original chart of he Arnhem's voyage of discovery in 1623 has been preserved, but fortunately a copy was made from the original chart in about 1670..." (Schilder, 1976, p. 318 - 319).
In 1636, the Governor General Antonio van Diemen, ordered two ships, the Cleen Amsterdam and the Wesel, to ‘set sail from Banda as soon as possible for Arnhems and Speutland ... to ascertain what may be obtained from there, whether these lands are inhabited and what the natives subsist on’ (Robert, 1973, p. 115). On 13 June, 1636 Pieter Pieterszoon, who was appointed commander after the death of Gerrit Thomasz Pool, reached the coast of northern Australia near the entrance to Dundas Strait (Forrest, 1995; Robert, 1973; Schilder, 1976). After failing to reach the Cobourg Peninsula in the east because of shallow water, Pieterszoon sailed westward to the east coast of Melville Island, dropping anchor near a point where a river ran inland.

Off the point near which we lay at anchor, a river ran inland, we hoisted the white flag and had the little prow paddled close along the shore ... we saw in many places inland great clouds of smoke but saw no fruit-trees, houses, prows or people; it seems to be wild land (Robert, 1973, pp. 119 - 121).

For the next nine days the Cleen Amsterdam and the Wesel, sailed in a westerly direction along the northern coast of Melville Island. Pieterszoon could have landed in several places, but his smaller boats were in poor condition and needed repair. He did, however, on several occasions send a smaller vessel to paddle closer to shore. He named the western point of Melville Island Cape Van Diemen and the whole region Van Diemenslandt, and due to adverse winds that prevented the ships sailing south-west set course for Timor (Forrest, 1995).

The ascendancy of the “tight fisted” VOC (Macknight, 1969, p. 29) lay in two areas - its reputation as a trading company, and its
ability to pay dividends. The reputation of the VOC rested on its ability to open up new areas for trade. In order to do this, the VOC had to commit vessels to exploration and the thorough mapping of resulting discoveries. Inaccurate maps, or no maps at all, led to the danger of VOC ships being wrecked on hidden reefs and shoals. The ability of the VOC to pay dividends rested on increased trading opportunities which they hoped led to profitable outcomes. Consequently Pieterszoon’s instructions included the thorough mapping of coastal lands noting all bays, capes, islands and rivers. The instructions also demanded information on the inhabitants of Speutland, noting:

of what race, condition and disposition they are, what religion and form of government they have, against whom they were waging war, what weapons they were carrying, what food and clothing they used and by what means they were mainly supporting themselves (cited in Schilder, 1976, p. 130).

The Cleen Amsterdam and the Wesel, were loaded with goods and samples of gold and silver which were to form the basis for the exchange of information with the local inhabitants. This exchange was intended to find out if similar goods were produced in the discovered countries and “which Dutch goods they might wish to receive in exchange” (Schilder, 1976, p. 130). Extracts from Pieterszoon’s journal gives information on advantageous anchoring points, stating depths; prominent landforms; potential shipping dangers including shoals, strong currents, reefs; and description of the landscape. On one day, Pieterszoon remained at anchor “chiefly in order to see if people would show themselves here and come to parley with them, but they failed” (Robert, 1973, p. 123). On 21 June 1636, he set course
for Timor noting that Melville Island "seems to be wild land" (Robert, 1973, p. 121).

The Dutch journal and maps of the journey of the Cleen Amsterdam and the Wesel, portrayed Melville Island purely in economic terms. The VOC economic objective of gathering prospective trade information was not fulfilled, and the VOC was presented with a disappointing picture of a "wild land" void of "fruit-trees, houses, prows or people" (Robert, 1973, pp. 119-121).

In 1643 van Diemen commissioned Abel Janszoon Tasman to further survey "these Southlands ... remaining hopeful to find something profitable" (Robert, 1973, p. 125). Tasman was to ascertain if Nova Guinea and the Zuijdtlandt were separated - a positive result could lead, it was believed, to the establishment of an alternative shipping route to the Southseas and Chile. Moreover, the expedition to the Zuijdtlandt was "to examine sincerely, what profits for the Company are to be found there, especially if in such vast lands silver, gold or copper mines may be discovered" (van Diemen in Robert, 1973, p. 125). The fleet for the expedition consisted of the Limmen, Zeemeuw and Bracq and they set sail from Batavia on 29 January, 1644 (Robert, 1973; Schilder, 1976).

No journal or records of the expedition exist, therefore most of the information about the voyage is based upon the Bonaparte map from which a summary of Tasman's voyage has been made (Robert, 1973; Schilder, 1976). On this voyage, Tasman sailed into the entrance of Dundas Strait, and into what he thought was a closed bay, naming it
Van Diemen’s Bay.\textsuperscript{51} Tasman sailed out of Dundas Strait and then in a westerly direction along the north coast of Melville Island to Cape Van Diemen. Tasman did not note the “insular character” of Bathurst and Melville Island, believing them instead to be promontories of the mainland named earlier by Pieterszoon as Van Diemenslandt (Robert, 1973, p. 35). Although Tasman had charted the coastline of northern Australia and had filled in the gaps, he failed to detect a passage between Nova Guinea and Zuïjdtlandt and had brought back very little economically promising information about the land and the people.

No further exploratory voyages were undertaken to the north of Australia until 1705. The British had become increasingly interested in New Holland and, as a result, William Dampier was ordered by the British admiralty to plan a new voyage to the “remoter parts of the East Indian Islands and the neighbouring coast of Terra Australis” (Robert, 1973, p. 35). Although the result of Dampier’s voyage was disappointing, the Dutch, fearing further exploration by the British, resolved to send an expedition to the north coast of Australia. In 1705, three ships under the command of Maarten van Delft, the Vossenbosch, Waijer and Nova Hollandia, set sail (Forrest, 1995). Unlike previous expeditions, van Delft was instructed to sail in a south-easterly direction from Timor. The VOC also instructed that:

\begin{quote}
If in ... Nova Hollandia you should happen to come upon unknown Indians, of whom you might without violence or risk, and of their own free will, bring two or three with you thither, such men might possibly prove of great use in subsequent voyages, but this point we leave to your own judgement and discretion, as you shall find circumstance to shape themselves (Heeres, 1899, p. 88).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{51} Present-day Van Diemen’s Gulf.
By sailing in a south-easterly direction, the expedition reached the western coast of Bathurst Island at Cape Helveticus on 2 April, 1705. From here they sailed in a northerly direction following the coastline of Bathurst Island, noting "at several points on the strand signs of men such as smoke and the like" (Swarredecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126). Then they sailed into what is now known as St. Asaph Bay at the northern end of Apsley Strait. Here "some of the natives were caught sight of, running away with their children and dogs, as soon as they perceived our countrymen" (Swarredecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126). Next they sailed northwards along the western coast of Melville Island, and after rounding the location named by Pieterszoon as Cape Van Diemen, went ashore at a place they named Goede Hoop and found some water. It was here that they met a group of about fifteen Tiwi, probably Murnupuila, that is people affiliated with Murnupi country, who challenged them:

with signs and gestures, attempted to drive them away ... [and] ... seeing that our people could not be induced by their grimaces, violent gestures, yelling and flourishing of assegais, and all kind of weapons, to retreat from the shore, they were imprudent enough to throw some of their assegais, or rather sharpened sticks at our men, with the intention of wounding and intimidating them; but their chief, or one who appeared to be so, being hit by a ball from the single musket that was fired at them in return, the rest began to run quickly away, being very agile and well made (Swarredecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, pp. 126-127).

This was not a promising start to a "friendly exchange". The wounded Tiwi was taken on board and treated, and showed contempt for his assailants, who had bandaged his wound. He "tore the linen to pieces and threw it away into a corner" (Swarredecroon and Chastelijn,

52 Goede Hoop is perhaps Cook Reef (Robert, 1973, p. 41).
1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126). After establishing some kind of peace, probably through the exchange of linen, knives and other goods, the Dutch remained in the area for a number of weeks obtaining fresh water and food from the Tiwi, and ventured inland where:

about five hundred people with women and children, were met on one occasion about two miles inland; at night also they were descried sitting around several fires among the bushes; nothing however was seen in their possession of any value (Swarrdecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126).

It also appears that over the course of the Dutch presence, some Tiwi went on board the ships on a regular basis. As stated above, one of the instructions was for the taking of two or three "Indians" if the circumstances were right.

Our men might also easily have taken and brought over to Batavia with them, two or three of the natives who daily came on board, but the skipper of the Vossenbosch, following out his instructions to the letter, would not allow them to be taken without their full consent, either by falsehood or fraud, and as no-one understood their language, nothing was to be done in the matter, consequently they remained in their own country (Swarrdecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126).

Before departing, another skirmish occurred resulting in the injury of two sailors, leaving an impression with the Dutch that the "nature of these tribes is foul and treacherous" (Swarrdecroon and Chastelijn, 1705 cited in Major, 1859, p. 126). The Dutch then sailed eastward along the northern coast of Melville Island, naming and mapping bays, rivers and other features. The Nova Hollandia sailed part of the way into the Van Diemen Gulf before being forced to return by a strong current. The expedition continued eastwards along

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If it was such a large gathering - the figure of five hundred suggests a miscalculation - then it was most probably for a mortuary ritual.
the north coast of the Cobourg Peninsula to Croker island, where they began their return voyage. By this stage most of the crew had fallen ill and many had died, including van Delft (Robert, 1973). Again, in terms of prospective economic returns for the VOC, the expedition was unsuccessful.

The Dutch interest again waned until 1751 when the VOC received news about a Chinese trader who had discovered land to the south of Timor. Mindful of the increased British interest in the area, it was decided to send another expedition, which departed Batavia in February, 1756. The expedition returned in July a complete failure, having explored less than Lodewycksz and Jansz in 1606. This was the last Dutch expedition to the northern coast of Australia.

As a result of over 150 years of exploration of Nova Hollandia, the Dutch, whose aims were mainly economic, portrayed to the European public a land that was "wild". In this portrait the inhabitants were, on the most part, "foul and treacherous", "very wicked and cruel", "very miserable, and ill-natured". They also had little economic wealth to exploit. It is not certain how various Aboriginal groups viewed the Dutch, but one could assume that they were portrayed as a group of people prone to violent and treacherous acts, and untrustworthy. This is borne out by the Dutch use of firearms and the usual practice of abducting people when visiting new areas, although clearly this did not always occur. Nevertheless, the Dutch

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As early as 1674 records of explorations were being printed for the Dutch-speaking public. Schilder (1976) illustrates four of the oldest printed records of Tasman's discoveries: A. Montanus (1671), D. R. van Nierop (1674), N. Witsen (1705) and F. Valentyn (1726). English readers were able to read about the Dutch discoveries through an English translation of van Nierop's book by Robert Hooke in 1682. Other books that followed were by John Narborough (1694) An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North, and John Harris (1705) A Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels of above 600 of the Most Authentic Writers.
could be tolerated to a certain degree as they were a useful resource for goods such as iron and cloth. Nor is it certain how the Tiwi, and other Aboriginal groups, documented their encounters with the Dutch. However, it is speculated, based on the Tiwi recording of encounters with the British some one hundred years later, that certain noteworthy events could have been communicated through dance, song, story and art.

The following story by Tungatalum (1982) may have had its origin in the encounters with the Dutch. The story is from parlingarrri65, before Gsell and the British "when Bathurst Island wasn’t named, and Father Gsell hadn’t come to Bathurst Island" (p. 12). It is a story about an encounter with "angels" experienced by the Wurangkuwuila, that is people affiliated with Wurangkuwu country, who after a day’s hunting saw up in the sky something:

coming down like a tree. Many of those angels climbed onto that big tree ...they were white, all dressed in brown, with long hair, sharp noses. These angels were beautiful ... Then a few minutes later, the angels said "Goodbye, we are going back home" ... Then they climbed onto the tree into its top most branches. Then suddenly the branches of the tree lifted them up, and blew into the sky ...Then the Wurankwuila were still looking up into the sky, until the angels passed across the clouds holding the branches of the tree, and were lost from them forever66 (pp. 12-13).

Duncan’s story about the first Tiwi encounter with murruntawi emphasises the whiteness of the murrintani’s skin and has similarities with Tungatalum’s story:

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65 Long ago, a long time in the past.
66 If this text is analyzed from a literary perspective, through using literary devices then another reading is possible. The tree could be taken as a metaphor for a mast of a sailing ship and clouds as the sails. The story now moves away from the figurative to the real. The angels could be the white-skinned Dutch, with long straight hair and fine noses, dressed in their brown uniforms. The view from the land then, could be of a tall-masted ship, with some sailors in the rigging, sailing towards the horizon and then, finally from view.
They find him, they said, "Probably in the sky". They didn't understand - only black people they've seen. First time they see him - whiteman. First time they see whiteman. Murrintani, whiteman they call him. First time. "I thought him from cloud, I thought him from cloud".57 They find him, they find him, "Oh! you got wrong colour"58, they find him (pers. comm., Duncan, 1995).

4.4 MACASSARMEN

The plane takes off in a northerly direction before making a turn to the west. I can see Cape Van Diemen stretching off towards the north and St. Asaph Bay at the northern entrance to Apsley Strait. My view follows the snaking journey southwards of Apsley Strait, separating Melville and Bathurst Island. Down below me is Munupi country. I am too late for Hector.

* * *

During jamutakari a meteorological phenomenon called 'Hector' develops. Hector is a cumulonimbus complex with cloud tops frequently reaching altitudes of twenty kilometres that develop "over the islands during most of the afternoons of the monsoon transition and break periods [November through to March]" (Simpson, Keenan, Ferrier, Simpson & Holland, 1993). Hector develops exclusively during the late morning or early afternoon, and research findings show that it is rarely absent during jamutakari (Rosel, 1997; Simpson, et al., 1993). The presence of Hector is significant because its formation during jamutakari coincided with the annual voyages of Macassans to Northern Australia. Macknight (1976, p. 1) notes that "the term 'Macassan' does not refer to any racial, linguistic or cultural group as such.

57 This references to clouds has interesting parallels with the previous story.
58 That is, a different skin colour not seen before.
It simply refers to "any person who came on the annual fleet of praus to the Northern Territory". These people were predominantly Macassarese from the south-west corner of Celebes, but also included Bugis from the central valley of the same peninsula and along its east coast. Macknight (1976) also notes that there was evidence of crew from Papua New Guinea, Java and Ceram. The British mistakenly referred to them as Malays.

The Macassans travelled to Maregè, the term they used to refer to Northern Australia, to collect turtle shell, pearl shell and above all else trepang. Trepang is:

derived from the Malay [and now Indonesian] teripang ... bêche-de-mer from the Portuguese bicho da mar or seaworm, is a common alternative. In the eighteenth century, swallo was the most usual English name, but it is now obsolete. More prosaically the animals are known as sea slugs or sea cucumbers (Macknight, 1976, p.6)

The Macassans could have used Hector as a navigational aid:
"Clouds over islands have been used for navigation since primitive seafaring, since they are taller and more persistent than the surrounding oceanic cumuli" (Simpson et al., 1993, p. 74). Using clouds as navigational aids is certainly a tradition with South Pacific cultures, for example the I-Kiribati navigators:

the Gilbertese had ways of telling when land was anywhere near, even land they had never seen before ... The clouds also have a tale to tell. When a mass of cumulus towers over an island, continually replenished by conventional currents from below, some draught seems to bend over the pinnacle of the cloud so that it dips towards the earth (Gribble, 1972, pp. 221 - 222).

The annual voyages to Maregè departed from the port of Macassar with the onset of the north-west monsoon which was usually in late
November, December of January. The route took the Macassans south-east to the north-east end of Timor, sometimes with a stop at the island of Kisar, before sailing towards the north coast of Australia. Usually, the Macassans sighted Melville Island first (Searcy, 1907) and made landfall "somewhere along the north coast of Melville Island or the Cobourg Peninsula" (Macknight, 1976, pp. 34-35). The crossing of just under five hundred kilometres, usually took about four days. From the flat, featureless sea the sight of Hector rising twenty kilometres into the sky would have been a sign that land was nearby. It is estimated that these voyages took place on a regular basis since the seventeenth century.

The industry must have begun between about A.D. 1650 and 1750 and I believe that the most probable period within this century is the last quarter of the seventeenth century. However, it may well have begun in a small, irregular and secretive way. The large and flourishing industry described by the sources from the early nineteenth century may have been a gradual development (Macknight, 1976, p. 97).

As a result of the annexation of the Northern Territory by the South Australian Government, interest by government and European settlers grew in the trepang industry. E. O. Robinson, who was later to become prominent in the buffalo industry, was probably involved in establishment of a trepang curing concern at Port Essington in 1875, and then later, on Croker Island Macknight (1976). As interest grew in the Northern Territory other businesses began to get established, especially buffalo hunting industries such as the Cobourg Cattle Company. Buffalo were introduced by the British at Fort Dundas on Melville Island, and Port Essington on the Cobourg Peninsular. When both of these settlements were abandoned the buffalo were left behind and soon increased which led to an influx of buffalo hunters and the
development of a buffalo industry. It also led to an increase in demands on the South Australian Government by the settlers to exclusive rights.

On the dubious premise that the Macassans were abusing the local Aborigines, pressure was brought upon the government to regulate the industry although, at first, they were reluctant to be involved. What was more to the truth was that the settlers wanted firstly to exploit the Aboriginal population for their labour, and secondly, to gain a monopoly of the trepang industry in order to deter or shut out the Macassans. Consequently, the South Australian Government did become involved by imposing payment of duties on Macassan goods and rations such as rice, tobacco and spirits which were considered to be “dutiable articles” (Macknight, 1976, p. 105).

Robinson was appointed a Customs Officer in 1881 to collect duties from the Macassans and in the following year fees were introduced. Alfred Searcy was appointed the new Sub-Collector of Customs in 1882, and from this date accurate records were kept. These records provide a detailed picture of the number of praus working along the Northern Territory coast from 1882 to 1907, and gives some indication to the intensity and frequency of the voyages. During the first ten years of records, there was an average of over ten praus per year with a maximum of sixteen recorded during the 1885-86 season. From 1894 the figures began to decline, probably because of the increasing costs in licences, fines and duty.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the level of financial imposition by the government gradually

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59 See Macknight (1976, p. 113) Table 1: Macassan praus on the Northern Territory coast 1882-1909 and Appendix 2: Praus and Masters 1881-1907 (p. 133).
strangled the industry. Although some money was still to be made, this was not sufficient to replace capital losses or to attract new merchants into financing voyages (Macknight, 1976, p. 117).

An earlier record made by Commandant Barker at Raffles Bay lists the arrivals and departures of praus from March 23 to May 17, 1829 at 34 crewed by a total of 1056 men.60 This would suggest that the trepang industry was at its peak prior to records being kept. One other interesting table shows the number of praus wrecked from the 1881-82 to the 1899-1900 season. Three of the wrecks occurred on Melville Island (Macknight, 1976, p. 115). The last recorded prau visited during the 1906-07 season, the same year in which the South Australian Government ceased issuing licences to the Macassans.

Hart et al. (1988), Forrest (1993), Pilling (1978) suggests that Macassans did not stop along the coast of Melville island, unless they were shipwrecked, but rather sailed past to Arnhem Land and the Gulf of Carpentaria. It has been suggested that the Tiwi aggressively resisted the Macassans and that contact “was kept to a minimum by the Malays’ hasty murder at the hands of the Islanders” (Pilling, 1978, p. 2). However, there is other evidence to suggest that contact with the Macassans was not just dependent on shipwrecks and hasty landings, but was based on a more consistent association. Melville and Bathurst Island weren’t prime sites for trepang: these lay between the Cobourg Peninsula and the Pellew Group in the Gulf of Carpentaria. However, evidence such as the remains of fire places and smoke-houses on Melville Island, does suggest that trepanging did occur (Searcy, 1907, p. 46). A report from the 1830s suggests that

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the Macassans were visiting Melville Island prior to the British
establishing Fort Dundas in 1824:

A number of years ago it appeared that one of the
places where they normally anchored and spent some time
was on Melville Island and they came back to Macassar
and reported to their great surprise that they had
found an English settlement at one of their anchoring
places (Vosmaer, cited in Spillet, 1988, p. 75)

Macassan influence on the material culture of the Tiwi is
evident in the detachable harpoon head used for dugong and turtle
hunting, and the dugout canoe. Basedow (1913) suggests that the Tiwi
bartered with the Macassans for such canoes. However, Morris (1967)
gives an account of a Tiwi stealing a dugout canoe:

One night, Pinat-iriingilla stole a dugout canoe from
the Macassans, paddling it up a creek to a secure
hiding place. Next morning the Asiaties carried out an
unsuccessful search for their missing craft. Each prau,
incidentally, carried a number of such canoes from
which trepanging operations were carried out. Eventually, the Macassans sailed from Turupi without
their canoe (p. 8).

Goodale (1971, p. 158) states that "whether the Tiwi were
taught the technique directly by the Malays or indirectly by the
mainland natives is not known. Probably it was a combination of
both". Nevertheless, the older style Tiwi stringybark canoe was
eventually superseded by the Macassan dug-out canoe. Another area
that came under Macassan influence was in the domain of rituals.
Before returning to Macassar, the Macassans would have a farewell
ceremony that involved, among other things, a setting up of a tripod
mast. In a number of Arnhem Land communities, a flag is used to
symbolise "the idea of departure and may be erected as a memorial to
the dead" (Macknight, 1976, p. 92). There is evidence to suggest that
this flag ritual was also incorporated by the Tiwi as part of their mortuary ceremonies (Hart et al., 1988; Goodale, 1971).

A corrugated iron house marked as pukumwani, in the Tiwi village at Nguiu, the Roman Catholic Mission in May 1953 ... [shows] ... a white flag waving from a cut-down kwampi spear ... used as a pukumwani symbol (Hart, et al., p.102).

 Perhaps the best evidence to refute the position that Macassan contact was just a series of hasty contact and shipwrecks, lies in the language. By comparing Tiwi with Yolngu languages there is a similarity. The Yolngu languages of Eastern Arnhem Land has “a substantial corpus of Macassan loanwords” (Evans, 1992, p. 45) which reflects the history of that area. It has been well documented that Macassan trepangers had an established industry based on regular yearly contact between the Macassans and the Yolngu.

Besides working for the Macassans in exchange for various material items, Arnhem Landers are known to have visited (and in some cases taken up residence in) Macassar, to have worked on Macassan prahus, sometimes travelling as far afield as Singapore, and to have formed lasting relationships of trade and marriage with them (Evans, 1992, p. 46).

Although Tiwi contact with the Macassans was not as intensive as with other societies along the northern coast, there certainly is evidence to propose that it was more considerable than previously suggested. Quite often Macassan loan words were used for new concepts and technologies in Tiwi society. Most of these words now have been fully assimilated into the present-day Tiwi vocabulary (Table 3). Evans (1992) compiled a list of the languages spoken along the coast from Melville Island to the Vanderlin Islands, in the Gulf of

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61 These words are still in use today, although English loanwords are now replacing some.
Carpentaria, noting a substantial number of Macassan loan words present in each of these languages. Evans (1992) identified twenty-two Macassan loanwords present in Tiwi vocabulary, with five questionable items.

My lists [Tables 3 and 4] show twenty-nine, and seventeen respectively. The Macassans had extensive contact with the Anindilyakwa, located in the Gulf of Carpentaria, which is evidenced by a number of trepang processing sites (Macknight, 1976, p. 62). If the Tiwi list of Macassan loan words is compared with the Anindilyakwa language, in which Evans (1992) identifies thirty-five Macassan-derived words, then an argument for greater contact becomes much stronger as the lists are quite comparable. Osborne (1974) has suggested that these Macassan words came into the Tiwi language via the Iwaidja because “Tiwi knowledge of the outside world dates mainly from about 1900” and therefore the Iwaidja were “the mainland tribe through whom Tiwi knowledge of the outside world was initially acquired” (p. 119). A buffalo shooter, Joe Cooper⁶², had enlisted the assistance of a group of eighteen Iwaidja men when he first commenced his buffalo hunting enterprise on Melville Island (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245).

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⁶² Joe Cooper will be discussed later in this research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tiwi word of Macassan origin</th>
<th>Meaning and Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pajuma63</td>
<td>glasses, mirror. From Mkr'44 patonang = compass.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paliyarra Iw66</td>
<td>mast. From Mkr pallayarang = mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarra Iw</td>
<td>horse. From Mkr járrang, Baj járrang = horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuli Iw</td>
<td>rudder. From Mkr, Bug guling = rudder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwanga [pwaja]</td>
<td>dots, points on crocodile’s back. From Mkr, Bug buaja = crocodile; Mly buaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanjawa</td>
<td>flour. From Mkr kanrejaw = pastry, cake, biscuit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaliwarra Iw</td>
<td>trousers, shorts. From Mkr salúwara Bug sulúwára Mly seluar = trousers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurra Iw</td>
<td>paper. From Mkr sûra, Mly surat = letter; Baj cursura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arlipwa</td>
<td>coconut. From Mly kalapa, Mkr akkalapa = coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palampala</td>
<td>bed. From Mly para-para = 1. attic 2. rack, shelf Mkr para-para = 1. grill raised by copper-melting people as a place to put their pots. 2. trellis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karlupuka [kilupi]</td>
<td>billy can. From Mly kaleng = can tin + buka = to open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pajawayi]</td>
<td>tray. From Mkr paja = old fashioned round flat tray made of coloured lontana leaves, often used for serving up of food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirla</td>
<td>prow. From Mkr milla = opening of the eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jimpala Iw</td>
<td>sail. From Mkr sambil = sail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakalapipi Iw</td>
<td>steamship. From Mkr kappala-pepe = steamship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunji Iw</td>
<td>door. From Mkr konji, Mly kuni = key.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palaji Iw</td>
<td>bag, sack. From Mkr balase = sack, bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirraja Iw</td>
<td>rice. From Mkr bêrass ; Bug harrass; Mly baras = milled rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jupuluwu] Iw</td>
<td>playing cards. From Mkr, Bug dóbolo = gamble. From Dutch dobbelen, Portuguese dobro = play dice, gamble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kalurruji] Iw</td>
<td>cigarette. From Mkr, Bug kalùru = to roll up; cigar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapala Iw</td>
<td>boat, dinghy. From Mkr, Bug kappala Mly kapal Baj kappal = boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karu Iw</td>
<td>sack. From Mkr karong = jute-sack; Mly karung = large matwork sack of raw material; Baj = karung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minaya Iw</td>
<td>fat. From Mkr, Bug minna Mly minak = oil, grease; Baj minna = coconut oil, kerosene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutara Iw</td>
<td>pearl shell. From Mkr, Bug, Mly mutiara = pearl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pataliri Iw</td>
<td>wooden smoking pipe. From Mkr patti, Mly pati = chest, case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurrupiya Iw</td>
<td>money. From Mkr, Bug, Mly rupiah = money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilati</td>
<td>knife. From Mkr lading = knife; Mly lading = cleaver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[paluwiyari] Iw</td>
<td>loin cloth. From paluwiyari derived from sulu cf. Mkr sulu = wrap around piece of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalikaragi Iw</td>
<td>fishing spear. From Mly tali karas = taut line.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Macassan loan words in Tiwi

The evidence presented thus far would refute Osborne’s assumption that, firstly, Tiwi lacked knowledge about the so-called “outside world”. and, secondly, that all Macassan loanwords present in Tiwi language were via the Iwaidja. The Iwaidja were present on Melville Island only for a period of 11 years and did not reside on Bathurst Island because of the absence of buffaloes there. There is

63 Spelling conforms to Lee (1996). Word in brackets are from ‘Old Tiwi’.
64 Includes Makassarese [Mkr], Malay [Mly], Bajau[Baj] and Bugis [Bug].
65 Notes are from the Evans (1992), and Walker & Zorc (1981).
66 Iw = from Iwaidja as suggested by Osborne (1974).
no doubt that Iwaidja did have an impact on Tiwi society, but to suggest that they alone were the reason for Macassan loan words being introduced, is not accurate. Furthermore, it is possible that the Macassan language was used by the Tiwi to converse with the Iwaidja.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tiwi word of possible Macassan origin</th>
<th>Meaning and Conjectured Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pamantarri Iw</td>
<td>damper. Similar phonology and conjectured etymology cf. = Mkr pammaja = iron frying pan [bread baked in a pot over coals?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kirimi</td>
<td>to write. -kirimi derived from ukiri cf. Mkr úkiri = to write upon, inscribe. Mly úkir = engraving, wood-carving. Bug úki = to write?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>julmu</td>
<td>matches. Similar phonology cf. Iwaidja tulu, Mkr colo, Mly colok = match; Mly Bau sulu = torch?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinkana</td>
<td>tooth. Similar phonology cf. Yolngu Matha gikina. Mkr gigi = tooth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirrika</td>
<td>salt. Similar phonology cf. Yolngu Matha jila Iwaidja tila? Mkr cela = salt(y), brackish?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarrumwaka</td>
<td>path. jarrumwaka derived from jalan cf. Mly jalan = road?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwanamwana</td>
<td>cook on top of fire/coal. Similar phonology and related meaning cf. Mkr pammaja = iron frying pan [frying pan placed on coals]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarruwarti</td>
<td>piece of wood. jarruwarti derived from galuma cf. Mkr galuma = deck with loose planks; Mly gelum = deck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarranguwi</td>
<td>buffalo. jarranguwi derived from jarang cf. Mkr járang, Bau jarang = horse. Iwaidja jaranga = buffalo, beef?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yirimanga]</td>
<td>fat in crocodile tail. yirimanga derived from minna cf. Mkr, Bug minna Mly minak = oil, grease; Mly minna = coconut oil, kerosene?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>japuja</td>
<td>home. Similar phonology cf. Ndjebbana jajöla. Mkr jajala = supports, props?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantirriwini</td>
<td>flag, loin cloth, handkerchief. pantirriwini derived from bandera cf. Iwaidja, Garig &amp; Anurdak pantirang. Mkr, Bug bandéra = flag; Mly bandéra. Bau bandera from Portuguese bandeira = flag, standard, banner?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warangini</td>
<td>coral reef. warangini derived from karan cf. Mkr, Bug káran Mly karang = coral?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakuwakini</td>
<td>crow. wakuwakini derived from uak cf. possible Austronesian loan word Uak = crow?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| pwaja | bone. Same as Mkr, Bug buaja = crocodile; Mly buaja |?
| -kiringirri | to carve. -kiringirri derived from ukiri cf. Mkr úkiri = to write upon, inscribe; Mly úkir = engraving, wood-carving; Bug úki = to write? |

Table 4: Possible Macassan loan words in Tiwi

Alfred Searcy, the Sub-Collector of Customs stationed in Darwin, travelled to Bathurst and Melville island during 1895 in a fleet of five pearling luggers that were crewed by several "Malays" and Aborigines from the mainland. At one point, they came into contact with Tiwi as they travelled southwards along the Apsley
Strait. Some of the boat crew paddled to shore in an attempt to set up some communication, with several of the Malays giving the Tiwi clothing. Searcy noted from his visit that "the language of the islanders is totally different from any spoken on the mainland, although the blacks apparently use some Macassar words in common" (p. 239). Macknight (1976) makes a similar point:

It is not surprising that the Macassans' language became a lingua franca right along the coast. It served not only in communication between the trepangers but also for contact between Aborigines on the praus and those of distinct linguistic groups (p. 89).

It is not obvious what influence Aboriginal culture had on the Macassans or in what ways the Macassans documented their own experiences. It is in the language that Tiwi corroboration of Macassan contact becomes evident, and it is by communication in dance, song, art and stories that this knowledge is revealed. Morris (1967) recorded stories told to him by several older Tiwi, one in which he is told of a Turupula woman returning with the Macassans to their home port. Although the practice of Aboriginal women going to Macassar was unusual, it was common for Aboriginal men to return on the praus Macknight (1976). Spillett (1986) gives an account of a story by a Yolngu, Djalajari, who travelled to Macassar in the late 1890s. In the account Djalajari refers to Melville Island as Djowadjowa, and gives details about his voyage and meeting some of his countrymen at the Macassan port. There is no evidence that Tiwi men travelled to Macassar to work and live, but, conversely, there are cases where Macassans lived with Tiwi. These were probably survivors of shipwrecks.

Two days afterwards another Party made their appearance (accompanied by one or two of our former friends), and
with them we observed a young man who was evidently of Malay origin (indeed he was rather of a lighter colour than those people usually are); in his manners, however, he was exactly like the rest, and most probably had been taken by them when very young. They were particularly anxious that we should notice him, and thrust him forward several times when near us (Bremer, 1824 in HRA Series III Volume V, p. 774).

The records kept by the Sub-Collector of Customs mention the number of praus wrecked or missing on the voyage to the Northern Territory coast, with three coming to grief on Melville Island from 1881-82 to 1886-87 (Macknight, 1976, p. 115). It can be assumed, then, that ever since the trepang industry began praus occasionally met with disaster, and that Melville Island would have been the location for a number of these wrecks.


These shipwrecks were fortuitous for some Tiwi as they were able to salvage axes, knives, calico and rice without having to go through bartering process. Some Tiwi assisted the Macassans in their search for trepang in exchange for sugarcane, coconuts, rice and tobacco (Morris, 1967, p. 7).

Macassarmen, he bin come from his own country. He bin come past here. He bin come through. Alright, he lookem for trepang. He come right through here. He gotten lippa lippa, big canoe longa him. Alright, he come around here. He get nothing here. He bin go across with prau. Alright, he go across now. He go along mainland. Alright, he findem there....East. Cookem there trepang. Now he got a lotta tomarang (Malay iron pots). Alright, he stop there. Cookem there trepang. You know Maningrida? Right up there. Cookem there trepang. Alright, Malay bay. He gotten one coconut. He bin finish now, I think. Calendan Bay, they bin killem there. They bin fight there. He bin finish now that
country. Alright, not this place; he bin come right through, couldn’t findem trepang. He bin go past now. Go back now ... The Macassarmen landed at Panarli and bin go through East. People bin sell long yam to macassarmen. alright, he sellem long him. Alright, he givem towel, chopper. Alright, coconut sellem. Givem this big yam for coconut. Our people bin eat them. Stop here one year. Before that, wild people; karlo (no) white man. No more bin fight alonga Panarli, nothing. Alright him say “Me fella go home”. Poon-goa' (‘big boss’), he boss, say this. He boss along boat belong him ... (Paddy Porkilari cited in Morris, 1967, p. 11).

Apart from the various oral stories collected by Morris (1967), other records of Macassan contact are evident in performance and visual art. A bark painting by Jerry Kerinauia depicts a wreck of a prau, which most likely accompanies the story told by him to Morris (1967). Goodale (1971) documents a kurlama song composed by Jacky Navy that recounts the making of a dugout canoe. Although it is not a record of contact, it does show that ceremonies were a creative space for the recounting of events through song composition and performance, and in this instance, a song about material culture bearing a marker of Macassan influence.

A canoe is being made in the jungle.
first they cut the tree.
the canoe is this [demonstrated] long.
The canoe is shaped like this [demonstrated].
finally they roll it to the sea on logs.
(Jacky Navy cited in Goodale, 1971, p. 200)

Similarly, through narrative dance, recounts about canoe building or sailing have been created and performed. Goodale (1971) notes the performance of a flag dance, which performed in the context of a pukumwani, becomes a marker of Macassan influence, similar in concept to the flag dances performed by Arnhem Landers (Spillett, 1986).

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67 Morris gives this as a translation meaning ‘big boss’. It is more probable that ‘Poon-goa’ was the name of the prau’s master.
Given the desire to shut out the Macassans from the trepang industry, it was more likely in the European interest to record and publicise the violent clashes that sometimes did occur, not just on Melville Island but right across the northern coast. It is clear that government officials, like Searcy, were not as interested in reporting the numerous cordial exchanges between Tiwi and the Macassans and instead emphasised violence which added to the portrait of Tiwi as being 'wild and murderous' and hence, uncivilised.

No doubt many proas have been wrecked there\(^6^8\) and the crews massacred by the wild inhabitant. To our knowledge, two proas were cast away there during one season. The crew of the first, the Erang Polia, was attacked, and but for the plucky action of the master, a determined old man, named Oesing, things would have been serious, but he kept the niggers at bay with an old carbine while four canoes were launched and fitted out (Searcy, 1907, p. 46).

4.5 SOME WHERE TO STOW HIS SPEARS

During tiyari, short flights like these can be quite thrilling as this northern area of Melville Island comes under the influence of Hector. This can result in roller coaster plane rides from one air pocket to the next, sometimes in seemingly impenetrable rainstorms. However, this flight is less dramatic and there are clear skies and smooth flying, due to the untroubled season of kumurrupunari. In all directions plumes of smoke rise across the island. The flight has awoken for me familiar place names and landscapes - Bathurst and Melville Islands, Vernon Islands, Apsley Strait, Karslake and now, as we get closer to Pularumpi, Harris Island, St. Asaph's Bay and Luxmore Head. Each name a legacy of Phillip Parker King.

\(^6^8\) Melville Island.
British interest in *New Holland* was rekindled after Cook's expedition of 1770 claimed the east coast of Australia for the British Crown, naming it New South Wales. In 1788 Governor Arthur Phillip founded the first British settlement at Sydney Cove. This gave the British "an outpost of empire in the Pacific where she could exile her unwanted humanity, foster her trade and monitor the activities of other powers in the region" (Hordern, 1997, p. 1). The French were also interested in the region and La Perouse arrived in the new settlement a few days after Phillip. Later, in 1800 the French Admiralty sent Captain Nicolas Baudin "for a voyage of discovery in the South Seas which would include the southern coastline of New Holland" (Smith, 1992, p. 39).

In response, the British Admiralty appointed Matthew Flinders in 1801 to lead a voyage to discover and chart the unknown coasts of *Terra Australis*. Flinders was given one vessel which set sail on 18 July 1801. He reached the west coast of Australia on 8 December 1801, and then spent the next six months surveying and charting the southern coastline of *Terra Australis* before arriving in Port Jackson on 9 May 1802.

Flinders then prepared for the next voyage. Before departing in July, he wrote a letter of request to Governor King who gave formal approval for Bungaree, an Eora man, and Nanbaree69, a Cadigal man, to accompany him on the forthcoming voyage. By November, the Investigator had reached the Gulf of Carpentaria and continued with its survey work charting the coastline and the Islands in the Gulf.

69 Nanbaree returned to Sydney on the *Lady Nelson* having sailed as far as the Cumberland Islands off the coast of Queensland.
reaching Groote Eylandt on 5 January 1803. Bungaree acted as an intermediary several times throughout the voyage often going ashore to try and establish friendly relations with the different Aboriginal groups encountered. Flinders encountered Macassan praus off the coast of Arnhem Land and interviewed the commander of the fleet, Pobasso before sailing to Timor.

Likewise, Baudin encountered Macassan praus near Cassssini Island. He too was surveying Australia’s coastline, naming features several features along the way\(^7^0\). However, unlike Flinders who sailed past Bathurst and Melville Island, Baudin sighted the western tip of Bathurst island, which was named Cape Fourcroy, and on 27 June 1803 the north-west tip of Melville Island, which was named Cape de Léoben. From here he attempted to sail towards the Gulf of Carpentaria but the winds were against him so they set sail for Ile de France\(^1\) reaching there on 7 August 1803 (Horner, 1987, p. 315). Baudin died four weeks later, one day prior to the arrival of Flinders.

Some years later, the British Admiralty was persuaded by a proposal from Captain Hurd, the Hydrographer of the Navy, to complete Matthew Flinders’ survey work of the western and northern Australian coast. In 1817 Phillip Parker King, the son of Governor King, was invited to undertake this survey under the joint control of the British Admiralty and the Colonial Office. Since the publication of Baudin’s expedition (Peron, 1809) and Freycinet’s 1808 expedition chart of the Australian coast, in which large areas of the continent

\(^{70}\) ... Kangaroo Island was *Ile Decrès* ... Spencer Gulf was *Golfe Bonaparte* ... and St Vincent Gulf *Golfe Josephine* (Horner, 1987, p. 4).

\(^{71}\) Mauritius.
now bore French names, the British were wary of the French’s intentions: “the Colonial Department did not want any more French names on newly discovered parts of the continent” (Hordern, 1997, p. 19). King’s appointment was accelerated when the British found out that the French were also preparing to send Freycinet back to the Australian continent.

King’s chief instruction for the survey was “to discover whether there be any river on that part of the coast likely to lead to an interior navigation into this great continent”. Further, King had to clearly mark and claim any new discoveries for the British by way of leaving “some evidence which cannot be mistaken, of your having landed either by erecting a Flagstaff, or sowing some seeds or by resorting to any other means which may at the time present themselves” (Croker, 1817, cited in Hordern, 1997, pp. 403-405). Similar to earlier instructions for Dutch explorers, the British instructions included navigational directions and also instructions stressing economic imperatives.

King was ordered to get information on resources that could be exploited for ship-building, carpentry, and medicine, as well as any information on minerals and precious metals. His instructions also demanded information on the inhabitants lifestyle and material culture including compiling “a vocabulary of the language spoken by every tribe with which you may meet, using in the compilation of each the same English words (Bathurst, 1817, cited in Hordern, 1997, p. 406). On arriving in Sydney, a vessel, the Mermaid, was purchased and a crew was assembled including Frederick Bedwell and John Septimus Roe, who had accompanied King from England, Allan Cunningham who was
employed as a botanist, and Bungaree who once again volunteered his services and agreed "to serve for his rations, grog, a hammock and somewhere to stow his spears" (Hordern, 1997, p. 50).

On 22 December 1817 the Mermaid sailed through Sydney Heads and then in a southerly direction down the east coast of New South Wales and into Bass Strait and then onto Van Diemen's Land. From here the Mermaid sailed westwards to the Archipelago of the Recherche, King George III Sound and then to the North West Cape. By 23 March 1818 the Mermaid had passed Cape Van Diemen, the northern cape of Melville Island and then eastward to the opening of Van Diemen's Bay.

King then commenced a comprehensive survey of the coast of Arnhem Land westward from Goulbourn Island to Van Diemen Bay renaming the latter Van Diemen Gulf and naming several parts of the country after friends, associates and districts in Europe. At Goulbourn Island, King and his crew had several skirmishes with the local Aborigines. He then encountered the Macassans close-by who, at first, he was keen to avoid but later engaged. King showed two of them, who spent an afternoon on board the Mermaid, a letter of introduction from Sir Stamford Raffles. Although the Macassans were unable to read the letter, which was written in Court Javanese, they did show interest in King's navigational charts. Later, King was impressed with an area he named Port Essington:  

As a harbour, Port Essington is equal, if not superior, to any I ever saw; and from its proximity to the Moluccas and New Guinea, and its being in the direct line of communication between Port Jackson and India, as well as from its commanding situation with respect to the passage through Torres Strait, it must, at no

72 Based on King's enthusiastic description, the Colonial Office established the settlement of Victoria there in 1838, but it was not successful and was abandoned eleven years later.
very distant period, become a place of great trade, and
of very considerable importance (King, 1827, p. 92).

King continued his survey and entered Van Diemen’s Gulf buoyed
by the hopes of “an Austral Nile rising in high cordillera, fed by
perpetual snows and watering areas larger than the British Isles”
(Hordern, 1997, p. 118). After several days of exploration realised
that it was not the case and sailed back to the open sea. Here he
continued his exploration, and with the stroke of his pen began to
name, not only coastal features, but “every mud flat, mangrove tree
and rock” (Hordern, 1997, p. 120) in Tiwi country in honour of the
British [Table 5].

At St. Asaph’s Bay, King once again thought that he had entered
the mouth of a river which might flow into the interior, but again
was disappointed when he discovered it to be a strait. King and some
of his crew climbed Luxmore Head to take bearing and were surprised
by some Tiwi, and in their anxiety to retreat to the boat left behind
a theodolite stand and Cunningham’s insect-net. These were
confiscated by the Tiwi and were used as a basis for negotiations and
“an exchange of demands from both sides which were either refused or
ignored by the other” (Hordern, 1997, p. 127). This exchange lasted
several hours. Roe’s description of the event perpetuated the earlier
Dutch portrayal of Tiwi as “Human Beings as perfectly wild and savage
as ever Nature herself had formed them” (Roe, 1818, cited in Hordern,
1997, p. 127). King was the first to weaken in the exchange and
offered a silk handkerchief, which the Tiwi traded for a dead bird,
all the while requesting axes by imitating chopping actions. Again
King relented, and after returning from the ship with “two tomahawks
and chisels”, exchanged some of these for one basket of water and
another one "full of the fruit of the sago palm." The Tiwi who cautiously floated the basket of water and threw the basket of fruit, were rewarded with an axe which King in return threw to him. King, encouraged by this exchange, again tried to bargain for the return of the theodolite stand:

We made signs for the theodolite stand, which, for a long while, they would not understand; at one time they pretended to think by our pointing towards it, that we meant some spears that were lying near a tree, which they immediately removed: the stand was then taken up by one of their women, and upon our pointing to her, they feigned to think that she was the object of our wishes, and immediately left a female standing up to her middle in the water and retired to some distance to await our proceedings ... one of the natives took up the stand, and upon our pointing at him, they appeared to comprehend our object; a consultation was held over the stand which was minutely examined; but as it was mounted with brass and, perhaps on that account, appeared to them more valuable than a tomahawk, they declined giving it up, and gradually dispersed (King, 1827, pp. 112-113).

Unable to secure the return of the stand, and taunted by the Tiwi who performed a vigorous dance in the water, King gave up, stating that "we were all thoroughly disgusted with them, and felt a degree of distrust that could not be conquered" (King, 1827, p. 114).

King spent the next few days surveying and was disappointed to find that what he thought might be a river turned out to be a strait between what was clearly now two islands, which he named Bathurst and Melville Island. He then circumnavigated Bathurst Island anchoring at a spot that he named Port Hurd. Here he encountered another group of Tiwi who tried to entice him ashore:

but we continued on our way, and disregarded all their solicitations. They were evidently very much disappointed, since they expected to get some axes from us, for they made the same signs as the Luxmore Head

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71 Probably cycad nuts or the flour made from them.
natives had done by repeatedly imitating the action of chopping (King, 1827, p. 121).

By 31 May, King had completed his survey work of Bathurst and Melville Island and sailed westward for Timor.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tiwi name</th>
<th>British name</th>
<th>Named by King for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An area called Murupianga in the Yimpinari region.</td>
<td>Cape Hotham &amp; Cape Keith.</td>
<td>Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham and Lord Keith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Melville Islanders place Purrukparli’s home at a place called Taulampi, near the eastern extremity of the island in Yimpinari</td>
<td>Cape Fleeming &amp; Elphinstone Reef.</td>
<td>Rear-Admiral Charles Elphinstone Fleeming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yimpinari region.</td>
<td>Point Jaheel &amp; Brenton Bay.</td>
<td>Admiral Sir Jaheel Brenton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yimpinari region.</td>
<td>Lethbridge Bay.</td>
<td>King’s father-in-law Christopher Lethbridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yimpinari region.</td>
<td>Madford Shoals.</td>
<td>King’s wife Harriet’s childhood home, Madford House in Cornwall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulirangkuw region.</td>
<td>Cooks Reef.</td>
<td>King’s cook, Cobbey, was knocked over board at this spot. In 1992 the Hydrographic Service of the Royal Australian Navy proposed that a nearby projection of land be known as Cobbey Point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munupi region.</td>
<td>Luxmore Head and St. Asaph’s Bay.</td>
<td>“In compliment of the Right Reverend the Lord bishop of that diocese” (King, 1827, p. 109).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munupi region.</td>
<td>Harris island.</td>
<td>King’s father’s friend, surgeon John Harris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The countries of Malawu, Tikilaru, and Wurangkuku.</td>
<td>Apsey Strait.</td>
<td>After the family of the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The countries of Mantiyupwi, Murupi, Wulirangkuw, Yimpinari and Mirrikawuyanga.</td>
<td>Bathurst Island.</td>
<td>“... in compliment to the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst. His Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies” (King, 1827, p. 117).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off the coast of the Mantiyupwi and Yimpinari regions.</td>
<td>Melville Island.</td>
<td>Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Melville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikilaru region.</td>
<td>Piper Head.</td>
<td>King’s friend Captain John Piper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muma, Walapanji and Punariyi</td>
<td>Port Hurd and Mount Hurd.</td>
<td>Captain Thomas Hurd, the Hydrographer of the Admiralty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrrippulingyi.</td>
<td>Cape Gambier.</td>
<td>Lord High Chancellor, Lord Gambier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buchanan’s Island.</td>
<td>King’s friend Walter Buchanan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Table 5: Place names on Bathurst and Melville Island.** |
|---|---|---|

74 King was to return to the northern coast three more times - twice in the Mermaid [1819 and 1820], and once in the Bathurst [1822] but did not visit Bathurst or Melville Island again.


76 Sources - King, 1827; Hordern, 1997.

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4.6 Nimarra

The Tiwi encounters with the interlopers highlight two points: first, the ways in which textual artefacts were used as devices to occupy the landscape; and second, the willingness of Tiwi to engage in creative and pragmatic discourse and processes. The primary aims of Dutch voyages to Zuijdlandt were to investigate trading opportunities and to map alternative shipping routes. The Dutch textual artefacts emphasise this – from official instructions made by the VOC and Van Diemen, to the mapping and charting of northern Australia, and the records of ships’ journals. The Dutch began to occupy Tiwi country through naming coastal features such as Cape Van Diemen and Van Diemen’s Gulf. In fact, all of what could be seen by Pieterszoon was called Van Diemenslandt.

Similarly, expeditions by the French and the British into Tiwi murrakupuni were characterised by naming the landscape, and as a result, taking possession⁷⁷. Through textual activities of mapping and charting murrakupuni, British began to assume ownership. King presented to British Admiralty, the Colonial Office and the public, through the publication of his narrative, a pretext for the colonisation of the northern land of what was now called Australia.⁷⁸ This pretext included his portrayal of Tiwi as uncivilised, wild and distrustful. This made it possible to rationalise future actions aimed at the subjugation and regulation of the Tiwi.

⁷⁷ Malouf (1998, p.10) refers to such an act as “possession in the form of knowledge by naming and mapping, by taking spaces into our head.”
⁷⁸ Governor Lachlan Macquarie had officially adopted the name Australia in his correspondence in 1817.
The Tiwi showed an openness to engage in discourse with the interlopers. Historical records show that some Tiwi daily boarded the Dutch ships and were willing to participate in trading fish and crabs for the new technologies, especially knives, which they were "particularly greedy" for (Major, 1859, p. 127). The Tiwi demonstrated that they were prepared to engage in this discourse in order to exploit murrin tawi resources. This action was consistent with a tradition of opportunist utilisation of resources when and where they appeared. When the Dutch indicated that they were departing, it was greeted with a violent action, perhaps because the Tiwi realised that they were about lose a valuable resource.

Furthermore, it appears that the Tiwi displayed a willingness to engage in creative and pragmatic discourse with the Macassans, in order to access new technologies and commodities such as highly-prized axes and tobacco. The evidence is not only language, where Macassan loan words are appropriated, but also in Tiwi textual activities of story, song, dance and art. Macassan language and cultural practices, to a certain extent, underwent a process of acculturation and were incorporated into the Tiwi system. Although the Macassan influence is not as obvious as it elsewhere in northern Australia, there is enough evidence to suggest that Tiwi did have sustained periods of contact. Unlike murrin tawi, however, Macassans displayed a desire not to dominate, but rather participate in syncretic exchanges.

The Tiwi response to encounters with the British were, at first, cautious, and then more audacious. New technologies like axes, were highly prized and Tiwi were willing to engage in discourse with
the interlopers to secure this resource. However, rather than being compliant to British demands, these historical accounts - particularly in regard to the theodolite affair - demonstrate that Tiwi were confident and assured in their transactions, to a point of teasing the British.

Nevertheless, the Tiwi willingness to creatively and pragmatically interact with the interlopers would be sorely tested as the murrinawí presence grew. Within space of six years of King’s survey, the border of New South Wales was shifted in 1824 to claim all of the northern coast, including Bathurst and Melville Island, as a colony of the British empire. The Tiwi would have to show greater resilience and creativity with their interactions as growing interest from firstly, the British, and then a wide array of people and organisations, including buffalo shooters, merchants, missionaries, anthropologists, and government departments grew.

Rather than these whole encounters being characterised by either violence on the one hand, and acquiescence on the other, what does emerge is an essentially pragmatic and creative responses by the Tiwi to new experiences.
CHAPTER 5

OCCUPATION:

MURRINTAWI IN MURRAKUPUNI

Occupancy is a stronger title than priority of discovery (Barrow, 1824).

5.0 PAKINYA

The increasing intrusions into murrakupuni by murrintawi reveal a deliberate and systematic attempt to first possess Tiwi country and then, through a variety of textual actions, disempower the Tiwi. The previous chapter described how this first began with the expeditions of the Macassans, the Dutch, the French and the British. The European naval powers used a variety of print-based artefacts in an attempt to assume ownership of murrakupuni, achieve their economic aims, exert their dominance in the region, and to justify their intrusion. These artefacts included charts, maps and journals.

As a result of the British determination to succeed with their economic and political agenda, an attempt was made at permanent settlement on Melville Island. Later, other murrintawi moved in. Even though this phase saw an increase in violence, the Tiwi response continued to be creative and pragmatic as they interacted with the increasing numbers of murrintawi in murrakupuni.

5.1 BY HIS STUBBORN RESISTANCE

It is only about a ten minute flight from Milikapiti to Pularumpi. The Pularumpi airstrip is unsealed and as we land I can
hear the gravel hitting the undercarriage. Pularumpi, also known as Pirlangimpi and Garden Point, is located in Murnupi country. On one side of the airstrip is the recently established Pirlangimpi Golf Course, and on the opposite are the concealed remains of Fort Dundas.

* * *

With the growing British interest in the northern coast came a number of commercial and political propositions. A settlement was proposed "in the Northern part of New Holland" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 737) which led to the establishment of Fort Dundas. Unlike the existing settlements of the colony of New South Wales, Fort Dundas was based on economic imperatives rather than penal ones and showed that, for the time being, the impetus was not a 'civilising' mission but rather economics. The British were not so much preoccupied with spreading the benefits of Christianity and British civilisation. Their primary aim was to establish an economically viable settlement. This would also position Britain as a political power in a region that for many years had been dominated by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The civilising mission was to come much later.

The seed for a British settlement was planted by King who was impressed with the area he had named Port Essington, and conjectured that it would become 'a place of great trade' (King, 1827, p. 92). William Barns, who claimed over twenty years of experience in trade as well as a "knowledge of the Inhabitants" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 750) of the northern coast of Australia, wrote to R. Wilmot Horton, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposing a settlement. He based his proposal on the premise that there was a real prospect of
trade with the Macassans. He listed the types of goods that could be traded: large and small patterned chintz of "black and red flower" and "in short, every Article of European manufacture" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 738). Barns also played on the British fear of the Dutch having a monopoly in the region stating that:

the Dutch are most anxious to form one [a settlement] themselves, in the hope of shutting us out from the trade of the Eastern World, and totally excluding us from all their ports ... and that they would adopt any measure to attain that object (HRA, III Vol V, p. 739).

Barns obviously had some powerful connections within the East India Trade Committee. The proposal, and his application to tender his services to the government for the venture, received full support in a letter written to Earl Bathurst, the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, by the Committee's chairman, G. G. de H. Larpent.79 The proposal was strengthened by the fact that the Committee had corresponded with King, who suggested, amongst other things, that the land would be readily adapted "to the cultivation of rice." Another favourable point in the Committee's view was that:

the Natives offer no impediment; the few scattered Tribes, that frequent the North coast of New Holland, are not in any manner to be feared; their hostility, at present, feeble as it is, is directed against the Malays alone, towards whom they have imbibed a strong prejudice; and there can be little doubt, but that they would render assistance, than offer any obstruction, to the new Colonists under British Government (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 747).

The Committee's preferred choice of settlement was the Port Essington site. A further settlement on Melville Island would provide protection for British vessels working out to the west. The proposal

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79 Most of Barns' correspondence bares the address of Palmer, Wilson and Co., of Kings Arm Yard. This company was one of several represented by the East India Trade Committee.
was given weight in a letter of support written to Horton by John Barrow of the British Admiralty. Horton stressed the necessity for and the immediacy of a settlement to deter Dutch interests, stating that "Occupancy is a stronger title than priority of discovery" (HRA, III Vol V, pp. 751-753). The proposal was successful, although Barns did not have success in gaining employment from the British Government. Earl Bathurst sent instructions to Governor Brisbane in Sydney in relation to the foundation of the settlement and instructed the Lord Commissioners of the British Admiralty to dispatch:

a Ship of War ... without delay to the North West Coast of New Holland, for the purpose of taking formal possession ... [and that] ... the Commander of His Majesty's Ship charged with the duty after leaving Sydney Cove to make the best of his way in the first instance to Apsley Strait, which divides Melville and Bathurst Islands, where he is to establish the first settlement (HRA, III, Vol V, pp. 758-761).

In the same letter, Bathurst refers to the Tiwi as being of a "ferocious disposition" and that the Commander should, on their arrival, make themselves secure. On the other hand, the Macassans were to be given the "strongest assurance of friendship and protection" in order to encourage trade.

Bremer, the Captain of the ship Tamar, was charged with the responsibilities of forming the new settlement and on arrival in Sydney on 28 August, 1824 proceeded to organise troops and stores. The proposed settlement's complement consisted of troops and officials of the British Government, 47 convicts, and personnel who had volunteered their services in the hope of receiving Tickets of

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80 Barns was employed by the East India Trade Committee to take command of a small schooner, the Steedcomb, with trading cargo to sail to the new settlement. Nevertheless, the Committee wrote to the Government expressing their disappointment.
Leave, "2 free convicts; 4 women; 4 children" (Ennis, 1825, p 23).\(^1\) In all there were 112. The Tamar departed Port Jackson on 24 August, 1824 accompanied by the Lady Nelson and the Countess of Harcourt and reached Port Essington on 20 September where Bremer took formal possession in the name of George IV. Bremer found no water here and as he was reluctant to divide his troops, he sailed on to Bathurst and Melville Islands, reaching the northern end of Apsley Strait on 26 September. Here, Bremer claimed possession of Tiwi country and "executed this duty to the satisfaction of His Majesty's Government" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 794). The form of taking possession of Melville and Bathurst Islands reads:

The North Coast of New Holland of Australia, contained between the Meridian of 129° and 135° East of Greenwich, with all the Bays, Rivers, Harbours, Creeks, etc., in and all the Islands lying off, were taken possession of, in the name and in the right of His Most Excellent Majesty George the IV, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty's Colours hoisted at Port Essington, on the 20th September, 1824, and at Melville and Bathurst Islands on the 26th September, 1824, by James John Gordon Bremer, Companion of the most honourable Military Order of the Bath, Captain of His Majesty's Ship the Tamar, and Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Forces, employed on the said coasts. His Majesty's Colonial Brig Lady Nelson, and the British Ship Countess of Harcourt in Company. J. J. Gordon Bremer. Melville Island, Australia, 26th September, 1824. (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 781).

Like his predecessor, Bremer continued the process of naming murrakupuni, now confident of ownership under the Crown. He named an area in which they found a freshwater supply King's Cove "after the first discoverer of the Strait and islands"; Point Barlow after Captain Maurice Barlow who would remain as the commandant of the settlement; Port Cockburn "in honour of Vice Admiral Sir George

\(^1\) Ennis, the supernumerary-purser for the Tamar, differs with Bremer who lists 44 convicts and 3 "Free Mechanics" and makes no mention of the women or children, or the fact that there was an Aboriginal male of New South Wales in the complement.
Cockburn"; and the settlement, Fort Dundas "in honour of the Noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty". Once water was found, a site was cleared\textsuperscript{82} and the building began, the principal building being the fort mounted with "two 9 pounder guns, and our 18 pounder Carronades" surrounded by a ditch "ten feet deep and fifteen feet wide". Other buildings included a "Commissariat Store house", a pier, a barracks for the troops and several cottages, one which was referred to as "Government House" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 772).

It was not until several weeks later that the British encountered the Tiwi\textsuperscript{81}, although it is almost certain that the British had been under observation during the early weeks of settlement as both Bremer (1824) and Ennis (1825) noted fires in the distance from the fort. The first attempt by the British occurred on 25 October 1824 when Bremer and some of his officers crossed Apsley Strait and sailed up a small river on Bathurst Island where they met several Tiwi who they tried to engage by offering "a handkerchief and some other trifles from the blade of an oar, which was put towards them" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 773). The Tiwi responded firstly by showing defiance, and then after retreating a short distance, threw down their spears and "spread the arms out to show they intended nothing hostile, accompanying the action with amazing volubility of tongue" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 773). Later that day, a group of Tiwi approached two of the British who were cutting timber near the Fort. It is not clear what took place between these two parties, but the

\textsuperscript{82} During the first two years of settlement fifty-two acres of bush was cleared, while on another ninety-five acres trees were felled but not cleared (Campbell, 1834).

\textsuperscript{81} The site of Fort Dundas is in present day Murnupi country, however, according to Poignant (1996) it was not occupied by a residential group, but rather shared between two separate groups. One of these were the Maluaia who lived directly across the strait on Bathurst island. Rather than using country affiliation terms, I will use Tiwi throughout the description and discussion on Fort Dundas.
Tiwi were not intent on doing harm but showed a keen interest in the British men's axes. The Tiwi "offered no other injury than wrestling their axes from them; they had most probably been watching some of our Parties in the Woods, for they appeared to have a correct idea of the value and the use of the Axe" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 773). The two British men ran to the Fort where the alarm was given and the "soldiers seized their arms, and some of the Natives would have suffered for their temerity if they had not hastily retreated" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 772).

Bremer, Barlow and some of the soldiers then went in search of the Tiwi and, on meeting them, offered:

Handkerchiefs, Buttons and other trifles, which they accepted without hesitation; but, after having satisfied their curiosity with an inspection of these new, and to them extraordinary things, their interest ceased, and they threw them away ... [then] ... they made signs for axes, imitating the action of cutting down a tree, and accompanying it with loud vociferation, an almost inconceivable rapidity of gesture" (HRA, III Vol V, p. 774).

The Tiwi received a further three axes, and despite Bremer's attempts to lure the Tiwi into the range of the Fort, they withdrew to the bush. A couple of days later a group of Tiwi again surprised two of the British and took from them two axes and a reaping hook. After negotiations with Bremer, who expressed his annoyance, the reaping hook was returned but the Tiwi received no further axes. Clearly annoyed by the actions of the British, the Tiwi confronted the British several days later. One group had surrounded a cottage near the Fort, while another challenged a detachment who were getting water. A possible trading relationship, based on the supply of goods
for the use of resources, was irrevocably reversed when the Tiwi were
fired upon:

the Corporal judged that it would be more prudent to
prove to them that we were superior in Arms, and that
it might save bloodshed if he selected the leading Man
for Punishment; he therefore fired directly at him; he
fell or threw himself down, as several others
constantly did on seeing the flash, but was most likely
struck by the ball, for they immediately retreated to
the Woods (HRA, III Vol V, pp. 786-787).

The situation had now changed from one of exchange, to one of
dispute resolution. This was to be the dominant pattern for the
duration of the settlement. The Tiwi, realising that the British were
prepared to stay and were no longer interested in paying for Tiwi
resources, harassed the occupants at nearly every opportunity,
continuing to take axes and any other resources that they could,
including on one occasion a wheelbarrow. It was clear that the
relationship was now in dispute. This dispute was not resolved by the
time the settlement was abandoned, with the Tiwi continuing "until
the last day distrustful, if not even determinedly hostile"
(Campbell, 1834, p. 154).

A number of writers (Pilling, 1954; Poignant, 1996; Cameron,
1998) suggest that the Tiwi/British hostility grew out of the Tiwi's
objection to the British appropriation of resources. However, my
reading suggests that up until the time when the British refused to
give Tiwi axes and, "they were made to understand that we were
offended" (Bremer, 1824, p. 774), the Tiwi were prepared to interact
with the British. However, on being refused axes and publicly
harangued, the Tiwi had no other option than to try and settle the
initial grievance. For a dispute to be settled, both sides had to
participate in a duel which would be resolved only when both parties were in agreement that honour had been restored: usually when someone was injured in the duel. This would signal a satisfactory conclusion to the dispute. However, for a dispute to be resolved, interaction was essential. Analysed from this perspective, conflict between the British and the Tiwi could be viewed as separate episodes. At each interaction where conflict occurred, Tiwi may have been attempting resolution. Usually duels were "inconclusive things" where new grievances arose. Therefore the British and Tiwi were committed to a dispute resolution cycle which was not satisfactorily ended, in this case, until the British went away.\footnote{For further discussion on conflict and its role in Tiwi society see Pilling, 1958; Hart et al., 1988; Venbrux, 1995.}

Bremer departed on 13 November 1824 leaving Maurice Barlow in command. Bremer's dispatch to London was full of optimism: the soil was good and capable of "producing many, if not all the fruits and valuable shrubs of the Eastern Islands"; the water supply abundant enough for the growing of "valuable rice plantations"; the climate "decidedly good as one can be found between the Tropics"; and the port "of the finest description" (HRA, III Vol V, pp. 786-787). This was good news especially for the merchants represented by the East India Trade Committee who had "no doubt that, in a commercial point of view, it will become another Singapore" and urged the Government to colonise it at once (HRA, III Vol V, p. 793). Earl Bathurst responded that he was happy to receive any proposals from the committee and "a specific application for a Grant of Land on Melville Island" (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 793), however, the Committee decided to wait until they had received word from Barns before taking any further action.
Barns arrived at Fort Dundas in late December, 1824 and was granted a house and an allotment for his house as well as two acres of land. He later came in conflict with Barlow because of his practice of paying convict labourers with rum. Barns was employed by Barlow to sail to Timor to purchase and return with a cargo of buffalo, and departed 26 February 1825. However, this was not successful as the ship did not return and it was concluded that the Stedcomb and its crew "had fallen sacrifice to the Pirates" (HRA, III. Vol V. p. 797). After initially considering the economic merits of another settlement to the east of Melville Island, the East India Trade Committee, having lost money through its venture with Barns, withdrew.

Meanwhile, both Barlow and the surgeon Turner, after having spent five months in the settlement requested to be relieved although Barlow was still quite optimistic of the settlement's success. However, scurvy had taken its toll and three convicts had died, with upwards of thirty being on the sick list. Also, one soldier had died from dysentery while another had died "from tetanus after fracture of the leg" (HRA, III Vol VI, p. 793).

Major John Campbell replaced Barlow on 20 September, 1826 while Turner was replaced some time later by Dr John Gold. Barlow's early dispatches were also optimistic in that he felt that the climate was salubrious, that the prospects of trade with the Macassans was possible, and quality of the soil would allow for an ample supply of vegetables. Campbell's optimism can be seen in his detailed *Port and Local Regulations For Melville Island* which addressed issues such as the arrival of vessels to the Port, the landing of goods and
merchandise and emphasised that the land was "the property of the King of England" which could not be relinquished except through a grant or lease of the British Government (HRA, III, Vol VI, p. 677).

One section of the Port Regulations dealt with rules governing contact with the Tiwi. Anyone supplying alcohol to the Tiwi and inflicting:

any personal injury, violence or insult whatever offered or done to the Male or Female Natives will expose to prosecution, and will be punished in like manner and degree as in the case of any European or any other of His Majesty's Subjects in like respect (HRA, III Vol VI, p. 671).

Additionally, the Regulations Respecting the Natives, and the Carrying of Fire Arms directed the settlement's personnel to treat the Tiwi "in a friendly manner" and not fire upon them unless the situation renders it unavoidable. Conversely, Campbell also warned any possible visitors to the Fort about the "Hostility and Treacherous cunning of the Natives" and suggested that they would be imprudent to move about unarmed (HRA, III, Vol VI, pp. 668-676). Campbell was also keen to capture some Tiwi so that "we might be enabled (by teaching them a little English) to acquaint them with our intentions towards them and convince those Islanders that every act of violence would be followed by severe retaliation" (HRA, III Vol VI, p. 681). Campbell may have thought of enlisting the assistance of Dr Gold who had amongst his possessions several English language teaching resources: "Nugent's English Dictionary, Epitome English Grammar, English Exercises, Morgan's Grammatical Exercises" (HRA, III, Vol VI, p. 706). Unfortunately, Dr Gold became a statistic of the inability of both sides to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Gold
was one of four killed by Tiwi in the duration of the settlement. It is not known how many Tiwi were killed but, Campbell notes that "during my time we were obliged to fire at them several times; we never knew of any being killed, although in one or two instances they were wounded; they might have died ... (Campbell, 1834, p. 154).

Campbell did manage to capture one Tiwi, but it was a violent encounter and the prisoner had to spend some days in hospital recovering from the wounds he received "by his Stubborn resistance when taken" (HRA, III, Vol VI, p. 706). Campbell made extensive anatomical notes of his prisoner which he published in his memoirs. This attention to detail reflects the ideology of the time where Aborigines were thought to be living proof of the link between apes and civilized humans, hence the various references to Tiwi society as uncivilized. It is uncertain whether Campbell managed to teach him "a little English." The Tiwi prisoner escaped on the evening of the day Gold and his companion Green were killed. Poignant (1996) has the Tiwi prisoner being forced at bayonet point to attend the funeral of Lieutenant Hick's wife earlier on the same day. By November 1827, Campbell too was requesting to be relieved because he "had a complete surfeit of this Island" and begged to be "released from this vile Island (HRA, III, Vol VI, p. 707). On one occasion, several convicts planned to escape in a boat that they had built, but were discovered and consequently punished by floggings and imprisonment. Captain Hartley replaced Campbell was on 27 April 1828.

Hartley was not as optimistic about the success of the settlement and in his first dispatch to Colonial Secretary Macleay was critical of the quality of the soil, the dangerous nature of
Apsley Strait and the prospects of any Macassan visits. By September that year he was writing about the "gloom and depression ... [that] ... shroud and darken this dreary, remote and unhealthy Settlement", and on another "the obvious, manifold and inveterate disadvantages of Melville Island for settlement (HRA, III, Vol VI, pp. 757-758. According to Hartley, these included poor soil, an inadequate and dangerous harbour, and a climate unfit for productive work. He concluded that:

> It seems therefore vain, delusive and chimeral to expect that Melville Island can ever become, by means of or while peopled with Europeans, either the resort of trade, the emporium of commerce, the seat of laborious industry, or the theatre of healthful and successful enterprise; but it is far less visionary to believe that it will only prove to British subjects an infirmary for one portion of its population, a cemetery for the other" (HRA, III Vol VI, pp. 757-758).

Moreover, the Tiwi were continuing to harass the hapless British by spearing their livestock. Hartley considered on one or two occasions to retaliate by firing upon these "sable depredators ... but it would have been under circumstances which would have amounted or nearly so to deliberate slaughter" (HRA, III Vol VI, p. 760). Hartley concluded if he had followed through with his threat, it would have been justly deserved. The British Government realising that the settlement was not going to succeed, made arrangements for its removal. The public property was dismantled and shipped to the new settlement at Raffles Bay. The "free people, ticket of leave men and the prisoners of the Crown" were disembarked at Sydney, while the Tiwi reclaimed the site. However, unbeknown to them, the land was no longer legally theirs - the act of possession by the British, was an act of dispossession for the Tiwi.
5.2 A GOOD FRIEND TO THE NATIVES

Nguiu is located on the southern end of Apsley Strait and is only a short flight from Pularumpi. The airport is a short drive along sealed roads from the community and is usually quite busy, depending on the time of day. Morning flights deliver tourists from Darwin who visit the community to learn a bit about Tiwi culture and history, and to buy art and printed cloth from Tiwi enterprises. At the airport gate is a ceramic turtini that was erected several years ago to commemorate the capture by a Tiwi of a Japanese pilot during World War Two. I get a lift into town and after finalising my accommodation and unpacking, I spend the rest of the day visiting friends. Later, I walk to the strait and down to the barge landing. Located near here is a statue of the Virgin Mary, which has been decorated with several shells placed around its base. Sometime ago, it was attacked and has a broken arm. Two bronze plaques have been installed nearby, commemorating several tragic drownings that have occurred over the years. From the water’s edge, I can see car lights shining and hear voices calling out from across the strait at Paru. Many years ago, Paru was the site of Joe Cooper’s camp.

*          *          *

With the removal of the British, the frequency of Tiwi contact with murrintawi became sporadic but more widespread. Most Tiwi groups gained first hand experience of European culture. Although this contact was not of a permanent nature, it provided the opportunity for the Tiwi to gain new technologies in the form of European goods salvaged from the occasional shipwreck. Pilling (1978) notes that several ships came to grief on the coastline of
Bathurst and Melville Island. With the wreck of the *Magda*, the local
group\textsuperscript{85} was able to salvage much of the goods (Pilling, 1978, n.p.).

At the successful establishment of Palmerston in 1870, the
incidence of intrusions and contact with *murrintawi* increased.
Through the act of possession by Bremer in 1824, *murrakupuni* was
viewed by *murrintawi* as vacant crown land and therefore open to
exploitation. Although no leases were granted immediately by the
South Australian government\textsuperscript{86}, this did not stop *murrintawi* from
making incursion onto *murrakupuni*. In 1887 the South Australian
government gave approval for an exploration party that surveyed
Melville Island in the hope of finding gold.

During the four years of British occupation at Port Dundas,
buffalo were imported from Timor to supply the settlement with fresh
meat. Stehlik (1986,p. 65) states that buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*) as
distinct from Banteng (*Bos javanicus*) were imported by the British.
Banteng are not on Melville Island whereas they are still found on
Cobourg Peninsula as a consequence of the Port Essington settlement.
From a small number of animals that escaped, and several buffalo
left behind on the British withdrawal, wild buffalo soon became
quite numerous on Melville Island. These herds were popular with
sporting shooters who travelled to Melville Island during the 1870s.
The buffalo were later to become the reason for a more permanent
settlement. To add to the *murrintawi* interest in Bathurst and
Melville Islands, pearls were discovered off the coast of both

\textsuperscript{85} Probably the Tikluuila or the *Murangkuwuila* as the wreck occurred on the west
coast of Bathurst Island.
\textsuperscript{86} In 1863 the responsibility for administering the Northern Territory was given to
the South Australian Government.
islands. This led to an influx of Japanese pearlers\(^{87}\) who started to work the great shoals. Gee (1906) notes that pearlers had established landing areas along the coastline as they explored an area near the Mermaid Shoals\(^{88}\):

The pearlers working over the Mermaid Shoals evidently came here for fire wood and water. A heap of wood was stacked on the beach near a very handsome Leichhardt tree ... [and] ... also so some Japanese characters. Back from here in the bush a little way there is a native well with a good supply of water (Gee, 1906, p. 28).

With the influx of Japanese pearlers, trading with the Tiwi also increased. Hart et al., (1988) note that Tiwi men visited the luggers where they had meals, smoked tobacco, and were given iron tools, possibly, at first, in exchange for access to timber and water supplies and later, in exchange for sexual favours from Tiwi women. This was to be the cause of dissension between the Tiwi, the pearlers, the mission and government officials as the pearling industry developed.\(^{89}\)

The buffalo industry on Melville Island had its beginnings in 1895 when Joe Cooper, landed at Cape Gambier. Cooper’s team was most probably granted access by the Mandiimbula and Yeimpí who, at that stage were receiving goods from the pearlers in exchange for access.\(^{90}\) In 1895 Joe Cooper and his team “Barney Flynn, Tom Madden, Jim Sedgerwood, Billy, (a kanaka), and Tinga (a Malay)” (Robinson, in Searcy, 1905, p. 69) and possibly Cooper’s brother, Harry, landed at

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\(^{87}\) It would be incorrect to assume that the pearling luggers had all-Japanese crew. Gee (1906, p. 29) notes that one lugger he visited had a Japanese diver who was the boss of the boat, the rest of the crew being made up of ‘Manilemen or Malays’, and Aborigines.

\(^{88}\) A large shoal located at the north west tip of Melville Island.

\(^{89}\) The relationship between these parties will be addressed later in this chapter.

\(^{90}\) By 1893 the shoals in Darwin harbour had been exhausted and the pearlers moved to the waters around Cape Gambier (Pilling, 1978).
Cape Gambier on Melville Island\textsuperscript{11} to shoot buffalo for Robinson. This party most probably negotiated access by trading goods with the Mandiimbula and Yeimpi of Melville Island who, at that stage, were receiving similar trade from the Japanese pearlers in exchange for access. In 1896, Cooper and his team shot 4,644 buffaloes (Searcy, 1905). While engaged in this enterprise, they were visited by the Sub-Collector of Customs, Alfred Searcy, who depicted the Tiwi as being:

hostile then, as they are now ... The mode of living [is] rude and wild ... It is generally supposed they are cannibals. Children seem to be scarce on the island; and judging from what little has been seen of the niggers, the women are badly treated (Searcy, 1907, pp. 227-238).

However, in 1896 Cooper and his team hastily departed from Melville Island\textsuperscript{11}. During their retreat, Cooper’s team kidnapped “two or three Melville Island lubras and boys”, took them back “to his headquarters on the Cobourg Peninsular” and “learnt enough of the language to be able to converse with them” (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245). Cooper returned to Melville Island in 1905 and brought with him “a number of Port Essington boys” and the kidnapped Tiwi. Cooper “first sent the Melville Island natives on shore” with the result that he “was allowed to land without molestation, and thereafter he hunted the buffalo with the aid of his mainland natives” (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245).

\textsuperscript{11} There appears to be some confusion in relation to Harry Cooper. Krastins (1972) states that Joe Cooper was accompanied by his brother Harry, who was speared to death on their eviction. Pilling (1978) has Harry arriving later in 1905 for the second attempt of setting up camp and Klaatsch [in Stehlik, 1986] mentions that Harry was with Joe when he visited the buffalo shooters’ camp in 1906. Similarly, Robinson (in Searcy, 1905) doesn’t mention Harry in the initial first buffalo shooting crew. The story of Harry being speared may have been falsified to portray the hostility of the Tiwi to a wider, increasingly interested Australian audience, and to give the story a ‘wild frontier’ aspect. Another version has Harry Cooper dying in the Darwin hospital from syphilis [pers. comm. Morris, 1998].

\textsuperscript{12} There is no existing evidence to explain the reason for this eviction. However, it can be surmised that, viewed from a dispute-resolution perspective, Cooper may have been actually retreating from a grievance-settlement duel.
Cooper set up his main camp at Paru in Mantiyupwi country (Morris, 1992) and through trade and a number of "dispersions", set about to establish himself on Melville Island (Robertson, 1909, p. 672). In this endeavour Cooper gave "full marks" for the "pacification" of the Tiwi to both fortitude and "the power of his Martini-Henry rifle" (Mulvaney & Calaby, 1985, p. 270). Cooper's permanent presence on Melville Island prompted further visits by other interested murrin taw i whom he assisted in their various enterprises, and gave advice and opinions based on his observations of, and interactions with, the Tiwi.

Within a year of Cooper's return, the frequency of visits by other murrintaw i grew. In 1906 Hermann Klaatsch, a German physical anthropologist (Stehlik, 1986), visited Melville Island. He stayed for fourteen days gathering anthropological data including photographs. As a physical anthropologist, Klaatsch took anatomical measurements and made anatomical studies. Klaatsch raided two Tiwi graves, and took away skeletal remains. Klaatsch's article briefly describes the graves, material culture and dance of the Tiwi as well as an anatomical description of Tiwi facial features.

Murrintawi representatives of government were the next to intrude into Tiwi society. These intrusions were sanctioned by law. One of the last acts passed by the South Australian Government before

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93 Mounted Constable Willshire (Willshire, 1896) and Corporal G. Montagu (Christie, 1998) were also in praise of the Martini-Henry rifle used in similar "dispersions" elsewhere in the Territory.
94 Klaatsch's photographs were the first to be taken of Tiwi. Other photographers followed, notably Spencer in 1911 and Ryoko in 1916.
95 Stehlik (1986) notes that Klaatsch's ethnographic collections were distributed to other museums, principally the Ethnological Museums of Hamburg, Leipzig and Cologne. The Tiwi skeletal remains from the two graves he raided are more than likely located at one of these museums.
the Commonwealth took responsibility of the Northern Territory in 1911, was the 1910 Northern Territory Aboriginal Act. Under this Act, and the subsequent 1911 Aboriginal Ordinance [Commonwealth], a Chief Protector of Aboriginals was appointed with an aim to regulate, and subjugate, Aborigines to the Commonwealth’s desires. It was the Chief Protector’s duty to control and promote the welfare of all Northern Territory Aborigines and he was made "the legal guardian of every child up to the age of eighteen irrespective of whether the child had living parents or relatives" (Austin, 1993, p. 37). The Ordinance gave the Chief Protector extreme powers and enshrined the paternalistic right to infringe civil liberties and deny all personal rights to all Aborigines in the Northern Territory (Mulvaney and Calaby, 1985). In 1911, Herbert Basedow was appointed Chief Medical Officer and Chief Protector of Aborigines. Basedow only lasted five weeks in Darwin before he resigned. During his short tenure, he visited Bathurst Island for nine days "to inspect the natives on behalf of the Commonwealth Government" (Basedow, 1913, p. 291). Basedow was replaced by Spencer who was appointed Special Commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines from 1 January, 1912.

Spencer had just completed the 1911 Preliminary Scientific Expedition to Northern Australia which had included a short trip to Melville Island, when he heard of his appointment as Special Commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines. His report to government, in part, commented encouragingly on the economic aspects of northern Australia. This was supported by the retired Director of Agriculture for New South Wales, W. S. Campbell, who was also assessing the north's agricultural potential. Campbell recommended that a number of experimental research farms be set up in suitable
locations, of which Melville Island was nominated (Mulvaney & Calaby, 1985, p. 273). After Spencer had returned to Darwin to take up his position in 1912, he visited Bathurst and Melville Island in March and spent six weeks there. He again revisited Bathurst and Melville Island in December of that year where he witnessed "the weird, wild burial and mourning ceremonies of the natives and of obtaining both cinematograph and photograph records of them" (Spencer, 1914, pp. viii-ix). During these visits, he was assisted by Cooper.

Spencer referred to Cooper as "practically king of the island" (1928, p. 658) and as "my old friend ... [who is] ... a good friend to the natives" (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245). Cooper's "influence" with the Tiwi and his approval by government officials like Spencer and others, led to his appointment as Sub-Protector of Aborigines.96 Such a position came with considerable power and during his tenure Cooper became responsible for a number of mainland Aborigines who were "banished" to Melville Island as punishment for "crimes" against the Northern Territory Aboriginals Act, 1910. Cooper's presence also indirectly enabled the establishment of a Catholic Mission on Bathurst Island by Father François Xavier Gsell, a Belgian priest. Gsell visited Cooper's camp in 1911 and from here looked over Apsley Strait to Bathurst Island where he saw a "pretty beach framed in foliage, apparently charming and seductive" (Gsell, 1955, pp. 44).

5.3 A STEP TOWARDS CIVILISATION

The 'politics of literacy' became clearer as a portrait of Tiwi was affirmed in the consciousness of murrinja through a variety of textual artefacts, especially printed text. The overriding emphasis

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96 Cooper's appointment was gazetted on 17 November, 1911. AA CRS A1 1912/627 Northern Territory. Appointment of Mr. R.J. Cooper as Sub-Protector of Aborigines.
of the murrintawi experience was to portray the Tiwi as wild and uncivilised, as a pretext for regulation and subjugation.

In the despatches, journals and published articles of Fort Dundas, Bremer (1824), Barlow (1824-25), Ennis (1825), Campbell (1834) and Hartley (1828) portray Tiwi as being in a state of savagery, far removed from so-called civilisation, of treacherous nature and revengeful. Bremer’s and Hartley’s articles were of an official nature and therefore would have limited readership. However, Ennis’ articles were published in issues 413 to 417 of The Monthly Magazine and Campbell’s memoirs in the Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. Both articles were in the public domain and open to a wider audience. Bremer states that he thought the Tiwi did “not occupy quite so low a place on the graduated Scale of human beings” and the fact that Tiwi women covered themselves with bark was “a mark of Decency, and a step towards Civilisation” (HRA, III, Vol V, p. 776). Similarly, Ennis’ articles concur”, being critical of Tiwi society as uncivilised, with some aspects “disgusting”. This view of Tiwi as uncivilised and hostile gained ascendancy and prevailed well into the twentieth century.

At the turn of the century, the picture of Tiwi as hostile and uncivilised increasingly became fixed in Australian society’s consciousness. The writings of Searcy (1905; 1907) contributed to this portrait and was sanctioned by government through Herbert, the senior member for the Northern Territory, and later the Government Resident and Judge of the Northern Territory. Herbert wrote in the

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97 In fact Ennis’ article appears to plagiarise Bremer’s No. 14 Despatch to Secretary Croke. On leaving Fort Dundas, Bremer committed the dispatch to his charge, which he delivered to the British Admiralty several months later - ample time for Ennis to make notes.
preface of In Northern Seas that "the publication of articles like yours [Searcy] ... does far more to reach and fix the attention, and thereby to enlighten and remove the ignorance and prejudice of the many in regard to that vast and rich dependency of this state" (Herbert in Searcy, 1905, p. 4). Searcy's "enlightened" view of the Tiwi was blatantly racist. He was also clearly affronted by the thought that the Tiwi had the temerity to dominate in their own country, and considered that that would be resolved when "there is a decided influx of Europeans" (Searcy, 1907, p. 227).

Other writers published during this period continued portraying Tiwi as "treacherous and blood-thirsty savages" (Brown, 1906, pp. 22-24), of a "hostile nature" (Foelsche, 1882), and "as being cannibalistic and treacherous in their habits, [having] guarded their primitive condition to this present day" (Basedow, 1913, p. 291). Gee (1906) stated that:

they are regarded, universally, simply as destructive savages - so low in the scale that they have not evolved or acquired the use of the wommera to hurl their spears, as on the mainland, but throw them still by hand. They are full of the primitive man's instinct to kill and destroy (p. 28).

A supplementary stream of writing also emerged which was more of anthropological nature, albeit conducted within a Social Darwinist framework98. Klaatsch believed that "hunters and gatherers represented an earlier, primitive, lower stage in the development of mankind" and that by studying Australian Aborigines "he would gain insights into the way of life and way of thought of early races of

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98 Klaatsch was most probably influenced by biologic Darwinism, while Spencer although schooled in Darwinism was more probably influenced by his previous work with Gillen when it came to dealing with Aborigines. Gsell was more likely influenced by cultural evolution theory and his own religious beliefs rather than a science theory.
man, and would learn about the origins of culture in general" (Stehlik, 1986, pp. 60-61). He, too, continued with the tradition of portraying the Tiwi as uncivilised, referring to them as being "like wild children ... living in their original savage ways" (in Stehlik, 1986, pp. 65-67). This view of Tiwi as childlike was to persist well into the twentieth century and used to justify "the repressive paternalism adopted by governments in the name of protection" (Austin, 1993, p. 11).

Basedow commented on the "primitive condition" of the Tiwi and concerned himself, in part, with anthropometric descriptions. However, the bulk of Basedow's 1913 article reflects a growing movement towards recognising the complexities of Aboriginal societies, with quite detailed information in relation to material culture and cultural practices.99 This shift of focus reflected the work of Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen who had conducted similar studies of Aboriginal societies in Central Australia.100

Observations made from Spencer's visits were published in Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia which was a descriptive narrative and factual account of Spencer's experiences during 1911 and 1912. Despite photographs of a physical anthropologist nature, and that fact that Spencer was schooled in Social Darwinist thought, the book showed a deeper perception of the complexities of Aboriginal society. Nevertheless, his conclusions after several years of study and service in Northern Australia

99 Basedow was not well liked by his contemporaries who viewed his qualifications with derision and his knowledge as being "borrowed, stolen or feigned" (Jones in Mulvaney and Calaby, 1985, p. 276).
100 According to Mulvaney and Calaby (1985) the books co-authored by Spencer and Gillen The Natives Tribes of Central Australia (1904) and Across Australia (1912) contributed some dignity to race relations.
reflected his anthropological doctrine rather than his beliefs borne out of experience. In 1927 he wrote of Aborigines as:

creatures, often crude and quaint, that have elsewhere passed away and given place to higher forms ... the Aboriginal show us ... what early man must have been like ... human beings that still remain on the culture level of men of the Stone Age (Spencer in Mulvaney & Calaby, 1985, p. 276).

In stark contrast, Joe Cooper was lionised in the national press as “a white chief ... one of the celebrities of the Northern Territory” (The Age, 1911, p.7), “a white rajah ... a mighty hunter ... [and] ... it was entirely due to him ... that white men can land at all on Melville Island” (The Argus, 1911, p. 6). According to the press, a peaceful coexistence was achieved through “kindness”. On the other hand, Tiwi were continued to be portrayed as uncivilised, lazy and simple who “have pitched battles among themselves to relieve the monotony of eating, sleeping and loafing around with little to do” (The Age, 1911, p. 7). It is worth noting that Cooper’s work was portrayed as courageous. He was described as dashing in on the wild buffalo and shooting it “through the spine with a sawed-off gun” (The Age, 1911, p.7). In contrast, the work of the Tiwi was seen in a lesser light, not withstanding that they did the bulk of the work. Tiwi tracked the buffalo and then “the only work they had to do is carry in the hides and help to skin” (The Age, 1911, p. 7).

5.4 THEY ARE MARVELLOUS ACTORS

The Tiwi response to the murrinhwati experiences was essentially creative. With the passing of the British, but quite possibly during their occupation, Tiwi began to record the experiences and legacies of the contact. Kurlama was an intense period of creativity, and it
is highly probable that many composers of ajipa songs or amparru songs\textsuperscript{101} drew on their experiences with the British as topics for their songs. Also, there is evidence in both current and past dances, that point to a recording of the British occupation and its legacies. These dances would have been accompanied by songs and choreographed as an aminayi dance in the formal context of pukumwani\textsuperscript{102}, or non-formally as a 'narrative dance' (Goodale, 1971).

An example in the Tiwi repertoire of dances that have historical themes is one called the Fort Dundas Riot.\textsuperscript{103} Poignant (1996) gives an analysis of this dance which was photographed by Ryoko, an intrepid photographer who set up business in Darwin in 1914, and travelled throughout the Territory on his bicycle. These photographs show the performers as having four vertical lines painted on their torso and their legs coloured white, a representation of the uniforms worn by the soldiers of Fort Dundas. In the photograph, these performers "have taken up a military formation, deploying their white sticks like rifles. They represent a squad of British soldiers who have shot down two [Tiwi] men ... " (Poignant, 1996, p. 24).

Klaatsch (in Stehlik, 1986) also notes the body decoration of some Tiwi dancers whom he observed. The dancers were painted in white ochre, except for their hands and feet, suggesting the uniforms of the various sailors who crewed the British ships. Likewise, Basedow (1913) describes the same performance:

\textsuperscript{101} The structure, elements and purpose of the kurlama ceremony is described and discussed in more detail in a following chapter.
\textsuperscript{102} The structure, elements and purpose of the pukumwani ceremony is described and discussed in more detail in a following chapter.
\textsuperscript{103} The photographer gave the title as Melville Islanders: Doing Fort Dundas Riot Corroboree. It is not known what the Tiwi called it.
A performer rushes into the centre of the half ring and, after going through a few preliminaries, stands with one of his legs placed a short distance in front of the other and slightly fixed at the knee. Throwing his head back and looking upwards, he starts a vigorous hauling action by alternately throwing one arm out in the direction he is looking, closing the fist and making an imaginary pull right down to his loins, while at the same time the opposite arm is thrown out and returned in a similar way. Accurate time is kept by the time-beaters. This act is in imitation of the hauling-in of a sail on a European man-of-war, such as the native saw at Fort Dundas nearly a century ago. The performer now turns and runs to the opposite corner of the half-ring; the onlookers marking the time by clapping to it in a quickened beat produced with both hands upon their buttocks. The same act is repeated there several times. Next, the same hauling motion is continued, but reversed from below towards the body, in the imitation of the hauling-up of an anchor. Several short and harsh interjections suggest the orders of the commanding officers and the whole ceremony, in fact, is reproduced with a suspicion of caricature upon the strictness of naval discipline (Basedow, 1913, p. 309).

Elements of this dance remain in present Tiwi society, some one hundred and seventy years after the British departed. One of my mantani’s aminayi dance is the battleship dance, but he was unsure of its origins: “Well _ I don’t know how, why. I mean dancing _ boat ... its different. It’s a big ship, like battleship ... It's not a sailing boat” (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997). However, given that the dance is patrilineal it is more than likely that, several generations ago, Luigi’s ancestor experienced first-hand the presence of British settlement, was one of the first performers of this dance, or may have even been its choreographer. Another dance associated with the British occupancy was one depicting a fight sequence which was mentioned by Basedow (1925) and discussed by Grau (1983a).

There is one other dance, that not directly depicting Fort Dundas events, does have as its source a legacy of British
settlement, namely the buffalo. This dance was first described by Spencer (1914)\textsuperscript{104}:

on Bathurst Island, about a dozen men performed a buffalo dance. They came out to one side of the grave, on to a cleared space and there they imitated, wonderfully well, the actions of the animals. Each man had his arms lifted up and curved round to represent long horns. They rubbed themselves against the grave posts and trees, just like the animal does; browsed quietly about or pawed the earth up, with their heads down, as if they were angry. Finally, they all grouped themselves together, ran to the grave and circled round and round it (Spencer, 1914, 237).

Similarly, some Tiwi sculptures and paintings also have a connection with the Fort Dundas episode. Apart from the body painting used for dance sequences, the images of the legacy of British settlement also extends to carvings and bark paintings. One bark collected by Basedow during his visit to Bathurst and Melville Island shows a ship in full sail. Although not directly related to Fort Dundas, ships of this kind became more prevalent because of the settlement there, and later elsewhere such as Palmerston. During the life of the Fort Dundas settlement, several supply ships would have sailed along the coastline of Bathurst and Melville Island and through Apsley Strait and would have been recorded by the Tiwi. This recording is evident in the 'battleship dance', but would have also appeared as paintings on bark. Campbell noted that the huts that he saw were a sheet of bark "formed into a shed, or mere roof, open at each end ... [with] ... several of them ornamented inside by figures drawn with pipe clay" (Campbell, 1834, p. 137).

\textsuperscript{104} Spencer also filmed and photographed the Tiwi. In 1997, some eighty-six years later after Spencer, I was able to watch a video copy of some footage of Spencer's film with a mantani and a couple of his companions. They were able to identify all but one of the dances.
The Fort Dundas event is also recorded in Tiwi story. Doubtless there would have been many stories generated from the events that took place during the life of the British settlement, however, many of them are now are no longer known. Nevertheless, one story does exist in print that recounts the capture by the troops under Campbell's command of a Tiwi man who stubbornly resisted his captors. His name was Tambu.

He came all the way from Mingaru which is a place on Melville Island. He walked from that place to Kulampini where he met some people who were camping there. He continued on his journey to Garden Point [now Pularumpi], got on a canoe and headed for Wuranku on Bathurst Island. During his journey he came across a ship. He was then captured as a prisoner. This was the first time he saw white people.105 They bought him back to Fort Dundas [near Pularumpi], and put him in the cell, which was underground. It was then night time when they decided to have a party.106 They kept one man to stay guard. The party went on for hours, and so the guard had pity for Tambu and set him free.107 Without saying anything to the guard, he ran away and he swam across to Harris Island, and then to Tuwaniyang, and then back to Garden Point. He then walked back to his people at Kulampini, and told them how he was captured by white man (Francis Butcher Tippaklippa in Pascoe, 1990, p. 7).

The documenting of Cooper and the Iwaidja buffalo shooters impact on Melville Island is evident across several textual activities - story, song, dance, and art. The following account is an example of the oral tradition:

Parlingarri, it was a long time ago. Bishop Gsell wasn’t here108, only Joe Cooper.109 Joe Cooper was here.

105 Tambu’s date of capture was noted by Campbell as being the 8 September 1827. The fact that it was the first time Tambu had seen ‘white people’ seems to support the view that much of the hostility was between the British and localized groups.
106 The party was most probably a wake for Lieutenant Hick’s wife who was buried earlier that day. Also, there would have been a high level of uneasiness throughout the settlement as Gold and Green were killed later that afternoon.
107 Other versions of this story has Tambu breaking the chains and running away, or slipping out off the chains because he had stopped eating and had become skinny (Lefort, 1983). The date of Tambu’s escape was 2 November, 1827 suggesting that he was a prisoner of the British for over eight weeks.
108 Gsell arrived on Bathurst Island in June 1911.
109 Cooper had returned in 1905.
Bishop Gsell wasn’t here, he wasn’t here. Bishop Gsell, he wasn’t here, only Joe Cooper. Bishop Gsell wasn’t here, only Joe Cooper. Joe Cooper was here and bring a lotta people from mainland. From mainland, everywhere. From Cape Don, from everywhere there. Cape Don mob, Iwaidja. Iwaidja people he brought here, Iwaidja people. Iwaidja people he brought here. They didn’t understand everything, these people here, all Aboriginal people - Tiwi people, they never understand.\textsuperscript{110}

Only Joe Cooper come here, spoil everybody. He shoot everybody, he shoot people and take a girl. Joe Cooper, he was here. That’s why he shoot buffalo there. Kuwa, shoot ‘em all, take ‘em all a girl. A lot of girl they didn’t want to give. Yes! They shoot Tiwi people.\textsuperscript{111} Tiwi people, they shoot Tiwi people. First Bishop Gsell wasn’t here, he wasn’t. Still in Darwin. This Joe Cooper - he’s mad. Joe Cooper shoot all the people, Tiwi people shoot.

And one, my uncle, my uncle - his people, his son, all his son, people shoot ‘em, take all the girl. Bishop Gsell wasn’t here, but my uncle, my uncle, my uncle was there, my uncle. He not from here, he from Snake Bay, my uncle - he from Snake Bay, he’s got five brothers. Smart too! Shoot a lot of people - Joe Cooper. Take all the girls. My uncle, my uncle Jaby, his father, he was there too, he was young, he never die yet.

I go shortcut now, shortcut.\textsuperscript{112} This, my uncle, all these people here, they were still there. My uncle, his son. They ride ‘em a horse, ride a horse, all these people here ride a horse.\textsuperscript{113} They gotta gun. They had a gun. These people here ride ‘em horse, shoot all these people. They shoot all these people, Tiwi people.

Then my uncle’s son he grabbed that tree, grabbed the tree, he hide himself in the tree, in the corner. They passing through, they passing through. They rode on top, he was inside. My uncle’s son, his son, he was a big man, he was a big man. He was strong. He was a healthy. He was strong and healthy. Get a tree, pull it down. He was a healthy, pretty strong, strong. The tree, tree, pull it down, hide underneath that tree.

He was hiding himself, these were horses. People gotta gun just pass through. He went underneath, hiding himself in a tree, ride across tree - big tree. He was hiding himself. They passing through. Horses, horses. They had a gun. He hide himself inside. They passing through, that tree, big tree there, he hide himself inside. He was strong, pretty strong - my uncle’s son. They went pass through.

\textsuperscript{110} Tiwi could not comprehend the invasion by another Aboriginal tribe, who were supported by a murrinjandi and his supply of Martini Henry rifles. The Tiwi referred to the Cobourg Peninsula Aborigines as Tarula (lightning), in reference to these rifles (Pry, 1949).

\textsuperscript{111} The shooting was carried out by Cooper and the Iwaidja for several different reasons.

\textsuperscript{112} Duncan indicates that he will give an abbreviated account.

\textsuperscript{113} Horses were introduced by Cooper.
This long time ago when Joe Cooper, when Joe Cooper stay here, they had a gun. He should have killed that tree, tree, tree there, down there, tree, all round down here - inside. He hide himself in the tree, in that corner of that big tree you know that? He hide himself inside. That horse on top. He hide himself. He was strong, strong.

Afterward, afterward, after, my uncle, my uncle. He never die my uncle yet, he never die yet, he still young, he still strong. I don’t know what his name. I don’t know him. Ah, I don’t know his name now. Snake Bay, that’s his country, Snake Bay. My uncle is a strong. But lot of people he’s shooting - Joe Cooper, Joe Cooper. A lot of people, Tiwi people. Shoot ‘em some girl, he take all the girls.

That man, I don’t know what’s his name, I don’t know him. My uncle’s son, I don’t know what’s his name. He gotta five kid, five brothers. Five brothers. And aah, afterwards .. after, after. He had five brothers, five brothers. Afterwards, Joe Cooper finished. Joe Cooper still alive. Afterwards, after. Bishop Gsell was here. Bishop. Bishop, he was Father, he was a priest. He was a priest.

He killed a lot of people eh! Joe Cooper. He was a priest - Bishop Gsell, he’s a priest. "Now", he said "now, don’t kill anybody". The priest said, "Stop!" Bishop Gsell said "Stop, you gotta stop this". Bishop Gsell he said, "You gotta stop this, don’t kill ‘em’. He wasn’t Bishop Gsell, he was a priest. He was a priest. He’s a priest. He stop that... he kick ‘em out. Bishop Gsell he kick ‘em out. "No, don’t kill anybody. Go back! don’t kill ‘em". Bishop Gsell said, "Don’t kill ‘em”.

Similarly, at least one ajipa was composed for kurlama: "Jokuba is tall. Taller still is the house of Jokuba" (Simpson, 1951, p. 133) and an aminayi dance was choreographed. This dance was based on the buffalo hunt:

The most extraordinary mimicry was the buffalo hunt dance. It was realistic to a degree. Two hundred men participated. They went through every movement connected with the hunt in the most faithful manner, and with sufficient caricature for the stage. They are marvellous actors (The Argus, 1911, p. 6).

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114 This is a reference to the Kalikalini story.
115 Gsell was appointed Bishop of Darwin in 1938.
116 Cooper left Melville Island after charges were laid against him and the Iwaidja.
The Iwaidja also introduced the use of purinjiti\textsuperscript{117} which Tiwi appropriated and used to serve their own purposes, and then abandoned once print literacy gained ascendancy. The *purinjiti* was a way of validating messages that had been communicated from one group to another through song. Pilling (1958) notes how message-stick and song became a part of communication through trouble cases. Kantilla (1992) highlights the use of message-stick in the *Kalikalini* story\textsuperscript{118}, as does Puruntatameri (1976, n.p.) in her story about the arrival of Gsell: "The men asked Mulakinya to make purinjitis. He sent them from one end of the country to the other."

Pilling (1958) states that the Tiwi accepted many elements of the Iwaidja culture, but apart from some Iwaidja words in the Tiwi language, very little of Iwaidja culture remains. One of Ryoko's photographs of the performance of the so-called 'Fort Dundas Riot' (in Poignant, 1996) shows a participant playing a *yidaki*,\textsuperscript{119} however this instrument never became part of Tiwi culture. Furthermore, Basedow's (1913) photographs of bark paintings shows the Iwaidja-inspired technique of hand stencilling, but again this was never added to the Tiwi repertoire.

5.5 *NIMARRA*

The Tiwi encounters with *murrintawi* in *murrakupuni* further highlight the ways in which textual artefacts were used by *murrintawi* to position Tiwi as uncivilised, and hence establish a pretext for the civilising and Christianising phases. The power of print literacy to dispossess and colonise is evident in the Fort Dundas texts.

\textsuperscript{117} Message stick.
\textsuperscript{118} Discussed more fully in a later chapter.
\textsuperscript{119} A Gupapuyngu word for didgeridoo.
However, other texts contributed to the colonisation process especially those that portrayed Tiwi as wild and uncivilised, and hence established a pretext for invasion and occupation of murrakupuni.

From this historical moment, Tiwi emerged with both a pragmatic and creative response to the encounters. The Tiwi continued to demonstrate that they were prepared to engage in discourse with murrintawi in order to exploit new technologies. Axes in particular were still highly prized. Additionally, other technologies such as the purinjiti were acculturated by the Tiwi and remained in use until superseded by a more powerful textual artefact - print literacy. On the other hand, the yidaki was rejected. The Tiwi were essentially creative in dealing with the new experiences through incorporating elements and representations of the encounters into cultural forms.

Although this historical moment is characterised, in part, by violence, it was not the determining factor in the relationships between Tiwi and murrintawi. The Tiwi showed a willingness to interact with the murrintawi, and through this interaction developed creative and pragmatic responses.
CHAPTER 6

CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION:

MIJINIRIYI TO MANJATAWUWI¹²⁰

Bring all the people from bush, bring 'em here
(pers. comm., Duncan, 1997)

6.0 PAKINYA

By the early years of this century, murrintawi had made a
deliberate, systematic and successful attempt at establishing a
permanent presence in murrakupuni. Intrusions by government and
missionaries were given credibility and authority through a plethora
of government acts, ordinances and policies. These were enforced
through the capacity of a Catholic Mission on Bathurst island. The
aims of this intrusion were to subjugate and regulate Tiwi lives and
in the process, shape them into "useful members of society".

The emphasis by mission and government was to Christianise and
civilise Tiwi society through religious practices and industrial
processes. The Tiwi response continued to be both creative and
pragmatic.

6.1 THE CRADLE OF THE MISSION

It is Christmas Eve, several years ago, and I am attending
midnight mass in the elevated wooden church. The inside of the church
is painted with jilimara¹²¹, particularly around the altar. Along the
sides of the church, high up above the wooden-slatted windows are

¹²⁰ Missionary to police.
¹²¹ Colour, design.
plaster depictions of the Stations of the Cross. I notice that one stage is missing and in its place is a baby's booty hanging from the hook. The statues of Joseph and Mary at the back of the church have been recently painted. Both have electric blue eyes. The service begins with a group of male Tiwi dancers, dressed in red pantirriwini\textsuperscript{122} and holding a bundle of spears, leading a small group down the aisle singing a welcoming song. As they reach the altar a series of short aminayi dances are performed before the Catholic ritual commences. During the service, hymns are sung and prayers are recited in both English and Tiwi. At the end of mass the concluding hymn is sung heartily by the congregation. I listen attentively in attempt to recognise some of the lyrics. Some words register, but I realise it's not Tiwi. It's Latin.

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Spencer believed that the successful establishment of the Catholic mission on Bathurst Island was due to Cooper's influence and "pacification" (Mulvaney & Calaby, 1985, p. 271). François Xavier Gsell M.S.C.\textsuperscript{123}, arrived in Darwin in 1906 and after spending several years there as parish priest turned his attention to a new objective, "the conversion of the aborigines" (Gsell, 1955: 19).

In 1909 Gsell wrote to the Government Resident, Charles Herbert, proposing a Roman Catholic Mission be established for the "natives". Gsell stated that "to make it a success it must be carried on a suitable ground not too far away from civilised country, and yet sufficiently protected against unwholesome experience" (AA CRS Al

\textsuperscript{122} Loin cloth.
\textsuperscript{123} Missionarius Sacratissimi Cordis (Missionary of the Sacred Heart).
Herbert response was guarded, perhaps with an eye to the development of the Island under the Northern Territory Tropical Products Act, 1904. In fact four fourteen-year leases of 5,000 acres each were later granted after a total of 50,000 acres on Bathurst Island was “thrown open” for lease on July 11, 1910. These leases were granted, subject to several conditions, to four murintawi: Fielder, Bell, Blesser and Shepherd. During the first three years one twenty-fifth of the acreage had to be planted and roads surveyed and made. These leases were later rescinded as conditions were not met and the appropriate documentation not received (AA CRS A1 1938/33126). Probably with the prospect of “throwing open” Bathurst Island for leases in mind, Herbert raised concern about making the whole of Bathurst island a reserve and instead suggested a small excision:

it is, however, a matter for consideration whether an island in such close and convenient proximity to Port Darwin, and of which but little is known, be wholly formed into an Aboriginal reserve. I think it would be beneficial for the natives if a portion of Bathurst island (say about 100 square miles) were declared an Aboriginal reserve (A1 1938/33126).

Gsell was not satisfied with this reply and continued to lobby for a mission to be established. In a letter to new Government Resident Mitchell, which was then forwarded to the Minster of the Northern Territory, Gsell outlined the purpose of the mission:

As it is acknowledged by every fair-minded man one of the most urgent needs of the Northern Territory is the provision of some sort for the moral and social betterment of the aboriginal race, and every earnest effort in this way is entitled to the hearty support of all. Being at the head of the Roman Catholic community in this part, it is my duty to see that my people do their utmost to help their less fortunate brethren out of their degraded state. In their name, and with their assistance, as well with the assistance of all generous and broad-minded people, I intend to open an
institution for the benefit of the aborigines. This institution will be in the shape of an industrial and agricultural school, where the natives would receive, together with a moderate literary and rich religious training, all the attainments that would make of them useful members of society. In order to make of this institution a success, a rather large and suitable land is required, but as several attempts of this kind have failed on the mainland, a large and fertile island might give greater chances of success. The only islands nearby that would suit this purpose are Bathurst and Melville Islands. Unfortunately Melville Island has been disposed of already\textsuperscript{124}, but Bathurst Island is still or almost free, and could be turned into a native reserve where this institution for the betterment of the natives could be carried on (AI 1938/33126).

Gsell was subsequently granted 10,000 acres for the establishment of Catholic Mission (AA CRS AI 1640 1910/570)\textsuperscript{125} but the rest of Bathurst Island remained open for lease applications. This was gazetted on 10 November, 1910, in the South Australian Government Gazette. The Catholic Mission society was granted a one year permit with a right of renewal for twenty-one consecutive years, provided that the country was used for Aboriginal mission purposes only, and their work was favourably reported on by the Chief Protector (AA CRS AI 1938/33126)\textsuperscript{126}.

Not content with this, Gsell lobbied Baldwin Spencer, the recently appointed Special Commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines, for the whole of Bathurst Island to be declared an Aboriginal reserve. Spencer wrote to the Minister for External Affairs, Atlee Hunt, saying that such a proposal would be beneficial as "natives could be kept free from any chance of contact with white men or Asians" (AA CRS AI 1938/33126). Consequently, Bathurst

\textsuperscript{124} The whole of Melville Island was leased to E.O. Robinson.
\textsuperscript{125} On the expiry of the twenty-one year period a lease was issued covering the same area of land. It was issued on 11 April 1932, and renewed April, 1953 (AA CRS A452 1961/5702).
\textsuperscript{126} On the expiry of the twenty-one year period a lease was issued covering the same area of land. It was issued on 11 April 1932, and renewed April, 1953 (AA CRS A452 1961/5702).
Island was proclaimed an Aboriginal Reserve, less 20,000 acres which were still under lease\textsuperscript{127}. After further deliberation by the Minister for External Affairs and the Northern Territory Administrator, J. A. Gilruth, and considering that the four leases on northern Bathurst island were not "completed", the whole of the Island was declared an Aboriginal reserve. The granting of the lease for the whole of Bathurst Island as an Aboriginal Reserve appeared in the Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, No 3, 18 January, 1913 under the Northern Territory Aboriginals Act (1910). The schedule was referred to as Wongoak Aboriginal Reserve from a suggestion made by Baldwin Spencer (AA CRS A1 1912/5019).

The year of Gsell's occupation of murrakupuni coincided with a shift of the administration of the Northern Territory from the responsibility of the South Australian Government to the Commonwealth. As noted earlier, Basedow was appointed the first Chief Protector of Aborigines under Commonwealth administration and was followed by Spencer, who, coincidentally, visited the mission on Bathurst Island for one day in July 1911 and took Gsell on a boat trip up Apsley Strait (Spencer, 1928). Spencer's 1912-13 report endorsed that the principle of mission settlements should concentrate on educating children away from traditional ways towards agricultural and related industrial pursuits. The report stressed the need for care in selecting mission sites, so that only kindred tribes were associated, and endorsed Bathurst Island as a mission reservation (Mulvaney & Calaby, 1985, p. 273).

\textsuperscript{127} Gazetted 16 March, 1912.
In April 1911, Gsell travelled to Melville Island and stayed at Cooper’s camp from where he could see the shores of Bathurst Island and a vision of a future mission: “my beach was more than pretty; indeed, it was splendid ... Thus Ngouyou [sic] became the cradle of the Mission and, later the station of Bathurst Island (Gsell, 1955, pp. 44-45). The beach Gsell claimed as his own was directly opposite Cooper’s camp and part of Mandiupi country (Morris, 1992), although not physically occupied at his time of landing. Gsell returned to Nguiu in June with a prefabricated house which was soon erected with the help of four Filipino men who had accompanied him in the chartered lugger. Although not immediately making contact with Tiwi, Gsell stated that he “was being watched and, most probably, discussed in the hidden depths of the forest” (Gsell, 1955, p. 51).

Gsell, possibly encouraged by the official view that sanctioned missions and their role in protectionism, and hopeful that the mission would receive financial assistance, cleared some land and erected a few buildings which were to form the physical presence of the mission.

First we built a kitchen and then, at a little distance, the store. A school followed, and then a church. Building, building, building! Perhaps it is true that one must start from clear bare land before one can realise fully all the idealism that the brain of man can put into that one word - building (Gsell, 1955, p. 51).

Later, Gsell successfully applied to the Department of External Affairs for a grant of £100 to partially cover expenses in the connection with the establishment of the mission station, and for a yearly grant of £250. His application was recommended by Basedow and

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128 Pye (1974) states that Gsell’s decision to live opposite Cooper was a wise one as Cooper provided much assistance during the early stages of the mission.
supported by Spencer (AA CRS A1 1912/9965). The yearly subsidy remained at £250 until 1932 when it was reduced to £200 per annum. From 1939 to 1948 it shared, with two other missions, a yearly subsidy ranging from £450 in 1939 to £725 in 1948. This shared arrangement ceased in 1949 when it received a separate subsidy of £500. The subsidy arrangement with the Commonwealth was granted under the condition that the mission complied with the administration's instructions in relation to education, health and housing. The mission was also subjected to regular inspections by an officer of the administration (AA CRS A431 1951/1294).

The missionaries did not arrive in force but increased gradually. Among the first, were two nuns who arrived in April 1912 bringing with them "seven part coloured boys of aboriginal descent so as to start a school" (Pye, 1975, p. 34). The Tiwi were drawn into relationships with murruntawi who were seen as a source of highly desirable goods, especially axes, flour, cloth and tobacco. The supply of high-demand goods was an obvious strategy to get Tiwi in, hence the use of tobacco by Gsell. In fact, one priest many years later emphasised the importance of tobacco as a successful strategy:

Father Cuneo was quite frank about it, "Tobacco brings them in," he said. "While parents stay here to get tobacco we have a chance to indoctrinate the children by getting them into the school" (Simpson, 1962: 139).

This is supported by the comments of one of the mission's staff who recalls the assumed power of missionaries over the Tiwi residing at Nguiu, and how tobacco was seen as a means of controlling aspects of socio-cultural life. By having control of the supply of tobacco, the mission supervisor supposed that he enforced his will:
In those days the man in charge was everything. He was the government, and he controlled the tobacco box and he could control the big fights and everything. If anybody [caused] real trouble round the place he closed the tobacco, cut them back on something of those things (NTA NTRS226 TS733).

The growth of the mission was aided by the departure of Cooper in 1916. Samuel Green, a timber cutter working on Melville Island, accused Cooper of incompetence as a Sub-Protector and of not taking adequate care of those entrusted into his protection by the government. Further, Green accused Cooper’s Iwaidja “body-guard” of abducting Tiwi women, of murder, and as being the main reason for the prevalence of venereal disease on Melville Island. An official government inquiry was held on Melville Island in 1915, which resulted in clearing Cooper of any wrong doing but led to the disarming of the Iwaidja buffalo shooters and their eventual return to the mainland (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245). This, coupled with the fact that in 1916 the lease on Melville Island had changed hands and Cooper had lost his lugger, resulted in Cooper’s departure. Cooper was replaced as Protector of Aborigines by one of Gsell’s staff – Reverend Regis Courbon (AA CRS A3 NT1918/421).

Gsell now had the monopoly on the supply of desirable goods which attracted more Tiwi to the mission site. Some Tiwi began to leave their children at the mission for short periods especially during jamutakari when food was scarce, as they were certain that the missionaries would feed the children. Moreover, some Tiwi adults were prepared to trade physical labour as a means of gaining “the material benefits of civilization which [Gsell] represented” (Krautins, 1972, p. 49). The Tiwi residing at the mission site also
came into contact with an ever increasing number of murrin\-tawi who came to the islands for various reasons, primarily commercial.

During the first five years of the mission, Gsell, through various strategies including supplying and withholding material goods, began to make some impact on Tiwi society. Gsell, sanctioned by Government policy, was able to legally act upon issues that were at odds with his Christian principles. Consequently, Gsell began to work on dismantling the "undesirable" aspects of Tiwi society. Gsell's strategy was to work through the children as he believed that "pure native children are intelligent in the main and, if taken in hand at a fairly young age, they can become useful citizens of their country" (Gsell, 1955, p. 153). He concentrated firstly on young boys, and then turned his attention to girls. Gsell abhorred the Tiwi marriage system which, as noted earlier, was based on infant bestowal and widow remarriage. This system saw all Tiwi female babies betrothed before, or as soon as, they were born, and widows remarried. The prestige of a Tiwi male partly rested in the politics of marriage betrothal. Gsell may have realised this as he systematically dismantled the marriage system by purchasing wives through supplying material goods.

The first purchase was of a young girl called Martina in 1921. Gsell purchased her for "a good blanket, a sack of my best flour, a good sharp knife, a hatchet of good-quality steel, a mirror, a handsome teapot, some gaily coloured beads, a pipe and some good tobacco, some yards of brightly patterned calico, some tins of meat and pots of treacle" (Gsell, 1955, p. 83). Many accounts of the Martina episode and the "Bishop with 150 wives" have been published
(Ritchie, 1933; Gsell, 1955; Simpson, 1962; Flynn, 1963; Pye, 1974). Later young infant girls were purchased by the mission for £2 each (AA CRS A431 1951/1294). By the 1950s the mission was keeping a record of all children on the mission with dates of birth and "totemic groupings". Before a girl married her "choice", it was cross-checked with the missions database for genealogy and relationship and to "be in accordance with tribal social set up". Once this was confirmed, approval was granted (AA CRS A452 1955/457).

In contrast to the pearlers\textsuperscript{129} who were working the shoals around Melville and Bathurst Islands and were trading goods in exchange for sexual favours and/or access rights to water supplies, Gsell did not return the women until they were married to men of their choice. This action diminished the power of the male gerontocracy. In the traditional system, a man could not expect to marry for the first time until he was well into his thirties and in most cases this would be to an elderly widow. Gsell's alternative marriage contracts increased the chances of men getting married for the first time to a same age woman at a much earlier age. These marriages were based on an agreement to the effect that the young man would not take another wife. This was supported by some Tiwi, especially the young, but often resulted in change of mind when the man reached an older age where he could expect the first of his promised wives. Hart (1954) states as an example a Tiwi named Dooley "who, having been for years a one-wife man and a Mission's favourite, inherited a second wife at around the age of forty. Dooley's decision was clear cut and highly spectacular. He accepted the second wife,\textsuperscript{129} See Morris (1968) for a detailed account of the relationship between the Tiwi and the Japanese pearlers from the 1920s to 1941. It is worth noting that not all pearling crew involved in the exchange of Tiwi women for sexual favours were Japanese- some were indentured crews from Malaya, Japan and China on luggers owned by Australian, Dutch East Indian and Japanese interests.
shook the dust of the Mission station from his feet and never set foot near it again" (Hart, 1954, p. 246).

Up until 1941, the pearlers were a constant challenge to Gsell\(^{110}\) who was obviously angered about the social and health problems caused by the sexual trade, and, on the other hand, possibly concerned about the threat the pearlers posed to his authority. C.V. Priest, a possum hunter and timberworker on Melville Island during 1929, gives a different view to that suggested by Gsell. Priest was critical of Gsell's attitude and suggests that:

Father Gsell's practise [sic] of buying female infants to rear at the mission was not fundamentally different from the practise [sic] of the Japanese buying the older women for sexual favours. The situation was loaded in favour of the Japanese, too, by the fact that they treated the Islanders as equals whereas the whites, missionaries included, treated them as inferior" (Priest, 1986, p. 23).

Furthermore, the Tiwi were not powerless in this which was "the burning issue of the day" and was hotly "debated when a number of Tiwi gathered together" (Hart, 1954, p. 246 - 249). Those who supported the Mission view were usually young men who had benefited from Gsell's marriage contracts and were in receipt of Mission-supplied tobacco, food and clothing. The men involved in the exchange with the Japanese were older polygamists and because of this were not looked upon favourably or treated as well by the Missions. In spite of Gsell's accusation of "black slave traffic" (AA CRS A431 1951/1294) there is evidence to suggest that Tiwi women were willing participants in the exchange with pearlers and that these relationships were endorsed by various Tiwi camps. Haultain, master

\(^{110}\) Gsell successfully lobbied the Commonwealth Government, and a "fast boat" was commissioned "for the purpose of assisting in the patrolling of the north coast of the Territory" (AA CRS A431 1951/1294).
of the patrol vessel the Larrakia, stated that the Tiwi "had very little to say about the subject of their womenfolk being on board" the luggers (AA CRS A1 1936/9564). There are parallels with other Aboriginal women's experiences elsewhere in the Northern Territory: Aboriginal women "went willingly to white men [and] that they enjoyed the lovemaking and the payments they received. Women exercised their own initiative, and secured 'goods, admiration and pleasure for themselves' (Bell, 1983, p. 98). Morris states that on the appearance of luggers off shore, Tiwi women knew when certain boats were coming into anchorage "during the daytime by the number painted on its side and at night by the beat of its engine" (Morris, 1968, p. 14).

The presence of the mission also acted as a catalyst for visits by other murrinlani not connected to commerce, government or Christianity. One of the first anthropologists\(^{111}\) to study Tiwi culture was Charles Hart who undertook fieldwork during 1928-29. As stated earlier, Hart was responsible for the popularisation of the name tiwi. Hart spent most of his time with four "bands" of Tiwi from the northern section of Bathurst Island and the north-central and north-western sections of Melville Island. He considered these groups to be "uncontaminated" by the influences of the Japanese pearlers or the Mission (Hart et al. 1988, pp 147-151). His study mainly focused on the prestige system of men, although the first publication was mainly descriptive.

Hart enlisted the assistance of Mariano, a Tiklauila, one of five brothers (Hart, 1954). As noted by Hart, the Tiklauila were one

\(^{111}\) Some anthropologists had contact with Tiwi in Darwin and did not visit the islands. Of these, Hart (1954) notes the work of physical anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner who made anthropometric measurements of some Tiwi at the Native Compound in Darwin during 1927.
of the "contaminated" groups having established themselves with the mission with Mariano acquiring a wife through Gsell's alternative marriage system. One of the brothers, Louis, was born around 1893, which would have made him in his early twenties during the first few years of the mission. Louis also made use of Gsell's marriage policy by marrying at an early age. However, this did not apply across siblings as Perkins (1934) notes that Louis was able to remarry an existing wife of Antonio, another brother, who had sold her to Gsell.  

Louis had five children, including ACFO Luigi's father Colin, all of whom had greater contact with the missionaries and murrinawí and who were influenced by missionary practices, especially religious instruction and education. As noted earlier in this chapter, on the arrival of the nuns a school was commenced so that by 1916 it had a population of "25 part-coloured and 40 full-blood aborigine children all of whom were boys" (Pye, 1985, pp. 34-36). After his success of purchasing a young girl by the name of Martina in 1921, a dormitory system for girls was commenced, and by 1932 there were "110 girls boarding at the convent" (Pye, 1974, p. 107). The mission education system was an endorsement of Spencer's principles in that it concentrated on educating children away from traditional ways towards Christianity, and provided training in agricultural and related industrial pursuits.

At present time there are one hundred girls in the mission, all being educated in reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, cooking, and Christian doctrine ... At a special school [the boys] receive both literary and religious instruction, in which many of them are surprisingly proficient. After school hours they are

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132 This may be a simplified Mission version of the account as Hart states that Louis was known as an "habitual and constant seducer" (Hart, 1954, p. 251). Hart states that Louis' first wife died after she was beaten by him.
trained in agriculture and different trades, in order to fit them for their future life. In buying the children the mission delivers them from all obligation of following the tribal customs and initiations; it acquires full control of them and can bring them up unmolested in the ways of Christian civilization (Ritchie & Raine, 1934, p. 35).

Moreover, it was through education that Tiwi were exposed to two other languages: Latin and English.

6.2 A HOUSE CONSCIOUSNESS

As the song commences, three of the dancers move to the centre with each one assuming a pose that either depicts a person looking through binoculars, talking on a hand held radio set, or holding a gun. Around this group circle the remaining dancers with arms outstretched. As the dance progresses the circling dancers drop to the ground one by one until there are none left. This is the 'Bombing of Darwin' dance.

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In 1928 J.W. Bleakley was commissioned by the Australian government to conduct an inquiry into the status and conditions of Aborigines in the Northern Territory. His report, in part, recommended that children of Aboriginal descent be completely separated from so-called 'tribal' Aborigines, and removed to institutions set up for this purpose. Bleakley also recommended that "half-caste children in Darwin Home, with 50 per cent or more aboriginal blood or a preponderance of other dark blood be divided between Bathurst Island and Goulburn Island missions". He stated that "the mission are very anxious to undertake this work and also to
extend their ministrations to Melville Island" (Bleakley, 1929, pp. 
16-20). This recommendation was met with some opposition from the 
Chief Protector Dr. Cecil Cook who was extremely critical of the 
proposal and also critical of missions per se, especially in terms of 
government funding. Cook was critical of the Mission's strategy of 
providing material goods to entice Aborigines into missions, stating 
that the such tactics were in part to blame for the Japanese pearling 
problem. Some members of the public also had corresponding views. A 
member of the public, N. Hertslet, in response to a speech given by 
Bishop Gsell in Melbourne, wrote to the local Federal member 
expressing concern about the involvement of the mission in the trade 
of women. Hertslet reasoned that such a practice which approves of 
the selling of women, from a Tiwi perspective "must make his selling 
of women to Japanese luggers, quite a legal, in fact a Christian act" 
(AA CRS A431 1951/1294).

The Native Affairs Branch established a control post at Garden 
Point in 1939 to monitor the movement of pearling fleets (Morris, 
1968) and to distribute government-supplied rations "in quantities 
sufficient to draw the Tiwi away from the Japanese" (Goodale, 1971, 
p. 12). Bleakley's recommendation of establishing a home for "half-
caste children" was met, and in 1940 a Catholic Mission administered 
home was established at Garden Point\textsuperscript{133} "for part Aboriginal children 
born as a result of contact with the pearlers and others" (Forrest, 
1993, p. 20). However, due to the outbreak of World War II, the home 
was scaled down. The home was evacuated and the children and Sisters 
were relocated to Carrieton in South Australia until the war's end. 
They then moved back to Garden Point (Pye, 1974).

\textsuperscript{133} For a history of this home see Brogan (1990).
On Bathurst Island the advent of war resulted in the abandonment of the mission as the “Catholic authorities realised they could not guarantee a food supply to the natives” (Hart et al., 1988, p. 114) and the Tiwi at the mission were sent bush to support themselves. War also meant that Tiwi came in contact with military personnel on the islands. Several defence force bases were established: one large emergency airstrip at Cape Fourcroy on Bathurst island and an army-naval base at Milikapiti (Goodale, 1971). Many other Tiwi worked for the Defence Forces in Darwin. Tiwi also came into contact with Japanese, but this time not as trading partners but as potential enemies in warfare.

Luigi’s aminayi was also involved in the capture of Japanese prisoners. According to some popular accounts, on capturing the Japanese Louis went back to the mission to request a rifle and bullets in order to escort the prisoners in (Pye, 1974; Flynn; 1963). Fr. McGrath refused saying that he was short of ammunition. Louis suggested that one bullet would do because if the prisoners were kept in a straight line then a .303 bullet would go through all of them. One missionary has suggested that Louis was high on opium at the time - "only a man who was off his head could do that" (NTA NTRS 226 TS733).

Kerinauia (1986) also writes about Louis’ contribution to the war effort which included rescuing the crew of an allied fighter plane off the coast of Cape Fourcroy and the burial of a Filipino crew from the US armament ship the Don Isidro (Pye, 1974). Louis also exerted his property rights clearly defending his country and
protesting over the access of murrin	awi without first being consulted. Remains of the American encampment at Cape Fourcroy are still evident today, as Luigi explained:

Well back in the war days, in the forties my father told me this. A couple of buildings and wire, barbed wire, and all that. Tins, drums. He told me about it, about the war. And told me about my grandfather Louis, used to be based with those American Army. So those things I learnt are still sitting there, Jikilarrwu. Drums, old concrete slab, and wire, barbed wire, and mesh (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

The war had provided the Tiwi with an increased opportunity to gain first-hand experience of murrin	awi culture, as many Tiwi were hired to work at defence force bases either on Bathurst and Melville Island and in or around Darwin. For some, this also meant participating in recreational activities, especially Australian Rules football, and experiencing other aspects of murrin	awi culture such as movies and radio. For others, especially those out bush and not in the employ of defence forces, it meant a return to a more self-sufficient lifestyle reliant on bush tucker.

Prior to World War Two, a meeting was convened and attended by Commonwealth and State authorities on Aboriginal affairs at which, amongst other things, it was proposed that missions would be granted subsidies if they "agreed to comply with any instruction of the authorities controlling Aboriginal affairs. This meant that missions would comply with regulations covering matters such as housing, hygiene, medical and hospital facilities, education and training" (Cummings, 1990, p. 31). In 1939 Minister for Interior, John McEwen announced a 'New Deal' for Aborigines in which future policy regarding Aborigines would be aimed at transforming Aborigines "from
a nomadic tribal state to full citizens of a civilised community" (Austin, 1993). To administer this policy a Native Affairs Branch was established under the directorship of E. W. P. Chinnery. However, with the onset of war the implementation of the 'New Deal' became a low priority. In 1948 a conference was convened by Commonwealth authorities with missions in the Northern Territory to discuss issues in relation to the funding and administering of mission operations\textsuperscript{134}.

After the war, Louis and his family moved back to the mission and he assisted in its building program. Stores and building materials were salvaged from various sites with five barges of equipment being obtained from Cape Fourcroy. A large amount of this equipment was corrugated iron which was to form the basis of building a settlement of "native huts" (Hart et al. 1988). To encourage a more permanent residence at the mission, and to work towards achieving assimilation policy objectives which would see Tiwi live "after the European manner" (AA CRS A452 1955/457. Lambert) an extensive building program was undertaken by the mission. A presbytery, convent, schools and hospital were built, as well as some houses for Tiwi families in the hope of developing a "house consciousness" (AA CRS A452/1955 457. Evans).

By the late 1940s Luigi's father was attending the mission school and was participating in Catholic rituals of mass, baptism and confirmation. The boy's school had been established during the first years of the mission with the curriculum and the teaching concentrating on basically two aspects: indoctrination and

\textsuperscript{134} Bathurst Island mission receipts show that for 1949 the mission received the following government payments: government subsidy £500; aerodrome maintenance, Department of Civil Aviation, £100; teacher's allowance, £250; and child endowment payments, £2631/10s. The total receipts from child endowment payments from 1941 to 1949 was a total of £22,671. (AA CRS A431 1951/1294. Annual reports, 1941 to 1949)
assimilation. Some years later, the girls’ school was established after Gsell had purchased his “first wife” and became the basis of the dormitory system. In its early years the teaching of Catholicism was the primary role of education combined with training in domestic work and manual skills along gender lines: “Religion would always be there. Religion first every morning before we go in.” (pers. comm. Emily, 1992).

In 1951, the Bathurst Island Mission stated policy was roundly criticised by C.R. Lambert, Secretary of the Commonwealth’s Native Affairs Branch. The mission’s policy was:

1. to protect the aborigines from detribalizing influences outside the reserve; 2. to provide constant medical care for the sick and to cater especially for the upbringing of the children and the care of mothers and infants; 3. to provide regular schooling for the children and after primary schooling to instruct the girls in home-crafts and infant welfare, and the boys in manual trade; 4. to encourage the aborigines to build more suitable houses by providing their own timber for saw-milling; 5. to develop the saw-milling industry and to encourage the development of carpentry and boat-building; 6. to promote a sense of greater responsibility by allocating to young married couples a garden area and livestock; 7. to explore the possibility of large scale farming projects if suitable soils can be found; 8. in general, to encourage the building up of a self-contained community of aborigines who, without losing what is best in their old traditions and without being uprooted from their tribal grounds, may as civilized Christians lead contented and industrious lives (AA CRS A431 1951/1294. Review Report, 1950).

Lambert accused the mission of aiming to “build a wall around Bathurst island and run it as a tribal community cloister”. The mission’s policy was at odds with the Government’s official policy of assimilation. This policy’s aim was to:

(a) develop the resources of the island so that they may support settlement after the European manner; (b) educate the natives to the European way of life and train them for employment; (c) gradually settle on the
island, after the European manner, those for whom a self-supporting means of livelihood can be found there; (d) gradually move from employment in other districts those for whom self-supporting occupations cannot be found on the island; (e) arrange education and employment placement so that it is organized to meeting requirements according to opportunities available; (f) ultimately aim to do away with the reserve and station except in so far the latter is required for Christian purposes, the care of the aged, infirm and sick (AA CRS A452 1955/457 Bathurst Island Mission Review Reports).

Lambert clearly thought that the operations of the missions was at odds with the stated policy and that the mission should comply with the Department of Native Affairs functions which were:

providing for the care, welfare, education and advancement of the natives are statutory responsibilities of the Director of Native Affairs. Those functions should only be exercised through the mission, where the mission is willing to, and does in fact carry out the policy and directions of the administration (AA CRS A452 1955/457).

In order to continue to receive government subsidies, the mission took some action particularly in regard to education. Prior to government insistence and as a condition of receiving subsidies, the teaching of English was primarily for indoctrination purposes. Gsell signalled "his willingness to conform to the curriculum for native education which has been drawn up by the Commonwealth Office of Education" (AA CRS A431 1951/1294). In 1950 special responsibility for education of Aborigines was assumed by Commonwealth Office of Education, however, with the creation of new Department of Territories and the passing of the Welfare Act, education of Aborigines was transferred from Commonwealth Office of Education to Welfare Branch (NT) of Department of Territories. At the mission
school, the dormitory system\textsuperscript{135} for post-primary girls became fixed and the teaching of religion continued to dominate. However, the school curricula became much broader and consisted of:

reading, writing, arithmetic, phonetics, poetry, speech training, and religious instruction in junior classes, with drawing, nature study and geography added in the senior classes ... In the afternoons girls do handicrafts, work on mat weaving, sewing and gardening whilst the boys perform gardening work only. Senior girls assist in the kitchen and laundry. Hygiene instruction is included in all classes ... In addition to the daily religious instruction given to the schoolchildren, the following religious exercises are undertaken: Friday evening, 6.45 pm - Benediction; Sunday morning 7.00 am - Mass; Sunday 3.00 pm - Benediction; Saturday evening - confession (AA CRS A452/1955 457. Evans).

As a result of attending school, Tiwi children participated in sports such as Australian Rules football, basketball and athletics (Pye, 1974). It was through these activities that younger Tiwi began to experience murrin intawi culture, other than at the mission, by competing in Darwin and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{136} School attendance also meant that English literacy skills\textsuperscript{137} were becoming fixed in Tiwi society.

For many years after the war, Tiwi men were employed by the Australian Defence Forces.\textsuperscript{138} Some Tiwi also went to work on the other missions at Daly River and Port Keats, including Luigi’s father who met his wife there.

\textsuperscript{135} The building of a boy’s school and girl’s school was completed in the mid-1950s. When the girls reached puberty they were placed in the dormitory. The boys had a separate school.

\textsuperscript{136} This was more so possible for Tiwi males through football competitions. The Darwin based St. Mary’s teams from the 1950s onwards were made up of many Tiwi men. It was originally formed in 1952 as a government initiative for the Tiwi in Darwin (Forrest, 1993).

\textsuperscript{137} Depending on the availability of resources, children either printed on slate or wrote on the ground (pers. comm. Emily, 1989).

\textsuperscript{138} In 1961, of the two hundred and nine males aged between fifteen and sixty, twenty five worked for the Army, and thirty three worked for the RAAF in Darwin (AA CRS A452 1961/5702 Review Inspection Report).
My mother's really from mainland, Bulman, Katherine area. My father worked at Daly River before I was born, that's where he found mum. Well long time used to work for mission, in olden days, mission. And he went there and worked there for a couple of years, and that's where he found mum there. Brought her back to here (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

The 1950s saw an increase in visits by anthropologists and artists to Bathurst and Melville Island, some of whose publications assisted in portraying Tiwi in a more sensitive light. Visitors included Ronald and Catherine Berndt (1950), Arnold Pilling (1953-54), Charles Mountford and Jane Goodale (1954). Their publications presented a more complex reading of Tiwi society, including studies related to social and political organization as well as cultural practices. These publications were in contrast to the more populists accounts appearing in magazines such as 'Walkabout' and the Catholic journals 'Annals'. Noted photographer Axel Poignant and artists Russell Drysdale and Tony Tuckson spent sometime on Bathurst and Melville Island during the 1950s.

At the same time, Tiwi were spending time away from Bathurst and Melville Island either to work or for other reasons, including artistic and cultural events. The most noted was Robert Wilson [Tudawali] a Tiwi man from Melville Island who co-starred in Charles Chauvel's film Jedda. Some Tiwi were employed by the missions in agricultural, saw-milling and stock-work activities, and wages were "paid to workers at the rate of from five to ten shillings per week depending on the hours worked" (AA CRS A452 1955/457). In 1959, Social Service benefits became available for Tiwi on the same basis as other members of the Australian community.\footnote{139 Social Security cheques were paid directly to the Mission which converted them to goods and distributed them accordingly (Stanley, 1983).}
By the early 1960s a Select Committee on Voting Rights was convened to consider voting rights for Aborigines which resulted in 1963 Aborigines being eligible to vote at Federal and Territory elections, although enrolment was not compulsory. The policy of assimilation continued to inform decision making on Aboriginal affairs although shifts had occurred to loosen the degree of control by outside agencies. Tiwi were increasingly worldly as they continued to travel away from the community for work and artistic pursuits and became noticed in various sectors of wider Australian society. For example, in 1963 a group of 20 Tiwi dancers performed for the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust program in Melbourne; Tiwi art was being exhibited in southern states; Tudawali travelled to Wave Hill in 1966 to support the Gurindji people pastoral strike; and David Kantilla was a successful AFL footballer with a South Australian A Grade team and represented South Australia several times competing interstate.

6.3 WE'RE GOING TO TAKE YOU TO OUR LAND

The small dinghy crashes into the swell that has picked up since we rounded the head after leaving Port Hurd and our camp next to the Barra Base. I am sitting next to Luigi’s brother Costa who is driving the boat. Standing at the front are Luigi and Hunter, who are making some repairs to the dugong spear. Periodically, the fuel drum directly behind me tips over and splashes fuel along the bottom of the dinghy where it mixes with the saltwater that seems to be flowing in at an alarming rate. Each time this happens, I quickly right the drum and continue to bail, watching nervously as lighted cigarettes are passed back and forth. Both Luigi and Hunter gaze
intently towards the sea and occasionally Luigi calls out to me the names of locations as we pass them. Every now and then, Luigi signals to Costa to slow down as he searches the expanse of water for tell tale signs of dugong. These locations are pastures on the seabed where the dugong graze. After several minutes of searching, we speed up to the next one which to me is indiscernible from the last. I am told to look for bubbles in the expanses of rolling seas as this indicates a dugong’s trail left in its wake from its hind flippers. After a couple of hours, where several sightings are made but no dugong are captured, Costa turns the boat back towards our camp. On our return, we have hot damper that Mary Lynne has made and cups of tea. The women have been more successful in their hunting and there are some piranga and kirimpika in the fire. On a cassette recorder a tape of contemporary Tiwi songs, Ngawayati, is playing. Several of the songs were written by Luigi and are performed by him and his band. Two-year old Tim-Tam, the adopted son of Luigi, entertains us by dancing. Everyone yells out to him giving him encouragement and advice as he performs his aminayi dance, yirrikipayi.

* * *

In 1963 Luigi was born to Colin and Jenny, their first boy.\[140\] The family lived in a hut along Apsley Strait, with several other families, and Luigi can recall watching the mission boats coming in to deliver supplies.

\[140\] Before Jenny had met Colin she had a child from a relationship with a murrintani. This child, a girl, was taken away and has recently re-established contact with Jenny. The member of Luigi’s family are his half-sister, as well as his younger brother Costa, and an adopted brother and sister.
Along that beach there used to be swamp, swamp area. We had tin houses along the strait. And I used to sit there and watch this sailing boat, cargo sailing boat. I used to see them bringing this jetty down with that tractor low down to the beach. And this cargo ship would come in a pull up to the side. Jetty _ pulled down and up by a tractor. Take him down and pull him out when started to take off (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

Colin worked for the missions as a handyman repairing fridges and generators, as well as doing carpentry work. Jenny worked for the hospital as a cleaner for about eight or nine years doing the hospital laundry. As a child Luigi became aware of murrakupuni, ngirimipi, yiminga and yoyi through interactions with his family and the land.

When I was kid my grandmother, C* and W* used to teach me this one your uncle, this one your grandson, this one your _ like that, teach me. What I call them is my family, tribe. During bush holidays they have this month break, school break and people tell their kids "Oh, we're going to take you to our land." And they say, "What land?" "Oh, your father's father land, like you call him grandfather." That's when I knew, when I went out to Fourcroy, Jikilarruwu. That's when I start to know which land and coast are your country. I've been taught by my father. Well he just tell me stories about it, and _ yeh, like Kukuni that's where a lots of us are staying, oh might be a long time as a kid at that place, Kukuni. By telling me, telling me not showing me or walk around but just telling me (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

By the time Luigi first attended school, numerous changes to Aboriginal affairs had occurred. At a national level, the concept of wardship for Aborigines had been removed; the Northern Territory Association Act allowing the formation of government-recognised Aboriginal associations was passed; the Licensing Ordinance was amended to remove restraint on Aborigines obtaining alcohol; and, in 1967 eighty-nine per cent of Australian voters agreed to "referendum proposals that Aborigines should be included in the census count and
that the federal government should be given power to legislate for Aborigines" (Broome, 1982, p. 178). This decision led to the development of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Locally, a 'Tribal Council' was set up to have more say in the future developments of the mission. In 1969, there was a dramatic increase in wages when the government introduced the Training Allowance Scheme which saw minimum wages rise from $4.50 per week to $19.00 for women, and $25.00 for men (Stanley, 1983). Employment opportunities also increased with the establishment of Bima Wear and Tiwi Designs. The introduction of the Training Allowance Scheme also led to an increase of Tiwi being employed in the schools as teachers and, perhaps as a result, the emergence of Tiwi culture and language as part of the curriculum.

Luigi's days at school\footnote{In 1972 the dormitory was closed and a new system of schooling introduced. The primary school was co-educational with separate post-primary girls and post-primary boys schools - this is still the current system.} were spent studying subjects recommended in the Watts and Gallacher report (1964) although with an emphasis on religious instruction. Also, Luigi participated in school plays that were performed for the community on regular occasions.

Well, in that school we were _ one day we were preparing for our concert, we were doing a concert for the school. And we was doing this play, it's from a book _ the boy, the peach boy. Oh, mamataruwa, that story of mamataruwa _ I can't remember that. It's a story but we were dressed up and make up for this concert (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

Despite employing Tiwi teachers, the language of instruction was English, and apart from the cultural days the content of the curriculum reflected mainstream Australia concepts and values. However, the fact that Tiwi were employed as teachers meant that the
vernacular now had a place in the school's operations, albeit in a non-formal sense. Although Tiwi teachers taught mainstream subjects, elements of Tiwi culture continued to emerge as in the case of traditional arts.

Well in my class, F*, she's staying over at Garden Point, she used to be like my Tiwi teacher... and when I went to Boy's School I had Tiwi teachers there a lot, A*, L*, T* and a couple of those who passed away. They all, they teach different. Different sort, like one day we go to wood carving because A* used to work at the woodwork. Ahh, what do you call that stuff? Yeh woodwork, over at manual trade, that's where we do our woodwork. A* was good at that. He taught us carving (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

While Luigi was still in primary school, events at a national level would commence the transformation of school curricula and the schools' operations. Prior to the study of Tiwi language by Osborne, which he undertook between 1966 and 1972, the only linguist to have studied the language in any detail was Capell (1967). Basic word lists had been compiled as early as Spencer (1914) and apart from a few exceptions such as Fr. McGrath, the Tiwi language was never learnt by murrintawi, and it was certainly not taught in the schools. As a result of his studies, Osborne (1974) described a Tiwi grammar, wrote down several Tiwi stories and compiled a dictionary. Parallel to Osborne's work, the Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL] was studying the language with the aim to produce a Tiwi translation of the bible (Osborne, 1974).

With the change of federal government in 1972 came progressive policies leading to the introduction of bilingual education in some Aboriginal schools in the Northern Territory. The assimilation policy that had dominated Aboriginal affairs for 20 years was replaced by the policy of self-determination. The policy was based on a
recognition that Aboriginal people had to be actively involved in the
decision making about their own lives. In 1975 a bilingual programme
was commenced at the co-educational junior school under the direction
of an appointed teacher linguist and with the assistance of an SIL
linguist who had been working with some Tiwi on bible translation
(Lee, 1987). Also, Tiwi were employed as literacy workers to collect
and transcribe oral texts, to assist in graded primer production, and
to illustrate the various materials being produced (Gale, 1992). The
bilingual program officially recognised Tiwi as the first language of
instruction. Tiwi language was to be used in the early primary years
as a foundation for vernacular literacy with a gradual introduction
of English by mid-primary. Tiwi cultural studies were also to have a
comprehensive role in the school curricula. Moreover, the
establishment of the Nguiu Nginingawila Literature Production Centre
to produce publications was the impetus for Tiwi to be involved in
recording and writing literature.\(^{142}\)

However, the development of a bilingual and bicultural
education programs was in its embryonic phase as Luigi progressed
through primary and post-primary school, completing towards the end
of the 1970s. By the time Luigi started work in his first job several
developments at a local level had occurred. Up to the 1970s the
mission was responsible for the operations of all the important
economic activities and services, however, by 1973 a Nguiu Town
council had been formed and several Tiwi organisations were in
operation. These included the Bathurst Island Housing Association,

\(^{142}\) Of the 250+ entries listed as educational readers in the NT Parks and Wildlife
Commission's (1996) *Tiwi Islands Bibliography*, 181 have been written by 35
individual Tiwi authors with another 20 by Tiwi co-authors. Topics include
education, history, language, religion, cultural and social studies, and health.
However, Tiwi authors are not restricted to local publications. For an analysis of
Tiwi writing on educational issues see Frawley (1995).

The mission's main functions had devolved to the provision of religious support and guidance, and the running of the schools and the hospital (Stanley, 1983). The implementation of the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act meant that Tiwi were represented by the Northern Land Council, although by 1978 the Tiwi Land Council was formed to represent all Tiwi. In 1974, the first Aboriginal was elected to the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly - a Tiwi man, Hyacinth Tungatalum. Since then several Tiwi have stood, unsuccessfully, for election. However, Stan Tipiloura was voted in as the ALP member for Arafura during the late 1980s and early 1990s but, sadly, died in office.

Luigi's first job was as a mechanic where he worked with several other Tiwi. At the same time, Luigi had enlisted in the Army Reserve. After a couple of years he shifted employment to the Nguiu Town Council working in essential services while maintaining his part-time status with the Army Reserve. He then returned to work in the garage before taking up a position with Tiwi Forestry at Pickertaramoor on Melville Island for a number of years. After finishing at Pickertaramoor, he commenced work at the Nguiu store.
where he eventually became president of the Nguiu Ullintjinni Association.

Throughout these shifts in employment, Luigi maintained his interest with the Army Reserve and served with them for over ten years. In each of these positions, Luigi gained valuable training experience in several areas including communication, administration, specific skills training and management.

When I worked there [Pickertaramoor] I went to Sydney, Albury for conference. How to treat timber. Put timber in poison to get white ants. When I was working at store I didn't go to any conference, but I was learning in my job. Like the manager there used to bring me around the back, teach me how to write down what we need for our next loading barge. Used to go upstairs with him, teach me to phone these people up to order the food. That's where I been learning, in the store. In my work, didn't send me away for that. And when I was working in the garage they send me over in Darwin, University, Casuarina. I done my course there for motor mechanic ... in the Army, first I got _ there's about eight or nine of us from here on the Tiwi Islands _ we got sent over to Western Australia for a month training and back again, and back for another month again to Alice Springs... It was for _ how to use weapon, compass, how to find your way home or somewhere where you want to go. We do study at night _ and during that ten years in the army I done radio signal course, patrol, foot patrol, and _ boat. When you capsize in a boat, what you going to do. When the boat overturns, try to get that boat back up. And swim, swim with uniform, packs, and goods. Swim in a creek (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

Luigi worked at the store for about four years before successfully applying for the position of ACPO, which had become vacant due to the resignation of the incumbent. He was appointed by the OIC at Pularumpi after consultation with the Nguiu Community Council.

His name was bandied around along with others. You're always on the lookout for people you think are suitable. I had a number of persons within that community who I thought would be suitable for the job.
He was one of them. Umm _ I just narrowed it down to who I thought was the best candidate umm _ I approached the Council and asked them of their opinion of [Luigi] and they were quite happy for him to take on the role of ACFO for that community, and I was quite happy to employ him. I filled out all the necessary paperwork and sent it all through (pers. comm., NTPO1, 1997).

6.4 POLICE AND PRIESTS - THE WHOLE LOT IN ONE

The continued emphasis of the murrinjawi experience was to portray Tiwi as uncivilised. In the eyes of murrinawiru - both government official and Catholic missionaries alike - the hope of the Tiwi rested with murrinawiri civilisation, and in order for that to happen the will of the murrinawiri needed to be enforced. This attitude formed the basis for both government and mission's attempt at the subjugation and regulation of the Tiwi.

In his 1911 report to the Minister of External Affairs, the Acting Administrator S. J. Mitchell noted the development of the mission. Mitchell stated that the purpose of the such an institution was "to teach the natives manliness and generally to so educate them as to make them useful people" (NT Report 1911, p. 11). While Gsell's intrusion into murrakupuni was seen in a favourable light, the deficit view of Tiwi was officially sanctioned and would set the tone for many years.

Gsell was driven by two beliefs: firstly, his Catholic belief that "true faith is the generating force of civilization" (Gsell, 1955, p. 38) which was fundamental to missionary work; and, secondly, an inferior view of Aboriginal society in which he saw Aborigines as "children of the bush ... overgrown children ... unemancipated children ... wild animals ... poor creatures" whose only hope was "Us! Contact with
civilization!” and who eventually would come “to realise that the white man is wiser and cleverer than himself, and he will eventually fall in with the latter’s ideas” (Gsell, 1955, pp. 24-152)\textsuperscript{143}. Consequently, Gsell’s portrayal of Aboriginal society was to endure for many years. Through a variety of textual artefacts, mainly printed texts, this view became the dominant principle endorsed by many Catholic writers and commentators.

Ritchie, a lay missionary from 1930 to 1935, concurred with Gsell’s views describing the Tiwi as “children of the sun ... a benighted people” whose marriage system was “unnatural ... brutal ... horrible ... barbarous” (Ritchie & Raine, 1934, pp. 35-37). Reverend A. Perkins M.S.C., in a paper given to the National Eucharistic Congress, portrayed the Tiwi as “children of nature” who, before the missionaries had arrived, were existing in an “atmosphere of dark paganism” (Perkins, 1934, pp. 191-197). Father Frank Flynn M.S.C. stated that before the arrival of Gsell, the Tiwi men “were fearsome warriors, blood-drinkers” whose lifes were organised around “pagan traditions and rituals, many of them debased and degrading” (Flynn, 1963, pp. 86-88).

Parallel to the increasing influence and attempted authority of Catholic missionaries over Tiwi society, was the intrusion by government expressed primarily through policies, ordinances and regulations. These ordinances and regulations set out to control almost every aspect of Tiwi life. The plethora of ordinances and regulations that directly and indirectly addressed Tiwi included Aboriginals Ordinance and Regulations, Child Welfare Ordinance,

\textsuperscript{143} Gsell was more likely influenced by cultural evolution theory and his own religious beliefs rather than the biologic evolution theory of Darwinism.
Native Administration Ordinance, Pearling Ordinance, Venereal Disease Ordinance, Wards Employment Ordinance, and Welfare Ordinance.

During the 1950s several policies were introduced by government that were aimed at further regulation of Aboriginal lives. In 1951, a new Department of Territories was established with Paul Hasluck as its first minister. At a Native Welfare Conference convened by Hasluck it was agreed that assimilation was the main objective in Aboriginal affairs. This was enshrined in 1953 Welfare Act which replaced the Aboriginal Ordinance of 1918, and meant that all Aborigines "of full descent" were wards under the guardianship of the Director of Welfare.144 Consequently, missionaries assumed considerable power as "police and priests - the whole lot in one". They attempted to exert control over most aspects of Tiwi life, including freedom of movement so that Tiwi "had to get a permit from here to go in [to Darwin]" (NTA NTRS226 TS733). The missionaries also attempted to influence and change Tiwi cultural and artistic practices:

we studied on missionary techniques. About not crushing the culture of the people, but trying to use it, even in those days ... to use what was good in their culture, to try and develop it. And to bring out Christian principles through it ... I can remember particularly on Bathurst island, when I was there ... the burying of Aboriginals. And I remember trying to introduce, rather that the pagan pukumani pole, which was a big round tall pole decorated and cut, you know by the natives, decorated in that way, of sort of transforming that and getting them to decorate a cross ... and I remember having them do this, make some crosses out of wood and cutting them with their own Aboriginal decorations, but there was the form of the cross and the little wording in the middle of it that "here lies so and so" (NTA: NTRS226 TS181)

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144 In 1954 a comprehensive survey of all Northern Territory Aborigines was undertaken to enable the implementation of the Welfare Ordinance. This Register of Wards became known as "the stud book" (Egan, 1996, p. xv)
During the 1960s changes in government policy occurred which signalled a shift in murrinawii attitudes. Such a shift allowed aspects of Tiwi society 'back in'. Nationally this culminated in the 1967 referendum, while at the local level Tiwi contribution was acknowledged with the establishment of a local Tribal Council. As a result of the Training Allowance Scheme, aspects of Tiwi culture and language were included in the school curriculum. Cultural days were part of school-life. Papurraruwii 145 would perform dances, make art, tell stories and sing songs.

In that day, yep we had, we had culture day. Like one day we all go back in that tree shade, shady tree area. We danced our own dance, do our own dance. Just, you know do our culture days (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

From the 1970s onwards changes at a national level and at a local level, continued to signal a changing and evolving murrinawii response. As such, a third historical moment has emerge underpinned by analogous features of the Tiwi historical experience. This third moment, historically informed by government policies such self-management and self-determination has resulted in a larger representation by Tiwi in the running their own affairs, and is a feature of social technologies across the substantive domains of Tiwi society. Significant changes have occurred as a result of the implementation of the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act; the formation of the Tiwi Land Council; and, in 1987, the formation of the Nguiu Community Council under the Local Government Act.

145 Older Tiwi.
Similarly, mission attitudes and processes have changed. The mission's main functions now have devolved to the provision of religious support and guidance, with some representation in education and health services. The school has been operating a bilingual/bicultural education program since 1975, and now has a Tiwi principal. Church services are often conducted in Tiwi and English, and most hymns are sung in Tiwi. On some special days of celebration, such as weddings and baptisms, yoyi is a central element.

6.5 ONE TRUE FAITH

The tunga\textsuperscript{146} propped against the outside wall of the Principal's office catches my eye as I am walking to meet Luigi over at the council building. The mass of black in the centre of one side is probably why I was drawn to it, as it is void of pwanga\textsuperscript{147}. Outside of this black space are fine cross-hatchings that extend to the edges. The black has been framed by a chain of white and yellow dots. At the end of this chain is a cross. I finally realise what it is - a set of rosary beads.

* * *

During this intensive period of murrintawi contact, Tiwi have continued to display pragmatic and creative responses to new experiences and technologies. From the outset, mission and government policy was underpinned by a view that industrial training coupled with "a moderate literary and rich religious training" would

\textsuperscript{146} Painted bark baskets made from the bark of the stringybark tree (eucalyptus tetrodonta). Traditionally, these held the gifts for the ritual workers at the pukumwani ceremonies, and were left upturned on the top of turtini at the ceremony's conclusion.

\textsuperscript{147} Designs.
be the facilities through which Tiwi would be civilised and converted to the “one true faith” (Gsell, 1955, p. 38). Central to this view was the necessity for agricultural and domestic training and the development of a “house consciousness”. In 1951 it was reported that despite the mission’s dogged attempts and encouragement of the Tiwi “the reaction of the native, to say the least, has been disappointing, as the scheme as yet has borne no fruits” (AA CRS A452/1955 457. Evans). Ten years later, the Assistant Director of the Welfare Branch E. P. Milliken reported that:

it appears to have left relatively untouched the social customs of living in a dwelling, eating, using the artefacts of western culture, care and maintenance of personal possessions, care and training of children with a family unit, motivation to work and save (AA CRS A452 1961/5702).

On the other hand, Tiwi were interested in select murrintawi resources and social technologies. Although the concern raised by government and missions to the situation created by the pearling industry was, to a certain degree, valid, especially from a sexual health perspective, the Tiwi response was equally rational. The history of interaction between Tiwi and murrintawi features the resourceful exploitation of introduced technologies. Gsell, by purchasing young women, set a pattern of exchange which Tiwi adapted to include other sources of much desired murrintawi goods. Such a practice, which could be viewed as sexual exploitation on the one hand, could have been interpreted by the Tiwi as quite a legitimate and valid practice. There is also an argument that it was not all one-way traffic, in that some women may have willingly participated
in the trading of resources for sexual favours and that this participation was possibly endorsed by various Tiwi camps.

The exchange of resources for murruntawi goods continued to develop and was further refined. Not long after the establishment of the mission, some Tiwi were visiting the mainland and being employed primarily as "houseboys" (Hart, 1930). During the war years, many Tiwi worked for the Defence Forces where they traded physical labour for cash and sustenance. Although the mission aimed at building up a "self-contained community", this was to no avail as Tiwi continued to seek out other resource agencies. In 1961, close to one-third of Tiwi adult men from Bathurst Island were working in Darwin, primarily for the Defence Forces, and of the men and women aged 15 years and over, close to 37% were still spending most of their time out bush (AA CRS A452 1961/5702).

The change in government policy in the 1970s, may have resulted in increased opportunities for paid employment as the mission influence diminished. Additionally, direct fortnightly social security payments to Tiwi, instead of the mission, could have accounted for a shift to the community as a place of permanent residence. By 1981, of the 613 Tiwi aged 15 years and over, 201 were either employed full-time or part time (Stanley, 1983). By 1991, this figure had dropped to 108 (Tiwi Land Council, 1996a). In recent years, the Tiwi Land Council have investigated increased opportunities for employment. This has resulted in an Economic Development Strategy aimed at providing greater opportunities for employment.

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144 Hart records two brothers who worked for murruntawi in Darwin during the 1920s (Hart, 1954).
Throughout this historical moment, the Tiwi have shown a willingness to exploit opportunities as they arise by continuing to exchange labour for murrîntawi goods. Later developments, such as the Economic Development Strategy put forward by the Tiwi Land Council, signal that Tiwi are continuing to be pragmatic in their attempts to create and exploit economic opportunities.

Fundamental to Gesell’s desire to convert Tiwi to Catholicism was indoctrination through religious instruction and participation in religious rituals. The intensity of this drive can be seen by the weekly schedule for the mission during a period in the 1950s:

In addition to the daily religious instruction given to the schoolchildren, the following religious exercises are undertaken: Friday evening, 6.45 pm - Benediction; Sunday morning 7.00 am - Mass; Sunday 3.00 pm - Benediction; Saturday evening - confession (AA CRS A452/1955 457. Evans).

A government official reporting on the Bathurst island Mission in 1961 wrote that "much more time I should say is spent on average by the people on religious exercises, than what is spent by other Catholics on an average in an Australian town or city” (AA CRS A452 1961/5702. Milliken). The Tiwi response to Catholicism was both pragmatic and creative. Tiwi did not categorically reject Catholicism: their response was underpinned by a process of acculturation where through accordance, the social technology of church-based rituals and beliefs took on Tiwi qualities and design.

Acculturation is different from the process of “inculturation” put forward by Gardiner (1993). Gardiner states that inculturation
"is the dynamic relationship between the Christian message and culture, or an insertion of the Christian life into the culture" (1993, p. 3). The Tiwi response was, and still is, the opposite of this process. Tiwi culture is inserted into Christian beliefs, specifically in the rituals that underpin Catholic processes. Tiwi have borrowed the Catholic rituals, resulting in new and blended patterns of Tiwi religious practices. Ward (1990) gives specific examples of Tiwi culture being inserted into Catholic rituals and practices such as Tiwi being ministers and acolytes "who are involved in the actual church services". Ward (1990) gives a further example of Tiwi chanting mamanukuni songs, a song-type performed during pukumwani ceremonies:

throughout the late hours of Holy Thursday telling in song, interspersed with silence, each event from the Gospels of those hours from the Last supper of Jesus to the time when he was condemned to death (p. 70).

6.6 NIMARRA

The establishment of a permanent presence of murrintawi in murrakupuni was characterised by the drive for subjugation and regulation by murrintawi on the one hand, and resourceful exploitation and acculturation by Tiwi on the other. From the groundwork of Gsell in having Bathurst Island gazetted as an Aboriginal Reserve, to the establishment of Nguiu as Community Council, this period has been dominated by government legislation, ordinances and regulations enacted by federal and state governments and implemented by Catholic missions.

However, a noticeable shift in murrintawi attitudes and beliefs occurred which allowed elements of Tiwi society ‘back in’, especially within education and administration. This has led to the emergence of
a third moment and is comparable with the features of the Tiwi experience. The Tiwi experience of interaction with murruntawi draws on the experiences with, and knowledge of, both societies: a syncretic blend of principles and practices.

Tiwi continued with both a pragmatic and creative response to the various experiences of murruntawi in murrakupuni. What has emerged from this interaction is the social technology of print literacy. An elaboration and analysis of the creative contexts of this social technology in Tiwi society informs the next chapter.
CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL TECHNOLOGIES:

SING OUT THAT SONG, SING, SING

Well songs, I write them in my own way, and some of the meanings — where I come from, grandfather country, or even other places. Other places, other people country. Other people. (pers. comm. Luigi, 1997)

7.0 PAKINYA

This chapter is an examination of the rich repertoire of Tiwi meaning-making systems evident in Tiwi culture and society. These meaning-making systems are called social technologies and include story, song, dance, art and printed text. These five social technologies are related as each, in part, is a textual activity. The analysis of these social technologies occurs within an interactive paradigm and highlights a syncretic method in dealing with, and accommodating, the 'new' social technology of print literacy.

This chapter, in part, also explores the concept of print literacy as socially driven. This view positions literacy as a variable social technology that is inclusive of the technical skills of reading and writing alphabetic text. The addition of print literacy adds to an impressive repertoire of Tiwi meaning-making. What unites the social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy is that each is seen as being, in part, a textual activity. These social technologies are discussed in this chapter and emphasise that each is characterised by individual creativity, expression and innovation, and have as a unifying motif murrakupuni.
This chapter will examine the social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy and the ways in which these technologies have been socially, culturally and historically assembled.

By defining and describing these social technologies, I argue that Tiwi have not only been influenced by historical experiences, but continue to draw on both the Western and Tiwi world. This argument will also highlight that, like other historical encounters, the Tiwi response to print literacy has been essentially creative and pragmatic. However, unlike the social technologies of story, song, dance and art, print literacy is a recently introduced technology. Rather than rejecting this technology, or being marginalised by it, Tiwi have demonstrated that such a powerful social technology can be constructed to serve their interests, and not just the interests of murrinthawi society.

7.1 SOCIAL TECHNOLOGIES

The gutter outside the club is littered with the previous night’s debris: plastic drinking cups, cigarette packets and the odd pieces of clothing. The entrance to the club is through a double mesh-gate that is part of the two-metre high fence, topped by barbed wire, that runs around the perimeter of the outside drinking area. The mesh-fence is broken by a brick wall that also forms the back drop to the concrete stage within the drinking area. The sign outside the club reads in English No cheques. No credit. No loans. No grants. Don’t ask! The outside wall of the club, facing the road, is painted in various designs including depictions of milimika149.

149 Cleared dancing area, especially for kurlama ceremony.
turtuwali\textsuperscript{155}, kitirka\textsuperscript{151}, kwari kwaringa\textsuperscript{152}, miputi\textsuperscript{153}, jilati\textsuperscript{154} and tarangini\textsuperscript{155}, and ceremonial artefacts, including japaplingini\textsuperscript{156} and japurraringa.\textsuperscript{157} These paintings are surrounded by jilimara, including an array of cross hatchings and dots in ochre colours. Layered, in places on this art wall, are other pieces of text. Surrounding a painting of an arlipiwura\textsuperscript{158} and written along a diagonal of a cross hatched line are other pieces of writing, including a cryptic Hee Haa Jester’s Dead Great Balls of Fire while inside, on the club wall another piece of text written in black texta reads Drink less for your family under which someone has written in blue biro Why?.

On two pool tables, that are now covered by sheets of timber and are no longer functional, sit two people encircling a large cardboard box filled with instant bingo tickets. A number of people queue up to try their luck, most not successful if the amount of discarded tickets is any evidence. As I wander into the main bar area, I pass Donald and a few others who regularly take up their position near the juke box that is loudly playing a popular love song. I have brought my hard-plastic midy size ‘glass’ with me and so don’t have to pay the three dollar price for the purchase of one. I have placed a Macintosh Apple logo sticker on my ‘glass’ so that I can identify it when I get into a shout. I notice that several other patrons have also marked their ‘glasses’ with football stickers, logos, circles of paint, or initials scratched into the surface.

\textsuperscript{150} Shark.
\textsuperscript{151} Turtle.
\textsuperscript{152} Butterfly.
\textsuperscript{153} Generic term for fish.
\textsuperscript{154} Broga.
\textsuperscript{155} Snake.
\textsuperscript{156} A headband sometimes worn during pukumwani ceremonial dances.
\textsuperscript{157} A forked fighting stick.
\textsuperscript{158} A pelican
On the white-panelled doors, running half the length of the bar area, are several lists of names written up in a variety of colours and categories. These include barred categories ranging from one day to several weeks for various indiscretions, a list of names with the annotation UFN (until further notice), a medical advice list, names of people barred from Rankuwu, Milikapiti and/or Pirlangimpi clubs, and a 'humbug' list.

* * *

As noted earlier, social technologies are defined as being the result of combining "social arrangements and technologies" Rowse (1996). Examples of social technologies range from pukumwani and kurlama ceremonies, to employment and workplaces [Fig. 12]. The latter are the 'new' features of current Tiwi society, and as such are here to stay until they are either superseded by an improved technology or are no longer required. These social technologies have been socially, culturally and historically assembled. Some of them are related by the fact that they are, in part, textual activities. Print literacy, as a new technology added to the Tiwi repertoire of meaning-making systems, is one of these.

Walton (1996) suggests a socially driven model of literacy, and positions it as a variable social technology. As a textual activity, print literacy depends on alphabetic text. This 'social technology' model of literacy acknowledges that it can be best understood within its socio-cultural and historical contexts (Walton, 1996). It is useful, then, to construct a historical understanding in order to
provide a context for better understanding literacy in Tiwi society, and within the ACPOs' workplace.

The contexts of social technologies:
the substantive domains of Tiwi society.

1. Economical Items:

interaction with the production and distribution of goods and services.

2. Social Items:

interaction with social activities.

3. Cultural Items:

interaction with cultural activities.

4. Environmental Items:

interaction with the natural and built environment.

Examples of social technologies:
- employment/work
- church
- ceremonies
- story
- yorl
- print literacy
- computers
- motor vehicles
- axes
- schools
- workplaces
- housing
- welfare payments
- song
- art
- film/video
- football
- dinghies
- firearms
- council

Figure 12: The contexts of social technologies

Both are necessary in order to make decisions about the directions for ACPO workplace education. To do this -

it requires that we understand how literacy is related to social and cultural issues, and political and economic forces. Only then can we begin to make informed decisions about what should count as literacy, for whom, and in what kind of literate culture and society (Green, Hodgens, & Luke, 1994 in Ward & Wickert, 1997, p. 39).
The history of textual activities, emphasise that literacy is ideological in that it is not neutral, but is "shaped by deeply held ideological positions, which can be either implicit or explicit" (Baynham, 1995, p. 1). To put it another way, the history of Tiwi encounters with murrintawi has shown an emphasis on the "politics of literacy", particularly in relation to what was written about the Tiwi and why it was written.

The politics of literacy are laid bare in the colonisation of Australia. By the time Cook set sail on his 'voyage of discovery', the British were beginning to dress up their invasion of other lands in high-sounding phrases. Theirs, they said, was a 'civilising' mission. It was their duty to spread the benefits of Christianity and British civilisation, throughout the world. Britain had an obligation to bring the advantages of a literate, technologically advanced society to those people locked in a state of savagery and barbarism (Christie in Meyers, 1995, p. 69).

From first contact with murrintawi through to the present, the overriding emphasis of textual activities has been for "colonising, christianising and civilising" purposes (after McConnochie in Sherwood, 1982). The history of these contacts brings the ideologies of textual activities to the fore. However, what is usually overlooked in historical accounts of Tiwi/murrintawi contact is the way in which Tiwi responded to these interactions. In the Tiwi social technologies of story, song, dance, and art, pragmatic and creative responses to these encounters are demonstrated. The contexts of these practices were, in a historical sense, and still are, usually created and performed at pukumwani and kurlama ceremonies. Christie (1995), in his discussion on the history of Yolngu literacy, stresses Yolngu ceremony as texts, in that the production and interpretation of ceremonial art invite a multiplicity of readings and processes that
mirror literary texts. Many of these texts, in Tiwi ceremonies, have historical origins. Street (1994, p. 10) suggests that -

the bringers of the ‘new’ literacy were so intent on making the ‘illiterate’ literate, on bringing ‘light into dark’, on stimulating skills and cognitive processes they assumed were absent that they were unable to see what was already there, the rich literacy practices in which people engaged without the help of outside agencies.

Lo Bianco and Freebody (1997) propose that the foundations of literacy are concerned with codes, modes and meanings [Figure 13]. These are useful concepts for discussing print literacy as a social technology in the context of Tiwi society. To elaborate, by codes it is “the grapho-numeric designs that together make the messages” (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997, p. 19). To further widen this definition, codes also include symbolic gesture. Other forms of inscription, not just alphabetic text but dots and stipes, can convey a message in a visual format through artistic rendering and performance such as the painting of turtini. Body symbolism can also convey a message.

Depending on the purpose of the text, its creator will make a conscious decision about the appropriate genre and may call on literary devices to enhance the meaning. An amparuwu song may use symbolism, poetic images and metaphors as this will be appreciated by an understanding audience and gain its performer a degree of prestige (Grau, 1983a, p. 55). Conversely, a well-accomplished map, such as the Bonaparte map, also relies on literary devices to enhance its meaning.

155 Burial poles now commonly known as pukumani poles.
146 It has been asserted by some scholars that the Bonaparte map is by Tasman. However, others state that it is more likely a copy made during the last decade of seventeenth century. It is of importance because it is one of the few sources of Tasman’s second journal, and is “one of the most famous and beautiful maps ever executed by a Dutch cartographer .... [and] it reflects the extent of Dutch power.
Participants in textual activities draw on a repertoire of capabilities which allows them:

* to break the code
* to participate in the meanings of the text
* to use texts functionally
* to analyse texts critically

**THE MEANING**

- Most inscribed: written language
- Most spoken: language accompanying action

Varying degrees of inscription codified through technical artistry skills
Varying degrees of discourse codified through creative performance

**THE MODE = SOCIAL TECHNOLOGIES**

Participants may call on literary devices to create texts:
* metaphor
* symbolism
* simile
* poetic images etc.

As a result of using spoken, written and symbolic language, participants create texts:
* recounts
* narratives
* anecdote
* news item
* allegory
* epigram
* discussion
* report etc.

**THE CODE = THE MESSAGE/THE TEXT**

Figure 13: Textual activities communicated through social technologies

Textual activities convey meaning through multiple modes. These modes, whether spoken, inscribed or performed rely on the social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy. A participant in a textual activity will choose the appropriate mode to convey the specially created text whether it is a chart showing details of a coastline, an oral story, or a dance performed for the dead.

in South-East Asia in its heyday* (Schilder, 1976, p. 354). See Schilder (1976, pp. 147 - 148, and p. 354 - 355) for detailed discussion. The Bonaparte map is in the possession of the Mitchell Library, Sydney and a terrazzo and brass copy is on the floor of the foyer to the library.
By participating in a textual activity, the participant will draw on their repertoire of capabilities to interpret meanings. This will assist them to break the text’s code, participate in its meaning and to use it functionally and critically (Freebody & Luke, 1990).

The social technology of reading and writing English alphabetic text, and for that matter Tiwi alphabetic text, is only a relatively recent one. The development of the technical encoding and decoding skills of print literacy, and its merging with other social technologies is described as a syncretic practice. This syncretic practice, as applied to print literacy, has parallels with Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin’s (1989) concept of ‘abrogation and appropriation’.

Abrogation is a refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or ‘correct’ usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning ‘inscribed’ in words ... without the process of appropriation the moment of abrogation may not extend beyond a reversal of the assumptions of the privilege, the ‘normal’. Appropriation is the process by which the language is taken up and made to ‘bear the burden’ of one’s own cultural experience (p. 38).

The remainder of this chapter examines the social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy and the ways in which these technologies have been socially, culturally and historically assembled. It will also highlight that, like other historical encounters, the Tiwi response to print literacy has been essentially creative and pragmatic.

7.2 LOTTA PEOPLE, LOTTA SPEARS.

It is an overcast day and I am sitting with some Tiwi men and women under a mango tree attending a funeral that is taking place in
Jubilee Park. We are part of the ceremony, but at the same time distant enough not to be actively involved. The funeral ground has been raked clean of leaves and rubbish. There are two men with rakes who after each dance move onto the cleared area, smoothing over the cleared ground. The mourners are in various forms of dress according to their relationship with the deceased. Some mourners are wearing pantirriwini and are carrying spears. Some are daubed with white ochre and have white ochre rings painted around their arms and legs. Others are dressed uniformly in black slacks and white shirts.

The dances are performed in stages and by the appropriate mourners who cry and wail at the completion of their dance. One dancer uses a thong which he shakes behind his head as he performs. Another dancer presents a Bob Marley shirt to a mourner and speaks for a short while. Some of the more energetic dances are applauded or met with cries of approval. Two youths, one male and one female, are called on to dance and complete their performance by kicking each other's lower leg. Catholic funeral rites then take place and are conducted by two Tiwi deacons. At the end of the Catholic ceremony, a number of Tiwi songs are sung. The mourners then close in around the coffin wailing and crying. A truck drives onto the funeral ground and the coffin is loaded onto the back and driven a short way over to the cemetery. Dancing and singing continues, and as the coffin is placed in the grave and covered with earth, more intense wailing and crying occurs. This is the funeral for a young man who several days earlier had committed suicide.
A series of rituals, commonly referred to as pukumwani, are held when a death occurs in Tiwi society. However, pukumwani can also refer to a sense of being associated with death, so, a personal name can become pukumwani as can their belongings and their country. Venbrux (1995, p. 90) delineates between two rituals associated with pukumwani, the first being the funeral rituals that occur around the time of the burial, and the post-funeral rituals which "consist of a series of smaller rituals and conclude with an elaborate ritual called yiloti".\textsuperscript{161} Many academic studies and popular accounts of the Tiwi pukumwani ceremonies have been written over the years (Campbell, 1834; Klaatsch, 1907; Basedow, 1913; Spencer, 1914; Hart, 1932; Ritchie & Raine, 1934; Berndt, 1950; Pilling, 1958; Goodale, 1971; Brandl, 1971; Grau, 1983a; Hoff, 1988; Ward, 199; Venbrux, 1995). Although differing in details, the description of what happens after a death remains relatively consistent. These include the taking up, by close relatives, of a bereavement status; and, the organisation of funeral and post-funeral rituals and tasks associated with them, including the clearing of designated dance grounds and erection of turtini. Grau (1983a) mentions that most of the literature on pukumwani state that when a death occurred burial was carried out promptly and that "it was a fairly small affair, with only the people who happened to be at the place of death taking part, and with little dancing" (p. 107).

In the 1990s, this is no longer the case: the burial is now central to the funeral ritual and is often interspersed with Catholic liturgy (Ward, 1990; Venbrux, 1995). The structure of the rituals

\textsuperscript{161} Yi loti was explained to me as being "finished up, for good" (pers. comm. Emily, 1997). The Tiwi dictionary has two definitions - as an adverb: forever, permanently, for good; and as a noun: the final funeral dance.
also appears to have remained relatively consistent over the years, especially in terms of progression of stages; calls used throughout the rituals; the composition and performance of songs and dances; and the making of art, principally turtini and body decorations. However, depending on the status of the deceased, and the inclination of the mourners other ceremonial objects can also be used including tunga, jukuti¹⁶², pamijini¹⁴¹, tokwayinga¹⁴⁴, and yintiyintinga¹⁶⁵ (Ward, 1990, pp. 54-63). Death, as in most societies, is a traumatic event and for some Tiwi the story of Purrukuparlı helps explain how death came into their world.

She went hunting, she did, Pima. Possum, possum. Then a voice spoke, "I am mikingatinga." He at that time spoke out, "I am mikingatinga." "Oh, my husband, I left him," she said. "My wife you are... I am your second husband." "But no, because my son a baby, my son a baby, my son a baby!"

Then he seized her. Those two then wandering a long way in the bush, they off in the bush together.

Then at last, then run she did, ran hard. "Aiya! Think about your nephew," she cried. Your nephew will be dead, aui!" He stopped her mouth with his hand, he stopped her mouth again that man Japara. Then, that child, dead now... dead.

Then they fight, Purrukuparlı and Japara. They fight! He put the body of his son between his legs as he went about. He put the dead boy between his legs as he fought. His son was dead. Then, "Oh!" Hit in the eye, Japara, with a single pointed-throwing stick. "Oh!" Purrukuparlı threw his sticks and so did Japara. Can't win.

Then he put the body between his legs. "We shall all follow him, all of us down into hell!" he said. "All of us into hell, we shall follow him, everyone. Wherever we camp. Finish!" he said. His foot-track, finish, he made. Now everyone does like that, when people die and we all die now.

¹⁶² A bark armband decorated with ochres and feathers and worn on the upper arm.
¹⁶¹ A large armband made from pandanus or vine with feathers attached and worn on the upper arm. During the mortuary ceremonies mourners of the mamirapi status sometimes wear these.
¹⁴⁴ A goose-down feather ball attached to string using bees wax and worn around the neck. It is often held between the teeth while dancing.
¹⁴⁵ A false beard usually made from white feathers and attached to string using bees wax.
Then down to the shore he carried his son, that man, his son, down to the sea he carried him. He put his son between his legs. The water rising, water rising. His son dropped in the water, Purrukuparli. He is still there at Ipali, there at Ipali. The other one, Japara, up to the sky. Then, "there's the moon, Japara!" people said. She Waijai, the curlew, run she did, away across the ground. Ran, ran because she ... that son, was grieving. She worried, she alone. She went. But listen, "Waijai, waijai!" "You are now that bird, the curlew people said. (Kitjitauwunttamau in Brandl, 1971, pp. 505-508).

There are many recorded versions of the Purrukuparli story (Mountford, 1958; Osborne, 1974; West, 1987; Hoff, 1988; Tungatalum, 1988; Tipiloura, 1991) and all are consistent in terms of the underlying theme of life and death, but vary in other details. What is evident in these accounts is the authors’ use of literary devices to add to the drama of the story, principally the use of metaphor and symbolism. In Kitjitauwunttamau’s account symbolism is used to dramatic effect as Purrukuparli puts his dead son between his legs and walks into the sea. This action is associated with a dance performed at pukumwani ceremonies where the mourners of the unantawi (pulanga) status:

symbolically hold their (male) genitals during their dance and conclude the dance with ‘cutting off’ the penis (tika) with a swift movement of one hand. With this they represent their loss as the deceased ‘fathers’ because they ‘made’ the deceased (Venbrux, 1995, p. 235).

Also, in Kitjitauwunttamau’s account Japara\textsuperscript{166} and Pima\textsuperscript{167} are "off in the bush together" (West, 1987; Hoff, 1988), while other accounts have them "sitting down together" (Tungatalum, 1988; Tipiloura, 1991) and "sitting on the grass" (Osborne, 1974) all which

\textsuperscript{166} Alternative spelling for Tapara.
\textsuperscript{167} Also known as Mayayi.
are metaphors for a sexual encounter. This draws attention to the fact that both Japara and Pima are deliberately going against the belief that a man should avoid his brother's wife/wives and a woman her husband's brothers, so, the consequences of not conforming become dire. In the fight scene of the Purrukuparli story, attention is often drawn to the details of the blows received by both combatants. Tungatalum (1988, p. 12) states that "Japara threw the fighting stick at Purrukuparli and hit him on the lower leg and then Purrukuparli did the same". The Tiwi often see a direct relation between certain body parts and kin, and these are regularly used in story, song and dance as symbolic gestures [Table 6]. Therefore, the calf or lower leg symbolises people in a sibling relationship so mourners of the paputawi status will:

hold their leg or legs in their dance. The accompanying songs are about their injured leg or an amputated leg, a metaphor for the loss of a maternal sibling ... The people in the paputawi bereavement status paint two bands with white clay on their lower legs. Their dance usually begins with hitting their lower leg. A feeling in the leg indicates something is happening to a maternal 'sibling' (Venbrux, 1995, p. 236).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of the body</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calf</td>
<td>Brother or sister (one totem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>Anyone on father's side or a son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast or abdomen</td>
<td>Mother or children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>Brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big toe</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand or cheek</td>
<td>Anyone from the same grandfather as yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groin</td>
<td>Children or brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Body symbolism (Grau, 1983a, p. 283).

The Purrukuparli story reflects a syncretic practice through the insertion of Catholic beliefs. West (1987, p.27) refers to Japara saying to Purrukuparli, "You'll have to give me that little boy so I can heal him. In three days I can bring him back alive". The mention
of 'three days' also appear in other accounts (Hoff, 1988; Tungalalum, 1988; Osborne, 1974; Tipiloura, 1991) and is a clear reference to the Catholic belief of the resurrection. Kitjitaunyttamau’s account also makes reference to the Christian concept of ‘hell’.

The Purrukuparli story is the most well known of Tiwi traditional stories. All of my mantawi had knowledge of this story which was learnt at an early age and usually told to them by a relative - "Only when I was a kid, I learnt Purrukuparli story. But when you start to get older, older, you get a lot of story from your grandfather, grandmother” (pers. comm. Stanley, 1997). Other stories are not so widely known but exist in the collective knowledge of the Tiwi: some of these stories have been recorded on audio-visual cassettes and are stored in the archives of the Nguiu Nginingawila Literature Production Centre, the school library and the Nguiu museum. However, stories that have a particular resonance will often be repeated and will become significant in Tiwi folklore.

* * *

Wongirru has changed since the last time I was here. A small house has been built along with a toilet and shower block, and a rain water tank. Next to the house, a series of turtini that have been erected following the death of Consolata's husband last year. As we drive into the area Consolata and Emily call out names associated with the deceased and this country. On our arrival, an area is raked clean and swags, blankets, tarpaulins and bags are unloaded and set up. Our camp had a definite structure to it - I am told to sleep at
one end of the camp with another 'single man'; next to us is a smouldering fire; then Emily and her husband Eugene; another fire; and then, single women and the widow, Consolata. After cups of tea and some damper, the camp begins to settle down. Emily's sister, Colleen and her husband and other family members are camped a short distance away and their voices drift quietly in the wind. I talk for a while with Emily and Eugene as those about us begin to go to sleep. It is a mild night and we are camped under a blanket of glowing stars. Eugene tells me the story of Kalikalini. It is a story that I have heard before.

*     *     *

The Kalikalini story is based on an actual incident that occurred early this century: it has now become quite significant in terms of its function as a source of authority for the justification of Tiwi law and customs. This story has been recorded by several authors (Pilling, 1958; Goodale, 1971; Kantilla, 1992; Venbrux, 1995). Again, where details differ, the overarching theme of death and bereavement as a major focus of Tiwi socio-cultural life remains consistent, and depending on the narrator, it is a story rich in symbolism. One night, Duncan told me the story.

You want a story from Aboriginal law? You want a story? His father was alive. They went over there, five brothers. They went over there, five brothers ... somewhere over there. Kill his friend. They

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148 Venbrux (1995) places the incident as occurring around 1905. As well as having historical significance its underlying theme deals with Tiwi law relating to kinship relationships and obligations.

149 The father of the five brothers - Tayumi (Venbrux, 1995); Miliwirri (Kantilla, 1991); Banjo (Goodale, 1971). All authors have the father's country as Mulurungku. Goodale (1971) and Venbrux (1995) have the father's camp at Pantjo beach in the Snake Bay area.


151 The attack took place outside of their country - Turupi in north-east Melville Island (Venbrux, 1995); Arunumpi (Kantilla, 1991) in Mandiawupwi country; Punjakji in Mandiawupwi country in the south-east of Melville Island (Goodale, 1971).
kill his friend. That’s Aboriginal way. Their father ... his uncle. They kill his friend. That’s the way they do it. Five brothers. They went over there and kill, kill, kill his friend. I don’t know why, I don’t understand. They know the law, but they kill his friend. They kill him.

They cover him up. Clean, clean, clean. Yeh, clean, clean. Five brothers over there. My uncle he look ... "What happened?" All son, all those son, five son. They look ... they clean. He knows, he know himself. “Hey, maybe you killed my friend!” He knows because they all understand. They clean them. He knows. Somebody else kill, somebody else kill. Why? “Maybe you kill your friend.” “That’s his fault!” My uncle said, “Ah something wrong here!” Because they clean, they clean it. He think himself, he look those five brothers. “Maybe something wrong here. What happens? You tell me now what happens? You kill your friend”, he told them, my uncle. "You kill your friend?" “Yes.” “Okay ... right! Your wife, your wife, your wife, your wife. You can’t sleep with your wife," he said. He told his sons. "You can’t sleep with your wife." That’s what he said. "You can’t sleep with your wife. Go sleep somewhere else!" That’s what my uncle said. "You killed your friend? Well, can’t sleep with your wife! You sleep somewhere else!" That what my uncle say. Those brothers they never sleep with their wives. Five, five brothers. "Don’t sleep with your wife," he said. "You killed your friend? Well don’t sleep with your wife!"

My uncle he said, "before I die, that .. the five brothers, before I die ... must kill them. I go first." My uncle said, “don’t killem yet ... don’t shootem. Don’t shootem, all my sons, don’t shootem.” My uncle said, “don’t shootem. I don’t want to shootem.” My uncle said, "don’t shootem. When I die, then shootem ... after. Killem all the spears." That’s what my uncle said, "don’t killem while I’m still alive. When I

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172 The father’s friend - Pururrarrawuntimirri (Kantilla, 1992); Yingkerlati (Venbrux, 1995).
173 Refers to the action of sneak attackers, kwampi. Fights usually “had to do with competition over women or with retaliation for grievous bodily harm or death” (Venbrux, 1995, p. 45).
174 He was speared to death.
175 A strategy of the kwampi was to befriend the intended victim (Venbrux, 1995).
176 The intended victim was closely related to them - their father’s mother’s brother ‘the relationship with one’s mawanyini ... in Tiwi society is one of the utmost affection, mutual support, and generosity’ (Venbrux, 1995, p. 47). By killing the old man the five brothers seriously violated Tiwi law.
177 Refers to pulling out whiskers above the upper lip, which is a sign of mourning and grief.
178 The father of the five brothers knows that something is wrong because they have pulled out their whiskers.
179 They blame the victim for not properly identifying himself before he was speared.
180 The father punished his sons by enforcing them to abide by a mourning taboo of abstinence from sexual intercourse. The secret punishment was death.
181 That is, the father did not want his sons to be killed while he was still alive.
182 Kill them with spears.
My uncle said, "When I die ... shootem. Spear all over." Because, you know what? They killed his friend. Friend, you know. They his friend. "When I die, I'll killem. Shootem. Shootem spear. I'm still alive, don't killem yet." That's what my uncle said.

After he die, after he die. He die. After he die, they had corroboree. Dancing. Big corroboree down there. Big ceremony. Dancing. Big one. From all over ... Snake Bay, everywhere. From everywhere. From all over. Because, because, because they said, "Oh! Five brothers." My uncle die. Dancing, dancing. Corroboree. Big one. They had a big spear. Big spear. Lotta people, lotta spears. Big dance. They sing! They sing for that ceremony. They sing. That's what they sing. "Go away! Lotta people, lotta people gonna fuckin' kill you mob." Five brothers. They didn't believe him. That man hid behind a tree. He said, "I don't believe him. I'm strong, nobody kill me. I'm strong." You know, that bloke hid behind a tree. He said, "Go! Go! They'll kill you this mob. Go!"

People here ... lotta people. Lotta people got spear. But that bloke here, that bloke said, "No-one kill me! No-one! I'm not frightened of anybody! I'm not frightened of anybody!" That bloke said, "Go! Pirri!" Lotta people here. He not frightened of anybody. My uncle son. That's the bloke now. He was small, small. I never see him but they reckon he small. "I'm not frightened of anybody." The people gotta lotta spear. People say, "Go! They kill you here. Go! Go quickly!" They dancing. Yooi. Corroboree. Dance ... big dance. Many people from Garden Point, from Snake Bay, from Paru, from here. Everywhere ... from everywhere. Because you know what? Five brothers ... five brothers.

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183 The father sent a message to his classificatory brothers who belonged to the mullet clan outlining what had to be done. Venbrux (1995) lists these brothers as Miiputtingkimi, Kalikalin, Juruku, and Tumpuka. Kantilla (1992) lists two names - Mirnyiipiri and Kantilla, the latter being his grandfather, the former being referred to as Kalikalin in Venbrux's record. A letterstick was used to authorise the message (Venbrux, 1995; Kantilla, 1992), although this detail is probably an addition to the story as letter sticks - purinjiti - were introduced by the Dwojdja during the time of Cooper. It is more likely that the message was transferred through song as "songs like other types of messages, have acted at Bathurst and Melville Island as communications between opposing parties in a trouble-case" (Pilling, 1958, p. 97).
184 The post-funeral rituals for the father.
185 The people came from the countries associated with the father's classificatory brothers - Malau, Rangku, Munupi and Tikeleru. As they crossed the creek to the main ceremonial ground, mullet jumped (Venbrux, 1995; Kantilla, 1992).
186 The father's instruction was remembered by the mourners.
187 There are several spears used in fighting - arawinikiri, a long heavy spear with barbs down both sides; jukanlitiri, a long spear with barbs down one side; nummarraka/mungarlaka, long thin spear with no barbs and usually carried in bundles; pingawini, long thin spear with small barbs (Ward, 1990, p.63).
188 The songs were associated with the father's crocodile 'dreaming' (Venbrux, 1995; Kantilla, 1992). The hidden meaning of the lyrics was that the sons were to be put to death.
189 The brothers were warned that they were going to be killed.
190 The person warning them was hiding behind a tree. According to Venbrux (1995), he was a brother-in-law of one of the five sons.
191 The warning was not heeded.
192 The father was an influential man hence a big funeral.
People tell him, "Go!" "I'm not frightened of anybody." That's what he said. There's people everywhere.

He's short, go up a tree. He jump in the water. He was short, they never see. "Go! Go!" People with spear everywhere. Spear everywhere! "I'm not frightened of anybody. I'm not frightened." That's what he said. "I'm not frightened of anybody." Spear everywhere. They were ready. The people were ready. Spear. Four brother go ... all over spear. Five brother, but that bloke underneath he ran away. In the mangrove, in the mangrove. A spear, cut him spear ... cut him half. Five running, he was strong. Strong! Four brothers ... that true. All over spear. Four brother, all over spear. Finish! That one man, he running. In the mangrove. Inside the mangrove. Just finish that spear. He go inside the mangrove ... keep running. He was strong! He was short! Keep running! He was cut himself. He keep running ... in the mangrove. He went across the other side, see his wife. "What happened?" He was strong and short. They shoot him here, the rib. They cut him. Keep going ... hid himself. They reckon he was short. After he die. That's enough. That's the story (Duncan, 1995).

Duncan's account makes use of symbolism to emphasise the relationship between the five brothers and the revenge attackers, the main protagonists being their classificatory fathers. He emphasises the use of spears in the killings and how the brothers were speared all over. In terms of mortuary kinship dances the mamurapi (turah) dance with spears representing kwampi. The dance is ended by thrusting the spear into the victim which denotes father-son classification (Venbrux, 1995). Kantilla (1992) and Venbrux (1995) both record the songs that were sung at the father's funeral.

He looks as if he has a lump between his eyes and a stone on his nose. They were walking with those brothers along the banks of the Wingapungala river (Kantilla 1992, 22).

Flemarepe dives [name of a crocodile] into the water. We see that splashing water and look into the water where we see all bubbles underneath [the crocodile was on the bottom] ...
All these crocodiles [Tayuni's sons] sink down and going round they make the water sloshy.

193 One brother escapes.
194 The main protagonist was Mirmiyipirri / Kalikalini.
195 Four brothers were speared to death.
196 The escaping brother was wounded.
These crocodiles are holding ground and looking up;  
People on the shore grab them by their tails  
[Tiwi used to fight crocodiles with their bare hands]  
(Venbrux, 1995, pp. 50-51).

The subject matter of both songs is about yirrikipayi \(^{197}\) which is analogous with the fact that yirrikipayi was the father's 'dreaming'. This association is significant because in the following account, which describes how yirrikipayi came into being, yirrikipayi is attacked with spears by kwampi. Yirripayi is referred to by the alternative names of tayuni and takampunga: the former being the father's name in Venbrux's account, and the latter one of the sons in Kantilla's account. The similarities of this story with the five brothers story is evident through the use of yirrikipayi and kwampi metaphors which gives the listener/reader multiple interpretations.

Long ago, when he was a man, he lived at Wiaparali. He had many wives. They were cracking xamia palm nuts. He was making spears ... He was making them and his wives were cracking xamia palm nuts. The others were all making baskets. Some marauders crept up there. They took a look, and, 'He is making spears', they said, 'he is making spears.' They got ready, and 'Oh!' they shouted. He ran while he was making spears. We give him that name because he ran while he was making spears. The sea! He went under, under, under, under, under, under, and then - the spear came up first. 'You are the crocodile now,' they said. Tayuni, takampunga, they called yirrinkipijuni. They call him that because there are many crocodiles in the sea. In the beginning he lived as a man (Laurie Nelson in Osborne, 1974, p. 102).

There are other Tiwi stories that draw on the subject matter of the spirit cosmology: the appeasement of mapurtiti\(^{198}\) is central to pukumwani, and the role of pitipituwi in conception is a widely held belief. Other spirits also figure prominently in stories, especially the nyingawi\(^{199}\). The nyingawi were important in creation of the

\(^{197}\) Salt water crocodile.  
\(^{198}\) Spirits of the dead.  
\(^{199}\) Nyingani - male; nyingaka - female; nyingawi - plural.
kurlama ceremony and appear in both male and female forms. Nyingawi speak Tiwi and are fond of kwaka\textsuperscript{200} and piranga\textsuperscript{201}, but must be treated with caution as they will kidnap girls (Puantalura, 1990; Ward, 1990). The nyingawi are said to live in Malawu and Wurangkuwu country on the western side of Bathurst Island. Oscar told me a story of an encounter with a nyingaka when he was in his teenage years. It took place in an area not far from Wurangkuwu country.

Well, I will tell you a story now. When I was around about maybe eight or nine, twelve I think, thirteen or around about that, went out to Fourcroy you know, out bush. For bush holiday. And then, a lot of people were staying at P ______ and some were staying at Number 2 stand.

My father used to work at cutting the timbers there. He told me in the night time, “Don’t walk around.” I said, “Why?” “There’s a lot of nyingawi here.” I didn’t believe it. So me and my big brother went out for hunting wallaby you know, and then we came back.

And then other people were staying at Number 2 stand. You know P*, that’s his wife. She was maybe about what, ten or eleven. She got up, you know. She wanted drink of tea or sugarbag. And she was eating, you know and she was coming up behind her. And her mother, she was screaming. We could hear them. We were camping not far, we were camping right here. We get up, you know. “See I told you! They’re hanging around there. I can’t walk around now” ... They follow her, grab her, all her uncles you know. Get a fire, start a fire that female nyingaka. Throw her on the fire, she got burnt and let her go ... She would have married that nyingawi (pers. comm. Oscar, 1997).

I was also told that nyingani were small in stature, extremely hairy and had oversized genitals and often frequented the mangroves:

“Sometime you can go in the mangroves and listen to them cracking long-bum. And you might think that there are some people there but they might be, but they might be nyingawi” (pers. comm. Luigi, 1997). Goodale (1971) makes references to nyingawi as a song style and dance where the song is sung in a “nasal and growly chant” and the dance is

\textsuperscript{200} Flour made from the cycad fruit.
\textsuperscript{201} Whelks, also referred to as ‘long bums’.
performed in a "bent knee" stance, imitating the walk of the
nyingawi. The song:

described these spirit beings who live in the mangrove
with their wives and children, and talk to each other
in a particularly nasal voice. They call out to the
living, occasionally luring them into their homes, from
which no escape is possible. A peculiar "clacking"
sound of the mangrove swamps is attributed to these
spirits (Goodale, 1971, p. 300).

As noted in previous chapters, stories can also relate
significant historical events. The following story told to me by
Duncan, recounts the coming of Christianity to the Tiwi islands in
the form of Bishop Gsell. Also, Duncan’s story has interesting
parallels with the “Saga of Captain Cook”. This saga is an Aboriginal
oral narrative that is widely distributed across Top End communities:
Yarralin (Rose, 1984), Arnhem Land (Wainburanga & Laiwonga in
Headon, 1991), Belyuen (Bil Bil, 1995). The saga “represents Captain
Cook as the archetype of all early Europeans ... [it] is not so much
about Captain Cook, per se, as it is about this relationship” (Rose,
1984, p. 30). From this view, the story of Gsell could be juxtaposed
with that of the Captain Cook Saga where Gsell initiates a permanent
relationship between murruntawi and Tiwi. This relationship is based
on the supply of desirous goods such as food, tobacco and utensils as
a way in to establishing a permanent presence in Tiwi country.

First Bishop Gsell was here. No-one, no one was here.
No Aboriginal people was here, nobody. Only himself,
only himself, only himself. Himself. Only himself,

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202 Gsell (1954, p. 45) describes the site of the mission as being in “no-man’s
land ... neutral territory.” Morris (1992) notes that it was part of Mandiupi
country but was not occupied at that time.

203 There were murruntawi living on Melville Island - Cooper, a buffalo hunter,
and Sam Green, a timber worker (Pye, 1974) - but none on Bathurst Island.
He was sitting down here. My old brother, across from Paru or somewhere there. Just down there. Cross from other side Nguiu. Right across there, here. They find him, paddle, yeah canoe, canoe, paddle. They find him, they said, "Probably in the sky." They didn't understand, only black people they've seen. First time they see him, white people, whiteman. First time they see whiteman. Murrintani, only whiteman they call him. First time." "I thought him from cloud, I thought him from cloud." They find him, they find him. Oh, they frightened too! They find him, "I thought him from cloud." They find him. Pretty close, they go pretty closer, him and his wife. There look! He see them two people - him and his wife. "Look at this." They frightened. "Come here." They come in pretty closer. He had a lot of flour, he had a lot of clothes. He had no clothes, him and his wife. No clothes, nothing. Him and his wife, no clothes, nothing, only bark. Put 'em on there. It's a long time ago, you know.

And they was pretty close. "Come here," he said. He showed the flour. Flour. He gotta lot of flour. Bishop Gsell gotta lot of flour. He gotta flour, sack of flour. He said, "I'll make you damper. Eat it! Eat it!" He give 'em this flour, a lotta flour, lotta flour, lotta flour. Clothes, he give 'em clothes. Material, him and his wife get material. He told them, he told them, "This is flour." I don't know how he say, but English. "Cook 'em up flour. Make damper." Now taste it. Pick 'em up flour. You know flour? Yeah flour. Maybe then they eat it. That's what he said. Bishop Gsell him said. They take 'em all, give that flour. Paint 'em up self. Paint 'em up self.

After they coming back. Afterwards they coming back. Bishop Gsell said, "This is the flour. Eat this! Eat 'em! This a food." He say in English, but they don't understand. No, real wild! He came close. Afterward he

204 Paru is directly opposite Nguiu and was the site of Cooper's camp. Puruntatameri (1976) and Tungatalum (1985) identify Mulankinya as one of the first Tiwi to approach Gsell. Duncan's story states that Mulankinya was accompanied by his wife.

205 Mulankinya and his wife crossed the strait in a canoe.

206 Tungatalum (1985) has Mulankinya working for Joe Cooper. If this was the case, then it would not be the first time that Mulankinya had seen a whiteman. Duncan's phrase "I thought him from cloud, I thought him from cloud" has parallels with the earlier text of the angels descending from the clouds is a way of explaining the arrival of whitemen.

207 Bishop Gsell had brought with him supplies which were to be used, in part, for trade and payment of services provided. In fact the four Filipino crew members "had offered their services for love of God, in addition to food, clothing, tobacco and a little pocket money" and the first Tiwi who worked on the mission building were paid in "station food and tobacco" (Gsell, 1954, p. 46).

208 Tiwi were familiar with a kind of flour made from the processed fruit of the cycad known as kwaka. The Tiwi word for flour is kwakin which is a masculine noun possibly derived from the feminine form kwaka. It was probably coined thus because it was a male, possibly Cooper or Gsell, who introduced the substance to the Tiwi.

209 The Tiwi at first thought it was white ochre and painted themselves with it. Tungatalum (1985, p. 12) also have the Tiwi painting themselves with the flour: "... he gave them flour, which at first they put on themselves as if it were white paint." Portaminni (1986) also states that Tiwi, at first, used the flour for body paint.
told them, "Take a clothes and a flour. Go and bring all the people. Bring all the people from bush, bring 'em here," he said. That's Bishop Gsell. They didn't understand, English, they didn't understand! "This, the clothes. This yinkiti - food. Take and bring all the people." That's what he said. They went over there, old man went over there. Right round, that old man.\textsuperscript{210}

You know what? His name is Mulankinya. He's my old brother, he's my old brother. That barge, you know Tiwi barge? That's Mulankinya boat. It's the boat Mulankinya, it's the barge Mulankinya, because it ride across everyday. That's Mulankinya boat because it cross everyday, is the boat name Mulankinya. Because Mulankinya was here Bishop Gsell day\textsuperscript{212}. Mulankinya met Bishop Gsell.

Story, as a social technology, provides the scope for a range of texts to be created. Skilled storytellers, such as Duncan, draw on historical references as a source for his narratives and combines literary devices such as metaphor to create a powerful text. Duncan's stories accentuate individual creativity, expression and innovation, and stress the creative response to historical encounters. Essentially these stories have murrakupuni as a unifying theme, as they all have reference not just to the physical container of the environment itself, but are the essence of existing in 'place'.

7.3 THINKING ABOUT THIS LAND.

The inside wall of the club that faces out into the drinking area is decorated in jilimara with a depiction of two kirilima\textsuperscript{11} on either end. The stage is dedicated to a past Nguiu Community Council President, who was lost at sea several years ago. He had danced

\textsuperscript{210} Morris (1961, p. 1) states that Gsell sent a Tiwi man, Tipululuara, across Bathurst Island with a large packet of tobacco "to contact the other tribes, distribute the tobacco amongst them, and induce them to come into the mission." Tungatalum (1985) has Mulankinya being sent with tobacco and a magnifying glass.

\textsuperscript{211} Recently, a barge was purchased by Tiwi Land Council as an intra-island service across Apsley Strait. It was named Mulankinya.

\textsuperscript{212} Bishop Gsell Day refers to the period of several years when Gsell was in charge of the mission. It has interesting parallels to terms used elsewhere, such as 'Gillen time' in Central Australia (Kimber, 1998).

\textsuperscript{213} Jungle fowl.
kirilima. On the stage are a number of guitars, amps, microphones and a set of drums. A couple of people are strumming guitars and are working into a tune. Ngiya-naringa\textsuperscript{214} calls me over to sit with her and shows me a photo she keeps in her handbag of her deceased grand daughter. Later, she is up on stage to sing a song. She dedicates it to me and my wife. I tell her how much I liked it. She seems pleased.

* * *

The songs of the Tiwi have been well-documented (Berndt, 1950; Goodale, 1971; Brandl, 1971; Grau, 1983a) and recorded on film and audio-tape (Moyle, 1988; Aboriginal Artist Agency, 1978). Moreover, there has been a recent innovation in the development of popular music with a number of Tiwi bands forming and recording over the years. The Tiwi Wailers, Missing Mattress, Munupi Band and Black Sands are examples. Although songs may derive from traditional stories or be created for a specific performance at a ceremony, what characterises them as distinctly Tiwi are the song 'types' and how individuality in performance is much admired.

Songs are composed and sung at principally two main occasions - the kurlama and pukumwani. Unlike the mortuary rituals of the pukumwani which are held whenever necessary, the kurlama ceremony is held only once a year during tawutawungari\textsuperscript{215} over three nights. The literature on the kurlama ceremony is extensive (Spencer, 1914, 1928; Fry, 1950; Berndt, 1950; Pilling, 1958; Mountford, 1958; Hart & Pilling, 1960; Goodale, 1971; Brandl, 1971; Grau, 1983a; Ward, 1990; Venbrux, 1995). In 1954 Goodale (1971) recorded forty-one separate

\textsuperscript{214} My 'mother'.
\textsuperscript{215} The season of the clapsticks during which kurlama ceremonies are held.
ritual events, while several years later Grau (1983a) recorded forty-four. The literature has documented the changes that have occurred to the kurlama ceremony's emphasis which, historically, has centred on initiation. Initiates would progress through several initiation grades over a number of years. The initiation aspect of kurlama has become less relevant over the years. There has been a shift of emphasis to reflection of past deeds, and "to heal hurts of the past year, to express sorrow at various events that have occurred and also to ensure good health and plentiful bush food for the coming year" (Ward, 1990, p. 35). The primary vehicle for expressing this is through song.

Although a number of ritual events have been set aside by some kurlama 'bosses', such as the tossing of initiates into the air and the tree-climbing ritual, the centring on song composition and performance of song still remains resolute. Pilling's (1958) typology of kurlama songs contained tjijuwaminikaruwala (songs about debt), mukulamiri (grievance songs), purupurupuntjingakaruwula (songs of incorrect accusations), ngamparuwantukaruwala (songs about disputes over wives), and parumukutjinga (songs of revenge). The most recent account on kurlama by Venbrux (1995) emphasises mourning song types, but also notes some of the above, although they are not classified as such.

The men performed songs about grief or sorrow, grievances, worries, and complaints they had, and songs about gossip and false accusation or 'talk about rubbish'. Most prominent were the mourning songs about the deceased of the past year (Venbrux, 1995, p. 127).

Grau (1983a) makes reference to welcome, farewell and name-giving songs performed at kurlama. The latter is confirmed by my
mantani who received a Tiwi name from the man he referred to as rringani.216 [My Tiwi name] means country. Puanapi close to Port Hurd. Jikilarruwu country. Its country all round. You know that old man B? Just before he passed away he wanted me to go to kurlama ceremony and I sat in that area217 where he was going to give me that name. So he sung that song. That song meaning when Cyclone Neville swept around the coast _ Milikapiti and that Fourcroy area. He was singing about that cyclone. Around that country _ the name of my country, Fourcroy side area, Jikilarruwu area (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

This account also mentions a song topic, in this case a cyclone. Venbrux (1995) notes a range of topics including songs about multi-media (television, video, telephones) and the ‘Darwin to Ambon’ yacht race. These songs are referred to as ajipa218 and are performed on the second day of kurlama and are the most popular.

Black clouds,
I am a plane flying in the sky but I do not touch them.
I have lovely wings and I will not crash.
I got a message on the wireless, the government calls me back to Darwin (Big Don Mwalamini in Grau, 1983a, p. 176).

Often these songs are taped so that they can be played over and over again219 by an appreciative audience.220 They also provide the opportunity for people not skilled in song composition to learn the

216 My father.
217 Luigi is referring to milimika which is a cleared area for the kurlama ceremony.
218 In Goodale (1971) they are referred to as apa songs.
219 The Nguiu Nginingawilla Literature Production Centre also videotapes ceremonies for their library. These videos can then be lent to community members or copies can be made for a fee. Emily referred me to the Centre for a copy of a 1991 kurlama ceremony conducted by Donald Kantilla, Bertram Mantirriwayi Kantilla, and Phelan Jumpurrampiga Kantilla.
220 This would, in part, go some of the way in explaining why some songs in contemporary music are so popular. One example, ‘Okie From Muskogee’, was played several times while I was out bush with a family. Once the song was finished, the tape was rewound to the beginning and played over again. The listeners never seemed to tire of it. The song was also popular with various performers at the Nguiu club. On another occasion while out hunting, a song about girlfriends ‘Muli Muli La’, that had been just released by a local band on cassette, was constantly being sung. This time, I observed a father singing ‘Muli Muli La’ to his four-year old son who was following along and pretending to be playing the drums.
techniques. Full participants in kurlama take part in all aspects of the ceremony including song composition and singing. Historically, before one could become a full participant, one had to progress through initiation grades. What now occurs is that most participants take a 'short cut' in kurlama (Grau, 1983a; Venbrux, 1995) aided by the use of technology. One mantani stated that he uses this technology to assist him in learning song styles and song composition so that he can participate in kurlama. The use of cassette and video recorders to record ceremonial processes and practices signify a Tiwi willingness to appropriate and creatively exploit technology to support their own exigencies.

Sooner or later, at home I'm learning just a little bit. But it takes years and years ... Ahh _ sometime when you go to ceremony, when you have a ceremony then you listen to all the persons singing. Sometime when you have ahh _ like, you know, there are two dads left now living at Garden Point and one at Snake Bay. I listen, you know, to what he sings. I try and put that into my head ...You really need a tape so you can rewind it back and, you know, play it again (pers. comm. Stanley, 1997).

Although the literature shows that there has been a decline in the initiation procedures, kurlama business remains constant. An emphasis in kurlama business is on singing style and song composition. Skilled composers draw on complex metaphors and other literary and rhetorical devices, such as a male singer taking on a female persona, to develop layers of meanings for the listening audience. Such people are known as yirringapapurajuwi.\textsuperscript{221}

Most of the singers were considered 'big headed'; these people made sharp observations and were able to express themselves in striking and highly complex metaphors. It was not only the language and style of singing but also the contents that posed problems for newcomers to the kurlama. The composition of kurlama songs challenged

\textsuperscript{221} Good singer [plural] - yirringapuranji [male], jingapuranji [female].

Similar to kurlama, the rituals of pukumwani ceremonies also feature song composition and performance. Yilaniga and yiloti\textsuperscript{222} rituals were traditionally held a few months after the burial and were relatively a small affair. To reiterate, nowadays, at Nguiu at least, the burial has gained ascendancy due, primarily, to the focus of the Catholic funerary rituals which emphasise burial. Ward's (1990) account of a pukumwani ceremony details three elements: the funeral inclusive of the burial; yilaniga; and yiloti. The burial is almost always immediate, unless there has to be a coronial inquiry or the person has died away from the community. At the burial various rituals are carried out with an emphasis on song, dance and art. Ward (1990) and Venbrux (1995) provide detailed information on the stages of the burial rituals as they now occur. These rituals usually commence with the adoption of bereavement status by all involved and then proceeds from body decoration through to mortuary dances and songs. Sometimes the Tiwi-influenced Catholic Mass ritual is held prior to the burial, but other times is incorporated within the burial ceremony.\textsuperscript{223} If the deceased had worked in a public community space, such as the school or the club, or owned a vehicle or boat, a smoking ceremony would be held very shortly after death to "chase the spirit away" (Ward, 1990, p. 30). Otherwise the deceased's house would be ritually cleansed some weeks or months later.

Prior to yiloti, other smaller rituals may be carried out such as the giving of axes, fire and paint to the ritual workers who are

\textsuperscript{222} Both of these terms refer to dance types but are used here to distinguish between the two main mortuary rituals.

\textsuperscript{223} This was the case for the ceremony observed during field work.
commissioned to carve turtini. These rituals are referred to as yilaniga and are followed by yiloti which involves dance, song, cleansing rituals, erection of turtini and payment of workers. During the funeral and post-funeral ceremonies there is an emphasis on song composition and performance with two types of mourning songs - the ambaru and mamanukuni - being performed (Venbrux, 1995). Amparruwu songs are performed by those with the bereavement status of amparruwu including the widow or widower. Often in the composing and singing of amparruwu songs, the singer/composer will employ the device of singing the song as a dialogue between the singer and the deceased. Goodale (1971) notes that amparruwu songs deal with the personality, life history and/or the marital and extramarital relationships of the deceased.

Mamanukuni songs are performed by those with the bereavement status of unantawi, mutuni, and mamurapi and are either matrilineal or patrilineal relatives of the deceased. The subject matter of these songs “identified a particular relationship or relationships with the deceased” (Venbrux, 1995, p. 100) and were often highly symbolic and used complex metaphors. In the following song recorded by Brandl (1971, p. 291), the singer/composer is grieving for his children, both famed dancers and singers, who are no longer live in the physical world.

Where are the small birds we heard singing?
We were awakened by their song.
I called to Mapitala-aumi.
He says,
“Maybe we passed them,
There they dropped their feathers,
This is where they were singing,
Those men of the crocodile dreaming.”

\[224 \text{ For explanation of mortuary kinship terms see the Mortuary Kinship Terminology table in Venbrux, 1995, page 234.}
\[225 \text{ That is, his mwaruwi - his wife’s brother’s children (Brandl, 1971, p. 291).} \]
Pilling (1976) notes an occasion where he witnessed a song composition which to his mind was the "aesthetic high point" of his 1954 field work. It involved an older Tiwi man, Summit, composing a song for a deceased woman. Pilling's description of the event emphasises, the literary devices and literal symbolism employed by Summit in the performance of his mourning song. Summit performed the song from the roof-top of the deceased's home.

Then, suddenly Summit was on the crest of the roof, above the heads of the mourners; he was singing his new mourning song. Its words stressed "highness, going up." The symbolism was complex: the local area of Murnupi was considered to have high hills; therefore, one sung of highness in mourning for a Murnupi woman. The deceased had died and was buried in distant Darwin; singing of her country made one think of the height of her homeland. Summit was the singer and composer; his name meant "highness," presumably after the "highness" of his homeland, Murnupi. So it was to stress his theme of "highness" that summit was singing from the roof-top (Pilling, 1976, pp. 20-21).

Ceremonial songs are composed and performed throughout the year, although, as Venbrux (1995) notes, it is mainly the elderly who are skilled in song composition. Luigi told me that he had "no songs for pukumwani" but that within "the next few years when I get older, I might make songs up for ... ceremonies" (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997). On the other hand, another mantani stated that he was able to compose songs and was able to sing because "my father taught me how to sing, some old, some new. Two songs, you know. Like my father passed away, I sing by myself. The other one is like my wife's, her brother passed away so I sing my song myself" (pers. comm., Oscar, 1997).

226 Although, this is not always the case. At the funeral of the young man mentioned earlier, I noted that during the Catholic Mass ritual song and dance were performed in Tiwi to the tune of 'Ticket to Heaven' by Eric Clapton. According to two of my mantawi, Richard and Mary Josephine, the Tiwi lyrics were composed by their teenage son.
Although Luigi was unable to compose and sing pukumwani songs, he was highly skilled in kawakawayi \(^{227}\) song composition which are increasingly composed by younger community members outside of a ceremonial context, and performed by them on a regular basis. This performance usually takes place in a recreational context, hence, the annual performance of Eisteddfod\(^{228}\) and regular performances in the community. Most nights there are performances at the Nguiu club, but also now at the pubs and clubs of Darwin. Other locations in the past have included the Stompin’ Ground Festival at Broome, the Sing Loud, Play Strong Festival at Darwin, and the annual Barunga Festival near Katherine.

Up to date there have been two Tiwi bands who have recorded their music on a commercial basis - Munupi Band in 1990 and Ngawayati in 1997. Of the ten songs recorded by the latter group, seven are about country, two are love songs and there is one song of grievance. One of my mantani wrote three of the songs on the cassette, with all of his songs being about his country, Tikilaru.

Well songs, yeh. Well _ I write them in my own way, and some of the meanings _ where I come from, grandfather country, or even other places. Other places, for example like _ other people country. Other people ... Well for that cassette, only done three [songs]. And I sung three songs in that cassette. And I still got four, five to go ... I _ think of what word to put in, what English word to put in or Tiwi language word to put in. So I sit down and play that tune, fill in the

\(^{227}\) Happy singing - I use this term to distinguish it from ceremonial contexts where the songs can range from mourning songs to ajipa songs. Grau (1983) categorises this type of song as 'just a song'.

\(^{228}\)Eisteddfords are held each year in the community and were introduced by the Catholic missionaries many years ago. Historically, groups formed around affiliations with mission staff and performed songs and poetry recitations for community members. One group that still performs regularly is ‘Father McGrath’s’ group - McGrath served as Catholic priest on Bathurst Island from 1927 to 1948. Eisteddfords in Darwin were also attended by Tiwi groups. They are now only held at Nguiu.
words ... I write in Tiwi and English (pers. comm.,
Luigi, 1997).

As with story, the skilled singer/composer will draw on a
repertoire of skills to compose and perform songs. This could be
setting a song composition to a contemporary tune such as 'Ticket To
Heaven', or performing a new composition at yiloti. Subjects of songs
can be wide ranging and many refer to murrakupuni. Songs are
essentially creative in their composition and performance. The use of
tape recorders and musical instruments in song composition and
performance demonstrate a syncretic response to new technologies. The
contexts of performance have widened to include other public spaces.
A good song will always be appreciated whether it is sung during a
ceremony, or if it is a rendition of 'Okie from Muskogee' performed
in the chaotic environment of the social club to an appreciative
audience of one.

7.4 WE SHALL KEEP ON DANCING - ALWAYS

It's early morning. I awake, after a sound night's sleep in my
swag, under a canopy of branches formed by a casuarina tree. The
smoke of the campfire drifts listlessly in the cool, morning air as
the camp begins to stir. A billy boils and a handful of teabags are
thrown in to make the morning brew. A packet of sugar, with its side
split open, is passed around for those wanting to sweeten their cup
of tea which, it seems, is everyone except me. Emily mixes a damper
on a piece of cardboard and then clears a space for it in the
smouldering camp-fire, covering it with coals. When it is cooked she
pushes it from the fire and scrapes it with a stick to remove ashes
and sand. I break off a piece and smother it with margarine and jam -
it is hot and delicious. Once breakfast is out of the way, people
begin to wander off down to the beach to look for turtle nests, or to throw a line in, or begin to organise for the day’s hunting. While I watch from my swag, Emily and her sister play with two young relatives. They have cleared an area and have fashioned a small grave, surrounding it with sticks poked in the sand to resemble turtini. Emily calls out to the children and begins to clap. The children enter the mock milimika and begin to dance urged on by those watching. They dance yirrikipayi.

*     *     *

Macassan visitors once referred to Bathurst and Melville Island as Yoyi-Yoyi (Simpson, 1951, p. 131). Yoyi, according to the Tiwi-English dictionary, means ‘dance’ and ‘to dance’, however, it is more than just the physical act of movement. Done in formal and informal contexts, it is also inclusive of song and music.

Yoi is defined by the Tiwi not only as the dance, to dance, and the social event (that includes dance), but also as the songs used for dance, the rhythm of these songs, and to sing for dance. Thus yoi denotes the whole event, the act of dancing, the music associated with dance, and the performance of that music (Grau, 1983b, p. 32).

In the formal context, dance takes place at the mortuary rituals of pukumwani and the seasonal yam rituals of kurlama. Concerning the latter, the literature shows that the focus on dance in kurlama rituals has decreased since it was first recorded by Spencer (1914). Spencer noted dance at five different stages, compared with the latest description by Venbrux (1995), who notes dance occurring only once during the three day ritual. My analysis of
a kurlama performed in 1991⁴⁴ supports the generally held view that
dance has decreased in this ritual. Ward (1990) and Venbrux (1995)
note that the only dance performed during kurlama was that associated
with the participants ‘dreaming’.

The dance is inherited patrilineally, although I feel that the
term ‘dreaming’ is not accurate. Pilling (1958) notes that the
English concept of ‘dreaming’ was introduced by Baldwin Spencer to
describes certain cultural beliefs of Tiwi society. Baldwin Spencer
and Frank Gillen first coined the English word ‘Dreamtime and
Dreaming’ to describe the Central Australian Arrernte’s concept of
Alcheringa which centres on the ancestral past. I agree with Morphy
(1997,p. 38) that the concept of ‘dreaming’ has been “overgeneralised
and has created the popular expectation of finding variants of
Arrernte cosmology in all parts of Australia.” Many authors refer to
the Tiwi patrilineal dances as ‘dreaming dances’ but I think that
this is incorrect. When referring to the past, especially the
ancestral past, some Tiwi will use the term parlingarri. The
‘dreaming’ dances would be more accurately termed as aminayi
(grandfather) or rringani (father) dances because they are
patrilineal. The reason that they are commonly referred to as
‘dreaming’ dances could be associated with the belief that children
are spirits who have been ‘dreamed’ into the physical world by their
fathers. When discussing these dances further in this thesis, I will
refer to them as aminayi dances.

⁴⁴ From a video filmed by the Nguiu Nginingawila Literature Production Centre -
Wuta Pitiirkurwala ngini Kurlama 1991 - Donald Kantilla, Bertram Mantirriwawi
Kantilla, Phelan Jumperampa Kantailla.
Unlike kurlama, dance is prominent in pukumwani ceremonies. How one participates in the pukumwani ceremony will depend on the relationship to the deceased. These dances are referred to as kinship dances (Goodale, 1971; Grau, 1983a; Ward, 1990; Venbrux 1995). A summary of these dances is given in Table 7. Apart from some minor discrepancies, particularly by Goodale whose study of dance is nowhere near as detailed as the other authors, the literature on the mortuary dances remain fairly consistent over a twenty-five year period. At funeral and post-funeral ceremonies, mortuary kinship dances are performed in order and by the participants who have the same bereavement status. This status will determine who participates in the dance. Venbrux (1995), drawing on the work of Brandt (1971) and Grau (1983a), lists the mortuary kinship dances performed at pukumwani. All participants will stress a mortuary kinship term, depending on their relationship with the deceased, and will participate in the associated dance. For example, those who called the deceased rringani, ngintingania, timinti, or timintinga will dance mamurapi (turah) at the pukumwani ceremony:

Mamurapi (turah) dance with [imaginary or actual] spears representing both spirit children and sneak attackers. These paternal ‘children’ end their dance by thrusting the ‘spear’ into their victim’ [imaginary or represented by a ‘father’] lying down on the ground” (Venbrux, 1995, p. 235).

\[230\] Father, stepfather, father’s brother, mother’s sister husband (if the same yimina as Ego) (Osborne, 1974, p. 166).
\[231\] Father’s sister (Osborne, 1974, p. 166).
\[232\] Husband’s mother’s brother, son’s wife’s brother, husband’s father (Venbrux, 1995, p. 234).
\[233\] Sister’s son’s wife, son’s wife, husband’s mother, husband’s brother’s wife (Venbrux, 1995, p. 234).
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<td>unandawi/tuara - appeared to have two forms. One marked the male sex organs and was performed only by males in this skin group ... the more common paternal unandawi (father's) dance was given the name tuara and was said to mark a fight with spears</td>
<td>mamurapi/turas - the spear is the theme of this dance.</td>
<td>mamurapi/jurrara - hold one hand on their chest and one near the shoulder or by the side as if holding a spear. The men can also do kujungura which is a vigorous dance kicking up sand.</td>
<td>mamurapi (turah) - dance with imaginary or actual spears.</td>
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<td>Not mentioned by the author.</td>
<td>krimirika - the dance is similar to mamurapi/turahs but the dancer usually keeps his/her left hand on the heart.</td>
<td>Not mentioned as a separate dance by the author but is included in above.</td>
<td>knererika - perform the same dance but hold onto their heart.</td>
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<td>Not mentioned by the author.</td>
<td>kikila - the dance movements are about carrying the child on the shoulder.</td>
<td>kiyaykiya/kapaka - not described by author.</td>
<td>kikilai - dance as if they are carrying the deceased as a little child on their shoulders.</td>
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<td>Not mentioned by the author.</td>
<td>mamurapi/pularti - the dance is about being fed by the dead person. the performers put one or both hands on the mouth in a drinking movement.</td>
<td>wurnatavi/pularti - men who are wurnatavi dance with one hand held near one's stomach and the other straight out at an angle from the shoulder. Or for a deceased man, his sister's children will dance pularti. One hand is held up to the mouth in a drinking action, and the other extended, or the two hands are held up to the mouth. This signifies that the person was nourished by the deceased.</td>
<td>mamurapi (pulari) - dance holding a fist on their lips and end the dance by turning their head backwards. They are supposed to be drinking milk from the deceased's breast.</td>
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<td>Not mentioned by the author.</td>
<td>wurnatavi/pulagha - the dancers hold their genitals and sing about going to the bush to have sex.</td>
<td>wurnatavi/pulunga - dance with their hands in their groins, or dance with one hand in their groin and the other extended.</td>
<td>unantavi (pulanga) - symbolically hold their genitals and conclude this dance while 'cutting off' the penis (tike) with a swift movement of one hand.</td>
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<td>unandawi/pularti - this dance focuses on the breast.</td>
<td>wurnatavi/pularti - the performers put their hands on or underneath their breasts to show breast feeding; on their womb to show pregnancy; on their back showing labour pains; or in front of them nursing a child.</td>
<td>pularti - the hands are held under the breasts and a man and sometimes a woman dances with one hand on one's stomach and the other hand on one's back.</td>
<td>unantavi (pularti) - hold their breasts while their dancing. People in this category are supposed to be giving milk in contrast to drinking milk.</td>
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Table 7.1: Summary and comparison of mortuary kinship dance details.
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<td><strong>ingalabini</strong> - in order to denote their special relationship they dance “toothache,” covering their jaws or cheeks with their hands.</td>
<td><strong>mutuni</strong> - in the dance the performer holds one or both cheeks.</td>
<td><strong>mujuni</strong> - dance with their hands cupped around the cheeks of their face, or at least one hand cupped around their face. Often they have a ring painted around their cheeks.</td>
<td><strong>mutuni</strong> - dance holding their cheeks. The performers hit themselves hard with their hand on one side of their face. They often have their cheeks painted either with one side painted in a colour different from the other, or with only one side of the face painted.</td>
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<td>pudawi - is focused around the subject of the leg and is performed with a limp...</td>
<td><strong>paputawi</strong> - performers dance holding one or both legs, with one or both hands.</td>
<td><strong>paputawi/yirranikara</strong> - they dance holding one of their thighs or placing one hand on either thigh.</td>
<td><strong>paputawi</strong> - hold their legs high in the dance. They may paint two hands with white clay on their legs. Their dance usually ends with hitting their lower leg.</td>
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<td>Not mentioned by the author.</td>
<td><strong>impala</strong> - the dancer usually carries leaves and is associated with Nirikati, the sea eagle, making its nest on a tree, his mother-in-law’s shoulders.</td>
<td><strong>ngimpala/palukakari</strong> - dance with small bunches of bushes held above their shoulders.</td>
<td><strong>impala</strong> - they dance carrying green boughs which they flap on their shoulders. Sometimes they may have their shoulders painted.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ambaru</strong> - he or she carries a dance club or a set of throwing sticks... waved above the head and in the direction of the grave, and often hurls them into the bushes. The <strong>ambaru</strong> also strikes his or her back with the clubs or throwing sticks. The <strong>ambaru</strong> may also dance narrative dances to his special songs or he may dance his traditional dance.</td>
<td><strong>amparuwi</strong> - the dance is about a fight between the dancer and the ghost of the dead person. The songs associated with the dance are usually about the fight itself but they can also be about having intercourse with the dead person.</td>
<td><strong>amparruwi</strong> - dance by actual widow/widower using flat throwing sticks, or just the hands, which are shaken at the back of one’s head and the other in front of one’s head. Another action is that the arms are bent at the elbows and moved back and forth in front of the body. Brothers and sisters-in-law of the deceased do a dance where the arms are bent at the elbows and moved back and forth at the side of the body.</td>
<td><strong>ambaru</strong> - the widow/widower displays the features of sexual intercourse with the deceased when both were alive. They may undress and will ask while employing the voice of the dead partner why they no longer can have sex. The second type of <strong>ambaruwi</strong> dance in fighting poses. The conventional themes of their performances are aggressiveness and sexual jealousy. In one dance they ‘show the knees’ (impula) and their upper thighs by bending and opening their legs and make pelvic movements. Spouses or lovers of the <strong>ambaruwi</strong> may dance making pushing movements with their hands, representing waves crashing on the beach, a dance that has sexual connotations for the Tiwi.</td>
</tr>
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Table 7.2: Summary and comparison of mortuary kinship dance details.
Apart from mortuary kinship dances, aminayi dances are also performed during the pukumwani ceremony, usually once the deceased has been buried. At the funeral, these dances are performed under the direction of people who have mujini status and wurnatiwi/pulunga status.

At the burial the leaders of that ceremony are mujini [those who have the same father but different mother as the deceased, that is anyone who is aminiyati, or that can also mean anyone who has the same grandfather or whose grandfathers are/were brothers, and those who have the same country] and the wurnatiwi/pulunga [father of the deceased and the father’s sisters]. They will stand and talk things over [Ngirimini wupakirayajirri]. They will give the orders. They will call the people to dance in the right order (Ward, 1990, p. 27).

Pukumwani ceremonies, as a creative space for the composition of new songs, can also be the impetus for the development of new dances, although most dances performed in a mortuary context are of unrecorded origin. The Summit episode noted by Pilling (1976) was also a place where a new dance was showcased. Summit was singing his new composition on top of the roof of the deceased’s house.

Then he began to dance on the ridge plate as he sang ... Soon, as was normal for such a dance, the audience started clapping time for his dancing. I, as a member of the mourning group, was excited; I felt the others present were too. It was not only a great performance by a master - one heard the whisper of "Summit" go through the audience [yes, we were no longer mourners; we had become an audience]; it was also that we all seemed to realise what we were seeing was new, a creation ... not only was it a great performance, but the expected greatness was so grandly surpassed. Then suddenly, as the clapping died away due to the end of the dancing, Summit still in beat, was down to the eaves in 3 or 4 strides, seeming to take a gliding leap off the roof to the left outside of the audience. He started a high, piercing mourning wail which he continued while he streaked a circle outside the perimeter of the audience, before seeming to leap on the roof again. Still giving the impression of being in step, he continued up the roof to its peak. There he repeated the song several times, again dancing in place, stomping on the ridge plate. Finally he ended,
probably by shouting the usual *wiyatuwa*, meaning no more than "it is finished" (Pilling, 1976, pp. 21-22).

Dances are also performed in a non-formal context, usually for public occasions attended by *murintawi*. These can range from the opening of a new school building to the annual Grand Final football match, the latter drawing large crowds from Darwin. The club is also a place where dances take place, usually for birthdays, but also as an extension of funeral and post-funeral ceremonies: "if it's my birthday they sing boat dance, then my brothers dance for me, then that bloke singing boat dance for me. So they'll dance boat dance for me because it's my birthday" (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997). Dances performed in this context consist of *aminayi* dances and dances that Goodale (1971) calls 'narrative dances', and Grau (1983a), 'just a song'. Examples of these range from those with an historical origin, such as the 'Bombing of Darwin' to social commentary, such as a drunken party. According to Grau (1983a) these dances are not just purely for entertainment value alone but also serve an educative purpose.

* * * * *

A large crowd has gathered for a farewell ceremony in honour of a long-serving nun. The Eisteddfod groups provide most of the entertainment. These groups have formed many years ago and are referred to as "Father McGrath's Group", "Sister Eucharia's Group" and so on. "Father Cosgrove's Group" has just finished a recital of a C. J. Dennis' poem - 'I Wish I Was A Pieman', when there is a rush towards the stage as Stevens comes on to perform. A song commences and Stevens drops to the floor and stretches out, in a horizontal
pose. His eyes dart around the crowd and kids begin to squeal with a
mixture of delight and fear as yirrikapayi comes to life.

* * *

Aminayi dances, referred to by other authors as 'dreaming'
dances (Brandl, 1971; Goodale, 1971; Grau, 1983a; Ward, 1990;
Venbrux, 1995) are patrilineally inherited and are performed within
formal and informal contexts. The members of a dance group inherit
the choreography and songs of the dance. The origin of most of these
dances is often unknown, although Pilling (1976) states that the
shark dance was composed by Karupu in about 1875. Pilling (1976)
suggests that "new dances accompanied by songs seem to be composed at
the rate of one every quarter century or so" (p. 22). This would
account for the aminayi dances on relatively new subjects such as
jarrangini, pika and kapala compared with the more obvious
subjects such as yirrikapayi.

By composing songs and dances about new subjects a man
can also institute "dreamings" for his descendants. For
example, Tobias Filakui has composed two popular songs-
dances, one about a football match and the other about a
tent - tarpulini - which he saw at Cape Fourcroy on
Bathurst Island during the second world war. These may
be adopted by his descendants as his "dreamings"
(Brandl, 1971, p. 144).

Some aminayi dances have been displaced by more contemporary
topics. As with story and song, Tiwi rely on literary devices, such
as symbolism and metaphor, to add to the complexity of the message

234 Buffalo were brought by the British to the Port Dundas settlement in 1824.
235 Horses were introduced on the Islands by buffalo shooters in the late
nineteenth century.
236 This dance was probably composed during the 1940s as it refers to battleships
which would have bee a relatively common sight during war and post-war years.
237 This dance is closely linked to the well known crocodile story (Osborne, 1974;
Venbrux, 1995).
being conveyed and revealed in dance. This is evident in use of body symbolism in mortuary kinship dances. For example, the emphasis already mentioned in the unantawi (pulanga) dance and the emphasis on the cheek in the mutuni dance. In the latter, the performers hold their cheeks to symbolise the loss of one side of their face as the cheek refers to anyone who has the same grandfather. The dancers may also paint their cheek or hit and beat their cheek during wailing. At the funeral I attended during my fieldwork, I noted that some mourners had their legs painted with circular rings and that a young male and female performer concluded their paputawi dance by kicking each other’s leg. In this performance the leg, as stated earlier in this chapter, is a metaphor for the loss of a maternal sibling (Venbrux, 1995, p. 236). I also noted the clever use of a thong, used by one male dancer in his performance of the amparruwu dance, as a substitute for the flat throwing stick which is shaken at the back of the head as a symbolic gesture to fight off the spirits of the dead. Nevertheless, whether it is a mortuary kinship dance performed during pukumwani or the ‘Bombing of Darwin’ dance performed at the Grand Final, what is central to the performance is that dance is an affirmation of cultural identity.

We shall never give up our dancing. We shall keep on dancing – always – we shall keep on dancing. We shall never give it up because we are not white people. We are Tiwi. We are black people. You white people live in a white man’s way. You live in a white man’s way, you white people. We are black people. Now then? Now do you understand? Do you understand now? No one can say to us, “Hey Leave off! Give up your dancing!” Definitely not. No one. No one will ever make us stop. We shall never stop. (Allie Miller in Osborne, 1974, pp. 88-89).

Like storytelling and song, the emphasis in dance is on skilled performance and composition. Stevens’ performance of his aminayi
dance, and the audience's response, accords with Grau's assertion that:

When a Tiwi dances his dreaming, such as crocodile or shark, it is not a question of him miming or pretending to be a crocodile. He is not copying something that is outside of him and revealing the accuracy of his observation or the virtuosity of his movements. He is being the shark or crocodile. He is allowing them to speak out of him. (Grau, 1983a, p. 200).

Furthermore, historic experiences, such as the 'Bombing of Darwin', are not only sources of choreography but are creative responses to these events. Choreographic sources can be wide ranging, but are essentially creative in their composition and performance. These dances, which may cleverly include murrinjawi items such as a metaphorical use of a thong, demonstrate a creative adaptation of new technologies.

7.5 GO, ALL OF YOU! YOU MUST GO AND MAKE GRAVE POSTS.

A new shed has been built next to the existing Tiwi Designs building. Both sheds are decorated with jilimara with the new shed featuring a large yirrikipayi on the outer roof. The Tiwi Designs shed is where finished art products, including carvings and screenprinted cloth, are displayed for the tourists who are flown over from Darwin for the day in the recently purchased aircraft. It, also, is decorated with jilimara and features a large yirrikipayi stretching horizontally along its length. In the shed, which has steel mesh walls to let the breeze through, a number of carvers are at work. There is a partially completed turtini leaning at the back of the shed near the lockable storeroom. The carvers work primarily

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238 The Tiwi Tourism Authority, an industry of the Tiwi Land Council, runs day tours and camping tours mainly on Bathurst Island. It employs quite a few Tiwi as tourist guides.
with angle grinders and chainsaws to fashion the rock-hard ironwood into carved figures, especially depictions of small birds. They use rasps and sand paper for smoothing.

These small carvings are popular with the tourists as they are easily transportable. They are also popular with the carvers, as the birds do not take long to carve and paint, thereby assuring the carvers of cash for the day. Sometimes they are referred to as 'beer birds' as they can be carved, painted and displayed all in time for the opening of the club at 4.00 pm. Luigi's brother, Costa, is becoming quite a skilled carver of spears, although today he is working on some birds. I go with him to the Tiwi Designs shed where I look at what is on display. I then have a look in the storeroom where larger pieces are being kept for a forthcoming exhibition. Teddy, a guide for Tiwi Tours, shows me his latest carving which will be entered into the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art Award which is held annually in Darwin at the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory. The carving is at least two meters tall and, in places, half a meter in diameter, and is intricately painted in ochre pwanga. It is tokwampini. Tokwampini danced at the first pukumwani: "When his son Tinani, was dead, he called out 'Go, all of you! You must go and make grave posts. Go and make grave posts!'" (Foxy Tipungwuti in Osborne, 1974, p. 95).

\* \* \* \* \*

There have been attempts to attribute to Tiwi art grand, uniform meanings (Mountford, 1958; Hoff, 1988; Le Brun Holmes, 1995).

\textsuperscript{239} A generic term for bird.
in common with some Arnhem Land\textsuperscript{240} and Central Australian cultures. However, the distinguishing characteristic of Tiwi art is its emphasis on individual creativity, rather than conformity, and its referential nature, rather than symbolic-narrative meaning. These aspects are also evident in other Tiwi artistic expression of story, song and dance. The store of designs available to a Yolngu artist of Arnhem Land, and the way these are patterned to encode "secular-sacred-secret" knowledge, is dependent on the artist’s family inheritance (Ryan, 1997). Conversely, a Tiwi artist has relative freedom of access to a range of design elements in the making of art, and this more often than not, leads to innovative practice. These designs are often generated from munguntaringa, the once popular decorative body scars\textsuperscript{241}, and from pwanga and jilimara used in pukumwani and kurlama ceremonies.

Klaatsu (1907), Basedow (1913) and Spencer (1914) give descriptions of munguntaringa and state that the designs, which they say represent cycad fonds or spear heads, were purely decorative. However, Hoff (1988) and Venbrux (1995) associate the munguntaringa with kurlama. Hoff (1988) states that the munguntaringa were "acquired over several years" by Tiwi men and women "after their first initiation" and that:

these body scars symbolising spearheads or zamia palms conferred high status on those men and women who were fully marked on chest back and arms. Because no two patterns were alike, these scarified designs served to identify important individuals (Hoff, 1987, p. 6).

\textsuperscript{240} For example, the Wagilag Sisters narrative, songs, ritual and painting traditions of Central and Eastern Arnhem Land. For further reading see Ceruana, W. & Lendon, N. [Eds.] (1997). \textit{The Painters of the Wagilag Sisters}. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.

\textsuperscript{241} Commonly known as cicatrices. Cicatrices are formed by "cutting the skin and artificially inducing a prolific granulation by keeping the edges of the wound apart with foreign matter, such as ochre and ashes" (Basedow, 1913, p. 294).
Likewise, Venbrux (1995) associates cicatrices with initiation at kurlama and suggests that this practice was adopted by Tiwi who were influenced by mainland Aborigines. Apart from Hoff (1988) and Venbrux (1995), the extensive literature on kurlama does not mention the associated practice of applying cicatrices to initiates, so these claims must be treated with doubt. Although cicatrices are no longer popular, munguntaringa, nevertheless, remain a source for patterning of ceremonial objects such as turtini, and contemporary works on paper such as those of Kitty Kantilla and Josette Orsto.

The traditional purpose of making art is to placate mapurtiti, the spirit of the dead, and as a form of camouflage for the mourners, so that they are not recognised by mapurtiti during ceremonies. This is achieved in two ways - the painting of the body and the painting of ceremonial objects, particularly turtini and tunga. The act of painting oneself for pukumani conceals one's identity from the potentially dangerous mapurtiti that dwells around the graveside of the deceased. Body painting, as well as being individually symbolic, showcases the artists' creativity and innovative use of colour and designs.²⁴²

Since much of the decoration for pukumani is connected with the concept of disguise, symbolic function becomes less important. Instead, imagination and invention are the key elements on each artist's creative agenda (Bennett, 1993, p. 40).

²⁴² Klaatsch (1907, p. 74) stated that women painted their faces everyday "always inventing new combinations". However, Klaatsch's field work was only of fourteen days duration so this information is not entirely reliable. Nowadays, mourners usually daub themselves with white ochre as a substitute for intricate body painting designs.
Additionally, turtini are placed around the graveside which serves the purpose of placating the mapurtiti and, according to Hoff (1988), assists in containing the spirit. Other ritual artefacts such as “richly decorated bark baskets, spears, armbands and headbands, false beards and other body ornaments” (Bennett, 1993, pp. 39-41) are also incorporated into the performance of the funeral and post-funeral ceremonies. Ritual workers are commissioned to prepare turtini for the graveside. These are usually erected during the yiloti. Turtini are carved from ironwood trees\textsuperscript{243} with the aid of chainsaws, angle grinders and axes. Prior to the use of these technologies, early turtini were relatively unworked due to the hardness of the wood and the limitations of stone axes and mussel shells as carving tools. The turtini are said to represent the deceased, but this is a meaning that may, or may not, be attributed by the carver to their pole.

The earliest recorded posts were apparently unshaped tree trunks. Later posts were commonly made from bloodwood or woollybutt trees, more ornately carved with pronged ear-like apexes, protruding notches often called ‘breasts’, ‘windows’ hollowed through the trunk and thin-waisted sections counterbalanced with the thicker unmodified portions of the trunk ... The analogy of the shapes of the posts with parts of the body such as the head, torso, breasts, etc. is a conscious Tiwi morphology, because the posts are often said to be representations of people, sometimes mythological and sometimes the actual relatives of the deceased for whom the posts are carved (West, 1987, pp. 17-18).

Once the carved poles are completed, they are then decorated with designs by the commissioned artists. Sometimes, these designs may be passed down patrilineally, however the emphasis seems to be

\textsuperscript{243} The ironwood tree (eucryphleum chlorostachys) is relatively resistant to termites. The swamp bloodwood tree (eucalyptus ptychocarpa) or the Melville Island bloodwood (eucalyptus nesophila), which are only found on Cobour Peninsula and Melville Island, can also be used.
more on the inheritance as a source of inspiration and style rather than a continuation of a specific iconography.

Yeh, I do carvings — paintings ... well our father C's father used to be a really good carver, B*. Follow his footstep, do carving. Our idea ... Well, [copy] some of it [designs]. Some of it our own idea. Design, same and different. Some of them from B*, some from ourselves (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

In Tiwi art, there appears to be no convention which confines representation to grand narrative. Rather art is referential "alluding to the activity with which they were originally associated" (West, 1994, p. 35). Meaning exists in "the relationship of the art to the culture as a whole" (Bennett, 1993, p. 45). Therefore, it is through association with the rituals that the meanings of the form of the sculpted pole and the designs used in its decoration may become understandable, however this is not its primary value. Rather it is "the beauty and the ingenuity of their carved and decorated burial posts" that is admired (West, 1987, p. 12). Furthermore, there is the inherent value of the art object as a commodity to be made for commission, as is the case of the making of turtini, and for the artist to be justly rewarded. However, that is not to say that meaning doesn't exist in art, rather it is obscured by the emphasis on individual creativity, expression and innovation. One such innovation was the development of figurative carvings.

With access to better technology, Tiwi artists applied their skills to make innovative art particularly in sculpture, but also later in fabric printing and batik. Figurative carving emerged in the 1930-40s (West, 1987; Hart, Pilling & Goodale, 1988) and was primarily for pukumwani ceremonies but also increasingly for the art
market. It seems that the originator of this innovation was Kardo Kerinaui\textsuperscript{244} who carved a human figure for a turtini after observing figurative monumental statues in Darwin (Hart et al., 1988). Kardo's innovation influenced other carvers such as Enraeld Djulabinyanna whose figurative work from the 1950s recently featured in a Sotheby's auction.\textsuperscript{245} This innovation led to other developments such as the carving of opposed heads on the one pole, the tiered faces introduced by Declan Apuatimi (West, 1987), and stylised birds. With the development of the art industry, and the establishment of Tiwi Designs in the late 1960s, a more secure outlet became available for the selling of traditional Tiwi art, such as carvings, tunga, bark paintings and artefacts, and for the promotion of innovative art practices such as fabric printing, batik and pottery. This has created employment opportunities for many in the community and for the rising profile of individual artists at a national and international level.

One Tiwi artist, Kitty Kantilla, affirms through her painting the primacy of the referential and holistic nature of Tiwi art, over symbolic-narrative meaning. When she was asked if the paintings had a story, she replied:

'This is white, this is yellow, this is red ...' She proceeded to describe where the ochres for the painting had been collected and how she had painted the picture. Following this, I asked in Tiwi if the painting had a ngirrarnini (story). The reply was that this picture was like a bark basket that was made by her deceased husband and in which he kept his sugarbag. He painted the bark on both sides and it was made strong so it did not break or leak. In fact both of these 'stories' encompass the meaning of the painting without yet providing any clear interpretation of symbolism (Bennet, 1993, 42).

\textsuperscript{244} Also spelt as Katu (Hart et al., 1988) and Cardo (Sotheby's, 1997).
\textsuperscript{245} Sale prices of Enraeld's carvings ranged from $3 200 to $16 000; Kardo's carving ranged from $4 500 to $9 000.
In art, the skilled artist draws on a store of design elements, some of which are inherited and some not, to make art for a ceremonial audience or for a much wider public market. This art could be a turtini, a tunga, a figurative carving or a length of batik, all of which draw upon a range of sources, some traditional and some contemporary. What typifies Tiwi art is the emphasis on individual expression and individual attribution of meaning rather than conformity, as well as the referential nature of the art to the culture as a whole.

The spirit of the work lies in the Tiwi notion of creativity, expressed through colour, patterns of lines and dots, and the randomness of decoration. For Tiwi people, ‘to sing is to dance is to paint’; a painted design has deep associations with singing and dancing and elements of Tiwi language and culture that are non-verbal (Ryan, 1997, p. 77).

The making of art provides the scope for a range of different art objects that have implicit and/or explicit meanings. Skilled artists may draw on historical references as a source for his or her art which in its making accentuates individual creativity, expression and innovation. Art that has historical reference stress the creative response to historical encounters. The history of innovation in Tiwi art and the pragmatic and creative use of murruntawi implements such as axes and angle-grinders further demonstrate a syncretic response to new technologies.

7.6 WE CRASH AND BURN ...

I am on my way to the club for a few beers. As I walk past various buildings I can’t help noticing the amount of writing. There is writing on walls of buildings, on the electricity poles that line
the road, on seats, on fences, on tables and on vehicles that pass me. On the school canteen wall [Fig. 14] and on the old council building wall [Fig. 15] are some texts.

M* you slut
BITCH you fuck
different boy

Figure 14: Canteen wall text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRENDON J P K</th>
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<td>AS</td>
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<td>GREG WILLIMES</td>
<td>KHEIGL™ MBOSINICK</td>
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<td>N#2</td>
<td>ONLIE TRUE LOVE</td>
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<td>BLUES</td>
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<td>THE BEST</td>
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ICE - T

MIYARTUWI
BOY’S & GIRL’S
THE BEST
AGK*
WAZ HEYA SAYING
HI TO JANET JACKSON

NEW KIDS OF THE BLOCK

RAECHL HUNTER 96

OTLV5

WE CRASH AND BURN, TMP.PNK
PARAMOUNT PICTURES ONLY US TWO BEST
PAT AND MIKE FRIENDS 95

Figure 15: Council wall texts

*         *         *

Throughout the community there is writing. It is on "walls, rocks, trees and doors" (Christie, 1995b): it is, virtually, everywhere and it serves many purposes. The Tiwi use of print literacy exemplifies the ways in which Tiwi have transformed literacy to suit their own socio-cultural needs. They have taken hold of it, extended it, developed it and owned it (Barton, 1994). The acquiring of technical encoding/decoding skills, not only for the English
language but also the vernacular, has added to the repertoire of textual activities.

It would be difficult to make sense of the meaning of the texts [Figs. 14 and 15] outside of the cultural context. In order to understand M* you slut bitch you fuck different boy one needs to know why it is an issue with the writer, and why the accusation is aired in such a public manner. This text is culturally loaded. In the past, accusations against wrong doing were a public affair where the accused would be harangued in the camp. According to Hart et al. (1988) the enormous frequency of disputes arose directly or indirectly "out of cases of seduction ... [and that] ... over 90 percent of legal affairs were matters in which women were in some way involved" (p. 86). The writing on the canteen wall [Figure 14] displays both of these elements - M* is accused of wrong doing, and this accusation is made public on the wall of a community facility. It is not an idle accusation but one of full intent. The accusation appears to be over an infidelity. However, the choice of the word "different" may also mean that the relationship is at odds with the uniform practice for sexual relationships determined by yiminga.

The writing on the council wall [Figure 15] is dense and has multiple meanings depending on the reader's understanding of the cultural context. For example, there appears to be an emphasis on personal names. One piece of writing reads AGK* was heya saying hi to Janet Jackson. On the surface it may seem to be an idolisation of a pop star. However, viewed in a different light, the text takes on a deeper meaning. In the past, the giving of personal names was an
important task and was the initial responsibility of the father\textsuperscript{246} who would take some time deliberating and discussing his choice with other elderly relatives, particularly his mother. The name had to be unique and one coined for the occasion. The father would draw on his personal experiences as a source, although it may “be one of his own given names, which after he gives it to the child no longer belongs to him” (Goodale, 1971, p. 29). Names had to be changed on the death of the name-giver, and if a name sounded similar to that of the deceased, it too was changed. These names would then become pukumwani and would no longer be used. New names were given to the children by the new father once the mother remarried. However, once a child was named by the father, other family members could also give names particularly anyone who the child referred to as rringani.\textsuperscript{247} Names were also given during ceremonies, therefore, a person could accumulate many names during their lifetime. Goodale (1971) remarks that one woman “of forty-five had at least eighteen names” (p. 32). Personal names were not frequently used as terms of address, instead kinship terms were used as “the name is actually considered to be a possession of its owner ... [and] ... indiscriminate use of anybody’s personal possessions is not tolerated for long” (Goodale, 1971, p. 31).

Surnames, suggested by Fr Cosgrove, were introduced on Bathurst Island Mission in the early 1960s as an element of its policy “to prepare the Natives under its control for their future assimilation into the general Australian community”. It was felt important that, for administrative purposes, “each family is taught the use and meaning of its surname” (Morris, 1964, p. 1). Nowadays, this practice

\textsuperscript{246} Not always the biological father but also step-fathers.

\textsuperscript{247} Father, father’s brother(s), mother’s maternal grandfather.
of conforming to surnames remains. Another element that was introduced by the Mission was the giving of names at the Catholic rituals of baptism and confirmation. This practice also remains but a distinction is made between the names given in a Tiwi tradition (personal names) and the names given as part of the Catholic ritual (English names). However, the responsibility of giving the first English name, now at baptism, still rests with the father, and it is at this point Tiwi creativity comes to the fore. What appears to be common practice is that the child will be given the name of the father or father’s father. If the child is female, then the name is made feminine, for example, Arthurina, Stanlicia, Samuella and Adama, or a boy and a girl may both receive the father’s name, for example Casmir and Casmira. Notwithstanding these Catholic rituals, the traditional practice of giving personal names continues to take place at Tiwi ceremonies.

I got a couple of Tiwi names. Pwanikiyawayi, Ambarwuawayi and when my father died we had a ceremony and his Tiwi name they passed it back to me. Pwanikiyawayi that’s his Tiwi name so when he died, we had a big ceremony and then my second father, like uncle was running the ceremony gave me that name, my father’s name. Gave it back to me ... This is different ceremony. My father’s Tiwi name was given, I don’t know who but I was a child. So it was a ceremony for my father. And his Tiwi name whoever give it to him, decided my father, S*, and uncle decided to get that name off him because he’s no longer alive, to pass it back to me. I was the eldest in the family (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

The giving of personal names at Tiwi ceremonies is still the responsibility of the person referred to as rringani:

Well, B* I called him like dad. Because my father and him got on well. They used to look after each other, worry, care about each other. What I mean that they looked after each other, like they used to be like brothers. You know, they shared things and all of that. And so when father passed away they gave me his Tiwi name back to me and they had this kurlama, oh five or
six years back, 1980s when B* was alive. When he went for this kurlama he said “I’m giving you a name.” So when I was called out so I went down to kurlama area, that’s when he gave me that name (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

Tiwi still accumulate personal names:

The most recent one is when my last one before my father passed away. He gave me three Tiwi name, and the last one he gave me two before he passed away. Pulauwurrapajimi and Pulauuwurraways, two of them now, I got five* (pers. comm., Oscar, 1997).

What has emerged over the years, due to the influence of newspapers, television and video, is the adoption of popular English names, especially of sporting or music personalities. Hence AGK’s reference to Janet Jackson [Fig. 15]. In the text We crash and burn as Paramount Pictures Pat and Mike the writer/s not only claim the names but also identify the source of inspiration - the movie becomes the personal experience. Another writer lays claim to his favourite football star Greg Willemes [sic.], another to American rap performer Ice T, and another to performer Rachel Hunter. The displaying of names in the public domain signifies that the name is considered to be the claimant’s possession. This name then is frequently used as a term of reference or address. In keeping with Tiwi tradition, these names will become pukumwani on the death of the owner or on the death of the source, or if a death occurs where the deceased has a similar sounding name.

Two texts written on the council wall [Fig. 15] are also statements of group membership - New Kids of the Block and Miyartuwi Boy’s and Girl’s. The latter is reference to affiliation with the matrilineal determined ‘skin group’ or yiminga to which a newborn is
automatically assigned. Amongst other things, membership of yiminga will determine the correct marriage line, which offers a more complex reading of the text Miyartiwi boy's and girl's the best AGK* waz heya saying hi to Janet Jackson. If the identity of the writer AGK* is known to be male, then this statement of saying 'hi' could in fact be a proposal to the owner of the Janet Jackson name who, if adhering to acceptable sexual relationship lines, would belong to either the Wantarringuwi or Marntimapila skin group. If AGK* is female, then the text could be a statement affirming group affiliation and loyalty. Similarly, the former text could also read as a statement of group affiliation, although in this case the identity of the yiminga is unknown. What binds this group together is the identity as New Kids of the Block. Such an affiliation with a group usually suggests childhood and/or adolescent membership.\textsuperscript{244} Therefore, using Goodale's (1971) description of Tiwi social structure, such a grouping would suggest that the members of New Kids of the Block and TMP.PNK only us two best friends 95 belong to the one skin group. At this age "all members ... remain in close daily relationship" (p. 76): this allegiance is commonplace amongst this age group. Once into adulthood, allegiance begins to shift as responsibilities brought about by adulthood and marriage become crucial.

As stated earlier, traditional marriage was based on a system of prenatal and neonatal betrothal, and widow exchange (Oswalt, 1972). Once the Catholic mission was permanently established, it brought about change in the marriage system "from polygyny to monogamy and in decreasing the differences in age between marriage partners" (Venbrux, 1995, p. 227). However, that is not to say that

\textsuperscript{244} I have not seen adults identifying in such a way. All of my mantawi identified as belonging to country and skin groups.
the Tiwi system of marriage and the sexual politics of marriage was completely reformed. Even though Tiwi have become “nominal Catholics and nominal monogamists” (Venbrux, 1995, p. 227) they still adhere to the practice of an exchange of marriage partners along correct marriage lines determined by yimiga membership.

One of the many things determined by one’s skin group in Tiwi life, is the marriage line. A marriage is usually arranged between families, but always keeping to the marriageable lines ... Even those who apparently choose their partner, do not make a random choice, but again they always adhere to the traditional lines of acceptable marriage (Ward, 1990, p. 17).

Lover relationships also exist. The two texts KHeigl vs MBosinick online true love 977 and GFK CJK OTLVS [Fig. 15] are public statements of lover partnerships. It would be safe to assume that these relationships are along the correct lines, otherwise the relationship would not be made public. The former text is more complex as the identities of the two involved are obscured by the adoption of popular names, while the former is easier to interpret through the use of initials. However, both are public statements of intention and commitment. These two texts could either be statements of future betrothal, in the formal Catholic sense, or of lover relationships.

One other feature of the texts [Figs. 14 and 15] is the creativity displayed within the writing - hany body for anybody, waz heya for was here, OTLVS for only true loves, Vs for loves, and 977 for ninety-seven. Judging by the popularity of these devices, as there are many examples of these repeated elsewhere in the community, the creative use of alphabetic text is much admired.

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Although this type of writing is prevalent, it is not the only public writing that community members are exposed to. The Nguiu Community Government Council issues several notices which are displayed at the new council office or in other prominent public spaces such as the store. The Council also prints a newsletter to inform the wider community of upcoming events, new projects, budgets and general notices. In one Council newsletter the writer made it known that the Council did not want to be pestered by community members seeking personal loans - “Please do not humbug me or C* for loans.”

The assertion, made by Council, of a possible problem with finances is a public affair and the writer emphasises these points by using a word in common usage throughout the community. The sign outside the club and the banned list of drinkers, are further examples that support the principle that ‘humbugging’ won’t be tolerated. These texts become a mode for publicly airing grievances.

Print literacy provides the mode for a range of texts to be created. Print literacy is located at one end of the language continuum where the message is mostly conveyed through written text. Within this sector there is a range of possibilities: the examples of texts publicly displayed on building walls, the banned drinkers’ list at the social club, the council and school newsletters or the ACPO’s notebook. Moreover, some Tiwi participate in a range of other print literacy activities including personal letters and greeting cards to articles in academic journals.  

249 There is a Modern Tiwi equivalent -apparî, which means “to play around with; to annoy, pester, tease; humbug; flirt with” (Lee, 1996, p. 190). The Tiwi English word ampak is in common everyday use.

250 See Frawley (1995) for an analysis of articles written by Tiwi educators.
7.7 NIMARRA

Tiwi textual activities are characterised by individual creativity, expression and innovation which are evident in the social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy. If literacy "can be taken to mean the whole range of practices which surround and give effect to written language" (Lo Bianco & Freebody, 1997, p. 26) then the system of Tiwi textual practice emphasises diverse literacies. These literacies operate in a number of ways and serve different purposes.

Before the "bringers of the 'new' literacy" (Street, 1994, p. 10) had arrived, Tiwi were already engaged in rich textual activities through the established modes of story, song, dance, and art. These practices operated and served purposes within the substantive domains of Tiwi society. For example, song composition and song performance operated across domains. A song may have been composed and first performed for cultural reasons, that is at kurlama, but if it was well received then it would be performed in a social context. Like they are today, good songs would be taken up and sung throughout the camp. The subject matter of songs also varied — they could be political, that is dealing with issues of disputes, or could be one of profound lament, for example amparruwu songs. A composer/performer would be appreciated for their skilled use of metaphor and other literary devices to enhance the song's meaning. Once performed, the receivers would draw on their own skills to analyse and to participate in the meanings of the song text.

The Tiwi experience of the new technology of print literacy is underpinned by a process of acculturation. This process is
essentially creative and pragmatic, and affirms a dual consciousness. This response is in accord with the interactive historical paradigm that emphasises a syncretic method in dealing with, and accommodating, the 'new' social technologies.
CHAPTER 8

WORK AND THE WORKPLACE:

TELL THAT MOB TO SETTLE DOWN

If you can’t work, you can’t go nowhere (pers. comm., Oscar, 1997).

8.0 PAKINYA

This chapter investigates the social technology of work, specifically police work and the role of textual activities in the ACPOs’ workplace. In order to do this, this chapter examines firstly the history of policing on the Tiwi Islands is described and analysed within the historical methods framework. Then the development, aims and implementation of the ACPO scheme and the role of the ACPOs and community in the operation of the scheme are outlined and discussed. The strategies used by the Northern Territory Police [NTP] in their ‘partnership policing’ approach are described. One of these strategies, community policing, is manifested in the existence of three schemes in Nguiu: the Night Patrol, the Warden Scheme and the ACPO Scheme.

Through this analysis, ACPOs and the Nguiu community are viewed as the essence of community policing. Further, the description of ACPOs’ work highlights the complexities of an ACPO workplace and the strategies used by ACPOs in undertaking these tasks. However, such a resourceful approach to community policing by ACPOs is at odds with NTP whose view of ACPOs are clouded by so called ‘deficiencies’. This
deficit view has been informed almost entirely from opinions about
the ACPO's English language and literacy ability.

8.1 MURRINTAWI MANJATAWUWI

The Council building houses most of Nguiu's services. There are
offices for the Nguiu Community Council, Bathurst Island Housing
Association, Social Security, Community Development Employment
Project [CDEP], Tiwi Land Council, Postal Agency, and Commonwealth
Bank Agency. There is also a temporary office for the Tiwi
manjatawuwi. At the back of the Council building is a recreation hall
and sporting complex including an indoor basketball court and a
weights training area. The two buildings are connected by a large
roof which provides shelter for various council vehicles and is an
area for kids to run around in while they wait for their parents to
complete the business of the day.

On a typical day during my fieldwork, I sit in the caged-off
area at the back of the council building which provides the main
access to the Council office. In this caged passageway kids run up
and down, pushing prams, making noise and chasing or throwing cans at
various dogs. One child, who I guess to be about two, is busy
drinking from a coke bottle without much success, pouring most of the
sticky soft drink over her face. Various council staff wander in an
out of the staff room with cups of tea and sit in the moulded plastic
chairs to read the newspaper, chat and smoke. The concrete passageway
is littered with cigarette butts from these various sessions, as well
as pie wrappers and coke cans.
I more often that not engage in some kind of talk with a range of people while I wait for Luigi or Stanley to finish their policing business. Quite often I speak with Simon about football, which is one of the main topics of conversation, and especially about the woes of Essendon who are languishing at the bottom of the AFL ladder, and Michael Long's knee or James Hird's foot. Knowing that I now live in Sydney, the football talk could also be about Plugger and the Sydney Swans, and I tell the listeners about the games I have seen at the SCG. Some seem impressed that I had gained access to the Members for one of these games free of charge and wanted to know more about the ground and the Sydney Swans. Talk could also be about going bush and the various locations for fish, crabs and wallaby. This leads into stories about various hunting trips on past weekends and the success rate of the forays for bush tucker.

The passageway becomes particularly crowded when it is Social Security or when the murrinwah manjatawuwi are over from Pirlangimpi.

* * *

With the establishment of the Mission on Bathurst Island by Gsell, and the increased interactions with murrinwah, policing Tiwi society became an issue. The bulk of policing matters on the Tiwi Islands at this time arose from enforcing the regulations of the Northern Territory Aboriginals Act, 1910 and the subsequent Aboriginal Ordinance [Commonwealth], 1911. As stated earlier, during the early years of the mission policing responsibility lay with the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, buffalo shooter Joe Cooper. Cooper
became responsible for a number of mainland Aborigines who were "banished" to Melville Island as punishment for "crimes" against the Aboriginal Ordinance. Baldwin Spencer, Chief Protector of Aborigines, noted that:

It has been found very useful during the past, in absence of any Aboriginal Reformation station, to send special natives, who are addicted to opium or drink etc, across to Bathurst or Melville Island in order to remove them from the unfavourable surroundings on the mainland (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245. Spencer to Hunt).

Cooper resigned as a result of the Melville Island Inquiry (AA CRS A3 NT1916/245), and was replaced by Father Courbon of the Bathurst Island Mission. Catholic missionaries were now the "priests and police", although strictly speaking their policing functions were limited to the supervision of the Aboriginal Ordinance.

With an increase in the number of pearling luggers working the shoals around Bathurst and Melville Island, a police presence became more regular in the form of a patrol boat, the Larrakia. Tiwi began to refer to police as manjatawuwi. This term could have originated during this time from the experiences of Tiwi interacting with murintawi police officers. On occasions, police arrested Tiwi and took them to Darwin; took their rations; and, publicly reprimanded them for having contact with the pearling lugger crews. These actions could be viewed as those of wild people. Venbrux (1995, p. 245) gives another term jimanipirni which translates as "he who injures or kills me". Manjatawuwi also means 'soldier, murderer or killer' (Lee, 1996, p. 65).
Police conducted regular patrols of coastal waters in an effort to regulate interactions between the pearlers and Tiwi. After further lobbying by Gsell, the NT Administrator proposed that a police officer be stationed on Melville Island, with the express purpose of controlling the activities of the pearling lugger crews (AA CRS A431 1951/1294. Abbott). In 1939, Mounted Constable Pryor established a new control post, "a station from which he could move out on foot patrols" (Morris, 1968, p. 14). After World War Two, the responsibility for Garden Point shifted to the mission, and then to the Government in 1968. Throughout this period, a police presence on Bathurst and Melville Island was infrequent. Police would travel to Bathurst and Melville island either as part of a regular patrol, or in response to a serious incident. There was no permanent presence.

A permanent murrintawi manjatawuwi presence on Bathurst and Melville Island came in 1975 when two NTP Officers were stationed at Pularumpi (Pye, 1977). These NTP Officers were charged with the responsibility of providing a police service for all the Tiwi Island communities. The Pularumpi-based murrintawi manjatawuwi made regular patrols to the other communities. A police station was built at Nguiu and the first Tiwi Police Aides\textsuperscript{251} began NTP-defined police work towards the end of the 1970s. A Tiwi ACPO’s duties during the early years were to:

provide a coast watch role and also to assist police when they arrived on their patrols with identification and language difficulties and all the rest of it. They were basically an assistant to the police, so that was their key role and function (pers. comm., NTPO2, 1997).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{251} Later to become known as Aboriginal Community Police Officers [ACPO].}
When questioned about the history of policing, Luigi’s expressed some uncertainty with his knowledge of the scheme’s history in the Northern Territory but noted that it commenced at Nguiu “around the seventies.” Luigi’s understanding of the scheme’s operations in other communities was very limited, probably due to his short period in the position. Stanley, who has been employed as an ACPO since 1993, also showed a lack of knowledge about the scheme’s history. He stated that “we don’t know anything about the other places.” Both Luigi and Stanley were unsure of the reasons behind changes to the scheme and thought that the change in terminology from Police Aide to ACPO was to distance itself from the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome acronym which was causing some confusion in the community:

its that sort of sickness .. AIDS hey? You know, that's why [they changed it]. I remember when I went to Batchelor when I started and they talked to us about this. They saw this [indicates label on uniform] and people were looking at us. So they took it off and put the new one on (pers. comm., Luigi and Stanley, 1997).

However, Luigi implied that the change was made to reflect a more positive, equal and proactive role for NTP Aboriginal personnel: “Give a real good name for, you know, Aboriginal Police Officers in the community.”

8.2 A TWO EDGED SWORD

Luigi has invited me to go out on coastal patrol with him and, after clearing it with the Officer-In-Charge [OIC], I accept the offer. I have packed a couple of hand lines as well as some bait and an adequate supply of water. Luigi picks me up at about 11.00 am. We drive around town and pick up two more members of Luigi’s yiminga,
Bob and Cyril, as well as ACPO Stanley and head off down the Fourcroy road.

On board are a couple of shotguns, ammunition and knives: these are for hunting. There are also a couple of pots and billies, and a good supply of tea, sugar and tobacco. After about one hour of driving, Luigi turns off the road onto a track that winds its way through dense eucalypt bush and then onto a small mangrove flood plain where we stop. Along the way a wallaby is shot, so this is skinned and then cooked in a pot of water to which has been added several sachets of chicken noodle soup. After we have eaten, we walk over to a nearby creek and follow it to its mouth where it trickles along the beach and into the sea. After stopping to fish, we go back to the police vehicle and from there I walk with the others through the bush while Stanley takes the vehicle back to the main road.

Bob and Cyril head deeper off into the bush and I follow Luigi who stops every now and then to light fires. Luigi shoots one more wallaby, which I carry, and before long we are back on the main road. When Stanley stops to pick us up, Luigi notices an empty stubby of beer lying on the road. Given that beer is only sold on tap from the Nguiu club; that only canned beer is available from Wurangkuwu; and that most Tiwi would buy canned beer anyway, it is deduced that murrintawi contractors are smuggling beer onto the island. This would be followed up in due course when next they met the murrintawi contractors.

* * * *
The current NTP’s ACPO Scheme was established in 1979 when seven Aboriginal men were recruited to undertake coastal surveillance communities where there was no permanent police presence. Their role was to report unauthorised landings of refugee boats, and illegal fishing operations and to liaise with visiting police patrols (ACPRWG, 1995; O’Neill & Bathgate, 1993). Later, the scheme was extended to inland centres and the powers and responsibilities of ACPOs increased.

From the outset, the ACPO Scheme has been viewed as a policing strategy relying on the ‘outside support of police and the inside support of the community to be effective’ (O’Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 38). To this end, the Northern Territory Police [NTP] pay salaries and provide uniforms and training while the community is asked to provide office space, a vehicle and housing. Coastal communities are also requested to supply a dinghy. The NTP state that on-going financial contributions made by the community for the day-to-day support of the scheme is a tangible representation of a community’s philosophical commitment to the Scheme. As such, the RCIADIC describes the scheme as the direct organisation of Aboriginal people into police work (O’Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 38). It could also be argued that such involvement by Aboriginal communities is proof of their commitment to and responsibility for a community approach to law and order issues. The success of the Scheme to date can be partly attributed to direct involvement of communities with the Scheme, and to the fact that ACPOs are local to their community.

There are presently thirty-five ACPOs working across the Northern Territory (ACPRWG, 1995). Of this number, twenty-three are
attached to police stations in remote and urban communities and a further twelve operate at remote communities that have no other police presence. ACPOs are stationed in a number of 'remote' communities. In the Southern Command region the communities are: Apatula, Mutitjulu, Kintore, Santa Teresa, Papunya, Yuendumu, Lajamanu and Alpurrurlam. In the Central Command region the communities are: Ale Kerenge, Kalkaringi, Elliot, Borroloola, Ngukurr and Barunga. In the Northern Command region the communities are: Numbulwar, Yirrkala, Maningrida, Daly River, Wadeye, Milikapiti and Nguiu. The ACPO Scheme was originally a 'remote area' scheme, however, there are now ACPOs also in 'urban' centres of Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs.

In a review of the ACPO Scheme, several recommendations were made (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 38). As a result of this review's recommendations, a working party has been established to examine the terms and conditions of employment of ACPOs and to improve the current system. This working party has put forward a number of recommendations for the consideration of the NTP.

To describe the ACPO Scheme broadly would be to emphasise its multilingual and multicultural nature. ACPOs are stationed throughout the NT and as such represent a variety of languages and culture, amongst which are Arrente, Warlpiri, Tiwi, Anindilyakwa, Mudburra, Gumatj and Murrinh Patha to name just a few. Most ACPOs are bilingual and have English as a second language, as well as speaking other regional languages. The ACPO workforce is predominantly male with one female officer stationed at Milikipati, Melville Island. The O'Neill & Bathgate Report (1993) noted that approximately sixty-five ACPOs
have passed through the ranks since the Scheme’s inception with an ACPO average stay of approximately four years with only three ACPOs serving more than ten years in the history of the Scheme.

As mentioned previously, Aboriginal communities are directly involved in the Scheme, initially through selection procedures where suitable candidates are nominated from within the community.

The relationship of an ACPO with their community is relevant in respect of the nature of the recruitment process. While there were other "conditions" prescribed in the assessment form, the present reality is recruitment per negotiation/discussion with the community which encompasses those aspects through an acceptance by the community. This acceptance is the critical factor although other considerations would be inherent in any appointment. Acceptance by the community of the nominated candidate is arguably the essential criteria in police eyes as well (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 18).

However, the NTP reserve the right to select their preferred candidate or to inform the community that no suitable candidates exist on the basis of the established selection criteria. The selection criteria are based on several factors: previous employment; involvement in the community; criminal record; personality; education; and, personal appearance. Two points must be noted. Firstly, that a criminal record does not necessarily preclude a person from becoming an ACPO “although such factors as the nature and incidence of such matters are taken into account as well as the period which has elapsed since the last offence or offences” (ACPRWG, 1995, pp. 3-4). Secondly, that the criteria of literacy levels has been given some ‘latitude’ within the selection process. For the NTP the issue of ‘literacy’ can be:

a two-edged sword in that whilst it accommodates the recruitment of some very good people from what would
otherwise be considered a limited resource pool, it also restricts the potential for the movement of individuals with lower literacy skills into the mainstream area of policing with its responsibility and accountability. It has, on occasion, seen the recruitment of individuals with extremely limited literacy with little or no potential for development beyond, or at times even to achieve, basic levels of competency (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 19).

Once a person has been nominated, the local OIC assesses the candidate according to the selection criteria. The OIC then prepares a report which is forwarded to the Divisional Superintendent for consideration by the NTP.

The organisation of work at the ACPO Scheme locations is based on a hierarchy of management and administration. Within the 'remote' areas where there is more than one ACPO stationed, such as Nguiu, ACPOs are encouraged to work as autonomous teams although they are monitored and guided by the visiting OIC from Pularumpi. Given this then, it would follow that much of the communication about management and administration is top-down, although it is surmised that the OIC and Divisional Superintendent would expect regular ACPO initiated communication. This, I suspect, could have a negative influence on workplace communication and could lead to a sense of dependency. On the other hand, the nature of police work may mean that autonomous decision making in relation to administration and management is not practical.

The system as it now stands is based on seniority in that after four years of service ACPOs can achieve the rank of First Class ACPO and the rank of Senior ACPO after ten years. A number of ACPOs have expressed dissatisfaction with this limited career structure in that:
they pointed out that a three tier ranking system was insufficient and that the rank structure should extend to the rank of Sergeant. Unlike police, Police Aides do not have access to an extended career path or promotional opportunities based on merit (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 54).

On appointment, an ACPO's powers are set out in an instrument of appointment issued by the Commissioner of Police. The Northern Territory Police Administration Act, 1979, Section 19 (3) (as amended 1994) states that:

An Aboriginal Community Police Officer shall, subject to the terms and conditions of his appointment, have the same powers, privileges, duties and obligations as a member of the Police Force appointed under this Act (ACPRWG, 1995, pp. 3-4).

An ACPOs 'powers, privileges, duties and obligations' are manifested in the two main tasks of law enforcement and liaison duties. However, these appear to be differently applied depending on location and on an individual's level of competency and seniority. For example, in urban centres ACPOs performing a significant proportion of the duties of mainstream police officers.

Senior Aboriginal Community Police Officers hold instruments of Appointment which grant them extensive powers of arrest. The most senior Aboriginal Community Police Officer performs all the basic functions of a mainstream officer apart from prosecuting (ACPRWG, 1995, pp. 3-4).

In practice, ACPOs initially have limited powers of arrest but this authority can be extended through experience and seniority. It appears though, that a barrier to the extension of 'powers, privileges, duties and obligations' is competency in English language and literacy. O'Neill and Bathgate (1993) note that some ACPOs
'perform more extensive clerical duties than others, for instance summoning offenders and creating prosecution files, processing and bailing offenders' and that this is most often determined by their literacy skills.

Etter (1993) acknowledges the special liaison role ACPOs have in providing a 'cultural bridge' and 'buffer zone' between the community and the MTP. It is therefore expected that on appointment an ACPOs liaison role will involve advising and acting on community policing matters such as:

- the identification and location of Aboriginal offenders; advising on cultural matters; liaison between the police, community councils and other groups or individuals in the community; acting as mediators in dispute resolution; and determining whether a police presence or intervention if required or desirable (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 5).

The liaison role extends to advising police on whether or not to arrest, with ACPOs acting as intermediaries between the Council and other members of the community and police. This aspect of work underlines the ACPOs important role in dispute resolution. Administrative tasks performed by Aboriginal Community Police Officers depend upon where they are based and their individual literacy skills. All ACPOs are required to keep a journal of matters attended to in the course of their duties and some have been involved in the submission of full prosecution files and the summoning and bailing of offenders (ACPRWG, 1995, pp. 3-4).

Ideally, as ACPOs receives further training and demonstrate an understanding and ability to use police powers their independent powers are expanded. From the outset though, it is the liaison work
of ACPOs that is emphasised, as this is seen as important in crime prevention and in their bridging role between the NTP and their community (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, pp. 38-46).

8.3 COMMUNITY POLICING

There is one desk in the temporary police office and a couple of chairs. In the corner at the end of the room is a fax machine, but this doesn't work, so Luigi and Stanley receive and send faxes on the council's machine. Most mornings Luigi is on the phone either reporting in to the OIC or receiving or making other calls and faxes. One morning he receives a phone call from the hospital urgently requesting him to go down there as the doctor was being threatened by one of the hospital's staff. Luigi and I leave immediately, however, we have just pulled out of the drive and onto the road leading to the hospital when we are flagged down by one of the female health workers in the vehicle that serves as an ambulance. Luigi is no longer needed as the dispute has been resolved.

* * * *

The addition of community policing as part of an overall policy for all NTP’s Operational and Support Commands in 1986 signalled a paradigm shift in the way policing was to be conducted in the Northern Territory (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993). The emphasis of policing up to this point was on 'reactive' policing - also referred to as 'fire brigade policing' (Sarre, 1989; Moir & Moir, 1992, Hunt, 1995). Reactive policing is essentially incident-driven with the primary role of police to control crime through detecting and
apprehending offenders. It is analogous with the police's traditional role of law enforcement (Lauer, 1995).

The NTP stress a professional partnership approach in policing which encompasses a range of strategies, including reactive policing, proactive policing, problem solving policing, and community policing. Edwards (1995) positions proactive policing as a catch-all phrase to include both community-policing and problem-oriented policing. However, other writers suggest proactive policing as an extension of reactive policing with an emphasis on crime prevention through seeking out preferred targets for special policing (Sarre, 1989; Hunt, 1995). In proactive policing the role of the community is to provide information so that police can define and act on crime problems (Hunt, 1995).

Problem-solving policing - also called problem oriented policing (Reis, 1992; Beck & Wilson, 1997) - essentially focuses on underlying problems rather than individual incidences, and relies on the community to act on these problems (Sarre, 1989; Reis, 1992; Hunt, 1995; Beck & Wilson, 1997). Problem solving policing:

is concerned with a community and its problems and with engaging the citizenry in overall problem solving. Problem-oriented policing begins with the grouping of police incidents as problems and then moves to disaggregating them into their problem-solving elements (Reis, 1992, p. 92).

Community policing has been referred to as a strategy or model of policing (Sarre, 1989; Moir & Moir, 1992; Moore, 1992; Rohl & Barnsley, 1995; Lauer, 1995; Etter, 1995; Macdonald, 1995; Chan, 1997), and as a philosophy (Wootton, 1992; Hunt, 1995). Fundamental
to the concept of community policing is its emphasis on working partnerships with the community and the active involvement by the community in policing matters. Community policing recognises that "the community itself and other organisations all have a part to play in dealing with community problems and preventing crime (Hunt, 1995, p. 58). The process of consultation is seen as being fundamental in providing "grass-roots feedback" (Chan, 1997). Through community policing, police take on a "dual role of addressing both crime and disorder, with an emphasis on providing as public service to improve the quality of life of the community" (Hunt, 1995, p. 51). The twelve ingredients of community policing are:

1. The role of police is that of peace officers rather than merely law enforcement officers involved with crime control.
2. Policing is a partnership with the community based upon the key strategy of community consultation.
3. Police play a new role in identifying local crime and disorder problems.
4. A problem oriented strategy is developed that will address the underlying causes of crime and disorder.
5. Response to the underlying causes of crime are more diverse and extensive than mere enforcement through arrest and report.
6. Strategic partnerships between police, service delivery agencies and other community groups are used to implement resources.
7. Police must function as 'information' managers who engage in 'interactive policing' by routinely exchanging information on a reciprocal basis with the community through formal and informal networks.
8. Tactics are developed to reduce the unfounded fear of being victimised.
9. Most police officers are permitted to become career generalists rather than specialists and are responsible for a broader range of activities than permitted under the current reactive enforcement model of policing. They move from being blue collar workers to professionals.
10. Greater responsibility and autonomy is given to frontline officers to undertake local policing tactics. This is facilitated by decentralised police management and resource deployment.
11. The organisational structure changes from hierarchal, paramilitary to a flatter profile in which the frontline of policing is the most important part of the organisation.
12. Accountability of police officers is to the community (Hunt, 1995, p. 53)
The community policing strategy, as a part of the NTP's overall policing policy, is manifested in the existence of three schemes: the Night Patrol, the Warden Scheme and the ACPO Scheme. Nevertheless, the NTP's preferred approach to policing encompasses the four strategies of reactive policing, proactive policing, problem solving policing, and community policing. The NTP "assert that their special needs force them to consider a range of integrated policing strategies" (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993, p. 12). As such, the overall policy is an amalgam of "skills and principles" which in essence sees police responding as they see fit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reactive policing:</th>
<th>Proactive policing:</th>
<th>Problem solving policing:</th>
<th>Community policing:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* police react to call outs.</td>
<td>* extends reactive policing.</td>
<td>* crime control addresses underlying problems.</td>
<td>* working partnership between the community and police created.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* preventative patrols</td>
<td>* expanded investigative and patrol methods.</td>
<td>* negotiation and conflict resolution used to settle disputes.</td>
<td>* success depends on competent and capable police and communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* efficiency improved through technology</td>
<td>* use of intelligence collection, analytical techniques and investigation.</td>
<td>* police mobilise the community and government agencies to act on problems.</td>
<td>* community actively helps in crime prevention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* reactive tactics.</td>
<td>* focus on gangs, repeat offenders, criminal associations, organised crime.</td>
<td>* police identify problems and propose solutions to community.</td>
<td>* police recognise that they work for the community as well as the law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* primary role is to detect and apprehend offenders.</td>
<td>* specialised units.</td>
<td>* a decentralised/regional approach.</td>
<td>* police seek wider consultation and more information from the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* crime prevention is de-emphasised.</td>
<td>* primary role to detect and apprehend offenders.</td>
<td>* police objectives include crime prevention, fear reduction and order maintenance as well as crime detection and control.</td>
<td>* police objectives include crime prevention, fear reduction and order maintenance as well as crime detection and control.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professional partnership policing in the Northern Territory: a range of strategies

Figure 16: Strategic policing.

8.4 A LONG WAY BELOW IT

Luigi picks me up in the police vehicle at about 8.00 am and we then spend the next hour or so driving around the community looking
for various people. Luigi has a list that was faxed to him by the murrintawi manjatawuuwi the previous day and consults it occasionally as we are given advise on where those on the list can be found. Some have already walked to the office and are waiting for Luigi there. Others have to be collected from their homes.

By the time we get down to the strait and the waiting boats, we have a dozen or so people either in the police vehicle or waiting patiently underneath some shade. Several in the group have been summoned to appear in front of a magistrate for a court hearing at Pularumpi. Luigi, Stanley, the male accused and witnesses, and myself pile into one boat while Luigi, the Corrective Services Officer, drives the other boat for the women in the group.

Apsley Strait is particularly beautiful this morning with the water quite still and very flat. I notice that Luigi has a paper bag in which he has placed his trousers, belt and hat to prevent them from getting wet. Warren James, who has been summoned to appear on a traffic infringement, has done the same. As we motor along in the cultural boats, hired for the day by the NTP, I ask Luigi what his main duties will be for the day. He tells me that he has to make sure that the accused and the witnesses are nearby throughout the day, fetch them if they aren’t and escort anyone committed for trial without bail to the cells: "Just grab them and take them."

* * *

The perceptions of murrintawi manjatawuuwi in relation to the ACPO scheme in the Tiwi island communities reinforces the importance
of Tiwi as conduits for the NTP and community, and the pivotal role that the community has in the scheme. The importance of community support is seen as "critical, absolutely critical" (pers. comm., NTPO2, 1997). As such, after some community consultation the NTP conducted research at Nguiu to analyse the police position and to investigate the ways in which police operations could be improved. The NTP research was seen as being "not purely driven by the police department, but it sort of involves very much what the community sort of feels as well" (pers. comm., NTPO2, 1997).

As a result of the NTP research, a local Warden Scheme, based on the concept of yimminga, was established. The scheme was introduced in early 1997. Territory-wide, the Warden Scheme is seen by the NTP as an alternative policing strategy: "It is a strategy which uses community resources to resolve community issues. Members of the community patrol and respond to problems in the community. They may act either on their own, or if the problem is serious, with the Police Aide and the local Police" (O'Neil & Bathgate, 1993, p. 62). The Warden Scheme, as an alternative policing strategy grew out of an informal strategy by Julalikari Council Patrol to combat grog related problems in an around Tennant Creek. The strategy was highly commended by the RCIADIC and has inspired several other communities to adopt similar schemes.

A further result was that the NTP and the Nguiu Community Council made a joint agreement to provide funds for the building of a new police station. This agreement was seen as "a perfect example of partnership policing" where the NTP presence is supported by the community, not just in principle but also in a tangible way.
It will be state of the art and it will be perfect—perfectly practical for police purposes, a place for the ACPOs to work from as a base, a police station for members to visit if they have to come there for special circumstances. It will have secure rooms to hold people that are totally in accordance with the Deaths In Custody Royal Commission (pers. comm., NTP02, 1997).

The role of the ACPOs, as viewed by murrantawi manjatawuwi, are "many and varied" with the main role as "liaison between the police and the people in their respective communities" (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997). In addition to this are the normal policing functions which require training. It is this issue that is seen as an important factor in strengthening the ACPO scheme especially in the area of workplace literacy.

They need to be taken into town regularly and educated in their police powers and whatever, and reminded of them and perhaps just umm—they could also improve their literacy skills as well. Just their simple reading and writing, spelling and grammar... Certainly there should be more focus on their skills, their basic reading and writing skills (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997).

This view, although well intentioned, implies that the ACPO scheme is weakened due to the deficiency of the ACPOs, especially in the area of English language and literacy skills. An NTP report states that the perception of the ACPO scheme as of a lesser quality has its origins in criticisms directed at ACPOs "work performance, punctuality, attendance, professionalism, accountability and literacy". This then gives rise to the question "where does the deficiency lay [sic]: is it with the individual Aboriginal Community Police Officer or is it in the process in place which effectively encourages and reinforces second-rate standards?" (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 21).
For the most part, the ACPOs' role at the community level is highly valued. They are seen not just as liaison officers but also as community educators: "the ACPO's role is not just to teach us [NTP] about Aboriginal culture but also to teach community members why we do things" (pers. comm., NTPO2, 1997). However, the view remains that ACPOs are at a different level and because of this they are in some way deficient: "You don't expect the same standards that you do from a police officer, certainly I don't. In my experience they are long way below it, a very long way below it" (pers. comm., NTPO1, 1997). These perceptions are harmful if they become the basis from which all training proceeds. It presents the ACPOs with a message of positive and negative connotations: on one hand, he is valued for his community role, but devalued because of the perceived lack of English language and literacy skills and the belief of being 'different'.

8.5 SOMETIME THEY START JUMPING

Kelvin had been doing the garden around the accommodation block most Saturday mornings when, one morning, I noticed from the kitchen window that he appeared to be quite dishevelled. Later, in conversation with the accommodation manager, I mentioned my observation of Kelvin and he told me that it was a result of a public beating Kelvin had received from a group of women. The manager said that Luigi was also in attendance. Later that afternoon when I met up with Luigi, I questioned him about the incident. Apparently, the night before, Kelvin, who is not a regular drinker, had been quite drunk and had humbugged a young woman for some time after club hours. She had reported the incident to her mother who in turn organised a group of women to confront Kelvin the next morning. Luigi was requested to attend in order to adjudicate over the punishment handed
out to Kelvin. Kelvin was harangued and then flogged by the women, with Luigi barring him from the club 'until further notice'.

* * *

A typical day for an ACPO begins each morning by transferring notes from the previous nights record of incidences into a day journal, and a phone call to the OIC to inform him of any problems that may need to be followed up.

[Stanley] Come in the morning .. write down report. That’s the first thing we do. What time we come in .. what we do in the journal .. like I said, what happened last night. [Luigi] And then let OIC know that’s .. what happened last night, whether its been quiet or fighting or whatever. Talk to him (pers. comm., Stanley and Luigi, 1997).

An incident will become reportable after a series of negotiations and warnings have failed. Once a decision has been made by the ACPO to formally book an offender, he will seek guidance and approval from the OIC. The offender will them be issued with a "ticket", but not before there has been an attempt to reconcile the situation through warnings and discussion.

For example, like red ute driving around late at night, doing donuts around the club there like that .. then I go up. I speak to the owner _ the owner of the car and tell him, tell her _ what happened that night, and sometime they start jumping too _ "That bloke was driving the car." I talk to that bloke and tell him what he done wrong. Like, "You were caught driving with kids in the back of the car, hanging about screaming." And I told them, "What if you get accident with them two kids fall off and die?" .. I warn this _ I give them warning not to drive at night. And if they done it again, third time so I tell them, "You will get ticket" .. that third time he was driving crazy. He wasn’t drunk, just young fella screaming around, so that’s when I give him ticket. And that motorbike, I caught him once and second time, but third time I give him ticket. I was going to charge that fellow and another bloke driving motorbike without headlight. But at the
moment I'm waiting for them to bring a ticket.\footnote{The murrintawi manjatawuwi.} They forgot to bring a ticket last week (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

When an issue cannot be resolved by the wardens, ACPOs are brought in an attempt to mediate and negotiate a resolution. Quite often, but not always, the ACPO chosen to attempt to settle the dispute will be based on yimminga: “If its Luigi’s relations I pick him up” (pers. comm., Stanley, 1997). If this is the case, then the ACPO will deal directly with the person involved in the dispute:

> If my relation is hiding or person is in trouble, I just go and drag them up _not_ roughly, just gently _just_ talk him out and drag him away. Calm him down and then drop him off home (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

If the grievance cannot be settled through discussion, or if it has a violent outcome leading to hospitalisation, then it is noted for reporting and is followed up through discussions with the murrintawi manjatawuwi. It is at this stage, when the grievance has moved beyond negotiation, that NTP procedures take over: “If there is an incident I make sure that they journal it very thoroughly either in their notebook and their umm _ day journal” (pers. comm., NTPO1, 1997).\footnote{As noted above, the ACPO workplace in 1997 was a temporary office in the Nguiu council building. A new complex had been planned and was to commence being built later in the year. Because of the situation with the office with no facility for holding people, ACPOs do not apprehend any one but rather contact the OIC who follows the arrest through and, if need be, transfers the person to the Pularumpi cells and then onto Darwin.} ACPOs are expected to deal with a range of incidences ranging from domestic disputes to more serious crimes and incidences. During one week, APCPOs dealt with club-related disturbances, traffic infringements a break-in and an attempted suicided.
Many incidences that involve ACPOs mediating disputes get resolved without further intervention by the NTP and are recorded in the ACPO’s day journal as either “no trouble” or “little bit trouble around the town but settle down later that night” (Ngulu ACPO, 1997). This mediation role of ACPOs has similarities with the traditional role of *pwankini* who would intervene in, and settle, disputes.

ACPOs work in a bilingual workplace where language shifts occur to suit the context. Luigi, in the course of dealing with one dispute, will communicate with a number of people from within the community and his organisation. Luigi describes a typical dispute which demonstrates the complexity of ACPO work:

For example people fighting around the town area _community_.. so the wardens, the night patrol they go around and see if this trouble gets bigger and bigger and they call to us. The wardens what they do is try and settle down, might be fighting, but if gets too much they might come and get police and quieten them down ... If my relation is hiding or person is in trouble, I just go and drag them up _not_ roughly, just gently _just_talk him out and drag him away ... Calm him down and then drop him off home and then maybe his wife _that lady, the warden take her down to the woman’s centre. We got a woman’s centre where she can spend the night. And then if that man keeps carrying on you know _threaten, threaten to hit her or anything_ we _the next thing go there and try and stop him again ... and then next day we might go down and bar him ‘until further notice’, bar him from the club ... Me and Samson can see the licensee and bar people _... First of all we ask the community councillors, and we see the relation about the bloke whose causing a bit of trouble. We go to the councillor and ask him how long he reckon. So if the councillor reckons “Oh he’s being doing that for a couple of weeks”, we give him a month. If he’s done it first then a week or two. And then we can go to L* [the murrintani bar manager] and say ‘until further notice’. We’ve got two ways of doing it _‘until further notice’ or if he’s been good we can rub his name off. And the date, can’t go back for six months and he’s been behaving good and he’s still got three months to go. You know what I mean. So we still can’t take his name out If he comes in and ask, “Oh .. I’ve been behaving good ‘... Once that name on the board it stays there all that months go by (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).
Once the dispute has been settled, other steps are taken to ensure that the offender is appropriately dealt with. In the case quoted, the offender’s behaviour was compounded by the fact that he was under the influence of grog, so the ACPO’s familiarity with the context and the task influenced their decision to commence communication and negotiations with the social club. However, before a decision is made, members of the offender’s yiminga are consulted, particularly the offender’s representative on the community council.\textsuperscript{254} Following this lengthy process of negotiation a decision is made by the ACPOs who inform the social club. Up to this point communication has been in Tiwi and there has been very little use of print literacy. The ACPOs’ decision will be communicated in English to the licensee of the social club\textsuperscript{255} who in turn will inform bar staff and ensure that the offenders name is written in the ‘until further notice’ category. The ACPOs will inform the murrintawi manjatawuwi of this event either that day or when they next visit. Depending on the circumstances, it may or may not be noted in the ACPO’s day journal. If it is noted, it is more than likely to appear as a little bit of “trouble”.

Much of ACPO work centres around post-club disputes which are often grog fuelled. ACPOs describe their work as busy or quiet.

[Luigi] Tuesday will be the same as yesterday, but tomorrow .. will be full on. [Stanley] Tomorrow we’ll in the club to patrol. [Luigi] We’ll be in the club tomorrow. I’m like point there, I’ll go for hour or two just to walk around, see how many people are there. Like yesterday .. really quiet, but tomorrow .. (pers. comm., Luigi and Stanley, 1997).

\textsuperscript{254} Four representatives of each yiminga are elected onto the community council.
\textsuperscript{255} There has been one Tiwi licensee over the last fourteen years.
Busy work is a time when information has to be collected and written, usually as a result of a calamitous event. In such a case, detailed information is recorded which often requires support and assistance from the murrinthawi manjatawuwi.

Well .. busy time is when someone get killed. You know .. bad accident, and two or three people dead, we have to get information _ what happened .. we have to like _ we're still waiting on them both two, other white cops to come down. And when they're travelling down or waiting for that plane to be picked up we talk to the driver "what happened". We got a notebook ... I got one and my partner got one. Its a _ little notebook (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

However, there is a distinction between the density of the information. As mentioned above, some events are not recorded, especially those that are resolved by the ACPOs' intervention. Nevertheless, when a major incident occurs, detailed information must be gathered and recorded which implies 'big' notes. Conversely, if an incident occurs that does not require substantial information, then 'little' notes are taken. The following event, although recorded, did not result in any charges but was noted as part of the process of resolving the dispute. Central to these busy times is the ability to accurately record what has occurred.

Like this _ like if a bloke wants to come and report .. for example J* he came and report one of his workers here and asked "what's happening, what we doing?". The boss he says .. ahh _ "you're sacked". And then he call him "cunt". Then they get hit. Then a little note, you know _ make a little note (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

ACPOs participate in textual activities throughout their working day, starting each day with the transferral of written notes from their notebook to their day journal. Sometimes it may also
include receiving written information from the OIC, interpreting the
information and reacting to the text, as in the case of summonses.

They ring me up and let me know, they're going to send
a couple of summonses over on the fax machine so I just
wait here and get the thing, then I just go out and
give them to the people. I just talk to them. If they
want to know what it is for, I just tell them that they
have to come in for this _ for witness. I explain it to
them. So I make them more frightened _ you know when
they see me _ "Ooh, ooh. This bloke coming for
something" _ And think, its something they done wrong.
I explain to them what its about (pers. comm., Luigi,
1997).

In terms of language tasks, work involves operating in several
aspects of communication across various modes that have various
degrees of complexity. Luigi receives information via a fax, conveys
this information to the relevant community members and gives them
instructions in relation to the summonses' information. Throughout the
process of completing the work task he has interacted as a member of
a work team in a defined workplace by reading the printed text and
communicating its message. Later, when reporting on the days
activities he will also write a range of materials including the NTP
proforma and a notebook entry, the latter being transferred into a
day journal.

Like, if I hand the summons out, all that date and
time. I got another special paper there256, that fill in
like I did, so they can send it to _ the courts _ that
I did hand it to him, and then I sign for them ... Yeh
I got note in here. All that here [pointing to an entry
in the notebook] are summonses that I gave out. That's
the date and the name of the person we give .. the
person we have to give it to. And the time (pers.
comm., Luigi, 1997).

In terms of what is written in the workplace, the ACPO's
journal [Fig. 17] is considered important by the OIC as it is an

256 NTP 'Proof of Service' proforma.
account of the day to day activities that occur in the workplace. As noted earlier, the ability to construct grammatically correct texts, in this case the ACPO’s day journal, is clearly valued: “[Stanley’s] reasonably well written, he does a very good notebook entry, quite reasonable in his journal” (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997). ACPOs are expected to complete their journal on a day to day basis as a review of the previous day’s tasks. The following are extracts from the ACPO day journal leading up to the court day at Pularumpi. It combines the task of issuing summonses and organising the offenders and witnesses for the court day, as well as reporting on incidences within the community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on duty duties</th>
<th>Tuesday 27th May 1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACPO [Luigi] on duty at 09.30 hrs. ACPO [Luigi] on duty attending the police office with ACPO [Stanley] sorting out name of people on the court list who are going to Pularumpi on 29th May for Court Reports at the club no troubles &amp; the community &amp; town area reports no trouble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on duty duties</th>
<th>Wednesday 28 May 1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACPO [Luigi] on duty at 9-30 hr ACPO [Luigi] on duties attending the Police office with ACPO [Stanley] ringing OIC about people going to court on 29th May and talking to Big [Louie] about the boat’s to use to go to Garden Point for the court ACPO [Luigi] &amp; ACPO [Stanley] reports for lunchbreak Patrol the club area for two hours reports no troubles then patrol the community and the town area reports no trouble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on duty duties</th>
<th>Thursday 29th May 1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACPO [Luigi] on duty at 0.630 hours ACPO [Luigi] on duty picking up the people that are going to court then picked up ACPO [Stanley] went to barge landing then left between 0.800hrs to 0.815hrs then arrived at Garden Point at 0930hrs then court began till about 4.30pm to 5.00pm the left Garden Point arrived at Nguiu at 6.30pm reports at the club no trouble reports around the community &amp; town area no trouble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: ACPO’s day journal

The value of the day journal, according to the OIC, is fundamental to the policing operations within the Nguiiu community. All incidences have to be recorded in the journal: "If there is an incident I make sure that they journal it very thoroughly either in
their notebook and their umm _ day journal ... I mean I make sure that their journal is up to scratch" (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997).

Other texts that are highly valued by the NTP extends to motor vehicle registry works and other NTP proformas including patrol reports. The motor vehicle registry tasks include licensing and registrations, although at the time of writing it was not the responsibility of the Nguiu ACPOs.

Quite often we'll take paperwork over with us e.g. patrol reports or _ summonses. We'll give those pieces of paperwork to ACPOs and supervise them just so that they'll learn. It is different in that our ACPOs don't do any motor vehicle registry work, licensing work like other communities that I have worked. With the ACPOs at the station I teach them how to do to do motor vehicle registry work, you know, how to issue licences, how to do registrations (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997).

8.6 JUST LISTEN TO THEM, LISTEN TO THEM

The construction of an ACPO workplace has emerged from the interactions with Tiwi and murrintawi. At first, the policing was a murrintawi system, using murrintawi processes and practices that emanated from a murrintawi workplace. It was a system that operated from outside of Tiwi society with a handful of priests and missionaries, who were "the police and the priests - the whole lot in one", administering the law, albeit with visits and support from the NTP. It existed primarily to enforce regressive and discriminatory laws enacted by federal and state governments to subjugate and regulate Tiwi society. It was, essentially, reactive policing.

However, by the 1960s numerous changes to Aboriginal affairs at a national and local level led to the rescinding of many of the ordinances and regulations which, in part, de-emphasised the law
enforcement feature of policing. Later, a police presence became a
permanent feature of Tiwi society with the establishment of police
headquarters at Pularumpi in the mid-1970s with Tiwi being employed
as police aides a couple of years later. By the very nature of the
police system existing within Tiwi society, and through the
employment of Tiwi staff, policing began to enter a second phase -
adaptation. Features of Tiwi society were allowed 'back in' and
adapted by the murrintawi manjatawuwi to suit their own purposes of
police work. Some of these features included relying on the ACPOs
cultural knowledge and language abilities to assist in policing
matters.

They know exactly what's going on within their
community and umm _ the information they gather from
the people in their communities certainly goes a long
way to make our job much, much more easy ... That's _
that's the most important part of their job, and the
most important thing they can do is to deal with people
in their own community, and speak their own language.
virtually they interpret for me, they know whose
related to who, whose doing what, umm _ what cultural
barriers exist. things that I've got no idea about and
can't possibly know in two and a half years. They know
it, they are members of the community and that's the
most important thing is their verbal communication and
the interpretation of it to me ... You know, one of the
most valued _ attributes of the ACPO is the inside
information they have access to because they are a
member of the community (pers. comm., NTP01, 1997).

The NTP describes their current community approach to law and
order as 'community policing'. The community policing principles
signals a further shift in the approach to policing Aboriginal
communities. This shift is in accord with the syncretic approach to
historical experiences. It's philosophy has a likeness to what
Malouf (1998) calls a "convergence of indigenous and non-indigenous
understandings" (p. 39) where both approaches are "reconciled and
draw strength from one another" (pp. 121-122).
The *murrintawi* concept of work in Tiwi society, described by me as a social technology, is continuing to be developed and defined from a Tiwi perspective. Work, as assembled by the interloper culture, first appeared during the colonising phase: Tiwi labour was exploited by buffalo hunters. With the emergence and ascendancy of the Catholic mission, and the demise of Cooper’s dominance, the concept of work entered a christianising and civilising phase. Mission work was driven by belief that physical work, such as farming and building, was a civilising force. It was believed by missionaries and government alike that through engaging in this work that Tiwi would be taught “manliness” and would become “useful people”. The outcome of doing *murrintawi* work meant the accumulation of material goods which were, in turn, consumed individually or shared and exploited communally. With the shift from rations to the emergence of a cash economy and its consolidation through the Training Allowance Scheme in the late 1960s, employment opportunities for Tiwi increased. The emphasis on work was no longer Catholic Missions influenced, but was increasingly becoming Tiwi determined, hence the formation of enterprises such as Tiwi Designs and later commercial endeavours by the Tiwi Land Council.

Luigi’s perceptions about work has been informed by this history: “Well my father and mother worked, so _I_ have to work to earn money, earn pay to keep me going. You know I mean for, to buy things you want ... [it’s] ... Something I have to do. Something I wanted to do.” (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997). Likewise, Oscar also supports the need to work as being paramount in personal
advancement: “If you can’t work, you can’t go nowhere” (pers. comm., Oscar, 1997). However, even though Luigi’s desire to work is for economic and personal reasons, he is also driven by his desire for the greater community good.

Well, the job. I like about the job is mainly the _ umm, how to make this community a good place. No trouble anywhere, because I was thinking to myself, I can do it. I can do it, like help the councillors or the other elders or the people, you know run this place. Like, help them to fight against, not fight against but just to help the other people _ I don’t know what you call that. Better community, stop trouble, stop violence, stop drink. I was thinking that if I can handle that, oh that’s why I do this work (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

As a social technology, work and workplaces are quite complex and distinctive. Nevertheless, the Tivi response to this social technology is creative, pragmatic and intelligent. As described earlier in this chapter, much of Luigi’s ACPO work is also quite complex. Spoken and written language tasks are an integral feature of the ACPO workplace and as such can be regarded as textual activities [Fig. 14]. The ability of the ACPO to deal with these textual activities must be viewed holistically, otherwise there runs the risk of devaluing the ACPOs’ role because of the perceived deficiencies in English language and literacy skills. Although acknowledging the ACPOs’ valuable function within the community as a go-between, low literacy skills are viewed by the NTP as an impediment to an ACPO’s potential promotion. Low literacy skills are also viewed as having “a negative impact on the integrity of the scheme and how it has been perceived, by both our own staff and by the community” (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 19). This myopic view places an emphasis on only one area of workplace textual activities.
The complexity of the work is compounded by the aim of the textual activity and by the amount of knowledge required to complete the task. These textual activities are evident in the Tiwi ACPOs' workplace and are recorded through a number of processes and procedures: from receiving and reading faxed summonses, to negotiating face-to-face with community members. Currently, the value of doing "quite reasonable" journal entries is overemphasised as much of the work is not documented in the journals. Much of what takes place in an ACPO's workplace centres around spoken communication but is not recorded or, if it is, it is noted as "no trouble" or "little bit trouble." An ACPO is constantly shifting between written texts and other systems of making meaning, all which require quite complex levels of communication. This involves "mastering the conventionalised ways of making meanings with and around written texts relevant to personal, social and occupational needs, rather than simply mastering grapho-phonemic symbols and codes" (Prince, 1992, p.73).

The complexity of the work and workplaces are tied to three factors. These factors are:
• What has to be done? That is
  - task complexity (the breadth of the task and the
    knowledge and skills required to do the task), and
  - text complexity (how technical and abstract the
    language in the text is).
• Who is doing it? That is
  - the employee’s familiarity (knowledge and
    experience) with the context, task, text.
• How much support/assistance is provided? That is
  - the amount of expertise assistance needed to do
    the task (NBEET, 1996, p. 39).

In undertaking police work, both the ACPOs and the murrinh-\textsc{wa} manjatawuwi either explicitly or implicitly consider these three factors, and according to the complexity of the task and their knowledge, determine the amount of support needed to accomplish it. For some tasks, ACPOs stated that they were confident in dealing with the matter with little or no support from their partner, although support from community members, in some cases, was imperative.

Well, if it’s little I can do it myself. Like if its just argument, just go and drag them down. Take that woman to the woman centre, tell that mob to settle down. But if its big, big problem, ... like stabbing incident, or someone got hit and is in hospital or car accident ... I get a hand. Partner comes and we do it together ... [if it’s a less complex issue] ... like have argument or kids, you know, two kids – two kids in a fight and family involved and all I can tell them is family sort it out. "Don’t hurt the kid, don’t hurt the kid!" The father is coming and he’s going to talk "who started it, what happened". I get down there and just listen to them, listen to them (pers. comm. Luigi, 1997).

The knowledge required to participate in dispute resolution work in a community context is quite complex, however the ACPO’s pragmatic understanding of yimingga demonstrates a creative and intelligent approach to this kind of work. An ACPO will frequently draw on his knowledge of yimingga to assist in the process of dealing with disputes. This may mean consulting with the immediate family or senior members of the same yimingga in an attempt to settle
grievances. At one level, potential problems are at first dealt with by members of the Warden Scheme.

Luigi's involvement in disputes, involves several aspects of communication\(^{257}\) at different levels of complexity. Luigi has to deal with a number of people in a range of settings in two languages. Firstly, he must apply his knowledge of yimingsa in confronting and addressing the situation that is the focus of the conflict. This first means talking with the wardens who have brought the incident to his attention. Luigi needs to know who is involved, where the dispute is taking place and what the dispute is about. Once that information has been received he will need to make a decision about whether he is best placed to deal with the problem; whether Stanley should take control; or, whether the problem would be best handled cooperatively. Once he has decided on the best strategy, he will then act according to these decisions. In most cases, his familiarity with the people involved will assist in making this decision.

Luigi chose to become an ACPO partly in order to better the community and to work at a ground level in settling disputes. This approach reflects community policing principles, particularly the principle of police as peace officers rather than law enforcers:

[Stanley] Yeh .. we talk to people .. we just same like, you know .. friendly, friendly. [Luigi] Like when we're not wearing uniform .. like when we are sitting at home, talking, talking. Like that, talking to families .. and if someone comes along you got to talk

\(^{257}\) The National Framework of Adult English Language, Literacy and Numeracy Competence (1993) and the National Reporting System (1995) identify seven aspects of communication in a workplace. These reports state that people at work communicate about "work tasks, work as part of a team, work with people outside the organisation/ enterprise, the workplace, themselves, learning new skills and technology" (NBEET, 1996, p. 38).

\(^{257}\) NTP 'Proof of Service' proforma.
to them gently. Not scream at him (pers. comm., Stanley and Luigi, 1997).

As well as identifying with this role, ACPOs see themselves as being strongly involved with the community through constant consultation and the exchange of information to better deal with issues at a grass roots level. Again, both of these strategies reflect the principles of community policing. Luigi explains that if the person who is causing problems within the community is a drinker, then certain steps are taken in order to solve the problem, by firstly consulting with community members and community councillors, and then imposing what he sees as the appropriate action. Most of the time this consultation does not involve the murrinawi manjatawuuwi.

Like if that bloke been bashing his wife, like _ you know _ belting her, and she come up and tell me "I want to bar him." She comes to the police and tells them, "I want to bar him". We talk to that bloke before we put his name up, say you been belting your wife now she's got sore eye or something like that. So we tell him he's barred starting from today. All that list251 now is from the councillors .. some of the councillors, and some from the police (pers. comm., Luigi, 1997).

Viewed from a western perspective, Luigi’s role in mediating a resolution to the conflict involving Kelvin, described earlier in this chapter, could be seen as one of complicity in an unlawful act of assault. Viewed from a Tiwi perspective, the presence of Luigi at a public display of grievance settlement shows an understanding by the women of the syncretic nature of policing and peacemaking. It has moved beyond the dichotomy of traditional/non-traditional practices to a site of convergence. The presence of Luigi could be interpreted as bringing a murrinawi credibility to the action of

251 A list of banned drinkers displayed at the club.
dispute resolution. The public flogging of the offender by the women in the presence of a government law enforcer shows a resourceful perception of policing processes. The women and Luigi drawn on two systems of knowledge to deal with a grievance. In doing so, Luigi expresses a syncretic understanding of ACPO workplace practices and processes, and affirms a dual consciousness of his identity and position within Tiwi society.

8.7 Nimarra

The NTP ask where the deficiency lies in the ACPO scheme when it is quite obvious. The NTP approach to policing is a confusion of strategies and would be better suited by a concerted effort towards community policing as a philosophy and strategy. Such a strategy is in accord with the historical experience of Tiwi society and the Nguiu community in particular. Community policing could be an indication of the third emerging historical moment as it is syncretic character, and draws on the experience and knowledge of both societies. This emergent moment is analogous to the Tiwi historical experience.

ACPOs have shown a willingness to engage in police work, and draw on creative, pragmatic and intelligent discourses and processes in order to complete tasks. Such an approach is underpinned by a process of acculturation and affirms a dual consciousness. The NTP's approach to policing in Nguiu should recognise a number of important issues. Firstly, the significance of the community's history should be acknowledged in the context of workplace education. Secondly, the NTP should actively support community policing as the preferred strategy, and that the principles of community policing be applied
to workplace education. Thirdly, the NTP should focus on negotiation, rather than consultation, as a means of addressing law and order issues. Fourthly, the NTP should put in place a coherent training platform that addresses the holistic nature of workplace learning. This recommendation endorses the view that workplace education and workplace literacy must be constructed in partnership with Tiwi, and not separate from them. These points will be addressed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY

A well-founded strategy should
honour historical experience (Moore, 1992).

9.0 PAKINYA

The emphasis on ACPO training has been at the skills level and, to a certain extent, remains there with a preoccupation on ACPO deficiencies in "work performance, punctuality, attendance, professionalism, accountability and literacy" (ACPRWG, 1995, p. 21). In concert with a shift from reactive policing to community policing there should be a fundamental shift in philosophising about workplace education. The historical analysis of a Tiwi community provides some significance when thinking about work and workplace education programs.

In thinking about work and workplace education, there are a number of fundamental issues that need to be considered. Uppermost is that the historical experiences of the community should be the honoured and that that community policing is the best placed strategy to do this. Further, the process of negotiation should underlie the policing partnership; and, that for a shift to occur from "policies of control and containment to support for self-determination and reconciliation"(Wootten, 1992, p. 203), a commitment to change is required.
9.1 HONOURING HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

One afternoon I visited Duncan and took him some ice, which he appreciated as it soothed his sore and aching throat. I sat on the verandah chatting to him and tried to follow his conversations, which were a mixture of hand signs and utterance of English and Tiwi words. Quite often there would be lengthy periods of silence as we both sat on the verandah. From here we looked onto the passing traffic: children in small groups running and chasing each other, people in family groups wandering along, vehicles driving by, young men strolling along listening to music blaring from cassette recorders. These periods of silence between us were common and I felt no urge to fill them up with words. On this particular occasion as we were sitting in silence, Duncan's cheeky grandson, Antonio, brought out a bottle of water for Duncan to drink and motioned to pour some into his tea. Duncan, seemingly affronted, suggests that Antonio throw the bottle away. It was then that I noticed the unusual shape of the bottle - it was a plastic bottle in the form of Our Lady of Lourdes. A young Tiwi woman of the same yimgiya as Duncan had visited Lourdes recently, and knowing that he was ill, brought some Lourdes water back for him. While Duncan had no time for it, his family obviously had and were surreptitiously feeding it to him. The bottle was nearly empty.

*   *   *

The significance of the community's history for the development of ACFO workplace programs is not so much in specific historical events, but in the analysis of these events. This analysis is
manifested in the historical methods frame [Fig. 10] which is used to describe and analyse the interactions. This thesis presents two methods in analysing the history of interaction between the Tiwi and the murrin tawi: one linear, and the other cyclical. The linear method analyses these interactions in terms of two significant moments: a conflation of invasion, subjugation and regulation; and, then adaptation. However, a third moment has emerged which draws on experiences with, and knowledge of, both societies. This emerging moment is essentially syncretic and is informed by the Tiwi historical experience, described by me as the Tiwi cyclical method.

As stated earlier, the significance of this history is not the ways in which Tiwi resisted or submitted to interloper societies, but the ways in which Tiwi engaged in discourse with them in order to access new technologies and commodities. What emerges from this interaction is an essentially intelligent, pragmatic and creative response by the Tiwi to new experiences which is demonstrated in dealing with 'new' technologies. The Tiwi were essentially creative in dealing with the accepted new technologies through incorporating elements and representations of the encounters into cultural forms. Examples of these social technologies range from axes to print literacy. The latter was used by the interlopers in order to rationalise actions aimed at the subjugation and regulation of the Tiwi through the capacity of textual artefacts used by government agencies and officials, and individual murrin tawi. These textual artefacts included government legislation, ordinances and regulations enacted by federal and state governments and implemented by Catholic missions.
The Tiwi response to the social technology of print literacy has been pragmatic and creative, and they have used it to serve their own purposes. This powerful social technology has been added to the Tiwi meaning making systems of story, song, dance and art. These five social technologies are related as each, in part, is a textual activity. The textual activities of these social technologies are characterised by individual creativity, expression and innovation. The Tiwi experience of the new technology of print literacy is underpinned by a process of acculturation, that is essentially creative and pragmatic, and affirms a dual consciousness.

The history of the interaction between Tiwi and murrinhwuy recognise that, in spite of discriminatory and regressive laws and policies, Tiwi have actively and creatively engaged with murrinhwuy and their technologies, and submitted chosen forms to a process of acculturation. This view has significance when thinking about work and workplace education, especially for ACPOs. Moore (1992, p. 139) states that "a well-founded strategy should honour historical experience". In terms of NTP Operational policy, the community policing strategy is well placed to do this because underpinning it is the desire to draw on two systems of knowledge to address law and order issues. Moreover, in terms of workplace education and training, programs for NTP staff should include an understanding of historical methods inclusive of NTP-Tiwi relations. This training should be across the board and include Tiwi ACPOs as both teachers and learners. For murrinhwuy manjatauwi who are to be directly involved in working in Tiwi communities, it should be seen as a priority that they learn the history of these communities. This is in line with RCIADIC recommendations (Johnston, 1991).
9.2 JUST TALK HIM OUT

It's to be a big social day: the school principal who has been working in the school on and off since first arriving in 1953, is retiring and the school is putting on a performance in her honour. There has already been earlier performance hosted by the Tiwi Land Council, the Nguiu Community Council and associated community enterprises a couple of days before. Today's performance is taking place in the school grounds and a large crowd has gathered. Several guests have also flown across from Darwin.

The crowd has spilled out from the enclosure and are either sitting or standing around in groups, sometimes stretching to see what is happening around them. A dance group has formed to one side of the building, consisting of several male dancers dressed in red pantirriwini and decorated in jilimara. Behind the male dancers are a group of women, some wearing pamijini and others jilimara on their face, accompanying the nun who is likewise painted and wearing pamijini. Between the male dancers and the women are ACPO Luigi and Stanley who have also dressed for the occasion in their full NTP-issued ACPO uniforms.

* * *

As noted in the previous chapter, the current NTP operational policy is an amalgamation of strategies. The concept of community policing has been singled out by the RCIADIC as a model that has "recast" the role of the NTP in their interactions with Aboriginal communities and one in which could provide a helpful lesson for other
communities (Johnston, 1991). The significance of history would suggest that such an approach, as a basis for policing Aboriginal communities, is appropriate, especially where both party's experiences and knowledge are drawn on to inform the interactions. However, the NTP view community policing on its own as 'inadequate' and prefer to consider a range of strategies in their approach to policing (O'Neill & Bathgate, 1993). These strategies include 'reactive policing'. The history of one Aboriginal community suggests that this is misguided and myopic.

Reactive policing traditionally focuses on one area - law enforcement - and as such can create criminalisation. Criminalisation is the outcome of over-policing where there is the routine use of arrest as response to a minor incident (Wootton, 1992). In Tiwi history, this response is obvious during the pearling era where Tiwi were portrayed as participating in criminal activities, and as such were arrested and/or punished. In recent history, this situation has been intensified by regressive and repressive mandatory sentencing regulations for property offenders that sees 14 day imprisonment terms for first offences (Schetzer, 1998). Mandatory sentencing further confuses the ideal of 'partnership policing'. A dependency on reactive policing as a strategy is a retrograde step to the first historical moment of 'invasion/subjugation/regulation' where Aboriginal communities are dominated through regulation. The analysis of Tiwi history shows that progressive steps towards convergence have occurred where experiences with, and knowledge of, both societies are drawn on. Wooten (1995, p. 185) believes that "it is efficient and sensible policing to do everything possible to avoid setting in motion, or to break, [criminalising] cycles of events". Reactive
policing does not allow for this to happen whereas community policing, with an emphasis on partnership, does.

The strength of community policing lies in its commitment to honouring the community as partners in policing. This relationship is widely acknowledged and recognised by police, at least in principle. Policing is "not purely driven by the police department, but it sort of involves very much what the community sort of feels as well" (pers. comm., NTPO2, 1997). This partnerships recognises "the ineffectiveness of traditional policing methods as well as the resourcefulness of the community in matters of crime prevention and social control" (Chan, 1997, p. 49). Fundamental to this partnership is "shared functions and mutual cooperation" (Sarre, 1989, p. 39). This is evidenced in the establishment of Night Patrols and the Warden Scheme. Also, the involvement of individual Tiwi in settling disputes could also be seen as an intelligent application of community policing principles where ACPOs move through a number of strategies from "non-intervention to friendly advice, to warning, to caution" (Wootten, 1992, p. 183).

This approach also highlights the dual consciousness existing in police work where crime and disorder is addressed, but where there also is an emphasis on public service to "improve the quality of life of the community" (Hunt, 1995, p. 51). By engaging in work this way, Luigi also demonstrates a sophisticated approach to dealing with complex social problems which represents a large portion of his police work. This approach reflects some of the principles of community policing, which are being intelligently applied by ACPOs.
The 'police as peace officers' community policing principle is often evident throughout the working day of an ACPO.

This type of role is consistent with the Tiwi concept of pwankini and demonstrates the dual consciousness in the construction of an ACPO identity. The study of an ACPO at work reveals that work gets done in several complex ways and draws on both systems of knowledge. It also reveals that what is recorded as "no trouble" or "little bit trouble" is in fact ACPOs demonstrating their invaluable contribution as negotiators, mediators and peacemakers. In such a role an ACPO may draw on several competencies to complete the task including his knowledge of yimginga, his bilingual facilities, or his responsibilities as pwankini.

This type of role is also evidence of ACPOs, as representatives of the NTP, working towards forging strong police partnerships within the community. This ideal of policing as being accountable to the community should also be evident in NTP training. The adoption of community policing as the strategy and philosophy of the NTP should also inform work and workplace education. Fundamental to both is the concept of 'partnership' (Chan, 1997) which will be realised in workplace programs through negotiation.

9.3 HOW LONG HE RECKON

Eugene has invited me out bush for the weekend and picks me up one Saturday afternoon just after lunch. On board the 4WD are Emily and her grandson Dujon, a young woman they call daughter, Juliette, and their dog. Before we head off, Eugene tells me to drive around to pick up another murrintani, Bill, who they have also invited out. In
the back of the 4WD are various articles including pillows, mattresses, billies, a gun, knives, cups and an axe. After about an hour of driving, Eugene indicates for me to turn off the Fourcroy road and down a smaller track that leads to a location popularly known as Dinner Camp.

Eugene takes out the axe while Emily and Juliette bring along a couple of billies as we head off into the bush. Every once in awhile stopping for Eugene to whack a stringybark tree with the axe. Each time this is done, Eugene looks up to any hollows in the tree to see if any native bees have stirred and are flying out. After several attempts, a tree is eventually located and Eugene begins to chop. He is relieved at intervals by Juliette. Both are ambidextrous and swing the axe with great skill and aplomb and soon the tree comes crashing down. A small possum leaps from the tree at the last moment scurrying to the top of a nearby sapling. Emily takes the axe and begins to chop away at a branch which very soon reveals a quantity of exquisite sugarbag. This is scooped out and placed in the billies. We dip tasting sticks, made from various lengths of a sand palm branch flattened at one end, into the sugarbag and suck the sweet honey off the stick. The young possum's fate is decided by the dog and it, along with the billies of sugarbag, is packed into the pack of the 4WD as we head off to a camping spot at Wongirru, another one hour's drive from Dinner Camp.

*     *     *

Axes have figured prominently in Tiwi history. As a social technology axes have been adapted by Tiwi for a variety of uses and
purposes and have, unlike some short-lived technologies, remained a constant in the social and cultural life of Tiwi society. Historical records show that in 1818 Tiwi were quite persistent in their negotiations with King in until they had achieved their objective of acquiring axes. Associated with these historical experiences around axes and other desirous technologies is the willingness of Tiwi to engage in creative and pragmatic discourse with murríntawi. Central to this discourse is the process of negotiation.

History highlights the process of negotiation as being significant in many interactions between the Tiwi and murríntawi. As a process that has historical significance, the concept of negotiation is well placed to inform ACPO work and workplace education. An ACPO in his daily work relies on his ability to negotiate in order to settle disputes, and to enforce punishment. ACPOs quite often have to address civil disobedience issues caused by drunkenness. ACPOs will do this through a process of negotiation with council members, the licensee and the offender.

Luigi demonstrates an intelligent application of the community policing philosophy by undertaking a "peace officer" role and responding in a more diverse and extensive way rather than "mere enforcement through arrest and report" (Hunt, 1995, p. 53). By involving other agencies in the negotiation process he is also implicitly drawing attention to the underlying cause of community disorder.

Community policing is based on the principles of the police being "accountable to the community and establishing a partnership
with the community" (Chan, 1997, p. 49). Central to this belief is that communities have a say "about their policing and security priorities and needs" (Sarre, 1989, p. 31). Negotiation, rather than mere consultation, is important in this process. Wootten (1992) believes that police should learn to negotiate with communities on an equal basis rather than consulting with them as unequal partners in the policing process. The outcome of negotiation is that the community is viewed as "a client for which police services are provided on an agreed basis, rather than an object of policing". Such a view is in accord with RCIADIC recommendations (Johnson, 1991).

The process of negotiation should also be viewed as being significant for workplace education and extended to the development of program curriculum. Negotiations around workplace education curriculum should involve NTP, ACPOs, and community representatives as equal partners in the policing enterprise. A vital part of negotiating an ACPO workplace education program should be an acknowledgment of the many voices evident in ACPO workplaces. O’Connor (1993, p. 81) states that the negotiation process must be underpinned by a respect for "indigenous workplace practices" and an understanding of "the complexity of work skills and their relationship to job performance". When this occurs then negotiations will take place "from a position that values these understandings and practices grounded in them and their participants and contexts, and use these to facilitate positive change". The concept of negotiation is allied to the historical experience, and is essential for thinking about the theory and practice of community policing, and for subsequent ACPO workplace education and training.
9.4 A LONG HAUL

It’s tokwampinari²⁵⁹ on a Saturday morning, and Luigi has dropped me off at Hunter and Mary Lynne’s house while he goes to get his family. Hunter is sitting cross-legged in the breezeway eating bacon and eggs while Mary Lynne puts together a few things for the trip out bush. On Luigi’s return, Hunter and Mary Lynne gather their things and throw most of them in the back with us while they climb in the front where Hunter takes over the driving. Soon we are on the Fourcroy road. Mary Lynne occasionally turns around to speak to us through the back window of the ute. She’s wearing reflective sun glasses and is busily rolling cigarettes for Hunter and the other smokers on board. On her lap, she nurses a large portable cassette recorder and after sorting through the cassettes that are strewn along the dashboard, selects one of her favourites. Mary Lynne presses play and turns around beaming at me as she sings along:

We don’t smoke marijuana in Muskogee,
We don’t take our trips on LSD,
We don’t burn our draft cards down on Main Street,
We like livin’ right, and bein’ free.

I’m proud to be an Okie from Muskogee
A place where even squares can have a ball²⁶⁰.

*          *          *

History highlights the significance of adaptive change in Tiwi society, especially in experiences with social technologies. Social technologies, such as the motor vehicle and the cassette recorder are here to stay in Aboriginal societies because, as Rowse (1996) puts it, they “like them and will defend their entitlement to them” (p. 7). Through a process of acculturation these technologies have been

²⁵⁹ Dawn - when birds start to sing.
²⁶⁰ ‘Okie From Muskogee’ © Merle Haggard, 1969.
changed and in the process have taken on Tiwi qualities, purposes and
design. Similarly, an historical analysis of the social technologies
of story, song, dance and art highlights adaptive change. For
example, innovation in Tiwi art highlights not just the pragmatic and
creative use of murrinawi technologies such as axes and angle-
grinders, but also the significance of historical experiences as
sources of inspiration for making art. The analysis of these social
technologies also highlights a syncretic method in dealing with, and
accommodating, the 'new' social technology of print literacy. The
social technologies of story, song, dance, art and print literacy are
all interrelated because they are, in part, textual activities. Each
social technology has evolved to its present state through a
syncretic process that is characterised by a creative, pragmatic and
intelligent response to historical experiences.

Similarly, the adoption of community policing by NTP could also
be described as a syncretic process characterised by and intelligent
response to policing Aboriginal communities. However, this requires a
fundamental shift in ideology and practice to move from policies of
control and containment to support for self-determination and
reconciliation (Wootten, 1992). Such a shift signals change on both
sides. To effect change on the side of police, requires responsible
and capable police leaders.

Police leaders must prepare themselves for a long haul
in which they establish enlightened and well informed
sources of advice; gradually build a network of trust
and communication at various levels; lay foundations
for new images of Aboriginal/police relations through
corporate policies and selection, training and
promotion practices; develop the concept of community
policing to embrace a negotiated client relationship
with Aboriginal communities, with appropriate
accountability; and ensure that at every level
Aboriginal voices are seriously and respectfully
listened to and Aboriginal community initiatives given all possible encouragement (Wootten, 1992, p. 204).

These objectives assume that "change must be directed at the structural or cultural organisation of policing" (Chan, 1997, p. 51). However, as pointed out earlier, such a commitment to change will not be fully realised while the NTP maintain a multi-strategy operational policy. The adoption of community policing will signify an important shift in ideology and will honour the historical experience.

A shift towards community policing should also parallel the type of workplace education on offer. Rather than developing workplace programmes based on sets of de-contextualised skills, the social and cultural context of the workplace needs to be emphasised. This relies on partnerships. Where community policing is based on a working partnership with the community, workplace education programmes will involve ACPO and the NTP in active negotiation. NTP workplace educators and curriculum developers should recognise that they serve the interests of both the community and the NTP. Any negotiation about workplace education should not marginalise ACPOs in the process.

In the current Vocational, Education and Training (VET) climate a danger exists to return to a moment where murrinawo interests are served. This will occur if the underlying discourse is based on narrow, NTP culture specific practices that do not engage ACPOs as equal partners. The adoption of a skills-based approach to ACPO training would reflect workplace education as being the acquisition of sets of decontextualised rules and patterns of behaviour. It will also occur if VET training packages are not critically analysed
before being implemented as the basis for workplace education. These training packages need to be grounded in the community context. They need to be of high quality and based on sound teaching and learning practices that honour the community's historical experience. For this to be realised negotiations around these issues must occur so that contextualised workplace programmes are established. If communities are locked out of this process then it is a return to historical moments where Aboriginal societies are devalued and dominated by a desire to enforce a system which does not serve the community's interests.

9.5 NIMARRA

The significance of history for ACPO work and workplace education can be stated as a set of recommendations that should inform a philosophy. Central to this philosophy is recognition of the intelligent, pragmatic and creative responses to new experiences demonstrated by the Tiwi in the course of history. Such a recognition could also be applied to workplace education and programs through a learning of this history.

An historical analysis of Tiwi and murriṉtawi interactions suggests that community policing is the most appropriate strategy for policing Tiwi communities. Community policing is based on partnership which implies that both Tiwi and murriṉtawi experiences and knowledge are drawn on to inform communication. Communication is necessary for an understanding of how work gets done in an ACPO workplace, and for what are the priorities in workplace education programs that will improve police relations and operations. If workplaces are viewed as
syncretic, and not solely murrin\textsc{ta}wi or Tiwi, then both systems can be drawn on to inform workplace principles and practices.

The process of negotiation has been characteristic of the historical experience and has been, and will be, fundamental to interactions around work and workplace education. Negotiations around workplace education curriculum should involve NTP, ACPOs, and community representatives as equal partners in the policing enterprise.

Finally, settling on community policing as a strategy requires a commitment to change. To instigate the change process requires a commitment from police leadership in their pursuit for true ‘policing partnerships’ with communities. This will require police in their pursuit of change, to have a strategic vision; to be sensitive to cultural issues; to be flexible at all levels of practice; and, to be intelligent and creative when thinking about police work and the ACPO workplace. First and foremost, however, remains the centrality of honouring historical experience.

* * *

It has been a year since I was last on Bathurst Island, and as I am here only for the day, I am particularly keen to catch up with those central to my story. There are quite a few tourists on this flight and as we come into land, cameras are clicking and there is a feeling of excitement and anticipation as we touch down on the airstrip. The Tiwi Tours bus and other vehicles are waiting at the airport and as I alight from the plane the Tiwi Tours guide, Gerard
Paul, directs the tourists towards the bus. Simon is also here in a council truck to collect the government bureaucrat, conspicuous by his long white socks and black briefcase. Simon offers me a lift into town which is partly deserted as many families have gone out to murrakupuni for the four weeks break known as 'bush'.

After chatting awhile with Simon and others at the council building, I then walk to Duncan's house. On arriving there I find that the house is deserted, and I fear the worse. However, Duncan's grandson emerges from the house next door and tells me that Duncan has shifted camp to Paru across Apsley Strait. We walk down to the barge landing and get a lift in the culture boat. There are couple of families living in the Paru houses built on the site of Joe Cooper's buffalo camp. I can see Duncan off in the distance and am surprised to see that he is standing and is walking, albeit gingerly. He doesn't recognise me until I am close by and then throws his arms into the air, grinning and hugging me. "My boy, my boy. I thought you the priest! I thought you the priest!"

For the rest of the morning I sit on an upturned flour drum, on which Duncan has placed a pillow, and talk about many things. He again tells fragments of stories about Joe Cooper, Bishop Gsell, World War 2, my wife's father, hunting and other topics. As the sun shifts, I help him to drag his mattress over to a shadier spot where he resumes his story telling. His son and grandson have returned from hunting and show him the wallaby they have shot, and his daughter-in-law brings him food, soft drink and tobacco which she has bought from the Nguiu store.
It is getting late, and as I am booked on the afternoon flight, I reluctantly decide that I must leave. Duncan insists that he will come to see me off and I push him in his wheelchair down to the strait where we wait in the shade for the culture boat to come. In the late afternoon, we sit in his country, Yeimpi, at the site of Joe Cooper's camp gazing out across Apsley Strait to Nguiu. We no longer talk and I am caught up in the silence and the significance of this place. I roll a cigarette for him, lighting it before passing it on. He takes it from me and smiles, and without a word returns his gaze, staring into country, a place of history.

* * *

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APPENDICES
Appendix 1

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY

Information sheet

Awungana. You may have heard that I no longer work at Batchelor College. I now live in Sydney and I study at the University of Western Sydney. I am here until 23 June.

What am I doing?
I am doing a Doctor of Philosophy degree. For my study I want to find out more about the work of Aboriginal Community Police Officers [ACPO]. I also want to write about the history of the Tiwi Islands, especially the Nguiu community.

Who have I talked to about this research?
I have talked to the Chairman of the Tiwi Land Council, the President of the Nguiu Land Council, the Northern Territory Police Force, past and present ACPO, and a number of Nguiu community members. I have been issued with a permit from the Tiwi Land Council.

Who will I be interviewing?
I will be interviewing ACPO Stanley and ACPO Luigi, as well as previous ACPO and community members. I will be interviewing muruntawi members of the NTP including the Pularumpi officers and NTP staff from Darwin. I will use a tape recorder to record the interviews. I will keep the tape in a safe place. Anyone interviewed will be able to listen to any of the information at any time. I will also type the interview and give a copy to each person.

Who will I be observing?
I will be observing how Samson and John Luigi do their work and what is involved in being an ACPO. I will also be doing other observations around the community.

How long will it take?
I am here until 23 June, 1997. After I have collected enough information, I will go back to Sydney and put it all together. I hope to have something ready by the middle of next year. I hope to come back in 1998 and show people what I have written.

Who will it benefit?
It will benefit me - if my study is successful I will receive a Ph. D. from the University of Western Sydney. It may benefit the Northern Territory Police - they will get a report about recommendations for literacy training of ACPO. It may benefit individual ACPO - recommendations from my study may assist ACPO gain meaningful training and participate more fully as members of the Northern Territory Police. It may benefit Aboriginal workplace education and training in general - recommendations from my study might be applied across programs.

Do you have to participate?
If I ask to interview you for this study you can say no. You can also withdraw from this project at any time and you can, if you wish, remain anonymous in the final report.

If you want to find out more?
I am staying at Japara, Catholic accommodation. You will also see me walking around town. Please talk to me at anytime.

NOTE: This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Nepean's Human Ethics Review Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Human Ethics Officer (Tel: 047 360 169). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.
Appendix 2

Tiwi Glossary

ajipa a type of song performed on the second day of kurlama.
aminayi grandfather.
arampi relations.
araninkiri a long heavy spear with barbs down both sides.
arlipiura a pelican.
jamutakari a major season, occurring from December to April.
japaplingini a headband sometimes worn during pukumwani ceremonial dances.
japurraringa a snake; a forked fighting stick.
jarrangini buffalo.
jlati a brogla.
jlimala colour; design.
jukuti a bark armband decorated with ochres and feathers and worn on the upper arm.
jukwarliti a long spear with barbs down one side.
kapala boat.
kirilima jungle fowl.
kirimpika mud crab.
kiritka a turtle.
kumurrupunari a major season occurring from April to October.
kurlama an annual ceremony; a type of thin yam used in kurlama rituals.
kwaka flour made from cycad fruit.
kwampi sneak attackers.
kwarikwaringa a butterfly.
mamanukuni a song-type performed during pukumwani ceremonies.
mamurampi a kinship term; a dance with spears representing both spirit children and sneak attackers.
mangalawa police.
mantawi friends, associates, companions or acquaintances.
marpuri spirits of the dead.
milimika a cleared dancing area.
mijnjiriyi missionary.
miputi generic term for fish.
mirani son [father vocative].
miraninga daughter [father vocative].
mungalakia a long thin spear with no barbs and usually carried in bundles.
munguntaringa cicatrices.
murrawakupuni country; land; place.
murintaka refers to non-Aboriginal female; murrintani, non-Aboriginal male; murrintawi, non-Aboriginal people.
murintum a kinship term.
mwaninga daughter [mother vocative].
warti son [mother vocative].
naga loin cloth
ngi- personal pronoun.
nginari mother [vocative]
ngintinganina father's sister.
ngirimpi relationships terms
ngirramini story; message; talk; words.
ngiya- personal pronoun.
ngiya-naringa my mother [reference].

Spelling and meanings are from Ngawurranungurumagi Nginingawila Ngapangiraga: Tiwi - English Dictionary. Nguu: Nguu Nginingawila Literature Production Centre.
nimarra  a discussion.
numwaryaka  a long thin spear with no barbs and usually carried
in bundles.
nyingawi  mischievous spirits - nyingani [male], nyingaka
[female]; a song style.
pakinya  at first.
pamijini  a large armband made from pandanus or vine with
feathers attached and worn on the upper arm.
pantirriwi  loin cloth
papurraluwi  older Tiwi.
parlingarri  a long time ago; in the remote past
pirka  horse.
pingawini  long thin spear with small barbs.
piranga  whelks.
pitipituwi  spirits who become children by being 'dreamed' into
the physical world.
pukumwani  a set of rituals associated with a death; a person
closely related to the deceased, and the belongings,
house, country and name of the deceased. All of these
are said to be pukumwani. Words that have a similar
sound to the deceased person's name can also be
pukumwani. The closest English word to describe this
association would be 'taboo'.
pukwi  a peacemaker; one who intervenes in, and settles,
disputes.
purinjiti  message stick.
pwanga  small dots and stripes of paint.
rringani  father, stepfather, father's brother, mother's
sisters husband.
tartuwali  a shark.
tawutawungari  a minor season, the season of clapsticks.
timinti  husband's mother's brother; son's wife's brother;
husband's father.
timintinga  sister's son's wife; son's wife; husband's mother;
husband's brother's wife.
tiyari  a major season occurring from October to December.
tokwampini  generic term for bird.
tokwayinga  a goose-down feather ball attached to string using
bees wax and worn around the neck which is often held
between the teeth while dancing.
tunga  Painted bark baskets made from the bark of the
stringybark tree (eucalyptus tetrodonta).
Traditionally, these held the gifts for the ritual
workers at the pukumwani ceremonies, and were left
upturned on the top of turtini at the ceremony's
conclusion.
turtini  burial poles now commonly known as pukumwani poles.
yilaniga  ritual held after burial.
yiloti  forever, permanently, for good; the final funeral
dance.
yiminga  'skin group', maternal descent group; spirit, life,
breath, pulse; sun, hour or time of day; gall
bladder; craving for; thirst for; thirsty.
yintiyintinga  a false beard usually made from white feathers and
attached to string using bees wax.
yipunga  older sister.
yipwaka  younger sister.
yirrikipayi  salt water crocodile.
yirringapapurajuwi  good singers.
yirrumuna  paternal totem group.
yoyi  dance; ceremony.
yuwani  younger brother.
yuwuni  older brother.
Country All Round

Jack Frawley
PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,

and the best possible result has been obtained.
Country All Round:
The Significance Of A Community's History
For Work and Workplace Education.

J. W. Frawley

M.Ed.(TESOL) University of South Australia 1994
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A thesis submitted in the School of Applied Social and Health Sciences at the University of Western Sydney (Nepean) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, February 2001.
Dedicated to the memory of my mother,

Wilma Hazel Prawley (1928 - 1980)
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SUMMARY

The literature on workplace education offers the proposition that an understanding of the socio-cultural and historical context of workplaces is fundamental to thinking about workplace education. The situation under study is an Aboriginal Community Police Officer’s [ACPO] workplace on Bathurst Island in the Northern Territory.

It is hypothesised that ACPOs have a dual consciousness of their profession and their workplace, and this consciousness has been informed and shaped by their common history. This history, I argue, is characterised by syncretism. Underlying this ongoing syncretic historical moment is the process of acculturation where ACPOs draw on experiences with, and knowledge of, both Tiwi and murrin tawi societies. On the other hand, murrin tawi have a divergent view of ACPOs and ACPOs’ workplaces because of two quite different consecutive historical moments: moment one is a conflation of three phases of possession, being invasion/subjugation/regulation; and moment two is adaptation. It is these moments that characterise the construction of work and workplaces, but it is syncretism which has potential when thinking about present-day work and workplace education. Therefore, the purpose of the research is to investigate the significance of a Tiwi community’s history to better understand ACPOs work and workplace education. This is done by examining a number of social technologies.

1 ACPO is used throughout this thesis when referring to the singular; ACPOs for the plural.
2 Macquarie Concise Dictionary (2nd Edition) defines syncretism as ‘the attempted reconciliation or union of different or opposing principles, practices or parties, as in philosophy or religion’ (p. 1021). This concept is described and discussed later in this thesis.
3 A Tiwi word meaning non-Aboriginal people.
In seeking answers to this problem I give an historical account of Tiwi society by uncovering the ‘politics of literacy’: what was written about the Tiwi; and, why it was written. The history is written within an interactive paradigm that positions Tiwi as dynamic agents in the historical process engaging in essentially creative discourse and processes. A historical analysis of Tiwi society, from a murrinwairi perspective and within the interactive paradigm, depicts primarily the two main linear developed significant moments⁴. A third emerging moment has parallels with the Tiwi historical experience: this moment is described as operating alongside the murrinwairi moments but in a cyclical fashion. Consequently, this thesis attempts to construct a socio-cultural and historical understanding of social technologies in order to provide a context for better understanding work and workplace education. I conclude that a philosophy, which positions Tiwi as actively and creatively engaging with murrinwairi and their technologies, has significance when thinking about police work and workplace education.

A further aim of this research is to attempt to accurately capture and portray the informants’ story from the perspective of the person involved by establishing a closer relationship between myself and most informants. This research partnership I refer to as mantawi.⁵ The research process aims for a more open and equal relationship through ensuring mantawi access to data; mantawi advice on research design issues; and mantawi consultation during the writing process. Keeping these three principles in mind, the intention was to write a more readable and accessible study that

⁴ After Smith (1998). The concept of ‘significant moments’ is described and discussed later in this thesis.
⁵ Friend, associate, companion or acquaintance.
captures and portrays the full flavour of the setting. Therefore, I use a literary device of vignettes which are then followed by a descriptive-analytical interpretation in which historical events and various social-cultural aspects are described, analysed and interpreted.

DECLARATION

The work presented in this thesis is to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

SIGNED: ..............................................

DATE: ..............................................
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NOTES ON STYLE AND LANGUAGE

1. I have endeavoured to be consistent with the spelling of Tiwi words and have conformed to the spelling from the current ‘Ngawuranungurumagi Nginingawila Ngapangiraga: Tiwi-English Dictionary’. Tiwi words that appear in cited texts have not been altered.

2. Throughout the thesis I have quoted from interview transcripts. In the interview transcripts the following notations were used:
   _ indicates either a pause or hesitation or a change of direction in the conversation.
   ... indicates that the speaker trailed off or was interrupted.

3. I use the Tiwi word murrintawi (plural), murrintani (singular male) or murrintaka (singular female) to refer to non-Aboriginal people. When referring to other specific Aboriginal groups I use the accepted terminology such as Iwaidja, Larrakeyah and Yolngu. I use Aboriginal as an adjective and Aborigine as a noun in non-specific discussion or reference.