

CHAPTER VTHE ADNJAMATHANHA AND KOKATHA HISTORY
OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

5.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONTACT HISTORY

The land rights activities of the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha cannot be viewed without consideration of the contact experience of both these groups. A diachronic perspective places the land rights process into its correct historical context of a political movement which has emerged in response to the contact situation. Although these two groups today share common, but sometimes conflicting, political aspirations and operate to realise these aspirations within the same political and organisational framework, they have had markedly different contact experiences which are currently working to distinguish the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha strategies in relation to land rights. Thus, political action directed towards land rights is not only shaped by the options, norms and restrictions of the contemporary scene but is influenced by long-standing political norms which develop during the early period of contact between Aborigines and Europeans.

The historical account is designed to include historical factors which have influenced both the land-relationship dimension and the political dimension of land rights. These dimensions present the two dominant facets of the land rights process. The land-relationship dimension focuses on the changing associations of the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha with

their country. The emphasis is on events which have changed the pre-contact patterns of movement and distribution such as the development of sedentary camps and movement, both forced and voluntary, related to associations with European culture. A number of different post-contact developments have acted to alter the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha association with their country and, consequently, the logistics of maintaining the pre-contact 'man-environment' relationship and at times the focal points of this relationship. Extending from this first theme is the changing context in which pre-contact modes of land-relationship have existed since contact. The onslaught of European settlement with its accompanying institutions and attitudes meant that traditional land-relationships and procedures of maintaining the relationship existed within a system of conflicting values which often thwarted proper maintenance of the Aboriginal 'man-environment' system.

The second theme emphasised throughout the following historical analysis is that of the development and changing nature of relationships between the Aboriginal communities and the European agents and institutions that accompanied the advent of colonisation. These relationships developed and changed throughout the various stages of European contact, moulding the expectations and norms upon which current political behaviour is built.

As the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha were (and remain) culturally distinctive and inhabited different spatial areas, their contact experiences are treated separately.

The analysis of each group is further subdivided into a general chronological schema. In producing an historical reconstruction of two distinct groups a major methodological difficulty was encountered. There are marked variations in the quality, amount and type of historical detail available for the two groups. The Adnjamathanha have been well researched and in particular there are the extensive field notes of Mountford (1980) and various publications emanating from involvement by the Heritage Unit in the area (see, for example, Wilton et.al., 1980; Heritage Unit, 1981). In contrast the Kokatha have received little specific attention by researchers; Bates (n.d.) treats them in detail but there is some doubt as to whether she is always writing of the Kokatha specifically and Platt (1972), a notable exception, has produced a valuable linguistic study of Kokatha language. It was necessary to ensure that variations noted between the two groups were actually representative of their differing contact experience and not the result of differences in the type of documentation and oral recollection available. In fact, the variation in research must itself be taken as an important historical indicator of the differing Adnjamathanha and Kokatha contact experience.

5.2 THE ADNJAMATHANHA EXPERIENCE

5.2.1 An Ethnographic Introduction

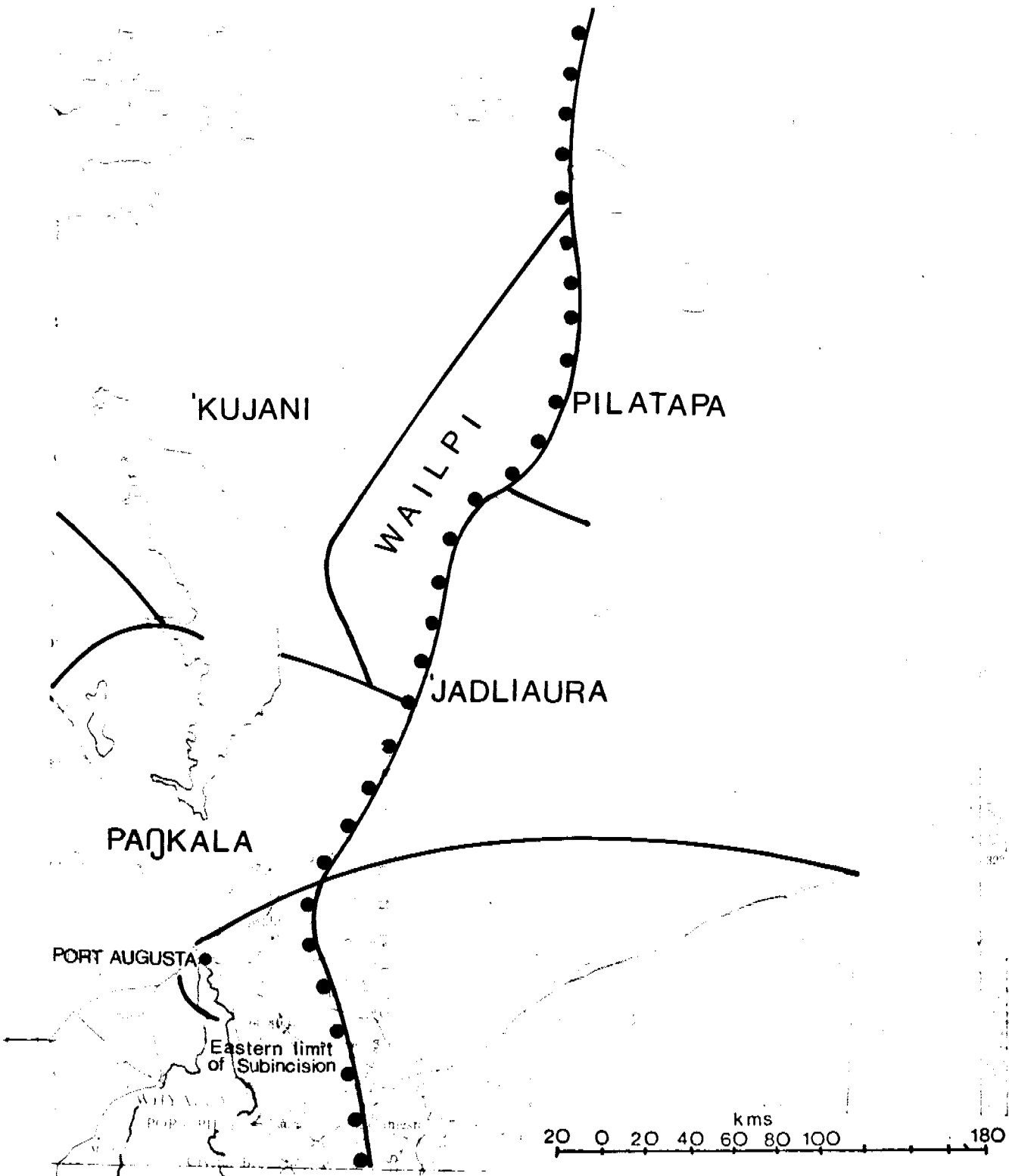
Adnjamathanha means 'rock' or 'hill' people and it is a name which stresses the association of this group with the topographically distinct Flinders Ranges area. The ethno-

graphic literature suggests that the collective Adnjamathanha identity is largely a post-contact phenomenon. According to Tindale's map of Australian Aboriginal tribal distribution (1974), at the time of European settlement the topographically distinct Northern Flinders Ranges area was inhabited by three discrete groups; 'Pilatapa, Wailpi and 'Jadliaura. Furthermore, Tindale's map presents the Flinders Ranges as an area dissected from north to south by a line representing the eastern limit of subincision rites (Map 5:1). In corresponding with Tindale on this matter (1982) he suggested that 'Adnjamathanha' is a term popularised by the writings of C.P. Mountford in the 1930s and 1940s. However in an article Tindale wrote with Hale (1925) he does make reference to the Wailpi calling themselves 'Anjimatana' which implies that the name was in common use in the area but may have undergone redefinition and a broader application since contact.

The Adnjamathanha community itself sees the term 'Adnjamathanha' as having a pre-contact origin, and discussions held with older members of the group implied that the wide application of the name evolved from a long-standing feeling of common identity rather than the recent adoption of an arbitrary term popularised by Mountford. According to the older Adnjamathanha people there had originally been a number of different camps and the people had called themselves different names, but they were all rock people (Adnjamathanha) and spoke the same language, simply in different ways. This interpretation is supported by other

MAP 5:1 Map of Tribal organisation in the Flinders Ranges according to Tindale.

SOURCE: Tindale, N.B. (1974), Aboriginal Tribes of Australia. Map (S.E. Sheet).



evidence which suggests that there was a high degree of cultural uniformity between the 'tribes' inhabiting the Northern Flinders Ranges (Map 5:2). The uniformity, it seems, has been acknowledged in a common generic name which captures the common physical environment they share. The physical distinctiveness of the Flinders Ranges is not to be underestimated in its capacity to impart a unique and durable sense of collective identity.

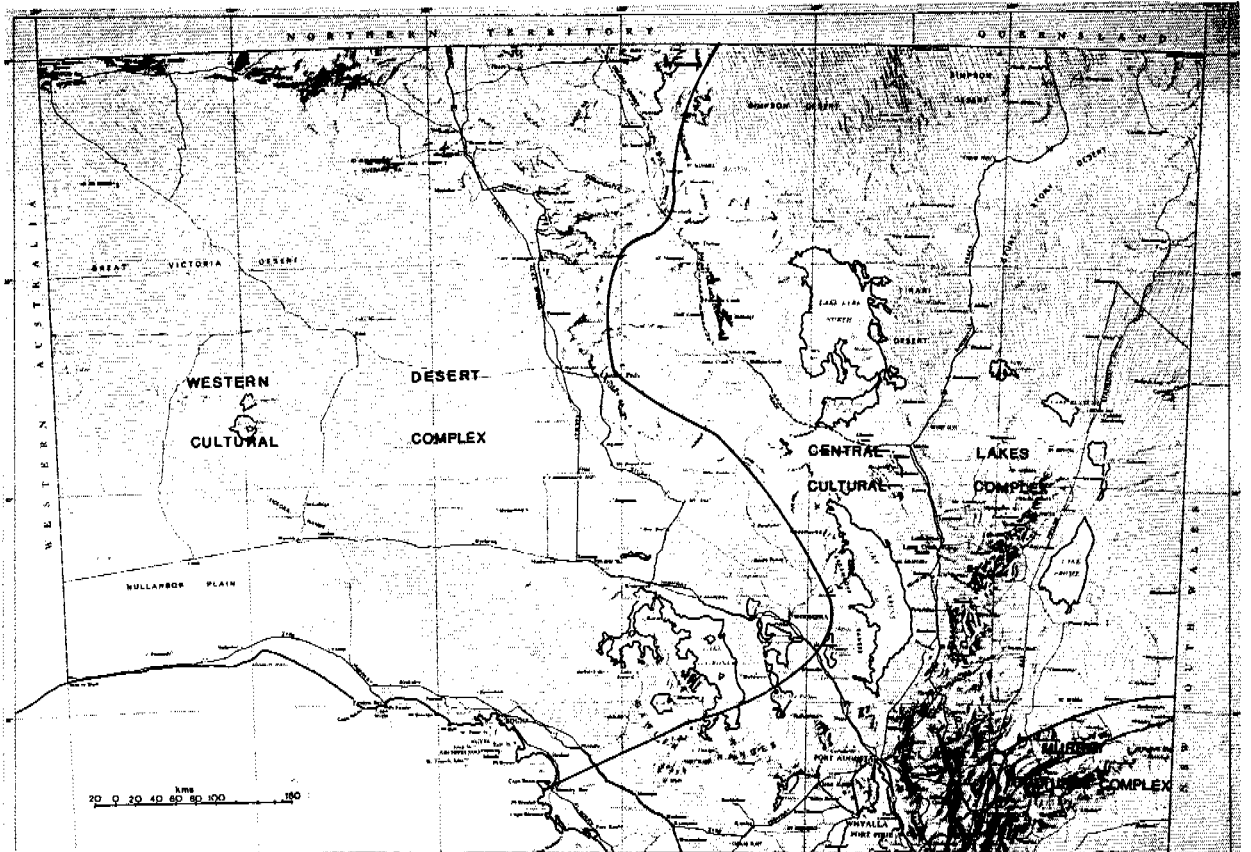
The political facet of pre-contact Adnjamathanha society has not been documented and little material is available which adds light to this dimension. In his field notes Mountford (1980) describes authority within the Adnjamathanha as resting with the elders of the group and elaborated by stating that their status accrued from knowledge of the Dreaming. This is not dissimilar to the interpretation of power suggested by Myers (1982). However, Myers elaborates on this concept of power and notes that the authority associated with this knowledge is maintained via a widely applied concept of nurturance and 'looking after'. It is likely that a similar political order may have operated both among the Adnjamathanha and the Kokatha.

5.2.2 The First Contact

The Adnjamathanha history of culture contact began in 1839 with Edward John Eyre's exploratory expedition into the region north of Spencer Gulf. Wilton et. al., (1980; 11) cite an incident recorded in Eyre's journal in

MAP 5:2 Cultural Areas in the North of the State according to Ellis.

SOURCE: Ellis, R. (1978), Aboriginal Culture. South Australian Year Book, 13, p. 29.



which John Baxter, Eyre's second-in-command, had held a young woman for several days at Scott Creek (near Leigh Creek). Eyre's camp was threatened by fifty or more Aboriginal men but Eyre eased the building tension by releasing the woman and offering a tomahawk to one of the Aboriginal men (Eyre, 1845; 102-103).

The early contact period, characterised by spasmodic and tentative intrusions into the area by Europeans, had a dramatic impact on the Adnjamathanha people. Their first contact with Europeans has been preserved in the form of a contemporary 'myth' told today by a number of older Adnjamathanha. The embodiment of the encounter into their oral tradition reflects the importance of this event. The story is told today with the same concern for detail that is associated with traditional mythology and, like the pre-contact mythology, has been embodied within the landscape. The story focuses on the actions of Angepena Billy and King Bob.

The first contact with white man occurred in the late 1840s near Mt. Serle. A policeman had been sent north from Beltana depot with the task of pacifying the Aborigines of the area and distributing rations to them. The first sighting occurred when he stopped to lunch at Mudlipena Gap; watching him from behind a rock were two Yuras (Aboriginals). The policeman proceeded along Frome Creek toward Mt. Serle. The two Yuras tracked this strange man and his unusual animal. The horse tracks were totally unfamiliar, the Yuras compared it to the mark left by a sleepy lizard when it curls its body to sleep. Finally the policeman reached Mt. Serle where he stopped and made damper. It was here the Yuras who had been following him presented

themselves and the three sat and ate damper together, known amongst the people as Mt. Serle pudding. There is a small round hill near where this happened and it represents the pudding. (Revised version of story told by Clem Coulthard, 1981).

This contact story has a number of features in common with other Dreamtime mythology in the area. Firstly, the story is one of pursuit, a theme which appears in a number of Adnjamathanha stories. The pattern of this pursuit, the Aboriginals following the unknowing European intruder and not the European settlers seeking out naive Aboriginals, emphasises the Aboriginal perspective. Secondly, the story is told in a spatial context and culminates in the embodiments of the incident of sharing the damper in a landscape feature. Moreover, the account encapsulates the very nature of the early Aboriginal-European relationship. This early example of contact, with the sharing of the damper, marks the first step in the establishment of an exchange relationship based on European commodities which characterised the colonial period.

5.2.3 The Contact Experience

Apart from early isolated incidents of contact with European settlers, it was not until the intrusion of the police and pastoralists into the area in the 1860s that regular contact between the Adnjamathanha and Europeans began. Both pastoralism and the police had a massive impact on the Adnjamathanha. Initially the police had the greatest impact on Adnjamathanha society. It was the

role of the police to pacify the Aborigines and the handing out of rations did much to accomplish this (Berndt et al., 1951; 70-71). The Aborigines were drawn into the depots to collect the meagre rations upon which they were becoming increasingly dependent as pastoralism spread and altered their traditional food sources. With the advent of a more permanent pastoral influence in the region in the 1860s it was not uncommon for Government rations to be issued by the lessees.

The three main ration depots in the Flinders Ranges were at Blinman, Beltana and Mount Serle (see Map 4:3) which were all operating to distribute rations by the late 1860s (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1850-1870). Unlike other areas of the State from which isolated requests for rations were regularly received, during the period from 1850 to 1930 only Wooltana, Angepena and Hawker pastoral leases are recorded as having requested emergency rations for distribution (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, (1850-1930). It seems that once established the three initial depots at Beltana, Blinman and Mount Serle became well incorporated into Aboriginal life in the Flinders Ranges and were used regularly by the Adnjamathanha. Reports from the depots suggest that the usual practice was for the Aborigines to remain in their areas of choice and travel, at regular intervals, into these depots, collect their rations and then return to camp. For example, in 1897 the Blinman Police Officer was given a directive to ensure that no Aborigines stayed around the town. His reply to the Protector of Aborigines pointed out that he had

no problem with Aboriginals congregating around the town and that those Aboriginals with whom he supplied rations all walked between eight and twenty miles weekly to collect their rations (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1897). It seems that the depots were so located that the Aboriginal inhabitants of the region were able to retain a considerable degree of choice in relation to their living areas without foregoing the benefits arising from European handouts. However, the depots did create new focal points in the Adnjamathanha life-world and in this sense altered the pattern of movement and land association.

The evidence from the Protector's Reports suggests that, from 1890 onwards, the ration depots were having a much greater impact on Adnjamathanha life and, particularly, Adnjamathanha settlement patterns in the Flinders Ranges. The increased significance of the ration depots cannot be viewed in isolation from the developing economy of the region. The penetration of the European industries of pastoralism and transport had a dramatic effect on the landscape and worked to cement the growing Adnjamathanha dependence on the ration depots. The penetration of the pastoral industry into the Flinders Ranges did not proceed without tension between the Adnjamathanha and the settlers.

John Bull in his reminiscences of early pastoral life in the area, recounted one such incident.

Stewart took me down to the creek... and showed me a camp of lubras and children all cut to pieces with the stockwhips. The women's breasts were cut open and little children six to twelve months old were bleeding all over. They said they were coming through Pernunna and went to a little spring to get a drink. They said, 'No bullocky therem, master,' meaning they were doing no harm as there were no cattle there to be frightened away from them. They said Arkaba Charlie and Jack Morrow galloped down on them and 'whip give it'. (J.B. Bull, n.d.; 94).

The incident illustrates that the basic point of conflict between the pastoralists and the Aborigines was water. The arrival of pastoralism forced the Aborigines to compete with European stock for water. As the preceding example illustrates, the pastoralists saw their stock's use of waterholes as being more important than Aboriginal use of, and access to, the waterholes. European monopolisation of the land through pastoralism worked to secure the Aboriginal dependency on the ration depots by reducing their chances of successfully supporting themselves by traditional land use patterns.

The ration system, however, was not able to satisfactorily meet the needs of the Aboriginal population. It was usual for gratis rations to be distributed only to the old, the infirm, women with children and, occasionally, able-bodied men unable to find work. Generally men of working capacity were offered goods only in exchange for some effort, such as stock work, fencing, bore drilling or scalp collection. Thus, for the male section of the Aboriginal population

survival in the new order of European domination demanded their participation in the new economy. The poor quality of Government rations also encouraged the Adnjamathanha to enter into the new economy so that they might buy better quality European goods.

One of the most dramatic changes in the Adnjamathanha pattern of settlement occurred in relation to the Mount Serle depot and was a direct result of European penetration into the area. Aboriginal population figures for Mount Serle reveal a marked population increase (Table 5:1). These figures have inbuilt inaccuracies in that they are derived from figures provided to the Government by the various Sub-Protectors working in the area. Not only were their visits to the depot sporadic but the counts would have excluded the transient population of Mount Serle, such as men working on stations in the area or others who may have lived away from the depot but called in for rations. Despite these inadequacies they do show an increase in population at Mount Serle which suggests that the depot was becoming a more favourable area for Adnjamathanha occupation.

The movement of the Flinders Ranges Aboriginals into the Mount Serle depot was not only in response to the availability of rations, for these were still issued in other areas. Of equal attraction was the opportunity for paid work at the Mount Serle depot which was a main transport depot for the northern point of the State. Participation in the transport industry offered opportunities of paid

TABLE 5:1 POPULATION FIGURES FOR MOUNT SERLE DEPOT,
1894 to 1928

YEAR	POPULATION
1894	26
1896	50 - 60
1898	38
1903	65
1928	150

Source: Protector of Aborigines
Correspondence, 1860-1930.

work which enabled better quality goods to be purchased as well as opportunities of acquiring goods in a work-for-goods exchange. The movement into a reasonably sedentary settlement cemented the growing dependence of the Adnjamathanha on the new European society.

The spatial adjustment made by the Adnjamathanha was necessarily accompanied by internal adjustments which worked to accommodate culturally similar, but discrete, groups coming together in a relatively permanent settlement. It is in these early times of the collective Mount Serle settlement that the Flinders group would have been able to forge the links necessary to rationalise the domination of the broader Adnjamathanha identity.

The pastoral industry offered the other main alternative for Aborigines forced to participate in the new economy. Aboriginal men entered into the pastoral industry mainly as stockmen or shearers. A report from the Sub-Protector of Aborigines at Port Augusta to the Protector of Aborigines for the year 1889 illustrates the reputation held by Aboriginal men in the pastoral industry.

They are also extensively employed on cattle and sheep stations in the district; in fact, some stations are worked almost entirely by them. They are exceedingly useful and reliable among stock, many of them are excellent shearers.
(Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1889).

Their knowledge of the country and the below award wages pastoralists were able to pay Aboriginal workers made them ideal employees.

For those who were not directly involved in the pastoral

industry through employment as stockmen or shearers, money could be earned by exterminating dingoes, kangaroo and rabbits. Pay for this work was poor. In 1897 the Aborigines in the Beltana region were earning 4/- each for a load (unspecified) of dingo scalps. In the Mount Serle region, during the same year, able-bodied Aborigines were only issued rations if they had collected rabbit skins. A few of the women also participated in the European economy by picking gum for which they were paid 1 penny per pound or 20/- per bag (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1897).

The main feature of the Adnjamathanha's early involvement with the new economy is the exchange relationship upon which this participation was based. For the male sector particularly, access to the spoils of European settlement could only be gained in exchange for some effort such as stock work, fencing or 'vermin' extermination. The Adnjamathanha men were valuable to the emerging industries in the area not only in terms of their being a cheap labour source but also in terms of their knowledge of the local terrain, mineral deposits and water sources. This early exchange arrangement connotes the type of 'internal colonialism' Beckett (1982) noted in the Torres Strait where the Islanders became an exploitable asset to the pearl-shell industry. Thus, the ration era established the dependent relationship between the Aborigines and the Europeans and the pastoralists later exploited this induced dependency by their development of a relationship based on

the exchange of rations or low pay for labour and local knowledge.

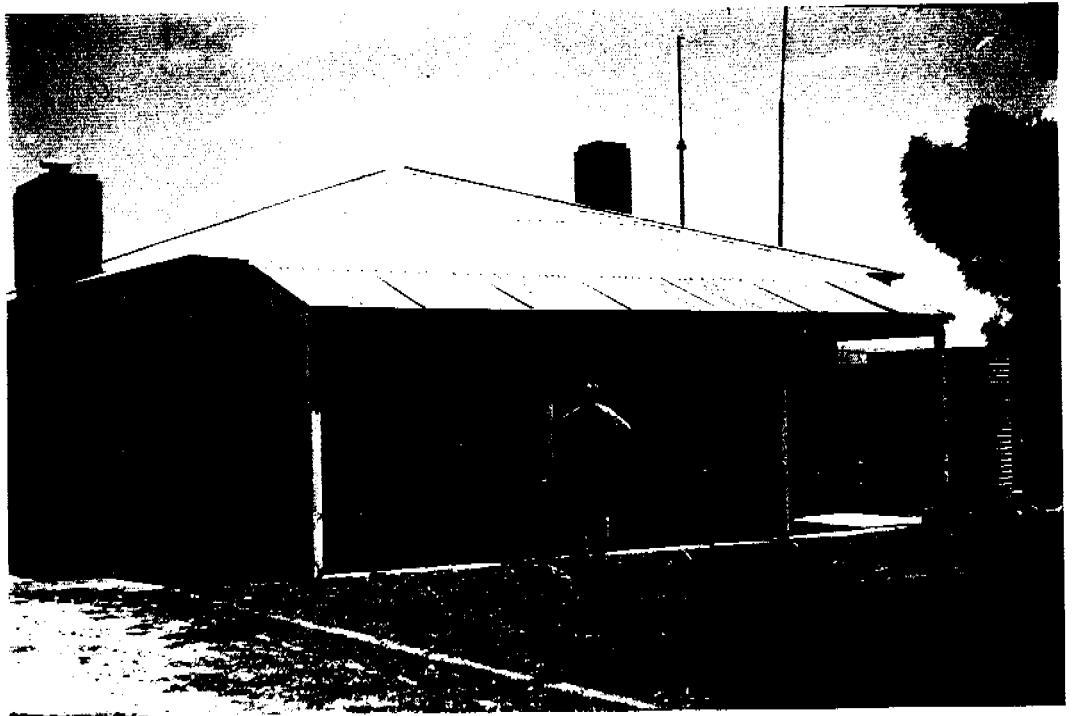
The Adnjamathanha relationship with the pastoralists has had a long-standing effect on the manner in which the Adnjamathanha relate to the non-Aboriginal society. The pastoral era saw the development of distinctive modes of contact and established a number of significant political norms in the inter-ethnic arena. Perhaps the most significant development was the emergence of some pastoralists as cultural brokers (cf. Howard, 1981). A number of examples have been found in the Protector of Aborigines reports of pastoralists requesting rations or other concessions on behalf of the Aboriginals that worked for them. In many ways the pastoralists were able to benefit from this role. By ensuring Aboriginal requests were met, or at least brought to the attention of the Government, the pastoralists were establishing good-will among their cheap labour force.

This dialogue between the Aboriginals and the pastoralists suggests that there was a limited degree of negotiability accompanying Aboriginal involvement in the pastoral industry. Although pastoralists rarely paid award wages and Aboriginal workers were generally disadvantaged, those Aboriginals who developed a good relationship with their employer were often able to benefit from the relationship and receive the best possible exchange for their efforts. Additional benefits might include higher pay, increases in food allocations, permission to accommodate a large family group on the property, or free

access to the pastoral lease for relatives. For example, one Adnjamathanha man speaks with pride of his long association with the Martins Well lease. During his working life on this lease the lessee built a house on the homestead block for him and his family (Plate 5:1). In this sense the pastoralists (at least those with whom the Adnjamathanha had good relationships) fulfilled the reciprocal obligation to look after the workers and the exchange relationship fitted well the normative values of Adnjamathanha society (cf. Myers, 1982).

Although many view their associations with the pastoral industry with nostalgic sentimentality, the Aboriginal relationship with the pastoralists proceeded smoothly only when the pastoralists were able to maintain the upper-hand in the exploitative exchange relationship that existed. An important example of Aboriginal-pastoralist tension arose in 1929 when the first missionary arrived in the area.

In 1923 the camel depot at Mount Serle closed and the area was leased for stock depasturing. With the area coming under new ownership and useage the Adnjamathanha resettled at Ram Paddock Gate located on the Burr Well lease (Map 5:3), (The Heritage Unit, 1981; 1). A number of Adnjamathanha had accumulated stock during their involvement with the camel depot and the associated transport industry and took this stock with them to the new camp. A letter from the United Aborigines Missionary representative, Mr. Jim Page, to the Protector of Aborigines stated that the Aboriginal Ted Coulthard had thirty donkeys and six horses, his brother



MAP 5:3 The Northern Flinders Ranges showing Mt. Serle,
Ram Paddock Gate and Nepabunna.

had thirty to forty head of stock, and the rest of the camp had more than thirty head of stock between them (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1930). The stock owned by the Adnjamathanha were depastured on the Burr Well lease, much to the dislike of the lessees who resented the additional pressure this placed on their waterholes.

The pastoralists' opposition was antagonised by the arrival of Missionary Page who began work on building permanent houses and requested that the Government resume the land for an Aboriginal reserve. The Burr Well lessees made their opposition to the Aboriginal presence clear in a letter to Mr. Page.

Owing to the large number of stock depastured by the Natives on our country we are compelled to take immediate steps to have them removed.

As this is mainly due to the presence of you and your assistants we require you to remove from off our property. We regret to have to take this step, but you must know that we constantly refused your Society permission to establish a mission on our country in fear of such a happening...You might notify the natives that we are taking immediate action to remove their stock and they only remain after this week on their own responsibility. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1930).

A letter from Ted Coulthard to the Protector makes the forcible nature of this threat a little clearer. It states, in part:

A few lines to let you know that we don't know what to do. Mr. Cole and policeman came out last week, giving us a fortnight to get off the run if we are not gone within the time mentioned he will shoot our stock. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1931).

The date of the Coulthard letter reveals that this threat came some four months after the initial Coles and Whyte threat to remove the Aborigines. During this period, and also in the previous eighteen months of missionary involvement in the area, Page had requested from the Government the allocation of land for a mission a number of times. The Government was equally reluctant to accommodate the Aborigines and no land was granted. Instead the Protector ordered a police investigation of the conflict. The findings of the police investigation alleged that the Aboriginal resistance was a result of the influence of non-Aboriginal patrons in the area.

Coulthard is a hard man to deal with and requires firm treatment. He has a certain amount of education and collects advice from every disaffected person in the district. His present adviser is a Mrs. Launt of Yudnamutna, who has decided communistic views. She has advised the natives not to shift as the country was once owned by Coulthard's ancestors, and will again be granted to them by the Crown if they hold out long enough.
(Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1931).

The Adnjamathanha struggle to remain on the Burr Well lease was unsuccessful. In 1930 negotiations between Mr. Page and the lessee of the Balcanoona run resulted in an area of this lease being allocated for Aboriginal use. The sixty-two square kilometre area had no water and was not fenced. The Adnjamathanha moved on to the Balcanoona run, placing their own stock in danger but releasing a valuable waterhole for use by the Burr Well lessees.

The Burr Well incident reveals the essential nature of the early Adnjamathanha contact experience. Firstly, there was an overt reluctance on the part of both the pastoralists and the Government to share the land with the Aboriginal population, particularly if Aboriginal occupation had the potential to interfere with European development of the region. The relationship between the Adnjamathanha and the pastoralists remained tension-free only when the Aboriginal participation in the new economy remained exploitable. As soon as the Adnjamathanha proved a threat to or competed with the new activities, relationships between the two deteriorated.

Further, the incident is indicative of Aboriginal affairs in remote areas during this early contact period. The correspondence associated with the incident was essentially between the pastoralists and the missionary. The Government had minimal involvement in the affair, essentially operating to legally galvanise any arrangement made between the locally-based pastoralists, missionary and, to a lesser degree, Aboriginal occupants. Any direct politicking on the part of the Aboriginal participants in the issue was quickly dismissed by the Government as arising from the communistic influences of local non-Aboriginals, an argument which, during this inter-war period, carried much weight.

The arrival of the missionary in the Flinders Ranges area greatly altered the nature of the Adnjamathanha contact experience. Until the arrival of the missionary the well

being of the Adnjamathanha in the contact situation had essentially been an issue negotiated, within the limits set by Government policy and pastoral ambitions, between the local police and pastoralists and the Adnjamathanha themselves. In many ways Aboriginal involvement in the course of the contact experience was far greater in this early phase of colonisation than in the overtly paternal mission era that followed. As the Burr Well incident illustrates, the arrival of the missionary introduced a new element to the inter-ethnic political sphere, one which operated as a mediator between the Aboriginals and the European world. The missionary was the first intensive contact the Adnjamathanha had had with agents overtly dedicated to the Government's paternal attitude towards Aboriginals.

Further, the induced participation of the Adnjamathanha in the new economy did not, at this pre-missionary stage of contact, interfere with the Adnjamathanha's own cultural modes. The Ram Paddock Gate camp, settled from 1920 to 1929, shows evidence of regular ritual participation in the form of initiation huts, four Mulkara grounds (circumcision grounds) for first stage initiation and two Yandawuta grounds for the second stage of initiation, as well as evidence of European-style buildings, fencing and implements (Heritage Unit, 1981; 4, 11). Thus, while the impact of pastoralism was tremendous, the Adnjamathanha were able to participate in the new economy and even alter the nature of their settlement patterns to that of a permanent collective camp without foregoing the majority of

their own cultural obligations. The erosion of many of the more crucial religious elements of Adnjamathanha culture did not occur until the arrival of the missionary.

By 1931 the Adnjamathanha had resettled at Balcanoona station on the area of land set aside for their use. The area was named Nepabunna, 'Nepa' meaning rock, 'bunna' meaning him. The missionary found the name acceptable because of its connotations of Jesus as 'the rock of ages', the Adnjamathanha found the name appropriate to the rocky, waterless land to which they had been moved. It was in the mission setting that the processes of European manipulation and indoctrination gained an unprecedented momentum. The mission attitude is revealed by Mountford's description of Mr. Eaton, the second missionary.

No one would doubt the good intentions of either this man or his wife...But his outlook is entirely European, he either will not, because of inground prejudice or cannot, because of lack of knowledge understand that a people can have a thoroughly sound and workable form of government different from that of England...
(Mountford, 1936; Mountford-Sheard Collection, 1980).

Mountford's observation captures the Adnjamathanha mission experience well. As with most mission encounters Nepabunna became a nexus of Aboriginal and European values, the place where Christianity was offered as a Dreamtime replacement. Until mission involvement in the region and indeed for some years after the arrival of the missionary, the Adnjamathanha were able to sustain their traditional culture along with an involvement in the new economy.

The Adnjamathanha experience of the mission carried with it unprecedented pressures to alter the basic structure of their life. After some eight years of mission life the second stage of initiation ceased. Mountford describes the cessation of the second stage of initiation as being the result of mission opposition.

On this evidence, the second ceremony—really a most important one in the life of the initiates, was banned. All explanations given by men expert in these matters was of no avail, the second 'rule' was the devil's ceremony, it gave the Aborigines a 'black heart'...he has deliberately banned a rite allowing a boy to reach the position of manhood among his fellows. By disallowing it he is placing the youths in a position of shame....

(Mountford, 1936, Mountford-Sheard Collection, 1980).

According to one of the remaining wilyaru men (second-stage initiate) the Adnjamathanha 'buried the rules' in 1937 (pes.com. Wally Coulthard, 1980). However, in 1947-48 another first-stage initiation ceremony was conducted on ground within the mission reserve. This was the last of the ceremonies, and while the missionary may have tolerated the first stage ceremonies he was, according to Mountford, acutely opposed to the use of blood and scarification rites in the second stage ceremony. The mission experience also had more subtle influences by creating a number of logistical difficulties in relation to the continuation of ceremonial practices. For example, the housing of Adnjamathanha children in the children's home on the mission and the close guardianship over the children hindered many of the procedures accompanying the initiation rites.

The mission era had a dramatic impact on Adnjamathanha

life. The breakdown of Adnjamathanha ritual and its replacement by Christian ideals created new sources of status and power within the community. Christian piousness became a means by which Adnjamathanha people could develop a good relationship with the missionary 'boss' and thereby acquire certain benefits from the European world (cf. Howard, 1981). The profiles of Adnjamathanha people written by Mountford in the 1930s and 1940s clearly suggest that individuals were assuming 'leadership' roles among the groups on the basis of their adoption of European standards. Those who found the resources that the missionary offered were not what they wanted, and sought the desired resources elsewhere (such as liquor), were placed in conflict with the missionary and the Christian Aboriginals who supported him. The conducive political environment of the late 1960s brought many of these tensions to a head.

The most significant of the political events of the late 1960s was the 1967 referendum which resulted in Aboriginal franchise. At a State level the 1966 Lands Trust Act and Anti-Discrimination Act added impetus to Aboriginal moves to assert their independence from the mission influence. The civil rights which accompanied franchisement, and particularly the right to drink alcohol, caused overt tension within the Nepabunna community. The missionary opposed drinking and regularly searched vehicles for signs of alcohol being smuggled on to Nepabunna. Those who had accepted the Christian ideal of sobriety, and those suffering the family disturbances resulting from drinking, supported the stand of the missionary. Others in the

community felt their rights of freedom and privacy were being infringed upon by the activity of the missionary. The result was an overt manifestation of the tension between the two community factions which had developed under the mission influence. These factions persist in Adnjamathanha society today and still act in opposition on some issues.

The dramatic alteration in Government policy, which accompanied the election of a Labor Federal Government in 1972, resulted in the withdrawal of the United Aborigines Mission. In 1972, a Government report on Nepabunna mission suggested that it had 'not succeeded in the social, environmental, and spiritual aspects of its work' and that the leasing of the Nepabunna site to the UAM be discontinued (Aboriginal Resources Branch, 1972; 5).

It would be expected that the mission experience, with its dramatic impact on the religious foundations of Adnjamathanha culture, and even its creation of tension within the community, would engender a dislike for Nepabunna among the Adnjamathanha people. However, the majority of the Adnjamathanha group look back to the mission era with nostalgic sentimentality and a deep conviction that life was better then than now. The security and unity offered by the mission experience seems to stand in clear contrast to many of the problems characterising life today. The role of the missionary as mediator between the Aborigines and the non-Aboriginal world had offered a comfortable and personal link with the faceless Government which directed

the course of Aboriginal affairs. In the mission situation 'whitefella' business was kept separate from 'blackfella' business and Adnjamathanha men and women did not have to enter into the world of European-style decision-making (cf. Maddock, 1977; Tonkinson, 1977 and 1982; Sackett, 1978).

Although not all Nepabunna residents agreed with the stand of the missionary, at least he was known by the community and could be approached with ease. 'The Government' during the mission era consisted essentially of one man. Now 'the Government' is a plethora of departments and agents who change their personnel and policy regularly.

Further, Nepabunna is a central place in the life experience of the Adnjamathanha. For many it is their birthplace, or their childhood home and most view it and the surrounding country as the centre of their uniquely Aboriginal cultural heritage. It has been a significant place in terms of both personal life-experiences and the collective Adnjamathanha experience. It was, for an important period in time, their security and their refuge. It has therefore played a major role in the development of their present cultural unity. The protectionist policy of the missionaries, their discouragement of extensive contact with the outside community and the spatial isolation of the mission did much to preserve unity among the Adnjamathanha people and protect their ethnic identity from the more subtle disintegrative influences of European culture. The closed mission experience consolidated the post-contact unification processes amongst the Flinders Ranges people.

It galvanised the emergence of the collective Adnjamathanha identity in a process not dissimilar to the emergence of 'supra' identities observed among other Aboriginal groups in contact situations (Kolig, 1977).

5.3 THE KOKATHA EXPERIENCE

5.3.1 An Ethnographic Introduction

The Kokatha are part of the Western Desert cultural complex (Berndt, 1941; Ellis, R. 1978). As part of this complex they are linked with the Pitjantjatjara and other tribal units in the west of South Australia (see Map 5:2). The pre-contact Kokatha were culturally dissimilar to the Adnjamathanha in terms of language, material culture and social organisation.

The spatial extent of Kokatha country is uncertain and some major discrepancies exist within the ethnographic literature. For example, Map 5:4 shows that most researchers dealing with the Kokatha country have varied interpretations of its spatial extent. Bates (n.d.) in her schema of Aboriginal distribution in the area offers yet another interpretation of tribal distribution (Figure 5:1). These varying documentations do agree that Kokatha country is located within the general region between Ooldea and the Gawler Ranges but the spatial details of their territorial accounts vary considerably in extent and location.

The diversity revealed by the map evidence is compounded by written accounts of Kokatha country. Much of the ethnographic material dealing with the Kokatha was collected at Ooldea which was established as a ration depot and mission

MAP 5:4 Two varying interpretations of Tribal distribution
in Kokatha Country.

SOURCES: Elkin, A.P. (1939), Kinship in South Australia.
Oceania, 10(1) , p. 202.

Tindale, N.B. (1974), Aboriginal Tribes of Australia.

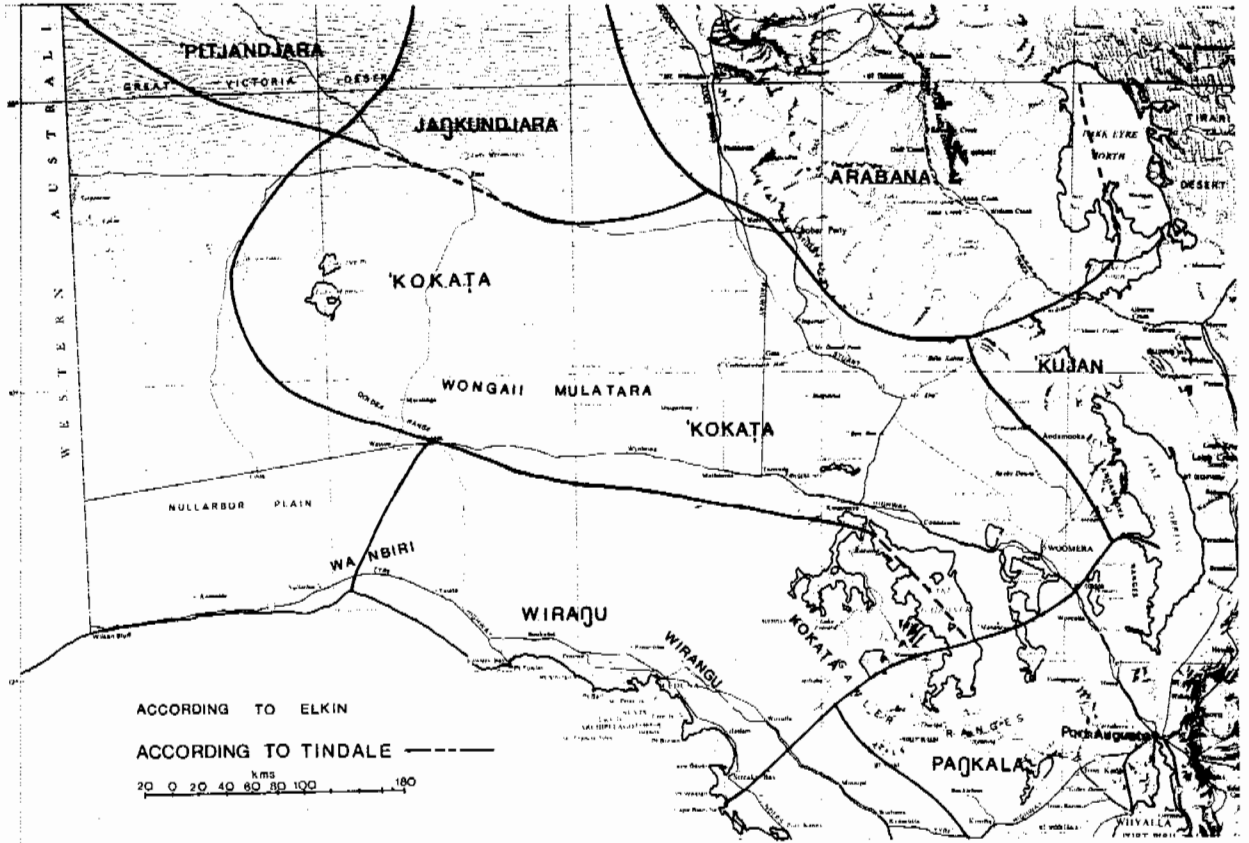
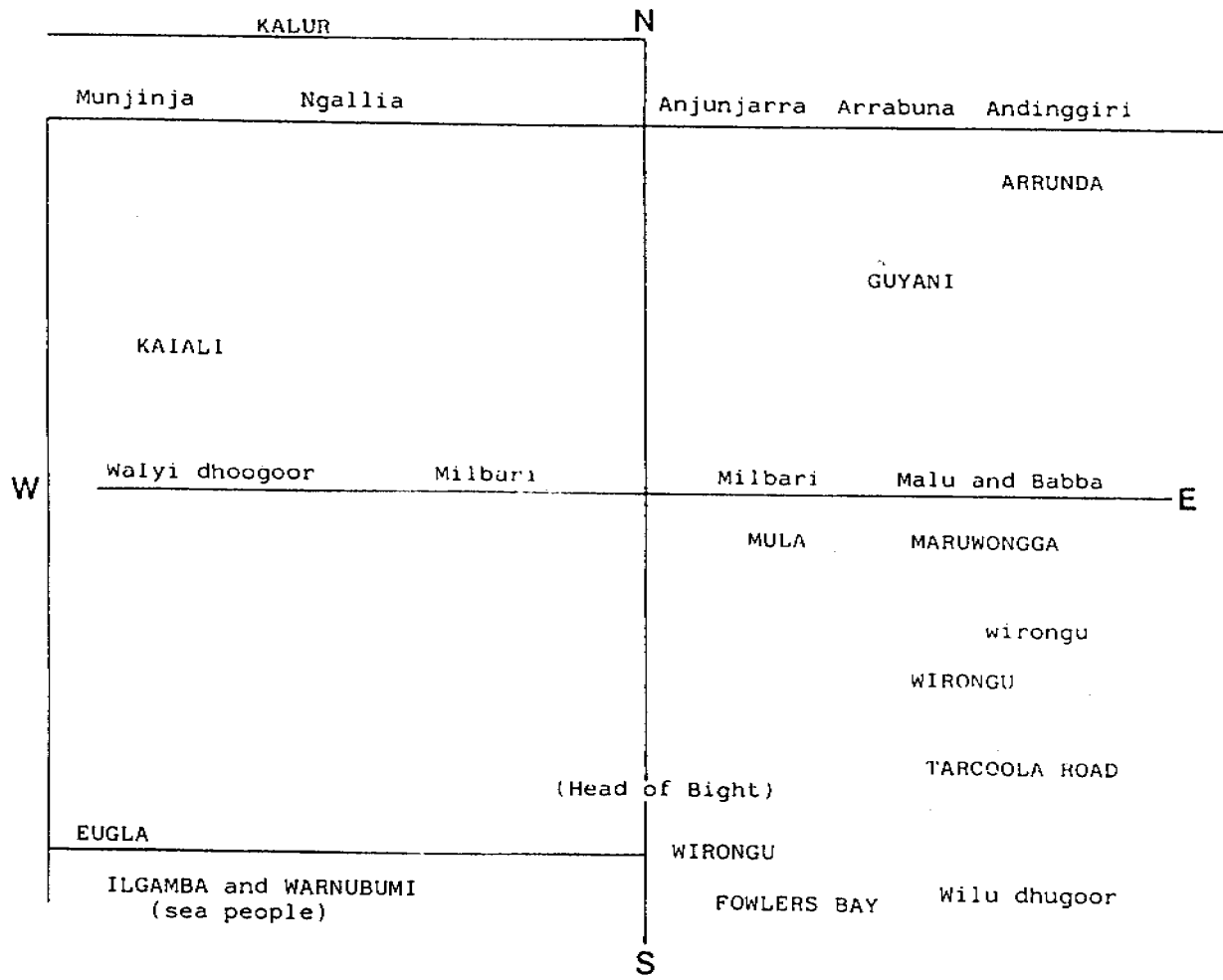


FIGURE 5:1 Local Organisation of Kokatha and associated groups according to Bates.

SOURCE: Daisy Bates Field Notes (n.d; n.p.).



outpost in 1919 by Daisy Bates. The Berndts (1942; 323) suggest that the Ooldea area was originally inhabited by the Wirungu group which, about 1917, was forced out of the region by groups from the north. Bates (n.d.) has little evidence of the Wirungu group in her transcripts and field notes and, alternatively, suggests that the dominant group at Ooldea was the Kokatha. Bates places great emphasis on the Kokatha as the dominant Ooldea group. However, her definition of this group reveals that 'Kokatha' may also be a generic name applied to a number of sub-groups in the region. In her account of the Ooldea waterhole mythology she says:

...each little group used its own name and was known by it. There was one word for meat food - kooga - which all the thoonadha used, and no matter what the local group name of each was they all called themselves Koogurda; Ngallea, Ginniga, Ngannamurra, Weerangu, Wong-gai-i, Tiwin, Oola, Ngang gali and Kaiali, all were Koogurda nunga. All these could come and drink from the Oddil-nga gabbi [Ooldea waterhole].... Marda wongga, Rabbuni and Yarunda nan-ga came from the east, Yulbari and Walba from the south and Kaiali, Munjinji, kalur and Bodu from the west and Ngallia wangga from the north-west...Koogurda all joined together when big mobs came from far away, so that if a fight should occur, all the thoonadha were in one mob...The Koogurda were a big mob, for many claimed Ooldil-nga as their dhoogoorr gabbi... and new dances came to them through the Badu of Wardarrgana (Boundary Dam - ENE of NQnning) who were thoonadha of the wong-gai-i. When the Wong gai-i visited them there was always friendly meetings and feasting...(Bates, n.d.; n.p).

The possible generic application of the 'Kokatha' title is endorsed by Basedow's description of the Aboriginal inhabitants of this region of the State. He noted that 'the whole of the eastern Nullarbor Plains is occupied by divisions of the Kukata [Kokatha]' (1921; 9). Similarly, the

Berndts (1942) noted the presence at Ooldea of two distinct groups of Kokatha: the Kukata, a northern group and the Kokata and eastern group. Both Bates (n.d.) and the Berndts (1942; 326) have listed alternative names used by the Kokatha, including Aluridja for the northern Kokatha group and Wilyaroo for the Wirongoo Wonga group near Tarcoola. It is significant that the Pitjantjatjara currently refer to the group south of their country as Aluridja and not Kokatha (pers. com. Clifford Goddard, Linguist, 1981) and that the Port Augusta Kokatha occasionally call themselves as a group, the Wilyaru people, which suggests a link to the 'Wirongoo' group noted by Bates. Platt (1972; 1) has also noted common and closely related lexical items exclusive to the Wirungu and Kokatha groups.

Platt's more recent linguistic work with the Kokatha group adds significant evidence to the Kokatha identity question (1972). Like Berndt, Platt notes a distinction within the Kokatha group. He identified two Western Desert dialects within the group, one associated with the Gugada group the other with the Gugadja group. The Gugadja dialect is closer to the Pitjantjatjara and Andigirinja dialects than that of the Gugada (1972; 1). Significantly, Platt notes that most of the Gugadja informants were born at or near Ooldea while his Gugada informants were born in the Mount Eba area or further east (1972; 2). Ellis, C. (1966) notes a similar song-cycle distinction in the Aboriginal people of this area between what she calls the Western Desert cycle (including Kokatha) and the Western Peripheral cycle

(including Wirungu and Pangkala).

The Kokatha people who are currently involved in the land rights movement in Port Augusta stress their Mount Eba origins and have genealogical connections with the Gugada speakers identified by Platt. However, they also talk of Ooldea as an important area and have genealogical links with the Yalata people who were brought south from Ooldea. It is difficult, therefore, to determine from which sub-group they originate. It is quite possible, considering the degree of forced and voluntary movement which occurred in the Kokatha contact experience, that they have links to both sub-groups.

Some researchers focusing on the area north-west of Port Augusta have suggested that there was a general southerly movement of the Aboriginal groups in this area prior to contact. For example, Tindale (1974; 213) suggests that the Kokatha were moving south and placing pressure upon the Pangkala group which called them 'Nganitjini...those who sneak and kill in the night'. Schürmann (1897; 217) noted a similar southerly movement of the Kokatha group. The mobility of pre-or early contact times was increased in the post-contact experience of the Kokatha and has reinforced and even complicated the identity diversification evident within the Kokatha genre.

5.3.2 The First Contact

As with the Adnjamathanha, the event of the first encounter between the Kokatha and the Europeans is remembered

explicitly by older members of the community who heard the story from their elders.

The people were camped at Lake Phillipson which is an important waterhole and mythological site. They were travelling from 'the back country' and were camping at Lake Phillipson (Guri) on their way to Ingomar (Jalli). They saw their first fence there. The people were digging a large hole under the fence when they encountered two men who were sinking a bore at the lake. A fight started amongst the Aboriginals which resulted in some of the men being taken away to Port Augusta and the remainder of the Kokatha at the camp following them south.
(Revised version of a story told by Suzie Reid, 1981).

Just as the Adnjamathanha contact story reflected well the nature of their post-contact experience so too does the Kokatha story echo the pattern of contact which followed. The Kokatha story of first contact is far less conciliatory in tone than the experience detailed in the Adnjamathanha story. The Kokatha story captures the essence of their contact experience which, as will be shown, was characterised by conflict, police interference, and movement south. Although the story is told as an account of a single incident there are no records of this early arrest and it is possible that it is a melding of events which aptly reflect the Kokatha contact experience.

5.3.3 The Contact Experience

The Kokatha experience of ration depots was not unlike that of the Adnjamathanha. They too were initially exposed to rations through the presence of police in the area. The

first depots in Kokatha country were established in the Gawler Ranges. The first depot to be established in the more remote areas was at Mount Vivian and was opened in response to a reported influx of Aborigines from the north-west. It remained open as a police-run depot until 1886 when it closed in spite of reported increases in the number of Aborigines moving into the area. For example, in 1885 the Sub-Protector's report from Port Augusta estimated that 400 Aborigines had moved into the area. The Mount Vivian depot was not a reliable source of rations and in 1884 the local paper, The Port Augusta Dispatch, ran a series of articles highlighting the irregularity of ration supplies and the plight of the 'Starving Aborigines' and the 'Native famine' (The Port Augusta Dispatch, 9/7/1884, 30/7/1884, 8/8/1884).

When the Mount Vivian police depot closed in 1886 the Aborigines in the area used the Mount Eba depot, which opened just prior to the police withdrawing from Mount Vivian. Mount Eba, a pastoralist-run depot, became a regular source of rations, although it closed spasmodically during years of drought (for example, 1899-1900) or when the lease changed hands. The only other regular source of rations in this region was at the Tarcoola police depot to the west.

By the 1890s most rations in this area were issued by pastoralists. Unlike the Flinders Ranges where a number of permanent depots existed throughout a relatively small area, the Kokatha country had only the two relatively stable

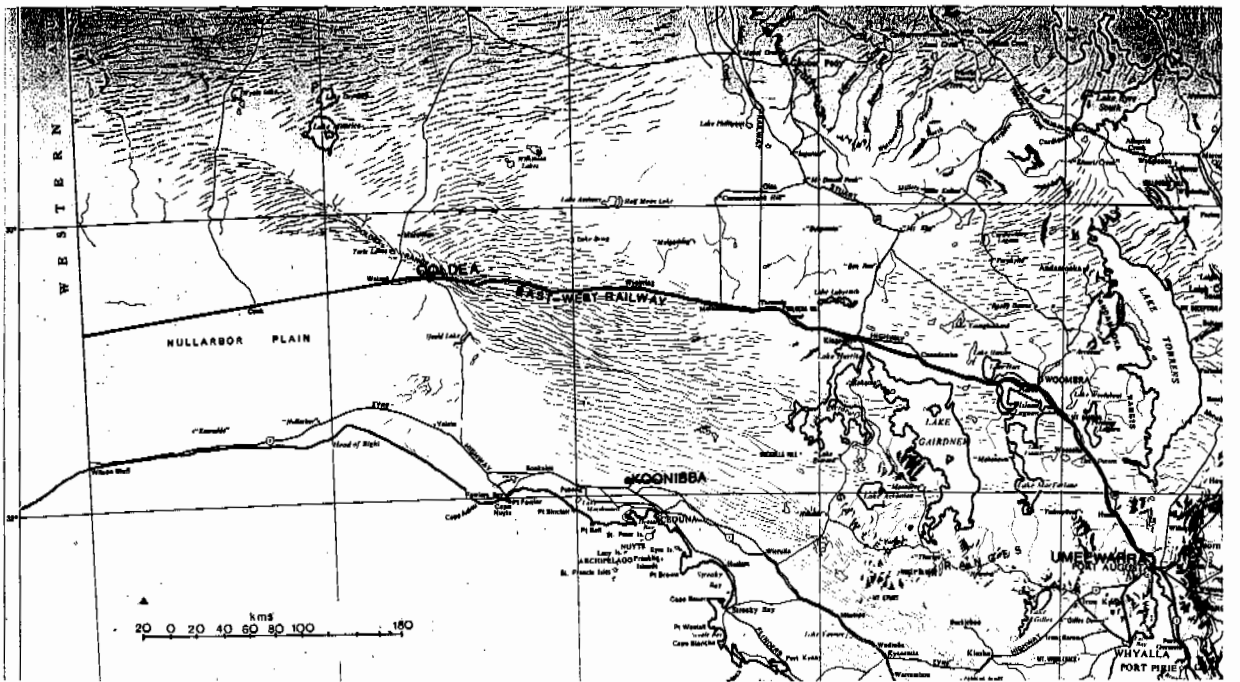
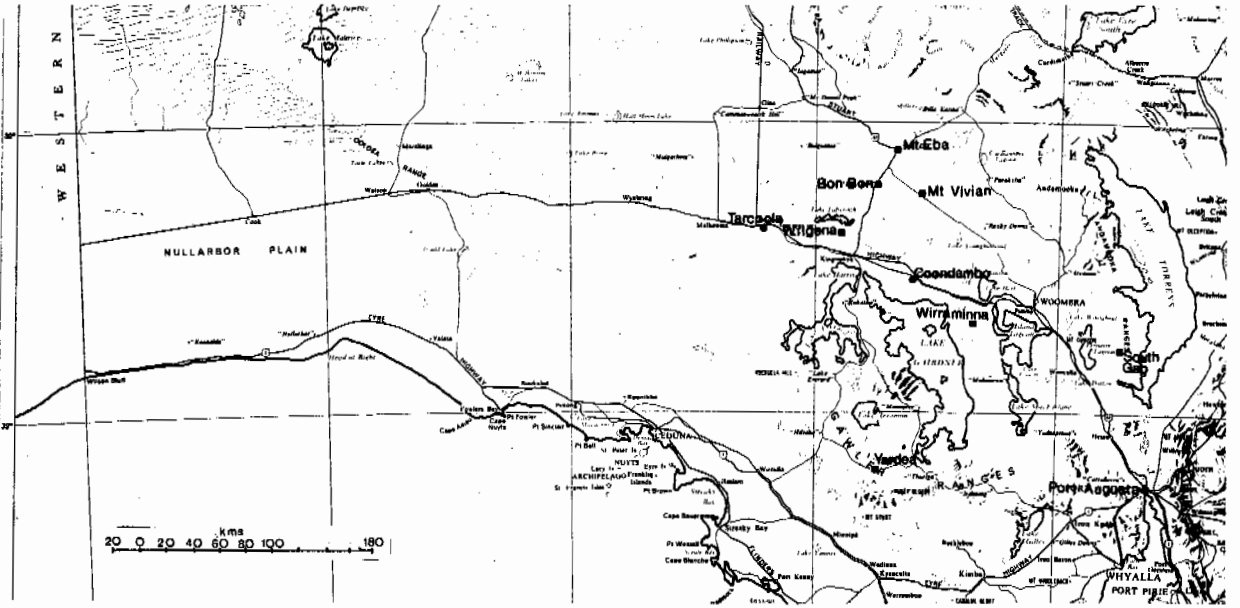
depots at Mount Eba and Tarcoola. Furthermore, the area was characterised by the irregular appearance and disappearance of ration depots. The records of the Protector of Aborigines for the period 1860-1950 include mention of the following depots (some of which were rail sidings along the East-West Railway), Mount Eba, Tarcoola, Coondambo, The Pines, South Gap, Yardea, Bon Bon, Wilgena and Wirraminna (Map 5:5).

For the Kokatha, the ration experience was tied closely to the benevolence of the pastoralists operating the depots. The pastoralist control of ration distribution meant that the Kokatha were, as with the Adnjamathanha, prone to exploitation by the pastoralists. The Protector of Aborigines reports from the area suggest that the Aborigines began participating in the pastoral industry soon after its movement into the area in the 1850s. Payment was often in the form of rations, and an exchange relationship based on work for food, not unlike that which emerged in the Flinders Ranges area, operated generally. Like the Adnjamathanha the Kokatha are evidenced as having learned to take advantage of this exchange system by demanding the local pastoralist write to the Government for supplies.

Like the Adnjamathanha, the Kokatha participated in the mainstream activities of the pastoral industry such as stockwork, shearing and fencing. However, the Sub-Protector reports for the area suggest that the Kokatha were far more dependent upon the activity of 'vermin' extermination, the destruction of kangaroos, rabbits and dingoes. An 1897

MAP 5:5 Ration Depots in Kokatha Country, 1860-1950.

MAP 5:6 Missions Established in Kokatha Country.



Report quotes pay for this work as being 10/- per week plus rations, as with the Adnjamathanha, the women were paid only in rations, (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1897). Some groups in the Kokatha region relied heavily on this activity and equipped themselves with buggies and later trucks. The Europeans of the area viewed the participation of Aborigines in this activity as heralding a new way in which to utilise what they saw as an incumbent population. In 1886 the Sub-Protector suggested that the problem of Aborigines congregating around Mount Eba might be solved by breaking the people into family units of ten to fifteen and placing one group on each run where they could earn their keep by exterminating rabbits (letter Sub-Protector of Aborigines to Protector of Aborigines, Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1886). Along similar lines, but far more regimented, was the plan of Mr. Hubbe, the Inspector of Vermin in 1898. He suggested to the Protector a massive programme of dog extermination conducted by 'teams' of Aborigines living in dog breeding areas and working under white overseers who distributed to them both rations and dog bait. The programme did not eventuate and 'vermin' extermination remained an activity in which Aborigines could participate at their own need and under their own supervision.

The appeal of dingo, rabbit and kangaroo culling to the Kokatha people was in the freedom such activities offered. Culling activities gave the Kokatha the chance to earn money to buy goods, rather than rely on the inferior

quality Government rations, and yet did not necessitate long-term commitments to one locale. The Kokatha were thereby able to participate in the European economy and yet remain relatively independent of other facets of the new society. It was possible, in this early phase of contact for them to maintain the ceremonial aspect of their life and the Protector of Aborigines Reports for 1880-1890 make reference to noted ceremonial activity at Chinamans Creek, North Swamp Well (twelve miles from Coondambo) and Euro Bluff.

However, not all of the post contact Kokatha mobility was voluntary. Much of the Kokatha experience, as revealed by the Protector of Aborigines and Police Records of the time, was one of forced movement and police harrassment. Often movement was induced by the closure of ration depots. For example in 1900 the temporary closure of Mount Eba and Yardea depots resulted in the movement south of a large number of Aborigines to Coondambo and Wirraminna (Sub-Protector Report, 1900, Protector of Aborigines Correspondence). More commonly, movement was forced upon the Kokatha by police directives. An 1892 Sub-Protector Report from Port Augusta states, 'I try to keep the Natives out of the townships as much as possible and send them to stations to kill vermin, when I can.' The removal of Aborigines from town areas was one facet of the enforcement of the Government's protectionist policy. To keep Aborigines away from towns meant protecting them from the vicissitudes of European settlement such as

alcohol, gambling and disease. However, most reported incidents of forced movement arose not out of European concern for the Aborigines but from European complaints about Aborigines living close to the townships and interfering with, or placing a burden upon, their usual activities.

The Protector of Aborigines Reports reveal that the early response to the Aboriginal 'problem' was simply to remove the perceived source of that problem, the Aborigines. For example, an altercation between the cook at Mount Eba and Aborigines camped on the lease was resolved by the Aborigines being moved to Mount Vivian. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1897). In 1887, The Port Augusta Dispatch, in response to numerous reports of Aboriginal 'trouble' in the area north-west of Port Augusta, published an article suggesting a solution to the 'problem'. Their solution involved 'mustering the mob and bringing them down to a country where they can get game to subsist upon, and may be used in vermin destruction' (The Port Augusta Dispatch, 18/3/1887). In 1891, the same tabloid suggested, 'if a big native reserve...were proclaimed, a panacea for all the aboriginal trouble will be found. There would be no injustice or harshness in compelling them to live on the area set apart for them' and the ultimate aim was to 'metamorphose' the Aborigines into 'harmless profitable colonists' (The Port Augusta Dispatch, 8/5/1891).

The early pattern of contact, characterised by forced and voluntary movement, was not greatly altered by the

mission era. Unlike the Adnjamathanha, whose most influential contact experience was that of the mission, the Kokatha mission experience was preceded by an event which, in fact, dissipated the mission impact; the construction of the East-West Railway.

Daisy Bates (n.d.) isolates the survey of the East-West line as the beginning of the 'extermination' of the Kokatha group 'and its allies'. The line was laid through Kokatha country during the period from 1912 to 1917. Its presence, and the attraction of the food, alcohol and money available at the navvie camps, cemented the gradual movement south of Kokatha people during and before the early ration era. By the 1920s reports to the Protector of Aborigines described Kokatha people as 'hugging the line...simply migrating from ration depot, and siding to siding'. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1921).

The Protector of Aborigines' directive on this problem was adamant:

Our policy is to discourage the natives from living near the railway line and to that end he (the Protector) does not believe in encouraging them by having ration depots near the line. However, I am sending you a small supply... which you may distribute and tell them that they will get no more and must leave the railway siding and return to their own country...The rations are only to be issued to the sick, aged and infirm natives but the others could be supplied with sufficient for a few days while travelling on the condition that they leave the railway line. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1921).

Once again the Protectionist policy of the Government involved the separation of the Aborigines from the Europeans.

The Sub-Protector reports for the 1920-1935 period suggest that this policy was readily enforced and numerous accounts of Aborigines being driven away from rail sidings appear. The railway experience had considerable impact on the Kokatha group. Not only were they able to benefit from the money and food available at the camps, but they were also exposed to alcohol and disease. Basedow's medical survey of the Aborigines along the line noted particularly the prevalence of advanced venereal disease, influenza and measles (Basedow, 1921). Despite the presence of Daisy Bates at Ooldea from 1919 and the earlier establishment of Koonibba Mission in 1901, the population figures for East-West Railway sidings suggest that large groups were still congregating along the line well into the twentieth century despite the option of a secure mission base (Table 5:2).

The existence of the railway, and the resources of food and money it offered, was seen by many as a preferred contact point. It enabled the maintenance of mobility and a degree of Aboriginal control over their contact with European settlers not offered by a mission experience. However, this 'freedom' was gained at the cost of disease, harassment, and exposure to alcohol. The Railway was also the transport artery that led many Kokatha into the town of Port Augusta. The resource option offered by the East-West Railway greatly influenced the nature of the Kokatha mission experience. With a number of resource centres the Aborigines in the area were not

TABLE 5:2 ABORIGINAL POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE EAST-
WEST RAILWAY SIDINGS, 1919-1927.

YEAR	SIDING	POPULATION
1919	Tarcoola	100
1921	Kingoonya	40 - 50
1921	Wilgena	30 - 40
1926	Ooldea	70
1926	Tarcoola	200
1927	Tarcoola	60

Source: Protector of Aborigines Correspondence and
Basedow's Medical Expedition Journal, 1921.

forced, by limited choice, to settle with the missionaries. In this contact environment it was possible for the Kokatha to maintain a fair degree of autonomy and continue to maintain traditional patterns of power structure and land relationship.

Even the Kokatha mission experience did not result in an all-encompassing experience as it did with the concentrated and closed Nepabunna situation. The first mission to be established in the Kokatha region was the Koonibba Mission, run by the Evangelical Lutheran church and located on the West Coast (Map 5:6). It began to operate in 1901 and, although a wheat and stock property, it followed Government recommendations and directed its efforts towards Christianising and 'civilising' the children rather than the older Aboriginals (Sexton, 1919; 4). By 1919 it was estimated, perhaps somewhat generously that 600 Aboriginals lived on the mission. Those people at Koonibba were from a variety of origins: Ooldea, the Gawler Ranges, the local coastal area and the Mount Eba vicinity (Eckerman, pers. com., 1981). The missionaries working at Koonibba believed the majority of Aboriginal residents to be of Kokatha origins (Eckerman, pers. com. 1981). However, as the population figures of the railway settlements show (see Table 5:2), the Koonibba mission did not automatically become the home base of the majority of Aboriginals in the area. In its early years it was common practice for parents to leave their children in the

care of the missionary while they continued work on stations or in culling activities. But, as the mission became an established locality of Aboriginal experience, more and more made it a permanent home base and helped work the Koonibba farm.

In 1919 Daisy Bates arrived at Ooldea and established her individualistic mission reserve. Her philosophy towards the Aboriginals was to simply make the final stages of life of this 'dying race' as bearable as possible. She issued rations and clothing, administered medical treatment and made a few converts to Christianity. However, as her extensive field notes reveal, she also had a considerable interest in the order and functioning of Aboriginal society. It seems from her field notes that no highly organised system of 'civilising' or converting the Aboriginals at Ooldea was instigated and that the Ooldea population was able to continue its pre-contact modes of organisation with minimal interference.

Those Aboriginals in the eastern sector of Kokatha country, nearer Port Augusta, were also exposed to a more casual mission influence. In the 1920s a Brethren missionary, Miss Simmons, worked in the Port Augusta and Iron Knob area. Rather than establishing a permanent mission, Miss Simmons would ride her bicycle through the area from camp to camp 'spreading the Christian word'. At a much later date, 1941, the Brethren opened the Umeewarra Children's Home at Port Augusta. This was used by local Aboriginals in a similar fashion to the early Koonibba, with parents leaving their

children in the care of the missionaries while they continued to work out of town on pastoral leases or along the railway.

In general, the Kokatha mission experience is far more spatially diffuse than that of the closed Adnjamathanha experience. They had a number of mission environments to choose from and they were less inclined to become permanent residents of Christian institutions, preferring to use the institutions as refuges in hard times and as havens for their children. By doing this the Kokatha adults were able to maintain their mobile lifestyle and continue their participation in the European economy along with regular participation in traditional ritual. The institutions were used in a manner which adapted to the established Kokatha lifestyle and thus became less of a threat to the maintenance of associations with traditional country and pre-contact power structures. However, the separation of children from their parents created a serious breakdown in the transfer of knowledge. It is important to note that many older Kokatha stress that this separation of the family group was much less a matter of choice than an uncontrollable dilemma resulting from the forced removal of their children by the missions and the Government. Either way, the family separation that resulted from the mission experience created gaps in the passing on of information about the land and worked to erode Kokatha knowledge of the religious and cultural significance of the land.

Further, the existence of three mission centres along

with a variety of resource centres located along the railway, changed the nature of Kokatha social organisation. The Kokatha group were dispersed into a number of different community groups; some were stable mission communities, others were less stable railway siding communities. This pattern of post-contact organisation introduced new forums for the development of intra-group links within the Kokatha. In contrast to the Adnjamathanha experience of a closed mission experience which worked to develop a strong collective identity, the Kokatha experience of many alternative resource centres created identity concepts based on community-mission distinctions. The Aboriginals were still identifying as Kokatha but were making distinctions between Koonibba Kokatha, Port Augusta Kokatha and so on.

It is reflective of the Kokatha contact experience, characterised by police interference and a less encompassing mission experience, that a major incident of European interference in ritual practice occurred via police and pastoralists and not missionaries. According to a number of older Kokatha in Port Augusta the last 'big walkabout' was around the early 1920s and the ceremonial journey is remembered for the deaths that occurred and for the trouble with police. The Protector of Aborigines reports for 1921 give evidence of a case of police interference with an Aboriginal ceremony involving known Kokatha men. The incident began when Bill Kite, an Aboriginal from further north working in Kokatha country, asked the Mount Eba lessee to write to the Protector in order to have his son saved

from the local initiation ceremonies. (Appendix X). The result of the letter was that the Tarcoola police were requested to track down the local group and remove Billy Kite's son. The police reports record that the police located the people travelling from Roxby Downs towards Kingoonya. They finally located the Aboriginals at Miulaby Well some thirty miles from the Coondambo siding and then tracked them to 'The Wimblet' a location about 'one day's journey' from Tarcoola. The ceremony was interrupted, Willie Kite removed, and the other boys asked if they also wished to leave. In keeping with the Protector's directive the Aboriginals were warned 'not to interfere with civilised half-castes'.

This incident illustrates well the distinctive contact experience of the Kokatha in which the main agents of the Government were the police and pastoralists rather than the missionaries. Even during the height of the control of Aboriginal affairs by missionaries the existence of alternative resource centres reduced the impact of this overt paternalism on the Kokatha. The incident also reveals that certain Aboriginals were becoming favoured by the non-Aboriginal population (see Appendix X). The massive effort to assist Billy Kite to retrieve his son from local Aboriginal ceremonies stands in stark contrast to the disdain shown towards Ted Coulthard's request for assistance in his struggle with the lessees of Burr Well. The success of Billy Kite in harnessing the support and assistance of the police was a result of his standard of European education

and his reputation as a good worker. More important, was his apparent opposition to the 'primitive' ways of the local Aborigines. This pattern of evaluation has persisted and was elaborated upon particularly during the period when assimilation was the operative policy.

A more recent post-contact event which had considerable influence on the Kokatha was the establishment of the Woomera Restricted Area in South Australia (Map 5:7). The Woomera area was set aside in 1947 for Defence purposes in a joint Australian, British and American weapons research project. The area was used for rocket and bomb testing and was selected because of its remoteness and, no doubt, its unsuitability to any other type of activity. The London Sphere (6/7/1946) described the area as 'one of the most desolate in the world, a wilderness of saltbush and bluebush, a haunt of dingoes, dotted with stagnant water-holes' (in Duguid, 1947; 6). The Woomera plan included the construction of a completely modern township to service 500 people, a water pipeline and a railway connection. Rocket testing was to be in the Northern and Western reaches of the area.

The proposal to establish a weapons research area in the north-west of the State incited considerable opposition. Dr. C. Duguid was a leading figure in the lobby against Woomera, however his emphasis, and that of his supporters, was the probable impact of this development on the Central Aboriginal Reserve Area and little attention was given to Aborigines in the south of the proposed area. In an attempt to appease the protestors the Commonwealth,

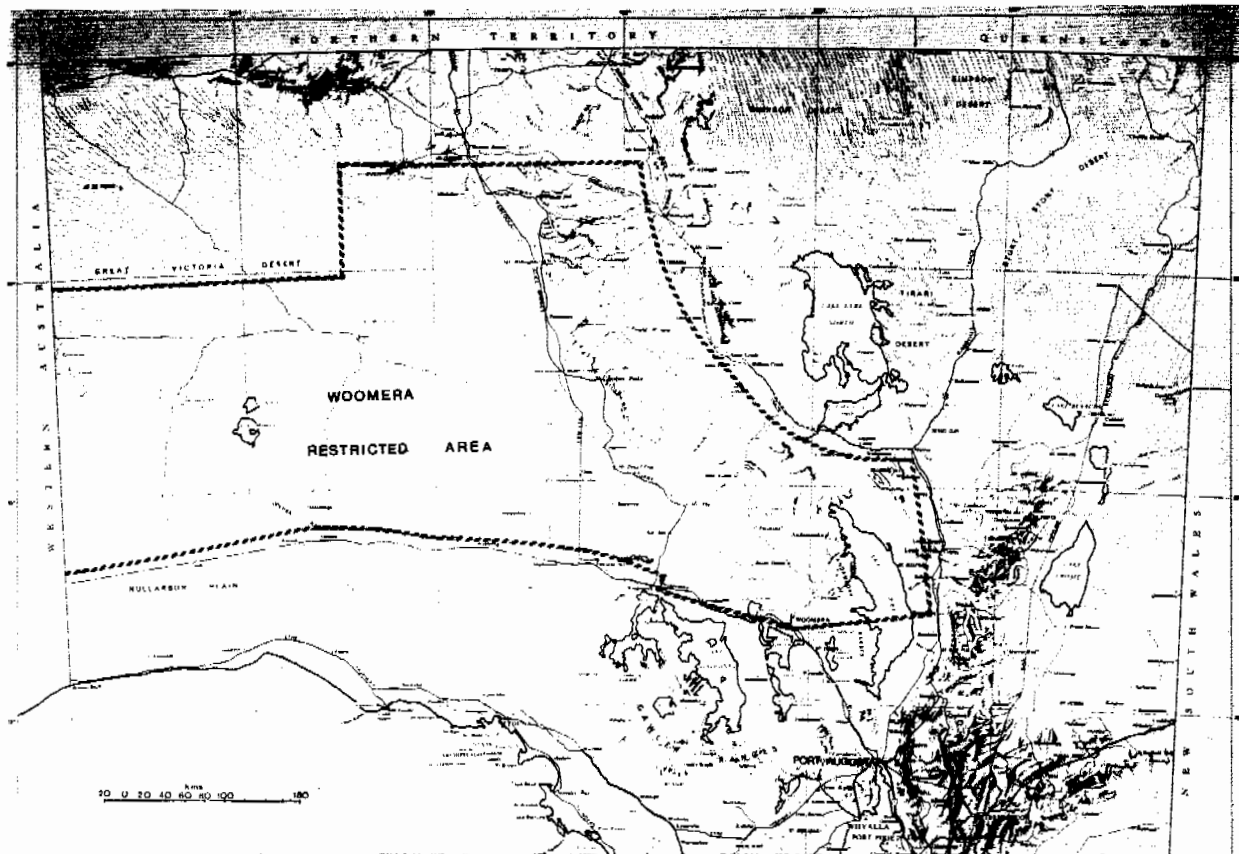
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MAP 5:7 Woomera Restricted Area.



in conjunction with the State Aborigines Department, appointed a Native Patrol Officer whose main job was to ensure Aboriginal welfare in the region. Not only was the Government concerned with the remote chance of physical danger that might result from rocket testing but more significantly the danger of accelerating 'detrribalisation' through uncontrolled contact. The task of caring for Aboriginal welfare in the region involved ensuring contact with the 'primitive natives' was agreeable, that they were not exploited, and that there was no interference with their physical environment. Further, the Aborigines were not to be denied access to an area unless it was closed for testing and there were restrictions on the Patrol Officer's power to remove Aborigines from one area to another (Aborigines Protection Board, Annual Report 1946). It is significant that in these early guidelines the Government stated clearly that consideration must be given to the areas used by the Aboriginal people from 'time immemorial' and that if possible small variations in the location and timing of testing should be made to provide for tribal custom.

In practice, the operations of Woomera were less idyllic. The Patrol Officer did in fact remove people from testing areas or redirect them when access was restricted. It is not known if testing actually did accommodate the Aboriginal interest. Further, the establishment of an Atomic Weapons Research area at Maralinga encouraged moves to transport Ooldea Mission to the coastal site of Yalata.

For those Aborigines in the southern and eastern reaches

of the Rocket Range its impact on their lives was less severe. The establishment of the Restricted Area, although restricting free access through the region, did not stop all Kokatha associations with the area. Patrol reports sent to the Aborigines Department have many Kokatha family names listed as employees at pastoral stations within the restricted area. However, contact with the area during the period of Defence Department Control was limited and controlled and not as free as movement which persisted during pastoralist domination of the area. Additionally, the establishment of Woomera Restricted Area coincided with moves by the Government to encourage the movement of 'suitable' Aborigines into two areas with a view to assimilating the Aboriginal population into the mainstream Australian society. The incentive to move permanently to Port Augusta, where many Kokatha children had been reared at the Umeewarra Home, combined with the disincentive to remain in their own country resulting from the establishment of the Restricted Area, resulted in many Kokatha permanently vacating the area north-west of Port Augusta.

5.4 THE MOVEMENT INTO PORT AUGUSTA

Early Aboriginal associations with Port Augusta were spasmodic and usually confined to the western portion of the town (The Port Augusta Dispatch, 17/11/1891). As the main legal and medical centre for the area, and the base for the regional Sub-Protector of Aborigines (a member of the police force), many Aborigines in the region were brought

into Port Augusta as a result of alleged criminal activities or for medical attention. The early Aboriginal association with Port Augusta was therefore less voluntary than induced, as the Sub-Protector carried out his functions of arresting allegedly offending Aboriginals, ensuring the correct distribution of rations, and encouraging sick Aboriginals to seek medical attention.

As the more positive resources offered by Port Augusta became more widely known amongst the local Aboriginals movement into the town increased. Movement into Port Augusta was essentially from Kokatha country as the Flinders Ranges group remained relatively isolated. The hospital service was a particular attraction. During the early part of this century, the personal efforts of one Port Augusta doctor ensured Aboriginals camping near the hospital received the medical attention they sought. One of the earliest camps in the township was established near the hospital (pers. com. Suzie Reid, 1981). It was used frequently by Aboriginal women awaiting childbirth. The birth of children in Port Augusta would have worked to establish the town as a significant locale in the Aboriginal life-world. Similarly, as more Aboriginals moved into Port Augusta events of conception and death would have secured the locality as a significant land mark by internal values as well as cross-cultural, resource-orientated values associated with contact (cf. Kolig, 1978; 70).

The completion of the East-West Railway resulted in more Aboriginals frequenting the town. The railway acted as a

transport artery between the Kokatha country and the prime resource centre of Port Augusta. By the late 1920s permanent Aboriginal camps were appearing on the outskirts of town. Oral reports on these camps suggest that they were exclusively Kokatha, although some informants make the distinction between Kokatha and Pangkala camps.

Without a widespread community commitment to a single mission outside of Port Augusta, and with the link offered by the railway, the early Kokatha movement into Port Augusta was relatively substantial. Further, the traditional links the Kokatha had with the Port Augusta area including Umeewarra Lake and the Yorkies Crossing area ensured the movement into Port Augusta was not conflicting with traditional land organisation. By 1934 one of the Aboriginal camps supported so many people that the local Aboriginal 'leader' requested mains water be piped to the area (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, 1934). His request was refused by the Protector on the grounds that fringe settlement was undesirable. This record is significant in its reference to an Aboriginal spokesman among the Kokatha and suggests that Aboriginal brokers, akin to those discussed by Howard in his Nyoongah study, existed among the Kokatha group (cf. Howard, 1981).

It was not until the arrival of The Brethren mission in Port Augusta in 1938 and the establishment of Umeewarra Home in 1942, that the Port Augusta township did more than address the Aboriginal presence by the issuing of rations through the Sub-Protector. The Brethren offered a far more institution-

alised Aboriginal service. The establishment of Umeewarra Children's Home and its use by local Aboriginals and those Aboriginals living north-west of Port Augusta as a home base for their children, consolidated and in fact expanded Aboriginal associations with Port Augusta.

By the late 1950s the Aboriginal movement into Port Augusta increased considerably. Mechanisation and the advent of award wages for Aboriginal workers reduced job opportunities in pastoralism, the established area of Aboriginal employment. In the case of the Kokatha, the establishment of the Woomera Restricted Area consolidated the emergent trend of moving out of their original area to the East-West line and Port Augusta. This process was assisted by an alteration in Government policy from that of paternalism, and essentially separatism, to assimilation and integration. The change in Government policy was put into action essentially by the provision of funds for purchasing town-located housing for Aboriginals.

The resulting process was a general rural-urban migration or, at least, and perhaps more commonly for the Aboriginals of this region, a rural-large town migration. The influx of Aboriginals to Port Augusta was so great that the Government established Davenport Aboriginal Reserve near the Umeewarra Children's Home. Davenport Reserve did not function as a mission area but more as an institutionalised, Government-run fringe-camp which was visited by the missionaries from the nearby Umeewarra

Children's Home.

Until this period of the late 1950s to 1960s the majority of the Port Augusta Aboriginal population were locals or immigrants from the area to the north-west of Port Augusta, that is, essentially Kokatha people or Aboriginals from closely allied groups. Relative late-comers to Port Augusta were the Adnjamathanha. The intensity of their mission experience, its isolation and rigidity, worked against the movement of Adnjamathanha people away from the mission to alternative centres such as Port Augusta. The involvement of a few of the men in the Second World War broke the Nepabunna isolation and some moved away from the mission in the post-War period. The Aboriginals who made this early exodus were those considered by the missionary to be adequately civilised and, in accordance with the emerging Government philosophy of assimilation, able to move into mainstream society. Most of those leaving the mission during the fifties made Port Augusta or Quorn, where the Colebrook Aboriginal Home was located, either their permanent home or a temporary base before moving on to Adelaide.

During the sixties the Nepabunna scene changed and the Adnjamathanha began to move out of the mission in greater numbers. As with the Kokatha, the decline in rural employment played an important role in the rural-town migration. Of particular attraction in Port Augusta was the employment available in the railway and highway industries. Railway employment was especially favourable because it had the added benefits of housing and the use of

the railways store from which goods could be purchased on short-term credit.

The Adnjamathanha movement from Nepabunna to Port Augusta was given added impetus by emerging changes in Government attitudes to Aborigines. The increasing awareness of Aboriginal civil rights and the culmination of this issue in the 1967 referendum undermined the Aboriginal-missionary relationship at Nepabunna. Most of those families who left Nepabunna during the sixties did not leave under amicable circumstances. Either they were expelled by the missionary for causing trouble by drinking, or they left of their own free will, tired of missionary interference with their lives. In many ways movement out of Nepabunna was a political statement of independence from the mission influence. The circumstances of the Adnjamathanha exodus from Nepabunna has translated an intra-group distinction, based on attitudes towards the missionary, into a spatial distinction, with those supporting the missionary remaining at Nepabunna and those opposing the mission presence moving out of Nepabunna. As will be shown, this intra-group split has occurred along kin lines and is a significant factor in the Adnjamathanha land rights struggle.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The Adnjamathanha and Kokatha contact experience contain a number of significant events which have had a long-standing impact on their relationship with the land and which have developed important social and political norms. These changes are playing an important part in the nature

of contemporary land rights action among the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha.

The nature of the Kokatha and Adnjamathanha relationship to the land has been influenced by two interrelated factors, European use of the land and the demise of ritualistic modes of maintaining the land relationship among the Aboriginal inhabitants. European intrusion presented a strong and all-encompassing land use against which the Aboriginal occupation and use of the land was forced to compete. The failure of the Aboriginal population of this region to successfully assert their rights of use and access above those of the settlers forced them, firstly, into a dependency upon rations and, soon after, to participate in the new economy. Accompanying this participation in the new economy were dramatic alterations in the spatial and social organisation of the Aboriginal population. The Adnjamathanha experience resulted in the congregation of the Flinders Ranges people and the formation of one permanent camp in the heart of country which holds important cultural significance for them. This has engendered a strong collective concept of identity based on continuing associations with the Flinders Ranges environment and with other Adnjamathanha people. Even with the Nepabunna-Port Augusta split there remains a persistent and common commitment to the Flinders Ranges.

The Kokatha experience resulted in dispersal and their formation of associations with many focal points of European contact often located outside the region of cultural significance to them. This has created important social and

spatial divisions among the Kokatha group which have worked against the development of a strong collective Kokatha identity and the maintenance of detailed knowledge about the cultural significance of the land. It has also resulted in a general exodus from the land with which they associate their cultural identity. These more subtle changes resulting from movement were accompanied and exacerbated by overt intrusions into the Adnjamathanha and Kokatha land relationship through European interference with the ritual side of Aboriginal life.

The contact experience has been equally significant in its input to the political dimension of Adnjamathanha and Kokatha society. At the intra-ethnic level two inter-related developments are of particular significance. Firstly, the mission experience resulted, for the Adnjamathanha especially, in the development of an internal faction between those who supported the missionary and those who opposed the missionary. This eventually resulted in a spatial expression of this factionalism as people moved out of Nepabunna. In the Kokatha case this distinction is also apparent. Those who supported the presence of the missionaries simply chose to live permanently on one of the missions. Those who preferred to avoid the overt paternalism of the missionaries relied on alternative, secular, resource centres. In both cases this resulted in new, kin-based communities developing. This level of social organisation plays an important role in current land rights politics.

Other important norms developed by way of the structure of inter-ethnic politics. Essentially political activity in this sphere was based upon patron-client or brokerage relationships involving Government officials, pastoralists, missionaries and the Aborigines. The nature of this relationship was personally negotiated between the Aborigines and the non-Aboriginal actors. During the era when pastoralists acted as the main agents of the new order the association was an exploitative exchange relationship. Aborigines who adhered to the limitations of this relationship and fulfilled the expectations of the agents who controlled the desired resources were the most 'successful' Aborigines in that they benefited from improved access to goods, services and land (cf. Howard, 1981). Those who opposed the system, or demanded more of it than the European controllers were willing to give, were seen as dissidents under the influence of radical Europeans and were denied the benefits of improved access to the desired resources. This pattern was reinforced during the mission era with those who were more Christian gaining community status and responsibility. The contemporary description of Kokatha and Adnjamathanha involvement in Port Augusta shows that this general model is still the basis for most current Aboriginal participation in the inter-ethnic political sphere. Those who are involved in Government jobs and committees are usually well educated and considered to be assimilated. In this respect they fulfil the expectations of their employers rather than adequately reflect the community they represent.

CHAPTER VITHE LAND RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN PORT AUGUSTA

6.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAND RIGHTS ACTION

In 1979 the Port Augusta factions of the Kokatha and Adnjamathanha people formed separate land rights groups. The formation of these groups marked an important stage in land rights in the area and it is to these groups and this phase of land rights action that the remainder of this thesis is directed. Land rights moves, however, were not a completely new phenomenon to the Aboriginals of this area and one of these groups in particular has had a long record of activity in the land rights sphere.

Prior to 1972, which saw the introduction of self determination and the consequent encouragement of committees, councils and other forms of collective action, the inter-ethnic political activities of both groups were, as has been shown, based essentially on individual efforts via patron-client relationships with pastoralists, missionaries or local Government officials. The only documented example of land rights action that occurred in this period prior to self-determination was based upon this mode of inter-ethnic political action. The documented event involved the Adnjamathanha group and was negotiated via their established relationship with local pastoralists. A description of the incident illustrates the significance of the pastoralist relationship in terms of both the patronage and brokerage role they undertook in early land rights moves.

In the early 1900s, some thirty years before permanent mission activity in the Flinders Ranges a series of negotiations involving the Adnjamathanha, local pastoralists and the Government resulted in a site near Parachilna being set aside as an Aboriginal reserve and protected from proposed mining activities. Two local pastoralists were particularly influential in the outcome of this incident. In 1904 they wrote to the Protector of Aborigines stating the case of the local Aborigines. Mr. Matheson of Wilpena wrote, in part:

Somewhere near Parachilna - in Brachina Gorge is a hill known as the Red Ochre Hill. For very many years the blacks have been getting this ochre so much valued by them for body painting. Lately the King of the tribe came to me saying he had heard that the whites were going to work these claims, and asking me to try and get the locality reserved for them. I think this would be just and right as the black man would be gone before long and the white man have full opportunity. I should like to mention that during the course of the next three or four months there will be a great number of blacks in Brachina Gorge and should you come to visit them there and hear what they have to say I shall be happy to drive you to the spot. The King can then plead the natives case and act as interpreter. (Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, August, 1904).

Mr. Matheson's request was endorsed by Dr. Shanahan of the nearby pastoral lease of Hawker. He too mentioned the ceremonial significance of this site and requested it be reserved for Aboriginal use. His correspondence also elaborated on the strategies planned by the Adnjamathanha to ensure their requests were met.

I have spoken to the...king of the local tribes...and he considers if the rights

of the hill be denied them by the Government issuing a [mining] lease to whites there will be a native feud waged, which will possibly extend to a reprisal on the white population in our northern centres...For your own information I wish to state that the aforementioned king has informed me that he intends discussing [with other Aborigines] the desirability of abolishing throughout the tribes the rites of circumcision and subincision in order that they may increase in numbers.

(Protector of Aborigines Correspondence, August, 1904).

The efforts of the pastoralists were successful and the land was established as an Aboriginal reserve area. This is the earliest documented example in South Australia of land being set aside on the basis of recognising Aboriginal customary procedures in relationship to the land. It stands in contrast to the normal procedure of allocating land for Aboriginal occupation as a means of separating the Aborigines from the European population.

The incident illustrates the nature of early political moves by Aborigines attempting to match their interests in land against the new, non-Aboriginal interests. The issue was negotiated through the local pastoralists and exploited the established relationship the Aborigines had with them. The sympathetic pastoralists operated as brokers by putting the Aboriginal point of view to the Government. Equally important in this negotiation chain which involved Aborigines, pastoralists and the Government was the existence of what the pastoralists referred to as a tribal 'King'. The 'King' in this incident operated as a spokesman for Aborigines. His role in the negotiations

was facilitated by his ability to speak English and thereby enter into the inter-ethnic arena. Howard, (1978b;18 and 1981; 58-59) noted a similar process in the south-west of Australia and elaborates by suggesting that those men who gained the status of 'King' were those who conformed to the values and expectations of local non-Aboriginal patrons. Certainly the 'King' who mediated in this incident had characteristics that would have appealed to the European settlers. He was willing to act as translator in any meeting between the Protector of Aborigines and his own people and he was willing to suggest to his people that they cease circumcision and subincision rites.

As 'King', this Aboriginal acted as a cultural broker and helped to explain the 'puzzling' ways of his people to the non-Aboriginal population. He promised a reformation of these ways by suggesting he could stop those aspects of Aboriginal ritual the Europeans found abhorrent, and even suggesting that he would dispel the Aboriginal threats of violent reprisal. The intermediary role taken by the 'King' was significant in relation to the ultimate success of this early Adnjamathanha claim for land. By assuming characteristics which were appealing to the non-Aboriginal patrons, the 'King' was able to provide a valuable point of access between his own people and the dominant society (cf. Howard, 1981; 63).

Although the promised trade-off of ceremonial activity for the protection of land was not fulfilled by the Adnjamathanha (ceremonial activity continued until 1939),

this aspect of the negotiations indicates clearly the price Aboriginal groups were having to pay to have their land ambitions met in the contact situation. The existence of two cultural groups, and the competition between these groups for land, was forcing the less dominant Aboriginal group to evaluate their culture and their interest in the land by standards shaped by these new pressures. The suggestion that the 'savage' circumcision and subincision rites of ceremonial activity could be abandoned must have involved a judgement, by the 'King' at least, that this aspect of his people's culture was less important than the maintenance of access to and control over the ochre. Induced cultural evaluation, following similar patterns to that displayed in the ochre negotiations, has intensified during contact and today, in a situation of increased competition for land, these induced evaluations are increasingly common among Aboriginal groups seeking land rights.

This early land rights example from the Adnjamathanha group is also significant by virtue of its uniqueness. It was not normal Government procedure to allocate land on the grounds of its cultural significance to Aboriginals. Surprisingly, early South Australian Government policy did take into account the Aboriginal presence. Despite the land being described as 'unoccupied', the South Australian Company, which administered the foundation of the colony, established a fund for the benefit of the Aboriginal population. All settlers who took up land in the colony were supposed to pay into this fund, but few did so (Gale,

1969; 18). Further, the Letters Patent for South Australia, issued under the Constitution of 1836, provided for sixteen acres of every eighty acres taken up by colonists to be set aside for Aborigines (Engel, 1968; 6). Again, there is no evidence that this actually occurred.

In real terms, early Government policy and action made only small concessions to the Aboriginal interest in land and, on evaluation, these appear to have been more sensitive to the European interest than the Aboriginal interest. The early protectionist policy, with its emphasis on the establishment of reserve areas, did result in some land being set aside for Aboriginal use. However, this was less a case of recognising Aboriginal interests in the land than a means of ensuring Aborigines stayed out of the way of European settlers. As the Nepabunna example showed, the land allocated was that which Europeans found unsuitable for their own use. If the land allocated also held some interest for the Aboriginal recipients it was due to coincidence rather than a deliberate concern for the Aboriginal association with the land. The Aboriginal association with the land was more specifically recognised through a non-legislated clause in the pastoral lease which stated that lessees had to allow the free movement of Aborigines through their land. This clause, although not always heeded by pastoralists, did place an important part of the local administration relating to Aborigines into the hands of the pastoralists. Under such an arrangement it is clear that the development of a good relationship

with local pastoralists worked to ensure the Aboriginal population had continued freedom of movement, thereby reducing the impact of European penetration on their association with the land. Thus, while the pastoralist-Aboriginal relationship was characterised by the exploitation of the Aboriginal participants, it was also possible for the Aboriginals to exploit the Government's use of pastoralists as local administrators and acquire some rights in relation to the land (cf. Howard, 1981).

There is no evidence of an early land rights event equivalent to that of the Parachilna episode for the Kokatha group. However, early records of the Protector of Aborigines do provide examples of the Kokatha ensuring their supply of rations by approaching pastoralists and asking them to write to the Government on their behalf. Thus the Kokatha also were accustomed to using their established relationship with pastoralists as a means of having their needs met. If land rights action did occur among the Kokatha then it is probable that they followed similar procedures to that of the Adnjamthanha.

The lack of written or oral evidence of Kokatha land rights action is, in many ways, indicative of their early post-contact experience. The early stages of the Kokatha contact experience was, as stated, characterised by continued mobility and a fractured and often casual mission experience. Indeed, for those Kokatha who chose to rely mainly on the resources offered by the railway sidings, the exposure to missionaries and the Christian ideology was minimal. These conditions suggest that it may have been possible for the

Kokatha to maintain their own cultural values and associations with the land alongside of their use of and association with European resource centres. Thus, the absence of early land rights moves among the Kokatha may be a reflection of their ability to maintain a distinct association with the land despite European settlement. As with the Adnjamathanha, the development of a good relationship with local pastoralists would have assisted the maintenance of Kokatha associations with the land. In a situation of free access and use, land rights would not be needed because there would be no sense of loss. The establishment of the Woomera Restricted Area in the 1950s was the first encounter the Kokatha had with a non-approachable, large scale organisation overtly declaring and enforcing a policy of restricted access to the land. It is indicative of the sense of loss that must have accompanied the establishment of Woomera that the current land rights group continually refers to the event.

The preceding evidence suggests that, historically, the Adnjamathanha have been far more active and far more successful in the land rights sphere than the Kokatha. During the 1950s and 1960s the Adnjamathanha are again evidenced as participating in land rights action. In this period the hold of the missionary on the Adnjamathanha began to loosen as new Government agencies dealing with Aboriginal affairs entered into the local scene. The presence of these Government agencies changed the nature of land rights activity and some individuals began to approach directly these new

Government agencies to seek land rights rather than working through the missionary or local pastoralists. Most Adnjamathanha efforts during this phase of land rights action were directed towards having the Aboriginal interest in Leigh Creek recognised. Leigh Creek was an important mythological site associated with the male initiation ceremony but, since the late 1940s, had been mined for coal by the Electricity Trust.

The late Walter Coulthard was particularly active in this issue. There is little written evidence of his attempts to gain land rights in relation to Leigh Creek but his descendants talk proudly of his often lone battle to gain compensation and royalties from the Leigh Creek Coalfield operations for his people. In a tape of his reminiscences made in the late 1970s he talks about his land rights efforts.

What I'm doing now, what I'm asking for is about Leigh Creek. You see, at Leigh Creek, that was known before white man, and so we're sticking up for it because that's the biggest history. If we had that, right things that we lost. There's two things lost now, that've gone. If we had them since we'd keep our business going. But since we lost them we're lost, when we lost these two things from our sacred bags. There's one for everyone, everyone's got their sacred bag. And of course, if we had one we'd be able to have fun at Nepabunna like we used to, and it would be a lot better. They shouldn't be drinking...we had a great time when we were there at Nepabunna before grog, before we got those citizen rights. Why should we have citizen rights at all, this is our country, we can get meat and money for clothes...We are fighting for Leigh Creek that's what white people call it. We call it Ukul walpuna. We're still fighting for it we must get

something, we must get royalties, land rights. Look at they to us, they are taking out millions of dollars every trip the train comes from Leigh Creek to Port Augusta. That's all the power, way down to Adelaide, yet we get nothing. Why don't the white people look back and see the right thing. (Transcript of tape of Walter Coulthard, made by Rosalie Sluggert, late 1970s, precise date unknown).

The land rights efforts of Walter Coulthard vary somewhat from the earlier Parachilna incident in that they focus on the concepts of compensation and royalties. The introduction of these concepts to the Aboriginal quest for land rights is very much a reflection of a growing awareness among Aboriginal groups of their own economically depressed state in comparison to the non-Aboriginal population. The desire is to share in this wealth which they see as having derived from land which they once 'owned' and which their ancestors created. The Leigh Creek example illustrates an important new aspect of land rights: that of an economic issue tied to survival in the current system of European domination.

Although the Leigh Creek example reveals a new facet of the land rights ideology it does not vary greatly in the political means by which this concept is conveyed by the Aboriginals to those controlling the desired resources. Land rights politicking in this phase was still based on a patron-client relationship. The patron/brokerage role was no longer dominated by pastoralists but instead included agents in the employ of the Government and who were involved specifically in servicing the Aboriginal population. Despite the differing roles of the non-Aboriginal patrons

and brokers the basic structure of the inter-ethnic political field remained reliant upon personal relationships between individual Aboriginals and individual Government employees. Those non-Aboriginals who were familiar to the community and who were deemed trustworthy were those who assumed the brokerage role in land rights and spoke on their behalf to the Government. This personalised procedure is preferred by Aboriginals and many Aboriginals look back fondly to those days when the negotiation of issues, such as access to the land, occurred between the relevant Aboriginals and individual agents of the Government, particularly pastoralists. This early inter-ethnic political procedure rested on trustworthy relationships developed over long periods. It offered a face-to-face procedure which was negotiated locally, which could be re-negotiated if conditions changed, and which, in Aboriginal eyes, was fair exchange for their efforts as workers (cf. Meyers, 1982).

An important difference in the phase of land rights politicking in which pastoralists were replaced by individuals in the employ of the Government, is that the development of sufficiently trustworthy relationships was difficult. The individuals employed in agencies dealing with Aboriginal affairs were often new to the area, the personnel of these agencies changed frequently and, indeed, often the agencies themselves changed. Further, these new patrons/brokers, while more directly linked to the Government which controlled the desired resources, were by virtue of this association, less autonomous than the pastoralists who had previously assumed the brokerage role in the inter-ethnic

field. That is, a Government employee is more directly answerable to the policy of the Government and has a vested interest, the maintenance of his/her paid position in the Government, to acquiesce to their employer's wishes. Thus, the development of a good relationship with an individual employed by the Government did not necessarily lead to the desired results. This phase of the 1950s and 1960s, in which Government agencies servicing the Aboriginal population developed and expanded into remote areas, did not greatly assist Aboriginal land rights efforts as there was little basis for a meaningful relationship similar to that established within the pastoral era. In fact, it operated to expose Aboriginals more directly to the Government policies which historically had deprived them of these rights.

As late as 1975 land rights action among the Adnjamthanha continued to show a preference for the personalised modes established during the era of Aboriginal-pastoralist association. In 1975 an Adnjamathanha man (now a participating member of the Adnjamathanha Land Rights Committee) wrote, on behalf of the Adnjamathanha people in general and, more specifically, two family groups, to the lessees of Leigh Creek pastoral lease requesting that the impending sale of the land be postponed to allow his 'interested parties' the time needed to raise the money to tender for the lease (Letter G.C. to Mr. and Mrs. Hirsch of Leigh Creek Station, 3/11/75). Although this man approached the Government for the money to purchase the lease it is significant that he continued to use the established relationship between the

pastoralists and his people to alter the timing of the sale.

6.2 CONTEMPORARY LAND RIGHTS ACTION: THE EMERGENCE OF COLLECTIVE POLITICAL EFFORTS

Only isolated examples exist of collective action in relation to land issues prior to the implementation of the Federal policy of self-determination. For example, in 1966 a section of the Nepabunna community directly questioned the Government over the title of Nepabunna Mission. The incident is referred to in a later submission by the Adnjamathanha for rights in relation to Leigh Creek.

Rights to the land holding was disputed, especially in a letter of 17 November 1966 by 15 Nepabunna residents, saying the land was '...given to the Elders of our people by the late Mr. Thomas...at no stage was this land given to the U.A.M.... [if the Government will not take over we] will be forced to leave Nepabunna as we find it impossible to live on as we are at the moment'. (Northern Flinders Aboriginal Community Group, Submission Supplementary Development Plan for Leigh Creek, 1977, quoting ADPA No.27, 1963).

This early collective effort in relation to a land issue occurred at a time when the mission influence at Nepabunna was still strong but Government involvement in and input to the mission were increasing. This faction of the community was tired of interference in their affairs and was expressing their perceived right to the Nepabunna land over that of the UAM and, consequently, their right to decide the type of administration under which they would live. Their move to express this right to the Government was not unaffected by the political climate of the time which was characterised by Aboriginal franchise at the

Federal level and, at the State level, the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation (Prohibition of Discrimination Act, 1966) and the Aboriginal Lands Trust Act, 1966.

The installation of the Labor Government at the Federal level in 1972 and the enactment of its policy of Aboriginal self-determination and the consequent encouragement of political participation by Aboriginals via community councils changed the nature of land rights action. More frequently action appeared in the form of a collective Aboriginal effort. This new form of Aboriginal action was far from independent. Rather, it worked through collectives which were closely affiliated with the increasingly prolific Government agencies dealing with Aboriginal affairs. For example, the next major land rights bid in the study area, again from the Adnjamathanha people, occurred through the Northern Flinders Aboriginal Community Group (Inc.) (NFACG) which was formed in 1976. The NFACG was a DAA sponsored body designed to function as an action group calling attention to the general needs of the Northern Flinders Aboriginal community, that is, the Adnjamathanha people resident at Nepabunna and the surrounding towns. The NFACG did not function specifically as a land rights group but did, among its more general ambition for social justice, aim to promote cultural activities and preserve the 'indigenous interest' of the Adnjamathanha people (NFACG, Submission to Supplementary Development Plan for Leigh Creek, 1977).

The agents instrumental in the formation of this group and in the mobilisation of the Adnjamathanha people were two locally-based employees of the Government, the Department

for Community Welfare Officer from Leigh Creek and an Adnjamathanha woman who worked as a district nurse servicing Aboriginal communities. Thus, not only was the group Government sponsored but its activities also relied upon the presence of two Government employees who were willing to assist in mobilising local participation. In this sense, the involvement of the well-respected Adnjamathanha woman encouraged local support of the action group. The involvement of these two Government employees reveals that the new collective action was not simply a natural progression from the changed Government policy. More accurately, it was an alteration in the structure of the inter-ethnic political sphere which occurred via the penetration and deliberate manipulation of the normative political modes of the community by external Government agents. This is not to suggest, as Tatz (1979; 16) does, that these council structures are ineffective because they are a non-Aboriginal concept and therefore inappropriate at a conceptual level. More accurately, these councils or collective political units suffer difficulties because they have been established as a means of reaching a Government dictated end, and a necessary concomitant of this *raison d'être* is the involvement of Government agents and the penetration of external values.

A closer analysis of the NFACG verifies this interpretation and reveals that the collective unit was far less an Adnjamathanha phenomenon than a Government one. For example, attendance at meetings was rarely dominated by Adnjamathanha people but, more often, influential Aboriginals

and non-Aboriginals employed by the Government. The minutes of their executive meetings reveal that from an average meeting attendance of ten people, the maximum number of Adnjamathanha representatives was four, and two of these representatives were in attendance not only as Adnjamathanha people but as Government representatives. Although the Adnjamathanha input was greater in the community meetings and the Submission was backed by a survey of the Aboriginal community, the decision-making body of the group consisted largely of Government representatives. A typical meeting of the NFACG included representatives from the DAA, Aboriginal Housing, Davenport Community Council, Aboriginal Legal Rights, Aboriginal Community Health and the DCW. In essence, the group was merely an extension of existing, Government-based, Aboriginal services. And the presence of local Adnjamathanha people who had been co-opted into the employ of the Government simply worked to legitimate their projected image as a grass-roots organisation (cf. Howard, 1978b;28).

The association of the NFACG with the Government was not only manifest in its membership. The action of this group in relation to the land issue it tackled reflected its structure of participation. The main issue tackled by the NFACG was the planned relocation of Leigh Creek township and the expansion of ETSA's coal mining activities. The NFACG met with the Nepabunna community and particularly the initiated wilyaru and vадnapa men, over the proposed development (26/11/77). The transcript of the meeting reveals that the community was very concerned over the

expansion of the Leigh Creek development. In reaching a decision in relation to their action over Leigh Creek the NFACG and the Adnjamathanha people relied heavily upon the advice of the Aboriginal Legal Rights lawyer. He suggested to the meeting that there were essentially three options: a claim for title to Leigh Creek land, a claim for cash compensation, or a claim for compensation in the form of increased services and jobs for the local Aboriginal community, including access to the town of Leigh Creek which was, at the time, a closed town used by ETSA employees only. In presenting these options he advised that the first two alternatives had only a limited chance of success considering Government policy. The third option was presented as the most realistic, that is, the one to which the Government was most likely to concede. The initiated men were asked specifically to offer their support to the NFACG in its attempts to realise this third option and 'provide for the future of all Aboriginal people in the area' (Transcript NFACG Meeting 26/11/77).

The transcript of the meeting reveals that the initiated faction of the Adnjamathanha community did not automatically offer their support to the option endorsed by the NFACG, preferring one of the first two options. It took considerable effort to convince the older men that the increase in services would compensate adequately for their loss of Leigh Creek. Instrumental in the final cooperation of the initiated men was the presence of Adnjamathanha and other Aboriginal people on the NFACG Executive Committee. Most of these Aboriginals

were Government employees but they also had relatives and friends among the rest of the Adnjamathanha group. The personalised links between the Government and the community that the Adnjamathanha employees provided assisted the NFACG to convince the initiated men to support an option they felt uncomfortable with and which they felt did not satisfy their land rights ambitions.

The NFACG submission for social benefits from the Leigh Creek expansion has not been acted upon. Taking this into consideration, and the initial compromise of land rights ambitions made by the initiated men, it is understandable that shortly after this Walter Coulthard was still talking about land rights in relation to Leigh Creek and, four years later, the Adnjamathanha Land Rights Committee was still discussing its dispossession of Leigh Creek. The NFACG substantiated its claim for increased benefits from the expansion of Leigh Creek on the basis of its cultural significance but, in reality, did little to satisfy cultural ambitions. The NFACG, as an extension of existing Government agencies, reflected its alliance to Government welfare ambitions in relation to Aboriginal affairs rather than the uncensored ambitions of the initiated faction of the Adnjamathanha community. The fact that Leigh Creek continued as a land rights issue suggests that the NFACG's efforts were not seen by the initiated men as a land rights attempt.

The operations of the NFACG, offer a good example of the emergent pattern of inter-ethnic politics in the area which has resulted from the implementation of the self-determination policy. As described, there are two essential features of this

pattern of inter-ethnic politics. Firstly, the new pattern of inter-ethnic politics is based on a concept of the collective group (a council or an incorporated collective body). A logical concomitant of this notion of corporate Aboriginal involvement is that a collective and common strategy or goal be presented. The analysis of the NFACG reveals that reaching a common strategy or goal is not always easy and, in the case of the NFACG, a considerable degree of persuasion was necessary to finally solicit the support of the initiated men. Previous negotiations within the inter-ethnic field did not demand the community reach collective (and often binding) decisions; rather, its personalised nature allowed for individuals or small groups to negotiate and often renegotiate small concessions from the European pastoralists.

The second feature of this emergent political mode is that Government employees, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, are exposed as being instrumental in the final move towards the development of collective action and the presentation of a collective aim. In the case of the NFACG, the co-opting of local Aboriginals into Government departments and their subsequent penetration, as agents of their employers, into the local political sphere ensured that the ambitions of this political action did not clash with the aims and ambitions of the Government to improve the services in the area (cf. Howard, 1981, 1982b). This is not to suggest that the Adnjamathanha were not in agreement with the Government in terms of improving their social conditions. However, the

reaction of the initiated men suggests that they were not necessarily content with the proposal to swap land interests and ambitions for social benefits. The features of the NFACG's efforts to gain land rights, i.e. collective action, the formation of 'common' goals and the role of brokers, remain important in relation to current land rights action in Port Augusta.

During this phase of emergent collective politicking for land rights the Kokatha are not evidenced as being active participants. Unlike the Adnjamathanha, they had no Government instituted and sponsored equivalent to the NFACG which might have acted as a collective voice on land rights issues. Moreover, in this more recent period, the impact of their dispersal and formation of a number of community groups emerged as an important social and cultural factor working against an equivalent form of land rights action.

For example, the NFACG, like the more localised Nepabunna Community Council, operated for the benefit of a well defined group of people currently resident at Nepabunna or, at least, resident outside of Nepabunna but with relatives still on the reserve and a continuing interest in the future of the reserve. The nature of the Adnjamathanha contact experience and the group's continuing affiliation with Nepabunna and the surrounding region offered a localised and manageable group suitable to representation by a collective unit. In contrast, the existence of a number of discrete community groups identifying as Kokatha, but with separate and localised interests, worked against the formation or external instigation

of a collective, common interest group similar to the NFACG. A consequence of this dispersal, which did not characterise the close Nepabunna experience of the Adnjamathanha, was a breakdown in the transferal of cultural knowledge among the Kokatha. It was not until the current leader of the Kokatha land rights movement in Port Augusta had been initiated, during the 1960s, and offered the Port Augusta people a reliable and close link with their cultural heritage that interest in and concern for the land heightened to the degree that political action eventuated.

Further, in the Kokatha case, the rapid instalment of a number of local Kokatha people into the expanding Government agencies in Port Augusta worked against the emergence of even Government-sponsored land rights action. A number of Kokatha people in the employ of the Government were, during this early phase of collective action, directing their energies (at the request of their employer) towards other communities and not their own group's land rights ambitions. For example, the NFACG involved the DAA Aboriginal Field Officer. This man was Kokatha and later played an instrumental role in the Kokatha land rights move. However, at the time of the NFACG he was, because of his DAA position and community status, directing his efforts towards the NFACG and Adnjamathanha land issues. Instead of his own Kokatha people being able to tap his skills and exploit his Government position, his Government obligations and his need, as an Aboriginal broker, to expand his client base and thereby ensure his maintenance as a Government employee and community spokesman, directed

his attentions away from his own group.

The other land rights related alternative operating prior to the advent of the land rights groups was the Heritage Unit. The Heritage Unit's programme of site recording was a Government funded, directed and operated format of land rights action. The Flinders Ranges group was given specialised attention by the newly developed Heritage Unit. The efforts of the Heritage Unit to record the many sites under threat from tourism in the Flinders Ranges was not automatically accepted by the Adnjamathanha, and a great deal of the Unit's energy during its embryonic years in the seventies was put into convincing the older Adnjamathanha men and women that the Heritage Unit option was a satisfactory means by which land rights ambitions could be met. The Adnjamathanha's eventual acceptance of the Heritage Unit option was not only a response to this unprecedented opportunity to safeguard their land interests, but also the result of the trustworthy relationship that developed between the Adnjamathanha and the main personalities of the Heritage Unit. The Adnjamathanha commitment to the Heritage Unit option included the training of three young Adnjamathanha in the skills of site recording and oral history and their eventual employment in the Department of Environment. The Heritage Unit's involvement in the area institutionalised the land rights moves. Land issues were generally brought to the attention of the Heritage Unit and action taken by way of site recording. Although the Heritage Unit has played an important role in ensuring the Adnjamathanha land interests

are recognised, its involvement in the area delayed the emergence of independent land rights politicking.

Unlike the Adnjamathanha, the Kokatha have not developed a close association with the Heritage Unit. The Kokatha country is not topographically distinctive or aesthetically pleasing to the European eye and has had little pressure from tourism and, until recently, the area has not been under threat from extensive mining development. This apparent lack of conflicting interest made the Kokatha need for site recording seem less crucial than that of the Adnjamathanha. Further, the Kokatha group has generally been less visible than the Adnjamathanha, less a single identifiable community. These factors, coupled with the limited resources of the Heritage Unit, have worked against large-scale extensions of its operations to other groups. The absence of a close relationship between the Kokatha and the Unit has made the Unit far less accessible for the Kokatha and emphasised its external character. The lack of a personal link made the task of gaining its services more difficult and, because of Kokatha uncertainty of their status with the Unit, less desirable. The Kokatha view the Heritage Unit's attention to the Adnjamathanha with suspicion and bitterness and use the Heritage Unit only when they need to gain legal status for their sites and not, as the Adnjamathanha, as a means by which to record more general cultural information.

The evidence offered by the NFACG example, the pattern of Heritage Unit involvement in the area, and even the early Parachilna incident, suggests that the Adnjamathanha were far more political than the Kokatha in relation to their land

interests. However, the close analysis of these examples suggests that what appears as a lack of political action among the Kokatha is simply an absence of a certain type of inter-ethnic politicking. What is absent among the Kokatha is an example of an externally instigated and sponsored action group or the development of a close relationship with a Government department providing a service related to land rights. Thus, the lack of overt political action among the Kokatha is not an indication of their lack of land rights ambitions, or a lack of a meaningful relationship with the land. It is simply the result of these interests and ambitions not being taken up by the agents of the Government controlling the land resource. Land rights, in this sense, is as much a reflection of the Aboriginal interest in land (be it cultural, economic or any other interest) as it is the nature of political action associated with, or emanating from, this interest having to compete with alternative uses of the land. The apparent absence of political action among the Kokatha (and, mistakenly, the assumption that this reflects a lack of interest in the land) is simply a reflection of their social and cultural dispersal, the divergent organisational affiliations of members of the group, and a differing input from Government agencies involved in Aboriginal affairs. These are factors which are external to the Aboriginal association with the land but which are becoming an increasingly integral part of the contemporary land relationship.

In 1979 both the Adnjamathanha and the previously 'quiet' Kokatha formed their own groups to deal specifically with the land rights issue. The emergence of these two groups at this time was not related to a specific input from any of the Government agencies or employees in the area. Nor was it the result of any collaboration between the two groups, the moves were relatively independent. Rather, the emergence of these two land rights groups coincided with a major political event in relation to Aboriginal land rights. The late 1970s marked the peak of the Pitjantjatjara land rights lobby and by 1979 legislation offering freehold title to the Pitjantjatjara had been drafted. The Port Augusta Aboriginals were not in isolation from this struggle. The Adelaide based Land Rights Support Group, which was instigated and run by Adelaide Aboriginals, had solicited support for the Pitjantjatjara on a number of occasions in Port Augusta. Further, the massive media attention given to the Pitjantjatjara and to the legal and political headway made by this lobby, left the Port Augusta Aboriginals with a lasting impression of the Pitjantjatjara struggle. The success of the Pitjantjatjara lobby was clearly apparent, and the procedures of autonomous, collective politicking which had presented the Pitjantjatjara claim stood as a model of land rights action and a basic ingredient in the formula for land rights success. As the Pitjantjatjara example was the inspiration for the two land rights groups in Port Augusta it is understandable that the ideologies and form of the groups allude to principles apparent in the Pitjantjatjara struggle.