P.G. JONES

1	COMSR STEVENS
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1	HINDMARSH ISLAND BRIDGE ROYAL COMMISSION
5	THE COMMISSION
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7	TUESDAY, 24 OCTOBER 1995
8	10202111, 21 001022111770
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10	RESUMING 9.34 A.M.
11	WITNESS P.G. JONES ENTERS WITNESS BOX
12	MR MEYER: Before my friend a starts
13	cross-examining, there is a suggestion - and I didn't
14	see the press - but there is a suggestion that we are
15	sitting Saturday mornings.
16	COMSR: Yes, it is going to be more than a
17	suggestion. For this Saturday morning. That is as far
18	ahead as I can look, of course.
19	MR MEYER: Is it proposed that we are sitting on
20	Saturday mornings?
21	COMSR: It is proposed we will be sitting this
22	Saturday morning, yes.
23	MR ABBOTT: I think, if we are going to sit on
24 25	Saturday, we ought to sit all day. I think, if we are going to interfere with the weekend, we ought to do it
26	properly. Sit Saturday all day.
27	COMSR: There may be difficulty relating to
28	staffing.
29	MR SMITH: Yes, we would have to make those
30	arrangements and we are busily checking on all our
31	infrastructure arrangements.
32	COMSR: Yes, it is not simply a matter, Mr
33	Abbott, where I can say that. It obviously would be a
34	good idea.
35	MR ABBOTT: Yes, speaking for myself, three hours on
36	Saturday morning I think is an ineffective use of a
37	weekend. If we are going to interrupt the weekend in
38	that way, we might as well make a job of it and sit all

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1	day Saturday from 9 until 5 or 9.30 until 5, if
2	arrangements can be made.
2	COMSR: Yes, we can pursue that, but I have an
4	idea that there is some problem, Mr Abbott, relating to
5	the staff situation.
6	Perhaps this might assist me:
7	Ms Pyke, we can expect Dr Fergie's statement on
8	Thursday, is that right?
9	MS PYKE: Thursday or Friday morning is what I
10	would anticipate.
11	COMSR: Yes, because we would be wanting to call
12	Dr Fergie.
13	MS PYKE: Having spoken with counsel assisting, I
14	understood that the idea perhaps would be, if we had her
15	statement by Thursday evening or Friday, that other
16	counsel could have the weekend to have a look at it.
17	MR ABBOTT: Speaking for myself, I have proceeded on
18	the basis that this Royal Commission was going to end
19	this week and I have taken brief for next week,
20	particularly Monday and Tuesday, and I had expected,
21	with the expedited hearing, that we would have Dr Fergie
22	and Dr Draper this week and I have prepared it on that
23	basis. To allow Ms Pyke a couple of days to get her
24	statement ready - I would be prepared to go on without
25	the statement, for the sake of getting this finished and
26	I think she ought to go in the witness box tomorrow.
27	MS PYKE: I am wondering who is running this
28	Commission on occasion, Mr Abbott or you, Madam
29	Commissioner.
30	COMSR: Yes, I would certainly like to get Dr
31	Fergie started this week and on Friday.
32	MS PYKE: We are doing the best we can. Might I
33	say, we have begged for a summons in this matter almost
34	from the day this Commission was started. The summons
35	was served almost 10 days ago. We are not in any
36	position, nor would it be appropriate, to prepare a
37	statement for Dr Fergie until she was summonsed.
38	MR ABBOTT: Rubbish.

38

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MS PYKE: Mr Abbott can say `rubbish', but for 2 two-thrids of this Commission, we were told there would be no summons forthcoming. I am not going to argue about it. COMSR: 5 No, neither am I. That is the reality. MS PYKE: 6 Certainly I believe that we should get COMSR: started on Dr Fergie's evidence on Friday. 8 MS PYKE: We are using our best endeavours, that 9 is all I can say. 10 MR STEELE: Before my friend starts, just speaking 11 for Dr Draper in the context of Saturday morning 12 session, Mr Draper is coming back from Queensland later today. And I am sure that my friend will try and 13 14 facilitate the giving of evidence before the weekend, but lest that should not occur, I must point out to you 15 16 that he has obligations with respect to a young son in 17 Queensland. Although he can make arrangements during 18 the week, he can't make arrangements for the weekend. He must be back in Queensland. 19 20 COMSR: That may solve the problem. 21 When is Dr Draper returning? 22 He is returning to Adelaide at the end MR STEELE: 23 of today. I will have a statement to my friend 24 tomorrow. 25 COMSR: I think counsel assisting might perhaps 26 confer with counsel. 27 MR SMITH: We would try and accommodate Dr Draper. 28 That is, put him in the witness box as soon as possible 29 and I would say there is a prospect that he will be 30 finished by the weekend. 31 MR STEELE: If that is not so, he must go home on 32 Friday. 33 COMSR: It sounds as though we may have to vary 34 the order, in any event. 35 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ABBOTT CONTINUING 36 Q. Are you aware of the proposed statement of evidence of Steven John Hemming, which will be tendered in due 37

course, when Mr Hemming gives evidence, or it has

- 1 already been tendered as an exhibit. I don't have the
- 2 exhibit number, but I suspect you have been supplied
- 3 with a copy of it.
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. Have you read it.
- 6 A. Yes, I have. I don't have it in front of me.
- 7 Q. You are aware of where Mr Hemming is coming from in his statement.
- 9 A. In a general sense, yes.
- 10 Q. I would like to put some matters in his statement to you
- in anticipation that this will be his evidence. I am
- referring to his statement, which was tendered some
- months ago, as Exhibit 19. Would you look at it, now
- before you: does Exhibit 19 consist of 35 pages.
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. Looking at p.17, he deals with the topic of the letter to Tickner, of 12 May 1994.
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. That is MFI 204. Would you look at MFI 204, now before
- 20 you: this was the letter which Steve Hemming says was
- 21 dictated to him by Doreen Kartinyeri and he typed it out
- for her at the museum. Were you aware of this letter
- having been sent or faxed through on museum equipment.
- 24 A. Later, yes.
- 25 Q. How much later.
- 26 A. Perhaps four or five days later.
- 27 Q. Have you discussed this letter with Mr Hemming.
- 28 A. No, I haven't.
- 29 Q. Or the fact that it was sent via the museum by Mr
- 30 Hemming.
- 31 A. No, I haven't.
- 32 Q. You will see that Doreen Kartinyeri in this letter says
- that she is a descendant of the Raminyeri people of the
- Coorong, Hindmarsh and Mundoo Islands. Do you know
- 35 whether that is so.
- 36 A. It wouldn't be accepted in most by most analysts to
- categorise the Raminyeri as being from the Coorong, no.
- 38 Q. Put that aside then. The next aspect of the statement

- that I want to refer you to is on p.19 `2.7 Discussion
- with Dr Deane Fergie', that was in late July, and Mr
- 3 Hemming states that he then became aware that Philip
- 4 Clarke's view was different to his on the issue of
- women's business as a result of Dr Fergie telling him of Dr Clarke's view.
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. Were you having any discussions with Mr Hemming, at that stage.
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. P.20 deals with `Debate Inside the Museum'. He says `I
- accept that there was a difference between myself and
- 13 Philip Jones and Philip Clarke about the existence of
- women's separate knowledge. It must be remembered that
- Doreen Kartinyeri is also a museum staff member, a
- 16 colleague and an expert on Ngarrindjeri culture and
- history.' Is she accepted as an expert on Ngarrindjeri
- culture and history, generally speaking, or is her
- 19 expertise regarded mainly in the realm of genealogies.
- 20 A. In that restricted sense, her expertise is certainly
- recognised as resting primarily in genealogical matters,
- but I would be the last to suggest that any Ngarrindjeri person isn't an expert on their own cultural history.
- 24 Q. You will see that he then says that his view is, and
- 25 this is important, because he says 'My view about
- women's issues, in relation to the island', so we are
- 27 talking about site-related women's business, `is that it
- cannot be ruled out as a possibility.' I think your
- view is that you do rule it out as a possibility on the
- basis of what you know, at this stage.
- 31 A. Yes, I do.
- 32 Q. He then goes on to the summary of his viewpoint, at
- p.21. He says in the third paragraph, at p.21 The
- existence of separate women's knowledge of the
- 35 significance of the River Murray, lakes, Coorong and
- islands such as Hindmarsh island, is in my view entirely
- possible.' You appreciate that is a bit of a change
- from saying that secret women's business is

- site-related. You see there is a shift of emphasis, isn't there.
- 3 A. I will just get back to that.
- Q. Women's issues in relation to Hindmarsh Island to the
 significance of the River Murray, lakes and Coorong
 being possible.
- A. It is a bit difficult to put those in perspective to
 each other. That, the first statement, is pretty
 general and it is difficult to pin that down as to what
- that actually means. The second statement does appear to be a little loser, I suppose.
- 12 Q. Let's get one thing straight, you have given evidence about the possibility of the existence of secret women's
- business and/or it being secret sacred women's business,
- site-related. That is, identified with Hindmarsh
- 16 Island, Goolwa and the channel between Hindmarsh Island
- and Goolwa. That's what you have given evidence about, isn't it.
- 19 A. Yes, and I would extend that view to a site-related perspective on any part of Ngarrindjeri culture or area.
- Q. You haven't, I think, discounted as a possibility the existence of some women's knowledge of significance of the River Murray, lakes and Coorong generally.
- Nonsecret and nonsacred.
- A. No, I haven't. But I would maintain vigorously that that women's knowledge isn't a separate domain from men's knowledge. It is people's knowledge.
- Q. It is entirely possible that there is some women's knowledge, but you would say it is not separate.
- 30 A. Yes.
- Q. Mr Hemming goes on to say `During my research in theregion I have not encountered these specific women's
- beliefs.' So, he hasn't found anything that would
- 34 gainsay or deny what you say, apparently, in that
- 35 regard.
- 36 A. Yes.
- 37 Q. He says he has observed many examples of gender-based
- 38 cultural domains. You haven't observed many examples of

- gender-based cultural domains amongst the Ngarrindjeri, have you.
- A. I haven't, but I haven't undertaken much field work with the Ngarrindjeri.
- Q. He says he has witnessed Ngarrindjeri women's avoidance
 of speaking to men about issues relating to childbirth.
 If he has, that would hardly, I suggest, fall within the
 category of secret sacred women's business.
- 9 A. That's correct.
- 10 Q. He then goes on to an analysis of the ethnographic sources. I won't weary you with all of that, but you
- will see that he cites, in support of his position, that
- it is a possibility that what I will call secret sacred
- women's business is site-related. He cites Alison
- Harvey, at the bottom of p.23 and the top of p.24. I
- won't ask you to comment on her evidence, except to say
- that except you have already commented on it. I won't
- ask you to comment on it again. You have commented on it, haven't you.
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. You don't believe that supports his view.
- 22 A. No, I don't.
- Q. What about the quote from Professor Faye Gale. He
- quotes Professor Ĝale as support for the view that
- Separate women's business appears to have existed in the Lower Murray.'
- 27 A. Yes, this was covered with Miss Nelson yesterday.
- 28 Q. Yes, I know.
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. You don't accept that as being relevant.
- 31 A. No, I don't accept that. I do accept that it is a
- 32 misreading, I think two misreadings. Firstly, Mr
- Hemming is suggesting that women in southern South
- 34 Australia automatically refers to the Lower Murray. The
- area is complex enough and distinguished by enough
- differences for that not to be an absolute deduction.
- 37 And, secondly, I question Faye Gale's interpretation of
- 38 the primary source of Edward Eyre, which I have read

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myself.

- 2 Q. We will leave that. You can provide that reference or that interpretation for counsel assisting, if need be.
- 5 Q. Then there is some comment, a criticism of Dr Clarke's 6 thesis. I think it can be distilled to the comment 7 which we see at the end of the second line 'His work, 8 however, almost entirely lacks a recognition of the 9 importance of gender in Lower Murray Aboriginal society.' Dr Clarke, I think, disputes that and you 10 11 have read his thesis.
- 12 A. I haven't read it cover-to-cover. I have read sections 13 of it and I have read enough of it to form an opinion 14 that this interpretation of his thesis is faddish and 15 essentially can't be supported.
- 16 Q. Then he praises, in aid of his view, Dr Kartinyeri's 17 work as an Aboriginal historian, without saying why that 18 would be support for the existence of secret sacred 19 women's business. And then he deals with the 20 interpretation of the evidence. I will deal with this 21 very briefly. The next few pages, from pp.25 to 29, is 22 an attempt, I suggest, to undermine the work of Berndt 23 and Berndt, in the sense that he attempts to say how his 24 view could still be possible, notwithstanding the 25 failure of the Berndts to record anything like it.
- 26 A. It is one of the most disturbing things about this 27 submission, I think, because the Berndts have actually 28 confronted the issue and have dealt with it in a very 29 open manner and have confirmed that this is a society 30 which is distinct in Aboriginal Australia for the 31 egalitarian nature of the exchange of knowledge between 32 men and women of a sacred character.
- 33 Q. To dismiss Berndt and Berndt in these words `It is, 34 however, a collection of oral histories and not an 35 ethnography based on direct observation', I suggest, is 36 an entire misconception of the work of Berndt and
- 37 Berndt. And that, whilst much of their work was
- 38 collecting oral history, much of it was also an

- 1 ethnography based on direct observation.
- 2 A. Is that a question?
- Q. Yes, do you agree with that.
- 4 A. Yes, I do.
- Q. Is there any way in which it could be said that their
 work is not, at least in the substantial part, an
 ethnography based on direct observation.
- 8 A. In the sense that they are distilling and evaluating the ethnographic sourses and the historical sources, but in almost every case I think they are measuring those sources against their own experience and against the experiences of their informants.
- Q. You will see that the central thesis of the Berndt of the dismissal of the Berndt and Berndt work is at p.28
- of Mr Hemming's submission where he says, at the start
- of the first main paragraph, `I believe that Pinkie
- 17 Mack's consistent denial of knowledge of songs
- associated with women's initiation cannot be explained
- by a simple memory loss.' Is there any basis in the
- 20 book for that assertion.
- 21 CONTINUED

- A. To me that appears to be an insulting reference to septenarians, sort of the gaps in a septenarian's knowledge of her childhood. It is just ridiculous.
- Q. I go now to the next section headed `Summary of my research experience in the Lower Murray.' I won't ask you to comment much on that. Except at p.32, he
- suggests that, 'the fragmentation of knowledge, which has occurred as a result of the European invasion' and
- has occurred as a result of the European invasion' and this is in the middle of p.32, `and the subsequent
- dispersal of members of the Ngarrindjeri society.' So
- there is the two concepts there. There is the
- fragmentation of the information and the dispersal of
- the individuals who had that information. He says `All
- of these factors make it entirely possible that
- 15 knowledge of women's business may be restricted to only
- 16 certain people in the Ngarrindjeri community.' The
- 17 corollary being, other people in the community don't
- have it, other women. What do you say about that assertion.
- A. Without a more detailed exposition of the reasoning behind it, it doesn't make a lot of sense.
- One would expect that people who have retained an
- identity within the centre of the Ngarrindjeri region
- and, in particular, I suppose have been closely resident
- close to Hindmarsh Island itself, and your attention
- would have to turn to Point McLeay, Raukkan, that people
- with a significant life history and association with
- that particular place, would be in the box seat, so to
- speak, in terms of retaining that knowledge not -
- 30 Q. You addressed this before with Miss Nelson. You spoke
- of, far from there being a dispersion, there was a
- 32 factor or an accumulation of people at Raukkan. You
- would expect if there were chosen ones some of the
- chosen ones would be there.
- 35 A. Well, I think my experience has been, from all that I
- have read and all the people I have spoken to, that
- Raukkan has served as a, to some extent, as a focus for
- people's formation of ideas about their own history and

- 1 culture for many decades and, there is an intensity of
- 2 cultural life about that place, which indicates that, if
- this knowledge existed anywhere, it would exist in a fairly lively form in that place.
- 5 Q. Indeed, Mr Hemming's, I think, only reference to the possibility, that knowledge of women's business not he
- doesn't preface it by secret sacred women's
- 8 business. I suppose one might accept as a possibility,
- 9 that some facets of what women did or the women's
- aspects of Ngarrindjeri culture, might be reserved to a few.
- 12 A. Well, I think, unfortunately, what characterizes the 13 report, is an illusion, a slippage, almost on every
- page, between women's issues, such as women's business.
- 15 Q. Birth conception, menstruation etc.
- 16 A. Menstruation. And this so-called esoteric, completely
- separate and secret exclusive and closed off realm of knowledge.
- 19 Q. The secret sacred women's business that's site related to deal with spiritual, cosmos and reproduction.
- 21 A. Yes
- 22 Q. He says, at the bottom of p.32, `I also clearly recall
- 23 the conversation of Ronald Berndt in the museum tearoom,
- concerning the possible femininity of the river, lakes and Coorong. He said he was starting to think that
- 26 these features had feminine significance, but that he
- was not sure of the details.' You were present, were
- you not.
- A. Yes. That does not sound like the Ronald Berndt we know. He was not prone to making those sorts of vague
- 30 know. He was not prone to making those sorts of vague assertions.
- Q. All it is claimed is that Ronald Berndt said, words to the effect, `I am starting to think these features have
- female significance, but I am not sure of the details.'
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. Even if he had said something like that, would that be
- 37 sufficient to construct the edifice that Mr Hemming
- would have us construct on such a comment.

- 1 A. Well, it wouldn't have been sufficient to relay the
- 2 information to Phillip Clarke and myself, that Mr
- Hemming had seen something somewhere which confirmed that aspect.
- 5 Q. In any event, the fact of the matter is, you have asked
- 6 Mr Hemming to produce any evidence and he still hasn't.
- 7 A. Yes.
- Q. And you have attempted to have a search made through theresearch material of the Berndts in Western Australia.
- 10 A. I didn't attempt.
- 11 Q. You know that such an attempt has been made.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. And that that hasn't produced anything.
- 14 A. No. To say that it hasn't produced anything is one
- thing, but I don't think the actual search has been
- instituted. But, I believe a conversation with John
- 17 Stanton has who is in charge of the collection has
- produced the information that, it is very unlikely that
- the Berndt book didn't contain, in substance, everything
- that exists in the Berndts' manuscript material.
- 21 Q. Your recollection is that, this conversation that he
- alludes to didn't take place, at least in your presence.
 A. The conversation took place, but that the detail which
- is purported to have been relayed didn't.
- Q. Are you talking about the same conversation, except this aspect didn't, that Mr Hemming recounts, didn't take
- 27 place, to your knowledge.
- 28 A. We did have I clearly recall conversations with Ronald
- Berndt, when we talked about the landscape and its
- resemblence to a male figure.
- 31 Q. But not any female figure or possible femininity.
- 32 A. No.
- 33 Q. The last aspect is his experience of Doreen Kartinyeri,
- again he relies on conversations in the tearoom. In
- 35 1989, a story of Mundoo Island. He says he recorded the
- following in a notebook, and this is as a result of a
- discussion about Susie Hutchins and Eva Wilson.
- Who is Susie Hutchins and Eva Wilson.

- 1 A. Susie Hutchins, at that time, I believe, was employed as
- an anthropologist in the Department of State Aboriginal
- 3 Affairs.
- 4 Q. I am not going to read that out. I would like you to read what is in italic print.
- 6 A. I will just finish the answer. Eva Wilson is an
- 7 employee employed as a researcher in the Aboriginal
- 8 Family History Unit in the South Australian Museum.
- 9 Q. The term in italics; a claim in relation to Mundoo
- Island, is there any basis whatsoever, that you know of, for making such a claim.
- 12 A. I think I would have to check my notes, but I believe
- that George Taplin, in his journal, in perhaps 1860,
- records the fact that, a person had died and was to be
- buried on Mundoo Island.
- 16 Q. One person.
- 17 A. One person, yes.
- 18 Q. I wonder if you could provide that reference to counsel
- assisting, so we can use it.
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. In short, is there anything in Mr Hemming's submission,
- or his proposed statement of evidence, which causes you
- 23 to modify your views.
- 24 A. No.
- 25 Q. You have heard, I think, you and Mr Jones have attended
- this Royal Commission, I think, for many days of its
- sittings.
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 Q. You have heard Betty Fisher give evidence and been
- 30 cross-examined.
- 31 A. Yes, I have.
- 32 Q. Is there anything that she said which causes you to
- 33 modify your views.
- 34 A. No, no.
- 35 Q. You understand that she is claiming to have had a
- discussion with Auntie Koomi, Rebecca Wilson.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 Q. In the course of which, in 1967, for the period of some

- 1 15 minutes, Rebecca Wilson transmitted to her something 2 which Betty Wilson claims to be secret sacred and site 3 related to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Does her claim, in your view, amount to is itanthropologically sound.
- A. It doesn't appear to be anthopologically sound. I would think, if that facility for eliciting previously undocumented information, was applied to a career as an anthropologist it would be a very productive and high yield career. But, there are many other anthropologists
- who have worked long and hard, over many years, and have
- painstakingly built up a picture of a culture which
- tells us that the sort of information that Mrs Fisher
- suggests she obtained in that, in the course of that 15
- minute conversation, simply wasn't available in the
- culture to be transmitted in that form or any other form.
- Q. Do you find it hard to accept, or impossible to accept, that Mrs Fisher, in 1967, meeting Auntie Koomi for the first time, could have somehow been the chosen one for the reason of what she, Betty Fisher, claims to be sacred women's business in relation to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. No, I don't. I am taken back to some of my first experiences interviewing Aboriginal people in various scenes and the strong awareness that I had, that it was possible, at certain times, to grasp the wrong end of
- the stick. And I just think that, in Mrs Fisher's case, with the best of intentions, perhaps that is what
- 30 happened at the time and subsequently her
- reinterpretation of that experience has led to a further
- 32 propensity, I suppose, in that direction.
- Q. So, you find it difficult, if not impossible, to accept the substance and the validity of what she claims.
- 35 OBJECTION Ms Pyke objects.
- 36 MS PYKE: What is the relevance of this opinion
- of Betty Fisher? It is not known whether he has seen
- all of her evidence or all the material that has been

- 1 available to us.
- 2 COMSR
- Q. Perhaps if I can put another question to you Mr Jones.
- Taking that evidence uncritically at face value, does it
- 5 amount to some form of anthroplogically acceptable proof.
- 7 A. No, I don't think it does, no.
- 8 XXN
- 9 Q. Would you look at MFI 206, the Moorehouse letter of 9 May 1994. Have you seen this letter before.
- 11 A. Yes, I have.
- 12 Q. You have read it.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. There are a number of claims made in this letter. I
- won't read them out, but, I refer you to the various
- parts. The first part which occupies two thirds of the
- first page, is a reference to burial sites and the
- possible desecration of burial sites, to put the
- matter broadly.
- 20 A. Yes, it is obviously used in terms relating to, I
- suppose, the understanding of the applicability of the South Australian Heritage Legislation to the issue.
- 23 Q. I don't ask you about graves and burial sites, because
- 24 it is well known there are graves and burial sites
- 25 almost all over Hindmarsh Island are there not and the surrounding area.
- 27 OBJECTION Ms Pyke objects.
- 28 MS PYKE: I understood that there was argument
- about this letter and its admissibility in evidence. It
- seems to me, if my friend is going to go through and
- read out bits and ask him to comment defeats the entire
- 32 purpose.
- 33 MR ABBOTT: I am not reading out bits. I must ask
- him about the topics covered and I have dealt with the
- first topic as being burial sites. I have done no more
- than that. The suggestion that burial sites and their
- existence somehow we can't talk about that topic, is not
- a suggestion that I think would find favour with any of

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us. 2 MS PYKE: I am not talking about the topic. MR ABBOTT: I am not reading bits out of the letter. I think you will need to be careful. COMSR: MR ABBOTT: 5 I am trying to be very careful now. 6 XXN 7 Q. I asked you the question that, to your knowledge, there 8 were burial sites all over Hindmarsh Island and the 9 surrounding areas and you were about to say something. 10 A. Yes, I was just about to say that, throughout the 11 Region, in fact, all the way down the banks of the 12 Murray, around the lake's shore and all the way down the 13 Coorong, there is nothing particularly outstanding about 14 the fact that, there are burials on these islands. 15 Because, in fact, they are right across the country 16 and many of those sites have been disturbed and damaged 17 by European development since the 1830s. 18 Q. The last five lines of that first section which 19 occupies two thirds of the first page, is a reference to Mundoo Island. 20 21 22 Q. Is there any basis, that you have been able to find, in 23 your investigations, for that opinion or for that view. 24 A. No. In fact -25 **OBJECTION** Ms Pyke objects. 26 MS PYKE: If the letter is not going to be 27 tendered what good is it if he is getting an opinion about a document which is not before you? 28 29 MR ABBOTT: On the basis that the witness will be 30 gone at the time when and if this document is tendered. MŠ PYKE: 31 He can be recalled. 32 MR SMITH: The arrangement we have made with these 33 two letters is that, you will receive evidence touching 34 upon them. They are only marked for identification 35 because of the embargo placed on them, and the refusal 36 of Commonwealth to release these to us. The 37 understanding is that, witnesses can be taken a fair way

into the material into the letters, but that, if they

1	are not properly admitted before you, by the end of this
2	Commission you can take none of that into account.
3	MR ABBOTT: That is the basis I was asking the
4	question, to save the witness being recalled.
5	COMSR: I don't think from a practical point of
6	view we will be able to be recalling witnesses.
7	XXN
8	Q. Could you deal with the claim in relation to Mundoo
9	Island. I asked you if there was any basis, that you
10	were aware of, for such a claim. What is your answer to
11	that.
12	A. I think, the ethnography suggestion that is in each
13	particular social region you might say or clan estate,
14	if you want to adopt the terminology of the Berndts,
15	there were undoubtedly burial grounds and that, to that
16	extent, Mundoo Island had a localized significance for
17	people of that region, and it was generally the practice
18	that, even if the person died elsewhere, their body
19	would be returned to that locality for burial. So, in
20	that sense, to suggest that a single place or a single
21	island operates as a cemetry for the entire Ngarrindjeri
22	region is not sustainable by the evidence.
23	CONTINUED

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Q. Berndt and Berndt refer to Hindmarsh Island as having
 been occupied by three clans, the Kangalindjera being

3 Tangani people.

- 4 A. Yes.
- Q. Occupying the western half, that is the approaches which are now the ferry, etc., the Melgindjera clan being
- Wakend people, and the Rumerindjera clan being Yaraldi
- 8 people, occupying the south-east through to the
- 9 north-east section of Hindmarsh Island.
- 10 A. I'd have to check that. That doesn't ring quite true to me. I'd have to check that.
- 12 Q. On the assumption I know you take a slightly different
- view from your analysis of Tindale and Berndt and
- Berndt, but let's say there were three clans.
- 15 A. That does appear to be established, yes.
- 16 Q. Would there be three burial sites, one from each clan
- 17 from what you know of the interaction between the clans,
- or would there have been one single site for burials on Hindmarsh Island.
- 20 OBJECTION Mr Kenny objects.
- 21 MR KENNY: I ask that he ask what this witness
- knows of the interaction between the clans, rather than
- 23 giving his opinion. It seems to be a fairly specialised
- subject. I'm curious as to what this witness knows,
- 25 rather than giving an opinion.
- 26 XXN
- 27 Q. Can you assist Mr Kenny.
- 28 A. It is certainly is a specialised subject to my knowledge
- and extends, as far as I know, to a considered reading
- of the Berndt volume and many of the other sources which
- indicate, as I've said before, that each local group had
- a burial ground. Now in the case of Hindmarsh Island
- where its territory is occupied, or was occupied by
- three clan groups, it's quite possible that one of those
- 35 clan groups, if not two of them, had their main burial
- 36 ground in an area which is adjacent to Hindmarsh Island.
- 37 So, for example, the Rumerindjera clan, which you
- described as a Yaraldi clan, may in fact have had its

- 1 burial ground on the Goolwa foreshore and not on
- 2 Hindmarsh Island, whereas the Tangani clan, the clan of
- 3 the Tangani people, may have had a burial background on
- Mundoo Island, even though they occupied territory on Hindmarsh Island.
- 5 Hindman6 COMSR
- 7 Q. You say `it may', but there is no way of knowing.
- 8 A. I don't think at this stage in history we will ever know
- 9 that, unless it's by some very obscure and yet to be
- developed form of scientific test.
- 11 XXN
- 12 Q. Or major archaeological excavation.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. Returning to this letter, the next three lines in
- different hand, that is the first three lines of the
- bottom third of the page dealing with the name
- 17 `Kumarangk', any support to that.
- 18 A. No. It's a construction which has been put upon that
- word which is not so far supported by any realistic evidence.
- Q. Indeed, you know that there is an organisation called
 the Friends of Kumarangk.
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know where they got `Kumarangk' from.
- 25 A. No, I don't.
- 26 Q. It's a word that has only recently surfaced, has it not,
- in relation to Hindmarsh Island.
- 28 A. It is recorded, I believe, by George Taplin, whether
- 29 it's in his 1859 publication or contained in a word list
- which he incorporated into a later publication perhaps
- 31 the early 1860s, and it appears, I believe, as a name
- for Hindmarsh Island, and the meaning that he gives to
- that term is `The points'.
- Q. The rest of that page is a quote from Dr Draper's
- report. I think that really covers the same ground I've
- already asked you about from Dr Draper's report. It is,
- in essence, a recitation of the same sort of material
- that was publicly produced in the newspaper article I

- l read out to you, is it not.
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. Just a couple more references. In The Australian, 18
- 4 March 1995, Doreen Kartinyeri was interviewed by Patrick
- 5 Lawnham, and there is also recorded a reference to an
- 6 interview with or comments from Dr Chris Anderson, and
- 7 the quote I will put to you is this `While not wanting
- 8 to criticise Professor Saunders' methods, the museum
- 9 director/anthropologist, Dr Chris Anderson, said it was
- interesting the museum was not consulted by her before
- she suggested a ban'. That accords with your knowledge,
- does it not.
- 13 A. Yes, it does.
- 14 Q. Professor Saunders did not consult the museum. Dr
- 15 Anderson is reported as having said `"Written and oral
- sources would normally have been thoroughly canvassed,
- and the museum had considerable records of the Lower
- 18 Murray" Dr Anderson said. "The museum records did not
- refer to any site having exclusive importance for women,
- such as Hindmarsh was now claimed to hold", he said'.
- You'd agree with all of that.
- 22 A. Yes, I would.
- 23 Q. There is another part of the article in the final
- sections, again quoting Dr Anderson. I need not read it to you, except there is a quote attributed to Dr Fergie,
- 26 Last night an anthropologist, who advised the ALRM and
- 27 Professor Saunders, Dr Deane Fergie, disputed Dr
- Anderson's claim Professor Saunders had not taken into
- 29 account the museum records. Professor Saunders had
- relied on a report by anthropologist Dr Rod Lucas, who
- had canvassed the records of the museum and the public
- records office', so apparently Dr Fergie called in aid a
- report done by her husband to rebut what Dr Chris
- Anderson had to say about the failure of Dr Saunders,
- 35 Professor Saunders, to consult the museum. Have you
- read the Lucas report.
- 37 A. I've looked at it, I haven't read it fully.
- 38 Q. Would you regard reliance on that report as a good

P.G. JONES XXN (MR ABBOTT)

1 substitute for consulting the anthropological records of 2 the museum.

OBJECTION Mr Kenny objects.

This witness just said he hasn't read it MR KENNY: 5 cover to cover. I don't see how he can comment on this.

6 The view put forward by Dr Fergie is MR ABBOTT:

that her husband's report was a good enough for

8 Professor Saunders not to worry about going to the 9 museum.

- That might be so, but I don't think the 10 COMSR: 11 witness has established he is sufficiently familiar with 12
- 13 A. I think I could make one useful comment about that.

14 XXN

- 15 Q. Could you make it.
- 16 A. Well, just the fact that I believe that at the time that 17 Rod Lucas did his report, the Tindale manuscripts hadn't 18 come back from America, which added significantly to the

19 database that any anthropologist would ordinarily have

20 consulted.

21 Q. I want to read out Dr Kartinyeri's claim, that is the 22 fact that Hindmarsh Island was used for abortions and 23 for the burial of children. I put to you specifically

24 what she said. I'm referring to Exhibit 171A, which is

25 the Ray Martin interview with Doreen Kartinyeri and

26 Sandra Saunders of 22 May 1995. I only read one section 27 of it out to you. Ray Martin said `Can I just pose a

- question, and please excuse me if I be speaking out of 28
- 29 turn here, but I'm just going on about what is going on
- 30 in the press, and so what other Australians have read
- 31 about. They have read about this site having been used

32 for abortions and the burial of children. Can you

- 33 comment on that'. Doreen Kartinyeri said 'I can comment
- 34 on that because I was told that, Ray, when settlers
- 35 first came to South Australia, there were very little
- 36 women; Aboriginal women were used and had become
- 37 pregnant to white settlers, and it would have been a
- 38 very shameful thing for our women to take newborn white

- babies back into their camps'. Ray Martin `So the
- 2 babies were aborted and/or buried out on the island',
- answer 'Yeah'. Is there any evidence that you know of
- to support the claim that that happened with reference to Hindmarsh Island.
- 6 A. I don't know of any evidence to that effect, no.
- 7 Q. Dr Fergie, in an interview, claimed that the story of
- 8 Hindmarsh Island `Survived because Aboriginal women kept
- 9 having babies, and Aboriginal women kept delivering them'.
- 11 OBJECTION Ms Pyke objects.
- 12 MS PYKE: With respect can we be enlightened as to
- when this interview was given.
- 14 MR ABBOTT: Yes, you'll probably want to get some
- instructions on it. It's The Age of 29 April 1995.
- 16 MS PYKE: Perhaps another date appears in the
- 17 statement.
- 18 XXN
- 19 Q. I will read it all out to you. `Dr Fergie, who has come
- to know the Ngarrindjeri women well during her study of
- 21 their claims, says the story of the Hindmarsh Island
- site has survived because Aboriginal women kept having
- babies, and Aboriginal women kept delivering them.
- 24 Quite simply, the practices that relate to the beliefs
- have never ceased. There has been a continuum, she
- says. Added to this, there are also Aboriginal families
- in South Australia which never joined a mission
- community; they kept their separateness and today are a
- deep font of knowledge for the others. Dr Fergie says
- some of the women who were involved in stopping the
- 31 bridge do indeed have an unbroken connection with their
- 32 traditions and belief'. Do you know of any support for
- those claims.
- 34 A. Other than the proponent women themselves, no.
- 35 Q. I take it that you would suggest that Dr Fergie's report
- 36 should be subjected to the same rigours of scientific
- assessment that any anthropological report is or may be
- 38 subjected to.

P.G. JONES XXN (MR ABBOTT)

- A. It should be, yes. 2 Ms Pyke objects. OBJECTION 3 MS PYKE: What is the relevance or purpose of that? 5 MR ABBOTT: There might be a claim from Dr Fergie that there are some special rules that apply to her and 6 7 apply to her anthropological report prepared on behalf 8 of ALRM and submitted to Professor Saunders, and that we 9 may hear from Dr Fergie that you should not be told by 10 her what's in the envelopes, for example, or that no-one 11 should be told what's in the envelopes, either 12 specifically or generally. 13 COMSR: I think it's a fair enough question to 14 ask. MS PYKE: 15 Well, perhaps another day for the 16 preparation of the statement, if we have to address all 17 of these issues. 18 COMSR: I wouldn't have thought that that would 19 have been an -20 MR ABBOTT: It's hardly addressing these issues. 21 Either Ms Pyke asks her client whether she says them 22 and, if so, why she says them, or doesn't. 23 XXN 24 Q. I want to tell you Dr Fergie's reported view -25 A. Did you ask me a question before? 26 Q. That is whether the same rules that apply to Dr Fergie's report apply to any other anthropologist's report. 27 28 A. I'd answer the question from a slightly different 29 perspective and suggest that the Aboriginal people of 30 southern South Australia deserve the same standard of
- Q. Dr Fergie said in an interview with the Financial Reviewof 26 May 1995 -

anthropological expertise that they get in other parts

- 35 COMSR: I suppose one should say `she is 36 reported to have said'.
- 37 XXN

of the country.

31

32

38 Q. She is reported as having said, in answer to the

P.G. JONES XXN (MR ABBOTT)

- 1 question `And will a public enquiry help', Dr Fergie is 2 reported as having said this; 'Dr Fergie thinks not. 3 "If you open the envelope, what will it achieve? How 4 will ordinary Australians be able to make sense of a set 5 of beliefs? The content of a belief system cannot be 6 tested by rational rules". I suggest that that 7 comment, if she made it, is both demeaning and insulting 8 to Ngarrindjeri people and Ngarrindjeri women in 9 particular. 10
- **OBJECTION** Ms Pyke objects.
- 11 MS PYKE: With respect, is Mr Abbott just giving 12 his own evidence and opinions? If he wants to ask it, I 13 object. This is just getting to be a ludicrous farce if 14 comments like that are deemed to be relevant. He can ask for his comment. Give the man a soapbox. 15
- 16 COMSR: Not that this witness has known any 17 propensity to adopt any opinion that he doesn't agree 18 with, but perhaps if the witness can be asked his 19 opinion rather than given an opinion.

20 XXN

- 21 Q. Assuming Dr Fergie made that comment, to resist any 22 suggestion that what's in the envelope, and therefore in 23 her two secret appendices, should not be examined -
- 24 A. It's a mystifying statement from an anthropologist, part 25 of whose brief is to interpret belief systems to a wider 26 community, either through lectures at the department of 27 anthropology in the university, or through publications. 28 It's an essential part of an anthropologist's brief to 29 bridge the gap between esoteric knowledge and people's 30 ordinary understanding of how societies function so, 31 from that point of view, it's a mystifying comment and,
- 32 as for your earlier comment or assessment of it, I agree 33 with that in substance.
- 34 Q. What part do you agree with.
- 35 A. The part that it's essentially insulting to Aboriginal 36 people to mystify the culture to such an extent that
- 37 ordinary people can't understand it.
- 38 Q. She says that the content of the belief system cannot be

P.G. JONES XXN (MR ABBOTT) (MR MEYER)

- 1 tested by rational rules. I don't want to go over what
- 2 we have said, but I detect that much of the thrust of
- 3 your evidence is exactly to the contrary of that; that
- you say that Aboriginal myths, mythology and dreamings
- 5 and their existence can be tested by rational rules and
- 6 rational tests of the system as a whole.
- 7 Q. The test of Albert Karloan and Pinkie Mack passing 8 information on was to enable it to be understood and 9 appreciated by a broader community in future
- 10 generations.
- 11 COMSR
- 12 Q. That might have been their view, but does that
- necessarily preclude that a later generation of 13
- 14 Aboriginals might have a different view.
- 15 A. No, it doesn't, and I accept that point, and it's
- 16 certainly the case that there isn't unanimity among
- 17 Aboriginal people today about the content of documented
- 18 traditions of that sort, and how they should be
- 19 regarded.
- 20 COMSR: Do you have any questions?
- 21 MR MEYER: Yes, and I've got shorter as a result of
- 22 Mr Abbott.
- 23 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MEYER
- 24 Q. Mr Abbott touched on the subject of abortions with you a
- 25 few minutes ago. Do you remember those questions.
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. The subject of abortions, in fact, has been extensively
- 28 dealt with by the Berndts in the publication `A World
- 29 That Was'.
- 30 A. That's correct.
- 31 Q. In particular, it's extensively dealt with between pp.137
- 32 And 140. Have you got a copy of Berndt and Berndt.
- 33 A. I have.
- 34 **OBJECTION** Mr Steele objects.
- 35 MR STEELE: I rise to object to this. We have gone
- 36 through it on any number of occasions. I raise the
- 37 query as to what this has got to do with Mr Meyer's
- 38 clients.

P.G. JONES XXN (MR MEYER)

1 COMSR: I don't know what the question is going

2 to be, but are we going to cover ground -

3 MR MEYER: We are not. We are merely going to

identify that that is where it is found in Berndt and

5 Berndt.

6 MR STEELE: Why?

7 MR MEYER: Because of the relevance of the

8 suggestion that abortion is sacred secret women's

9 business, and yet you can read all about what the

Berndts have been able to establish between pages -

11 COMSR: We can read that without the witness

having to identify the pages.

13 MR MEYER: All I am going to do is draw his

attention to it, if the answer is yes, it is the end of

15 the subject.

16 MR STEELE: I am very conscious that time

17 constraints have been applied to cross-examination, yet

when it comes to this -

19 COMSR: I think we can all look at the index to

20 the book.

21 MR MEYER: We have taken more time arguing about it

22 than the question would have taken to answer.

23 OBJECTION UPHELD

24 XXN

26

25 Q. P.25 of Mr Hemming's report refers to Doreen Kartinyeri

as an academic historian. What qualifications do you

27 understand Doreen Kartinyeri has as an historian.

28 A. I don't know the exact background behind her receiving a

doctorate. I cannot tell you exactly what field that

was given in.

31 Q. I understand that the confirmation of her doctorate was

32 as an honorary doctorate.

33 OBJECTION Mr Steele objects.

34 MR STEELE: I object to this. The witness has

35 disclaimed knowledge.

36 COMSR: That is correct.

37 MR MEYER: I want to ask is he aware of any

P.G. JONES XXN (MR MEYER) REXN (MR SMITH)

- 1 qualifications other than her doctorate. He has
- 2 referred to her doctorate.
- 3 OUESTION ALLOWED
- 4 XXN
- 5 A. No formal qualifications, no.
- Q. Is there a Minister of the State Government responsible
 for the affairs of the museum.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Who is is that Minister.
- 10 A. That's Miss Dianne Laidlaw.
- 11 Q. Is she the same Minister who is responsible for the port
- folio related to transport.
- 13 A. Yes.
- Q. And thus matters relating to construction of bridges and things like that.
- 16 A. Apparently.
- 17 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH
- 18 Q. For some time you worked in conjunction with Doreen
- 19 Kartinyeri in the museum. That's so, isn't it.
- A. Not particularly in exactly the same area, but on a regular basis we have come into contact, yes.
- 22 Q. To your knowledge, did Doreen Kartinyeri require
- 23 assistance in the composition of documents, letters, publications.
- A. It would depend what that was for, what the purpose of the document was, but if, for example, it was a letter
- for wider distribution, or a publication of some sort,
- or report involving word processing skills, she would generally call upon some assistance, yes.
- 30 Q. My focus is on the museum letter of 12 May marked for
- 31 identification Exhibit 204. Is that the sort of
- document you know that Doreen Kartinyeri requires
- assistance with.
- 34 A. In a sense not, because Doreen had a very clear
- directive, I think, from the director that any work she
- undertook on the Hindmarsh Island Bridge business was to
- be her personal affair. So that when you ask the
- question, was the sort of letter that one, no, it

P.G. JONES REXN (MR SMITH) XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 wasn't. But in a separate sense, in terms of the fact
- 2 that it required to be sent off to Canberra, yes.
- 3 Q. She did require assistance with composition.
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 MR KENNY: There are a couple of things that have
- 6 arisen out of cross-examination.
- 7 COMSR: That go to your clients?
- 8 MR KENNY: I take the same view that Mr Abbott
- 9 takes in relation to my clients. My clients are the
- ones that have been accused of fabrication and points
- that indicate that it wasn't fabrication but it had been
- recorded earlier, for example, certainly assists my
- clients' case. I refer, in particular, to Betty Fisher,
- for example, and the questions that Mr Abbott asked.
- 15 MR ABBOTT: I don't object, provided I can have two goes at his clients.
- 17 COMSR: You haven't asked any questions by way
- 18 of cross-examination.
- 19 MR KENNY: No, I haven't asked any to this point.
 - I have had the opportunity.
- 21 COMSR GRANTS MR KENNY LEAVE TO CROSS-EXAMINE AT THIS

STAGE

20

22 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENNY

- 23 Q. You were asked questions about Betty Fisher. I would
- ask you to assume that she did, in fact, in about 1967,
- 25 record that there was information relating to women
- specific to Hindmarsh Island.
- 27 COMSR: You have asked the witness to accept her
- evidence at face value, and on that basis -
- 29 MR KENNY: He is simply saying there is a
- 30 misinterpretation of it.
- 31 XXN
- 32 Q. What I am putting is that if that information came to
- light, perhaps outside of this Royal Commission while
- you were conducting inquiries into women's business
- generally, that would at least indicate to you that you
- would have to consider it very seriously, wouldn't it.
- 37 A. No. No, it wouldn't. What I am suggesting is that what
- 38 Mrs Fisher may have jotted down in her notebook or

P.G. JONES XXN (MR KENNY)

- inscribed on something which no-one has ever seen is some reference to something about something that happened in the area at some time. I mean, we really -
 - Q. I am asking you to be a bit more specific than that.
- A. We really haven't got any evidence that I have seen or heard. So what you are asking me to accept on face value hasn't actually materialised to the extent that I can even imagine what it is.
- Q. I am simply asking you to assume that she has recorded, in very simple terms, that there was specific women's business that was restricted information that related directly to Hindmarsh Island. If that was recorded, you say that you could simply ignore it. What I am putting to you is that that deserves further investigation and certainly clarification of that information.
- A. If it was recorded as simply and as directly as you are putting it now, it will be the single shred of evidence to support the proposition that any exclusivity applies to a domain of knowledge which can be regarded as women's business in relation to Hindmarsh Island.
- Q. So you say only in relation to Hindmarsh Island. I
 don't want to get into an argument on other areas that
 have been put to you on exclusive women's information.
- A. You used that construction yourselves, so I am saying if we accept that -
- Q. I was clarifying that point. In your cross-examination
 by Ms Pyke at p.4482, you said `However, Albert Karloan
 himself had acted as a midwife, as I understand, and he
 had attended births and knew a great deal about it'.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Can you point us to the reference that provides that information.
- A. To my knowledge it is not a published reference. It is contained in some manuscript material.
- 35 Q. Whose manuscript.

P.G. JONES XXN (MR KENNY)

- A. I would have to check, but it is either Tindale's own
- notes in the museum, or it is Alison Harvey's notes in
- 3 the special collections of the State Library of South
- Australia.
- 5 Q. You criticised Professor Saunders for not considering 6 the Berndt material. You say that was a serious omission.
- 8 A. I didn't specifically, I don't think, did I?
- 9 Q. That was the interpretation that - I think what you
- 10 said, in fact, is if she had considered that material,
- it would have added significantly to the information 11
- 12 available to her.
- A. This is in reference to the Rod Lucas reference a few 13
- minutes ago? 14
- 15 Q. Yes.
- 16 A. No, I said the Tindale material.
- Q. Sorry, the Tindale material. A. Yes. 17
- 18
- 19 NO FURTHER QUESTIONS
- 20 WITNESS RELEASED

36

COMSR: Before we go on, Mr Kenny, which of your 2 parties specifically are giving evidence? MR KENNY: George Trevorrow, Tom Trevorrow, Robert Day and Henry Rankine. 5 COMSR: So that's four witnesses? 6 MR KENNY: Correct. 7 MR SMITH: Any statements going to be proffered? 8 MR KENNY: I point out that my clients live the 9 other side of Meningie -10 I know. Are they not on the telephone? COMSR: 11 MR SMITH: This has been going on for four months 12 nearly. 13 MR KENNY: Yes, they are on the telephone. They 14 are available. I attended at Camp Coorong on the weekend with the specific intention of taking 15 16 statements. I took further information from some of my 17 clients. Mr George Trevorrow, unfortunately, is 18 seriously ill with a back problem. He was up for about 19 an hour, I understand, on Saturday when I was there, and 20 was not really in a position to sit and talk with me, so 21 that causes me considerable difficulty. Mr Henry 22 Rankine was at a conference in the Barossa. If we are 23 sitting from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. and Saturday mornings 24 as well it seriously limits my ability to have contact 25 with my clients. 26 COMSR: We haven't been so far. In any event, I 27 just wanted to know who we were having because, 28 naturally, we will have to work out when they are to 29 attend, statements or not. 30 MR KENNY: Statements will be provided. 31 MR ABBOTT: Are we going to have any explanation as 32 to why Mr Victor Wilson is not going to turn up? 33 I have no instructions to make a MR KENNY: 34 statement at this stage. 35 COMSR: I am trying at this stage just to work

out what the program will be.

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON)

- 1 MS SIMPSON CALLS
- 2 ALISON BROOKMAN

SWORN

- 3 EXAMINATION BY MS SIMPSON
- 4 Q. I think in around 1939 you'd just completed a Bachelor of Arts Degree.
- 6 A. That is true.
- 7 Q. What was your particular area of interest in your
- 8 studies for that degree.
- 9 A. Mainly history and classics.
- 10 Q. At that time I think you were a student of, amongst others, Professor Fitzherbert.
- 12 A. Yes, that's true.
- 13 Q. He was the Professor of Classics at the University of Adelaide.
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. I think just this year, in August in fact, you have had
- occasion to identify a notebook that you filled out in
- 18 1939 in relation to some of your activities at the
- 19 museum.
- 20 A. Is this the one that you refer to?
- Q. Yes. Looking at this notebook in front of you, the onewith the black cover, is that your notebook.
- 23 A. As far as I recall, yes, it is.
- 24 Q. Would you mind opening just the front cover. I think in
- 25 the notebook you have since written a note `My notes
- 26 1939' and signed your name.
- 27 A. Yes, I did have a look at it and I decided that it was.
- 28 Q. At that time I think your name was Harvey, is that right.
- 30 A. That is correct.
- 31 Q. Can you tell the commissioner how you came to be
- 32 associated with some anthropological studies at the
- 33 museum.
- 34 A. I became interested in anthropology because, well, the
- university was next door to the museum and it seemed
- rather interesting, and futhermore, my father owned
- 37 Yalkuri Station and there was an opportunity to visit
- 38 Aborigines at Point McLeay, being in more or less the

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON)

- 1 vicinity, and Mr Tindale and Mr Mountford at the museum
- 2 at that time encouraged my studies, so I did little odd
- things such as research into flint instruments, for instance, in a small way.
- 5 Q. I think it was your hope to pursue studies in
- 6 anthropology overseas but the war intervened, is that correct.
- 8 A. That's correct.
- 9 COMSR
- 10 Q. At that time, there was no faculty of anthropology at the university, no specific studies.
- 12 A. As far as I know, Sydney University and Cambridge in
- England were the only ones who offered a course of
- anthropology.
- 15 MR ABBOTT: That is right. That continued until 16 1964.
- 17 XN
- 18 Q. I think after the war and following other family
- commitments, you did obtain a Diploma in Anthropology from the University of Sydney.
- 21 A. Actually, it was in 1943, towards the end of the war.
- Q. Can you tell the commissioner what course of study you pursued to obtain that diploma.
- 24 A. It was a course of lectures and writing some fairly
- comprehensive essays. It was only for one year. It was
- a postgraduate diploma, and with the obligation to write
- a thesis subsequently to doing the course work, which I
- had the opportunity to do because I got a job in Alice
- 29 Springs with the Commonwealth department. There was no
- 30 Department of Aboriginal Affairs, but I was able to talk
- with the mixed blood population of Alice Springs during
- 32 the course of my so called clerical work, and upon the
- information there, I submitted the thesis.
- Q. More recently, I think you have obtained a Doctorate of Philosophy.
- 36 A. That is correct.
- 37 Q. Is that in classical studies.
- 38 A. That is in Italian literature.

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON)

- 1 Q. You have prepared a statement and signed a statement
- 2 relating to your association with, in particular, Pinkie
- 3 Mack.
- 4 A. This is here.
- 5 Q. Is that the statement in front of you.
- 6 A. Yes, that's got my signature on it.
- 7 Q. Separately, with that statement, is a copy of your
- 8 notebook which you have just identified, is that right.
- 9 A. This I believe, it is.
- 10 EXHIBIT 226 Statement of Witness of Alison Brookman
- tendered by Ms Simpson. Admitted.
- 12 EXHIBIT 226A Copy of Alison Brookman's (nee Harvey)
- Notebook tendered by Ms Simpson.
- 14 Admitted.
- 15 Q. I think you have got a copy there of your statement, and
- of your notes.
- 17 A. Of the notes, yes, I seem to have.
- 18 CONTINUED

KC 52E

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON)

- 1 Q. Just so we are clear, that copy of the notes, you will
- see, has page numbers at the bottom and those page
- 3 numbers are numbers that have been put on to the copies,
- but do not appear in your notebook, that's correct,
- 5 isn't it.
- 6 A. Yes, that is the case.
- 7 Q. At the beginning of 1939, or perhaps the end of 1938,
- 8 that is, the Christmas and New Year period, I think.
- 9 A. Quite so.
- 10 Q. I think you had the opportunity to do some field work in the Flinders Ranges with Mr Mountford, is that correct.
- 12 A. That, as far as I recall, is correct.
- 13 Q. For how long were you doing that field work.
- 14 A. Not for a very extended period. It would have been

about a fortnight, say, approximately.

- Q. At that time, did you accompany Mr Mountford when heinterviewed Aboriginal people in the Flinders Ranges.
- 18 A. Certainly I didn't when he interviewed the men, but Mr
- Mountford's daughter and I were usually present if he interviewed women.
- 21 Q. Did that give you an opportunity to study some of his methods.
- 23 A. I suppose it did. It was a very conversational
- 24 approach, as far as I recall.
- Q. In the winter of 1939, you went to Ernabella and OoldeaMissions.
- 27 A. Yes, for short periods.
- Q. When you went to Ernabella, that was for about two or three weeks, was it.
- 30 A. It would have been perhaps a little longer, but not more
- 31 than well, just less than a month, I should think.
- Q. And the Ooldea Mission visit I think was for around ten days.
- 34 A. As far as I recall.
- 35 Q. And Professor Berndt was on that trip with you.
- 36 A. Yes, he was one of a group of about six from the museum
- and the university.
- 38 COMSR: Ms Simpson, I will just clarify

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON)

- something with the witness as to her statement.
- 2 **COMSR**
- Q. I have to be careful when we are taking evidence that I comply with certain statutory provisions and as to the
- 5 divulgence of information contrary to Aboriginal
- 6 tradition. Is there anything in your statement of a
- 7 confidential nature, not previously published, that I
- should -8
- 9 A. No.
- 10 XN
- 11 Q. I think during the recent weeks you have had an
- 12 opportunity to look at field notebooks which are held in
- 13 the Rare Book Collection in the State Library of your 14
- own relating to those trips to Ernabella and Ooldea. 15
- A. Yes, I have. I have looked at them fairly well.
- 16 Q. Do they also cover the Flinders Ranges.
- 17 A. I am sure there was some rather sketchy notes, but I 18 can't recall that there was anything very comprehensive.
- Q. You mentioned earlier on that you had the opportunity, 19 20 as a young person, to visit the area around Point
- 21 McLeay, because your family, I think, had a property 22 there, Yalkuri Station.
- 23 A. That's correct.
- 24 Q. When you were there, did you have the opportunity to 25 observe, for instance, groups of Aboriginal women on
- 26 holiday.
- 27 A. On I think two occasions. There is a little promontory 28 called Marks Point on the Coorong and beside it there is
- 29 a rather sheltered beach. And, in that area, I think I
- 30 recall that on two occasions small groups of Aboriginal
- 31 women would come at Christmas time, during, well, the
- 32 summer, for the summer and put up, I think I saw two
- 33 wurlies there and they would camp there for a week,
- 34 having walked from Point McLeay Mission, as it then was.
- 35 And they called it their holiday.
- 36 Q. I think you had discussions with Mountford and also
- 37 Tindale relating to their opinion that there was a
- possibility that there may be secret women's business in 38

- amongst the groups of Aboriginal people that they were studying, is that right.
- A. Yes, we did discuss that matter. And they were really rather keen to establish that perhaps there might be an analogy with ceremonial life which they knew of in I
- think a small way in the men's groups. And by analogy they thought there was a possibility that the women had
- some and they would have been naturally rather pleased to have made a discovery which would have been rather recognised.
- Q. Did they express to you their hope that by your talking to the women that some of that information might have been made available.
- 14 A. I think it was implied as a possibility.
- 15 Q. I ask you to look at your notebook itself now, at least the copies of the notebook would be easier.
- 17 COMSR: I will just explore something with the witness.
- 19 COMSR
- Q. When you say that the knowledge is public knowledge, as
 it were, the contents of your notebook, in what way has
 it been published.
- A. This notebook has been the property of the museum, as far as I know, for up to 50 years and I have not seen it since 1939. But it has been available naturally for anybody to study.
- 27 XN
- Q. I understand you have not read the Berndt and Berndtbook, `A World That Was'.
- 30 A. No, I haven't.
- Q. Coming to your notebook, I am not going to take you to details of it, but I would like to take you to the
- particular occasions that you note there. And the first
- one I think that you have recorded is 20 March 1939.
- 35 And I am looking at the photocopy of p.2.
- 36 A. 20 March 1939, yes.
- 37 Q. Is it the case that your note indicates that that
- interview with Jacob Harris and Creighton Unaipon

- 1 occurred at Point McLeay.
- A. It is in this copy.
- Q. Do you recollect now whether you saw Jacob Harris and Creighton Unaipon at Point McLeay in around March of 1939.
- 6 A. As this was copied from notes that I took on the spot I take it to be correct.
- Q. During that interview you have noted three methods of
 fishing which they told you about and also a fishing
 story or a fishing legend.
- 11 A. Yes, I remember hearing about fishing legends.
- 12 Q. Was it your practice to record on one side of the page,
- that is, the right-hand side of your notebook, material
- that you had been told and on the left-hand side to put
- extra notes. For instance, words that you had been told, or similar material.
- 17 A. It's possible. I can't remember the exact method that I 18 used.
- 19 COMSR: If we are going to go into any detail, I 20 may have to consider the -
- 21 MS SIMPSON: We are not going into any detail.
- 22 XN
- Q. I think you were also told the story of Prupi. I am just coming now to p.5.
- 25 A. Yes, I can see the name there.
- 26 Q. And also a story of mulywork.
- 27 A. It could be. I can't remember at this distance of time.
- Q. I think you also met at the museum, on 22 March, Mark Wilson and Clarence Long. I am going now to p.10.
- 30 A. Yes, it is in the notes.
- Q. Is it the case that, at this distance from the time when
- your notes were made, you have to rely on what your notes say for the detail in here.
- 34 A. I must say, that is, I think, the case.
- 35 Q. Do you remember meeting Mark Wilson and Clarence Long at the museum.
- 37 A. Yes, I do.
- 38 Q. I ask you to turn to p.22 of your notes. You record a

- 1 meeting at Brinkley, on 12 June, with Pinkie Mack.
- A. Yes, that is noted.
- Q. Is it right that when you saw Pinkie Mack on that occasion that she was living in a semi rural sort of condition.
- 6 A. As far as I recall it was rather isolated, yes.
- 7 Q. How would you describe Pinkie Mack, herself.
- 8 A. At this distance of time it is hard to recall her,
- except that she was very kindly. She was old. She was
- supposed to be old. And she was very friendly and welcoming.
- Q. I think you saw her, apart from that occasion on 12 June in 1939, you saw her on a second occasion, on 24 June, also at Brinkley.
- 15 A. Yes, I do remember there was a second interview.
- Q. On those two occasions I think she gave you quite a lot of detail and refer to your notes, if you need to -
- about matters relating to women, in particular.
- 19 A. Yes, to a certain extent she did.
- 20 Q. That included matters relating to childbirth.
- 21 A. Practices, yes.
- Q. She told you, did she, about midwives. That is, that there were midwives who were in charge of childbirth.
- 24 A. There were women who had the authority to assist at it.
- 25 Q. You have a note in your notebook, as I think you are
- aware, next to the word `birth', at one point you have the word `secret'.
- 28 A. What page is that?
- 29 Q. I will just locate that for you. It is at p.34.
- 30 A. Yes, I see the reference.
- 31 Q. Underneath that reference there is a notation regarding
- the fact that during birth that woman was to camp by
- herself where the other woman would attend on her and
- 34 then there are some details relating to how the newborn
- 35 baby is treated.
- 36 A. Yes.
- 37 Q. There are some details about menstruation and
- 38 exhortations not to go into the water during

- 1 menstruation.
- 2 A. Yes, that is all here.
- Q. There are also notes of your meetings with her relating to marriage practices.
- 5 A. Yes, I think they still remembered some of them, at that 6 time.
- Q. Was Pinkie Mack living in a tribal situation or
 traditional way when you saw saw her, or was she
 reconstructing for you the practices.
- A. She certainly was not living in a tribal situation. She lived, as far as I could see, alone, or maybe with a relative, but she was, I think, reconstructing from the past.
- Q. At any time did she tell you that what information she was giving to you was in any way restricted information.
- A. Only in the sense that naturally at the birth of a child it is fairly active and people are in the way who aren't
- helpful. And that is why they strictly have, well,
- women with some knowledge of how to handle it. And,
- after all, they have to look after the woman, bring her food, water and attend to her needs, besides just the
- actual event that is going on. And I have never heard
- 23 that it is not to be talked of or anything like that.
- And, in fact, I think I have in my statement that Pinkie
- 25 Mack herself did not say `Don't tell anybody this.
- Don't tell your father or your brothers.' And she
- simply told me because I was interested.
- Q. You also, I think, had the opportunity to meet some other Ngarrindjeri people. In particular, Mrs Elsie
- 30 Sumner and Clarence Long's daughter, Mr Annie Rankine.
- 31 A. I remember Mrs Sumner. Mrs Rankine I met much later, 32 only a few years ago, before she died. But Mrs Sumner,
- that was at Point McLeay, and she told me about basket
- making. That was about all I could recall.
- 35 Q. Much later in your professional life I think you
- assisted Dr Faye Gale or Professor Faye Gale in a
- publication in 1972 `Urban Aborigines in Australia'.
- 38 A. Yes, I did. I prepared the research material and did

- some of the writing, preliminary writing.
- 2 Q. That book, `Urban Aborigines in Australia', was a study
- of the impact of urbanisation upon Aboriginal people who had moved in recent years, at that time, from isolated
- reserves and missions and rural communities in the City of Adelaide.
- A. Yes, that is so. It was a study of, during the 60s, it was policy to, well, permit and allow and encourage
- 9 Aborigines to leave the mission, to seek employment
- amongst the general community. And this study, it was a
- part of a Henderson report into social conditions. And
- it was to study the impact of or how Aborigines who once
- had lived in semi rural conditions would adjust to life
- in cities.
- Q. Then in 1975 I think you also co-authored with ProfessorGale a publication `Race Relations in Australia'.
- 17 A. Yes, I did.
- 18 Q. That was a collection of documents, I think, selected to
- illustrate key themes in Aboriginal race relations in Australia.
- A. Yes, it was meant to be based on documentary evidence in archives and so on.
- 23 Q. Was the intention of collecting those key documentary
- 24 themes together in one publication to allow for
- discussion material which it was hoped would modify
- attitudes which came from ignorance.A. I think that was the purpose of the publications,
- 28 because Oxford University Press had in mind a whole
- 29 series from various countries upon inter-race relations.
- 30 Q. I will give it to you, if you need to refer to it.
- Looking at that, at p.32 to p.33 of that publication.
- 32 A. Yes.
- 33 Q. There is a description there of phase 3, which is called Resurgence'.
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. Is that right.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 Q. I note that you and Professor Gale there have said that,

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- 1
- at that time, which is I think somewhat before the publication date of 1975 when you were doing your work, is that right.

 A. Yes, I think it was at least a year before it was 2

- 5 published. 6 CONTINUED

- 1 Q. You have noted there that, the encourgement by
- 2 Aboriginal people from isolated mission areas, where
- 3 traditional skills of hunting and food gathering were
- 4 retained, and that allowed for the maintenance of some
- 5 independence and cultural unity, that Aboriginal people
- from such mission areas are now becoming leaders in the Aboriginal community, and encouraging the southerners
- 8 to appreciate their cultural heritage. And you also
- note a resurgence of an appreciation by Aboriginal
- people of their cultural heritage. Can you comment on
- that. That is that, did you note, from documentary
- evidence, and other material that you gained in the
- course of preparing that publication, a resurgence of
- appreciation, by Aboriginal people, of their cultural
 heritage.
- 16 A. Well, I think, in general terms, that was so. Perhaps it came out in conversations more than documentary
- proof. I think it is rather a generalized assessment.
- 19 Q. Just one final matter. I think you have made an alteration to p.7 of your statement, a slight
- alteration. For clarification I just want to note that the second paragraph on p.7.
- 23 A. Is that the final page?
- 24 Q. Yes, it is. You say, `I understand that it has been
- suggested that there may have been another dimension to
- 26 what she said, that is, that details of menstruation
- and birth are secret and/or sacred.' Where the words,
- what she said appear, you have made it clear that that reference is, in fact, to Pinkie Mack.
- 30 A. It is part of that interview on my description of that interview, that would be right.
- 32 COMSR
- 33 Q. You say these notes of yours are lodged at the museum.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. They are available there for scholars.
- 36 A. Well, I imagine so. It is in the rear book section. I
- don't see that there is any restriction on material
- that they put there and Tindale and Mountford have put

A. BROOKMAN XN (MS SIMPSON) XXN (MS PYKE)

- 1 there, I would not have thought there was any
- 2 restriction on access.
- 3 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS PYKE
- Q. You, back in 1938, you have said in your statement, that
 you were still a student. How old would you have been
 in 1938.
- 7 A. 20.
- 8 Q. So, you were quite young.
- 9 A. That is correct.
- 10 Q. At the stage that you were conducting these interviews
- in 1938 and 1939, did you have any qualifications at all.
- 13 A. Well, I had, by that time, a Bachelor of Arts degree,
- but that was all.
- 15 Q. In particular, had you had any qualifications. By that
- I mean, even in the sense of having studied
- 17 anthropology.
- 18 A. Only what I had done at the museum as a voluntary worker during 1938.
- 20 Q. Would it be fair to say, that in terms of anthropology,
- 21 what were you at that age and stage of your career, was
- a very interested lay person who was keen to learn.
- 23 A. I think so, interested amateur.
- 24 Q. With your interviews with Pinkie Mack, as I understand
- 25 it, there were the two interviews, a short time apart.
- One on 12 June, one on 24 June. The 12th of June, as I
- have understood you to say, was an afternoon.
- 28 A. As far as I recall, yes.
- 29 Q. The 24th of June, do you recall how long your interview 30 was then.
- 31 A. About an afternoon.
- 32 Q. Would it be fair to say that, you were only able to, if
- I can put it in the colloquial, scratching the surface
- of Pinkie Mack's knowledge on a variety of topics during
- 35 that time.
- 36 A. It may be so. I think she told me all she knew about
- 37 that particular subject.
- 38 Q. Are you talking about childbirth and women's issues in

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MS PYKE)

- relation to that.
- A. Well, the issues which particularly concerned women.
- Q. Can I suggest this to you; were you letting do you recall now, whether you were letting Pinkie Mack direct 5 the conversation. By that, that you were letting her 6 tell you what she knew.
- A. As far as I recall, my questions to her I did have a 8 few questions and they were, to a great extent, prompted 9 by what Mr Tindale and Mr Mountford would have liked to 10 have known.
- 11 Q. Do you recall whether you asked her whether there were 12 any secret women's ceremonies, for example.
- 13 A. Possibly I did, but I can't recall exactly. I know I 14 was looking to find signs of it.
- Q. Could I suggest this to you that, given the 15 16 comparatively limited contact that you had with Pinkie 17 Mack and I mean, you have referred yourself, in your 18 statement to, it takes time to get used to talking to
- people. 20 A. Quite so.

19

- 21 Q. Particularly about talking about sensitive issues. Can 22 I suggest to you that, it would be highly unlikely that 23 you would have started cross-examining Pinkie Mack about 24 secret ceremonies or beliefs.
- 25 A. Yes. Nor would it have been tactful to have done so.
- 26 Q. Would you agree with me that, given your limited contact 27 with Pinkie Mack, that it may well be, that she didn't 28 tell you about anything.
- 29 A. It's possible it may be so, but that was my interview.
- 30 Q. I am not suggesting that, but, I am simply putting this
- 31 to you in general terms. You had a comparatively short time to work with Pinkie Mack, in an area relating to
- 32 33 personal issues and details and it may be that she had
- 34 other information that she didn't wish to impart to you.
- 35 A. It is possible.
- 36 Q. Because, if I look at the detail of what Pinkie Mack has 37 told you, would you agree with me that, she seems to
- 38 have imparted to you, what I might term, practical

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MS PYKE)

- 1 information; what we did, what we ate, what we didn't 2
- A. That is the substance of the notes, certainly.
- Q. There certainly is no reference to any esoteric
- 5 information or knowledge in respect of women's issues.
- 6 A. Well, it is all in the notes, insofar as I could gather the information.
- 8 Q. With Tindale at the time, I am sorry - was it Dr Tindale or was he Mr Tindale. Q
- 10 A. As far as I recall he was Mr.
- Q. Were you aware of the way in which Mr Tindale was 11 12 doing his own research at the time.
- 13 A. No, I didn't see much of him doing any research.
- 14 Q. Apart from Pinkie Mack, were there any Ngarrindjeri women that you in any way sought to discuss issues 15 16 relating to women.
- A. No, only Pinkie Mack. 17
- 18 **COMSR**
- 19 Q. Was there some reason for that.
- 20 A. Well, it is just that if you meet people on a social 21 basis you do not start plunging into their beliefs
- 22 and ideals and deepest thoughts.
- 23 Q. I mean, was there any reason why you only spoke to 24 Pinkie Mack and didn't extend the -
- 25 A. Simply the availability of transport and the
- 26 availability of women and time and it was rather 27 impractical.
- 28
- 29 Q. I will ask you this, in your statement, you say that it 30
- was suggested to you, by both Mountford and Tindale that 31 'because there were men's ceremonies which were secret'
- 32 then you go on to say `by analagy it was likely there
- 33 would also be women's ceremonies.' Can I just ask you
- 34 generally, did either Mountford or Tindale speak to you
- 35 about the nature of the men's secret ceremonies. I
- 36 don't want any detail at this stage, or did they just
- 37 simply tell that you there were men's secret ceremonies.
- 38 A. They did some research in the Northern Territory and

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MS PYKE) (MR STEELE)

- Central Australia and in general. They did tell me some 2 of the procedures.
- Q. Anything about the Ngarrindjeri men.
- A. I don't think they studied them and maybe they weren't
- 5 still in extent practice at that time. I certainly
- 6 heard of nothing from them.
- CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR STEELE
- 8 Q. When you say at p.2 of your statement, in the second
- para. My own idea is that the women were responsible 9
- 10 for hunting for food and for looking after the children
- 11 and when you have to look for food and take your
- 12 children around, there is really no opportunity for
- secret ceremonies.' Was that a view that you had then 13
- 14 or a view that you have now.
- A. I think it is rather developed from what I saw because 15 16 for 50 years I haven't really thought about this field
- 17
- 18 Q. This is something that you have developed now,
- 19 reflecting back to 1939.
- 20 A. Possibly, yes.
- 21 Q. You go on to say, `I agree also that the Lower Murray
- 22 Aboriginal communities were all living in fairly close 23
 - proximity' etc. With whom were you agreeing.
- 24 A. Which statement, my notes?
- 25 Q. P.2 of your statement, of the typed statement.
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. Second paragraph. See the para. that starts `It was 28 suggested.'
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. Then the final sentence in that para. it starts `I agree
- 31 also that the Lower Murray Aboriginal communities.'
- 32 Do you have that sentence.
- 33 A. Yes, I have it thank you.
- 34 Q. I am just asking you with whom you are agreeing.
- 35 A. No, I don't think it means anything in particular.
- 36 **COMSR**
- 37 Q. You say you agree with a point of view.
- A. Well, I will read it again, but frankly, I am not sure

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR STEELE)(MR KENNY)

- that I think it means anything. `It was suggested.'
- 2 It implies that I agree with Mountford and Tindale
- in something doesn't it? I don't think it has much
- 4 relevance.
- 5 Q. As far as you can recall, now looking at that document,
- 6 there is no-one in particular that are you agreeing with
- 7 there, that is simply a remark of your own.
- 8 A. It looks like it to me.
- 9 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENNY
- 10 Q. Just following up on that, what area were you talking about, when you referred to that area.
- 12 A. This would be the Lower Murray area.
- 13 Q. Were you referring to Bonnie Reserve along the Coorong.
- 14 It is about seven miles out of Meningie, south of
- 15 Meningie.
- 16 A. No, I don't know that area.
- 17 Q. When you were talking about that they were living in
- fairly close proximity in an area which was
- limited between seashore and scrub.
- 20 A. I am talking about the area which was the Point McLeay
- 21 mission area.
- 22 Q. You are talking about that. Were you aware that there
- were other Aboriginal people living further down along
- the Coorong and Salt Creek and other places.
- 25 A. Not really.
- 26 Q. I think you told us that, several times, that a place
- along the Coorong, several times you observed women had
 - walked over to the Coorong, from Point McLeay.
- 29 A. Yes.

28

- 30 Q. They were groups of women only.
- 31 A. Women, yes.
- 32 Q. And, presumably, children, or were they just women only.
- 33 A. I can't recall any children but at that time of year
- there would have been shearing going on and it was a
- common thing for Point McLeay to be practically
- 36 empty of men, on seasonal jobs.
- 37 Q. At what time of year was that.
- 38 A. Summer.

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 Q. But, that certainly would have been an opportunity,
- would it not, for women to practice any ceremoniesthat they had.
- 4 A. I suppose so. I didn't hear of anything.
- 5 Q. Did you ever know of a person known Albert Karloan.
- 6 A. I have heard of him, but I haven't met him.
- 7 Q. You never spoke to him at all.
- 8 A. No. No, I did not meet him.
- Q. Were you specifically asked by Norman Tindale to enquire
 about women's ceremonies when you were speaking to
 Pinkie Mack.
- 12 A. I think that was his idea. He had mentioned to me that
- it would be nice if a woman conducted research and maybe
- would be able to dig out some ceremonial life particular
- to women. He certainly would have liked it.
- 16 Q. Did you know that Pinkie Mack was an initiated woman.
- 17 A. I don't know anything about her history. She was
- supposed to have been the keeper of whatever women's
- 19 knowledge there was, according to Mr Tindale.
- 20 Q. According to Mr Tindale.
- 21 A. That's so.
- Q. But, you never spoke to any other Ngarrindjeri
- women to find out whether that was.
- 24 A. No, I don't know that side of it.
- 25 Q. Would you have a look at p.4 of your typed written
- statement, the third paragraph, about the baby. I am
- 27 not asking you to read it out and I certainly don't
- 28 intend to.
- 29 A. The albino baby.
- 30 Q. I don't ask you to read any more.
- 31 A. Well -
- 32 Q. Please wait for the question. What you have described
- there would have been, in your opinion, then a very
- startling statement. Would that be a fair thing to say.
- 35 A. I can't remember my reaction at the time at all. I
- simply took down in notes what Pinkie Mack had told me.
- 37 Q. But, you didn't follow up and ask any questions about
- why that practice occurred.

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 A. Well, if it is not in my notes, I didn't.
- Q. Now you've told us that Pinkie Mack didn't tell you that
- there was any restriction on the knowledge she gave to
- 4 you, but did you actually ask her if there was any
- 5 restriction on that knowledge.
- 6 A. I can't remember, but I assume I didn't, because I would
- 7 have, I think I would have asked if I'd had an inkling
- 8 that it was not to be told to people, and I'm sure that
- 9 she was direct enough to have told me.
- 10 Q. In 1938, were you aware that there were any restrictions on the activities of Aboriginal people.
- 12 A. In what way?
- 13 Q. On, for example, where they could live.
- 14 A. Well, there were limitations, well, on what they could
- drink, for instance, in white society. They were not
- allowed to drink alcohol.
- 17 Q. At that stage, they were still essentially confined to
- reserves or mission settlements.
- 19 A. Not totally, but it was a practical way for them to
- 20 live.
- 21 Q. So are you saying they chose to live on those reserves or missions.
- 23 A. I think it was a matter of economic necessity.
- Q. Did you visit Point McLeay at that stage.
- 25 A. Once or twice, yes.
- 26 Q. Is it fair to say that the church and Christian
- 27 religions were strongly enforced there.
- A. I don't know how strongly, but certainly it was run on church lines.
- 30 Q. The entire mission was run by the church, wasn't it, at
- that stage.
- A. I think there must have been government funding, but those details I cannot remember, if I knew at all.
- 34 Q. But what I'm saying to you is at that stage there was no
- involvement by the Aboriginal people in the organisation
- and running of the mission.
- 37 A. No, I shouldn't think so.

38

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MISS NELSON)

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MISS NELSON 2 Q. I think that you were the co-author of an article relating to the women in the northern Flinders Ranges. I'm not sure that I can tell you when it was published. 5 MR ABBOTT: 1941. 6 XXN Q. 1941, 1942. Do you recall that. 8 A. No, I don't. I'm rather surprised, but it would have been as a result of being there the previous summer, well, the summer of 1938. In 1941 I was busy with other 10 11 things, and I do not recall it being -12 Q. You were co-authors with someone called Mountford. A. Yes, well, I did work with him. 13 14 MISS NELSON: I don't have a spare copy, but I would like to tender this, and it would be helpful if Dr 15 16 Brookman could have a copy whilst she is giving her 17 evidence. Is it possible to have it copied. Yes. 18 COMSR: 19 MISS NELSON: Such questions as I have will be directed to matters arising out of that article. 20 21 MR ABBOTT: I wonder, in the interim, whether Dr 22 Brookman could assist us with the order of the notebook. 23 Is the original available, or could we have a look at 24 it? 25 MS SIMPSON: I've got a numbered one. 26 MR ABBOTT: The pages appear to be not out of order, 27 but it's difficult to ascertain -28 MS SIMPSON: I can help you. I've got the original 29 here. 30 MR ABBOTT: Could I have a look at the original 31 whilst we are waiting. 32 I haven't, as yet, given any orders or 33 suppressions in relation to either the statement or the 34 notebook itself, because I've been told that all the 35 material appears in Berndt and Berndt. I haven't had an 36 opportunity to consider that, but -37 MISS NELSON: Certainly, I think as far as the article

is concerned, that's obviously in the public domain,

35

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MISS NELSON)

- 1 because it's a piece of published material. I would 2 think, from reading Dr Brookman's notebook, that there 3 is nothing in there that isn't essentially covered in 4 the Berndts' published work, or isn't otherwise in the 5 public domain, but I mean I don't pretend to be an authority on the topic, it's only my impression. 6 7 Certainly if it isn't published it would COMSR: 8 be sensitive in nature. MS SIMPSON: 9 Well, it's historical material. 10 MR MEYER: While we're waiting, does your Honour 11 have a copy of the transcript. Page 4502, a transcript 12 correction. 13 MISS NELSON: Mr Hemming advises me that there is an 14 aspect in the notebook which isn't put out in the public 15 domain. 16 COMSR: Yes, I thought so too. 17 MISS NELSON: Perhaps one should err on the side of 18 caution. 19 COMSR: I would have to consider the limitations 20 of my authority. 21 MR MEYER: Page 4502, 'Ms Pyke' appears at the top 22 of the page and then, thereafter, for quite a number of 23 pages, in fact it's Mr Abbott who is on his feet by line 24 27, and so if we go on right through to, well -25 COMSR: That appears, does it not, in the 26 transcript? 27 MR MEYER: Thereafter it's headed `Ms Pyke' right through to p.4506 where it's suggested Mr Abbott's 28 29 cross-examination starts. So it's the heading, that's 30 all, just so that people aren't confused. 31 COMSR: You're asking for it to be corrected? It should be `Abbott', then, through to 32 MR MEYER: 33 a few pages. 34 XXN
- refresh your memory now.A. Just reading the first couple of pages, I can see that
- it was Mr Mountford who gathered the information in it,

Q. We have given you a copy of that article. Does that

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MISS NELSON)

- and to a very large part, because I don't remember publishing this or this being published.
- Q. Would you like an opportunity to read it before I ask you anything about it.
- 5 A. Well, if you're going to ask me questions about it, I 6 can't see sort of any point in me not knowing what is in 7
- 8 MISS NELSON: Quite, and I think, in fairness to Dr 9 Brookman, we should perhaps adjourn to give her an

10 opportunity to read it.

- 11 A. But is it important? I mean it refers to another people 12 altogether.
- MISS NELSON: 13 I'm aware of that, but it is important.
- 14 **COMSR**
- Q. How long do you think you'd need to read it. 15
- A. Well, five minutes to skim. 16
- Q. Perhaps 10 to read it, then. 17
- A. Very well, I will read it and I will see if I recall it, 18
- is that all right? 19
- 20 Q. Yes.
- 21 ADJOURNED 11.45 A.M.
- 22 RESUMING 12.09 P.M.
- 23 MR KENNY: I raise one point before we commence.
- I object to this. He wants to hand up 24 MR ABBOTT:
- some letters. If any letters are to be handed up, it 25
- 26 should be through counsel assisting.
- 27 MR KENNY: I'm happy to do that, but perhaps I 28 might explain what they are.
 - MR ABBOTT:
- 29 I object. This is just grandstanding.
- They are not from his clients. 30
- MR KENNY: 31 No.
- It's not appropriate now. 32 MS SIMPSON:
- 33 MR KENNY: The women who wrote it are in the back.
- 34 MS SIMPSON: Sit down please.
- Perhaps I can say this; I understand 35 COMSR:
- 36 there are a group of ladies in attendance at the
- 37 commission, and indeed I welcome their presence here
- 38 because we have invited them to attend. Now I'd

submission.

TN 52G

16

- encourage any one of their number who wishes to give any evidence to assist the commission to come forward and do so and perhaps, Mr Kenny, you can speak with counsel assisting. I don't know if the letters come through that source, but I don't propose to at this stage -
- 6 MR KENNY: I don't have instructions to make a 7 speech or say anything other than in response to your 8 letters, they have asked me to hand these letters up to 9 you.
- MS SIMPSON: I understand that Mr Kenny does not act for these women. I've been in touch with the women from whom the letters are written, and it's not appropriate for Mr Kenny to be taking up their part. I'm very happy to do that, I'm happy to speak with them, and it's more appropriate that that is the way that it happens, in my
- 17 COMSR: If you'd like to do that but, as I say, 18 I certainly welcome their presence here and I encourage 19 them to communicate with us and, if any one them wishes 20 to give evidence, I'd be happy for that to happen. XXN.
- Q. I appreciate that the data that was collected for this article was collected a very long time ago but, as I understand it, you worked with Mr Mountford, and you would have been present for most of the data collection, if not all of it.
- 26 A. No. Actually my recollection is that I wasn't. He, 27 over several trips to the northern Flinders prior to 28 1939, had collected quite a considerable amount of 29 material. I recognise it because I'd read it from his 30 notes that he collected, and this article is largely his 31 writing, and my part in it, I think, was to help him 32 write it, because he was not very confident about 33 writing. I do know the material. I was not present at 34 the collection, but I assisted him as far as I could in 35 my limited way with the writing. I seem to remember 36 that was the situation at that time, and in 1941 I 37 certainly was not doing any anthropology.
- 38 Q. It does seem, does it not, that at least the women of

- the Adjanhamathana tribe had a separate religious or ceremonial life from the men.
- A. It certainly is mentioned in the last paragraph on the
 front page. To what extent it was a secret ceremony is
 not clear, and I do not think that it was in the sense
 of a sort of religious system.
- Q. Certainly there is reference there to the Wik-Munkan tribe of Queensland making the same division of responsibility, with the women dealing with customs, peculiarly their own, especially those concerning childbirth in which the men do not interfere.
- A. Well, the McConnell article that he refers to deals with allied tribes of Cape Yorke Peninsula, but it seems to me it's a logical division of sort of life, not very rigid either, which one would find and expect to find in quite a number of Aboriginal tribes and, in fact, in ethnological writing, you do come across this very natural division into sex matters.
- Q. Can I suggest it's obvious that in all Aboriginal
 communities, the rituals relating to conception and
 menstruation and childbirth are likely to be rituals
 belonging exclusively of the women.
- 23 A. Well, it's a logical division, I don't know how rigid it 24 is.
- Q. Did you have an impression, when you were working in the
 Lower Murray, that that division of ritualistic matters
 relating to at least childbirth existed there.
- A. I don't know about ritual, it's a practical practice, but my contact, as has been pointed out, was to some extent limited there. Now what did you start by saying? That there was a ritual, a ritualistic -
- Q. I suppose I could clarify that. I suppose there are physical aspects of childbirth, and it would be natural to assume that in most societies, at least until recent times, there was a tendency to exclude men from the
- actual birthing process. Did you have an impression in the Lower Murray that there were cultural beliefs or
- the Lower Murray that there were cultural beliefs or mythical beliefs associated with childbirth - I will

7

9

- stop the question there for the time being.
- 2 A. By `mythical beliefs', you're referring to the sort of 3 material that's in this article. Yes, I think in my 4 notes there are certain ideas about conception or spirit 5 children and so on, and yes, I don't know that ritual 6 quite applies to it.
- Q. Well, just dealing with the northern Flinders Ranges 8 tribe for the moment, that's the Aboriginal community to which this article refers, there appears to have been a 10 belief there relating to the conception of children in a 11 mythical way, in other words there is a non-recognition 12 of physiological matters really relating to conception.
- 13 A. Well, that certainly is what Mountford believed.
- 14 Q. When you were working in the Lower Murray, and I 15 appreciate that it was limited for the reasons you've 16 told the commission, did you obtain any data which 17 suggested that, in that area, there was a similar 18 spiritual belief, if I can use that term, relating to 19 conception and birth and so forth.
- 20 A. Well, all that I know is written in my notes. I cannot 21 sort of off the cuff state in the space of 50 years what 22 I heard about it.
- 23 Q. The reason I'm asking you these questions is I can quite 24 appreciate there would have been a tendency to have the 25 birthing process separate perhaps from other people, or 26 from the man, or to avoid having a lot of people around, 27 but the word you use is `secret', and I wonder if that 28 is because there were other matters to do with religious 29 or spiritual beliefs which were associated with 30 conception or the birthing process which weren't general 31 knowledge.
- 32 A. This again is only from my recollection, but I don't 33 believe that that is so. I think that the word `secret' 34 in that context simply meant that it was not for 35 everybody to be present and get in the way. It was a 36 separate affair to be handled by experts.
- Article entitled `Women of the 37 EXHIBIT 237 38 Adjanhamathana Tribe of the Northern

4595

TN 52G

1	Flinders Ranges South Australia' by
2	Mountford and Harvey tendered by Miss
3	Nelson. Admitted
1	CONTINUED

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR ABBOTT)

1 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ABBOTT

Q. When you saw Pinkie Mack on those two occasions, June 12 and 24 June 1939, did you pick the topics, or did she,

4 or was it a process of evolution as you talked.

- 5 A. As far as I can recall, and again it is quite a while has passed, I was rather prompted by Tindale and
- Mountford as to what they wanted me to ask. I think it
- doesn't appear in my notes, but I think they would have suggested a certain approach.
- Q. I discern from that approach, that you were to go from perhaps the general, in the sense of general oral myths
- and traditions, like the mulgewonke, which is what your
- notes start off talking about, to the specific, namely,
- specific women's matters.
- A. I suppose that was their idea, that by talking about these practices it might lead to something deeper.
- 17 Q. And birthing, for example, or birthing practices,
- appears to have been covered on both occasions. I refer you to the bottom of p.25.
- 20 A. I think we probably went over the same ground, because I
- 21 recall that the second interview was sort of less
- informative than the first, as far as I recall.
- 23 Q. Informative in terms of productive of new information.
- 24 A. Productive of new information.
- 25 Q. Birth we find on p.25, and also p.34, so it is obvious
- that you returned to the subject on the subsequent occasion.
- 28 A. Possibly with the idea of finding out something deeper.
- Q. Was there any noticeable reticence on the part of PinkieMack in speaking to you.
- 31 A. None whatever.
- 32 Q. Indeed, did she appear, if not happy, then interested to
- talk to you and impart what she apparently knew of these subjects to you.
- 35 A. From recollection, I was surprised at her cordiality and
- willingness to talk to somebody as sort of young and
- green as I was then.

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR ABBOTT)

- Q. Mr Hemming, in his statement to this commission, says at p.23 I don't think you have got his statement, but I
- read it out to you `Alison Harvey' that's you.
- 4 A. Used to be.
- 5 Q. `A female anthropologist, worked in the Lower Murray during the same period as the Berndts. She was
- 7 interested in the place of women in Aboriginal society'.
- 8 So far that's all correct.
- 9 A. Yes, it is.
- 10 Q. `And she wrote an article about the separate nature of Adjanhamathana's women's religious life (see Mountford
- and Harvey 1941)'. The article to which we have been
- 13 referred.
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. You have explained your contribution to that article.
- He then says In one of her field notebooks' which is
- the very notebook you have before you `compiled in the
- Lower Murray, she records a conversation with Pinkie
- Mack and indicates that aspects of child birth were
- secret to women. It appears that Harvey, operating as a
- 21 lone female researcher, was exposed to restricted
- women's knowledge known by Pinkie Mack'. Is that
- putting it too high.
- 24 OBJECTION Ms Nelson objects.
- 25 MS NELSON: There are two sentences there and I
- think it is really inviting an answer to both sentences.
- 27 I think also Mr Abbott should indicate that the word
- 28 `secret' in the phrase `aspects of child birth were
- secret to women' is in quotation marks.
- 30 MR ABBOTT: I am happy to do all of that.
- 31 QUESTION REPHRASED
- 32 XXN
- 33 Q. `In one of her field notebooks compiled in the Lower
- 34 Murray she records a conversation with Pinkie Mack and
- indicates that aspects of child birth were "secret" to
- women'. It is true that you record a conversation with
- Pinkie Mack. It is true the word `secret' is there, but
- I think you made it clear that you do not want that

A. BROOKMAN XXN (MR ABBOTT)

- reference to `secret' to be taken as a reference to
- 2 secret women's business unknown to other women or,
- 3 indeed, anyone.
- 4 A. If I were anywhere else, I would criticise that
- 5 statement because it goes beyond my meaning.
- 6 Q. The second sentence is `It appears that Harvey' now
- 7 Brookman `operating as a lone female researcher, was
- 8 exposed to restricted women's knowledge known by Pinkie
- 9 Mack'. You don't make that claim, do you.
- 10 A. All that I know is in my notes.
- 11 Q. In fact, you have made it clear there was no restriction
- placed on the knowledge by Pinkie Mack in respect of
- your dissemination of it.
- 14 A. She told me not a word of it.
- 15 NO RE-EXAMINATION
- 16 NO FURTHER QUESTIONS
- 17 WITNESS RELEASED

4599

RF 52H

1	MR SMITH:	The Ca	ampbells hav	ve arrived.	I propose
2	to call four m	embers of	the Campbel	ll family, or	ne upon
3	the other, and	tender the	ir statements	s through ea	ach one
		1 0			

- of them, and therefore make available the statements to 5
- 6
- 7
- counsel. They can, I hope, consider their position over the luncheon break, which I suggest might be a bit longer than usual. Those witnesses can be available for cross-examination in the afternoon. Mr Sykes attends on 8
- 9 their behalf.
- IR SYKES: Yes, I do. I am happy with that course, but it is entirely a matter for you as to how you fit the Campbells into your schedule. 10 MR SYKES:
- 11
- 12

A.B. CAMPBELL XN (MR SMITH)

1 2	MR SMITH CALLS ALLAN BELL CAMPBELL JUNIOR SWORN				
3	EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH				
4 5	Q. Looking at this statement produced to you, do you				
	recognise that as the statement you provided your				
6	solicitor and had your solicitor provide for the				
7	commission in connection with the inquiry we are				
8	embarked upon.				
9	A. It is the same as my photocopy here.				
10	Q. That's your signature there on p.19.				
11	A. That's my signature.				
12	EXHIBIT 228 Statement of witness Allan Bell Campbell				
13	tendered by Mr Smith. Admitted.				
14	MR SMITH: I ask, for the time being, Mr Campbell				
15	be excused from the witness box while counsel have an				
16	opportunity to consider that material, unless they are				
17	prepared to cross-examination now.				
18	MR KENNY: I think we should have time to consider				
19	the 19 page statement first.				
20	COMSR: You don't propose to lead the witness				
21	through his statement?				
22	MR SMITH: I have been doing that normally, but I				
23	do not think that is necessary. I would rather that				
24	people use the time so that the Campbells can be				
25	examined fully this afternoon and allowed to go home. I				
26	have spoken to Mr Sykes about it. I ask Mr Allan				
27	Campbell be excused from the witness box temporarily				
28	during the luncheon break.				
29	COMSR				
30	Q. You can stand down, you understand you will are required				
31	for examination after the luncheon break.				
32	A. Yes.				
33	WITNESS STANDS DOWN				

J.G. CAMPBELL XN (MR SMITH)

1	MR SMITH CALLS				
2	JOHN GREGORY CAMPBELL SWORN				
3	EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH				
4	Q. Looking at this statement produced to you, do you				
5	recognise that 20 pages of it as a statement which you				
6	provided to your solicitor, Mr Sykes, and which you have				
7	in turn provided to this commission in connection with				
8	its inquiry.				
9	A. Yes, it is.				
10	Q. That's your signature on p.20.				
11	A. Yes, it is.				
12	EXHIBIT 229 Statement of Witness of John Gregory				
13	Campbell tendered by Mr Smith.				
14	Admitted.				
15	MR SMITH: I ask that this witness be excused until				
16	after the luncheon adjournment.				
17	MR SYKES: Might I just say, in relation to John				
18	Campbell, he is hard of hearing. I wonder when				
19	cross-examination does commence of him this afternoon				
20					
21					
22	questions.				
23	WITNESS STANDS DOWN				

4602

RF 52H

A.S. CAMPBELL XN (MR SMITH)

1	MR SMITH CALLS		
2	AMELIA STELLA CAMPBELL SWORN		
3	EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH		
4	Q. Miss Campbell, looking at this statement produced to		
5	you, do you recognise that as the statement you provided		
6	to your solicitor, Mr Sykes.		
7	A. Yes.		
8	Q. I think that's your signature on every page of this		
9	twelve page statement.		
10	A. Every page, yes.		
11	EXHIBIT 230 Statement of Witness of Amelia Stella		
12	Campbell tendered by Mr Smith.		
13	Admitted.		
14	MR SMITH: I ask that you temporarily release Miss		
15	Campbell until after the luncheon break, on the same		
16	basis.		
17	WITNESS STANDS DOWN		

4603

RF 52H

C.A. RAYNER XN (MR SMITH)

4	1 (D	OR ATOUT	CATTO
	NAD	SMITH	$I \setminus A \cap I \setminus A$
1	IVIIN	DIVILLI	CALL

- CLARA ADA RAYNER (NEE CAMPBELL) **SWORN**
- **EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH**
- Q. Looking at this statement produced to you, it purports
- 5 to be in the name of Clara Ada Campbell, which is yourself. 6
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. I think that's the statement which you provided to your
- solicitor and, on instructions, have provided to this
- 10 commission in connection with its inquiry, is that 11
- right.
- A. Yes. 12
- 13 Q. It is your signature on the bottom of every one of the
- 14 six pages.
- 15 A. Yes.
- EXHIBIT 231 Statement of Witness of Clara Ada Rayner 16
- tendered by Mr Smith. Admitted. 17
- 18 MR SMITH: I ask that Ms Rayner be released until
- 19 after the luncheon break on the same basis.
- 20 WITNESS STANDS DOWN

16

- MR SMITH: I suggest that we resume at 2 o'clock. 2 That means we would only lose 5 minutes. Would that be in order? COMSR: Yes, I think it might be of assistance 5 so that counsel can look through the statements. Mr 6 Hemming mentioned a matter this morning of some 7 sensitivity. Ms Nelson, does Mr Hemming now say there 8 is any sensitivity about any of the material in either 9 the report or the notes. 10 MS NELSON: Of Dr Brookman? 11 COMSR: 12 MS NELSON: Yes, he has indicated to me that there 13 is some material in the notebook which is sensitive and which is not in the public domain. Although, he tells 14 15 me that the majority of it is in the public domain,
- 17 COMSR: Mrs Bookman's statement has not been released at this time, but perhaps if I suppress it for 18 19 the luncheon adjournment and you can more particularly

there are some matters mentioned that are not.

- 20 identify it this afternoon.
- Yes. I can do that. 21 MS NELSON:
- 22 ADJOURNED 12.36 P.M.

```
RESUMING 2.10 P.M.
                      Miss Nelson, I think you were going to
    COMSR:
3
      check with Mr Hemming?
                          Yes, I have.
    MISS NELSON:
5
         Do you have a photostat of the notes before you?
6
                      Yes, which page?
    COMSR:
7
                          On the fourth page. It is p.5, the
    MISS NELSON:
8
      second passage on that page after the gap dealing with
9
      the mulywonk. In relation to the first paragraph - and
10
       I won't identify in a public way matters in that - my
11
       instructions are that there are references there to
12
       matters which have not been published. At least to my
13
       client's knowledge.
14
    COMSR:
                      For the time being, the safest,
       easiest way to identify that would perhaps be to
15
16
       release the notes from the suppression order, except
17
       the contents of p.5, would that be so?
18
    MISS NELSON:
                          There is another passage, if I can just
19
       take you to that?
20
    COMSR:
                      Does it continue on over to p.6?
21
     MISS NELSON:
                           No. it doesn't.
22
         And the next passage appears towards the end,
23
       at p.34. There are references under the heading
24
       `birth', in that first passage, which, on my
25
       instructions, at least in so far as my client is
       aware, have not been published in the sense that the
26
27
       descriptions published by Berndt are different to some
28
       of the descriptions in here. And my client instructs
29
       me that, whilst he is not necessarily saying it is
30
       secret or sacred, it is, he believes, at least
31
       sensitive information.
32
         Those are the two passages to which he has taken
33
34
    COMSR:
                      Except for pp.5 and 34. That will be
35
       sufficient to cover it.
36
    MR SMITH:
                        I would recall to the witness box Allan
37
       Bell Campbell.
38
    COMSR:
                      There is another matter first, and that
```

KC 52J

MR SMITH:

1 is the question of the sitting on Saturday. 2 If we could finalise what hours we could sit. Of 3 course, the reporting staff are working extended hours at the present time and -5 MR ABBOTT: So are the lawyers. 6 Yes, I appreciate that. But their job COMSR: involves some repetitiveness. If we were to sit, say, 7 8 from 9 until 3, would that -9 MR ABBOTT: Anything will suit me. I just think, 10 if we are going to take - I query the utility of half a day, when it should be more substantial. Speaking 11 12 for myself, I would proffer 9.30 to 3.30 or 10 to 4. 13 COMSR: I don't want to spend any time on 14 this. Is there any problem for anyone 9.30 to 3.30? 15 16 MR KENNY: Yes, I have family commitments on the weekends, as I am sure other people do. I wonder if 17 you would consider extending the time over the next 18 two or three weeks, sitting one or two days? 19 Are you intending on sitting only on one Saturday? 20 21 COMSR: I can't look any further ahead. 22 MR KENNY: Maybe I could make arrangements, but if 23 it is becoming -24 MR SMITH: I draw Mr Kenny's attention to the fact 25 that this Commission has no extension of time, at the 26 moment. 27 COMSR: We keep hearing about it. MR SMITH: 28 Yes, we keep hearing that it is likely 29 to happen and all that sort of thing, but, at the 30 moment, this Commission ceases in the middle of next 31 week. We are heading towards that. We just must try 32 and finish the evidence. 33 COMSR: Yes, Mr Kenny, I think that we will have to sit on Saturday. 34 35 Certainly. MR KENNY: COMSR: And 9.30 until 3.30 then.

The first of the Campbells is next.

- 1 WITNESS A.B. CAMPBELL ENTERS WITNESS BOX
- 2 MR SMITH: I will bring up the rear and do any
- counsel wish to cross-examine Mr Campbell?
- 4 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MISS NELSON
- 5 Q. Do you have a copy of your statement there.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Could you turn to p.8.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. You say on that page `By that time we Campbells had made
- it widely known that we had a claim to Kumarangk
- Island', what do you mean by that. What was the nature
- of your claim to Kumarangk Island.
- 13 A. King Peter Pulami is my great-great grandfather and old
- 14 Jumbo Campbell is also my great-great grandfather.
- 15 Q. That is something you didn't know until later in your life, isn't that right.
- 17 A. I would have known that if Doreen Kartinyeri wouldn't
- have took the Campbell file out of the museum.
- 19 Q. But, as I understand it -
- 20 A. And, if you had what I had to go on, you would also took about six to nine months.
- 22 Q. I am not being critical, I am simply trying to establish
- 23 a fact and the fact is you didn't know of your ancestry
- 24 until October 1993, when Daisy Rankine told you, is that
- 25 the position.
- 26 A. That's right. And then, when we looked it up, in the
- world the way it was, then they had the family tree
- there.
- 29 Q. Is this the position, that your parents didn't tell you
- anything about your ancestry.
- 31 A. I don't think it was just my parents. I think everybody
- on Point McLeay wasn't even told.
- 33 Q. Why do you think that was.
- 34 A. Oppression.
- 35 Q. Oppression by -
- 36 A. Segregation.
- 37 Q. By the white missionaries.
- 38 A. If you could listen to me. It is oppression,

- segregation and living on a concentration camp. And living in fear.
- 3 Q. Who oppressed you.
- 4 A. The white people.
- 5 Q. Does that include the missionaries.
- 6 A. Have you ever heard of permits? Have you ever lived
- 7 under permits to go off the mission and to come back on
- 8 the mission? If you had lived on permits the way we was
- brought up to live on permits, then you would only know what we have been through.
- 11 Q. You think that -
- 12 A. Fear, fear, even today our people are living in fear.
- 13 Q. Fear of what.
- 14 A. Fear.
- 15 Q. Fear of what.
- 16 A. Of the white man, oppression, that we lived under.
- 17 Q. Can you tell me what you say is the Campbell family
- claim to Kumarangk Island.
- 19 A. My family clan?
- 20 Q. Yes, your claim to Kumarangk Island.
- 21 A. I just told you.
- 22 Q. Are you talking about land rights.
- 23 A. I am not talking about land rights. I am talking about
- 24 my identity. Where I originated from.
- Q. It would help me if you could help me to understand what you mean by that.
- 27 A. Old King Peter Pulami and old Jumbo Campbell lived on
- 28 Kumarangk Island and then, from there, they was put in
- chains and taken around to Campbell Park, which is now
- 30 called Campbell House. And then, in the late 1830, 35
- or 36, they moved from there to Point McLeay and we
- 32 lived there ever since.
- 33 Q. How did you find out about Jumbo Campbell and -
- 34 A. In the world the way it was.
- 35 Q. In the Berndts' book.
- 36 A. Berndt, yes.
- 37 Q. You didn't get that from any of your immediate family.
- 38 A. No.

- 1 Q. Is it the position that you weren't, as a young person,
- 2 taught anything about traditional beliefs.
- A. We wasn't taught nothing. We was taught how Captain
- Cook discovered our country and everything to do with
- 5 Captain Cook. And, if I can recall on Point McLeay I
- 6 chucked a Captain Cook history book on the ground and I
- 7 said `I am sick of white man book. I want black book
- 8 history.' And this teacher he caned me eight times
- 9 across the hands, four on each hand and then he wasn't
- satisfied with that. He put my he wanted to cane my
- 11 knuckles. I flogged him. Dropped him cold as a maggot.
- 12 And then I run to the back door. And come the time when
- I was ready to jump the fence, my father come and
- grabbed me by the neck and said `Where are you going?'
- 15 Q. The position is this, that you are still learning about your own ancestry and background and tradition.
- 17 A. We never even started.
- 18 COMSR
- Q. When you say `We never even started', who you do you mean by `we'.
- 21 A. We don't even know our language.
- 22 Q. You mean, the Aboriginal -
- 23 A. The Ngarrindjeri nation.
- 24 XXN
- 25 Q. Do you believe that.
- A. We weren't even taught in school our history, our culture.
- 28 Q. I understand that.
- 29 A. Even only lately, it only come lately, we now starting
- 30 to put that in. The only words we now in our language
- 31 is all dirty words.
- Q. Is it your belief that you personally still have a lotto learn about your background and your tradition.
- 34 A. We have still got a lot to learn.
- 35 Q. On the same page, that is p.8, you are talking about a
- pamphlet which said that meetings with Cheryl Saunders
- were invalid.
- 38 A. Yes.

- Q. And that she was consulting the wrong people. Who should she have been consulting.
- A. She got paid to do a job, which she done it incorrectly. She didn't even consult the right people and the right
- 5 people are the Elders. Those 35 people down there, to 6 me, is not recognised as Elders.
- Q. How are you able to establish who are the Elders given 8 that you have had very little education about your own 9 people's history and tradition.
- 10 A. Our old people, our Elders.
- 11 Q. So, it is simply an age thing.
- 12 A. It is not simply an age. You have got to be - you have 13
- got to earn the reputation of being an Elder. You can't 14 just come off the street and be an Elder. You have got
- 15 to earn it by your people. If you leave your people for
- 16 5 or 15 or 25 years and come back, that don't make you 17 an Elder, even though you are 85 or 65 or 75.
- 18 Q. Are there people that you regard as having knowledge
- 19 about Aboriginal tradition and belief, in the 20 Ngarrindjeri culture.
- 21
- A. Not even our Elders.
- 22 Q. Why is that. Because of what you told me before.
- A. Fear. 23
- 24 Q. Because of this oppression by the white man.
- 25 A. Yes, fear. I will put an example to you. I went to
- 26 Libya and, when I came back from Libya, my people 27
- wouldn't even talk to me, because they feared, because I 28 went to Libya. And they didn't even want to be
- 29 associated with me.
- 30 Q. Is it your view that a lot of tradition and a lot of
- 31 spiritual belief has been lost, because of this
- 32 inability to pass it on.
- 33 A. Yes.
- 34 Q. From one generation to the next.
- 35 A. It has been lost. We have been denied our rights. Even
- 36 what I heard, that they had to go to Port Adelaide to
- 37 try and do corroborees and that there, in the sand
- 38 hills, sneak off Point McLeay.

- 1 Q. Is it your belief that, because of this fear and
- oppression, the Ngarrindjeri people who have special or secret knowledge have been unwilling to talk about it.
- 4 A. In our tribe, in the Ngarrindjeri tribe, there is no
- secret sacred Aboriginal women's business. It is just plain old women's business. If there was.
- Q. How can you say that when you have just told me that you really don't know anything very much about your own people's history or tradition.
- 10 A. There is a lot of things we are aware of.
- 11 Q. And a lot of things you are not aware of.
- 12 A. A hell of a lot of things, but I can assure you, growing
- up on Point McLeay, that there was not even talk on
- women's business or men's business. It was straight out Captain Cook in school. There was no black history.
- Q. If there were women's business, the women wouldn't have shared it with you.
- 18 A. If there was women's business, we would have heard it when we was kids.
- 20 Q. Why you would, as a man.
- A. But there was nothing. Our women never even spoke of it.
- Q. Why would they speak to you about it if it was women's business.
- 25 A. You have got to ask them and most of them are all dead.
- 26 Unless you can wake the dead up. Even you could ask the
- 27 Elders of today. There is two of them here and you
- could ask them today.
- 29 Q. Turning to p.9 -
- 30 A. Why they wasn't even consulted.
- 31 Q. Do you see under the heading `The Claim of Secret
- Women's Business. We made enquiries with older people
- who should know about the existence of such things.'
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. And you spoke to your mother.
- 36 A. Yes.
- 37 Q. Who else did you speak to.
- 38 A. I also spoke to Nanna Laura and she is our Queen. The

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- last elected Queen.
- Q. So, there is your mother and Nanna Laura.
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. Anyone else.
- 5 A. Auntie Vera.
- 6 Q. What is her surname, Auntie Vera who.
- 7 A. Wilson.
- 8 Q. Anyone else.
- 9 A. Auntie Dulcie. Auntie Bertha. Auntie Sarah Karpany.
- 10 Auntie Del Karpany. Auntie Dolly.
- 11 Q. Your mother said to you, according to your statement `If
- there was women's business on Kumarangk Island, then the
- punt is an insult and the only way to protect women's
- business is to put a bridge there.' Do you see that.
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. That's what your mother told you. Did she tell you why
- a punt would be an insult to women's business, but a
- 18 bridge would be okay.
- 19 A. She didn't tell me directly, but I found out that when I
- went back to Murray Bridge. Then I consulted her again.
- 21 Q. What did she actually say.
- 22 A. What she actually said and when I said, explained the
- insult, she said 'Yeah.' And that insult is the punt.
- 24 That punt represents a man's prick and every time it
- 25 goes back and forwards, it is having sex with a women's
- belief. And, if there is a women's spiritual belief
- there, then that is an insult. Why aren't these women
- attacking that insult?
- 29 Q. Is this what your mother told you.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Did she explain -
- 32 A. Then I said `What if they put a ferry there?' And she
- said `It's the same thing. Only conclusion is the
- 34 bridge to stop the insult.'
- 35 Q. Is it the position that your mother regarded the punt as
- 36 an insult.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 Q. And an insult to women's business on Kumarangk Island.

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- A. If there is not on Kumarangk Island. At that time, it
- was just near the Goolwa Old Police Station on top of 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- that hill. Then later on I found out that they not talking about there. They are talking about the whole island. And, to me, calling that a choclee, Choclee Island, and choclee that is the Cunt Island. Women's cunts. Well, that is an insult to my clanswomen there. 6
- 7
- These women got no they got no respect for our old 8
- 9 people. And that, to me, that is an insult.
- 10 CONTINUED

- 1 Q. You say on p.10, if you could turn to p.10.
- 2 As I understand what you are saying, you say that, as a
- 3 result of discussions with your mother, you became
- totally opposed to a punt or a ferry and you realized
- 5 the only solution would be for a bridge, if secret
- 6 women's business existed. You see that there.
- 7 A. Yes, if the thing is -
- 8 Q. Do you say that there is a possibility that secret
- 9 women's business exists.
- 10 A. Not in the context of what they saying there is three categories.
- 12 Q. You tell -
- 13 A. There is one, fertile and virginity and that answer the
- one. I just answered with the punt with the fertile and
- 15 the vaginity and the abortion.
- 16 Q. Wait a moment.
- 17 A. You ask me. About abortion -
- 18 Q. You can tell me about that, but I just need you to
- 19 explain it as we go along.
- 20 A. I am explaining it.
- 21 O. So we understand it.
- 22 COMSR: We can't keep up with the speed of what
- you are saying and it is difficult to understand you
- when you talk so loudly.
- 25 XXN
- 26 Q. When you are talking about the first part of that
- 27 concept, in that context, is there any women's business.
- 28 A. I don't think it is there. A women's business to me
- would presumably would be in every Aboriginal
- 30 community, not based on the whole three categories.
- With the one abortion, if abortion took place, all the
- 32 half-castes and quarter-castes would not exist today
- because they aborted their child.
- 34 Q. What is the third category.
- 35 A. I just told you, what they said, for fertile and
- virginity, is that punt, that's an insult.
- 37 Q. Why were you you were opposed to the punt or the ferry
- because you believed that it would have an effect on

- 1 women's fertility, is that what you are saying.
- A. After consulting with my mother and old people see, as you got to understand, as I explained here, I am an old protester since 1971.
- 5 Q. I have read that.
- 6 A. And, you know, I protest, but when you protest you have
- 7 got to protest for something you believe in and in this
- 8 case here, you don't just go running around the street
- 9 in just a protest, you have to go and do your homework.
- In this case here we have got to consult our elder people.
- 12 Q. Can you tell me why you became totally opposed to a punt or a ferry.
- 14 A. What my mother told me.
- 15 Q. Because you regard -
- 16 A. If there is women's business existed, well then that
- punt is an insult to the women's spiritual belief, if it exists.
- 19 Q. Well -
- 20 A. And these women never even talked about protecting.
- With a bridge you can protect whatever is down there, if it did exist.
- 23 Q. You say that the Campbell family were, effectively,
- excluded from the discussion among Nungas about the
- 25 Kumarangk Island question and the existence of women's
- spiritual beliefs. What do you mean by that.
- 27 A. Well, when we went to Port Adelaide, if you could read
- in there, we went there on a Sunday, and when we start
- 29 to we went there with the Campbell clan. When we
- 30 start to put our point across Val Power closed the
- 31 meeting and just walked out.
- 32 Q. If did you make -
- 33 A. We argued and cursed all the way until she walked out of there.
- 35 Q. Then -
- 36 A. Then after about six or nine months I find out the
- 37 reason why and down there, in the 35 people down there
- 38 everybody was Campbell, except the Campbells that was

- there. There was all Campbells, except the Campbells.
- 2 Even my two sisters and my cousin got kicked out of
- 3 there.
- 4 Q. Do you say that, there is no women's business in the Ngarrindjeri community.
- 6 A. No, I am not saying there is no women's business, but
- not in that context.
- 8 Q. In what context.
- 9 A. I believe women's business in the community, yes.
- 10 O. In what context.
- 11 A. Of course they have raised the kids up, it is the women
- what do all the raising, it is not the men that do all
- the raising.
- 14 Q. Do you say there is no secret sacred women's business
- in the Ngarrindjeri community.
- 16 A. I am not saying I hate that word `secret'.
- 17 Q. Why.
- 18 A. Because it is not secret.
- 19 Q. Let's remove that.
- 20 A. It is women's business.
- 21 Q. Do you say there is any sacred women's business in the
- 22 Ngarrindjeri community.
- 23 A. Yes, within the Ngarrindjeri community, yes, but not
- secret. The women probably have a role to do and they
- done it very effectively, same as the men, men's
- business.
- 27 Q. Do you say that the women's business, sacred or
- otherwise, is confined.
- 29 A. But I don't -
- 30 Q. Their role in raising children.
- 31 A. I don't call an island a Choclee Island, you know. That
- is what they it is not what I said, it is what the
- women over here are saying.
- 34 INTERJECTOR: Shame, shame for you to goes let
- it go on being.
- 36 A. You are the one that call it Choclee Island, you
- insulting my clans.
- 38 COMSR: Not all of us are familiar with the term

- 1 and I gather that some people find it offensive.
- 2 A. Well, I will call it -
- 3 COMSR
- 4 Q. Just a moment.
- 5 A. Virginity.
- 6 COMSR: I gather it is considered an offensive
- 7 term.
- 8 MISS NELSON: Yes and I think probably it has to be
- 9 explained and you will understand why it is an offensive term.
- 11 A. It is a women's privacy, I will call it that. It is
- more delicate.
- 13 COMSR: It is not a term which should be
- published I take it?
- 15 MİSS NELSON: I wouldn't have thought so.
- 16 COMSR: I think that I can gather from the
- 17 reaction that this is considered an offensive term to be
- used and I would suppress any mention of it from
- 19 publication in the circumstances.
- 20 XXN
- 21 Q. Did you have more than one discussion with your mother,
- about her view of this ferry or punt going across from
- Goolwa to the island.
- 24 A. We was talking about ways of getting it protected.
- 25 Q. Getting the island protected.
- 26 A. Everything, not the island.
- 27 Q. Getting what protected.
- 28 A. If they are the women's business there, let's talk about
- 29 protecting it and we was talking about protecting it, if
- the women's business existed there. These women never
- 31 even talked about protecting nothing, they were there
- just to stop the bridge, point one, point blank.
- 33 Q. Your position is, you tell me if I am wrong, that there
- is a possibility of women's business, but, in your view,
- it would be protected by a bridge, where it is insulted
- 36 by a punt or a ferry, is that right.
- 37 A. No, what I am saying is, if they the ones that said it
- was there, what I am saying, on the island, it would be

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MISS NELSON) XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 women's business, but not where they are saying it is.
- Where they do corroboree, you know, a women go out and
- do corroboree, men do corroboree and women do their stuff, you know.
- Q. Do you think there is a possibility that there is some
 women's business connected with the island that needs
 protecting.
- 8 A. I never ruled that out.
- 9 Q. But, as I understand it, your view is, from discussing it with your mother, that a bridge wouldn't offend the
- women's business, where a ferry and a punt both do.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENNY
- Q. About a year or two ago, I think you gave an interview
 to Channel 10 outside the Old Nunga's Club at Murray
 Bridge. Do you remember that.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. I think at that stage, you were encouraging the
- Ngarrindjeri people to take up arms and fight for land rights. Is that still your position.
- 21 A. I think you have got to understand I am a radical
- political shit-stirrer and I will say anything to put
- pressure on the white man Government about Aboriginal deaths in custody. I went to Libya for that.
- 25 Q. You went to Libya for what. Why did you go to Libya.
- 26 A. To put pressure on the white man Government in giving
- us the Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody. They didn't give it to us because they love
- us, they give it to us because of the outside political
- arena pressure. Then we didn't get justice.
- 31 Q. I understand and I don't have a copy of it here, but,
- you gave an interview with, I think it was, the VictorHarbor times. Do you recall that.
- 34 A. What year?
- Q. That was last year, 1994. The reason I don't have it is because I wasn't expecting this witness today.
- 37 A. If you could explain it I will.
- 38 Q. In the interview, you talked about setting up a cultural

- 1 centre on the island and you also said that, if I
- 2 remember it correctly, the bridge would, you know, you
- would allow the bridge to be built, but you would want the boats coming up and down the centre of the channel.
- 5 A. Not at that stage. At the meeting down there we said, the bridge to be built and no punt, no boats allowed to
- go under, but we negotiated with that and we allowed to go in the middle, but not the banks.
- 9 Q. Why was that. Why wouldn't you allow the boats.
- 10 A. I am not going to go down the road in another 20 or 30
- years and find that something did exist there, and I
- would be the laughing stock. We got to do research into
- it. Is not going to take us one year or six months or
- nine months to get it all what we want, it is going to
- take us another 25 years. You have got to understand,
- we have been oppressed, exiled from the country and from that area.
- 18 Q. With respect to the cultural centre and the museum you
- wanted to build on Hindmarsh Island, I understand that
- you were hoping to be the person involved in setting that up, is that correct.
- 22 A. Well me and the clan, yes.
- 23 Q. That would be run by the museum would be run by you
- and your clan.
- A. No, it would be run by the people of the two clans of the Kumarangk Island.
- 27 Q. Who are they.
- 28 A. That would consist all the two clans.
- 29 Q. Which clans are they.
- 30 A. There is the two the Campbells and the Pulami and the
- descendants and also we going to unite, the Ramindjeri
- and the Warki there, to unite that area.
- 33 Q. In your statement, at p.4, you say you heard on the
- grapevine, that some white people rang up members of the
- Lower Murray Heritage Committee and invited them down to
- a hilltop meeting.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 Q. Who told you that.

- 1 A. The grapevine. See, with the grapevine I can say, my
- 2 cousin told me that, but then who told him, who told
- 3 him?
- 4 Q. I am asking you a name of who told you that.
- 5 I am asking a name. Who told you that.
- 6 A. My cousin.
- 7 Q. Who.
- 8 A. Mervyn Winslow.
- 9 Q. Did he say how he knew.
- 10 A. He also was on the Heritage Committee too.
- 11 Q. But, he wasn't at that meeting.
- 12 A. No, no, he pulled out 12 months ago I think.
- 13 Q. Over the page p.5, the name that you say, this is
- referring to your brother Johnny, you quote, he said
- they were calling the island the particular name that
- was mentioned before.
- 17 A. I think if I can recall I think that was in The
- 18 Advertiser.
- 19 Q. So, you don't remember who, they were that were calling
- 20 the island by that name.
- 21 A. It was in The Advertiser and it is public.
- 22 COMSR: There is a passage with particular
- 23 reference to your clients.
- 24 MR KENNY: There is a matter of what he says on the
- 25 grapevine. I can't take it any further because it is
- hearsay upon hearsay and there is no point in me putting
- 27 anything about it.
- 28 A. Anything -
- 29 COMSR: You haven't been asked a question yet.
- 30 XXN
- 31 Q. You have told us you spoke to the women we have been
- 32 calling the daughter of Pinkie Mack.
- 33 A. Nana Laura, yes.
- Q. Did you know your brother spoke to her as well.
- 35 A. Either one that written out a letter and read it over
- the phone to him to go and see Nana Laura, yes.
- 37 Q. Did you suggest she go and see other women and take
- 38 letters to them.

- A. Yes.
- Q. Who were those other women.
- A. Well, Auntie Dulcie, she signed it.
- Q. Anyone else.
- 5 A. Logan wouldn't sign it because they didn't want to be under scrutiny to it with the pressure. 6
- You went around trying to get a number of women to sign 8 the letter.
- A. Yes. 9
- 10 Q. But, only two of them would, is that right.
- A. In support of Nana Laura, what Nana Laura is saying to 11
- 12 me is gold, is the truth. She is our queen. I don't
- 13 acknowledge or welcome Deane Fergie or Sandra Saunders
- 14 what they said because they mean nothing to me because 15 they are white people.
- 16 Q. Do you say Nana Laura said to you there wasn't any 17 women's business.
- 18 A. Yes, she said to a lot of fellas.
- Q. You know your brother spoke to her. Do you know what 19
- did your brother tell you what the daughter of Pinkie 20
- 21 Mack said to her said to him.
- 22 A. He told me that he sat down and spoke with her for one
- 23 hour and explained everything to her and then went away 24
- and got it typed out and come back and got her to sign 25
- 26 Q. Did your brother tell you that, she said to him, that,
- 27 there was women's business, but they have got the wrong 28
- A. No, if you read the letter -
- 30 Q. I am talking about what your brother John said in his 31 statement.
- 32 A. What's in the letter is what Johnny told her and she
- 33 then signed it. We didn't speak of bridge, we spoke of
- 34 is there women's business or not?
- 35 Q. On p.19 of your brother's statement, your brother says
- 36 that, the daughter of Pinkie Mack said that, 'yes'
- 37 meaning that there was women's business, 'but they have
- 38 the wrong island.' Did she say anything like that to

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- 1 you.
- 2 A. No and you have got to understand, although I am staying
- 3 in the same place as my brother I never read his
- 4 statement and he never read mine, but I read that
- 5 letter.
- 6 Q. Your sister Amelia, in her statement she says, she is
- 7 David Unaipon's grand daughter.
- 8 A. Yes, that is my grandfather.
- 9 Q. He is your grandfather as well.
- 10 A. Yes, he Pulami. I even married a Pulami, Susan Pulami.
- 11 Q. Are you saying that he is your grandfather as well.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. Your sister, Amelia says that, 'My grandfather David
- 14 Unaipon used to tell me about women's business.'
- 15 A. Unaipon not Unaipon. He may have, I don't know.
- 16 Q. But, he didn't mention anything to you.
- 17 A. Well, when I was going up there lighting his smoke and
- that and his pipe and that and making his cup of tea,
- 19 No, he didn't tell us nothing.
- 20 CONTINUED

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 COMSR
- Q. Mr Kenny is not suggesting that he said anything about secret women's business, but did he talk about women's

4 business.

- 5 A. Not to me, but what he said to my sister that's, you
- 6 know, it's not what he said to me. There's a question
- 7 there, why didn't he tell us about our language?
- 8 XXN
- 9 Q. You've told us that, in your statement, you went to a
- meeting at Tailem Bend on 2 November 1993, at the town
- 11 hall there.
- 12 OBJECTION Mr Sykes objects.
- 13 MR SYKES: I don't think he said that.
- 14 MR KENNY: We have had four statements and I've got
- to get instructions. I don't want to be misrepresenting
- 16 that.
- 17 A. Where, Tailem Bend?
- 18 MR SYKES: Can I just object? I don't think he's
- 19 attended that meeting, according to his statement, if
- 20 that's the question that's been put to the witness.
- 21 MR KENNY: I think I better clarify that. It looks
- like he's been there.
- 23 A. Looks like my brother's statement.
- 24 XXN
- 25 Q. Did you go to that meeting on 2 November, of the Lower
- 26 Murray Aboriginal Heritage Committee.
- 27 A. I was in Sydney.
- 28 Q. When you say 'Victor Wilson gave us the impression at
- 29 the meeting that he wanted the bridge to go ahead'.
- 30 MR ABBOTT: What page?
- 31 A. What page.
- 32 MR KENNY: Page five.
- 33 A. I think you've got the wrong statement. I'm reading p.5
- and there that's got nothing here.
- 35 MR SYKES: Perhaps Mr Kenny should wait for the
- next witness, that's Mr John Campbell.
- 37 A. That's my brother's statement, not me. Because he was -
- 38 COMSR: Just a minute.

- 1 XXN
- 2 Q. Did you see Doug Milera give his interview on Channel
- 3 10, the one with Chris Kenny. Did you see that on the
- 5 A. I seen it and I taped it.
- 6 Q. Before that time, had you spoken to Doug, apart from the
- time he rang you up on the mobile phone.
- 8 A. Mobile phone, he rang me up at my house.
- 9 Q. He rang you at your house.
- 10 A. That's on the 5th.
- 11 Q. Before the 5th, had you spoken to him at all.
- 12 A. Not before the 5th, no.
- 13 Q. Concerning Hindmarsh Island.
- 14 A. I didn't even know his telephone number, didn't even
- know where he was until he rang me.
- 16 Q. Had he been in touch with your brother, do you know.
- 17 A. Yes, from the 5th, yes, but after the 5th.
- 18 Q. What about before the 5th.
- 19 A. Before the 5th, no, and he didn't ring me, it was Tom.
- 20 Q. Tom Chapman.
- 21 A. Chapman, yes.
- 22 Q. On p.17 of your statement, you say that Doug Milera told
- you that he had been receiving money every week.
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. Did he say who had been paying him.
- 26 A. Old woman.
- 27 Q. He said an old woman had been paying him.
- 28 A. On Hindmarsh Island.
- 29 Q. On Hindmarsh Island.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Did he say who that old woman was.
- 32 A. No.
- 33 Q. Did he say how much he was getting.
- 34 A. 500.
- 35 Q. \$500 a week.
- 36 A. A week. Also his wife, Sarah.
- Q. Was she getting another \$500 a week as well.
- 38 A. Yes.

- 1 Q. From the same source.
- 2 A. Same source.
- 3 Q. So they were getting \$1000 a week.
- 4 A. And they got in too deep and they couldn't get out of it.
- 6 Q. Did he say why he was getting that money.
- 7 A. No.
- Q. Did he say anything else about the money he was getting every week.
- 10 A. He didn't. He said that he was getting that money and
- 11 he got in too deep, and they tried to get out of it, but
- they just couldn't, that's the reason why he got Tom to
- ring me up to try and get out of it. When I tried to
- have a meeting with him -
- Q. Did Doug tell you they had stopped paying him the money,or he had to pay it back.
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Did he say what he meant by 'getting in too deep'.
- 19 A. Well, he had got in too deep with this woman business,
- 20 him and Sarah couldn't get out of it. You have to ask him.
- Q. Did he talk to you about getting money from anywherewhen he was talking to you on the phone.
- 24 A. Well, he also said that when he was down at Tailem Bend
- 25 there, he was getting money from the mine, I think it
- 26 was \$1000.
- 27 Q. So he was getting \$1000 a week.
- 28 A. A week.
- 29 Q. From the mine at Tailem Bend.
- 30 A. Just out of Tailem Bend somewhere.
- 31 COMSR
- 32 Q. From the what in Tailem Bend.
- 33 A. They were drilling.
- 34 Q. From the mine.
- 35 A. People were drilling.
- 36 XXN
- 37 Q. Did he say why they were paying him \$1000 a week.
- 38 A. I didn't go into the full contact with him, because I

- didn't want to pressure him, because he is the one that got into contact with me, and it was very I have to
- got into contact with me, and it was very I have to watch my p's and q's, otherwise he would turn off.
- Q. Was he looking for money at that stage.
- 5 A. I don't know, you've got to ask him if he was looking for money. All he said he got in too deep.
- 7 Q. Did you understand that he was continuing to get paid.
- 8 A. I don't see from Sydney.
- 9 Q. Did you talk to him about that.
- 10 A. No. As I said, there is a lot of things I want to say,
- but I had to hold it because he is the one that got in
- 12 contact with me. I wanted information. As I explained
- to him, the only way that `The meeting is not on the
- agenda, and the only way that you've got to meet is
- write out a statement and sign it and give it to Johnny
- and Johnny will send it over to me'. I didn't even go
- into full detail with him. Then, all of a sudden, the
- next night he was on Chris Kenny, Channel 10. As you've
- 19 got to remember, we had a little bit over half an hour
- 20 conversation over the phone.
- Q. On 9 June when you spoke to him on the telephone while
 he was at Wellington -
- A. That was the morning, not the night. That was the morning.
- 25 Q. 9 June I said, sorry.
- 26 A. Yes, the 9th, yes. Do you want me to answer that?
- 27 COMSR: There hasn't been a question.
- 28 XXN
- 29 Q. There hasn't been a question, I was just having a read.
- When he spoke to you that morning on the telephone, what
- exactly did he say about Victor Wilson paying him \$2000.
- 32 A. Not him, Sarah.
- 33 Q. So he said that Victor Wilson had paid Sarah the \$2000.
- 34 A. And he said he'd got up there to get off of it.
- Q. Did he say when Victor was supposed to have given Sarah this money.
- 37 A. I don't know, he didn't say when, he said that she was
- given the money and that she was going to put it in the

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR KENNY) (MR MEYER)

- 1 bank that morning, and we heard that she did. That's
- 2 the time that we're talking about, running around there
- in her madness, run across the electricity and all this and that, rent.
- 5 Q. But you go on to say that the \$2000 was one of the reasons he had moved down to Goolwa.
- 7 A. That's one of the reasons.
- 8 Q. Is that what he said.
- 9 A. They paid the rent, they paid the electric bill, they

paid the telephone, they paid everything.

- 11 Q. But they'd moved down to Goolwa sometime earlier, hadn't
- they. They had moved down do Goolwa in what, late 1993,
- 13 I think. (NOT ANSWERED)
- 14 COMSR: You mean Mr and Mrs Milera.
- 15 XXN
- Q. Yes, Mr and Mrs Milera had moved down there in late1993. (NOT ANSWERED)
- 18 COMSR
- 19 Q. Do you know when they moved to Goolwa.
- 20 A. No, I don't know when they moved, but I know that they
- 21 moved down there, it's in the local paper, they was
- talking about moving down there. You've got to
- 23 understand he was paying big rent there, it was a
- private house, it was not a Housing Trust, and where
- would they get the money on the pension?
- 26 COMSR: Just a moment, you haven't been asked a
- 27 question yet.
- 28 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MEYER
- Q. Have you received any pressure in coming to give your evidence in these proceedings.
- 31 A. No.
- 32 Q. Have you received any pressure in whether you've been
- able to stay with members of your family.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. What's happened.
- 36 A. Marshall Carter, I rang him up -
- 37 Q. Who is Marshall Carter.
- 38 A. Well, he is my brother. He is my first cousin, but

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR MEYER)

- 1 we're called brothers, you know.
- 2 Q. He is not actually your brother, but you call him that,
- 3 he is your cousin.
- 4 A. First cousin.
- 5 Q. He is your first cousin.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. How is it his first cousin.
- 8 A. His father Carter.
- 9 Q. Who is he brother or sister of.
- 10 A. His father is old Jeff Carter who married Gertha
- 11 Campbell.
- 12 Q. Is his father related to your mother or father.
- 13 A. Yes, through the McHughes, the Campbells.
- 14 Q. What happened with Marshall Carter.
- 15 A. Well, I rang him up when we was supposed to come here,
- this was a fair while ago, and then I rang him up, and I
- said, I said `I'm not staying at his place when I get to
- Adelaide, I'm staying at Walker's place for two nights,
- then I will spend the rest of the time in Adelaide
- 20 there'.

28

- 21 Q. What happened.
- A. Well, about a week or fortnight after, he rang me up and told me not to come there.
- Q. Did he say why.
- 25 A. Yes, his job was at stake and he had six years to go,
- and if he is seen by, if any of the Aboriginal sobriety
- 27 group see him, they would report it to Basil Sumner, and
 - Basil would get him sacked.
- 29 Q. So did you stay with your cousin.
- 30 A. No. Even my cousins today is all strained because of this.
- 32 Q. Why is that.
- 33 A. Because they married to the other clans.
- 34 Q. What sort of strain has that produced.
- 35 A. Well, put a lot of pressure on the family, yes.
- Probably be infighting.
- 37 Q. The fact is there is a lot of pressure generally within
- the Ngarrindjeri community at the present time.

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR MEYER)

- A. Yes, there's a hell of a lot.
- Q. Is that in Murray Bridge as well as in Adelaide.
- A. Murray Bridge, you could say Point McLeay. When I come over here this time to see them, I'm seeing people that
- 5 I was brought up on Point McLeay with, and are now 6 totally strange to me.
- 7 Q. You've made reference to the meeting on 31 October with 8 the Ngarrindjeri Action Group that you went to at Port
- 9 Adelaide. 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Was that a meeting about the bridge.
- 12 A. No, it was a meeting there, I think it was there for
- everybody to be aware of a lot of things, you know, or 13 14 what's going down, you know.
- 15 Q. You refer to that in your statement, don't you if you 16 turn to p.7.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. That's where you make reference to going to a meeting of the Ngarrindjeri Action Group at the top of the page. 19
- 20 A. Yes, Port Adelaide, yes. At that time I didn't even
- 21 know it was called the Ngarrindjeri Action Group, I
- 22 thought it was just a meeting of Ngarrindjeri people. I
- 23 went to that meeting with my clan and my mother.
- 24 Q. You go on to say that you had an argument with Val 25 Power.
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. Was that before very much got discussed at the meeting.
- 28
- 29 Q. You also made a reference to Tom Chapman ringing you up. 30
- Would you turn to p.9 sorry, I've get the wrong place.
- 31 A. On p.8 and p.9. He didn't ring me up.
- 32 Q. Page 14. At p.14 you make a reference that Tom Chapman
- 33 telephoned you on 5 June 1995, and then the statement
- 34 goes on to say that `Tom said "Chirpy, I got Douglas
- 35 Milera here. Do you want to talk to him". I said "Put
- 36 him on" and he put him on the phone'. Was that the
- 37 extent of the conversation that you had with Tom
- 38 Chapman.

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR MEYER) (MR SYKES)

- 1 A. Yes. That's word for word.
- 2 Q. Then you talk to Doug for some considerable time after that.
- 4 A. A little bit over half an hour, yes.
- 5 MR MEYER: I've no other questions. In relation,
- 6 though, to Mr Campbell's statement, the policy has been
- 7 that do you want me to speak about this, Mr Smith, or
- 8 do you want to raise it later.
- 9 MR SMITH: There is no harm in my learned friend
- raising it now, he just wants raise the fact that the
- 11 change the style of leading witnesses deprives the
- press.
- 13 COMSR: Perhaps at the conclusion of examination
- might be the time.
- 15 MR SMITH: I've got a couple of questions to ask.
- 16 MR SYKES: Perhaps I can ask a couple of questions before counsel assisting.
- 18 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SYKES
- 19 Q. You made mention of having travelled to Libya at some stage in the past.
- 21 A. Yes.
- Q. In your conversation that you had with Douglas Milera on
 June of this year, there was a reference to you both
- 24 having travelled to Libya, is that right.
- 25 A. Yes, he, one Michael Mansell, rang me up in Murray
- 26 Bridge, and said that `I got two tickets for another
- 27 person in South Australia to go'. Then, the next night,
- Sarah came around there she rang us up that morning
- and so we cooked up tea, and then they came around and
- had tea with us, and we sat down after tea for about two
- 31 hours, and then she is the one that suggested that Myo
- would go to Libya with me. Myo didn't want to go to
- Libya with me.
- 34 COMŠR: What is this.
- 35 MR SYKES: There is a reference to it in the
- 36 statement.
- 37 COMSR: I know there is a reference to it, I'm
- just wondering how relevant it is to the issues before

A.B. CAMPBELL XXN (MR SYKES) REXN (MR SMITH)

- 1 me.
- 2 MR SYKES: Perhaps if I can just finish the topic.
- 3 XXN
- 4 Q. He did go to Libya with you.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. Would you describe your friendship or relationship with
- 7 Douglas Milera at that time as reasonably close.
- 8 A. Very close. I known him for a fair while. His brother is also my brother, half brother, and he's half brother.
- 10 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH
- 11 Q. Can I take you to p.10 of your statement. This is your
- first conversation person to person, I think, with the
- daughter of Pinkie Mack, Nanna Laura.
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. I think that you say there at p.10 the daughter of
- Pinkie Mack, as we have been calling her, is 'The most
- senior woman of the Ngarrindjeri people'.
- 18 A. She is the most senior woman. She is not only just
- Nanna Laura, she is our officially nominated queen.
- 20 CONTINUED

- Q. Is it correct, as you say there, that it was in about
- October or November 1994 that you spoke with her personally. Is that right.
- A. We my mother was in the same emergency unit block, and
- 5 she had one unit there and Nanna Laura had hers straight across from there.
- Q. You had come down to Adelaide on that occasion in
- 8 October or November 1994, had you not.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10
- Q. Why.A. My mother was sick. 11
- 12 Q. Your mother was, at that time, staying at a night
- shelter of the Housing Trust in Murray Bridge. 13
- A. Emergency, yes.
- Q. Where was the daughter of Pinkie Mack staying. 15
- 16 A. She was staying in the same building - the same complex,
- 17 but she had a unit over there (INDICATES).
- 18 Q. You went to speak to the daughter of Pinkie Mack.
- A. Me and my brother, yes. 19
- 20 Q. About a particular topic, is that right.
- 21 A. Yes, one topic.
- 22 Q. What was it.
- 23 A. That was about women's business, did that exist.
- 24 Q. What did she say to that.
- A. She said no, and also she said that `I was not told of 25
- 26 women's business from my mother'.
- 27 Q. Can I take you to p.14 of your statement, to the
- 28 conversation you had with Douglas Milera on 5 June 1995.
- 29 Have you got that.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. This was a conversation, as you understand it, where
- 32 Doug Milera had rung you from the Middleton Tavern.
- 33 A. I don't know where he rung me from, but he made a phone 34 call to me, yes.
- 35 Q. Was that a long phone call.
- A. It was very long, yes.
- Q. About how long. 37
- 38 A. That was a little bit over half an hour.

27

28

A.B. CAMPBELL REXN (MR SMITH)

- Q. Before Doug Milera came on the telephone, did somebody
 else speak to you. You have got here in your statement
 that Tom Chapman rang you.
- 4 A. Yes, Tom rang but then he handed the phone to he said Myo want to speak to you. Do you want to speak to him?'
- Q. At p.14 you give a picture of what Milera said to you.
 Could you tell the commissioner what you remember of that conversation. This is the conversation that preceded the Channel 10 interview, wasn't it.
- 11 A. This was before Channel 10, and he spoke - he sort of 12 said `Look, we got to meet and talk'. It was just like 13 I was here in Adelaide, and I told him `Look, as you 14 know, I'm in Sydney and I got a car, but I haven't got 15 the price of the petrol fare to get over.' Then I told 16 him - I said `The meeting is off the agenda, the only 17 way you are going to talk is to write a letter, sign the 18 letter, and then give it to John' so then John could 19 post it to me. Then he kept on saying that 'We got to 20 talk' and then I said `Look, I've got a friend of mine, 21 he is an Indian friend, I will get \$500 off him, so give 22 me about four days'. Then I rang the bloke up next 23 morning, because he worked night time, and he said 24 Yeah, I'll give you the money'. So I rang up again 25 around about 10 past 5, or quarter past 5, and then he 26 said 'Hey, your mate is on TV', so that blew the
- Q. In that conversation you had with Milera, he discussed with you the question of women's business, didn't he.

Bridge or Wellington, you know.

A. He discussed with me about women's business, because I said to him `Look, my brother, we have been in boys home together, we have been in gaol together, who are you

conversation of me travelling from Sydney to Murray

- trying to con? I'm a Connie too, you know'. Then I
- said 'I want to ask you a question. Women's business,
- is it true or fabricated?' He said `That's a load of
- crap'. He said `We made it up to stop the bridge'.
- 38 Q. Did he say anything about his marriage to you.

- 1 A. He said to me when I was refusing to meet with him, he said `Look, my brother, I'm putting my life on the line.
- 3 My wife don't even know I'm here' and he said `my future
- will be going down the tube. We got to talk', you know, and at that stage there, that's when I said `Look, let's
- 6 meet within three or four days'.
- Q. Did you suggest to him that he could go and stay with your brother John at Wellington.
- 9 A. Yes. He wanted time out and then I said `Look, John is there on the farm, he is on his own, so go with him'.
- 11 Then also at the same meeting there talking on the phone
- he also talked about the reason why he wanted to come out and tell the truth.
- 14 Q. What was that.
- 15 A. One was that he didn't like the way the woman was
- talking about getting the women up the north there to go
- and fix Auntie Bertha, Dulcie and Dorrie. He said `If
- you want to pin them, if you want to pin anybody' in
- other words kill them, he said 'kill me'. You know,
- these are women that these Ngarrindjeri women up
- there, some of them up there are Christian women, and
- 22 they talk about me going to Libya, to a terrorist
- organisation, and yet they are committing an Aboriginal
- 24 terrorist act in here, in my own nation.
- 25 Q. When you were talking with Doug Milera on the phone, did
- 26 he appear to be affected by liquor.
- A. See, everybody got to understand Douglas Milera, he
- cannot drink. He can't drink. If he drink he go into
- coma and he will die. If he get drunk the way they said
- that he was drunk when he made the statement see, I'm
- 31 also an ex-alcoholic. I had alcoholic poisoning in 1975
- and I died. The doctor, he was writing my death
- 33 certificate halfway through it, and I come alive I
- died. So I drank. I didn't drink in pubs and all this
- and that. I drank in empty houses in Melbourne, Sydney,
- in Brisbane, you know. I'm an old knock-about. I drank
- 37 methylated spirits and everything, you know.

- Q. Can you tell the commissioner, was Milera drunk when he spoke to you on the phone.
- A. No. He if he get too drunk his words will (WITNESS
- 4 DEMONSTRATES) a drunkard, you know. He very awkward
- 5 person when he drunk. You feel like stoning him or
- 6 knocking him cold to put him to sleep, because he
- 7 agitate you, he get on your nerve. So when he drunk his
- 8 words 'How you going, howdy mate' and all that. The
- 9 same thing what I done. So if he were drunk the way
- they said he were drunk then, no. He can't get drunk
- because he's on insulin. He is a diabetic. In other
- words, he goes into a coma and he die. I can't drink
- because I'm a diabetic. I just got to watch my food,
- you know, and up there, let alone drinking.
- 15 COMSR
- 16 Q. In your estimate, he wasn't drunk on that occasion. Is that what you are saying.
- 18 A. He was drinking, but I don't think he was drunk the way
- that they described that he was drunk, no.
- 20 REXN
- Q. On the next night after that telephone call, he was on television, wasn't he, on Channel 10.
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see that.
- 25 A. Yes, I taped it.
- 26 Q. Sorry, you said that. What he said on television -
- A. Is exactly what he said on television what he said to me.
- 29 Q. On the telephone.
- 30 A. On the phone. Then I asked him when I rang him up again
- on the farm he said `I got to let them fellows know
- where I'm coming from'.
- 33 Q. Could you turn to p.16 of your statement. Doug Milera
- as you understood it, had driven to John's property at
- 35 Tailem Bend. That's right, isn't it.
- 36 A. Yes.
- 37 Q. And he rang you from there.
- 38 A. He didn't go directly to who is that Myo?

- 1 Q. Yes, Myo.
- 2 A. He didn't go directly to the farm. He went to Tailem
- Bend and then about two hours afterwards he went to the farm.
- 5 Q. To your brother John's place.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. I think John rang you up, you say that at p.16, and
- 8 reversed the charges because Doug Milera wanted to speak to you.
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. And you spoke to him on the phone. That's right, isn't it.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. You spoke to him about the fact that he had been on Channel 10.
- 16 A. Yes. It took us about half an hour again, you know.
- 17 Q. Again, did he confirm to you on that occasion what he had said to you before about women's business.
- 19 A. He reaffirmed in saying that everything he is saying is
- true, and he is not going to retract his statement, you know.
- Q. You had a number of other conversations with him in thetime that's passed, haven't you.
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. Can I take you to p.17 of your statement. That's
- 26 another occasion when you spoke to Douglas Milera, is it not, on 7 June 1995. You rang your brother's farm.
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 Q. Once again, he confirmed -
- 30 A. He confirmed it.
- 31 Q. His view of what he told you before about women's
- 32 business.
- 33 A. In that confirming he always he said that there is
- four other men are prepared to come forward with him.
- 35 Q. There was a meeting at the Lower Murray Nunga's Club on
- 36 9 June.
- 37 A. On the 9th, yes.

- 1 Q. I think you spoke to him when he was at Wellington just before that meeting.
- 3 A. Just before, yes.
- 4 Q. What did he say to you then.
- 5 A. He said 'I'm going to go to the meeting and I'm going to say what I've been saying. I'm not going to retract
- 7 it'. Then he also said I'm going there to get half of
- that money that they gave to Sarah'. Whether he did or not, that's his business.
- 10 Q. He has retracted, of course, hasn't he.
- 11 A. Yes, pressure. Pressure, money. We also find out why he retracted.
- 13 Q. He was under some pressure and -
- 14 A. From his wife, and she was under pressure too.
- Q. Can I take you to p.18 of your statement, the second to
 last page, your last conversation with Milera was on 16
 June 1995.
- 18 A. Yes.
- Q. You were given by him to understand that he had just
 attended a meeting at the Aboriginal Legal Rights
 Movement.
- 22 A. Yes.
- Q. As you have said there. What did he say to you on that occasion.
- A. That was the last time he spoke to me, and he even said that when he had gone into that meeting there, he said
- 27 he still was not going to retract his statement. He
- said `I am going to stand'. He said `You know me'. I
- said `Well, my brother, it is up to you. If you come
- out, you made a statement, and you didn't just make it
- in a meeting, you made it where all of Australia could
- hear, so it is up to you. If you have got a guilty
- conscience, then it is up to you whatever you are going
- to do'. But he rang me in my second last conversation
- over the phone, when I rang him at his house at Goolwa,
- and he also told me that he's going on holidays, `they
- paying for the money'. I don't know who 'they' is, but
- 38 'they is paying for the money for a week'. And also

```
1
      that Tim Wooley was coming down to try and convince him
      to retract his statement. I said 'Well, are you going
2
       to do it?' He said `No'.
                        The issue I was going to raise was that
    MR MEYER:
5
      each of the other witnesses that have given their
6
      evidence have been taken through their statements in
7
      their evidence in-chief, and in that way their evidence
8
      in-chief has been known to the persons who have been
9
      present. We have had a policy of limiting all exhibits
10
       to the parties and to those who have signed undertakings
       and things of that nature. We have now changed that
11
12
       process, in the interest of time, and I support that.
13
         The difficulty is that you have a cross-examination
       based upon the statement, and that appears somewhat
14
15
       staccato, because whilst counsel at the bar table know
16
       what's in the statement, nobody else does. Therefore,
17
       the suggestion I am making is, not that the rule as to
18
       exhibits be withdrawn, but there be exceptions to it,
19
       and an exception to it be Exhibit 228, ie, that that
20
       exhibit can be released.
21
    MR SMITH:
                        Perhaps before you deal with that, there
22
       was one topic I forgot to put to the witness which is
23
       not in his statement. Can I just interrupt your
24
       thoughts to do that?
25
                       Yes. The statement hasn't been
    COMSR:
26
       specifically been put to the witness, whether he adopts
27
       it or not.
28
    MR MEYER:
                         I thought it was before.
29
    COMSR:
                       No, he was just asked if it was his
30
       statement.
31
    MR ABBOTT:
                          No, I specifically asked whether this
32
       was all the evidence that Mr Campbell wished to give on
33
       the matter and the answer was yes, as I understood it.
34
                        It is tendered on that basis.
    MR SMITH:
35
    MR ABBOTT:
                          That is why I haven't asked any
36
       questions.
37
    MR SMITH:
                        That is indeed how all the statements
38
       have been proffered.
```

- 1 REXN
- Q. That is the case, that you have adopted that statement as your evidence, haven't you.
- 4 A. Yes.
- Q. Looking at Exhibit 18B, that is a facsimile to Mr Andrew
 Hughes of the South Australian Museum dated 16 March
 1995.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Is that right. Is that your handwriting.
- 10 A. That's my handwriting and that's my signature.
- Q. You wrote that fax and sent it to the museum because of conversation you had with Doreen Kartinyeri. Is that right.
- 14 A. On the mobile phone, yes.
- Q. Can you tell us what passed between you and DrKartinyeri.
- 17 A. She rang me up straight after, I think I don't know if it was Matthew Rigney or Karno Walker, he started
- it was Matthew Rigney or Karno Walker, he started talking there for about half an hour, we were cursing
- and swearing over the phone. Then she we both then
- 21 quietened down and then she said `Right, let me have my
- say, and then you have your say'. So I let her have her
- say, and then throughout that conversation there she
- also mentioned to me that she is prepared to do my
- family tree. And I said to her `Look, I've already done
- 26 my family tree'. She said `No, the paper that I've got here you'd kill for'.
- Q. Have a look at the fax there in your handwriting, your second sentence is `In her conversation she had with me
- while I was in Adelaide three weeks ago, she told me
- that if I don't stand with her on this women's business,
- we, the Campbells, will never see those documents on the
- Campbell clans'. Is that right.
- 34 A. That's right.
- 35 Q. Is that the fact of the matter.
- 36 A. She said to me that she said to me 'I've got these
- documents here that you'd kill for. These documents
- here is worth' and I said `I've already done my family

1	tree' and she said `Not with these papers'. I said `Why
2	don't you send it to Karno Walker. I will give you his
3	address and you can send it to him, and then he can send
4	it to me'. Then she said that `If you don't side with
5	me on the women's business, I could burn these papers
6	and you will never see, and even the museum won't even
7	know any wiser, because I am the staff from the museum
8	and I am an Aboriginal, and they dare to question me.'
9	Q. She said that to you when you were in Adelaide three
10	weeks before this fax, is that right.
11	A. Yes. We spoke for about an hour and a half, so her
12	phone bill, it is an 85 cents a minute, or seconds, so
13	her phone bill was pretty high.
14	CONTINUED

- Q. Just have a look at the document there.
- A. Yes.
- Q. See the second sentence `In her conversation she had with me while I was in Adelaide three weeks ago.'
- 5 A. Yes.
- Q. So that means in February of 1995 you were in Adelaide.
- A. That was the same day that, when she put down the phone, 8 that's when Tom and Wendy's children came and picked me
- up and took me down to Hindmarsh Island. 9
- 10
- Q. You were in Adelaide.A. Yes, I was at Marshall Carter's place. 11
- 12 Q. And you telephoned her, did you.
- A. She telephoned me. 13
- Q. From the museum.
- A. I don't know where she was. I think it was from her 15 16 house.
- 17 Q. Can you tell us then, it took you three weeks to
- 18 complain to the museum about that, is that right.
- 19 A. I think I also complained to the Minister of Aboriginal 20 Affairs.
- 21 Q. So finally you got around to sending this fax to the 22 museum.
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. About that threat, is that right.
- A. As you have got to understand also I am also at that 25
- 26 time, was involved in Aboriginal deaths in custody.
- 27 There is a lot of things I can do and a lot of things I 28 can't, you know.
- 29 Q. And you got a fax back from the museum.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Giving you some sort of explanation, is that right.
- 32 A. More like a - it was more like they investigated it blah
- 33 blah blah and the same thing with the, you know, like
- 34 probably what the police complaint section already do,
- 35 you know. They probably just put it on the carpet, but
- 36 I was very surprised to see it.
- Q. Looking at the document, now before you, Exhibit 18C, 37
- 38 that is a copy of what you received back, is that right,

- from the museum.
- 2 A. Yes, that was from Philip Jones.
- Q. Philip Jones.
- A. Yes.
- 5 MR SMITH: I have no further questions.
- 6 A. Also, Commissioner, you say that you are here to
- 7 investigate the Royal Commission. And you heard, you
- 8 know, like hear what is all this and that, you know,
- 9 like our clan has been insulted. It has been degraded
- 10 and very disgustfully. We are wild about it and by the
- 11 way they say that my island is what they said it, you
- 12 know. And, to me, that's an insult. And, you know,
- 13 like, I could take you on - I could take you on, if, you
- 14 know, like, as I said, I fought for land rights, social
- 15 rights and equal rights. And throughout all that I did
- 16 not think that land rights would come under sex. And
- 17 where the Hindmarsh Island affair, what they call
- 18 women's business, has certainly proved that they come
- 19 under this. It is not only a sex, but it is also a
- 20 filth. And for these women to say what they said about
- 21 my island, you know. And it is - I could take you
- 22 through the map here -
- 23 COMSR
- 24
- Q. Yes, we have got a lot of A. Yes, I know, but I could take you to the map here. And 25
- 26 I tell you, in covering it all up, the psychiatrist
- 27 would have a field day. He would be a millionaire if he
- 28 take this through there. And to use an island and
- 29 calling that island what they said they called it is
- 30 very insulting and degrading to my clan.
- 31 O. I understand what you are putting to me.
- 32 A. If I set that up at Cape Yorke in Queensland they would
- 33 say to me 'Get out of Queensland.' Very disgusted. And
- 34 I am very disgusted with these Aboriginal Christian
- 35 women that call themselves Christian.
- 36 Q. Just a moment: I think I have got the drift of what you
- 37 are saying.
- 38 A. It is an insult.

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- 1 COMSR: You are excused now. You are free to
- 2 go. 3 NO FURTHER QUESTIONS 4 WITNESS RELEASED

- 1 MR SMITH: I call John Gregory Campbell back to the
- witness box.
- 3 WITNESS J.G. CAMPBELL ENTERS WITNESS BOX
- 4 MR MEYER: Are we going to deal with the issue of
- 5 the statement?
- 6 COMSR: No, there is not a great deal that
- 7 hasn't been covered from that.
- 8 I presume you are going to be putting the same thing
- 9 to me about all of them?
- 10 MR MEYER: Yes, we will deal with all four.
- 11 MR SMITH: Perhaps I make it clear that the
- statement of John Campbell is tendered through him on
- the basis that that is his evidence. He has adopted
- 14 that on oath.
- 15 COMSR
- Q. You say it is your statement and you adopt that as your evidence, do you.
- 18 A. Yes, I do.
- 19 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MISS NELSON
- 20 Q. Can you hear me.
- 21 A. Yes, I do.
- 22 Q. You have some trouble with your hearing.
- 23 A. Yes
- Q. Do you have a copy of your statement there.
- 25 A. Yes, I do.
- 26 Q. Turning to p.19, you are there talking about a
- conversation that you had with the daughter of Pinkie
- Mack. Do you understand to whom I am referring.
- 29 A. Yes, I do.
- 30 Q. You apparently went to see her with the letter.
- 31 A. Your Honour, could I just have a closed session here
- referring to this letter?
- 33 COMSR
- 34 Q. Is there some reason.
- 35 A. I don't like to bring up the dead. My Elders that have
- passed away, if she is passed away, just recently.
- 37 MISS NELSON: As I understand it, we don't refer to
- this lady by name and none of us have done that, but

- no-one else has had a problem giving evidence.
- COMSR: No.
- **COMSR**
- Q. A lot of evidence has been given concerning her, but
- 5 referring to her only as 'the daughter of Pinkie Mack',
- 6 which I understand is the appropriate thing to do in the
- 7 circumstances. Do you have a problem with that.
- 8 A. No, I don't.
- 9 XXN
- Q. You took with you a letter. A. Yes. 10
- 11
- 12 Q. Who composed the letter.
- 13 A. The letter addressed to or -
- Q. She signed a letter, didn't she.
- A. Yes, she did. 15
- 16 Q. But who wrote the letter out.
- A. I did. 17
- 18 Q. You wrote the letter out before you spoke to the
- 19 daughter of Pinkie Mack.
- 20 A. Yes, I did.
- 21 Q. When you went to see this lady, how old was she.
- 22 A. I did not really know how old she was, but by other
- 23 people giving her age I heard she was about 80,
- 24 something like that.
- 25 Q. What was her state of health on the day when you asked
- 26 her to sign this letter.
- 27 A. She was pretty - in pretty good health.
- 28 Q. How long before her death was it.
- 29 A. Probably late October last year.
- 30 **COMSR**
- 31 Q. I didn't hear that. How long before her death was it.
- 32 A. Late October last year - no, sorry.
- 33 Q. What is that in weeks or days -
- 34 XXN
- 35 Q. Just a moment, you say in your statement that you went
- 36 to see her on 17 March 1995.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 Q. Is that right.

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. What do you mean talking about late October last year.
- A. I am just getting a little bit muddled up here. I was referring to my mother's death, which was last year.
- 5 So, I am just getting sort of a bit confused.
- 6 Q. The daughter of Pinkie Mack, when did you see her.
- 7 A. On 17 March 1995.
- 8 Q. How long before her death was that.
- 9 A. I can't recall.
- 10 Q. You said to her that you had a letter and that you would
- go through it with her. Do you see that on p.19 of your
- 12 statement.
- 13 A. Yes, I do.
- 14 Q. Did you read the letter to her.
- 15 A. Yes, I did.
- 16 Q. You didn't give it to her to read for herself.
- 17 A. No, I never.
- 18 Q. Why not.
- 19 A. Before I approached Nanna I approached the family first
- 20 to get some permission. They read the letter first.
- 21 Q. Could this lady read.
- 22 A. I can't recall if she can read or whether she can write,
- but I know she is a very intelligent woman.
- Q. In any event, you didn't give her the letter to read for
- 25 herself, you read it to her.
- 26 A. Yes, I did.
- Q. You asked her if she understood what you had said about the things in the letter.
- 29 A. She did.
- 30 Q. That is what you said to her and she said yes, she did
- 31 understand and then she signed it.
- 32 A. Yes, she as I asked her did she understand she nodded
- her head. That gave me the impression she understands.
- Q. But she didn't at any time read the letter herself.
- 35 A. No, she never.
- 36 Q. According to your statement you said to her `Before I go
- through this letter, could you tell me about the women's
- 38 business on Hindmarsh Island?'

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J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MISS NELSON)

- 1 A. Yes, I did.
- 2 Q. And she said `Yes, they have the wrong island.'
- 3 A. She did.
- 4 Q. Did you ask her which island was the right island.
- 5 A. No, I did not.
- 6 Q. Why not.
- 7 A. At that time I never thought about asking her that
- 8 question. Maybe it was personal.
- 9 Q. Did you understand her to be saying there was secret
- women's business, but on another island.
- 11 A. That's what she says to me.
- 12 Q. That's what she said to you.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. Did you ask her what the women's business was.
- 15 A. No, I did not.
- 16 Q. Why not.
- 17 A. I don't think it is appropriate for me to ask her that 18 question.
- 19 Q. You explain to me why it wasn't appropriate for you to ask her that question.
- 21 A. Probably as a man towards a lady.
- 22 Q. Is this the position, that your understanding of your
- tradition in the Ngarrindjeri community you weren't as a
- 24 man allowed to know about women's business, is that what
- you are saying.
- 26 A. I would really at that time wanted to know.
- 27 Q. You really wanted to know.
- 28 A. No, at that time I wasn't really -
- 29 Q. You didn't really want to know.
- 30 A. For me to, you know, to know.
- 31 Q. But what I am trying to understand is your previous
- answer. You said to me you didn't think it was
- appropriate for you to as a man ask a lady about women's
- business.
- 35 A. That's right.
- 36 Q. And what I am trying to understand is why it wasn't
- appropriate for you as a man to ask about women's
- business. Is it because you understood that your

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J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MISS NELSON)

- 1 community tradition was that men weren't allowed to know 2 about the women's business.
- A. No. I don't think I didn't think I didn't want to know about the women's business.
- 5 Q. Why didn't you want to know, though. It was big topic 6 of conversation, wasn't it.
- 7 A. At that time I really wasn't wanted to know the details.
- Q. Were you interested to know if women's business existed 8 9 at all in the Ngarrindjeri community.
- 10 A. I was interested in to know whether it - whether it - if 11 she says that there was, then I would - you know, to
- 12 know whether there was, but no details.
- 13 Q. Why not. Why didn't you want the details.
- A. I wasn't really didn't want to know the details.
- Q. But you had gone there with a letter specifically for 15 16 her to sign to say there wasn't any women's business on 17 Hindmarsh Island, hadn't you.
- 18 COMSR: Is that any women's business or secret 19 women's business?
- 20 XXN
- 21 Q. Or secret women's business.
- 22 A. My intention was just to ask.
- 23 Q. That is not right, is it. Your intention was to get
- 24 this elderly woman to sign a letter which you had
- 25 prepared, isn't that right.
- 26 A. My intention was not to know the details on
- 27 women's business, but I did wanted to know whether
- 28 there - whether it is true or facts or fiction,
- 29 whatever.
- 30 Q. Why didn't you ask her which was the right island.
- 31 A. I didn't think it was - I didn't think of going any
- 32 further with any questions.
- 33 Q. Why didn't you ask her what the nature of the women's 34 business was.
- 35 A. At that time I wasn't really - like I just said, I
- 36 didn't want to know the details. I only wanted to know
- 37 whether there is and that's all I wanted to know. Not
- 38 the details.

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J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MISS NELSON)

1 COMSR

- 2 Q. Perhaps if I just clarify this: Ngarrindjeri men I
- 3 suppose have men's business and Ngarrindjeri women
- 4 have women's business and a lot of that would be known
- 5 one to the other that they have it. But were you going
- 6 there to find out whether there was secret women's
- business. That is, women's business which men didn't
- 8 know anything about.
- 9 A. I simply didn't want to go there and ask her in full
- details. I asked her to explain in full details about
- 11 the women's business.
- 12 Q. It is just that we have been using `women's business'
- and `secret women's business' interchangeably and I am
- just trying to see what was your purpose in going
- there.
- 16 A. To whether she to find out myself whether this women's
- business does exist. But I didn't want to know the
- details.
- 19 Q. By `this women's business', you mean the women's
- business that had been talked about in the newspapers.
- 21 A. Exactly.
- 22 Q. And on television.
- 23 A. Exactly.
- 24 XXN
- 25 Q. Was anything else said by either you or the daughter of
- 26 Pinkie Mack either about women's business or secret
- women's business other than what you have said in your evidence.
- 29 A. Only what she in this that letter.
- 30 Q. That wasn't discussed, though, was it. You read it
- 31 through. And she nodded her head. That's what you say,
- 32 isn't it
- 33 A. She gave me the impression she understands and I went
- into details about the letter.
- 35 Q. Did you just read the letter, or did you say other
- things that aren't in the letter.
- 37 A. I just read what was in the letter.

MST 20

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MISS NELSON) (MR KENNY)

- 1 Q. You got an impression that she understood.
- 2 A. Yes, by her nodding her head.
- 3 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENNY
- 4 Q. Mr Campbell, did you take other letters around to other women around Murray Bridge.
- 6 A. What are the letters you are referring to?
- 7 Q. Pardon.
- 8 A. What letters are you referring to?
- 9 Q. I am asking you, did you type up other letters, and then approach other women, asking them to sign them.
- 11 A. I recall signing preparing the letters for some of our older Elders to.
- 13 Q. You did prepare some letters for some other older women.
- 14 A. That's right.
- Q. But Nana Laura was the only one that signed the letter,is that correct.
- 17 A. Not that letter that was prepared, only just the letter here, that is in my statement.
- 19 Q. But, there were other women you took letters around,
- similar to Nana Laura's, is that correct.
- 21 A. Those letters were only to support her in.
- Q. That was to support Nana Laura's letter, is that correct.
- 24 A. That's right.
- 25 Q. But, the other women didn't sign those letters.
- 26 A. No, they never.
- Q. Who were they.
- A. Dolly Rankine, she is my Auntie, she didn't want to get involved.
- Q. I am just asking you, what, who were the other women that you took letters to.
- 32 OBJECTION Mr Sykes objects.
- 33 MR SYKES: If the inference that is going to be
- drawn from the answer that the witness gives is that,
- 35 these are the women that were reluctant, I think the
- witness can explain what he knows of that reluctance,
- otherwise what value is this evidence to this
- 38 Commission, what other women did or did not do? It is

MST 20

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MR KENNY)

- 1 left hanging, that these other women were not in
- 2 agreement with what was contained in the letters. We

haven't got the letters.

- MR KENNY: Mr Sykes comes after me if he has some 5 concerns about it.
- 6 MR SYKES: If there is no objection from Mr Kenny fine, otherwise I take the point now.
- 8 MR KENNY: I have no objection to Mr Sykes

Q following this matter up.

- 10 It will probably expediate matters COMSR:
- though, if you could deal with it all at once Mr Kenny, 11
- 12 if the witness wishes to explain something if it would
- 13 assist me, rather than having to retrace this ground.
- 14 XXN
- 15 Q. Can you tell us firstly, who you took the letters to.
- A. I firstly went to Bertha Gollan, she is my Auntie. 16
- 17 Q. Did she sign the letter.
- 18 A. She did not want to sign the letter because she didn't
- 19 want to get involved because -
- 20 Q. Did she say something to you about it.
- 21 A. She understands the letter itself, but she agrees what
- 22 is in the letter, but she did not want to get involved
- 23 because people get persecuted.

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MST 20

- man and I was younger than her and she agrees that the
- contents in that letter, but because I was a man younger
- 3 than her, she did not trust me, but she said she will
- talk to her niece and that was Margie Sinclair, my first 5
- 6 Q. Did you take letters to other women.
- A. I got yes, I seen another Auntie. Q. Who was that. 7
- 8
- 9 A. Sara Karpany.
- 10 Q. Did she sign the letter.
- A. No, she did not. She said totally said the same thing 11
- 12 that Auntie Dolly said. She would rather see my Auntie 13 Sinclair.
- 14 Q. Who else did you take letters to.
- A. I think that's the three women I did see. 15
- Q. There might have been others, you don't remember about 16
- at the moment. 17
- 18 COMSR: I think the witness said `they are the
- 19 three women I did see.'
- 20 A. They are the only three women I seen.

- XXN 21
- Q. You didn't take letters to any other women at all. A. No, I did not. 22
- 23
- 24 Q. On p.5 of your statement you talk about the Lower
- 25 Murray Heritage Committee meeting at Tailem Bend. What 26 makes you say that Victor Wilson gave you the impression
- that he wanted the bridge to go ahead. 27
- 28 A. Well, we were specifically talking about the Tendi 29 Constitution.
- 30
- Q. This wasn't really a meeting about Hindmarsh Island. A. No, there wasn't no mention on our agenda about 31 Hindmarsh Island. 32
- Q. So there was no formal discussion, at that meeting, 33
- about Hindmarsh Island, is that correct. 34
- 35 A. Well, there was later on, Victor Wilson stated that, regardless of what we say at this meeting, the bridge 36
- will go ahead. Now he just said that out of -37
- Q. Victor said, regardless of this meeting, the bridge 38

- will go ahead.
- 2 A. Yes, well, he said this in the beginning of this meeting we was discussing the Tendi Constitution in there.
- Halfway between this meeting, he just said it out of the
- 5 blue, you know, he just said, he said that it, he just
- 6 said it out of, you know, out the top of his head or
- 7 something, you know what I am saying and he just stated,
- 8 regardless of what we say at this meeting, we weren't
- Q mentioning about anything about at the meeting.
- 10 Q. It wasn't really a discussion about the bridge, it just 11 came out, you say, out the top of his head.
- 12 A. Yes, he just sort of came out with it, you know what I
- 13 mean. He just sort of brought it out the blue and we
- 14 started to talk about the Hindmarsh Island.
- 15 Q. At that stage, I suggest to you that, really, Victor and
- 16 the other members of the Lower Murray Heritage
- 17 Committee, that is George Trevorrow, Robert Day and
- 18 Henry Rankine, were concerned about the bridge going 19 ahead, they didn't want it to go ahead.
- 20 A. Well, they didn't speak about it. I didn't hear them 21 speak about it.
- 22 Q. You didn't hear them say anything about it.
- 23 A. Only what Victor said during our discussions and he sort
- 24 of brought it out the top of his head, sort of thing.
- 25 Q. It is possible he might have been saying, that you
- 26 know, `I have talked to the State Government and the
- 27 Government are going ahead with the bridge, no matter 28 what we say.'
- 29 A. Well, there was some discussion, but I didn't sort of -
- 30 Q. You weren't listening to it.
- 31 A. He had a discussion, but it didn't - we didn't sort of
- discuss it more longer than say 10, 15 minutes, so we 32 33 didn't -
- 34 I think the witness has made it clear COMSR:
- 35 how that was a comment that was unrelated to the rest
- 36 that was going on.
- 37
- 38 Q. You also tell us that you saw Victor Wilson, George

- 1 Trevorrow, Doug Miller and others, at Victor Harbor on 2 the lawns. Do you recall that.
- A. Yes, I did.
- Q. You approached them and spoke to them.
- 5 A. Yes, well that was referring, well, to a meeting in Port
- 6 Adelaide on the 30 and 31, that meeting what Val 7 Powell started, that they refer the next meeting to
- 8 Goolwa or Victor Harbour and they asked everybody to 9
- support in solidarity, Sarah and Doug Miller. Q. You went down to Goolwa. A. Yes. 10
- 11
- 12 Q. Then you drove over to Victor Harbor where you saw 13 Victor George and the others, is that correct.
- 14 A. Yes, well, before that, we went to Goolwa and because
- we was told that there will be a gathering at Goolwa in 15
- 16 that meeting at Port Adelaide and we got to Goolwa that
- 17 day, which there was a lot of white people protesting,
- 18 so I was - we were sort of walking amongst everybody and
- 19 trying to find out what is going on and we was looking
- 20 for Aboriginal people and we couldn't find any
- 21 Aboriginal people, or we couldn't see any flags
- 22 Aboriginal flags, so I seen, I walked over towards the organisers of the protest. 23
- 24 Q. I was just asking about what happened at Victor Harbor,
- 25 what happened at the protest. You spoke to Victor and 26 George at Victor Harbor, is that correct.
- 27 A. That's correct.
- 28 Q. They told you that you they had, in fact, been at the 29 protest meeting earlier, do you recall that.
- 30 A. Sorry, I didn't quite hear you.
- 31 Q. Did Victor and George and the others tell you, at Victor
- 32 Harbor, that they had been to the protest at Goolwa 33 earlier that day.
- 34 A. No, they did not. We was asking information on whether
- 35 this meeting, that is supposed to take place at Goolwa,
- 36 we wanted to know where this meeting will be held and
- 37 they stated that they didn't know anything about this
- 38 meeting and we sat on the lawns for probably 10 minutes,

- and I later went to the phone box, and I rang Dolly
- Wilson, at the Aboriginal Centre at Murray Bridge and I
- 3 asked her about this meeting that is supposed to take
- 4 place at Goolwa. And she stated, `It has been cancelled
- to take place at Camp Coorong.' There was no officialdate given.
- 7 Q. You then packed up and essentially went home, is that right.
- 9 A. Yes, we did.
- 10 Q. Do you recall one of that group telling you that they had been at the protest at Goolwa earlier in the day.
- 12 A. No, they never spoke about being at the protest.
- 13 Q. I suggest to you that, they did speak to you about the
- protest and they told you that, they had gone around to
- Victor Harbor to get something to eat. Do you recall that.
- 17 A. No, they did not.
- 18 Q. You suggest you would go back to the protest and fill in
- 19 for them for a while, do you recall that.
- 20 A. No, they did not.
- 21 Q. If we can go to the 6th of June this year, that is the
- day that Doug Miller had turned up at your farm. Do you recall that.
- 24 A. Yes, I do. Sorry, what day, 6 June.
- 25 Q. 6 June.
- 26 A. Yes, 6 June.
- 27 Q. He turned up, and I think you said that Doug wasn't
- sober at that time, he had had a bit to drink, is that
- 29 correct.
- 30 A. Can you rephrase that again?
- 31 Q. When Doug turned up, I think you have said that he
- wasn't sober.
- 33 A. Well, he wasn't drunk and he wasn't sober.
- 34 Q. But, he had a bit to drink though.
- 35 A. But he had, yes, he did.
- 36 Q. On that day, or around those days when he was staying
- with you, Doug talked to you about being behind in rent.
- 38 A. Sorry?

- 1 Q. Did Doug talk to you about being behind in rent.
- 2 A. Yes, he told me, that him and Sarah was in debts, they
- was behind rent, they had a phone bill and they had no money.
- 5 Q. He needed some money.
- 6 A. He didn't say he needed it, he did say that he needed
- 7 money, but he just said, that he was in debt.
- 8 Q. Did he tell you he had given an interview to Channel 10.
- 9 A. Sorry?
- 10 Q. Did he tell you that he had given an interview to Channel 10.
- 12 A. Yes, he did.
- 13 Q. Did he tell you that he had been paid for that.
- 14 À. Yes, he did.
- 15 Q. Did he say how much money he got.
- 16 A. \$200.
- 17 Q. Did he say anything about getting \$3,000.
- 18 A. He told me that, on the 8th of June, that Sarah received
- some money, the amount of \$2,000.
- 20 Q. Did he say who paid Sarah that money.
- A. Well, he did suggest to me that Victor Wilson paid her some money.
- 23 Q. When did he tell you this.
- 24 A. I think it was on the 9th or it could have been on the
- 25 8th
- 26 Q. When he turned up at your place on the evening of the
- 6th, did he tell you about Sarah having or getting the
- 28 money at that time.
- 29 A. Sorry?
- 30 Q. When he turned up at your house on the 6th of June, when
- 31 he first arrived, that evening, did he say at that time
- that Sarah was going to get some money.
- 33 A. No, he never.
- Q. When did he tell you that Sarah got the money.
- 35 A. I think it was on the 9th, that was on a Friday.
- 36 Because he wanted me to take him to Murray Bridge.
- 37 CONTINUED

- 1 Q. On the Friday.
- 2 A. On the Friday I did. We left early that morning, I think.
- 4 Q. I think you say to us that Doug was saying to Sarah on the 8th, that is the Thursday night, that he didn't care

6 about the money, is that correct.

- 7 A. Yes. I had a conversation on the phone that night, It was late that night, and I did hear Doug say `Well, you can still your money up your arse'.
- 10 Q. Then, the next morning, Doug wanted you to take him into Murray Bridge to get some money off of her.
- 12 A. That's what he told me.
- 13 Q. Did you ever see a cheque that Sarah had.
- A. No, I never. I mean I went to the bank. The day we arrived at Sarah's son's place at Murray Bridge, they
- spoke three or four hours before we left her son's place to the bank.
- 18 Q. That's Allan Clarke's place, is it.
- 19 A. That's right.
- 20 Q. Did you talk to Allan Clark at that time.
- 21 A. No. I did not.
- 22 Q. Was Allan Clark there.
- 23 A. Yes, he was.
- 24 Q. Then he didn't say anything during that time.
- 25 A. He did not. We never spoke.
- 26 Q. Well, did Doug say anything about Allan Clarke's job

being in jeopardy in front of Allan Clark.

- A. No, he did not. He told me that I think the day that we left Wellington, the Friday, on the 9th.
- 30 Q. So that's before you went to Allan Clarke's place.
- 31 A. That's right.
- 32 Q. You didn't say to Allan Clark at any time, you know,
- 33 'How is your job going. Has Victor been threatening you'.
- 35 A. No, I never spoke to him. All we did was sat around the
- table, it was Allan Clarke's place, we made a cup of
- tea. I never spoke to him.
- 38 Q. Allan Clarke is the manager of the Wailies Hostel.

- A. Yes, he is.
- Q. That's a hostel that provides accommodation for people who are in need of accommodation, I suppose.
- A. Yes, for people who are homeless, I suppose, and people 5 who have got a drink problem.
- Q. They have cars there that go out and pick people up and bring people back, is that correct.
- 8 A. Yes.
- Q. Allan Clark is the person who manages that operation.
- 10 A. I assume he did. It's probably his job.
- 11 Q. Well, when you say that this hostel program is run
- 12 through Victor Wilson, what do you mean.
- 13 A. Well, Victor Wilson is the program manager of Kalparran
- 14 farm, it's an alcoholic rehabilitation place, and
- Wailies is the night shelter, they used to call it, it 15
- 16 used to be a night shelter, and hostel. It's run
- 17 through Kalparran.
- 18 Q. So Wailies is sort of a separate part of Kalparran, is 19 that correct.
- 20 A. I wouldn't say separate.
- Q. Well, Wailies is in Murray Bridge, and Kalparran is out 21 22 of Murray Bridge, isn't it.
- 23 A. Yes, but separate. Like what I'm saying is funds, they get the same amount of funds. 24
- 25 Q. But both of the organisations are run by a management 26 committee, a community management committee, isn't that
- 27 correct.
- 28 A. Well, I don't know how they run their organisation, but 29 they do get their funding through the Kalparran
- 30 organisation, and that funding covers Wailies. They're
- 31 a joint program.
- 32 Q. So if I told you that, in fact, Wailies and Kalparran
- 33 were run by a management committee, you wouldn't dispute 34 that, would you.
- A. It's run by some committee, I'm not sure how. 35
- Q. It's not run by Victor Wilson, is it.
- 37 A. Well, he is the program director.
- Q. He is employed by the same organisation that Allan Clark

- 1 is employed by.
- 2 A. Kalparran -
- 3 COMSR: I don't think the witness knows the
- answer. He made it clear that he doesn't -
- 5 MR KENNY: He said the program is run through
- 6 Victor Wilson, and I'm just clarifying that point.
- 7 A. Well, I just state this; that I was a worker there at
- 8 one stage, and Victor Wilson always attended Wailies'
- 9 meetings, so he is the big boss.
- 10 XXN
- 11 Q. He attended meetings at Wailies.
- 12 A. Yes, he did.
- 13 Q. But you don't know the structure of the organisation at
- all, do you.
- 15 A. Sorry?
- 16 Q. You don't know what the management structure is for
- 17 Kalparran and Wailies.
- 18 A. I think his job is to run both organisations, that is
- 19 Kalparran and Wailies.
- 20 COMSR: I don't think you need to take it any
- 21 further Mr Kenny.
- 22 XXN
- 23 Q. You say on that day you went to the bank with Sarah and
- Doug and Allan Clark, is that correct.
- 25 A. That's correct, but in separate vehicles.
- 26 Q. You say that they went to the Commonwealth Bank where
- 27 Sarah deposited the money, that's Sarah and Doug and
- their son, is that what you mean when you say `they'.
- 29 A. That's correct.
- 30 Q. Did you see that money.
- 31 A. I was standing outside the bank.
- 32 Q. You never went in the bank.
- 33 A. No, I didn't.
- Q. So you're only guessing that Sarah deposited money.
- 35 A. Not guessing, it's just that's what Doug told me was
- 36 happening.
- Q. So Doug told you that Sarah was depositing money.
- 38 A. Yes.

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MR KENNY) (MS PYKE)

- 1 Q. In your sister's statement, Amelia Campbell, she says
- 2 that her grandfather was David Unaipon.
- 3 A. I don't know about my history.
- 4 Q. You don't anything about that.
- 5 A. No, I don't.
- 6 Q. He is not your grandfather, I take it.
- 7 OBJECTION Mr Sykes objects.
- 8 MR SYKES: He has already said that he doesn't know

9 about his history.

- 10 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS PYKE
- 11 Q. At p.3 of your statement, when you were talking about
- the meeting that you and your brother Allan had with
- Daisy Rankine, you said this; 'I'm not sure if Daisy
- said anything about the Coorong, the reason is because I
- was not interested in any past history. That would be
- left up to the oldest brother, Allan Bell Campbell. The
- 17 reason I say that is because he is more knowledgeable
- than I'. Is it your understanding that in the
- 19 traditional culture of the Ngarrindjeri people, that the
- 20 eldest child, boy or girl, receives information that
- 21 perhaps the younger ones don't.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. So that you would expect that your brother Allan might
- be handed information that you wouldn't because you were younger than he.
- A. That's right.
- 27 Q. At p.4 of your statement, and it's just over halfway
- down your statement, and you're talking about a meeting,
- and you said this, `Allan and Val Power have a past
- 30 history of arguments at meetings'. From your
- 31 observation, is it the case that they often disagree
- 32 quite violently, if I can put it that way, not
- physically violently, but they have quite different
- views about various issues relating to the Ngarrindjeri
- 35 community.
- 36 A. That's correct.
- 37 Q. They can get very upset with one another.
- 38 A. That's correct.

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MS PYKE) (MR ABBOTT)

- 1 Q. They each perhaps have very strong views that they express.
- 3 A. Sorry, could you rephrase that again?
- 4 Q. That Allan and Val quite often have quite different views about what is right or wrong in so far as it
- 6 relates to the Ngarrindjeri community and what is good for them.
- 8 A. That's right.
- 9 Q. Can you think of any sorts of things that they have 10 argued about or disagreed about in the past relating to 11 the Ngarrindjeri community.
- 12 A. I never experienced in any meetings with Val and Allan,13 so I can't tell you.
- Q. Well, it's just that you said here `Allan and Val power have a past history of arguments at meetings'. Is that
- what other people have told you, rather than what you've seen yourself.
- 18 A. Yes. I refer to when Allan told me at a meeting that
- took place down at Point McLeay or somewhere, where they
- 20 had a disagreement, he went to throw a chair but it
- 21 missed her, but I'm referring to that.
- 22 MS PYKE: I didn't actually hear that, but people
- are laughing so it must have -
- 24 MR ABBOTT: He went to throw a chair, but it missed.
- 25 INTERJECTOR: At least they're giving evidence, why 26 don't you get up here.
- 27 COMSR: It's hard enough for you to hear the
- witness without comments from the background.
- 29 COMSR
- 30 Q. You understood from what your brother Allan told you
- that he and Val power often didn't get on together.
- 32 A. Yes
- 33 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ABBOTT
- 34 Q. I've just got one question on behalf of my client,
- 35 Dorrie Wilson. The letter that you took to Nanna Laura
- is our Exhibit 40. It says in that letter `Please
- 37 contact Dorrie Wilson for any information relating to
- this letter'. Dorrie Wilson was upset that you put her

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MS PYKE) (MR ABBOTT)

- 1 name in it, wasn't she.
- 2 A. She was.
- Q. She didn't ever, in advance, allow you to put her name in the letter, did she.
- 5 A. That's correct.
- 6 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SYKES
- 7 Q. Just taking you back to 17 March and your visit to the
- 8 daughter of Pinkie Mack, she was a person who was given
- 9 a lot of respect in your community, was she.
- 10 A. She was.
- 11 Q. Was she one of the most senior, if not the most senior
- woman of the Ngarrindjeri nation.
- 13 A. She was.
- 14 Q. Was she a person that you respected.
- 15 A. A great deal, yes.
- 16 Q. Did you want to be careful not to offend her when you
- spoke to her.
- 18 A. That's correct.
- 19 Q. Did you consider it might be rude to go into details
- about women's business or secret women's business.
- 21 A. That's correct.
- 22 Q. Beg your pardon.
- 23 A. That's correct.
- 24 CONTINUED

RF 52Q

J.G. CAMPBELL XXN (MR SYKES) REXN (MR SMITH)

- 1 Q. Is that why you weren't prepared to ask about details
- about women's business.
- 3 A. That is correct.
- 4 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH
- Q. At p.5 of your statement, if you could turn to that, you
 talk there about the meeting of the Lower Murray
- 7 Heritage Committee at Tailem Bend. Have you got that.
- 8 You went to that.
- 9 A. Yes, I did.
- 10 Q. You have said here that present at that meeting were
- 11 Troy Smith, who was the chairman.
- 12 A. He chaired the meeting.
- 13 Q. Dorrie Wilson, that's right.
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. Stella Campbell, who is your mother.
- 16 A. That's correct.
- 17 Q. Nanna Laura Kartinyeri, that is the daughter of Pinkie
- Mack.
- 19 A. That's correct.
- 20 Q. Daisy Rankine.
- 21 A. That's correct.
- 22 Q. Susan Smith, and two other elder women, you can't recall the names of.
- 24 A. That's correct.
- 25 Q. At that meeting, was Victor Wilson also there, because
- you go on to say later on the page that Victor Wilson
- stated at the meeting that the bridge would go ahead.
- So he must have been there too, Victor Wilson.
- 29 A. Yes, he was.
- 30 Q. Any other of the members of the Lower Murray Heritage
- 31 Committee. You see there about a third of the way down,
- 32 you have told us who the members of the committee were,
- Victor Wilson, Doug Milera, Henry
- Rankine, et cetera. Who else was there at that meeting
- 35 then.
- 36 A. Tom and George Trevorrow. I think that's about it.
- 37 Q. Was this a meeting to do with the voting in of a new

J.G. CAMPBELL REXN (MR SMITH)

- committee, or was this just an existing committee having
- 2 a meeting and having a few other people along.
- A. This meeting was just in concerns to attend the
- constitution, some people was pretty upset that they
- 5 paid members fee and they weren't getting any feedback 6 from this committee.
- Q. So it wasn't to elect a new committee of the Lower
- 8 Murray Aboriginal Heritage Committee.
- 9 A. No, it wasn't.
- Q. Was this a meeting that a lot of people attended. A. There was about 30 people. 10
- 11
- 12 Q. The ladies who were present, we have already named a few
- of them, but was Jean Rankine there. 13
- 14 A. She was.
- Q. The bridge was discussed, was it not. You have made 15 16 that clear.
- 17 A. Yes, that was discussed.
- Q. You have said here 'No discussions about women's 18
- business took place.' 19
- 20 A. That's right.
- 21 Q. You got the impression that everyone had accepted,
- 22 including Victor Wilson, that the bridge was to go
- 23 ahead.
- 24 A. That's right.
- 25 Q. Can I take you to the letter which you took to the
- 26 daughter of Pinkie Mack. It is this letter produced to
- 27 you, isn't it, which we have marked Exhibit 40. Do you
- 28 recognise that.
- 29 A. I do.
- 30 Q. You say at p.19 of your statement, tell me if this is
- 31 correct, that the letter was in front of the daughter of
- 32 Pinkie Mack, was it.
- 33 A. Yes, it was.
- 34 Q. And you were explaining it to her.
- 35 A. Yes, I was sitting in front of her at the time, and I
- 36
- 37 Q. Turn to p.19 of your statement. Have you got that.
- 38 A. Yes.

RF 52Q

J.G. CAMPBELL REXN (MR SMITH)

- Q. Sorry, go ahead, I interrupted you. You were sitting in front of her.
- A. Yes, and I had the letter in my hand, resting on a book
- 5 Q. You see there you have made an explanation to her, the 6 paragraph near the end of the page `I said "Well, it's up to you to sign it".'
- 8 A. Yes, I do.
- Q. `Well, it's up to you to sign it. If you sign it, it 9
- 10 means that you do not know anything about women's
- 11 business on Hindmarsh Island'. So is that how you
- 12 explained it to her.
- A. That's correct. 13
- Q. She then signed the letter. 14
- A. She did. 15
- 16 Q. And the letter talks about just women's business on
- Hindmarsh Island, doesn't it. 17
- 18 A. That's correct.
- 19 Q. The words `sacred' or `secret', or anything like that,
- 20 doesn't get a mention, does it.
- 21 A. That's correct.
- 22 Q. So that's all you talked about to the daughter of Pinkie 23
 - Mack. You talked to her about that.
- 24 A. That's correct.
- Q. Women's business. 25
- 26 A. That's correct.
- 27 Q. On Hindmarsh Island.
- 28 A. That's correct.
- NO FURTHER QUESTIONS
- 30 WITNESS RELEASED

RF 52Q

- 1 WITNESS C.A. RAYNER ENTERS WITNESS BOX
- 2 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MISS NELSON
- 3 Q. Do you have a copy of your statement.
- 4 WITNESS HANDED EXHIBIT 231
- 5 A. No.
- 6 Q. You were one of 13 children, is that right.
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. Amelia Stella Campbell is your sister.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Is she older than you or younger than you.
- 11 A. Older.
- 12 Q. How much older.
- 13 A. I'm the twelfth child down below.
- 14 Q. You grew up at Point McLeay.
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. You have described the community as a very religious
- 17 Christian community, is that right.
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. Could you turn to p.4 of your statement. You say there
- that your only information about Aboriginal tradition
- 21 has come from your mother and your aunties, including
- Auntie Vera Wilson, do you see that. And that's right,
- 23 is it.
- 24 A. Yes, that's correct.
- 25 Q. Is Allan Bell Campbell your brother.
- 26 A. Which one? There is senior and junior.
- 27 Q. The one who gave evidence.
- 28 A. Yes, he is my second oldest brother.
- 29 Q. He said in his evidence that, as a young person, nothing
- was told to him about Aboriginal tradition because there
- 31 was an oppression by white people and because only white
- people's history was taught. Was that your experience
- also.
- 34 A. Can you say that question again, please?
- 35 Q. Yes. Your brother Allan said in his evidence to the
- commission that as a young person, because of fear of
- 37 the white man and oppression by the white man,
- 38 Aboriginal tradition and history wasn't passed on or

- taught, only white man's history was taught. Was that your experience, too.
- A. That's on the mission. While we was living on the mission there was no talk about women's business at all.
- Q. When did you leave the mission or stop living on the mission.
- 7 A. I would have been probably about 7, 7 to 8 years of age.
- 8 Q. Where did you go then.
- 9 A. To Murray Bridge.
- 10 Q. You have said that when you were about 16, your mother said that there was women's business in a place which
- she named.
- 13 A. Yes.
- Q. How did that conversation come about. Was it something she just told you out of the blue.
- 16 A. Things that I was curious with about my culture.
- 17 Q. So you asked her some questions and she answered them.
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. So what did you ask her that led to her telling you there was women's business.
- 21 A. I just wanted to know things of women's business, and
- not only women's business, I wanted to learn at that age about my own culture, and to know my full language,
- which I don't know.
- Q. Were you and your mother talking about women's business or secret women's business.
- 27 A. Women's business.
- Q. Did either you or your mother discuss what either of you meant by women's business.
- 30 A. See, to know traditional women's business, you had to be
- 31 initiated to have such knowledge, and because we don't
- 32 live in our cultural ways and we don't have we don't
- get initiated to have this knowledge, it was a lot of
- 34 concern to me.
- 35 Q. Did you understand that, first of all, there used to be
- women's initiation ceremonies.
- 37 A. I understood there was.

RF 52Q

- Q. And that men weren't allowed to have anything to do with those ceremonies or know anything about them.
- A. Yes, that's correct.
- Q. And unless you were initiated, you didn't learn the
- 5 things that women learnt in the initiation ceremonies.
- A. That's correct.
- Q. So, to that extent, that knowledge was secret to the 8 people who had been initiated.
- A. Who had been initiated, yes. 9
- 10 Q. Had your mother been initiated.
- 11 A. I don't know.
- 12 Q. Did you ask her.
- 13 A. No.
- 14 Q. When you and your mother were having this discussion,
- was it along the lines of secret women's business in the 15
- 16 sense of what an initiated woman would have learnt or 17 been taught.
- 18 A. Can you rephrase that again, please?
- Q. Yes. You see, you and your mother are talking about 19
- women's business, and I am asking you questions about 20
- 21 women's business. I am not sure that I really
- 22 understand what you and she were discussing. Were you
- 23 simply discussing the knowledge that an initiated woman 24 would have acquired.
- 25 A. No.
- 26 Q. You tell me what you were discussing with your mother.
- 27 A. Women's business. There is traditional women's
- 28 business, which there was no - which I had no knowledge
- 29 of, and I suppose my mother had - probably had no
- 30 knowledge of, but there is women's business in a
- 31 day-to-day basis.
- Q. What is the nature of the business. A. Beg your pardon? 32
- 33
- 34 Q. What is the nature of the women's business.
- 35 A. I suppose being pregnant, knowing what pregnancy is
- 36 about, which I don't know myself, what women talk about.
- 37 You know, it is a day-to-day basis of the women's
- 38 business and women's knowledge.

- 1 Q. Is it the case that you understood that there was a
- particular place where initiation ceremonies took place
 of the Ngarrindjeri women.
- 4 A. There was a place that was mentioned, which I will not mention, under the the knowledge I have of another
- place of women's business is not Hindmarsh Island.
 Q. You have said that, in your statement, but you got the
- 8 name of this place from your mother.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Before that, I take it you didn't know anything about the significance of this place -
- 12 A. No.
- 13 Q. Which has to be kept secret.
- 14 A. No.
- 15 Q. Is it the case that, first of all, as you understand it, men aren't allowed to know about this place.
- 17 A. Men are not supposed to know about women's business.
- 18 Q. And men aren't allowed to know about this secret place
- where initiation ceremonies were carried out.
- 20 A. Yes, as far as I was told.
- 21 Q. And that's what your mother told you.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. You have said that you are not certain, I don't think,
- that your mother was initiated.
- 25 A. I don't think so, no.
- 26 Q. Did you have an impression from her that she had a
- 27 little bit of knowledge about Aboriginal tradition in
- the past, but not a complete knowledge.
- 29 A. I suppose so, yes. I suppose, you know, I mean, she had
- knowledge of it to be sacred and, I suppose, secret,
- because we don't live in our culture ways.
- 32 Q. Did your mother tell you where she got her knowledge from.
- 33 110111.
- 34 A. No.
- 35 Q. I appreciate you don't want to name this place that you
- 36 have spoken of.
- 37 A. I will not name it. I clearly state that.
- 38 Q. Was it an island.

- 1 OBJECTION Mr Meyer objects.
- 2 MR MEYER: That really is a narrowing of the field,
- when someone says they don't want to say something.
- 4 MISS NELSON: I understand that, but -
- 5 COMSR: I don't think that really reveals a
- 6 place, to say whether or not it is an island, Mr Meyer.
- 7 WITNESS: I won't say any form or size of the
- 8 place. So, I refuse to say it.
- 9 XXN
- 10 Q. Did your mother tell you why this place was secret and sacred for women.
- 12 A. If you live in your culture ways if you live in your
- culture ways, you will have the knowledge. If you don't
- live it, you will have no knowledge.
- 15 Q. You haven't lived in your cultural ways, have you.
- 16 A. No.
- 17 Q. Have you got that knowledge.
- 18 A. No.
- 19 Q. Have you been able to get that knowledge.
- 20 A. No.
- 21 COMSR
- 22 Q. Who, as far as you know, was the last member of your
- family who lived in the culture ways, as you put it.
- 24 A. I wouldn't have a clue.
- 25 Q. Do you know whether or not your grandmother did.
- 26 A. Probably on my father's side.
- 27 XXN
- Q. When this issue connecting Hindmarsh Island with secret women's business arose.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. That made you very curious, didn't it.
- 32 A. Yes.
- Q. Your mother came to stay with you at Murray Bridge overnight on an occasion.
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. And I think you had a conversation with your mother
- where you said to her 'You told me about secret women's
- business', in connection with that place that you don't

C.A. RAYNER XXN (MISS NELSON) (MS PYKE)

- 1 want to name.
- 2 A. Yes.
- Q. She didn't answer your question, did she, about secret women's business relating to Hindmarsh Island. Her
- answer was `It's best not to look back at things and get on with life and look at the future.'
- 7 A. Yes, because we don't live in our cultural ways.
- Q. But it is the position, isn't it, that, when you put itto your mother `Is there anything to do with Hindmarsh
- Island and secret women's business?', she didn't say yes
- or no, she just said `It's best not to look back at
- things. It's best to look at the future.'
- 13 A. That's correct.
- 14 Q. There was a certain point beyond which you couldn't
- really get any more information out of your mother. She didn't want to talk about it.
- 17 A. That's right.
- 18 MR KENNY: I have no questions.
- 19 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS PYKE
- 20 Q. Your sister, Amelia, is older than you.
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. Have you spoken with her at all about this information
- that your mother gave you about secret women's business
- related to a particular secret and sacred site.
- 25 COMSR: I don't know that the witness has said that, that it is a secret sacred site.
- 27 MS PYKE: It is in her statement that it is a
- site, that it is secret and sacred. `I don't wish to
- 29 name this place. As I understood from my mother', etc.
- 30 XXN
- 31 Q. You understand, from what your mother said, that there
- 32 was business that was secret to women and not known to
- men and shouldn't be told to men.
- 34 A. That's right.
- 35 Q. And that it related to a site and that site should be
- 36 kept secret from men.
- 37 A. Can you repeat it again, because you are sort of like
- 38 twisting something there.

C.A. RAYNER XXN (MS PYKE)

- 1 Q. I am just reading from your statement. I am not trying
- 2 to twist or confuse. We are talking about women's
- business that your mother lead you to believe was secret to women.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 OBJECTION Mr Abbott objects.
- 7 MR ABBOTT: She doesn't say that in her statement.
- 8 MS PYKE: It is for me to question.
- 9 MR ABBOTT: You are presenting that as being in her
- 10 statement and it is not.
- 11 MS PYKE: I am moving on.
- 12 MR ABBOTT: If you want to put what is in her
- 13 statement -
- 14 MS PYKE: I have asked a question -
- 15 COMSR: Now the witness is probably thoroughly
- 16 confused. Can you start again?
- 17 MS PYKE: Yes.
- 18 XXN
- 19 Q. As I understood your evidence to Miss Nelson, you have
- said that your mother told you about business, women's
- business, that was secret to women.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. And not to be told to men.
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. Do I understand you to say that that business, that
- secret business, has a connection with a site, a place.
- 27 A. A place. It doesn't say site. `A place'.
- 28 Q. That secret women's business has a connection with a
- 29 place and that place is to be kept secret from men.
- 30 A. Secret, yes.
- 31 Q. And that that place is sacred.
- 32 A. Yes.
- 33 Q. Have you talked about that, that issue of the women's
- business, the place and the sacred nature of the place
- 35 to your sister, Amelia.
- 36 A. Yes.
- 37 Q. From what Amelia has said to you, did your mother talk
- to her about this, as well.

C.A. RAYNER XXN (MS PYKE)

- 1 A. I don't know.
- 2 Q. You don't know.
- 3 A. I don't know.
- 4 Q. Have you told Amelia much like you are telling us here today.
- 6 A. Yes.
- Q. Have you given her the information about the particular
- 8 place.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Is it fair to say that your sister, Amelia, now knows
- 11 what you know about the place and where it is.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. I don't want you to tell me, but Amelia knows.
- 14 A. Yes.
- Q. But you don't know whether she has got that only from you, or whether your mother told her, as well.
- 17 A. I don't know. I wouldn't know.
- 18 Q. When you and your sister, Amelia, talked about that
- topic, did you raise it with her, or did she raise it with you.
- 21 A. I raised it with her.
- Q. When was that. Can you remember when you first talkedto your sister about that.
- 24 A. Probably this year sometime.
- 25 Q. Is that something that you have raised with your sister,
- Amelia, since this business about Hindmarsh Island
- arose, since you have been aware of Hindmarsh Island.
- 28 A. Yes.
- Q. When you heard about the Hindmarsh Island business, did that jog your memory that you had heard this information
- from your mother, when you were 16.
- A. Yes, it jogged my memory at the time of listening to it on the news when I was living down at Murray Bridge.
- Q. Is it fair to say that, until that happened, you had
- forgotten that your mother had spoken to you about this
- other place.
- 37 A. Yes.
- 38 MR ABBOTT: No questions.

C.A. RAYNER XXN (MR SYKES)

1 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SYKES

- Q. When you were reminded of what your mother told you about this place and then you spoke to her at this house
- 4 at 18 Robin Street, Murray Bridge, your mother
- remembered that conversation, I think you say, is that right.
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. You say in your statement, at p.5, `In the course of the conversation, I asked my mother something along the
- lines that she had told me about secret women's business
- in connection with that place which was not Hindmarsh
- 12 Island or Goolwa', is that right.
- 13 A. Yes, that's right.
- 14 Q. Is it correct to say that, having heard on the radio or
- the news that there was a claim that there was women's
- business to do with Hindmarsh Island, you were raising
- that subject with your mother.
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. Were you raising it with her because she hadn't told you
- anything about women's business connected with Hindmarsh Island.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 COMSR
- 24 Q. So that I am clear about this: the only person who has
- 25 told you, as I understand what you are saying, that
- there is secret women's business connected with
- initiations and related to a particular place is your mother.
- A. Yes, to my knowledge, my mother's what my mother had told me and even my aunties, to know any of this
- told me and even my aunties, to know any of this business, you have to be initiated and live your
- 32 traditional ways. And, because we don't live our
- traditional ways now, I mean, to bring up something that
- is sacred to our Ngarrindjeri women and to have respect
- for our Elders way before probably I was even born, way
- before we was even born and to respect your culture. To
- have this knowledge of things splurted out in public is
- ave this knowledge of things spirited out in public i
- nonsense. It is putting disrespect against our tribal

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C.A. RAYNER XXN (MR SYKES)

- traditional women. And I believe very strongly that all of this about Hindmarsh Island and what has been said out publicly, I mean, it is spiritually damaging to us, as Ngarrindjeri women.

 CONTINUED 1
- 2 3
- 5

MST 52S

C.A. RAYNER XXN (MR SYKES)

- 1 It is a shame that when you do such thing you must do it
- in privacy, not taking things from that was given from white men, it has got to be handed down.
- Q. I understand what you are saying so, you don't like the
- idea of people giving television interviews andinterviews to the press.
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. And discussing these things.
- 9 A. Yes and people to have this sort of so-called knowledge
- of things, I mean, they're not traditional, they don't
- live their traditional ways, they are not traditional
- and it does put a scarring on the women itself,
- spiritually scarring on them.
- 14 XXN
- 15 Q. Just getting back to the conversation with your mother
- again. You did remind her that she had told you about
- women's business in connection with a certain place,
- which was not Hindmarsh Island or Goolwa, you reminded
- 19 her of that.
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. She obviously remembered the conversation because she answered 'yes.'
- 23 A. Yes, that's correct.
- 24 Q. In that conversation, she didn't give you any indication
- that there was any connection between Hindmarsh Island and women's business, is that right.
- 27 A. No, not with Hindmarsh Island.
- 28 Q. Just to clear one matter up. In describing your time at
- 29 Point McLeay, you said on p.2, that you remember the
- 30 families that lived there.
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 Q. And you have given a list of the families, the Rigneys,
- 33 Sumners, Longs, Goldsmiths, Rankines, Karpanys, Gollens
- 34 Carters and Lindsays.
- 35 A. I missed out two families; Wilsons and Kartinyeris.

MST 52S

C.A. RAYNER REXN (MR SMITH)

1 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH

- Q. Can I ask you, you know, the area from Victor Harbor, right along the coast, to Goolwa and Hindmarsh Island
- and then the Lakes area, up the river to Wellington.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. Can you tell us, at least, whether or not you have said this, this place is not Hindmarsh Island or Goolwa.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Can you tell us, are you able to tell us that it is not
- in that wider area that I have just indicated. That is
- that this place is not in the areas or is in the area
- stretching from Victor Harbor, right down to Goolwa,
- Hindmarsh Island and through the Lakes area, up to
- Wellington.
- 15 A. It is not in the area.
- 16 COMSR: We have to adjourn.
- 17 A. I would just like to ask, as one of the youngest members
- of the Ngarrindjeri women, I would like to ask for the
- 19 handing of them letters, the letters that were sent to
- Tickner, I would like to request them letters to be
- 21 handed to our Elders of the Ngarrindjeri tribe, all
- Elders, include all Elders.
- 23 Q. Are you talking about the sealed envelopes.
- 24 A. The sealed envelope to be given to all Elders under the
- condition, I want to know the truth, I am seeking the
- Truth and I want to know the truth and the truth reveals
- within them letters.
- 28 Q. I appreciate that you would, but whether or not I am in
- any position to do that, of course, is another matter.
- 30 A. Thank you.
- 31 NO FURTHER QUESTIONS
- 32 WITNESS RELEASED

MST 52S

1 COMSR: I don't propose to treat these 2 statements any differently from the others, but pretty well everything has been canvassed. MR SYKES: I understood that the statements would form the evidence-in-chief. Had I known that they 5 6 wouldn't be published I would have taken or, at least, 7 have asked that the witnesses go through their 8 statements. COMSR: 9 Was there some understanding given? I don't think Mr Sykes would suggest I 10 MR SMITH: led him to believe that. We didn't discuss the question 11 12 of publicity, but he might have assumed. 13 MR SYKES: I assumed we were trying to hasten 14 matters by using the statements as evidence-in-chief. It never occurred to me that what would be published is 15 16 that disjointed. 17 COMSR: Very little actually gets published, if 18 I can put it that way. 19 MR SYKES: I agree, but, it is up to us as to what gets published, once it is in the public forum. 20 21 COMSR: If that has been the basis upon which we 22 have proceeded this afternoon. 23 MR SYKES: It has been the basis upon which I have 24 proceeded. 25 COMSR: In that case, if that has been the 26 assumption. 27 MR SYKES: I would ask that my clients' statements 28 be released. 29 MR MEYER: They are the only four I am referring 30 to, unless we proceed again in that way, in which case 31 any person who calls a witness can indicate what their 32 attitude is. 33 MR SMITH: I will make arrangements to release 34 those to the press. ADJOURNED 5 P.M. TO WEDNESDAY, 25 OCTOBER 1995, AT 9.30 A.M.

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TN 53A

A.S. CAMPBELL XXN (MR SYKES)

1 COMSR STEVENS
2
3 HINDMARSH ISLAND BRIDGE ROYAL COMMISSION
4
5 WEDNESDAY, 25 OCTOBER 1995
6
7 RESUMING 9.40 A.M.

- 8 A.S. CAMPBELL ENTERS WITNESS BOX
- 9 MR SYKES: Amelia Campbell specifically requests
- that she gives evidence-in-chief. You have before you the statement.
- 12 COMSR: And you wish to lead her through.
- 13 MR SYKES: And she asked that I lead her through the evidence.
- 15 COMSR: Consistent with the practice that I've
- adopted with Mr Abbott's clients where I've permitted
- 17 him to lead them through their evidence, I propose to
- allow that as far as you're concerned.
- 19 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SYKES
- 20 Q. You have given a statement to the commission which is an exhibit.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. You have a copy of that statement with you, do you.
- 24 A. Yes, I have.
- 25 Q. You were born on 31 December 1948 at Point McLeay, is that correct.
- 27 A. That's correct.
- Q. Your brother is Allan Campbell, is that correct.
- 29 A. That's correct. I was born at Point McLeay on 31
- 30 December 1948, and I went to school at Point McLeay to
- 31 grade 6 and, at grade 7, I went on to Meningie area
- school to grade 7, then I left Meningie area school and
- went to work, because I was brought out of school by my
- 34 mother.
- 35 Q. What work did you do.
- 36 A. On the mission there, I worked in Point McLeay clinic as
- a nurses' aid under the registered nurse at Point
- 38 McLeay. There was two nurses there at the time, one of

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- them was Nita Randall and the other was Lois O'Donoghue.
- 2 Also we had to assist Dr Gooden when he came down to the
- mission, and also as a childcare, looking after kids on
- 4 Point McLeay, and cleaning houses for workers like the
- 5 sisters that run the mission.
- 6 Q. Did you get to know most of people at Point McLeay.
- 7 A. I know all the people on Point McLeay.
- 8 Q. Your mother was Stella Lena Campbell.
- 9 A. My mother was Stella Lena McHugh. She married a Campbell, yes.
- 11 Q. Did your mother ever tell you about women's business.
- 12 A. No, she never.
- 13 Q. In your statement, you refer to your grandfather, David Unaipon.
- 15 A. Yes. My grandfather, because I was so attached to my
- grandfather David on Point McLeay, I spent more time up on the hill than what I did on the top row where my
- on the hill than what I did on the top row where my
- mother lived, but I also was there for my mother, I helped my mother and all of her children but, like I said, I
- my mother and all of her children but, like I said, I spent more time up on the hill with my two grandfathers,
- 21 Grandfather Creighton and also Grandfather David.
- Q. He told you certain things about your Aboriginalhistory, did he.
- 24 A. Yes, he did.
- 25 Q. You've mentioned in your statement that at one stage you
- were asked him why there were no more full blood Aboriginal people about.
- 28 A. Well, yes, I did ask him because when we go to school at
- 29 Point McLeay, we had books about a lot of tribal, photos
- of all the tribal people, and I couldn't understand why
- 31 there was so many half-caste people on Point McLeay and
- he was the only full blood there, him and his son,
- Telmege, and also Grandfather Creighton and Grandfather
- Hooksey, his son, and I did ask, and he turned around
- and he said to me, he said 'Because we kept our
- responsibilities to our half-caste kids, that it wiped
- out the full blood Aboriginal Ngarrindjeri nation,
- that's why there is half-caste people on Point McLeay

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- and there is no tribal people there'.
- Q. You've referred to that in your statement, and you've spoken about the things that your grandfather told you about keeping children, the half-caste children.
- 5 A. Well, in this statement here, my statement here I've 6 got here to refresh my memory, yes - he told me when I 7 asked him about the half-caste, 'How come there are a 8 lot of half-caste here, including myself', he turned 9 around and he said, he told me that when the white man
- 9 around and he said, he told me that when the white man 10 first invaded the Ngarrindjeri nation, they raped and
- murdered our men, women and kids, and they got the women
- pregnant, and when Aboriginal women got pregnant, they
- were not outcast of the tribe, and the tribes kept their
- responsibility because that was a part of them.
- 15 Q. So in other words, they kept the children.
- 16 A. They kept the children, yes.
- 17 Q. Did your grandfather write books about Point McLeay.
- 18 A. Yes, he did.
- 19 Q. And Aboriginal history.
- A. He wrote a lot of books about the Ngarrindjeri ways, the Ngarrindjeri nation ways. A lot of that he buried on
- Point McLeay before he died, but I can't remember where,
- because I had a blockage myself when I left the mission.
- Q. But you have a copy of a book of his.
- A. I've got one on me now, yes, which I know that he wrote this book, because I'd been in the same situation as he was. That's how I know it's the truth what he got here.
- 28 Q. You have been a spokesperson for Aboriginal Ngarrindjeri women from time to time, haven't you.
- 30 A. All my life. When I left the mission, I've been all
- 31 over Australia. I helped so many that was out there
- that was homeless and nowhere to go. I've always fed
- them and clothed them and trying to do the best to get
- them off the drink. I was a drunk myself, and only for
- 35 the Uniting Church at Lockleys, a certain family there,
- a white family that supported me and helped me, and
- because she showed me what love and kindness this is
- what my grandfather showed me years ago that's why I

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- help other Aboriginal women, people, women in the same as I was in that nobody didn't care about them, not even any Aboriginal organisation don't cater for the
 - Aboriginal people in the community.
- Q. You've taken a great interest in Aboriginal andparticularly Ngarrindjeri women's affairs, haven't you.
- A. Well, a lot of the Aboriginal women can't speak up for themselves, they have got to have someone speak up for them and do the talking for them. What I'm trying to do is take them on the radio and stop the abuse of
- Aboriginal women, what they are going through with the
- welfare system and also the court system, and because a
- lot of them had been totally destroyed by what this
- system is doing to them, and the reason why I take them
- on radio is so they can speak up for themselves instead
- of having other people to speak up for them. The women
- that I took on radio, and Channel 2 radio with Jan Smith
- and Julia Lester, those women are healed today. They
- 19 had no idea that they were speaking to thousands of
- 20 people out there and, because of that, they can speak up
- for themselves, and that's the healing they got within themselves.
- Q. On p.7 of your statement, you refer to the Goolwa
 meeting that you went to.
- 25 A. Yes.
- Q. Was it the case that you were interested in attending a
 meeting where you anticipated there would be
 Ngarrindjeri women.
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. Is that why you were interested in that meeting.
- 31 A. Yes, so I could give me and my sister been missing out
- on a lot of Aboriginal women's meeting, was never told
- that there was women's meetings on, and when I was told
- about Patrick Byrt came around to my place and told me
- 35 that there was a meeting down at Goolwa, the Aboriginal
- Ngarrindjeri women's meeting, and I think `This is
- good', you know, `I'll be able to go and put some of my
- views across'. So I rang Douglas Redpath up, and I

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- 1 asked my sister, Merva Varcoe, if she wanted to put
- 2 Aboriginal women's, what trouble she has got today.
- 3 This is the sort of meeting that we thought was going
- on, so Douglas rang up, rang up this doctor, and he is a
- 5 Chinese man called Andy, and he took us down, me and 6 Merva down to Goolwa.
- 7 Q. Had you first tried to get a bus down there with the 8 resource centre called Konanda.
- A. Yes. I was told that there was a bus from Konanda was 9
- going. Konanda is the Aboriginal Women's Resource 10 11
- Centre down at Kilburn or something, Grand Junction
- 12 Road, was going down to that meeting, and I rang them,
- 13 and I spoke to Shirley Piersley if me and my sister
- 14 could get a lift down to Goolwa for the Ngarrindjeri
- 15 women's meeting. She replied `Sorry, the bus is full,
- 16 full up. There is no room in the bus, and also it is a
- 17 private meeting', and I was shocked, what is a
- Ngarrindjeri women's meeting, and yet me and my sister 18
- 19 Merva are Ngarrindjeri women, why couldn't we go down to
- 20 put our views across with Aboriginal women, you know,
- 21 for what we know.
- 22 Q. Was it after that that you made the arrangements through 23 Douglas Redpath.
- 24 A. Yes, it was after that.
- 25 Q. For the trip with Andy.
- 26 A. For the trip with Andy, yes.
- Q. Did you, in fact, go down to Goolwa with Andy and Merva. 27
- A. Yes. Merva and her kids and Andy and I went down to 28
- 29 Goolwa in a car and, when we got there, we drove to the
- 30 ferry. Then we met the Aboriginal women returning in
- 31 buses and cars from Hindmarsh Island to the mainland,
- 32 and we was told to follow them. We finished up in the
- 33 back shed, in somebody's back shed, but I found out it 34 was Rocky Marshall's house after we was there.
- 35 Q. At that meeting in his shed, you asked questions of
- 36 Doreen Kartinyeri and Shirley Piersley, did you.
- A. Shirley Piersely and her sister Vi Deuschle opened the 37
- 38 meeting, and there was all the rest of the Ngarrindjeri

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- women what was there at the meeting, and she opened that
- 2 meeting.3 COMSR
- 4 Q. Who did you say.
- 5 A. There was Shirley Piersley and Vi Deuschle, the one that opened the meeting, and Doreen Kartinyeri.
- 7 Q. Who was at the meeting.
- 8 A. The rest of the other Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal women.
- 9 XXN
- 10 Q. How many, approximately.
- 11 A. There must have been about two buses full from Murray
- Bridge, and some from Point McLeay, some from Meningie,
- and the Konanda bus from Adelaide.
- 14 Q. Were these large buses.
- 15 A. They was big buses, yes, but with about 24 seats in both of them I suppose.
- 17 Q. About 50 people.
- 18 A. It wouldn't be 50 Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal women was
- there, there was a lot of white people at the meeting
- 20 too, and a lot of white men was there too.
- 21 Q. How many Ngarrindjeri women were there.
- 22 A. Must have been about 30.
- 23 COMSR
- 24 Q. Are you saying there were about 50 people altogether,
- and 30 of them were Ngarrindjeri women.
- 26 A. No, in the shed I'm saying there is 30 Ngarrindjeri
- women that was there, what I could see, because all of them are my relations.
- 29 Q. Yes. You said there were some others, altogether was
- 30 there about -
- 31 A. That was altogether, 30, but there was a lot of white
- people was at that meeting, and white women and white
- men was there, some from trades union, environment, yes.
- 34 XXN
- 35 Q. How many other people, apart from Ngarrindjeri women,
- would there have been.
- 37 A. Must have been 50.
- 38 Q. On top of the 30.

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- 1 A. On top of the 30 Ngarrindjeri what was there. Close on 50 anyway.
- 3 COMSR
- 4 Q. We're talking about 80 people altogether, 30 plus 50.
- 5 A. Yes. It was a pretty big shed.
- 6 XXN
- Q. Did you ask Doreen Kartinyeri or Shirley Piersleyquestions at that meeting.
- 9 A. I asked Doreen Kartinyeri and Shirley Piersley and Vi
- Deuschle, the women who were in charge of the meeting,
- if there was any family hang on, you got my mixed up here. When I found out that the meeting was only for
- Rocky Marshall to apologise to Doreen Kartinyeri, I woke
- up that there was something wrong with this meeting,
- that it wasn't for women's meeting after all, what we
- were supposed to go down there for was only the meeting
- to stop the Hindmarsh Island bridge, then I asked Doreen
- 18 Kartinyeri, Shirley Piersley and Vi Deuschle, the women
- who were in charge of this meeting, was there any family
- 20 members of the traditional owners at this meeting, and
- 21 if they were asked to go to that meeting for the
- Ngarrindjeri women. That's what I asked her.
- Q. Could you see people you recognised as members of the traditional families.
- 25 A. One. That was Sarah Milera.
- 26 Q. Sarah Milera.
- 27 A. Yes. You see I don't know the history of the rest of
- 28 the other Ngarrindjeri women there, where they come
- from, where they go back, who the ansestors are, I don't know that.
- 31 Q. What was the response from those women.
- 32 A. They all yelled at me, screamed at me, they went off
- their, you know, they all had their sayings with me.
- Maybe about three of four of them never said nothing,
- but the rest of them all was yelling and screaming at me
- and told me to get out of that meeting. They all had
- 37 their say. Around about three, the ones that never said
- 38 nothing.

A.S. CAMPBELL XXN (MR SYKES)

- Q. Who are they, by the way. Can you remember who they
- A. I think Dorrie and two of them sitting at the back there, they never said nothing. Shirley and Helen
- 5 that's sitting at the back of the court here.
- Q. Shirley.
- A. Shirley Gollan and Helen Trevorrow.
- Q. Is that Dorrie Wilson, the other one.
- A. Dorrie Wilson and the rest of them yelled and screamed 10 at me. There is another one there too that never said 11 anything.
- 12 Q. Who is that.
- 13 A. I think it must have been one of the Rigney girls.
- There was a lot there. But they all yelled and screamed 14
- at me and told me and my sister to get out of that shed 15
- 16 and this is no business of me and my sister. In other
- 17 words, we wasn't classified as a Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal 18 woman.
- 19 Q. Your sister being Merva.
- 20 A. And my sister being Merva, which she's the only, at that
- 21 meeting, traditional owner, and she had more rights in
- 22 that building than anybody else did. That's to my
- 23 knowledge, anyway.
- 24 Q. P.9 of your statement you say that the women got up and 25
- walked out of the shed to get away from you.
- 26 A. The women got up and walked away from me, yes, and they
- 27 left after. They were on their way back to Hindmarsh
 - Island, because I heard one of the women say that
- 29 they're going back to the island.
- 30 Q. You didn't go to Hindmarsh Island with them.
- A. When all the women left, Sarah came up to me and Merva 31
- 32 and she said `Sister, I'm sorry about how this meeting
- 33 went', you know. She's the only one that ever came up
- 34 to us and said sorry.

28

- Q. But you didn't go to Hindmarsh Island with them. 35
- 36 A. I said `Sarah, where are you going to?' And she said
- 37 `Back to Hindmarsh Island'. So we walked outside, me
- 38 and my sister Merva, and there were Doreen Kartinyeri

36

37

38

A.S. CAMPBELL XXN (MR SYKES)

1 and there was another woman standing next to her, a 2 white woman standing next to Doreen, and there was a 3 Konanda bus there. When we looked at the Konanda bus it 4 was empty. There was plenty of room for me and my 5 sister to go to that meeting. There was only about 6 three or four of them on that bus, and it was a twelve 7 seater bus - or it might be more, I don't know. And 8 Doreen was standing outside with this white woman. I 9 said to Doreen - I asked Doreen where the meeting was on 10 Hindmarsh Island, and she was upset after yelling at me 11 and going off in the shed at me, that it stopped their 12 meeting. They didn't have a meeting there anyway. When 13 I asked her where the meeting was on Hindmarsh Island, 14 she yelled at me and she said the other women didn't 15 want me over there at the Hindmarsh Island where there 16 was having a meeting. They didn't want me there - me 17 and my sister Merva there, and that's when I said to her 18 `Me and my sister Merva got more rights to go to that 19 meeting as a Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal woman' and this 20 woman that was standing - white woman that was standing 21 next to her, she said 'Be told, they don't want' - 'the 22 women don't want you over there'. 23 Q. Do you know who that white woman -24 A. I found out it was Dr Fergie. And me and my sister was 25 standing there and she turned around and said `Be told', 26 because me and Doreen was arguing. For a white woman to 27 tell me that, she had no need to be - and then the 28 reason why I came back to Adelaide, because I had a lot 29 of respect for a lot of those Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal 30 women from Point McLeay, and because they left myself 31 and my sister, we was hurt about it, that we was told by 32 Doreen and by Fergie that they didn't want us there, you 33 know, we automatically got up and came back to Adelaide, 34 because by the time we walked out the shed and seen them 35 gone, we said 'Well, this is our people', you know, 'Why

they had to tell Doreen that they didn't want me here?'

lot of them are my relations, and I had a lot of respect

You know, that hurt me and my sister Merva, because a

- 1 for them. I had no idea that that meeting would turn
- 2 out to be of hate in the end and divide a wall between
- us, because that's how me and my sister felt, like wewasn't one of our own Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal women.
- 5 Q. You say you came back to Adelaide.
- 6 A. Yes, that doctor brought us back to Adelaide here.
- 7 Q. You mention in your statement that you telephoned your brother, Allan Campbell.
- 9 A. I rang Allan up from Adelaide and I said there was a meeting at Goolwa, and I told him what I said there, and
- he told me what to put down in the letter, to go down and have a protest.
- Q. Incidentally, the day that you attended at Goolwa, and you went to the meeting that you weren't wanted at, was
- that a Saturday.

 A. Yes, it was. It was the meeting in the shed with Rocky
- Marshall. Then we went to protest the next day down at the ferry, me and my cousin, Donny Smith, like I said,
- and he, the doctor, took us down there.
- Q. You mention that on page 10 of your statement, you went to protest.
- A. We went to protest that the meeting was invalid because none of the traditional owners was at that meeting,
- because they should have consulted Merva in Adelaide.
- 25 Q. You had a pamphlet to hand out, did you.
- A. Yes. We put all the pamphlets around at the bridge, that ferry there, and -
- 28 Q. Did you also have placards.
- A. Yes, we also had placards to say that once I came back and read it in the paper, the meeting at Rocky
- 31 Marshall's, what they put in the papers, and I put down
- on the placards that we are living in a white man's
- 33 black history.
- 34 Q. Who was there protesting. You were there.
- 35 A. Yes, me and Donny Smith.
- 36 Q. Your cousin.
- 37 A. My cousin, yes.

- 1 Q. While you were protesting at the ferry terminal, did you see again Aboriginal -
- A. Yes. We was protesting at the ferry there and later in the afternoon the buses came over with all the
- 5 Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal women was in the bus, and I
- 6 said to Donny 'We will pack up and we'll go' because all
- 7 the women came over. And then I seen Douglas Milera's
- 8 car across the other side of the ferry, and I said to
- 9 Donny 'Hang on, there's something wrong here, brother.
- How come all the women came over and all the men was
- like how come Douglas Milera's car and Sarah Milera's
- car was across the other side?' And he said to me
- Yeah, we'll stick around for a while, sister'. So we
- did. Then the cars came over. It started to get a bit
- late, the cars come over, and then we seen everybody
- when they came over. It was all the men. Then I said
- to Donny `How come that this meeting is for Ngarrindjeri
- Aboriginal women, and how come all the men came over?
 That's kind of strange.'
- Q. Some time after that meeting, I believe you telephoned
 Professor Saunders, Cheryl Saunders.
- 22 A. Yes. Later I rang Professor Saunders in Melbourne from
- 23 the post office in Adelaide there, the main post office,
- and I spoke to her secretary and informed her that the
- 25 meeting they had was invalid because no custodiate
- family were at that meeting, and she said 'Ring'
- 27 Professor Saunders'. So I rang again, and I remember
- speaking, I don't know, to her or somebody I think it
- 29 was her that I was speaking to, and she said that she
- already sent the letter, final notice, to Tickner, Mr
- 31 Tickner, and that it was already gone, and she didn't
- need any testimony from me. She wasn't even interested
- to talk to me. She said she got all the statement from
- Doreen Kartinyeri about the meeting. That was told to
- me over the phone, so what's the use of talking to her?
- 36 So I hung up.
- Q. You mentioned that you have never been told by your mother about any women's business issues.

- A. No. Like I said, when I was living on Point McLeay, my 2 mind was always in confusion. Even today my mind has 3 been confused because so many things have been put into my head, and now I been going to church because I'm 5 trying to rest with a lot of things that have been put 6 into my head on Point McLeay about David Unaipon and his 7 son Telford Unaipon. I was told by many a people on 8 Point McLeay that Telmege Unaipon was my father and 9 David Unaipon was my grandfather - by many members of 10 Point McLeay. Auntie Foffon and Annie Rankine told me; 11 Allan Campbell, my father, told me. I don't know, 12 because I can't understand I been a loner all these 13 years, apart from my family. I love my family, but all 14 these things have been put into my head by my Grandfather Creighton and Uncle Hooksey, and I have to 15 16 live with that for the rest of my life, with all these confusions, and it tore me apart from the rest of my 17 18 family and today living, because I've always been apart 19 from my family because of this. And I was also told 20 that I had a brother 20 years older than me, Telford 21 Unaipon, which I am going over, after this Royal 22 Commission is finished, to go and look for him and go 23 for a DNA test, you know. All these things that was 24 told to me on Point McLeay was a confusion there in my 25 mind. I even also had psychiatric help because of it, 26 13 and a half years under psychiatric treatment because 27 of my confusion inside of me, what I'm going through at 28 the moment. My brothers and sisters don't know. My 29 brother - my two brothers were taken off the mission 30 when they was very young, and I had to look after - my 31 older sister died, and I had to look after my mother and 32 my brothers and sisters. So, you know, I still love my 33 mother, although that we never shared anything. We 34 wasn't close because of the confusion. 35 Q. The claim that there is secret sacred women's business 36 linked to Hindmarsh Island has concerned you, hasn't it.
- 37 A. A lot - since this Royal Commission has been on, a lot
- 38 of things have come - my memory have been coming back to

- 1 me. A lot of things been coming back to me. Like I 2 said, I spent a lot of time around my grandfather - my 3 two grandfathers, Grandfather Creighton and Grandfather David. They told me many stories growing up on the 5 mission. They also told me a lot of women's business on 6 Point McLeay, you know, what the Ngarrindjeri people 7 used to do years ago. They also told me about my own 8 womanhood, which my mother should have told me, but, 9 like I said, I wasn't very close to her. I was looking 10 after the children more than her telling me anything. 11 So my Grandfather David told me everything also about my 12 own womanhood.
- 13 Q. But nothing was said about sacred secret women's
- 14 business on Hindmarsh Island. 15 A. Nothing was said, that was my two grandfathers, Uncle 16 Tolley and Uncle Hooksey never ever told me anything about Hindmarsh Island, no. When I was a child growing 17 18 up, my father, Allan Campbell and my brothers and 19 sisters used to travel to Goolwa. Uncle Ronnie Gollan 20 used to drive the old - what them open cars? You know, 21 the back was open - the ute. We used to go down to 22 Goolwa and, because Allan Campbell didn't have a licence 23 then, Uncle Ronnie or Uncle Cecil used to drive the car 24 down to Goolwa to go and visit my mother's sister on 25 holidays because Telmege Unaipon bought that car down 26 there for me. So we used to go away on holidays. We 27 used to go down to Goolwa, either visit my mother's 28 auntie and uncle, the McHughes down there, that's my 29 mother's auntie and uncle, Grandfather Walter and Nanna 30 Maud. We used to stay at her place. We used to visit 31 the Sumners or play in the park down there. Allan 32 Campbell senior used to go over to Hindmarsh Island and 33 Uncle Ronnie Gollan used to go over to Mundoo Island. 34 They used to leave us there at my mother's aunt and uncle's place. At night, when they'd pick us up in the
- 35
- 36 old ute, we used to drive back to Point McLeay. On the
- 37 way coming back they - because the window was smashed at
- 38 the back, you know, where the two were sitting in the

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- 1 front there, we used to have conversations and singing
- all the way back to the mission, and they used to tell
- 3 us that going down to I said `Why you go to Hindmarsh
- 4 Island or Mundoo Island? And they used to say that we
- 5 used to go like visit our graves down there, being the
- 6 spirit where our ancestral people. Because we couldn't
- 7 understand, the only way they could bring it to us is
- 8 that they said `You remember when on Sundays or
- 9 Saturdays it was a custom for every Aboriginal woman on
- 10 Point McLeay to go and clean the graves out on Point
- McLeay, take some flowers up to the graves Saturday and
- Sundays, two off-working days?' I said `Yes'. And they
- says 'Well, that's how we are, taking ourselves instead
- of flowers to be there in spirit with our ancestral
- people'.
- 16 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS PYKE
- 17 Q. Have you got you statement in front of you.
- 18 A. Yes, here.
- 19 Q. On p.2 of your statement, you say that your grandfather
- used to tell you about woman's business.
- 21 A. Yes, he did.
- Q. What sort of woman's business did your grandfather used to tell you about.
- 24 A. My grandfather used to tell me woman's business, but I
- don't think I should tell you about it, because the only
- woman's business that you should know of is the
- womanhood business, how to have children and sex and all
- of these things. What my mother should have told me,
- 29 you know.
- 30 Q. Is that what your grandfather told you about.
- 31 A. He told me a lot of stories and also the spiritual
- woman's business side, which I won't tell you anything
- because I don't think I should be telling you these
- 34 things.
- 35 CONTINUED

- 1 Q. The spiritual women's business that you are talking
- 2 about, that your grandfather told you about and I
- don't want you to tell me what it was about.
- 4 A. No, I won't.
- Q. Did he tell you that that was something that just womenshould ordinarily talk about, it shouldn't be talked
- 7 about to men.
- 8 A. My grandfather's mind what he was trying to tell me is that, because no members of the Point McLeay people
- that, you know, women that he know, it should come from
- my own mother and she never told me these things.
- 12 Q. And they were spiritual things, not just about -
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. Did you understand from what your grandfather -
- 15 A. I understand clearly what he said.
- 16 Q. I am just trying to make sure I understand.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. So, if you bear with me: did I understand what you are
- saying is this; that your grandfather told you spiritual
- 20 things about women's business that ordinarily men
- shouldn't talk about, but he was talking to you about
- it, because your mother hadn't.
- 23 A. My grandfather was the oldest man on Point McLeay and my
- grandfather was a very private man, like I am. I lived,
- like, alone on my own. My grandfather was the same.
- Nobody everybody said they knew him, but deep down
- inside they didn't know him. Because I was a girl and,
- if I was a boy, he would tell me, you know, these
- things. Because I was girl and there was no secrets on
- 30 Point McLeay, because everybody knew everybody's
- business and what was going on at Point McLeay, that he
- told me these things. A lot of these things, yes. But
- I think he put it in one of his books.
- 34 Q. Did you understand, from what your grandfather said to
- you, that there were spiritual things that only boys
- knew, that he wouldn't tell you.
- 37 A. See, my grandfather was the only Elder on Point McLeay.
- He told me men's business, as well. So, you know, he

- told me both. Because maybe that he know that I would
- 2 put it down and give it to my daughter, because they
- 3 stole everything off my grandfather. They stole his
- 4 inventions. They stole his stories, what he had been
- 5 telling the museum and the library and the university.
- 6 All of his knowledge, they stole everything from him.
- 7 So, you know, why should he tell you anything, you know?
- 8 That's why he told me everything. That's why he took me
- 9 to Point McLeay, when he buried his stuff. He didn't
- want anybody to know. Because I had a blockage in my
- head after he left that hurt, because I couldn't attend
- his funeral. I was taken off the mission.
- 13 Q. Your sister, Clara, has talked about your mother giving
- her some information about some women's business that
- was secret and related to a place that was secret and sacred.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. Were you in court when your sister gave that evidence.
- 19 A. Yes, I was in court when she gave that evidence, yes.
- 20 Q. Did your mother give you that information.
- A. No, she never, but she may have gave it to Clara. I don't know.
- 23 Q. You believe what Clara is saying, but what you are
- saying is that your mother might have given her the
- information, but she didn't give it to you.
- 26 A. No.
- 27 OBJECTION Mr Abbott objects.
- 28 MR ABBOTT: That is two questions. You believe what
- 29 Clara is saying and you are saying this.
- 30 XXN
- 31 Q. Do you accept what Clara is saying, that your mother
- 32 gave her some information.
- 33 A. She could have gave Clara information, yes. I don't
- know, because she was so close to her other children and
- I was distant from her, because of the confusion on
- 36 Point McLeay.
- 37 Q. I want to make sure I understand that: you say your
- sister, Clara, was a bit closer to your mother than you

- 1 were.
- 2 A. Yes.
- Q. You talk about your father, Allan Campbell, at p.2 of your statement, going across to Hindmarsh Island.
- 5 A. That's right.
- 6 Q. When you were growing up.
- 7 A. Yes.
- Q. Did he ever talk to you about any significance ofHindmarsh Island, or why he would go over there.
- 10 A. When we when they used to pick us up, after they 11 finished all day whatever they was doing there, when we
- was travelling back to the mission, he used to tell me
- like I said in the earlier part, that he was there to
- visit his ancestral family in spirit. You know, he
- wanted to just be there, so he could see. There was no
- graves. So, I mean, he was just there on the highland
- to know that to let them know that he was there. Just
- like I was I still go to Point McLeay and I still
- 19 visit the graves. I never go past my Grandfather David
- and my Grandfather Creighton and Grandfather Tolley on
- Point McLeay. I always visit the graves, because it is our custom to do that, although we live off the mission.
- Q. Allan Campbell would go there for spiritual reasons to be near his family.
- 25 A. To be close to the family. That was the same as the
- 26 Gollans. The Gollans are the Kulindjeri. Peter Gollan
- has changed his name to Gollan. Allan Campbell changed
- his name to Campbell, because the white fellow couldn't
- spell the name Kulindjeri. It is in the book, the
- Tasmanian book that brother Greg Sinclair got at his
- 31 house and it is also in the Campbell book, if you look
- 32 properly at the Campbell history.
- 33 Q. Allan Campbell, your brother, has told the Commission
- that he first found out about the connection with
- 35 Hindmarsh Island of his family from Daisy Rankine in
- 36 October 1993.
- 37 A. That's what Daisy told them, but Daisy never told me
- 38 nothing. It was my grandfather told me. Because I had

- this blockage in my head, I know what my grandfather
- told me. And now I am glad that this Commission has
- been on, because at least I can remember a lot of things now, which I couldn't before.
- 5 Q. Did your grandfather tell you about Hindmarsh Island.
- 6 A. No, he never mentioned anything about Hindmarsh Island,
- but he told me of women's business, but he never
- 8 mentioned anything whatsoever about Hindmarsh Island.
- 9 How could he? Because, you know, he told me where the
- business were, but he never mentioned anything about
- Hindmarsh Island. Not to my knowledge, anyway. Neither of them.
- 13 Q. When you say he told you about where business was -
- again, I don't want you to tell me.
- 15 A. No, I won't.
- 16 Q. Did he tell you about women's business to do with
- somewhere not Hindmarsh Island.
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. But it had to do it had to relate to a particular place, did it.
- 21 A. Yes, it did.
- Q. When did you first become aware that the Campbells were connected or related in some way to Hindmarsh Island.
- 24 That that was significant for the Campbells.
- 25 A. Me and Chirpy always got together and tried to find out
- our family history. But, like I said, me and my brother
- 27 had so much hate against one another, so there was a
- distance there. But, if we didn't have that hate
- against one another, at that time, maybe we would have
- found out long before this would have happened.
- 31 Q. Did you found out you call him Chirpy did you find
- out from Chirpy that the Campbells had a connection with
- Hindmarsh Island after he found out in October 1993.
- 34 A. Chirpy did. No, me and Chirpy used to talk about our
- 35 history long before the Hindmarsh Island, when we used
- to be in speaking terms to one another, about the our
- own history. Our own, like, where we come from or, you
- know, but, because of my Grandfather David's confusion

- there and other things that went wrong between me and
 Chirpy's personal life COMSR
 Q. I don't know that we really need to go into personal history.
 A. But it did refreshen our memory when it did brought up
- A. But it did refreshen our memory when it did brought up about the Hindmarsh Island, yes. That did take a lot of things off.
- 9 XXN
- Q. You have referred in your statement to your family being
 the custodiate family in relation to Hindmarsh Island.
 Why do you say that.
- A. Because what I have said custodiate, because Allan
 Campbell used to take us down there to Goolwa and I used
 to tell my brother this, because he didn't know. He was
 taken off the mission, him and my other brother Peter,
 and put into McNalley's Boys Home Training Centre for
- 18 Youth. And, because -
- 19 COMSR: We are going into a lot. Is it 20 necessary to find out this family -
- MS PYKE: No, except that, of course, this family is coming to the Commission telling you they have a particular relevance and significance. And I think it is I don't think I will take the question any further. But, as I understood it, that is one of the reasons that this family are alleging that they are relevant.
- But, in any event, I will move on from that topic.
- 28 XXN
- Q. I want to now get to the topic of the meeting at RockyMarshall's.
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 COMSR: There is certain sensitivity about this 33 recounting the family history, in that other people's 34 names are mentioned, other than the witness herself.
- 35 MS PYKE: Yes, just in relation to that comment, I mean. I accept that, but a lot of criticism has been
- mean, I accept that, but a lot of criticism has been made about genealogies and who is connected and not
- made about genealogies and who is connected and not connected. It is hard to -

- 1 COMSR: No, I wasn't just talking about the 2 genealogy itself.
- 3 MS PYKE: No, I understand what you are saying.
- 4 XXN
- Q. Do you remember that Dr Deane Fergie was at the meeting at Rocky Marshall's house.
- A. No, I didn't know her and that was the first time I ever met her, when she said that to me, because I asked one
- 9 of the other ladies who that was and she told me. And,
- when I did ask her who that was she was sitting in the
- 11 courtroom here and I said `That's the lady that was with Doreen.'
- Q. At that meeting at Rocky Marshall's, do you remember, did people stand up and introduce themselves to the meeting.
- 16 A. Doreen Kartinyeri, Vi Deuschle and Shirley Peasley opened the meeting and everybody said their names at
- that meeting. And I was still stunned for words,
- because of the men and women were mixed. So, everything
- was more like a shock to me, at first, before I started
- 21 to wake up to myself. What is it, this meeting? Is it
- supposed to be an Aboriginal meeting? But we did get up and we said our names and everything, naturally, because
- I like to know who is who.
- Q. Did Shirley Peasley make a short speech about the need
 for reconcilliation and for Aboriginal and nonAboriginal
 people to respect each other.
- 28 A. It was a meeting for the we was told, before we left
- Adelaide, that there was a meeting for Ngarrindjeri
- 30 Aboriginal women to attend at Goolwa there. And that's
- 31 the only meeting I went down there for. But, yes,
- 32 Shirley Peasley did say it say something got up and
- said something there at the meeting when she opened the
- meeting. But I was shocked, because there was white men
- and there was white women and there was Aboriginal women
- that was over there, you know, because I couldn't
- understand what this meeting was all about. It was
- supposed to be for a meeting for the Ngarrindjeri women.

- Q. At that meeting, Doreen Kartinyeri criticised Mr Rocky
- 2 Marshall and was angry with him about the letter he had written.
- 4 A. She asked about the letter, for him to apologise for
- 5 what he put in the papers about the Hindmarsh Island.
- 6 And that's when I woke up that this is only, you know,
- for the Hindmarsh Island and not the Aboriginal women,
- 8 you know, meeting. So, that's, you know, that's when I
- 9 flew up and I said this meeting is, you know, did any of
- the women have asked the tradition ownership of that,
- 11 you know, that was there, or any of them were invited to
- this meeting after. And I never heard Rocky Marshall
- apologise to Doreen. There was that many yelling and
- screaming going on, so, I don't know.
- Q. Did you hear Doreen say to Rocky Marshall that he had no right to write that letter. He had no right.
- 17 A. She was a beautiful actress, the way she came over to
- him, you know, I mean, she couldn't do it more perfect,
- anyone. She waltzed over there asking him something.
- You know, I mean, yes, she did ask him in that sort of a manner.
- 22 Q. She was very angry with him.
- 23 A. To me she didn't look angry, angry at all.
- Q. Did Rocky Marshall say that he was sorry for offendingthe Aboriginal women.
- A. I never heard that, because too many yelling and
- 27 screaming was there.
- 28 Q. He might have said that.
- 29 A. He might have said that, but I didn't hear him
- apologising to Doreen.
- 31 COMSR
- 32 Q. Who was yelling and screaming.
- 33 A. The rest of the other Aboriginal women that was there
- was yelling and screaming at me and told me to get out
- of the shed and blah blah, you know.
- 36 XXN
- 37 Q. Yes, I will get to that, in a moment. I suggest to you,
- or what I say happened was that, indeed, Aboriginal and

- nonAboriginal people at that meeting became upset after that conversation between Doreen and Rocky Marshall.
- A. They wasn't, you know, I don't know what they was there for. Only them knew, but me and Merva thought different. We were just thought it was a women's meeting and that's all we went there for. When we got there it was a different meeting altogether. So, I was
- there, it was a different meeting altogether. So, I was
 still confused, yes.
 O. I am just trying to find out what happened. And do yes.
- 9 Q. I am just trying to find out what happened. And do you remember various things being said. The general effect of what was being said was a discussion about the need for each culture to have respect for one another.
- A. If each culture would have respect for one another, why
 were they swearing and at me, you know, and calling me
 for everything? You know, I mean, I let it all go off
 my head. They are still my relatives, you know. And -
- Q. Did you hear someone say something, a nonAboriginal woman, say that she didn't know how there could be reconciliation, if Aboriginal people could not disclose their secretes to nonAboriginal people.
- A. No, I didn't hear that. No, I didn't hear that, at all.
 All I heard that, after Doreen Kartinyeri got up and
 said that to Rocky Marshall, and after Vi Deuschle and
- 24 Shirley Peasley opened the meeting and asked everybody
- to say their names and who they were, where they come from. And it went around the shed and then Doreen
- from. And it went around the shed and then Doreen waltzed in and said her piece with Rocky Marshall. And
- that's when I caught on there was something wrong. And that's when I said, you know, that any of the
- traditional owners were invited or welcome to come to
- this meeting.
- 32 Q. I will just get to that.
- A. And I never heard anything after that, so, I am sorry, because they all yelled and screamed and cursed me.
- 35 Q. I suggest to you this conversation happened before -
- 36 A. They all ran out of the shed after. They stayed there
- for a while and, you know, they couldn't wait to get out
- of the shed, being, you know, so, they was all swearing.

- So, I couldn't if they had any respect, why couldn't they talk to me in a proper way, instead of all yelling and screaming at me and swearing at me? And that's the divided rule they put down.
- Q. Can I suggest, or say to you that, during the meeting
 you complained to the meeting that you hadn't been
 invited to the -
- A. My sister Merva haven't been invited there, the custodian of that area, yes, but not me. I took my sister down there. We went there as a meeting hang on a minute. We went down there as a Ngarrandjeri woman meeting to put our issues over. When I found out that this was to do with Hindmarsh Island, then I jumped in
- this was to do with Hindmarsh Island, then I jumped in and said that. But we thought it was just a normal
- meeting for Ngarrindjeri women to attend there. After Ifound out, your Honour -
- 17 COMSR
- 18 Q. I think you have explained this to me a few times.
- 19 A. But she keeps referring to the same thing and I have to say this, to make it clear to her.
- 21 COMSR: I think Ms Pyke wants to ask another
- 22 question.
- 23 CONTINUED

- 1 XXN
- Q. Perhaps I can say this to you. Dr Fergie was at that
 meeting and she remembers it a little bit differently to
 you.
- 5 A. Well, I don't know Dr Fergie until I seen her in the courtroom here.
- Q. What I am saying to you is what Dr Fergie remembers happens. Can I say this to you, that Dr Fergie remembers that you became you were upset that you hadn't been invited to the meeting at Graham's Castle.
- 11 A. Sorry, I didn't say that at all.
- Q. You were upset and said that only people on high, or
 something like that, had been invited to Graham's
- Castle.
 A. Well, see, Dr Fergie was outside. Well, you say it was
 Dr Fergie, was outside with Doreen Kartinyeri, outside
- 17 Rocky Marshalls' shed. I don't know who this white
- woman was out there. There was a white woman standing over Doreen at the time I walked out, me, Sarah and my
- sister and Sarah was with us when we walked out. I said
- to Doreen `Where is the meeting going to be because the
- rest of the women have left?' and when she said that,
- The rest of the women don't want you over there' that
- hurt me, because they all left, they got the women and
- then, after I argue with Doreen, then this woman turned around and said `Can't you be told, the rest of
- the women don't want there.'

 Q. Do you remember someone saying to you that there was not sufficient funds for everyone to be paid to go to the meeting but -
- 31 A. No, nothing was said.
- 32 Q. But you were welcome to stay.
- A. When I rang Shirely Piersley up, I asked if I could get a lift down there to go to the meeting. Shirley
- 35 Piersley said to me over the phone `There is no room on
- the bus and this is a private meeting.' So me and my
- 37 sister went to that private meeting, but we wasn't
- allowed on the island for that private meeting, we got

- kicked out of the meeting from Rocky Marshalls' shed.
- 2 Q. What I am saying to you is at that meeting at Rocky
- 3 Marshalls', you were told you could go to the meeting at Graham's Castle.
- A. No, I wasn't told nothing. 5
- Q. But you wouldn't be funded.
- A. I wasn't told anything. All I was told, the women 8 didn't want us at the meeting.
- 9 Q. At that meeting at Rocky Marshalls', did you threaten to 10 tell the secrets to the meeting, saying 'I am going to 11 tell them, I am going to tell them.'
- 12 A. I beg your pardon, no, I didn't. When I went to - when 13 I ask can we go over there, and when me and Merva, from
- 14 Sarah telling us what was going on over the island, you
- 15 know, they having a women's meeting to stop the bridge,
- 16 Sarah told me, sitting down there telling me and Merva
- 17 and after all the women was gone out of the meeting, out
- 18 of the shed, now Sarah Milera - and I said to Sarah,
- 19 `Why can't me and Merva go over there to put our views
- 20 across, because there is no women's business there
- 21 anyway?' That's what I said to Sarah Milera in the shed
- 22 when she came over. And she sat next to me and Merva
- 23 while the rest of the women walked out and she explained
- 24 everything to us, me and Merva. And Merva just looking
- 25 at me and I was shocked and I said `I have never ever
- 26 known there was any women's business on Hindmarsh 27 Island sister.'
- Q. Dr Fergie will say that she remembers you saying, words 28 29 like, 'I'm going to tell them, I'm going to tell them'
- 30 and Doreen Kartinyeri getting very upset when you said 31 that.
- 32 A. No. Doreen was upset because I disturbed a little
- 33 meeting in Rocky Marshalls' shed. She was so 34 embarrassed because it went all off, everybody was all
- 35 swearing and cursing me, because I was like the victim.
- 36 I was like an outsider from my own people. It was a
- 37 divided rule between them and me and my sister Merva and
- 38 it is the same today. There is so much hate out there

- between the Aboriginal women in the community.
- 2 Q. Do you remember Shirley Piersley telling you, that you would be welcome to go to the Graham's Castle meeting, but you couldn't be funded because there wasn't enough 5 money.
- 6 A. Shirley Piersley never said anything to me on that matter. All she said, when I rang her up, and she said 8 there was no room on the bus and it was a private 9 meeting. Then I heard Shirley Piersley down there and 10 there was plenty of room on that bus, because me and 11 Merva seen it. There was only three or four people on
- 12 that bus. It is a 12 seater bus. Me and my sister
- 13 could have got a lift down there and she opened the 14 meeting and her sister Vi Dulcer.
- Q. Do you remember Sarah Milera saying to you, that she 15 16 also she said to you, amongst other things, she too 17 sometimes felt left out, but she didn't have any control over the money. 18
- 19 A. She never said something about the money. I am sorry, 20 all she said was, there was a women's meeting going on 21 on Hindmarsh Island, to stop the bridge. That's all she 22 said. And I said, 'What women's business Sarah?' And 23 she filled me and Merva in about the women's business. 24 There is no women's business on that island, not to my 25 knowledge.
- 26 Q. Do you remember if Sarah said to you that you were 27 certainly welcome to come to the meeting.
- 28 A. She welcomed us over there, but when she inside the 29 shed, she welcomed me and Merva because that's Sarah's 30 ways. She is all twisted up at the moment, but I still 31 pray for my sister that she could come out with the
- 32 truth, you know. When I went out there I asked Doreen
- 33 `Can we go over to this meeting?' after Sarah telling us
- 34 about it. And well, she said, the rest of the
- 35 Ngarrindjeri women don't want you over there Amelia.
- 36 When I argued with her why, me and my sister is entitled
- 37 to go over there, because we are Ngarrindjeri Aboriginee
- 38 women me and my sister and she, Merva, you know, is the

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- 1 tradition owner, she had more rights than anybody else
- 2 to be there, yes. But, Doreen said, 'No the rest of the
- women couldn't go over there.' Then this white women
- that was with her said, `Can't you be told, the rest of the women don't want you there.'
- 6 Q. I suggest to you that when you say that Deane Fergie
 - told you that the rest of the Ngarrindjeri women -
- 8 A. `Can't you be told, the rest of the women don't want you over there.'
- 10 Q. I suggest that you are mistaken, in that Dr Fergie didn't say that.
- 12 A. I beg your pardon, she did. That is her point of view to you, but this is my point of view to you.
- 14 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENNY
- 15 Q. I want to clarify my own understanding of this. The reason, you say, that your family is the custodian of
- the island, is because your father used to go there when
- you were younger, is that correct.
- 19 A. He went there during the holidays, yes.
- 20 Q. That is why you say that you are the custodian of the island.
- 22 A. Through, no I'm not, because in my confusion on Point
- 23 McLeay, what was put, but my brothers and sisters are,
- yes. Because, when we used to go there, either to my
- mother's sister's place, wherever she lived on the
- railways, or down to Goolwa, to meet my mother's Aunt
- and Uncle and we used to stay there and other people
- used to go to the island, and Uncle Ronnie used to go to
- 29 Mundoo Island, yes. We grew up with that, them stories
- and singing coming back from the mission.
- 31 COMSR: `Why is it that you say you are the
- custodian of the island?' The family. She is not, that
- is the question?
- 34 MR KENNY: Yes, that is the question.
- 35 A. The confusion on the Point McLeay mission with myself.
- 36 XXN
- 37 Q. The reason, as you understand, that your family say that
- they are custodians of the island.

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- A. Which they are, Alan Campbell.
- Q. Your father used to go there. A. Yes.
- **OBJECTION** Mr Sykes objects.
- 5 MR SYKES: I don't think that is her evidence.
- 6 COMSR
- Q. It is one thing to say you went there but -
- 8 A. That's where Alan Campbell come from. That's where all
- of his ancestors' people were, that's his clan, that is
- 10 where his tribe was.
- 11
- 12 Q. This question about your father and that, who your
- father is, has caused you some concern, has it. 13
- 14 A. Well, it has always been a divide, put that divide
- between me and my brothers and sisters, yes. They tell 15
- 16 me Telmege Unaipon was my natural father.
- 17 Q. Did you ever ask your mother about that.
- A. I did and there was no comment with her. I had been 18
- 19 asking her all these years but -
- 20 Q. I suggest to you that, in fact, your father is Allan
- 21 Bell Campbell Senior.
- 22 A. When I have my DNA test, I think it costs \$600 and I
- 23 haven't got the \$600 to get a DNA a test done, I am only 24 a pensioner.
- 25 COMSR: How is this going to help me?
- 26 MR KENNY: It is probably not, but I had some
- 27 instructions on that point and that is the only one I
- 28 wish to put. The witness obviously has some concerns
- 29 about it and is having a DNA test. I don't think I
- 30 will take it any further.
- 31 A. If you want to pay for it I will certainly go through
- with it. I would like to say something. 32
- 33 Just a moment I will have to see if COMSR:
- 34 anyone else wants to ask some questions of you.
- 35 You have said a lot of things to me already Miss
- 36 Campbell.
- 37 A. The reason why I like to say one thing to you.
- 38 COMSR: Just a moment, perhaps can you answer

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- the questions Mr Abbott puts to you.
- A. Yes.
- 3 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ABBOTT
- Q. I think she is actually concerned about reading
- 5 something to herself at present.
- 6 A. Yes, I am listening.
- Q. I wanted to ask you about something that your sister
- 8 Clara said about women's business and there being a
- 9 place that relates to women's business. You sat here
- 10 and listened to what Clara was saying.
- 11 A. Yes, I did.
- 12 Q. Did you hear Clara tell the Commissioner, that she had
- 13 told you about what her mother had told her. Did you
- 14 hear Clara saying that.
- 15 A. Yes, I did.
- 16 Q. Is that true, did Clara tell you anything about what she
- 17 claims her mother had told her.
- 18 A. Well, her mother might have told her something but, no,
- 19
- 20 Q. Did Clara ever tell you anything that she claimed to
- 21 have got from her mother.
- 22 A. No.

28

- 23 Q. You would remember that sort of thing, wouldn't you, if
- 24 Clara came up to you and said `Mum's told me about
- 25 secret business.
- 26 A. I told everybody else that secret. I told a lot of
- 27 Ngarrindjeri women about that secret place, what my
 - grandfather told me. No, I never heard Clara say that.
- Q. Clara never told you.
- 30 A. No, but I told everybody else, all the rest of the other
- 31 women.
- Q. You told the Ngarrindjeri women. A. Women, yes. 32
- 33
- 34 Q. About a place.
- 35 A. A place.
- Q. That your grandfather told you. 36
- 37 A. Told me, yes.
- 38 Q. Was it in reference to women's business.

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- 1 A. Women's business, yes.
- 2 COMSR
- 3 Q. I think your sister told us that it is outside the area
- 4 of the Ngarrindjeri -
- 5 A. It is not at Hindmarsh Island.
- 6 MR SMITH: She said not Hindmarsh Island or Goolwa,
- 7 and not in the area stretching from Victor Harbor down
- 8 to Hindmarsh Island and Goolwa, the lakes and up the
- 9 river, I think, to Wellington.
- 10 XXN
- 11 Q. In 1988, there was a public demonstration I think, by a
- number of Ngarrindjeri people, in relation to a proposal
- to put a tower on Mount Barker. Were you involved in that.
- 15 A. No, I wasn't.
- 16 Q. Was your brother involved in that.
- 17 A. I don't know. I didn't know about that protest they had or whatever they had there.
- 19 Q. Has your sister, Clara, discussed Mount Barker with you.
- 20 A. No, my grandfather told me everything and also in his
- 21 book, but I don't think, you know, I mean, if Doreen
- could blab lies, this filthy lie that is going on with
- women's business on Hindmarsh Island, I don't think that
- I am going to open my mouth about this women's business,
- because that is women's business and that should be kept
- in with the Aboriginal women itself. I didn't know
- there was a protest or whatever went on there, that's
- 28 not my concern, only what my I heard from the stories
- that was told to me, yes.
- 30 Q. Is the story that your grandfather told you.
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 Q. In relation to women's business.
- 33 A. It hasn't come up since this Royal Commission here, my
- 34 memory -
- 35 Q. I don't want to know what it was but it was referable to
- 36 Mount Barker.
- 37 A. Yes, it was.
- 38 Q. You say that it is published in a book.

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A.S. CAMPBELL XXN (MR ABBOTT)

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. What book is that.
- 3 A. My grandfather's book.
- 4 Q. What is the name of the book.
- 5 A. 1The Aboriginal Australia.' I would like to -
- 6 COMSR: I have to find out if anyone else wants
- 7 to ask you anything.
- 8 COMSR
- 9 Q. Is there something you wanted to tell me.
- 10 A. Yes, your Honour. I wrote it down here. I rang my brother up, John Campbell.
- 12 Q. You are not going to tell me family secrets.
- 13 A. No, it is not. I rang my brother, John Campbell, at
- Wellington, to see if he was all right, and when I rang
- my brother Johnnie, John turned round and said, `Guess
- who is here? and I said `Who.', He said `Douglas
- 17 Milera.' And I said `Well, what is he doing there?' He
- said `He wants to tell the truth, about Hindmarsh
- 19 Island.' And I said, 'Well, can I talk to him?' and I
- spoke to Douglas Milera. And he said 'Hello sister' and
- I said `Hello brother' that's how we always refer
- ourselves to when we speaking to one another as
- brothers as sisters. And, I said, before I could say
- anymore, Doug said to me, 'Sister, you know, it would
- be me, the one that would come out and speak the truth
- about Hindmarsh Island, that it was fabricated.' And I
- said to him, 'Well do you want to tell the rest of the
- media this and if you want to speak the truth out?' And
- he said, 'Yes, sister.' And I said 'Why do you want to
- come out with the truth now, when you told so many lies,
- 31 you know?' And he said, `Well sister, when they start
- talking about milins' milins means putting a curse
- and death onto Dorrie `- and bringing our brothers and
- sisters down from the north to come down and point
- 35 the bone, the curse of death on to Dorrie, you know,
- it would be me the one that would come out with the
- 37 truth.' I said `Well, I will ring up this woman, in AN
- radio programme' which I take a lot of Aboriginal women

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- 1 to speak the truth out, the abuse that they go through
- 2 here. And I said `Would you be prepared to go on
- 3 radio?' And he said, `Yes, sister.' So, I rang
- 4 Channel 2 up and got it fixed up with Channel 2 to put
- 5 him on radio. And, Doug got on and told the truth on
- 6 radio because, and then after I because I believed
- 7 in AN radio, because when they took the women on. So I
- 8 put Doug on there, because I thought he was telling and
- 9 he made a fool out of me and he spoke on radio. And
- then, after I found out that he lied. You see, your
- Honour, I used to be on the South Australian Mental
- Health Board, and also the Coalition Board that I speak
- up for my people. I wanted to start a lot of things
- here, but when I spoke to people from members of
- parliament I was speaking to deaf ears, so I resigned,
- and members of the board, they didn't want to know about
- any black issues. I resigned with the racist attitude.
- They got my letter. I was also the one that started
- 19 Mee Wee. Mee Wee, out of my grandfather's book, means
- 20 life raising up out of the death. The Aboriginal
- organisation didn't help us in any way in the community,
- where they get their money, God only knows where they
- spend it on, but, they certainly not doing it to the
- Aboriginal people, because of the drink and drug
- situation. We talking to deaf ears. So I took them
- all on radio and when I asked Doug to go on radio, he
- 27 did and he spoke the truth out, on that radio programme.
- 28 RE-EXAMINÂTION BY MR SMITH
- 29 Q. Whose radio programme was that.
- 30 A. That was Channel 2, in AN radio.
- 31 Q. Who is the man.
- 32 A. That was a man that put it on.
- 33 Q. Was it in the evening or the morning.
- 34 A. That was around about, around about midday or something.
- 35 Q. Is it Keith Conlon's programme.
- 36 A. Must be him, yes, because I thought he would go on
- either Julia Lester, which I used to take the women on,
- 38 or -

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- Q. Murray Nicholl in the afternoon.
- A. No, no, this other fellow took over Abraham, Matt
- Abraham, but he went on to that Conlon fellow.
- Q. You think it was Keith Conlon.
- 5 A. Yes. Then when I found out what they done to him over
- the radio, they really railroad him over the radio and I 6
- rang up and went off at one of the women, they didn't 7
- know who. I was speaking to Jan Smith from the radio 8
- 9 programme. She said `Amelia, I didn't know it was you
- 10
- that was the one that put him on the radio.' I said `Well, you didn't have to treat him like that, you could 11
- 12 have asked him in a gentle way, you know, of the stories
- 13 from Hindmarsh Island.'
- NO FURTHER QUESTIONS 14
- 15 WITNESS RELEASED

- MR SMITH CALLS
- STEPHEN JOHN HEMMING **SWORN**
- **EXAMINATION BY MR SMITH**
- Q. Just before we go to your statement, Exhibit 19, I think
- 5 you're a curator in the anthropology division of the
- South Australian Museum, is that correct. 6
- A. Yes, that's correct.
- 8 Q. You would title yourself as just that, curator,
- Aboriginal History, I think.
- 10 A. Yes, that's my title in the museum.
- 11 Q. I think you, sometime ago, provided a statement dated 28
- 12 July 1995 to this commission to help it with its
- 13 enquiries.
- 14 A. Yes, I did.
- Q. Looking at Exhibit 19 in front of you, would you confirm 15
- 16 that that is your statement and, in effect, your
- 17 evidence.
- 18 A. Yes, it is.
- 19 Q. Just looking at that document, and I will go into it in
- 20 detail in a moment, the first section of the document
- 21 sets out your present position and duties, does it not.
- 22 A. That's right, yes.
- 23 Q. Then the second page sets out your qualifications, your
- 24 formal qualifications.
- A. That's right. 25
- 26 Q. Then p.3 is a list of all your publications.
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 Q. That embraces videos and films as well, down to p.7.
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. At p.8, you set out your professional experience.
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 Q. Employment record, teaching record, research and project 33
 - management details in summary form.
- 34 A. Yes, a summary of that sort of thing.
- 35 Q. That includes major exhibitions that you've been
- 36 involved in, key people that you've had contact with in
- connection with your research. 37
- 38 A. Yes.

- Q. And key organisations, Aboriginal organisations, that you've had contact with.
- 3 A. Yes. I thought that might be relevant.
- Q. I think at p.16 you embark upon an analysis of your involvement in the Hindmarsh Island bridge dispute if you like, although it didn't start as that, though, did it.
- 8 A. No.
- 9 Q. 1990 onwards.
- 10 Å. Yes. It's kind of since my contact with it, or my knowledge of it, or things that relate to it.
- 12 Q. In a sense, we can say that's a narrative of your contact with various people and organisations.
- 14 A. Yes, that's right.
- 15 Q. Including Deane Fergie, Neale Draper, etc.
- 16 A. Yes.
- Q. You also briefly allude, at p.20, to some debate that's plainly taken place in the museum about women's business.
- 20 A. Absolutely, yes.
- Q. To the extent that you have an opinion as an historian/anthropologist.
- A. I'm more a historian. I've outlined my trainings on a list. I did some subjects in anthropology and, due to my work at the museum, I've been involved in the anthropological style of research. I would certainly say more of a historian formally trained.
- Q. I think from p.21 through to the end of your statement fairly much sets out your opinion about the question of women's business on Hindmarsh Island.
- 31 A. Yes, that's right. It was put together fairly quickly 32 at the beginning of the whole process, so it's just a 33 summary, as I say.
- Q. Is this your position in summary, or is this too generalised; that the thrust of your position is that
- you say that there is a possibility that secret sacred
- women's business, if I can call it that, exists on
- 38 Hindmarsh Island.

- A. I guess in a general sense that's what I'd say. I argue 2 it in a couple of stages. I basically say that from the 3 perspective of the women who are arguing that it does 4 exist, a number of women have told me and I have heard 5 people say that these women have said that, and I 6 suggest to you I'm not in a position to not believe them 7 and, from my experience with those women, I do believe 8 them. So, from the perspective of the women who say it 9 does exist, I say for them it certainly does have a 10 reality. I was more investigating, I guess, the 11 possibility of evidence in the ethnography and 12 historical record that this type of women's business may 13 have existed, and also combining my experience working 14 with people over the last probably 15 years, and the sorts of indications that I may have had that there may 15 16 have been women's knowledge that wasn't being talked 17 about to men, and particularly perhaps to myself, so I 18 was combining my experience, my knowledge of the 19 ethnography, and then being informed by the people who 20 were having a say today, so I guess that's a summary of 21 my position.
- 22 COMSR
- Q. I'm just not sure; when you say women's business exists, you say you believe the women who say women's business exist.
- 26 A. I guess obviously the people who were arguing that 27 women's business exists. I mean my position is that I 28 believe that they honestly believe that, and they are 29 genuine, and from a perspective of an anthropologist or 30 an academic, I haven't been able to carry out field work 31 or investigate that issue properly, so I can only 32 believe them and, therefore, that has a reality for 33 those people. So in that sense it exists, certainly.
- 34 XN
- Q. Could you go to p.21 of your statement, Exhibit 19, and you've got a copy of it there. That sets out a summary
- of your viewpoint, and I think there are really three
- headings that you set out there as being supportive of

- your viewpoint.
- A. Is that p.19?
- Q. Is it p.21.
- A. It might be later on I think, yes.
- 5 Q. Page 21.
- A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Am I right there, there are three matters, the 8 ethnography evidence.
- 9 A. Yes.
- Q. Your own work with the Ngarrindjeri people. A. Yes. 10
- 11
- 12 Q. And your confidence in those women who claim that there is women's business. 13
- 14 A. Yes. I mean that's the three levels, in a sense.
- Q. Can I take you, then, to a more detailed analysis of 15
- 16 your view. First of all, you deal with, on p.22, the
- 17 ethnography evidence, sources, and your interpretation 18 of the evidence, don't you.
- A. Yes, I guess I'm going I'm looking at some of the key 19
- sources of information for that region, and giving a 20 21 very brief account of some of the key players in that
- 22 sense, people like starting from Sturt through to George
- 23 French Angas, Moorhouse, Edward John Eyre, so I'm just
- giving a brief comment on the nature of those sources. 24 Q. You've dealt with Sturt and Moorhouse, neither of those 25
- 26 two people pinpoint any women's business, do they.
- 27 A. No.
- 28 Q. Faye Gale you talk about, and you say `Faye Gale (1989)
- 29 a long-term researcher in the Lower Murray region, has 30 argued that Eyre provides evidence that Aboriginal women
- 31 in the region had separate religious ceremonies'.
- 32
- 33 Q. Again, that's really not disputed, is it, in the
- 34 literature.
- 35 A. Well, I think certainly the Berndts provide that
- 36 evidence, that there was separate religious ceremonies,
- 37 but I think Faye Gale's basically arguing for a
- 38 re-examination of the ethnography of the region, and she

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- 1 is pointing to the fact that the majority of observers
- 2 didn't note separate women's religious ceremonies, and
- 3 that Eyre was fairly remarkable in that he did note that
- 4 type of thing going on, and she is basically calling
- 5 for, to some extent, a re-examination and making a few
- 6 comments from her own experience. Within that article she makes a few comments.
- 8 Q. You don't extrapolate from that any evidence of secret sacred women's business, do you.
- 10 A. No, I'm just drawing attention to that argument, and given the fact that Faye Gale is a long term researcher
- in the region, it's interesting that she was asking
- similar questions back in the late 1980s.
- Q. She was looking at that from a feminine perspective,would you say that.
- 16 A. I guess she is saying that. She is bringing in a
- perspective which allows for a more broad broach for looking at the sources informed by feminist developments
- over the last 20 or 30 years.
- 20 Q. You then turn to missionary accounts and refer to the works of Meyer, for instance, and Taplin. Again there
- is, you know, in an evidentary or historian sense, no
- 23 evidence in any of that material that you refer to, is
- there, of secret sacred women's business, or anything
- akin to it.

28

- A. Certainly not secret sacred women's business, but a separation, Meyer records a separation of women from men
 - during childbirth and menstruation, but yes.
- Q. You then move on, on p.23, to Ronald and Catherine Berndt. Can I take you to your second last paragraph
- where you deal with Catherine Berndt's assertion that,
- 32 in the Lower Murray, `gender based differences in the
- sense of inclusion/exclusion, in religious and other
- 34 affairs, were minimal'. Catherine Berndt asserts that.
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. Do you take issue with that.
- 37 A. Well, I do in the sense that the evidence that they
- presented in the work `A World That Was' to my mind

- 1 tends to contradict that, or at least place that in 2
 - question. I think that the argument that they, well,
- 3 that type of argument they present, the ethnography
- doesn't tend to bear that out within examination, I 5 guess. That's my view.
- Q. Does the ethnography support a contrary assertion, so that, in other words, do you go so far as to say it 8 shows the opposite.
- 9 A. No, I don't go that far, but I would suggest that the
- ethnography is not complete enough. The ethnography has 10
- 11 a number of major examples, like the fact that there
- 12 were separate women's initiations that very little
- 13 information is provided for, and given that those
- 14 separate women initiations did exist according to the
- 15 Berndts, that raises a major question about the actual
- 16 division of male and female knowledge, and the Berndts
- 17 don't explain that situation within their oral history ethnography. 18
- Q. It's correct, however, that, as far as the male and 19 20 female initiations are concerned, the same mythology 21 applies to both, doesn't it.
- 22 A. Well, it's very difficult to say whether that's exactly
- 23 the case. I mean from the perspective, a general 24 perspective within the book, it's referred to that
- 25 Waiyungari and various other mythology or dreamings
- 26 relate to initiation in general, but in terms of
- 27 documenting the process of women's initiation, there is
- 28 no actual account of what took place in women's
- 29 initiation, what was transferred during women's
- 30 initiation, other than just very basic physical details
- 31 and, as I think I've said further on, Pinkie Mack didn't
- 32 remember the songs she claims, or perhaps -
- 33 Q. Can I come to that in a minute.
- 34 A. Sure.
- 35 Q. Unless it influences the answer to your question.
- 36
- Q. Do you really take issue with the Berndts' assertion 37
- 38 that the same mythology explains both the men's

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- initiations and the women's initiations. 2
 - A. I wouldn't say I don't issue with it necessarily, but
- 3 I don't think it fully explains the nature of the
- women's initiation. It doesn't provide details of what
- 5 was really taking place from the perspective of the
- 6 learning and passing down of knowledge. It's really
- 7 just a very broad sweep which would have been available
- 8 in the broader community to men and women, perhaps, who 9
 - weren't fully initiated. It's not very specific.
- 10 Q. But isn't that, from your perspective at least, the most 11 that can be said about it.
- 12 A. Certainly, but what I guess I'm saying is if you make a
- 13 statement that `Gender based differences in the sense of
- 14 inclusion and exclusion in religious and other affairs
- 15 were minimal', you would have to say in terms of the
- 16 question that we're looking at here, secret sacred
- 17 women's business, there is a big question over what was
- 18 actually being, or who was involved in the women's
- 19 secret life, if there was one, but there are certainly
- 20 initiation ceremonies that we don't know about. There
- 21 is a number of questions not answered for me. That
- 22 generalisation is one, to my mind, worth questioning.
- 23 Q. From an anthropological viewpoint, and you're 24 experienced in this area, the fact that there is similar
- 25 mythology in respect of both male and female initiation
- 26 is, however, extremely significant in terms of the
- 27 interpretation of men's and women's business.
- 28 A. Certainly, but men and women may have had different 29 interpretations in certain parts of that shared dreaming
- 30 and certain evidence of other bits of dreaming knowledge
- 31 within Philip Clarke's thesis that don't appear in the
- 32 Berndts book, for instance.
- 33 Q. Well, is it fair for me to say that's a mild criticism
- 34 by you of the Berndts' work.
- 35 A. Certainly. I mean I'm not saying it's a great criticism
- 36 of their work, I guess I'm drawing attention to a
- 37 generalisation that could present problems for this
- 38 Commission in the sense that if you go along with that

- without being critical of it, then you may be overlooking some of the possibilities.
- Q. Well, it's one thing, I suppose, to look critically and analytically at the Berndts' work, but to draw from that any support do you draw from that any support for the existence of secret sacred women's business.
- A. I guess what I've done is tried to find examples and be critical within their evidence, try to find examples that show that it was certainly possible that it existed and, if you look, as I keep going back to the women's initiations that we know nothing about really, there is an example of something that stands out as being a marker for the existence of secret women's business.
- 14 COMSR
- 15 Q. I just wonder if I can see if I'm following what you're 16 saying there. The fact that there were secret 17 initiation ceremonies was known, wasn't it. I mean the 18 men knew that the women had secret ceremonies, didn't 19 they.
- A. It certainly appears that way from the evidence of the Berndts, yes.
- 22 Q. And the women knew that the men had it.
- 23 A. Yes, but the knowledge within those ceremonies, the 24 actual knowledge that the women were perhaps gaining, is 25 not much in terms of evidence of what was going on in 26 that process within the Berndts' work. You find Pinkie 27 Mack saying she didn't remember the songs. Well, those 28 songs probably would have been critical, at least in the 29 aspect of what women were learning during that process 30 of initiation, and we don't know what they were.
- 31 XN
- Q. Well, it's been suggested to this commission that Pinkie
 Mack's failure to remember some of the songs is just
 that, it's a memory problem rather than a problem which
 has any significance in terms of excluding information
 from her recipient.
- 37 A. I react to that -
- 38 Q. Can I ask you, first of all, Pinkie Mack was how old at

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- the time that she was providing information to the 1
- Derndts.

 A. She was certainly up around the 80 years mark, somewhere in that vicinity.

 CONTINUED

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Q. The Berndts don't ascribe any significance to her 2 failure to remember the songs beyond her lack of memory of them, do they. A. No, they don't. But they do make a note of the number 5 of places that Pinkie Mack didn't take the same approach 6 to the work that they were doing with Albert Karloan in

7 terms of recording the history and the culture, as 8 Albert Karloan did. Pinkie Mack was, as they describe

9 her, a song woman. She really enjoyed singing songs and 10

she knew a lot about songs. That was her expertise, and that was what she was interested in doing. They do

11 12

record that there wasn't as much enthusiasm or 13

understanding of the reasons behind recording the

14 knowledge. She actually felt - Catherine Berndt records

15 that Pinkie Mack wasn't so sure about what use the

16 knowledge would be to future generations of Ngarrindjeri

17 people. So certainly there is an indication Pinkie Mack

18 wasn't the same enthusiastic worker in some areas as

19 Albert Karloan. I guess, going one step further, I am

20 basing some of my reactions to this in the sense that,

21 first of all, she was well known as a song woman and she

22 doesn't remember any of the songs that she learnt during

23 her initiation ceremonies. She was not as enthusiastic

24 about the work say as Albert Karloan. I have heard

25 people talk about Pinkie Mack in later years as someone

26 who was, I guess, bitter about her - the white blood in

27 her veins. She hasn't been characterised to me, in

28 stories about her, as someone who was open to white

29 people. So I guess there is a combination of things

30 there, but certainly I am surprised that someone who is

31 a person who is skilled at song singing and interested

32 in songs would not remember any of the songs relating to

33 her initiation. I would think that, by saying she

34 didn't remember them, that would be just the reaction

35 that someone would give to people who were asking

36 questions if they didn't want to upset those people,

37 insult those people. It would be a way of actually

38 steering the questions away.

1 COMSR

- 2 Q. Is it known at what age women were initiated.
- A. It seems as if it started around the time of puberty and went through for a period after that. I think Pinkie
- Mack died in about 1951 or 52 in terms of a full life span.
- 7 XN
- Q. Pinkie Mack obviously had a considerable reservoir of
 knowledge, in any event, that she conveyed to the
 Berndts, didn't she.
- 11 A. Yes, she did.
- 12 Q. On what basis do you draw, from her failure to be able
- to remember some of the initiation songs, that that
- meant she was withholding knowledge, or is this just a speculation by you.
- 16 A. I would say I mean, it is certainly just a
- speculation. It is not I can't say for sure that is
- the case, but I am looking at a range of different bits
- of evidence that again maybe point towards that.
- 20 Q. It is a speculation the Berndts didn't make, isn't it.
- 21 A. No, they didn't, no.
- Q. You then, at the bottom of p.23, alert us to Alison Harvey.
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. You have heard Alison Harvey's evidence. Having heard
- from the woman herself in evidence, do you accept that she doesn't even notionally support any case for secret
- sacred women's business.
- 29 A. Well, she certainly didn't from her experience, I have
- 30 to say, but a comment on her evidence, it was
- 31 interesting to see that Norman Tindale and Mountford -
- 32 particularly Norman Tindale, who had worked in the area
- for 10 years seemed to be interested in getting a
- female anthropologist to talk to a woman, whom he
- believed was a source of a lot of knowledge, in the
- 36 chance that some knowledge about women's business would
- come out. So, I must admit, that was an aspect of
- 38 Alison Brookman's evidence that I found very

- 1 interesting, because it did indicate that an experienced
- 2 anthropologist in the region at the time, a male
- anthropologist, did seem to think there was a
- 4 possibility that there was secret women's business to be
- 5 found. I guess that's something I found interesting
- 6 from her evidence, aside from this other point.
- 7 Q. Just from a purely scientific basis, Mountford and
- Tindale according to Alison Harvey, she went down to that area as a very young girl with a brief to elicit,
- if possible, women's business, and she says that she was
- 11 not able to do that, doesn't she.
- 12 A. Yes, that's right.
- 13 Q. Women's business, in the sense of secret knowledge or
- restricted knowledge, why do you take solace from the fact -
- 16 A. I don't take solace in it.
- 17 Q. That she was sent down there to do that as being some support for the existence of it.
- 19 A. Because I guess I find it interesting that Norman
- Tindale, who was one of the key workers in this region,
- 21 who had been working in the region for at least 10
- years, he had written articles on songs from the region
- by that stage, et cetera, believed that there was a
- possibility. This is after 10 years of having contact
- with people. I have had say 15 years now, and I have a
- similar view, I guess, that there is a possibility.
- 27 Q. Dealing with the Berndts for a moment, it is correct,
- isn't it, that the Berndts did most of their work in the
- 29 Lower River Murray in the 30s and 40s.
- 30 A. Yes, the late Ronald Berndt in the 30s, and Catherine
- 31 Berndt coming in in the early 40s.
- 32 Q. Then they had a rich experience in the anthropology of
- Australia in the ensuing years, to the publication of
- their book in late 1993.
- 35 A. That's right, yes.
- 36 Q. So that when they published their book in 1993, do you
- accept that they had the advantage of seeing the Lower

- River Murray Aboriginal culture in relief against other cultures that they'd experienced throughout Australia.
- A. Yes, certainly, I would, absolutely.
- 4 Q. You wouldn't take issue with the distinctiveness that they found in the culture of the Lower River Murray.
- A. No. No, I think that there are a number of distinctive
 aspects, but they relate to other cultures in the
 vicinity too.
- 9 Q. They, as Professor Tonkinson points out in his foreword, 10 stamp the distinctiveness, amongst other things, with 11 the lack of secret society, a lack of secretness and 12 sacredness in the culture, don't they.
- A. Tonkinson does in the foreword, mentions that, and they talk about those issues in general on a number of occasions, certainly.
- Q. At p.24, you make some suggestions about Philip Clarke's thesis, which I will not delve into, that has been canvassed. Then at the bottom of p.24, you make reference to Doreen Kartinyeri's work as an Aboriginal historian. With respect to Dr Kartinyeri, it is the case, isn't it, that she received her honorary doctorate on the basis of her genealogy work.
- A. Not really, no. She has published a number of general works that relate to Aboriginal history.
- 25 Q. What are they.
- A. She has published jointly with Peggy Brock; she has
 written an article in Faye Gale's collections, `We Are
 Bosses Ourselves' which talk about genealogies, but
 specifically talk about generalised Aboriginal history
- as well. She also produces introductions in her family histories that talk about the general history of the
- regions or the people she is talking about. I don't
- think you would specifically separate out genealogy from
- history anyway. I mean, she talks she is an expert,
- or, in a sense, she publishes in family based history.
- 36 It is based around genealogies and families, but she
- talks more generally than that about history, and she is
- 38 recognised as a source of historical information and

- sought out in the museum for just that, as well as genealogies.
- Q. So you take issue with anyone who would suggest that
 Doreen Kartinyeri's expertise lies merely in genealogies.
- 6 A. I guess I would have to say that, because I know that
- 7 Doreen has been able to combine her own knowledge of her
- 8 culture and history with an actual academic interest in
- 9 it as well. She has carried out archival research, she
- 10 has carried out research that other historians would
- carry out other than just genealogical research and
- applied that in publications. So I certainly would have
- to say that that's defining her too narrowly.
- Q. Can I suggest to you that Doreen has not published apurely historical work, has she.
- 16 A. Do you mean excluding genealogies in it?
- 17 O. Yes.
- 18 A. I am just trying to think.
- 19 Q. They are genealogy based works, aren't they.
- 20 A. They always have an element of genealogy in them,
- certainly, but that doesn't exclude her from being an historian.
- 23 Q. She has no formal qualifications in history, has she.
- 24 A. No, but she has got her honorary doctorate.
- Q. She has professed a lack of knowledge in her own culturein one of her publications.
- 27 A. Yes, I think people have referred to a quote in one of
- the publications which I think has been, to my mind, to
- 29 some extent taken out of context. I have heard Doreen
- 30 say similar things before, but she says those in
- 31 relation to the fact that she is still interested in
- learning. She is actively trying to find out more
- information about her culture and history, and there is
- more for her to learn, in a sense. She is not saying -
- certainly from my own experience, that is not the case,
- because she does know a lot about her history and
- 37 culture.
- 38 Q. You know the one I am referring to, I think.

- 1 A. Yes.
- Q. In 1983 the University of Adelaide published the Rigney
 Family History or the Rigney Family Genealogy, and that was a work of Doreen Kartinyeri's, wasn't it.
- 5 A. Yes, that's right.
- Q. The document itself asserts `collected by DoreenKartinyeri'.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. In that document at p.15, under the heading `How I started this project to record family genealogies and history', she says this `In 1979 Lewis O'Brien came to
- see me at my home and asked me if I could record Point
- McLeay and Point Pearce family genealogies, and, if I
- could, would I be interested in doing a project to
- submit to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
- in Canberra. Next I could ask for a grant to record
- family genealogies, and he and Paul Hughes felt that it
- should be recorded now. They both felt that the
- 19 Aboriginal identity, culture, customs and language were
- 20 fast dying out, and if it was not recorded now, then it
- would be lost to our people forever. I told Lewis I did
- 22 not know much about the culture, customs and language,
- but I said I do know the identities of the Point Pearce and the Point McLeay people'.
- 25 A. Certainly.
- 26 Q. That is fairly categorical, isn't it.
- 27 A. I wouldn't say that. In comparison to what, that she
- doesn't know much? Her perspective on that, and I think
- a lot of Aboriginal people, when they talk about what
- they know about their culture and Aboriginal history,
- tend to underestimate the knowledge that they have. I
- think you have seen that in the evidence in this
- commission. That is the way I would put that into
- context. I wouldn't see that as a categorical statement
- she doesn't know much. It would be in a comparative
- sense, in the sense of being lost to the things she
- doesn't know, and that's from knowing her a long time, I
- guess I can say that.

- Q. I put it to you that Doreen requires assistance with written work, does she not.
- A. She requires assistance to get work to the final publication stage, yes.
- Q. To compose a letter of any sophistication she needs assistance.
- 7 A. She usually calls upon it. I think she is more capable than she believes, but -
- 9 Q. For instance, for her work in the family history unit at the museum, Barry Craig, for instance, does a lot of her writing, does he not.
- 12 A. He edits her writing, basically, in terms of grammar and style.
- 14 Q. Grammar, style, composition.
- 15 A. Sometimes. Although, there is a lot of argument over 16 that usually. Doreen doesn't like the sense of what she 17 has to say changed.
- 18 Q. And Robert Foster is another one who is -
- 19 A. He is only just starting. He is a recent starter in that sort of area.
- Q. So that really exhausts, from pp.22, 23, 24, the evidence to which you refer to support your position that there is a possibility of secret sacred women's business on Hindmarsh Island.
- A. Through that section. Although, I guess there are other things that I'm saying, and particularly my experience in the field, a summary of that, and a summary of some occasions when Doreen has said things to me that relate to that.
- 30 Q. I have touched on all the areas of evidence that you have referred to. You accept that. There is no other
- category of evidence on which you rest your case for the possibility, is there.
- A. I don't know whether you have really emphasized the fact that, on a number of occasions I have said or Doreen
- has said to me things like `There is things I can't
- 37 tell you because you're a man'. I have noted a couple
- of occasions, and I have references in notebooks to

- 1 those things, and this is previous to Hindmarsh Island.
- 2 So I think that is an element of my evidence that hasn't
- been mentioned so far. I think.
- Q. You would say that the fact that she has done that from time to time is some indication, is it. 5
- 6 A. Some indication.
- Q. That there is some women's business.
- 8 A. Some indication, yes.
- Q. You couldn't put it any higher than that, could you.
- 10 A. No. As I say, she has never told me any details or gone 11 any further than that.
- 12 **COMSR**
- 13 Q. When you say it hasn't been mentioned it, you have
- mentioned it -14
- A. I have mentioned it but I don't think we have actually 15 16 mentioned it in -
- Q. In your statement. 17
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 XN
- 20 Q. Just going back to the Berndts for a moment, I think you
- 21 and Philip Clarke made arrangements for the Berndts, in
- 22 the late 80s, to visit the daughter of Pinkie Mack,
- 23 didn't you.
- 24
- A. Yes, only very informal ones, yes.Q. They went out to see her, both of them, at her home. 25
- 26 A. Yes, I think we found out later that they had visited.
- Q. You weren't present. 27
- 28 A. No, no. I think we just gave her the address - gave
- 29 them the address basically, and encouraged them to
- 30 visit, told them that she was still alive, and really
- 31 felt that it would be a nice thing to do, for them to
- 32 get together.
- 33 Q. Is it your understanding that, whilst she was alive, the
- 34 daughter of Pinkie Mack was considered, shall I say, the
- 35 Queen of the Ngarrindjeri people.
- 36 A. I think that quite a few Ngarrindjeri people would have
- recognised her as such, and certainly in a general sense 37

29

CONTINUED

- she was recognised as a really significant elder, one of the major elders of the community.
- Q. She was, can I suggest to you, one of the people you would expect to be consulted if an anthropological report was being done on the existence of secret sacred women's business on Hindmarsh Island. Would that be right.
- A. She certainly should have, in the sense of being a source, be consulted. I don't know whether she would be directly brought in unless the family was happy for that to happen. I mean, her health hasn't been that good, so I think it would happen through a different process, not directly approaching her.
- Q. Just leaving the opinion you hold with this one last topic, do you accept that the literature in respect of the Lower Murray region and I'm really just focusing on the literature leaves us with two areas of secrecy only, sorcery and some aspects of men's and women's initiation.
- A. I think there are a couple of other indications of secrecy within the Berndts - I wouldn't agree it was just that. I would say that you have got -
- Q. Can I just interrupt you. You can come to the indications later. But do you accept that the literature supports, in a scientific and evidential way, just those two areas and no more. I am not talking about possibilities or indications or inferences. I am talking about scientific support for.

- A. There are a couple of other stated areas of secrecy that are there. They are not - they don't come out as major areas, but they certainly would be worth commenting on.
- Q. What are they.
- 5 A. The area of secret names, which the Berndts relate to or
- 6 refer to. And that, in the Berndts' book, is very, very 7
- brief, briefly mentioned. But the Berndts describe
- 8 people as having - are assigned secret names that only 9 the male relatives know, that they can't tell to women.
- 10 And that these names are specific to their country.
- 11 They are used as identifiers for their relationship to
- 12 the dreaming and country. And that's the way the
- 13 Berndts describe those. I think that is a fairly
- 14 interesting bit of evidence in the Berndts' book that
- doesn't get taken any further than that. Also, I think 15
- 16 that the discussion about the doctors is very
- 17 interesting in the sense that the Berndts argue that
- 18 male doctors and female doctors took on apprentices and
- 19 that those apprentices went through a process of
- 20 learning. And Albert Karloan argues that that learning
- 21 wasn't just a learning process that related to physical
- 22 aspects. It was deeply connected with the building of
- 23 the Miwi or the spiritual aspect of the identity and
- 24 that would only be learnt through a series of stages.
- 25 So, I think the actual Miwi aspects of the religion too
- 26 seems to indicate an element of secrecy. And certainly,
- 27 when you relate it to the doctor situation, that is
- something that would be worth noting. And that is not 28
- 29 just sorcery. When you use a term like `sorcery', I
- 30 think that is outside of those realms. So, they are a
- 31 couple of things that spring to mind that I would have
- 32 to say also.
- 33 Q. Perhaps I could reframe my proposition to you by saying
- you argue that the literature focuses on two significant 34
- 35 areas of secrecy only in respect to the Lower River
- 36 Murray. That is, sorcery and the question of
- 37 initiations.
- 38 A. I think they are major areas, certainly.

- Q. Can I take you away from that area to the narrative of
- events surrounding the Hindmarsh Island bridge dispute.
- 3 In April, early April of 1994, was it the case that
- Doreen Kartinyeri was working for the museum, but from
- 5 her home in the Mid North, at Port Germein.
- A. I think that was the case, yes.
- Q. In April 1994, where were you working.
- 8 A. I was based out at the Fullarton Road annex of the museum so I wasn't at the main building very often.
- Q. You came into the museum, from time to time, obviously. A. Yes. 10
- 11
- 12 Q. Were you aware that, in early April of 1994, Doreen
- 13 Kartinyeri was making enquiries at the museum in respect
- 14 of information about Hindmarsh Island and that area.
- A. I have a memory that, during that early period of 1994, 15 16
- there was a growing interest in that. And I think 17 Doreen was starting to ask some questions in relation to
- 18 Hindmarsh Island, but I can't pin anything specifically
- 19 down for that period.
- 20 Q. So, you were aware, by April of 1994, that the
- 21 Aboriginal community, at least some sections of it, were
- 22 opposed to the construction of the bridge on Hindmarsh 23 Island, weren't you.
- 24 A. Yes, I think so, yes.
- Q. I am not suggesting anything sinister in this: you 25 supported that. 26
- 27 A. I don't know whether I supported that, at that stage. 28 My involvement in the issue was fairly minimal right
- 29 through and I don't think I had a strong view on things
- 30 in that form in that period. I think I would have
- 31 generally supported the Aboriginal interest in
- protecting sites in the region. That would be and 32
- 33 that's usually my standpoint.
- 34 Q. You had, since 1981, spent considerable time in the
- field in the Lower River Murray area, had you not. 35
- 36
- Q. You had formed firm friendships with Aboriginal people 37
- 38 in that area.

- 1 A. Yes, I hope so.
- Q. To the extent that Maggie Jacobs, for instance, was a close friend of yours.
- 4 A. Yes, but from a later time. She was one of the people I guess I met later on.
- Q. Isn't it the case that you did involve yourself in
 issues relating to the interests of the Aboriginal
 people in the Lower River Murray area.
- 9 A. In what way do you mean? How would you define that?
- 10 Q. I will be a bit more specific. The extension of the Tailem Bend Road, for instance.
- A. At that stage, I was working on site recording in that region. And, in fact, if I remember rightly, I think it
- was the Highways Department that actually approached us to do some work.
- Q. Can I put this proposition to you first and you canexpand on it.
- 18 A. Yes.
- Q. Wasn't it yourself who alerted the members of the Lower
 Murray Aboriginal Heritage Committee to the prospect
 that this road extension may effect some significant
 sites.
- A. That may have been the case, yes, given we were working on site recording in the region and it was obvious that a road was coming through.
- Q. And you contacted a Phil Fitzpatrick, at the Aboriginal
 Heritage Branch, about that.
- 28 A. I really don't remember, at all.
- 29 Q. That is a possibility. You would accept that that could have happened.
- 31 A. It may have done.
- Q. Is it the case then that you instigated and I am not saving this in any sinister way but you alerted the
- saying this in any sinister way but you alerted the members of that Committee to some of the implications
- 35 that you saw that could be involved in the road
- 36 extension from Tailem Bend to Ashfield.
- 37 A. You are pushing my memory in terms of the details, but I
- would certainly say, given I was working on the site

- 1 recording and the implications of the road coming
- 2 through, that I would have discussed that with people,
- but I haven't a memory of the Highways Department making
- 4 contact with us. So, I am not quite sure of the balance
- of the timing of that, I have to say. I really can't
- 6 say much more on it, more than that. And I think, if
- 7 you are involved in site recording and you see the
- 8 implications of possible implications of sites coming
- 9 up in against, say, a development like a road being
- put through, I think there is a responsibility of
- letting people know about that. Because, under the Act,
- people can be charged for destroying sites, even in the
- sense if they are ignorant of those sites. So, I think
- it is people's responsibility, if they were aware of
- that, to do it. But that is just my view now and the
- way I would have been thinking then, I think. So, I can't really say exactly the sequence of events.
- can't really say exactly the sequence of events.

 One of events.

 Can we extrapolate from that then that, in relation to
- Hindmarsh Island and the bridge across the river to Hindmarsh Island.
- 21 A. Yes
- Q. Before the bridge dispute erupted and the events of 1993/1994 took place, you had no view that there was
- women's secret business on Hindmarsh Island, did you.
- 25 A. Yes, that's absolutely true, yes.
- Q. Because, had you had that view, I suggest to you that you might have alerted -
- 28 A. Certainly, yes.
- 29 Q. The Aboriginal interests down there that that was the case.
- 31 A. I certainly would have, I would have pointed that out.
- And we would have been asked, I would have thought, in
- the process. I mean, people like Rod Lucas came to the
- museum and asked about Hindmarsh Island. We provided
- all the information we had, at that time. And that was
- very minimal, really, in terms of general material. So,
- in actual fact, that had happened, in a sense.
- 38 Q. You wouldn't suggest, though, that the literature on

- this general area, as opposed to Hindmarsh Island, was minimal, would you.
- A. No, but, in the sense of in comparison to other, or of extra things that we could add. I mean, in terms of the
- 5 contact with Rod Lucas, it was more what else do you
- 6 know that might be of relevance to that region. And, in
- 7 terms of the work you have done and the work I had done.
- 8 That would be extra, would be field-based oral
- 9 histories. And the amount of work I had done in that
- 10 region really wasn't much. It really only related to
- comments of people shearing on the island. The odd
- person having holidays on the island. Those sorts of things.
- 14 Q. You saw the end result of Rod Lucas's work, in 1990, did you.
- 16 A. Yes, I did.
- Q. And he took pains to consult the museum, yourself,Philip Clarke, didn't he.
- 19 A. Yes, I believe so, yes.
- 20 Q. Being obviously a place which had focused all the
- 21 material relating to the Lower River Murray. In other
- words, if you were researching that area, you would go to the museum, wouldn't you, for some help and advice.
- 24 A. It is a major area to talk to, I think, yes, and he did.
- 25 COMSR
- 26 Q. Is there a comparable other major area.
- 27 A. I think there are lots of places, if you were doing a
- very broad research project, that you could go to. The
- 29 Institute of Aboriginal Studies. There are sources
- relating to the Lower Murray in a lot of places, but the
- 31 South Australian Museum obviously has a major collection
- of information and objects.
- 33 XN
- 34 Q. Where are the other sources in South Australia.
- 35 A. You have got oral history.
- 36 Q. In South Australia.
- 37 A. In South Australia? I am talking about other States.
- Normally Catherine Berndt's notes would have been, if

- 1 you had access to them, would be a major source. There
- would be the manuscripts that David Unaipon was said to
- 3 put together, that is held in the Mitchell Library. You
- have got the oral history tapes or linguistic language
- tapes from the Institute of Aboriginal Studies from
- 6 people like Luise Hercus and Kathy Ellis.
- Q. Looking at Rod Lucas's report, Exhibit 15, now before
 you, going to the heading `6. Conclusions', and it is
 towards the end of the report. Do you have that.
- 10 A. Yes, I have.
- 11 Q. You see there Rod Lucas concludes, amongst a number of
- other conclusions, but there is a conclusion There is
- 13 no extant mythology which specifies mythological sites
- on Hindmarsh Island.' At the time of that report, did
- you take issue with that.
- 16 A. No, I don't think so. When Rod Lucas, I guess, spoke to
- myself and Philip Clarke, he was able to get a summary
- of what we knew of the sources. And I guess we gave him some short cuts.
- 20 Q. Can I take you back to April of 1994, or earlier. You,
- I take it, had conversations with Doreen Kartinyeri, about the bridge, did you.
- 23 A. Early 1994?
- 24 Q. Tell me when you first had a discussion with Doreen
- 25 Kartinyeri, that you can remember, about the
- construction of a bridge on Hindmarsh Island.
- 27 A. The best my memory can work is that I was aware that
- there was some interest in the Hindmarsh Island bridge
- from Doreen prior to the letter that she wrote to
- 30 Tickner. I think that's what I was -
- 31 Q. Did you learn from Doreen Kartinyeri, at some stage
- prior to the letter to Tickner, which we know was in May
- of 1994, don't we.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. That she was opposed to the construction of the bridge.
- 36 A. I would think I had that impression, yes.
- 37 Q. What, only an impression.
- 38 A. As I say, I can't remember specific conversations, I

1 have to say. I have got a general memory of the period for that. And there are certain events that I can 2

remember.

Q. Philip Clarke told us, in both his statement and his 5 evidence, that, in early April 1994, Doreen Kartinyeri 6 telephoned him and said, amongst other things, to him, 7 that she had very little to stop the bridge and she was 8 looking for anything that might help.

9 A. Yes.

- 10 Q. She must have had some sort of conversation like that 11 with you.
- 12 A. As I say, I wasn't very - I wasn't in the museum very 13 often in that early period. I had been away at the University of South Australia for two years just prior 14 15 to that and my contact with Doreen was really only 16 starting up again once I got back to the mueseum. So, I 17 mean, listening to Philip Clarke's evidence, it seems 18 fairly clear that he had more contact with Doreen in 19 relation to this situation than I was having. But, as I 20 say, I certainly had the impression that that was
- 21 happening, at that time. That Doreen had an interest in 22 the issue and she was collecting information, but it is 23 very general, my memory of that.

- Q. You have indicated that, at some stage, when the Berndts 24 25 were visiting the museum, you have a memory of a 26 conversation with the Berndts, or one of them, was it.
- 27 A. My memory was Ronald Berndt. As far as I can remember, 28 that's my memory. And I think I have been consistent in 29 saying that. I haven't said `Berndts', I have said 30 `Ronald Berndt'.
- Q. That was about, when, that this conversation took place. 31
- 32 A. My memory of it was towards the end of the development 33 of Ngurunderi or maybe afterwards, just afterwards. It 34 was later, it wasn't earlier, let's put it that way.
- 35 O. What year are we talking about here.
- 36 A. I'd say 1989, 1988, in that vicinity. That's my 37 impression.
- 38 Q. Your memory of the conversation is a discussion of the

- 1 mythology, or you tell us what is your memory.
- 2 A. It was very general. And I think, as I have said in my
- statement, it really was just Ronald Berndt kind of
- 4 speculating, theorising on the possibilities that that
- 5 Lower Murray region had some connection with femininity.
- 6 Maybe the female body, but femininity and it was really
- 7 just a speculation. From memory, I think he was making
- 8 the comments in relation to having been working on his
- 9 book and just thinking generally about the topic. Now,
- 10 I don't as far as I can remember, it certainly didn't
- go any further than that. And, at the time of
- discussing this with other people, I thought that Philip
- 13 Clarke may have been present, at the same time. And I
- was actually fairly certain that Philip might have
- something written down. So, that was my memory of the conversation.
- 17 Q. Did that conversation deal with Hindmarsh Island, in any specific way.
- 19 A. No, it was very generalised. Very generalised.
- 20 Q. When you saw, for instance, that Rod Lucas reported no mythology.
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. In the light of that discussion with the Berndts, did that -
- 25 A. No, it had no bearing on that.
- 26 Q. It had no bearing.
- 27 A. This was just a very general discussion. It didn't
- 28 mention Hindmarsh Island and it really didn't mention
- 29 mythology either. It really just talked about the
- 30 possibilities of some sort of connection with that
- region. It was very general. It was something that I
- wouldn't have applied to anything really very much at
- all until much later in relation this issue that things
- started to be a little bit of a comparison there. But I
- didn't put much weight on it and I still don't in a
- 36 sense.
- 37 Q. Were you aware then, going back to Doreen and April of
- 38 1994, that Philip Clarke had provided Doreen with data

- 1 from his data base prepared for his thesis in relation
- to Hindmarsh Island, or at least the Lower River Murrayarea.
- 4 A. I don't think I was, in the sense that, when I spoke to
- 5 Philip over the phone, I was asking for access to his
- 6 records or help with tracking down a couple of specific
- 7 things. And I don't think Doreen gave me that
- 8 impression, but I wouldn't be surprised with that.
- 9 Doreen may have been looking for extra information.
- 10 Q. Did you, at around about this time, have any
- conversations with Doreen about the Ngarrindjeri word
- for pregnant and the Ngarrindjeri word for the island,
- 13 `Kumarangk'.
- 14 A. No, I didn't, actually, no.
- 15 Q. There has been evidence that following the arrival of
- the Tindale collection.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. At the museum.
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. That there were two visits by Aboriginal people to the
- 21 museum. First by Milera, Doug Milera and Victor Wilson.
- 22 And then later by some women. And I will come to that,
- in a moment. Were you at the museum, at that time. And
- I am talking of the first visit by Douglas Milera and
- 25 Victor Wilson.
- 26 CONTINUED

- 1 A. I have a memory of discussing with, I think, Victor
- Wilson, the Tindale collection and the nature of the Tindale collection.
- 4 Q. Did you suggest that he -
- 5 A. The sort of complexities of using it, those sorts of issues, it is not a very specific timing of when.
- 7 Q. Was that in about April of 1994.
- 8 A. It may have been, but, as I say, I don't have a record of it and I don't think I was actually my vague
- memory is that, I came in on a discussion and it wasn't
- something that I was there at the beginning of, but, it
- is a fairly vague memory.
- 13 Q. Did you encourage Victor Wilson, for instance, or Doug
- Milera for that matter, to go and have a look at the collection.
- 16 A. I think, in conversations over the years, I had said to
- people, that the Tindale material was going to be very
- interesting once it came to the museum. So, I wouldn't
- be surprised that perhaps, if I had a conversation with
- Victor, or probably not Doug, because I didn't talk to
- 21 Doug Milera very often at all, maybe Victor, more likely
- George Trevorrow or John, I would be saying `The Tindale
- 23 collection is something interesting, if you get time
- come to the museum come and have a look at it.'
- Q. What about in the context of the bridge dispute, did you urge them to go and have a look at the collection.
- 27 A. I don't think I did, because I don't think I was
- involved at that stage, in that period, very much with that issue.
- 30 Q. Is it correct that, there was an occasion in early
- April, or early to mid April 1994, when Doreen
- Kartinyeri, Hilda Day, Sarah Milera, visited the Tindale
- 33 collection and were you present.
- 34 A. Again, I have a vague memory of more of hearing about
- 35 the visit than being there and I have racked my brains
- on this one, because I know Hilda Day, and I can't
- 37 remember having seen Hilda Day at the museum for I
- don't know if I had even seen her there since maybe the

- 1 Ngurunderi exhibition. I haven't been able to pin
- down being at that meeting. I haven't got a record of
- 3 it and I certainly wasn't I would have had a record if
- 4 I was contacted to organise it and I think Phillip
- 5 Clarke gave evidence that he phoned me up to let me know
- that they were coming and perhaps to come in, so.
 Q. He said, I will put it specifically to you, that you were present, when these ladies came and that, they
- 9 looked through some part of the collection.
- Does that prod your memory at all.
- 11 A. No, I have thought about that.
- 12 Q. Sarah Milera went into a trance.
- 13 A. No, that is the part that reminds me because I have
- heard a discussion of that in the museum in relation to
- that event, but I can't remember whether I was actually
- at the meeting, or whether I have just heard that that
- took place. And I would have thought I would have
- remembered it; a group of people coming in like that, so.
- Q. Do you remember, at least, then, being asked by a group of women or one or other of them, or you and Phillip
- Clarke being asked to work as quickly as possible to
- find some material relating to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. I have a memory that there was discussion that people, if they have the opportunity, be looking for those sorts
- of things at that time, but I really wasn't having much
- of an opportunity to look through the Tindale
- collection. And that's another thing, that I really
- wasn't working with the Tindale collection much at that
- stage and I was really jealous, in a sense, that others
- were getting the opportunity. I was working on other
- things and I wasn't getting an opportunity to delve
- things and I wasn't getting an opportunity to dely into that material.
- Q. Phillip Clarke told us in his statement, he sets it out
- 35 that, Doreen Kartinyeri, at this gathering which he
- 36 says took place around the Tindale collection, said
- words to the effect that, they now knew something
- 38 significant about Hindmarsh Island, this is about mid

- April, and that, the business had become apparent to them as Ngarrindjeri women.
- A. I don't remember anything stated like that because I don't remember the meeting.
- Q. Did you share that view, that there might have been some
 business, some women's business, in connection with
 Hindmarsh Island, at that stage.
- 8 A. No, no, certainly not.
- Q. You had a hint of it in the meeting with Ronald Berndt.
- A. No, that is not a hint of women's business with Hindmarsh Island, it is just a general direction with the connection in that region with femininity, nothing specific in relation to a region or women's business.
- Q. Although, you did use that conversation in an academic discussion with the two, Phillip Jones and Phillip Clarke, didn't you, as some support for the notion of women's business.
- A. Yes, in a sense that, I had then, at that stage, once and much later on in the debate and the fact that there was women's business being argued for the region and its relationship to body, that was when I mentioned that conversation. It really only became significant to me or came into my head, in a sense, within that context.
- Q. So, you say that, you have got no memory of this
 gathering of women in the museum, looking at the Tindale
 collection.
- A. I don't have a memory of being there, but I do, as I say, I do remember having a memory of it being discussed, but only vaguely in that sense. And I have looked at my time lines of that period and there was only a couple of days in April when it could perhaps have occurred, because I was doing quite a lot of field work and I was doing other things so.
- Q. Were you asked about this time, by Doreen or anyone else, to do a bit of research for them in respect to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. Well, as I said, during that early period, earlier
 period, I certainly was aware Doreen was researching

- 1 some background information, trying to find information,
- and I wouldn't be surprised if Doreen didn't ask me to
- look as well. I would be fairly certain she probably did.
- 5 Q. Did you.
- 6 A. Well, I didn't have much to look at. In a sense that, I
- 7 had very little information on that region for my
- 8 research. I didn't have an opportunity to look at the
- 9 Tindale material. I don't think I was doing much in the
- way of searching in that period because, it really
- didn't seem like I had anything to offer the process.
- 12 Q. Would you say that you were closer to Doreen than Phillip Clarke.
- 14 MR MEYER: Than Phillip Clarke was to Doreen or
- 15 closer to Doreen than he was to Phillip Clarke?
- 16 COMSR
- 17 Q. Do you understand the question.
- 18 A. Well, when.
- 19 COMSR: Can we specify the period of time that
- we are talking about?
- 21 XN
- Q. We're talking about mid April of 1994. My question really is this; would Doreen Kartinveri go to you for
- really is this; would Doreen Kartinyeri go to you for help rather than Phillip Clarke.
- 25 A. I think she came to both of us in that sense certainly.
- 26 Q. You, however, did set about helping her, didn't you, you
- know, in the period from April to about mid May, you
- telephoned Phillip Clarke, didn't you, for some
- 29 information.
- 30 A. Well, again, my memory of that is fairly specific. My
- 31 memory of that occasion was that, I had plans to meet
- with Doreen in the museum to talk about Nurrunga family
- history, and the night before I was going to meet with
- Doreen I had a phone call from Doreen, saying that,
- 35 whether could I dig up anything that might help in terms
- of providing information about Hindmarsh Island from any
- of the material that I had. And that was my memory is
- I phoned Phillip Clarke that night and so that is the

- night before Doreen came into the museum.
- 2 O. You requested -
- A. That is a very strong memory, so.
- Q. That was when Phillip Clarke was on his leave.
- 5 A. Yes, I think so. I certainly phoned him at home and in 6 the evening.
- 7 Q. Is he correct when he says that, you requested all his 8 Hindmarsh Island data in order, and you specifically 9 made the request in connection with you helping Doreen 10 Kartinveri.
- 11 A. Yes, I would think that would be right. It wasn't all 12
- his I was asking had he. I was asking about specific 13 pieces of information. I think he had on data base,
- 14 certainly more than I had, in terms of material from the
- 15 area. It was easier for him to pull it out and it was a 16
- particular reference to a burial ground on Hindmarsh 17 Island that I remembered in Bellchambers and I wanted to
- 18 get to that quickly. I also did discuss from my memory,
- 19 some material that was in the museum that was from
- 20 a burial platform, and that is actual skin that I had
- 21 seen in the museum a number of years before and on a
- 22 number of occasions which I remembered was collected by
- 23 Stirling, which I wasn't certain about the location of
- 24 it and that was something that I think I was asking
- 25 about during that conversation.
- 26 Q. Hindmarsh Island and the bridge dispute was very much in 27 the press at this stage, wasn't it.
- 28 A. I think it was in the press certainly at that stage, 29
- 30 Q. You must know that, surely.
- A. It is pretty hard. 31
- 32 Q. All your Aboriginal contacts from the Lower River Murray
- 33 area were deeply involved in the campaign to stop the
- 34 construction of the bridge at that stage, weren't they.
- 35 A. Well, as I say, I wasn't having as regular - during
- 36 1993, I had not as regular contacts with people as I
- 37 have had normally. It was much more seldom sort of
- 38 contacts during that period, because I was teaching at

- 1 Underdale in Aboriginal studies, field work was
- 2 something I wasn't doing as often, and most of my work
- 3 was actually in the Mid Murray region around Swan Reach
- and the Riverland. So that, my contacts with that area 5 were not as frequent at that stage.
- Q. On that occasion that you telephoned Phillip Clarke,
- requesting his data on Hindmarsh Island, did he question 8 you along the lines of querying why you were getting 9 involved.
- 10 A. I'm really not sure.
- 11 Q. Well, he told us and his statement records it that, that
- 12 he questioned you about why you were getting more deeply 13 involved. Do you agree that that happened.
- 14 A. It may have done, but in the sense - I mean, my
- perspective on it, I wasn't getting more deeply involved 15
- 16 I was providing some information to somebody who was 17 asking for it.
- 18 Q. But, didn't he tell you that he had already provided that same information directly to Doreen Kartinyeri. 19
- A. Well, she obviously didn't seem to have it so. 20
- 21 Q. Did you say to him, in this telephone contact you had,
- 22 over this data, that, you needed - Mr Clarke tells and
- 23 his statement records, that you needed the information
- 24 again, as Doreen Kartinyeri had demanded your special
- 25 assistance in interpreting the information.
- 26 A. I may have said that I needed the information again,
- 27 perhaps because Doreen didn't seem to have everything at
- 28 her fingertips, but, in terms of special assistance
- 29 interpreting it, no, I don't think Phillip would have
- 30 seen my abilities to look at information and comment on
- 31 it as any different to Phillips, at that time.
- 32 Q. But, that would gel with his assertion that he queried
- 33 why you were getting more deeply involved, wouldn't it,
- 34 I am putting to you.
- 35 A. I mean, more deeply involved is an interesting thing. I
- 36 don't believe I was deeply involved at any stage.
- 37
- 38 A. I mean, I think that Phillip Clarke's evidence shows

- that he was having more contact with Doreen on this issue at that time than I was.
- Q. You must have had some contact with Doreen Kartinyeri at this stage, to precipitate this telephone call.
- A. As I said, I was going to have a meeting with Doreen
 about Nurrunga families. I was working on the Nurrunga family history project. I had been working on with
- 8 Doreen before, before I went away from the museum to go
- 9 and teach at Underdale. I came back and it was on
- 10 the timetable of things to get back to to actually work
- on and it was in that is what I was expecting to be
- doing. And I got a telephone call from Doreen saying,
- 13 Can you find, look for information on Hindmarsh Island?
- Do you have anything that may be useful?' that type of enquiry, the night before.
- Q. It was about this time that you made arrangements for Franchesca Alberts to take information from Doreen, wasn't it.
- A. Well, that was actually after the letter was typed and had gone to Tickner, as far as I knew and I didn't I
- 21 knew that the letter had gone off, because Margaret Amon
- told me a couple of days later. I wasn't actually
- around when it was being faxed, but, Franchesca, the
- contact with her, was after that letter had been done.
- Q. We will deal with the letter. Could you look at MFI
 Exhibit 204. You recognise that letter, do you Mr
- Hemming, as what is being called `the museum letter.'
- 28 A. Yes, I do, yes.
- Q. That is the letter, is it not, that you helped Doreen with. I will come to what precisely you did, is that right.
- 32 A. Well, I typed it out on the computer, yes.
- Q. Did you assist Doreen with the construction of this letter MFI 204.
- 35 A. Doreen dictated what she wanted to have said and I wrote
- it down in rough hand form, what she was saying, as she
- said it and then I took it away and typed it up. As I
- have said in my statement, I may have changed a bit of

- grammar perhaps, but, in terms of the actual ordering
- of information, or thrust of it, or whatever else, I had no input to that, that was Doreen's. It is Doreen's
- 4 letter.
- 5 Q. It is Doreen's letter.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. I take it this took place in the tearoom at the anthropology division.
- 9 A. No, I think that the actual dictating of the letter took
- place I think it took place in two areas, but, it
- certainly didn't take place in the tearoom, it was done
- before that and if I remember rightly, some of it was
- actually where Margaret Amos sits and she was in the
- vicinity and I think there was some dictating of the
- letter in the family history area. Just prior to that,
- they would have been up in Doreen's area, but I am not
- actually I am not certain of the balance of that or
- exactly where. I know where I typed it up after that
- and I know that it was in a couple of places.
- Q. Is this correct and I am reading from the statement of evidence of Kate Alport, that Steve was helping Doreen
- with the wording of the letter and this was in the
- 23 lunchroom.
- A. No, I wasn't. I mean, the letter was, as far as I can
- remember, by the time we were in the lunchroom, the
- letter was written. I mean, I may have been discussing
- 27 the letter or the implications of the letter with
- Doreen and I think that discussion was fairly general at
- 29 the time.
- 30 Q. That letter there, you have read it, haven't you, on a
- 31 number of occasions, in connection with this matter.
- 32 A. Yes, yes.
- 33 Q. That is not a letter that Doreen that finished
- product there, is not Doreen's finished product, is it.
- You helped her with that.
- 36 A. How do you mean?
- 37 Q. The composition of that letter, the grammar of the
- letter, you had to help Doreen with, isn't that the

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- A. No, Doreen dictated what she wanted to say in the letter and I typed it out. And, as I have said, I may have changed a bit of the grammar, but nothing to do with the content or the ordering or anything else.
- 6 COMSR
- Q. What is being put to you you may have edited the expression a little as you typed it out.
- 9 A. There may have been a little tiny bit of grammar change, 10 but, as I said, I was writing things down from Doreen, 11 so I was spelling things as I was writing them down, in 12 that sense.
- 13 XN
- Q. Looking at the letter, Exhibit MFI 204, there is a paragraph. fifth para.: `I have always known about the
- stories associated with Raminyeri and Ngarrindjeri
- women's business, but until recently I did not know the
- exact place that they referred to my grandmother Sally
- 19 Kartinyeri, my great Aunt Laura Kartinyeri and my Auntie
- 20 Rose Kropinyeri passed on these stories about women's business to me.'
- busine 21 A. Yes.
- 23 CONTINUED

- Q. You remember that as being the letter that was faxed off to the minister.
- 3 A. Yes, that's right.
- 4 Q. Or part of it, the bit I've just read. Can you give us any assistance as to how it is that Doreen located the
- 6 exact place to which these stories related.
- 7 A. I'm not absolutely certain because I was a little bit confused about that aspect.
- 9 Q. What do you mean.
- 10 A. But my understanding of it was that Doreen hadn't made 11 the connection to the exact location where the bridge
- was to these stories, in a sense. I mean I think that's
- what was going on there, because I think there was, I
- remember some discussion about that, and I wasn't sure,
- in a sense, what she was saying, but it didn't go very
- far, but that would be my sort of memory of it.
- 17 Q. Those three people, at the time of writing this letter,
- Sally Kartinyeri, Great Aunt Laura Kartinyeri and Auntie Rose Kropinyeri were deceased, were they, all of them.
- 20 A. I don't think -
- Q. Sorry, the daughter of Pinkie Mack wasn't, was she, but
 two of those ladies mentioned there were deceased,
- weren't they.
- 24 A. I think they would be, yes.
- Q. Did you and Doreen have discussions about where thesestories relating to women's business might well attach.
- 27 A. No, she didn't, she wouldn't tell me anything about
- details of stories, and I didn't ask her, nor location,
- but what I did ask her about was, I did ask about the
- 30 sources when she outlined who the people were that gave
- 31 her the information, and she did say that she heard some
- of the details of Point Pearce, from Auntie Rose that would be.
- 34 Q. Some of the details about the location.
- 35 A. Some of the details about the women's business.
- 36 Q. But what about the exact place to which these stories
- 37 referred.
- 38 A. No, she didn't say anything about that. I mean she just

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- mentioned generally women's business.
- Q. Did you provide her with any assistance in terms of locating the stories.
- 4 A. No.
- 5 Q. In point of geography.
- 6 A. No. We didn't discuss anything like that.
- Q. Although you subsequently sought to support the location of those stories on Hindmarsh Island, didn't you.
- A. No, I subsequently supported Doreen in her right to have
 a say about this issue, and her right to express her
 beliefs. That was my line, to support.
- 12 Q. I'm talking really about your conversation in the tea 13 room with Philip Jones and Philip Clarke in asserting -
- 14 A. In the tea room?
- Q. At the anthropology division, and making the point aboutyour conversation with Ronald Berndt.
- 17 A. Yes, a general region statement, and I used that as an
- example, that here is something that I'd heard that
- 19 provides a really slight glance at the fact that there
- 20 might have been some feminine aspect to that region, and
- I'm not saying that's certainly not locating it to specifically Hindmarsh Island or anything like that.
- Q. Did you convey that view that you held, as flimsy as it is, to Doreen Kartinyeri.
- A. No, I didn't, because it wasn't raised the issue of bodies and the rest of it wasn't raised during that
- writing of that letter, it was really just women's
- business was all that was raised, and Doreen wouldn't go any further than that. I wasn't pushing her.
- 30 Q. Is Margaret Amon right when she said that, in connection
- with the sending of this fax to the minister, Mr
- Tickner, on 12 May, that you said words to Doreen to the effect of `I will back you up, Doreen'.
- A. I'm not certain they'd be the exact words.
- 35 Q. Something like that.
- 36 A. I would have said that I would back Doreen or support
- Doreen, as I've said, in her right to have this say, I
- mean her belief that, as a Ngarrindjeri woman and a

- researcher, that if she had these beliefs and views, that she would be able to express them.
- 3 COMSR
- Q. Why was there any doubt about her right to express her views. Has that ever arisen, that there was some doubt that she or anyone had the right to express their views.
- A. I think certainly later on there was, I'm not sure in the context of that discussion there was. In terms of backing Doreen, my view has been supporting her with her right to have a say.
- 11 XN
- Q. I will go back to the chronology. You then made
 arrangements for Franchesca Alberts, a student, to take
 some details from -
- 15 A. Student?
- 16 Q. Well, was she a postgraduate student in anthropology at that stage.
- A. She is a curator at the museum. She was employed as a curator in the division of anthropology, and she is conducting studies at university as well.
- 21 Q. Did you make such arrangements, though, with Franchesca Alberts.
- 23 A. Yes. After the letter was written, it was pretty
- obvious that Doreen needed to talk to someone other than
- a male in relation to this matter, so I approached
- Franchesca, and I think it was with Doreen as well, to
- see whether she'd be willing to talk to Doreen about the situation.
- Q. And Franchesca, you've heard what she said to us and you've seen a statement I think, she made arrangements to do that.
- 32 A. Yes.
- 33 Q. And the appointment was cancelled.
- 34 A. I guess so, I mean I didn't cancel appointments.
- 35 Q. Is it correct to your knowledge that you told Franchesca
- that Doreen was now recording this information with Dr
- 37 Deane Fergie.
- 38 A. I remember having talked to Franchesca about the

- situation on finding out that Doreen hadn't been to the
- 2 meeting, and I think my comment was, as far as I knew,
- 3 Doreen was going to be doing this with Dr Fergie, but it
- 4 was fairly vague, but I was under the impression that
- 5 Doreen had decided, or something had happened in
- 6 relation to working with Dr Fergie, perhaps, on it.
- 7 Q. How did you know that.
- 8 A. My memory is that I heard it, I may have heard it from Kate Alport, but yes, again, I'm not certain about that.
- I mean Franchesca was a student of Deane's at the time too, but it doesn't seem like she heard it from Deane.
- 12 Q. At about this time a debate, a more than usual debate, started to take place in the museum about what was
- happening at Hindmarsh Island, between you and Philip Clarke and Philip Jones amongst others, is that correct.
- A. I don't think Philip Jones was so much involved. I
 remember discussing things with Philip Clarke. Philip
- Jones, I don't think I discussed, or had a debate with
- really on this issue until later, is my memory of the situation.
- Q. Well, in about the middle of May of 1994, the minister, the Federal minister, had put a temporary ban on the construction of the bridge, hadn't he.
- 24 A. I think so, yes.
- Q. It was common knowledge in the museum that you had given some assistance to Doreen Kartinyeri in a submission, a letter to the minister.
- A. Well, it was common knowledge that I'd typed a letter out for Doreen, and that one was sent by Doreen to the
- minister, and I made that, there was no covering up of
- that, it was known around the place and people were
- 32 talking about it, so certainly.
- Q. Did a debate if it was a continuing debate, tell me but did a debate then ensue between you and Philip
- 35 Clarke and, to some extent, with Philip Jones about -
- 36 A. I don't think Philip Jones really was involved in
- debates at that stage much.
- 38 Q. Well, Philip Clarke. You and Philip Clarke, at about

- this time, talked about women's business, didn't you, and it's applicability to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. I'm not quite sure of the timing of that talk. I'd have to say I was trying to pin it down -
- 5 Q. Subsequent to the letter to the minister.
- 6 A. because I was on leave from 15 June, I think, through
- 7 I've got a series of times, and I was trying to work 8 out when it would be. I thought it may have just been
- before I went on leave, or just after I went on leave,or something like that.
- 11 Q. When did you first find out that women's business was an issue on Hindmarsh Island.
- 13 A. Well, when the letter was sent to Tickner, it was
- mentioned by Doreen that women's business was something
- that needed to be discussed, so I guess that was the time.
- Q. Was that the first time that you realised that Doreen
 and others, perhaps, were asserting that there was
 women's business associated with Hindmarsh Island.
- 20 A. Yes. I mean it came as quite a surprise to me. I mean
- I can remember it very clearly as that because it was a
- shock in the sense that it was very sort of amazing
- 23 thing to be told, it wasn't something that I was aware
- of at all and had any clues to, really, in terms of that
- region or just the issue. It was a surprise, so I remember.
- Q. So 12 May 1994 was the first that you had ever discussed women's business with Doreen Kartinyeri, is it, women's business in connection with Hindmarsh Island.
- 30 A. In connection with Hindmarsh Island and, as I say, we
- didn't really discuss that at all, it was just raised
- that she wanted to raise this with the minister. She
- didn't talk about details. The closest I got to talking
- about details was really just asking about sources and
- finding a little bit more out about that, and she
- 36 mentioned Auntie Rosy.
- Q. My question is not focused on details of the women's business, but the fact of the existence of the women's

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- business in connection with Hindmarsh Island. When was the first time.
- 3 A. That day of the letter.
- 4 Q. 12 May.
- 5 A. Yes.
- Q. Did you and Philip have a discussion which included you conceding that some invention of tradition had taken place, discussion with Philip Clarke.
- 9 A. I remember I was having a debate, and I remember that 10 Philip talked about the invention of tradition and the
- book that that title comes from quite a bit. I'm not -
- 12 I don't like that term. I have a tendency to think that
- it places a sort of value judgment on the change in
- culture, so I wouldn't have conceded it in those terms
- at all, and I don't think the nature of our
- discussions was such that often I was in a sort of a
- position where most of the talking was being done by
- Philip. I wouldn't first of all I wouldn't have used
- that or agreed with that term and, in relation to this
- 20 issue, I just wouldn't have known enough to make too
- 21 much comment, other than the actual notion or the nature
- of women's business, if it exists, in the region
- relating to Hindmarsh Island, would naturally have been
- 24 impacted on by circumstances since invasion contact, So
- 25 there may have been a discussion in relation to that,
- but certainly not conceding some invention of tradition
- in those terms at all, and I don't like that term, so I
- wouldn't have used it.
- 29 Q. Well, what term would you use.
- 30 A. Well, in general, in relation to the concepts that are
- within that particular book, I'd be just talking about
- 32 cultural change more generally, rather than using a term
- 33 like 'invention' which carries the sorts of judgments
- that I guess, in a sense, mislead, and I was quite
- 35 surprised to see it in Philip Clarke's statement without
- any context in relation to where that term had come
- from, in the sense of a book and an academic
- publication. I think that was incredibly misleading in

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- relation to the use of invention in this commission.
- Q. Isn't that word used in some of the literature, though,in relation to Aboriginal tradition.
- A. It's been debated in some of the literature in relation to reacting to that particular publication, but I think quite a few people have a similar view to myself. I think Philip Jones expressed his position on that fairly clearly, that he wouldn't use that term, that he feels that it has some, I think he used the used the term
- 10 pejorative' connotation. I would agree with Philip11 Jones on that.
- Q. So was there a conversation, however, between you and
 Philip Clarke, in which this issue of, whether you call
 it invention of tradition, which you wouldn't like to
 use that phrase you would use what, cultural change,
 is that what you think.
- 17 A. I don't think that was the hub of the conversation that took place.
- 19 Q. Could you tell us what it was.
- 20 A. I would have thought it was more in terms of me arguing 21 in the sense that I believed that it was possible, and 22 that I also believed Doreen and had confidence in her 23 views, but I'm not sure when it took place, I'm not sure 24 when this conversation took place. It was more in a 25 sense me disagreeing with the position that Philip may 26 have been putting, that it was impossible for this to 27 exist.
- Q. Let me give you the whole of what Philip Clarke says passed between you, and I know you take issue with the word `invention'. He says that `In a period around about mid May 1994', that is after the letter to the
- minister and after the temporary banning of construction
- of the bridge, `A conversation, the gist of which was as follows', took place between you, on the topic of the
- validity of women's business. `Mr Hemming conceded some
- invention of tradition had taken place. However,
- overall, he validated it by stating "Auntie Maggie
- 38 Jacobs and Auntie Connie Roberts can remember something

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- 1 too". Now does that help you with the conversation.
- 2 A. All that does is it brings questions into my mind about
- the timing, because I don't think that I was aware that
- 4 Auntie Maggie and Mrs Connie Roberts had those views at
- 5 that time. I think it was at a later date when I was
- 6 actually aware that that was the case. I'm not really
- 7 certain about timing in that sense. I think I remember
- 8 having a conversation where I would have, where I said
- 9 something of that nature, but the timing of it, I'm not certain about.
- 11 Q. Well, put aside the timing for a moment. Did a
- 12 conversation like that take place with Philip Clarke,
- and the commissioner will bear in mind what you've said about invention.
- 15 A. Yes, I believe a conversation like that took place.
- Q. So you must therefore have had conversations with AuntieMaggie and Auntie Connie.
- 18 A. No, that's why I'm doubting the timing, because I didn't
- really talk to Auntie Maggie about what she was saying
- 20 until a much later date, and Auntie Connie, I've never
- spoken to about that particular issue. It would be only
- learning through, I don't know, someone else in general
- conversation that I would have known, or would have made those points.
- Q. Well, you know these ladies, Maggie Jacobs and Connie
 Roberts by the names Auntie Maggie and Auntie Connie.
- 27 A. Yes. That's a term of respect that people use in
- 28 general. I know Auntie Maggie very well, but Auntie
- Connie I don't know as well, I've only met her on a few
- occasions, and I know about her more than I sort of know
- 31 her, in a sense. She is an acquaintance.
- Q. I take it that Margaret Jacobs wouldn't like me to call her `Auntie Maggie', would she.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. Probably not now, but what I'm suggesting to you is that
- you had some degree of familiarity with these two
- ladies, such that you could call them `auntie'.
- 38 A. Margaret Jacobs, absolutely, certainly, but not Auntie

TN 53J

- 1 Connie, as I say, but Connie Roberts, really I'd met her
- a number of times over the years and I know her, but I
- certainly don't have a close relationship with her at all.
- Q. You concede that this conversation took place withPhilip Clarke at some stage.
- 7 A. I think a conversation like that took place.
- Q. A conversation about the validity of women's business,
 where you mentioned Maggie Jacobs and Connie Roberts.
- 10 A. I think it did but, as I say, it was at a later time
- when I mentioned Connie Roberts and Maggie Jacobs.
- 12 Q. Can you help us when it was, in what setting it was.
- 13 A. I'm not certain of the timing of it. I think it would
- have been after I came back from leave, but I'm not
- certain of the timing. So much has occurred in this
- situation that it's very hard to pin down a specific timing for these things.
- 18 Q. Did you convey to Philip Clarke that it was due to your
- 19 close association with these ladies, or these elderly
- Aboriginal people, that you felt justified in backing
- 21 the efforts to stop the bridge.
- 22 A. No, I said that the fact that it appeared that Margaret
- Jacobs and Connie Roberts also had some knowledge of
- this situation, that there was a couple of other people
- 25 who were saying that, so that was also added weight to
- the fact that there were a number of people who had this
- belief. I was just basically putting that up as a
- 28 situation.
- 29 CONTINUED

- Q. Was it your position that you felt justified in backing efforts to stop the bridge.
- A. No. I mean, I don't believe I was backing efforts to stop the bridge. I wasn't in that sort of position. I
- 5 didn't put myself in that position. I put myself in a
- 6 position where I was fairly well apart from the
- 7 situation, and because it was being dealt with by
- 8 Aboriginal women that made that directed that
- 9 situation. It wasn't something I was involved in or trying to be involved in.
- 11 Q. You accept the possibility that Doreen asked you to help 12 her, do you. Going back -
- 13 A. In context -
- 14 Q. In her book.
- 15 A. I accept the possibility that she did ask, did I have any information, yes.
- 17 Q. You knew that she had been supplied with data by Philip Clarke, is that right.
- 19 A. No, I am not certain that I did know that.
- 20 Q. You agreed with me earlier in the conversation with
- Philip Clarke where you requested his data on the telephone -
- 23 A. That was later on, I'm sorry. That was much later.
- Q. You knew that she had already got some data, because you mentioned the word again. You wanted the data again.
- 26 A. I think I was under the impression that Doreen was
- saying that. All I know is that, as I have said, I was
- under the impression Doreen was looking things up in
- that earlier period, and I was likely to have looked for
- things then. The time that I recall specifically asking
- for information was when Doreen phoned me up and then I phoned Philip Clarke up.
- 33 Q. You got the data and looked at it, did you.
- 34 A. I got some references from Philip, yes.
- 35 Q. You examined those references.
- 36 Å. Yes, yes, yes.
- Q. Presumably you spoke with Doreen about your findings.

- 1 A. I mentioned those references to her, yes. That was
- 2 basically I think it was Bell Chambers, and I was
- 3 looking for that reference to the burial platform
- 4 material and I'm not sure whether I found it. I don't
- 5 think I did. I've since found the reference, and the
- 6 material comes from a burial platform at Kantara Station
- which is in Salt Creek.
- 8 COMSR: We don't need to go into that.
- 9 XN
- 10 Q. You looked at the material and you had some contact with Doreen in connection with the material.
- 12 A. On that day, yes.
- 13 Q. You then helped Doreen with a letter to the Minister on 12 May.
- 15 A. I typed out what she wanted to put in the letter. She dictated it.
- Q. You accept that you said to Doreen, at about the time of
 the faxing off the letter, that you supported her
 efforts.
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. Words to that effect.
- A. In a sense, supported her right to have a say on this issue, and the fact that she felt strongly about it
- obviously.
- Q. I go back to my original question. You were providing then assistance to these Aboriginal people, and I don't
- say anything was wrong about that. I am not putting that to you.
- A. I was providing information, as I would as a museum employee and a fellow colleague of another museum
- employee, as others have said they have done. It is our job.
- 33 Q. Philip Clarke took issue with the length to which you
- were going. Whether he was right or not, he did, didn't
- 35 he.
- A. At a later time I think he did, but that was hisperception of the situation.

- Q. Did you, in defence of what you had been doing, say that 2 you've felt justified in backing efforts to stop the bridge.
- A. No. What I said was that I supported Doreen, but I 5 also, in this conversation we are talking about - I am 6 not sure of the timing - there were others who were
- saying they knew information, so it wasn't just Doreen.
- 8 Q. I am not sure when this took place, but is it the case 9 that about this time, about May 1994, or thereabouts, you put to Philip Clarke and Philip Jones that the 10
- 11 Berndts have recorded the fact that the lakes region
- 12 bore some resemblance in Ngarrindjeri mythology to a 13 woman's body.
- A. No, I don't think it was that time at all. 14
- 15 Q. When was it.
- 16 A. My memory of discussions or a discussion like that was
- this year, and in the evidence that Philip Jones gave, 17
- 18 as far as I can work out, he confirmed that because he
- 19 mentioned the fact that we were talking about an issue
- 20 relating to doing background research on native title 21 along the Murray River, specifically the Murray River.
- 22 That issue didn't come up until into this year, and I
- 23 know the dates of that, and that accords with my memory
- 24 of having a discussion with Philip Jones and Philip 25
- 26 Q. I am sorry, I gave you the wrong date. That took place 27 this year.
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 Q. 1995.
- 30 A. Not exactly the way that Philip Jones describes it, as 31 you could well imagine. I said Ronald Berndt, for
- 32 instance, was the source of the information I had, and
- 33 he wasn't clear on that in his actual statement. He was 34 suggesting it was more the Berndts, I think.
- 35 Q. Is it the case that both Philip Jones and Philip Clarke 36 took strong issue with you about that.
- A. By that stage, both Philip Jones and Philip Clarke were 37 38 taking strong issue in relation to the fact that I was

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- 1 providing, in a sense, support for Doreen having the
- 2 view she had. So that any discussion like that was
- myself on a back foot, and Philip Jones and Philip
- Clarke on the front foot, in a sense. So that was the
- 5 relationship, in a sense, in that discussion.

6 COMSR

- 7 Q. I am not quite clear when you say they took issue about 8 you giving support to Doreen.
- 9 A. Their view was fairly clear that they didn't believe 10 that there was any evidence or any secret women's 11 business relating to Hindmarsh Island.
- 12 Q. Was the issue they were taking, that as an employee of the museum, you were seen to be getting involved. 13
- 14 A. No, no. It was a debate about that issue. I was saying that I believed that it was possible, and they were 15
- 16 saying they believed it wasn't. 17
- Q. I can understand that academic dispute, if I can put it 18 that way, but are you saying that they weren't or didn't 19 appear, as far as you could tell, to be concerned that
- 20 you appeared to be getting involved in a matter of this 21
- 22 A. My memory was more of a debate over the possibility.
- 23
- 24 Q. I take it you assert categorically that Ronald Berndt
- 25 told you, in one of those tea room meetings that the
- 26 Berndts had with the staff, that the landscape of the 27 Murray Mouth area was -
- 28 A. Not the Murray Mouth, no. It was a general discussion
- 29 about that region. Not the Murray Mouth at all 30 specifically.
- COMSR 31
- Q. When you say `that region', what are we talking about. A. The Lower Murray, the lakes, Coorong. 32
- 33
- 34 XN
- 35 O. The lakes region -
- A. And the Coorong and the river. That area.
- 37 Q. Was evocative of a woman's body. Is that your
- 38 categorical -

- 1 A. Not evocative of a woman's body, but had he was
- 2 thinking there was some sort of feminine significance,
- some sort of female significance to that region.
- 4 Q. To the landscape.
- 5 A. Yes, to the landscape.
- 6 Q. In Ngarrindjeri mythology, are you talking about.
- 7 A. He didn't go as far as to specify Ngarrindjeri
- 8 mythology, but he would have been talking about in
- 9 Ngarrindjeri beliefs, and I guess religious beliefs.
- 10 Q. You are categorical that the female body was talked of by Ronald Berndt, are you.
- 12 A. I am, yes.
- 13 Q. You are not getting mixed up with the male body.
- 14 A. No, because I was surprised that he said that because.
- 15 COMSR
- 16 Q. Would any anthropologist, having heard that, have reason to be surprised at such a remark.
- 18 A. It was something different, and he was just theorising.
- 19 It wasn't -
- 20 XN
- 21 Q. Do you agree that Philip Jones and Philip Clarke were present.
- 23 A. No, I am not certain about that. I said I thought
- 24 Philip Clarke was around was there at the time, but I
- wasn't certain. But my first response was I thought
- 26 Philip Clarke was there, and I thought he must have
- heard it as well if he was, but I am not certain that he
- was there. I can't state categorically at all. Ronald
- 29 Berndt came into the museum a lot of times during the
- 30 80s in all sorts of circumstances, with his wife, by
- 31 himself. There were a number of occasions. They
- weren't all in the tea room that we had discussions.
- 33 Q. Philip Clarke and Philip Jones assert that that
- conversation did not take place, don't they.
- 35 A. They argue that they don't believe it did.
- 36 Q. Did you also tell Philip Jones that you felt there was
- something in the literature that supported that view.

- 1 A. At that stage, I did have a feeling that I had seen something written, and I went back after a time and
- 3 looked and found -
- Q. This is in the Berndts volume.
- 5 A. I thought it could have been in the Berndt volume,
- 6 because I had spoken to Ronald Berndt and he had made
- 7 that sort of statement, that also led me to believe that
- 8 there was something possibly in there, but I thought I
- 9 had seen something in there. When I looked, the only
- reference that I could find that was like that, was the
- reference to the body and then the statement about the
- general connection to Ngurunderi, so I didn't find a
- reference to it, and, in fact, my view on the thing is
- that I told Philip Jones that later, and I think I told
- Philip Jones that at the time around the period that
- 15 Philip Jones that at the time around the period that he went to Channel 10 for the interview.
- Q. He has said categorically, hasn't he, in evidence that
- you asked him to show him the evidence.
- 19 A. I asked him to show -
- 20 Q. And you have not done so.
- 21 COMSR: The other way around.
- 22 XN
- Q. Philip Jones asked you to show him the evidence, and you have not done that.
- 25 A. I think he did ask me to look I am certain he would
- have done, and I have a memory of that, but as far as I
- am concerned, I told him that I hadn't found a
- reference, but I certainly didn't back down at any stage
- about hearing from Ronald Berndt.
- 30 Q. I am just talking about the provision of the evidence -
- 31 A. No, I know that I told him that, and it was around the
- time of the Channel 10 interview, and I believe I
- think my memory is that it was just afterwards, when I
- had a long conversation with him outside of the museum
- 35 the day after that, that he also hasn't referred to.
- 36 COMSR
- 37 Q. Just reverting to the conversation that you have given
- 38 evidence about with Berndt, you say that he mentioned

- the region generally had some feminine quality.
- 2 A. He thought there was some connection with feminine qualities or female body. It was a very general thing.
- That was something a new concept that he had 5 introduced as far as you were concerned, was it.
- A. Yes, and I think it was pretty new in his thinking. It wasn't something that he was claiming he had lots of 8 evidence for.
- 9 Q. Just sort of a general comment.
- 10 A. A general comment. I have to make the point that the
- 11 fact that Ronald Berndt connects Ngurunderi to that
- 12 region as a body, the first time he does that with
- 13 Catherine Berndt is in `The world that was'. They
- 14 published a long account of that particular dreaming
- 15 story before, but didn't make any reference to it having
- 16 any relationship to body or landscape, and stated that
- 17 Ngurunderi was a dreaming ancestor that came into the 18 scene after the creation of the landscape, as I say.
- 19 Q. He made a general comment, as you said -
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. It was unusual at least. It was something that hadn't
- 22 been mentioned before. Did you have a conversation with 23 Philip Clarke and Jones about it later.
- 24 A. Just after he had said that?
- 25 Q. Yes.
- 26 A. I don't recall, no. I am not certain either way on
- 27 that, I have to say.
- 28
- 29 Q. The Channel 10 interview was on 30 May 1994 when Mr 30 Jones appeared on Channel 10 and spoke out. You saw 31 that.
- 32 A. Yes. The latter half of it, I think, at the time.
- 33 Q. Mr Jones told this commission that on the day following
- 34 that, Doreen Kartinyeri came into his office, she was
- 35 angry and an exchange took place. But, amongst other
- 36 things, he told us that Doreen Kartinyeri said to him
- 37 that you, and I will give you the gist of the words
- 38 `Steve Hemming told her that the lakes and Murray Mouth

- were evocative mythologically of a woman's internal
 organs, and that the authority for this analogy rests
 with Catherine Berndt'. You heard Mr Jones say that.
- 4 A. Yes, I heard him give evidence, and I think he gave
 5 evidence his evidence was slightly different to his
 6 statement in terms of what he was saying. My impression
- of his evidence was that he said that I supported Doreen in that conclusion in a general way. It wasn't clear in
- 9 terms of what he was saying. I would like to look at
- the transcript to see exactly to comment on that,
- because I certainly noticed a big a difference between
- his statement and the evidence that he gave.
- 13 Q. What do you say about that, that is, did you tell Doreen
- anything like that, that is, that the lakes and the
- Murray Mouth were evocative mythologically of a woman's internal organs.
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Did you say anything like that to Doreen.
- 19 A. At some stage, at a later stage in the sequence, I would
- 20 have said the same thing that I said to Philip and
- 21 Philip that Ronald Berndt had mentioned that there was a
- female association with the region, but that was late in the piece.
- 24 Q. This is 30 May 1995.
- 25 A. No, not that period. I reckon I would have said that to
- Doreen before then, but I don't think it would have been
- very early at all in the piece in terms of the sequence of events.
- Q. When do you say it was that you conveyed something like that to Doreen.
- 31 A. It would have been after I became aware of the
- 32 significance of the female body, and the argument the
- women were putting across through the media and through
- discussions like that, that I would have made the
- comment because that's when I actually started to think
- 36 about that.

- Q. I am sorry, what do you mean by that. Do you mean that 2 you were encouraged to think that that was the case by what you saw in the media.
- A. No, what I am saying -
- 5 Q. That is, that the landscape was mythologically evocative of a woman's body.
- A. No. In terms of what had come out in the media in 8 relation to the argument about a woman's body in 9 connection with that region, after that, after I became
- 10 aware of it through that sort of form, this would be
- 11 when I was thinking, remembering and thinking about the
- 12 Ronald Berndt conversation, but, as I say, I had the
- 13 conversation with Philip and Philip this year and, as
- 14 you can see in Philip Clarke's evidence from the
- 15 conversations I had with him earlier this year, there is
- 16 no mention of that. I wasn't talking about that as an 17 idea until after it was well known through the media.
- 18 Q. What did you tell Doreen Kartinyeri about the landscape 19 and about the Berndts in connection with the landscape. 20 What did you tell Doreen.
- 21 A. All I would have mentioned to her would have been the
- 22 fact that I heard Ronald Berndt, not Catherine Berndt,
- 23 talking generally about the possibilities of feminine
- 24 connection with that region. That would have been it.
- 25 Q. When do you place that in point of time, that conversation. 26
- 27 A. I would say it is late 1994, somewhere around that
- 28 period. It is late in the piece. That's all I know. I
- 29 can't really pin it down.
- 30 ADJOURNED 12.58 P.M.

- 1 RESUMING 2.15 P.M.
- 2 COMSR
- Q. Before we go on, could I just get a little bit of
 assistance with what you mean by a couple of terms, so
 that I understand what you mean, because people use
 different terms and they may mean different things. Is
 there any difference between the evolution of tradition
 and the invention of tradition, or are they just people
 using different terms to imply the same thing.
- 10 A. I think there are subtle differences, but they are 11 basically the same sort of thing and it depends on the 12 context in which they are being used. If invention of 13 tradition is being used in the context that it was, I 14 guess, argued in the book of the same name, then it has 15 a - it is very much like evolution of tradition. It is 16 change, it is traditions evolving, recognising the 17 impact of various influences on people's beliefs and 18 culture and particular situations where things are 19 continuing to change.
- Q. Is there any minimum time for the evolution of
 tradition, or can it happen overnight or within a week:
 what is meant by `evolution'.
- 23 A. I mean, evolution in those terms is a funny term to use, 24 I think. But, I mean, there are occasions where major 25 events would take place that may mean that people 26 rethink particular practices. So, I guess things can 27 happen quickly that are important in a particular 28 society in general. I would say it is difficult to deal 29 with those definitions in that way. I don't know if 30 that is helping you that much.
- Q. It is more that, you see, if I hear one witness using a term and explaining it, I just like to know whether another witness is using it in the same way or in slightly a different manner.
- 35 A. Sure.
- 36 XN
- Q. I take you again to the conversation that Philip Jones alleges he had with Doreen Kartinyeri immediately

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- 1 following the Channel 10 television interview of 30 May 2 1995. You suggested I think quite correctly that I 3 address myself to the transcript. It is at p.4,240. If you look at the bottom of that page: in the middle, I 5 took Mr Jones to that television interview. Then, about 6 two-thirds of the way down the page, he tells how Doreen 7 subjected him to a standard haranguing. Then a 8 conversation took place. And, over the page, at the 9 top, 'She didn't go into many details, but did stress to 10 me that the lakes region and Hindmarsh Island bore this 11 resemblance to a woman's reproductive organs and I asked 12 her where on earth she got that idea from. I admit she didn't give me a full answer, but I suppose in casting 13 14 around for an authority with which I might sort of 15 moderate, or in response to which I might moderate my 16 stance, she told me that she had heard it from Steve 17 Hemming. That he had supported her constructing that analogy.' 18 19 A. Yes. 20 MISS NELSON: `Supported her in constructing that 21 analogy.' 22 XN 23 Q. `Supported her in constructing that analogy', indeed. 24 So, is that the case, that you had supported Doreen 25 Kartinyeri in constructing that analogy. That is, the 26 analogy that `the lakes region and Hindmarsh Island bore 27 a resemblance to a woman's reproductive organs.' 28 A. No, I think, as I said before, at some stage later in 29 the sequence of events, I would have mentioned the 30 conversation with Ronald Berndt. But, again, that was a
- reacting to the differences. Q. My question is not that there are any variations in 37 Philip Jones's account of it. 38

general comment and it didn't talk about reproductive

organs. And I think just - I don't know if it is worth

evidence, in relation to this, after cross-examination

and, again, there were differences, but I am just

making another comment - I did look at Philip Jones's

- 1 A. Sure.
- Q. But did a conversation like that take place between you and Doreen Kartinyeri.
- 4 A. Not in the way that it is described there.
- Q. Would you tell us on that topic what conversation passedbetween you and Doreen and when.
- A. I would say it was certainly after it was well-known that the case in relation to Hindmarsh Island had some
- 9 involvement with a woman's body and organs and things
- like that in the press. And I would have spoken to
- Doreen, at some stage, in that context and said to her
- that I had heard Ronald Berndt theorising about the
- 13 possible feminine significance of the region. That
- would be the extent of that. That would be the
- 15 conversation that would be being referred to, I would suggest, there.
- 17 Q. Did you suggest to Doreen that there was a burial platform on Hindmarsh Island.
- 19 A. No, I suggested to Doreen that there was a possibility
- that some material that had come off a burial platform
- 21 related to Hindmarsh Island and I remembered some
- 22 material in the museum. I wasn't sure exactly where it
- had come from and I knew Sterling had collected it.
- 24 That stuck in my mind. It was unusual material, because
- 25 it was actually skin from a burial platform. I wasn't
- able to locate the specimens and I don't think I was
- able to locate the specific information because I hadn't
- resolved it in my mind. But more recently before this
- 29 Royal Commission just before the Royal Commission and
- during I asked Andrew Hughes to have a look for the
- 31 material and also Deanne Hangent, who is working on
- human remains in the museum putting together a catalogue
- and they were able to find, particularly Deanne, I
- think, that material from a burial platform, including
- skulls and other bits and pieces, came from a burial
- 36 platform at Cantara Station, which is down towards
- Kingston. I also found a reference in Tindale's
- notebooks where he refers to a he refers generally to

- a platform, a burial platform in the landscape of a raft
- 2 that is in the museum that shows the style of burial
- 3 platforms in the Murray Mouth. But it is only a general
- statement too. So, I haven't been able to pin it down
- and I was never able to. So, I didn't suggest to Doreen
- that there was a burial platform from Hindmarsh Island.
 I think I thought there was possibly some material from
- 8 that. That that was about as far as I could go.
- 9 Q. The burial platform you are talking of mentioned by Tindale is from Salt Creek, isn't it.
- 11 A. I haven't found a reference in the register to one from
- 12 Salt Creek yet, but I do remember in one of his
- articles, I think, a mention of Salt Creek, but finding
- the material from Cantara, which is nowhere near Salt
- 15 Creek, led me to some more confusion. All I have been
- able to locate so far is Cantara as a location and a general reference.
- Q. But you know, don't you, that there is burial platform material in the museum from Salt Creek.
- 20 A. I am not certain of that, I have to say. There is an
- indication there is. I am not certain. I haven't been
- 22 able to find that specific reference myself recently, at 23 all.
- Q. You know that Philip Jones says that Doreen told him
 that you had told her that there was a burial platform
- 26 from Hindmarsh Island.
- 27 A. Yes, as I say -
- 28 Q. And that is not the case, is it.
- 29 A. No, and I didn't tell her there was one from Hindmarsh
- 30 Island. I was thinking there may be some material
- actually associated with the platform anyway, not
- actually a burial platform itself, possibly from that
- region. I thought it may come from Hindmarsh Island,
- because it was Sterling, but it was only a very vague
- thing. And I was looking and trying to discover the
- information on that. And it wasn't confirmed. As I
- say, the only material I have been able to find and I
- have got copies here, print outs from the register,

- 1 relates to Cantara, the material from a burial. That was what I was looking for.
- Q. I ask you to look at the Berndts' book, which is Exhibit
- 4 I am coming to the end of my questioning -
- 5 A. I have got a copy of my own. I think it is the same 6
- 7 Q. Can I take you to the foreword by Professor Tonkinson,
- 8 at p.29.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Do you have that.
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. The first paragraph is `In the past decade'.
- 13
- 14 Q. Can I ask you to read - and I won't read it to you - at
- the second or the third paragraph down at `base no 15
- 16 adequate consideration', down to the end of the page.
- A. So, read the whole thing? 17
- Q. Yes, those two paragraphs, down to the words 18
- 19 potentially dangerous to others.'
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. Do you agree with that.
- 22 A. No, I don't, actually. It is only certain parts of it 23 that I don't agree with.
- Q. Do you agree with this part, the central part in that second last paragraph, `Yaraldi ceremonial life was 24
- 25
- 26 public and there was apparently no secret sacred men's 27 religious domain, which is rare in Aboriginal
- 28 societies.'
- 29 A. No, I think, in terms of ceremonial ritual life, it
- 30 seems that the women's initiations were completely
- 31 separate from men. And there is no evidence that the
- 32 men had any access to the knowledge that was being
- 33 transmitted. I mean, there is just not enough evidence
- 34 on that side. And, secondly, the Berndts do refer to an
- 35 element of the men's initiation ceremony which they star
- 36 and say is a secret sacred interpretation of the status
- 37 of the initiate. And that is - they make the point of
- 38 saying it is not secret sacred, except. And that is

- 1 just the male one and we don't know enough about the
- 2 female side of it. So, I think Tonkinson is
- overgeneralising in that statement. That is my view.
- 4 Q. You disagree with him.
- 5 A. Just that comment actually. The rest of it I am you 6 know.
- Q. Can you tell us again why you say Professor Tonkinson iswrong about that.
- 9 A. I am just disagreeing in terms of the general comment.
- 10 Q. It is more of a general comment about Yaraldi ceremonial life, is it.
- 12 Q. Yes.
- 13 A. It is not specifically male in the first part.
- 14 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 15 MISS NELSON: I think my learned friend should make it
- clear that, although he prefaced the question by taking
- Mr Hemming to Berndts' book, what he was actually
- quoting to him comes from the foreword, which isn't
- written by Dr Berndt, it is written by someone else. I
- am aware that Mr Hemming referred to the author in the
- course of his answer and then Mr Smith adopted it, but I
- 22 just think it should be plain that he is not putting
- 23 something from -
- 24 COMSR: As being from Berndts.
- 25 MISS NELSON: As being from either of the Berndts.
- 26 XN
- Q. You knew I was referring to Professor Tonkinson's foreword.
- 29 A. Yes, that's right.
- 30 Q. The section I read to you was `Yaraldi ceremonial life
- 31 was public and there was apparently no secret sacred
- men's religious domain, which is rare in Aboriginal
- 33 societies.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. You take issue with that.
- 36 A. Yes, I do.
- 37 Q. Why.
- 38 A. Because there is that element that the Berndts

- themselves say is secret sacred within the male initiation.
- 3 Q. Would you -
- 4 A. And that's the interpretation of the status of the
- Narambi initiate as being secret sacred. They say that specifically.
- 7 COMSR
- 8 Q. Could you tell me what you mean when you say `secret 9 sacred'.
- 10 A. Do you want me to read out the passage?
- 11 Q. No, I want to know what you mean.
- 12 A. The Berndts say there is a secret sacred element which
- suggests that it is restricted and suggests also that it
- is restricted to that particular ceremony and those
- people involved in it, which would be the men.
- 16 Q. So, it is restricted to men and the women would not know
- the detail of it, although they might know that it
- exists, but not the detail of what exists.
- 19 A. What they are implying is there is a public
- 20 interpretation and a secret sacred interpretation, which
- 21 they make a point of saying that. And I don't think
- 22 they would be doing that unless it related to the male
- 23 knowledge of that ritual. But also there is the
- situation in that description of the initiation where
- 25 the actual processing of the initiate is clearly done
- without any women around. The old woman they talk about
- coming along during the or taking part in the ceremony,
- she comes along after the initiates have actually been
- 29 transformed into the Narambi or sacred status and then
- 30 she looks after them during their period of seclusion.
- 31 So, as some people have said that there were women in
- all parts of the initiation, that is not entirely
- following the description the Berndts use in their
- description. It was a very important point to make.
- 35 XN
- 36 Q. Would you direct us to that in the book.
- 37 A. Certainly I will try to, quickly.
- 38 MR ABBOTT: P.174 and p.175.

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- 1 Q. P.174 onward.
- 2 A. Right.
- 3 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 4 MISS NELSON: That may or may not be right. Mr Abbott is not giving the evidence.
- 6 MR SMITH: It is under the heading of `Initiation'.

It is going to be around about right.

- 8 WITNESS: I am just trying to find the point where
- 9 the old woman comes in. Basically that whole section is
- describing the actual initiation process after they
- leave and go to the place where the initiation is taking
- place, or the plucking of the hair and other things that
- occur in the initiation. And, during that process, it
- is just the male Elders who go and do that. There is no women there.
- 16 COMSR
- Q. Just so that I am clear: you say that, in this account, there is something left out, because it is secret.
- 19 A. No, I don't think it is left out. I am just saying
- that, in temrs of the argument that women had full
- 21 access to the actual initiation, that is not entirely
- the case. There was a period, a significant period,
- when the initiate was being made Narambi, where there
- 24 were no women present. And the Berndts make reference
- 25 to the interpretation of that transformation of the
- initiate as being secret sacred.
- 27 XN
- Q. Down the bottom of p.17 there is a reference to the youth becoming, is it, Narambi sacred and taboo.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. And that is canvassed again at p.185.
- 32 A. Yes.
- 33 Q. That's what you mean, is it.
- 34 A. There is that period, the section before, where it is
- referred to being ochred and having the hair plucked out
- and things like that and it goes on, I think, for a
- couple of days.
- 38 Q. Looking at the statement of Philip Clarke, Exhibit 1,

- p.8; in the evidence before lunch, you expressed
 surprise that Philip Clarke had used the term `invention
 of tradition', I think, is that what you conveyed.
- 4 A. No.
- 5 Q. You said that it was an inappropriate term.
- A. No, not at all. I said that I wouldn't use it myself,
 because I felt that it has it contains an intent, an
 impression when you hear the term `invention' that
 perhaps is not the sort of impression that is intended
- by the concept. It contains an emphasis that relates to sort of an invention, a formal invention of a particular
- situation. It is just it contains, in a sense, an
- emphasis that I just would I feel misleads people when
- it is used. I would go for, as I say, `cultural change', other sorts of terms. I wouldn't use
- 16 `invention of tradition' myself. That's all.
- Q. I think that your objection to the use of the word wasbased on it being used out of context.
- 19 A. Yes, in terms of the statement, because, basically it and, I mean, I can only say that and I don't think
- that this is necessarily any sort of intentional thing -
- but the way it came across when it was presented, say, for instance, in the media was that there had been some
- invention of tradition. And the way the general public
- interprets that is very different from an academic who
- was familiar with the book `An Invention of Tradition',
- by historians or anthropologists. So, I thought that it needed some context supplied with it, to make sense of the statement.
- 30 Q. It would be, wouldn't it, a perfectly appropriate
- term if women's secret sacred business simply did
- 32 not exist on Hindmarsh Island, or in its environs and
- arose in 1994, it would be an appropriate term,
- wouldn't it.
- 35 A. If that was the case, it probably would be, perhaps,
- depending on the circumstances. But I would you know,
- it would be arising as an yes, I would have to agree
- with that.

- 1 Q. Looking at that section of Dr Clarke's statement there,
- at the bottom of p.8, where he elaborates under a
- heading `The invention of tradition' and what he meant by that.
- 5 A. Certainly but, in terms of the statements in relation to the sequence of events that is what I was talking about, not that section of his statement.
- 8 Q. Indeed, he refers to sources there, Baines, Bird Rose, doesn't he.
- 10 A. Yes, certainly, but, I am talking about within the
- 11 context of the sequence of events, it would have been
- probably just a little bit better if it was that
- particular comment in relation to the conversation with
- myself and he, was referenced back to this particular
- literature, because that was what was stated early on
- in the Commission's, sort of, summing up of the
- situation and was reported in the media in that form.
- So, it wasn't put into that context. I guess that's what was the problem.
- 20 Q. That is Dr Clarke's position isn't it, this is an
- invention of tradition, in 1994 I mean, you know. Why is it out of context, if that is his position.
- A. Well, I am only saying it is out of context in relation to what I was saying.
- 25 Q. It is out of context to you.
- 26 A. Not in relation to what he is saying.
- 27 Q. I just want to ask you a couple of questions before I
- sit down about the Fergie report. You have seen that, of course, haven't you.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Would you go to p.19 of the report, Exhibit 5. See the
- top of p.19. This topic I am going to read
- I assure you that it is in the public arena.
- I just read this para. to you, But it is in relation to
- 35 Ngarrindjeri secret traditions about the function in the
- area in cosmological terms, that the full extent of the
- injury to Ngarrindjeri tradition can be grasped. My
- informants believe that the construction of the bridge

- 1 will form a permanent link between two parts of the
- 2 landscape, whose cosmological efficacy is contingent on
- 3 separation. It is a link which would be undermining
- cosmological and human reproduction and cause
- 5 Ngarrindjeri society and with its tradition
- 6 ultimately to disappear. In short, my informants
- 7 believe that the building will not simply injure and
- 8 desecrate their traditions, they believe it has the
- 9 clear capacity to destroy their culture.'
- 10 Would you agree with the assertions made in this
- 11 Commission, that that is an anthropological discovery of
- 12 mammoth proportions, bearing in mind the existing
- literature about this area. 13
- A. I would agree that it is very significant new 14 information certainly. 15
- 16 Q. It is surely more than that, isn't it.
- A. I think it is very important, yes, very significant. 17
- Q. It is much more than that, this belief. Assuming the 18
- 19 belief is in place, if the bridge is built, it would
- 20 destroy the culture and traditions of the Ngarrindjeri 21
- 22 A. Well, that obviously appears to be the belief of the 23 people concerned.
- 24 Q. Would you agree that that is a new paradigm all
- 25 together in the Aboriginal tradition and culture and 26
 - beliefs of the Ngarrindjeri people.
- 27 A. It is something I haven't heard of before, as I have 28
- 29 Q. Would you not agree that, it is totally remarkable, that
- 30 nothing in the literature alludes to this and nothing
- 31 until 1994 was known of this.
- 32 A. Well, I guess, in my - what I have done in my statement
- 33 is say that, it is not totally remarkable. I am not -
- to me, as I have argued, I have tried to show that there 34
- 35 are some bits of evidence to show that there are
- 36 reasons why information from women, as important
- 37 information, wasn't recorded; the opportunities why - I
- 38 have talked a little bit about some of the experiences

- in my field work, where particularly women have not been
- 2 or have not wanted to talk about particular issues.
- 3 I have looked at the Berndts' ethnography to find out if
- 4 there is any evidence of women's business in a sense,
- 5 that we don't have any real knowledge of through the
- 6 ethnography. So, I mean, that is basically my case, as I said.
- Q. My question is, is this not totally remarkable, that nothing like this has emerged until early 1994.
- 10 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 11 MISS NELSON: I have been thinking about the quotation
- that my learned friend has put and the quotation is
- predicated upon the building of the bridge. Now, I
- don't understand, to begin with, that any of the
- literature has ever addressed a situation of the island
- and the mainland being linked. So, to start with, that
- may be putting an unfair gloss on the question.
- 18 Secondly, I think the question has been put and
- answered. It has just been put again.
- 20 COMSR: I think it has been put and answered.
- 21 XN
- Q. You, Mr Hemming, have worked in the area doing field
 studies and absorbing the culture since 1981, is that
- 24 right.
- A. I have been working with people in the region since then, yes.
- Q. What, do you take issue with my `absorbing.'
- 28 A. I have been learning things I guess.
- 29 Q. Absorbing the culture.
- 30 A. I guess so, I am just saying learning.
- 31 Q. Isn't that what you were doing.
- 32 A. I suppose. I mean, it is just it is not a term I
- would use, that's all.
- 34 Q. What term would you use.
- 35 A. I would say learning about the history and culture of
- 36 the people since then.
- 37 Q. In early 1994, it was the first hint you have had of
- such a major belief, as is formulated in Dr Fergie's

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l report.

- A. In the time of letter going to Tickner from Doreen, that was the first hint that I had, in a sense, that there was any major women's business of that sort relating to that region.
- Q. Just to complete a few housekeeping matters. Exhibit
 74, a copy of which I produce to you, you acknowledge that you edited that book, `Troddin Thru Raukkan'.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. I think there are two video tapes which touch upon those matters.
- 12 A. The first one, if it is what I think they are -
- 13 Q. I will produce them to you.
- A. The first one was called `Camp Coorong, sharing our culture' which I think was a combination of talking about recording history and sites and the interest in looking at history, and also, in a sense, publicising
- the work that Camp Coorong have been doing, in terms of
- running educational camps for people, taking people
- 20 through the region's history. So, it was a combination
- 21 of things and it was an opportunity to make a video that
- gave some of the older people an opportunity to talk
- about the history and it be used as a resource in
- teaching programmes within the Education Department, itis used and through Camp Coorong.
- Q. I think one of those videos, is what I can call aLindsay Wilson video.
- A. Lindsay Wilson I think is on both of them. The second one is, basically, it was really mostly just a visual
- record of a wurley making workshop that was held at Camp Coorong. That is, basically, we put together a workshop
- looking at material culture, from the earliest of
- memories of some of the older people I was working with;
- their days of having holidays on the Coorong, what were
- 35 the wurlies they were living in, how did they make them,
- 36 the use of things called blanket sails. It was putting
- a material side to the oral history, so that when we
- were talking about particular stories, we could actually

- 1 the objects themselves had an impact on people's
- 2 memories and it also provided a better understanding of
- 3 just how people were living in the material culture and
- 4 Lindsay Wilson, I guess, was the main source of the
- 5 information on that. He basically conducted the
- 6 workshop in a sense and showed he was one of the main
- 7 people who showed how they built the wurlies, talked
- 8 about the process and there are a number of other
- 9 people, including Doreen, who came along as well on that
- particular trip. Les Gollan, Bruce Carter.
- 11 Q. Are the videos different, one from the other.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. One is the wurley building.
- 14 A. That is second in terms of sequence of time and `Camp
- Coorong, sharing our culture' I think it is called, is the first one.
- 17 Q. What is the viewing time of those.
- 18 A. They're not very long. I think they are something like
- 19 15 to 20 minutes.
- 20 Q. Each.
- 21 A. I think so, yes. Maybe half an hour.
- 22 A. Leah Rankine, who has already been mentioned in this
- 23 Commission, is on the first one and Margaret Jacobs
- and Marg Koolmatrie are also on both, I think. There
- is a number of people.
- 26 EXHIBIT 232 Two video tapes tendered by Mr Smith.
- Admitted.
- 28 Q. You would agree, would you, that Bertha Gollan is a
- senior Ngarrindjeri lady.
- 30 A. Yes.
- 31 Q. Someone who, in ideal circumstances, would be consulted
- about a tradition such as secret women's business.
- 33 A. I think she is certainly an elder who would be, you
- know, on the list of people.
- 35 Q. Dulcie Wilson the same.
- 36 A. Yes, yes.
- 37 Q. Would you agree with me that, Sarah Milera has a
- reputation, if I can put it neutrally, for fantasizing.

- 1 A. Well, I really don't know in terms of that person. I
- 2 can't comment on that.
- 3 Q. I am asking about her reputation.
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 COMSR
- 6 Q. Anything you have heard about her.
- 7 A. Well, mostly through the Commission I have been hearing.
- 8 Q. Apart from that.
- 9 A. Comments like that, I mean, I don't know Sarah Milera
- that well and I haven't had that much to do with her.
- 11 XN
- Q. Would you agree that Shirley Piersley and Vi Deuschleare not Ngarrindjeri women.
- 14 A. Well, no, I wouldn't really agree with that. I think
- they certainly identify with the Kingston very strongly
- but through their genealogies they have connections
- with the Coorong. Certainly Vi Deuschle through the
- Wimpie family has Coorong connections. And Shirley
- 19 Piersley has her family connections through the Bonnies.
- 20 Certainly had them living at Point near Point McLeay
- early on in the century basically, and had a lot to do
- with the region. So, I don't think you could completely
- rule them out as being Ngarrindjeri people at all.
- 24 COMSR
- Q. Can an Aboriginal person identify with two different communities.
- A. For sure, depending on their family background and where they have lived.
- 29 Q. Simultaneously could they be Ngarrindjeri.
- 30 A. Yes, I think, certainly, because it is their background.
- Their mother's side might have come from the West Coast
- of South Australia and the father may have come from
- Point McLeay. It is just depending on those influences;
- 34 like Greek father/Italian mother.
- 35 XN
- 36 Q. It has been said that both those ladies are
- 37 Moandik, regarded as Moandik, rather than Ngarrindjeri.
- Isn't that the case.

- A. I have always known Vi Deuschle to associate her
- 2 heritage more with the Kingston area, which relates to
- 3 that area. But, I also know she is well aware she has
- 4 Coorong connections as well. Shirley, I am not 5
- quite as sure in terms of discussions, with her origin.
- 6 She has strong Kingston connections and South East
- 7 connections. She is also aware of her connections with
- 8 Point McLeay historically. Certainly that is the way it 9 is I think.
- 10 Q. Your professional life has been spent with these people,
- 11 it is a simple proposition. Shirley Piersley and 12 Vi Deuschle, I suggest, are not regarded as
- 13 Ngarrindjeri women, but are Moandik.
- 14 MISS NELSON: By whom?
- COMSR: By whom? 15
- 16 XN
- 17 Q. By you I am asking you.
- A. By me. Well, by me I would say that they have got every 18
- 19 reason to claim Ngarrindjeri descent, that is from my
- 20 perspective and I am basing that on their genealogies
- 21 and other bits and pieces. I mean, other people within
- 22 the community may have different perspectives, depending
- 23 on the history they have had with those people. That's 24 the way it is.
- 25 Q. I think you would like to supplement your statement to 26 produce, wouldn't you, some - what would you call this 27 bundle of material.
- 28 A. Most of it is just the evidence of the references in my
- 29 statement, where I said that Doreen Kartinyeri has said
- 30 something or somebody else has said something. It is
- 31 just copies of references that I was able to locate that
- 32 I actually specifically related to my statement. Plus a
- 33 couple of extra little references that I have found
- 34 since the Commission started. Because, when I was
- 35 putting my statement together it was very quick. I had
- 36 very little time to actually do much preparation. So,
- 37 there is a couple of extra things. I think there is one
- 38 photocopy, if I can find it, from - there is just an

1	excerpt that I photocopied. I thought it was in there,
2	but I have got the book.
3	MISS NELSON: I have got it here.
4	A. Just a section from the book, myths and legends of the
5	Australian Aboriginees attirubted to W Lindsay Smith,
6	who, it has been argued, is actually mostly written by
7	David Unaipon as - the source material is from David
8	Unaipon, which has a section in it which just talks
9	about the trade custom associated with the umbilical
10	cord. Basically, I thought I would put a copy of that
11	in because it provides a little bit more information in
12	relation to the meaning/significance of that particular
13	custom.
14	CONTINUED

- 1 MR SMITH: I haven't looked at these, I suggest
- 2 that we mark them for identification at this stage while
- 3 we all have a look at them, and perhaps at the end of
- 4 the day sort that out.
- 5 COMSR: How many have you got there?
- 6 MR SMITH: It's just a bundle of notes.
- 7 XN
- 8 Q. Is that right, contemporaneous notes.
- 9 A. Yes. What I put into my statement was only things that
- 10 I could actually locate in terms of the conversation
- with Doreen Kartinyeri, for instance mostly it's
- Doreen Kartinyeri material that I had an actual note
- in a notebook or a rough note, so I photocopied those
- pages, and they are very brief, and they only really
- relate to comments like `There are things I can't tell
- you because you're a man', that sort of comment, that
- Doreen made to me before any of this Hindmarsh Island
- issue started, and a couple of just partial transcripts
- of tapes where either something like that was being
- said, or it relates to this particular -
- 21 Q. I think it's better if we go through it, there is no
- quick way of doing this. That document is headed `TapeIndex SH5'.
- 24 A. That's a very, very rough, quick transcript done of a
- 25 tape that was made during the work on producing the
- Ngurunderi exhibition, dated 26.8.1988. It was actually
- a discussion between myself, Winston Head, one of the
- exhibition officers, and Philip Clarke, and during that
- 29 conversation, which was in the Ngurunderi gallery in
- front of a case that had a seated model of a woman,
- 31 Doreen made some comments about the position of the
- actual model, and the fact that it indicated an aspect
- of menstruation. She actually had us turn the tape off,
- and there is a little bit of a conversation on the tape
- iust prior to turning the tape off, and she indicated
- after that in another notebook I've just got a comment
- saying there are things that she can't tell me because
- I'm a man, or can't even tell me, so it just indicates

- that Doreen Kartinyeri perhaps at least had a belief in 1
- 2 knowledge that she couldn't impart to men prior to
- Hindmarsh Island becoming an issue, and I guess that
- just follows my opinions.
- 5 MISS NELSON: I indicate that where Mr Hemming refers 6 to 'transcript of tapes', and he has actually prepared a
- 7 transcript, the actual tapes are available.
- 8 A. Yes. I have the copy tapes here. That is a very rough transcript, that one (INDICATES). 9
- 10 COMSR
- 11 Q. What do you mean, roughly written.
- 12 A. Very roughly done by myself. I've just put a few topics
- in there, and just identified where the spot is on side 13
- 14 B, so that's not going to help you a huge amount.
- 15
- 16 Q. The document dated 9 August 1988 headed `Marg
- 17 Koolmatrie, Doreen Kartinyeri and others', that's a 18 tape, is it.
- 19
- A. Yes. It just refers to, in my statement, an occasion where midwives were discussed in general terms, and I 20
- 21 was told to turn the tape down or off, and I have a note
- 22 in another little notebook, and this is just a
- 23 transcript of the beginning of the tape with a blank
- 24 section on it.
- 25 Q. That document there.
- 26 A. That's another extra. I don't know if you want to talk 27 about that at this stage.
- Q. There is four pages of your handwriting, is it. 28
- 29 A. That's right, yes.
- 30 Q. Taken from where.
- 31 A. This is again from one of my notebooks from the period
- 32 of 1988 to do with site recording. I was keeping
- 33 notebooks when we were doing site recording style work.
- 34 It's my notes relating to an interview with Jean Gollan,
- 35 Doreen Kartinyeri and Marg Koolmatrie. In it there is a
- 36 section that refers to - just discussing, talking about
- 37 the delivery of babies just very generally, and the fact
- 38 that 'That would be never spoken about on the street'

- sort of comment. That relates to that tape.
- 2 Q. That original notebook is available, is it.
- 3 A. Yes, I've got that here.
- Q. Looking at this bundle, this next bundle of six pages,again that's -
- 6 A. That relates to one of the conversations in the tea room
- 7 that I was talking about with the people I've mentioned,
- 8 between Neva Wilson, and Suzy Hutching was there. It's
- 9 just a mention Doreen was talking about, just
- mentioned a bit about Mundoo Island in very, very brief
- terms, and just said that `At certain times of the year
- 12 you can see smoke coming off the island. This
- represents smoking of the dead', that sort of comment,
- so just a mention of Mundoo Island.
- 15 Q. When was that.
- 16 A. That was back in 1989.
- 17 Q. Then, looking at this -
- 18 A. I think. Yes, May 1989.
- 19 Q. Then there's two pages, again your notebook, is it.
- 20 A. Again that's just, that is just a spare thing. It
- 21 doesn't really matter.
- Q. Then I produce to you is it two pages, 'Journal June to August 1991'.
- 24 A. Yes, another conversation with Doreen where she said,
- 25 just again she said that she shouldn't tell me, a man,
- about such things, but that she and plenty of others
- know about the Ngarrindjeri way of childbirth. It's
- 28 just a conversation.
- 29 MISS NELSON: What is the date of that?
- 30 A. 8.8.1991.
- 31 XN
- 32 Q. Then this document, which is headed `Murray Bridge,
- Railway Terrace, Nanna Laura Kartinyeri, Auntie Maggie
- Jacobs, 27.10.93', four pages of your handwriting, is
- 35 it.
- 36 A. Yes. I think I referred to that in my statement, but
- it's just in terms of having a discussion with the
- daughter of Margaret 'Pinkie' Mack more generally about

- 1 her life, in a sense, and I was interested in her
- 2 experiences at Swan Reach, but we also just briefly
- touched on a couple of issues to do with pregnant women,
- and the sorts of things that you didn't, you don't do,
- 5 like - well, nothing really detailed.
- 6 Q. This bundle, three sheets of paper headed `Ngarrindjeri Meeting, 5 October'.
- 8 A. This was -
- 9 Q. What year would that be.
- A. Yes, I've got the notebook here, but that actually 10 11 relates -
- 12 Q. It's the same year.
- 13 A. I have to look that up quickly. I think it's about
- 1988, but I better just check that to make certain -14
- 15 yes, it's 1988, 5 October. It was a meeting, I think,
- 16 after the discussion in the gallery, and I just have a
- 17 note there saying that Doreen doesn't - Doreen also said
- 18 `There are some things I can't tell even Steve because
- 19 I'm not allowed to. It's what my old people would
- 20 want'. It's the sort of thing that Doreen said to me a
- number of times over the years. Didn't go into any 21 22 details.
- 23 Q. This handwritten document, again your handwriting, two 24 pages dated 4 July 1988.
- 25
- A. Yes. Q. `Field trip to Victoria' etc. again. 26
- 27 A. Again this one is an extra I didn't mention in my
- 28 statement. This is one of the ones that I found since.
- 29 The same with the previous, I hadn't located that
- 30 before. This just is a reference where Doreen is just
- 31 talking to, I think it was Jean Gollan, and she says
- 32 Doreen did a lot of talking about Salvation Army and
- 33 that she was the only girl that didn't convert, she was
- 34 too used to her grandmother's etc. religion'. It goes
- on a little bit from that, so it's just referring to, I 35
- 36 guess, her beliefs, in a sense.
- Q. Then finally that extract from `Myths of Australian 37
- 38 Aboriginals'.

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- A. Yes. That's on the Ngia Ngiampe, or the trade and 2 customs. As far as I know, the source of this is David 3 Unaipon. It's a little bit more information in relation 4 to the practice in which mentions the fact that - it 5 says, I will quote from it, in relation to the piece of 6 cord that was actually central to the establishing of 7 the trade relationship, the umbilical cord, he says, 8 Only a certain woman of the tribe is privileged to be 9 the giver of this piece of cord. She had to be the
- 10 daughter of a mother who also had been similarly chosen.
- 11 These mothers must be in direct line of noble womanhood 12 and must be pure of character'.

13 **COMSR**

- 14 Q. Is this something that -
- A. It's just adding extra information to the understanding, 15 16 in a sense, or possible information.
- 17 Q. Yes, but is it information in the public domain.
- 18 A. It's published, yes.
- Q. That's all I want to be assured of for these purposes. 19
- 20 A. Sure. It really just - it has slightly more information 21 about that process than the Berndts have, and it gives 22 women, I guess, slightly higher role in the process.
- 23 EXHIBIT 19A Bundle of documents tendered by Mr 24 Smith. Admitted as part of Exhibit 19.
- 25 A. I think I must just add this one, it's just - it's a 26 vocabulary card from the Tindale collection of language

27 from that region, and it's just a reference to a

- particular plant that is said one way by, it appears to 28
- 29 be men and, when spoken by females, it says that the 30
- plant is `Lalawath'. They add a `TH' or interdental on 31 the end. It was actually something that I did ask an
- 32
- older Ngarrindjeri lady about, because she came from a 33 place call Lalawa, and she confirmed to me yes, in that
- 34
- instance, the way that women said that particular place
- 35 was different from men, and that's the place. Tindale 36
- has the actual plant name, and he says the similar 37
- thing, that you add a `TH' on the end. It's not
- 38 conclusive of any sort, but it shows this is another

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- area where perhaps women had knowledge or even practices
- that were separate from men's perhaps. It's just an
- 3 indication. I can talk more about that perhaps.
- 4 MR SMITH: Could that be added to that exhibit.
- 5 COMSR.
- Q. I've heard evidence, of course, that there is men's business and there is women's business.
- 8 A. Sure. It seemed like there was a connection to a place,
- 9 because when I asked this particular elderly lady \text{Is}
- that term is used for a particular station', she said
- that she used that term, and when she spoke it she has
- used the `TH' on the end, so that's an element of
- women's practice, in a sense. Something the Berndts
- don't record as well.
- 15 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ABBOTT
- 16 Q. Who was your informant in relation to this regard.
- 17 A. A lady called Lola Sumner. I'm pretty sure I have a
- note on that which I can dig out, of that conversation.
- 19 Q. You said a few minutes ago the effect of your statement 20 was, or your argument was I think I've recorded it
- 21 correctly that there was some bits of evidence to show
- 22 why some evidence was not recorded. Do you remember
- 23 saying something to that effect.
- 24 MISS NELSON: Why some knowledge was not recorded.
- 25 XXN
- 26 Q. Why some knowledge was not recorded.
- 27 A. Yes, something like that.
- 28 Q. That's really the high point of what you say, isn't it.
- 29 There is some bits of evidence to show why some
- 30 knowledge may not have been recorded.
- 31 A. That's a major part of it but, as I say, it's also on
- the basis of what is recorded in the Berndts' book, and
- also on the basis of my own experiences in the region,
- so it's not just that, but that's certainly an element.
- 35 Q. You go no further than that, other than to come to this
- 36 commission and to say that your argument, your thesis,
- is that there are some bits of evidence to show why some
- 38 knowledge may not have been recorded until recently, or

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- 1 may not have been revealed until recently.
- A. That's one aspect to my argument, yes.
- Q. That's the high-water mark of your argument, isn't it.
- 4 A. I don't think that's the full crux of it.
- Q. But you don't go any further than that, do you. You don't say that you've presented proofs.
- 7 A. No.
- 8 Q. Or even probabilities, do you.
- 9 A. I say possibilities, but of course I haven't got
- 10 conclusive evidence other than I guess the only
- 11 conclusive aspect of it is that a number of women
- presently argue that they believe in the women's
- business.
- 14 COMSR
- 15 Q. That's conclusive of what, that there is a present -
- 16 A. That's conclusive that there is a group of women that
- argue that there is women's business.
- 18 Q. So that proves that there is a group that argues that
- they believe in women's business, right. (NOT ANSWERED)
- 20 XXN
- 21 Q. I'd perhaps like to ask you a few basic questions.
- Anthropology is a science, isn't it.
- A. Well, I think a lot of anthropologists would argue that it isn't.
- 25 Q. I knew I wouldn't get a straight answer to that.
- 26 A. I'm sorry. I mean there are different branches of
- anthropology, and physical anthropology, we have a Colin
- 28 Pardoe in the museum who would argue that certainly it
- is a science.
- 30 Q. Do you regard it as a science.
- 31 A. I think the more social aspects of anthropology I
- wouldn't regard as a science.
- 33 Q. What would you regard it as.
- 34 A. I see it as a social -
- 35 Q. An art form.
- 36 A. No, it's more. I mean history isn't regarded as a
- science either, it's a branch. It's placed in art
- faculties, and it's a discipline that relates to the

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- study of society and social aspects of life, so I
- wouldn't it's not that precise, let's put it this way.

 Q. There are, however, whether we call it a science or
- whatever we call it, methods which have evolved over the years by which an anthropologist, or indeed a social
- historian, can test the validity of claims that are madeby people in any society.
- 8 A. Well, depends if you're going about trying to test people's claims.
- 10 Q. Yes, sure.
- 11 A. Or whether you are actually acopting what they do claim.
- 12 Q. I haven't asked you the latter, I'm asking you about the
- former. If you're in the business of, say, presenting a
- view to some organisation, like this Royal Commission,
- then you would want to test the theories and arguments that you put forward by known and accepted processes,
- that you put forward by known and accepted processes wouldn't you.
- A. Yes. Those processes are more along the lines, in this context, of providing what this particular commission sees as relevant evidence.
- Q. We'll come to that. I mean, you understand that, at the
- centre of this Royal Commission, is the question whether
- or not women's business, as defined in the terms of reference for the Royal Commission, was fabricated in
- 25 the sense of created, invented, in 1994. Do you
- understand that's what we're getting at.
- A. Sure, yes.
- 28 Q. Had you considered that as a possibility ever.
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. When.
- 31 A. Generally, I guess.
- Q. When you prepared your statement, did you consider it apossibility.
- 34 A. Well -
- 35 Q. Just 'Yes' or 'No'.
- 36 A. I would say I was but, in considering that, I prepared
- my statement in the way that I have.
- 38 Q. In giving evidence today, have you considered that as a

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- 1 possibility, and by `that' I mean that Doreen Kartinyeri
- 2 fabricated the women's business that's claimed in the
- Royal Commission terms of reference, in March or early 1994. Have you considered that possibility.
- 5 A. Well, as I've said in my evidence -
- 6 Q. Just 'Yes' or 'No', have you considered it.
- 7 A. I guess I would have considered it, but I don't support 8 it.
- 9 Q. I suggest you haven't considered it.
- 10 A. Well, I'm not sure that's the case.
- 11 Q. You tell me, what consideration have you given to it.
- 12 A. Well, in terms of the consideration of preparing this particular statement -
- 14 Q. No, giving your evidence. I've passed on from preparing
- 15 your statement. Giving evidence today, what
- 16 consideration have you given to that proposition, that
- 17 Doreen Kartinyeri invented women's business, as we have
- been dealing with in this Royal Commission, in early 1994.
- 20 A. Well, as far as I have in terms of my experience and
- 21 what I've seen. I had no involvement or ability to make
- a comment on that in terms of what Doreen's done. What
- 23 I've -
- 24 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 25 A. What I can only comment on is what I've had experience
- with and what I've read and whatever, so in terms of
- actually saying that I can make a comment on whether
- Doreen did or didn't, I don't know that.
- 29 CONTINUED

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- Q. But don't you understand that what you have done today is come along here and tell this Royal Commission, in effect, that in your opinion, you regard it as a possibility that Doreen Kartinyeri didn't invent or fabricate women's business in early 1994. Don't you
- understand that to be the effect of what you are saying.
 A. Yes, certainly. That doesn't mean to say I hadn't considered various aspects before coming to that

9 particular presentation of evidence.

- Q. Coming to that particular presentation of evidence today, I want to know what regard you have had to the alternative hypothesis, namely, that she did invent it in 1994.
- A. As I have said, I have worked with Doreen for 15 years, 14 and she is held in high regard by a number of people as 15 16 a researcher, and I have never found her to be anything 17 but truthful, and I couldn't imagine, in that sense, that this would be the type of thing she would do. So 18 19 from one aspect, my knowledge of Doreen, I find that 20 improbable that that would be the case. And I have said 21 that in my statement, that I found her a truthful 22 person. So, other than that, I have moved into looking 23 at what evidence is available to make comments on this 24 particular issue, my own experience in the region, 25
- comments Doreen has made to me over the years, and I
 have come to the conclusion that I think it is possible.
 Q. I am suggesting that the approach that you have taken is
- 27 Q. I am suggesting that the approach that you have taken is to look at the evidence which supports the end that you want to pedal, that is, that it is a possibility that
 30 Doreen Kartinyeri is telling the truth. You have not looked at the other side of the coin, the possibility that she is not telling the truth about women's
- that she is not telling the truth about women business.
- 34 A. I mean, I am providing information to help the Royal Commission come to its conclusion. This is the -
- Q. Have you looked at the large body of evidence which hasbeen presented in this Royal Commission which would tend

- to show that Doreen Kartinyeri made up women's business
 in early 1994.
 A. I'm not sure I support that interpretation. I have
 - A. I'm not sure I support that interpretation. I have listened to the evidence.
- 5 Q. Have you looked at it.
- 6 A. Yes, I have.
- Q. In your examination of this issue of whether or not it was made up or fabricated in early 1994 by Doreen Kartinyeri, what factors have you taken into account that might support the view that it was made up.
- 11 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 12 MISS NELSON: It is not the witness's function to do that. It is yours, commissioner.
- MR ABBOTT: I submit it is. He has come along here
 with his opinion and I am entitled to ask, in presenting
 an opinion, has he pursued what I would regard, and what
 I think everyone in this room would regard, as the
- appropriate methodology, that is, you look at both sides
- of the coin and you don't go ahead with your eyes
- 20 blinkered with only one approach.
- 21 MISS NELSON: Isn't this the situation, there are two
- sides of the anthropological argument? My friend forgets that this witness has said in his evidence that
- he accepts there is another anthropological point of
- view, and that the majority of the evidence points that
- way. He says there is a possibility that secret sacred
- women's business exists, and he has given his reason for that.
- 29 COMSR: One of which is that he accepts Doreen 30 Kartinyeri as a truthful person.
- 31 MISS NELSON: As a truthful person. But going beyond that, and suggesting he should have embarked on an
- examination of whether she was making it up or not, is
- just totally inappropriate, and I object to the question
- being put. It will not help you.
- 36 COMSR: Yes. The witness, I think, has made it
- 37 clear that, in examining the issue of whether or not the
- women's business may have been fabricated, he has taken

38

A. Yes.

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his assessment of Dr Kartinyeri into account. 2 I know that, but I am going this far, I MR ABBOTT: am suggesting he hasn't properly examined the issue of 4 whether or not women's business was or was not invented 5 by Doreen Kartinyeri. 6 WITNESS: I have examined it as far as I -MISS NELSON: Don't answer the question. 8 COMSR: As an historian, the issue he is more 9 concerned with is whether or not it is fabricated, not fabricated by whom, but pieces of evidence he takes into 10 11 account and what he spoke about to Dr Kartinyeri. 12 XXN 13 Q. Are you concerned with the issue of whether or not 14 Doreen fabricated it. **OBJECTION** Ms Nelson objects on the ground it is 15 16 exactly the same question. MISS NELSON: 17 Mr Abbott really has to stop that line of questioning. It is entirely inappropriate, and he 18 19 knows it. MR ABBOTT: 20 It is not inappropriate at all. 21 COMSR: Perhaps you might be seeking to do this: 22 Suggest to the witness that, if he didn't accept Dr 23 Kartinyeri as a witness of truth, would that make some 24 difference to his assessment of whether or not it was 25 possible that women's business in respect of Hindmarsh 26 Island was fabricated. 27 MR ABBOTT: I understand you are at least impliedly 28 overruling my question. 29 COMSR: Yes. 30 MR ABBOTT: I will not adopt the approach that you 31 have suggested I should take, with respect. I will move 32 on to a slightly different aspect of the same area. 33 XXN 34 Q. You have heard the evidence of Mr Jones, have you not. 35 36 Q. I think you have been here for most of the evidence of Dr Clarke. 37

- Q. You realise that they have considered, in coming to 2 their opinions, the possibility of whether or not secret sacred women's business of the type that we're 4 considering within this Royal Commission may have 5 existed, but not have been revealed until early 1994.
- 6 You realise that that's apparently what they have done.
- A. Basically I'd agree with that.
- 8 Q. And they have come here and they have given their 9 professional opinions that, in their opinion, they don't 10 believe that is a possibility. I don't think I am doing 11 an injustice to their conclusions, am I.
- 12 A. They seem to be fairly -
- O. Fairly definite. 13
- A. Fairly definite in their summary, yes. 14
- Q. As I understand what you are doing, you are saying to 15 16 the commissioner `I'm really just putting forward the 17 point of view, Madam Commissioner, that it might be a 18 possibility'. That's really all you are doing, isn't 19
- 20 A. What I have said is that it is a possibility. I have used particular words, and I'm doing that on the basis 21 22 of the evidence I have presented.
- 23 Q. But everything is possible in this world, isn't it.
- 24 A. No, not everything.
- 25 Q. Most things are possible in this world. I am suggesting 26 it is not helpful for you to come along and put forward
- 27 assumptions and speculations and say: that means, in the
- 28 end, that there is a possibility that this secret sacred 29 women's business, which we are dealing with in this
- 30 commission, may have remained unknown - that is, 31 unrevealed - until 1994. Do you accept that criticism.
- 32 Miss Nelson objects. **OBJECTION**
- 33 MISS NELSON: The question starts off `It is not
- 34 helpful for you to come along to this Royal Commission'
- 35 and do certain things. Whether it is helpful or not,
- 36 ultimately is going to be a matter for you,
- Commissioner. If my friend wants to put something else 37
- he should phrase it a bit better. 38

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1 QUESTION REPHRASED

- 2 XXN
- Q. Let me go to your statement, p.21. It is entitled `My views on the issue of whether it is possible that secret
- women's knowledge associated with Hindmarsh Island could exist'. Those words are carefully chosen, are they not.
- 7 A. I guess they are. It's a title.
- Q. You don't purport to be telling us that you have viewson whether it did exist.
- 10 A. I'm arguing in there that I believe that it's possible that it did exist.
- 12 Q. Did exist or could exist.
- 13 A. Well, I have also argued that there are a group of
- people who argue that it does exist at the moment, so I am providing a context, or trying to.
- 16 Q. Put aside post April 1994. Lets' leave aside the issue
- as to whether or not people genuinely believe it now, or whether they have a belief or not a belief, or whether
- it is, by them believing in it, an invented tradition or
- not an invented tradition. Do you have a view on the
- issue of whether it is possible that secret women's
- knowledge associated with Hindmarsh Island did exist prior to 1994.
- A. Yes, I think, as I have said here, that is entirely possible.
- 26 Q. Possible. You do not assert that it is probable.
- 27 A. No, I say it's possible. That's what I say.
- 28 COMSR
- Q. In coming to that conclusion that it's possible, what, if any, part does the present assertion by a number of
- women that they believe in it play.
- 32 A. That has certainly got some role in it. But I divided
- up my analysis in terms of particular chunks, and I have
- actually looked at the actual ethnographic record and
- 35 tried to look at information that relates to that. I
- 36 have looked at my own field experience, and I have done
- that, to some extent, in isolation from the contemporary
- context. I am trying to put an interpretation into the

- 1 other bits of evidence that are available.
- 2 XXN
- 3 Q. This opinion that you hold that it is possible that
- 4 secret women's knowledge associated with Hindmarsh
- 5 Island did exist prior to 1994, we are talking about the
- 6 same secret women's knowledge, aren't we. You intend
- 7 this section to be referrable to the definition of
- 8 women's business in the Terms of Reference of the Royal
- 9 Commission.
- 10 A. Yes, yes.
- 11 Q. Don't you.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. Women's business is defined in this Royal Commission as
- being `The spiritual and cultural significance of
- 15 Hindmarsh Island and Mundoo Island, the waters of the
- Goolwa channel, Lake Alexandrina and the Murray Mouth,
- within the Aboriginal tradition of the Ngarrindjeri
- women which is crucial for the reproduction of the
- Ngarrindjeri people and of the cosmos which supports
- their existence.'
- 21 A. Yes, that's right.
- Q. First of all, is there a shred of ethnographic evidencein written form that says anything remotely like that
- prior to April 1994.
- 25 A. As I've said, there is nothing that specifically relates
- to that in the evidence. What there is, is a situation
- 27 where we have got information that shows us that there
- is a body likely to be a body, I would say, of
- 29 knowledge that women had that was separate from men that
- 30 hasn't been recorded, and there is evidence for that
- 31 within the Berndts manuscript the Berndts book, for
- 32 instance
- 33 Q. Maybe so. Let us go that step. Let us assume that
- there was women's business, and indeed women's business
- which was kept by the women secret to them. You would
- readily accept that such issues as conception, birth,
- pregnancy and menstruation may be such topics of such
- 38 business.

- A. Yes, and particularly interpretations of those
 particular things in relation to detailed Dreaming or religious beliefs.
- Q. It is a quantum leap, is it not, even if you accept the proposition that there is some shred of evidence to support the proposition that there may have existed some women's business of the type that I have just referred you to, to say that that provides support for the existence of women's business of the type this commission is involved with. It is a quantum leap, isn't it.
- 12 A. Taken in that perspective it might be, but the way I 13 would see it is that I am putting the position, that is, 14 taking a look at the material that's available, and I am 15 not coming to a definite answer. I don't believe you 16 can say that it is not possible, because there is too 17 many bits of evidence in there to suggest that we don't 18 know enough, that the people who recorded the 19 information weren't asking the right questions, weren't 20 there at the time when these events were occurring. I 21 mean, the Berndts weren't around when the initiation 22 ceremonies were being held. There are too many
- questions that haven't been answered for us to be making very very clear-cut sort of decisions on the possibility of women's business.
- 26 Q. But that, I suggest, is an unreal answer. We are 27 talking about your view that there is an absence of information on the one hand, and yet you pray that, in 28 29 aid of a conclusion, it's possible that what is said in 30 April 1994 - in essence, that there is so much spiritual 31 and cultural significance to women in relation to 32 Hindmarsh and Mundoo Islands, that it is crucial for 33 their reproduction and the cosmos which supports their 34 existence - you can't make that connection, can you.
- 35 A. I can say it is possible.
- 36 Q. Of course you can.
- A. With the evidence I have got, I believe I can argue that, given the ethnographic interpretation of the

- 1 ethnographic material, my field work, and the fact we 2 have got a group of women now claiming the belief - a series of women.
- Q. A group of women now claim it. Unless they provide some 5 basis for their claim, we can disregard that, can't we, because it happens all the time that people claim things 6 that turn out to be not correct or invented.
- 8 **OBJECTION** Ms Nelson objects on the ground of Q question being too general.
- 10 A. I think that is up to someone else to decide those sorts 11 of issues.
- 12 Q. I invite you to put aside that a group of women now claim or make claims in relation to the existence of -13
- 14 A. We have heard evidence in the commission from people recently who say that there was women's business and it 15 16 was secret and sacred.
- Q. Put that aside as well. 17
- 18 **COMSR**
- 19 Q. You mean you have heard some evidence in relation to 20 this area.
- 21 A. Just yesterday. Not specifically in that area, but in 22 terms of the secret sacred women's business. The 23 question was put, I think, did someone's mother deny 24 that it related to Hindmarsh Island, and they said that 25 she didn't deny or support it, she said you need to look 26 at the future not the past. So that is just evidence 27 from yesterday. I will leave that aside as well.
- 28
- 29 Q. I want to deal with your argument, your thesis which you put forward in your evidence. You acknowledge that 30 31
- there is nothing in the written literature which
- 32 provides support for the existence, prior to early 1994,
- 33 of women's business of the type which is referred to in
- 34 the Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission. You 35 agree with that, don't you.
- 36 A. I agree there are no specific references that support 37 that exact detail.
- 38 Q. There is no general reference to Hindmarsh and Mundoo

- 1 Islands having spiritual and cultural significance to women, is there.
- A. No general reference to specifically spiritual beliefs for women.
- 5 Q. No, no general reference to spiritual or cultural
- 6 significance of Hindmarsh and Mundoo Islands and women.
- 7 A. And women, or the first part?
- 8 Q. And women.
- 9 COMSR
- 10 Q. The combination of all.
- 11 A. No, I don't think there is anything specific.
- 12 Q. No, the question is: is there anything of a general
- nature in relation to Hindmarsh Island and MundooIsland.
- 15 XXN
- 16 Q. You have agreed to specific, I am now turning to generality.
- 18 A. Not that identifies that particular area, no.
- 19 Q. That identifies any place in the Ngarrindjeri nation 20 with women's business.
- 21 A. The only evidence we have for that within the
- 22 ethnographic material is the Berndts' manuscript and the
- fact that there were separate initiation ceremonies for
- women, that were held completely apart from men and that
- related to women's business, and that we don't know
- 26 anything about the details of that material. That's one of the key -
- 28 Q. But nothing else, is there.
- 29 A. There is nothing that relates specifically to that.
- 30 Q. I am asking you generally. Do you understand the
- 31 general concept I'm asking you to deal with. Women and
- a particular place in the entire Ngarrindjeri nation
- with reference to the ethnographic literature prior to
- 34 the beginning of 1994.
- 35 A. There are certainly Dreaming stories that relate to
- women and have female ancestors doing particular things
- and transforming into things like islands within the
- 38 Ngurunderi Dreaming story. There are a number of

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- accounts like that that related to female Dreaming ancestors and feminine aspects certainly.
- ancestors and feminine aspects
 COMSR
 Q. And to specific places.
 A. And to specific places, yes.
 CONTINUED

- 1 XXN
- Q. You have told us then -
- A. I mean, we don't know how much further that goes, but that is there.
- 5 Q. I want to know what the bottom line is as far as you say
- what is in the literature to support the view that you espouse. You say there are some references within the
- wide corpus of literature about the Ngarrindjeri people.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Which supports the view that certain places had some identification with women.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. You provide for us the written references to the
- 14 Ngurunderi epic.
- 15 A. That's one, yes.
- 16 Q. The reference in Berndt to initiation grounds.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. From female as distinct from male. Anything else.
- 19 A. There are other female figures in dreaming, dreaming stories from the region.
- 21 Q. What references can you give us to those.
- 22 A. You have got a story or a dreaming story called Prupi
- and Coramang from Tindale, which relates to a female
- ancestor and activities around the McGrath Flat area.
- You have got the Yungeri dreaming has women involved in that.
- Q. With reference to a particular site.
- 28 A. They are involved in the landscape and they do things at
- 29 particular places, yes. So, you have basically got
- female dreaming ancestors who do things within a
- 31 dreaming context. And some, for instance, in the
- Ngurunderi one, change into islands and become part of the landscape.
- 34 Q. Accepting that body of literature to exist, none of that
- is referrable to Hindmarsh and Mundoo Islands, the
- waters of the Goolwa channel, Lake Alexandrina and the
- 37 Murray Mouth, is it.
- 38 A. No, I haven't argued that.

- Q. I think you say this, that it is your argument that 2 there might have been a dreaming, a story, a mythology, that has been unrecorded that did relate to that area.
- A. It appears that that is the case, given the evidence 5 that has been presented as being in sealed envelopes and 6 that sort of material. So, it appears that there is a type of information available, or has been recorded. 7
- 8 Q. Not only that, but that it has remained available for 9 hundreds of years.
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. So, we are not talking about, if it is like the 12
- literature that you have just spoken of, we are not 13 talking about something that was just made up yesterday
- 14 or even last year.
- 15 A. Sure. 16 Q. We are talking about something that has its roots deep
- 17 in Ngarrindjeri culture. 18 A. Yes, there is a reference in the Berndts' text, for
- 19 instance, to the stories about the moon. And they make 20 a particular point that the moon was very important for
- 21 pregnancy and menstruation. They also say that that
- 22 particular account wasn't availability when they were
- 23 recording. And there was a long account relating to the
- 24 moon and that that particular moon who was a female
- 25 related to the region in the vicinity of Yankalilla, I
- 26 think, down to Cape Jervis. So, that is another account
- 27 of an area of the landscape that is associated with a
- 28 feminine type aspect. And they argue it was a very long
- 29 dreaming story and, again, wasn't available to them, at
- 30 the time, and seemed to relate to issues relating to
- 31 women. So, I mean, there is an account of a dreaming
- 32 that the Berndts seem to have identified as important in
- 33 the women's realm, but that they didn't get very much
- 34 information about, but certainly connected as having
- 35 importance to women's issues and business, in a sense. 36 Q. You put forward the thesis that if it is true and was
- 37 not just made up in early 1994 by Doreen Kartinyeri, you
- 38 put forward the view that somehow in some way this very

- important dreaming, which has its basis in Ngarrindjeri culture and mythology, escaped capture by the various
- ethnographers and anthropologists and researchers in the field.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. For that to be a valid proposition, you would need to
- 7 know just what the secret sacred women's business is,
- 8 wouldn't you. Because, if there was an aspect of it,
- 9 for example, that raised questions, in your mind, which
- you couldn't answer, you might have cause to doubt it.To reject the possibility.
- 12 A. I don't know the details, so I can't really pursue that.
- 13 Q. I have asked you that.
- 14 A. As I have shown, there certainly are examples of things
- like the Thukabi story, which aren't recorded in the
- literature, but appear within the realms of people's
- 17 knowledge today. You have got the example, for
- instance, of no, I think it is fairly relevant. You
- 19 have got the example of, say, all the artefacts from the
- 20 museum from that region that have carved designs on them
- 21 that we know nothing at all about the meanings of, but
- relate are Ngarrindjeri artefacts and they are
- 23 physically there, but there is nothing recorded in the
- literature that explains to us the meanings of the
- designs on those artefacts. And, within southeastern
- South Australia, those designs have been linked to
- 27 ceremonial practices and knowledge of landscape and
- totems and things like that. So, in similar sort of
- 29 form to the western desert sort of art. So, we have a
- great body of material, for instance, in the museum that
- 31 we know nothing about and Berndts and Tindale and a
- range of other people haven't been able to help us out
- with there. So, somebody was missing out somewhere down the line.
- 34 the line.35 Q. I am not suggesting that -
- 36 A. I am just showing examples.
- 37 Q. Could I just finish. I am not suggesting that those
- 38 researchers working in the Ngarrindjeri field managed to

- 1 capture everything and record it, either for public or
- 2 for private study. And I am not suggesting that, by the
- time Berndt and Berndt were in the field, there were traditions and mythologies which had disappeared.
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. That would seem to be axiomatic, would it not.
- 7 À. Sure.
- 8 Q. But, you see, what I am suggesting is that you need to look at fairly carefully some of the changes that are
- made about this secret sacred women's business, because
- it is a rather unique and special secret sacred women's
- business in respect of which Doreen Kartinyeri has been
- making claims. You appreciate that, don't you.
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. Have you looked at the claims that she has made in
- relation to this secret sacred women's business, to see
- whether, in the light of those claims, it stacks up with
- the theory that you are putting forward. Namely, that
- there is some lost tradition. Not lost to women, but
- 20 unrecorded by both male and female researchers in the field.
- A. I don't really have access to enough information about what that is.
- 24 Q. You have read the papers.
- 25 A. I have got media reports and things like that, but I
- don't really think that they are providing enough
- information to really have a sensible approach or attack to that.
- 29 Q. You know what she is claiming, don't you.
- 30 A. Basically, yes.
- 31 Q. At least from the media.
- 32 A. And within the Fergie report.
- 33 Q. Take that as the parameters. There are two aspects to
- this. One is fact and the other is myth. Because
- 35 certain factual allegations are being made about
- 36 Hindmarsh Island. You understand that. That is part of
- 37 the claim of the cosmological and significance and
- 38 reproductive significance. Do you understand certain

- 1 factual allegations are being made.
- 2 A. I am not really quite with you in terms of your
- distinction between fact and myth.
- 4 Q. Some of the factual allegations that have been made in the media are that Hindmarsh Island was a place to which
- Aboriginal women went for the purposes of aborting foetuses.
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Which occurred after relationships, of one sort or
- another, with white or partly white inhabitants of South Australia.
- 12 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 13 MISS NELSON: I simply rise to say this, there have
- been lots of allegations made in the media and I
- understand Mr Abbott to be purporting to put statements
- made by Doreen Kartinyeri.
- 17 COMSR: Yes.
- 18 MISS NELSON: I'm not sure that she ever made that particular statement.
- 20 CÔMSR: I think that probably is the one that
- was on the Ray Martin programme.
- 22 MR ABBOTT: Ray Martin. That is straight out from
- Ray Martin and I can get it. I am summarising it in the
- interests of time.
- 25 MISS NELSON: All I am saying is, I would like Mr
- Abbott to confine anything he does put in the comments
- to statements allegedly made by Doreen Kartinyeri. And,
- if there are statements made by anybody else, perhaps he could identify them.
- 30 COMSR: This is a recorded statement?
- 31 MR ABBOTT: It is directly from the Ray Martin show.
- 32 MISS NELSON: I don't take issue with that.
- 33 WITNESS: Can I have a copy, just to put it into
- 34 context?
- 35 XXN
- 36 Q. Yes, looking at Exhibit 171A, now before you, the bottom
- of p.2, 'I can comment on that, because I was told that,
- Ray, when settlers first came to South Australia, there

- were very little women. Aboriginal people were used and
- 2 had become pregnant to white settlers. It would have
- been a shameful thing for our women to take newborn
- 4 white babies back into their camps. Ray Martin: So,
- 5 the babies were aborted and/or buried out on the island?
- 6 Yes.' Do you understand that is one dimension of what
- 7 is being asserted as the secret sacred women's business
- 8 referrable to Hindmarsh Island, which is essentially for
- 9 the reproduction and the cosmology of the Ngarrindjeri 10 people.
- 11 A. I don't know if that is part of the secret sacred
- women's business. It is an element of what has been
- asserted for Hindmarsh Island's significance. And I
- think I don't know whether it is a reference that
- relates to that island being used as a place like that
- for all Ngarrindjeri people, or whether it is just
- people living in the Goolwa region. It is not really
- that clear, in that context.
- Q. Can I suggest then that you haven't taken into account in promoting your thesis this factual allegation made by
 Doreen Kartinyeri, have you.
- 22 A. I have thought about this one.
- 23 Q. You have.
- 24 A. And, as I have just said, I haven't really been able to
- 25 find out enough, in terms of the reference that has been
- 26 made, to say whether this is being alleged, as was
- discussed in the Commission, I think, that all
- Ngarrindjeri people at one time were using Hindmarsh
- 29 Island for this particular type of practice. Going
- there to abort foetuses. It would be my understanding
- 31 that it could be certainly possible that was taking
- 32 place for people living within that Goolwa region. And
- that was an area where there was, for instance, in the
- early sort of contact periods, a lot of contact between
- white people and Aboriginal people and would have set up
- 36 the circumstances for the use perhaps of the island in
- 37 that way.
- 38 Q. Again, you use the words `It is my understanding that it

36

37

38

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may be possible.' A. Yes, sure. Q. There is not a shred of evidence to suggest that it ever happened, is there. 5 A. Not necessarily. 6 Q. At all. 7 A. There is evidence of white people and Aboriginal people 8 coming into contact in that area early on. There is 9 evidence that Aboriginal women -10 O. But -Miss Nelson objects. 11 **OBJECTION** 12 MISS NELSON: Could the witness finish the answer? If 13 you ask a question, you get the answer. 14 MR ABBOTT: The problem is, I don't get the answer to the question. I am aware we have limited time and I 15 16 am anxious to get an answer to the question. I will 17 repeat it. 18 XXN 19 Q. Is there a shred of evidence to support the view that 20 Aboriginal women went to Hindmarsh Island, from whatever 21 area, for the purposes of aborting themselves, with or 22 without the assistance of other Aboriginal women, when 23 they had had relationships with white or partly white 24 people. 25 A. There is evidence of Aboriginal women undertaking 26 abortions. There is evidence of Aboriginal women not 27 wanting their husbands to find out that they have a 28 white child. But, in terms of Hindmarsh Island 29 specifically, no, I don't think there is. 30 Q. If-31 A. But I don't think that is the sort of thing people would 32 have been widely telling everyone. If people were 33 trying to cover those things up from within their own 34 communities, I don't think it would be reported widely, 35 to ethnographers or Taplin or people like that. So, it

is not surprising to me that that doesn't appear, if it

is a possibility, if that's what is being stated. Q. It is not surprising to you that that fact, if it be a

- fact, has escaped collection by all those who worked in the Ngarrindjeri nation from the 1800s onwards.
- A. No, and, I mean, there are so many things I have come across that have escaped people in terms of recording, that, no.
- Q. You heard some of the evidence, I think, that it would
 require permission from the clans on the island,
 presumably.
- 9 A. Yes, the clans on the island, there are a number of clans on the island and they have a number of connections with language groups. I think there is several language groups connected with that sort of
- area. And the people, as I say, you can't really pin it
- down to a particular period. It is a very generalised claim. It could well be related to the early camps
- claim. It could well be related to the early camps around Goolwa. People coming and living there in all
- around Goolwa. People coming and living there in all parts of the Ngarrindjeri territory and using it for
- that purpose. People were travelling around that
- country and living around in townships and other areas
- and living together from different parts of the
 Ngarrindjeri country from an early period.
- Q. I am asking you to assume that this is one of the claims made as an allegation of fact from which is asserted that this gives the island and its relationship to the mainland some cosmology and spiritual significance.
- A. Some significance, some spiritual substance. Cosmology,
 I am not sure it has been drawn that far.
- Q. But, in any event, you tell us that you had considered this as being one aspect of the secret sacred women's business that was being asserted in 1994.
- 31 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 32 MISS NELSON: He hasn't said that, at all. He has
- said that that certainly is an allegation which may
- relate to the significance of Hindmarsh Island, but he
- couldn't see that it, of itself, had any relationship
- with secret sacred women's business. That is as I
- 37 understand the evidence.
- 38 WITNESS: Yes.

- 1 XXN
 - Q. Is that your evidence. Is that how you understood it.
- 3 A. Yes, pretty much.
- 4 Q. If the claims are eventually made that Hindmarsh Island,
- as a whole, and Mundoo was sacred, because it is alleged
- as a fact that there was either infanticide practiced or abortion practised, or is a birthing site, let's take
- 8 those three possibilities. There is no evidence, that
- 9 you are aware of, that would support those claims, is there.
- 11 A. Not specific to that spot that I know of, no.
- 12 Q. If the next claim that is made -
- 13 A. Other than the claims that people are making now.
- 14 Q. If the next claim that is made is that Hindmarsh Island
- and its environs, the Murray Mouth, in fact, that area
- on the map up on the wall there resembles the shape of
- women's reproductive organs, there is not a shred of
- evidence to support that claim, is there.
- 19 A. Not within the ethnographic material. I think there are
- a few women's place names in the region, but they are -
- it doesn't support that, as a claim, within the ethnographic material.
- 23 Q. To be more specific, that, if it is alleged that
- Hindmarsh Island represented the ovaries of an ancestral
- 25 figure, no such support for that view, that you are
- aware of, in the literature.
- 27 A. There is nothing specific that I am aware of.
- 28 COMSR: Is this taken from the published
- 29 material?
- 30 MR ABBOTT: Yes, it is the Rocky Marshall letter.
- 31 XXN
- 32 Q. If the further claim is made that all the waters around
- including the channel right up to the entrance to the
- lakes are a sacred site, that is, the waters are.
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. Because it is the meeting of the waters, that is, the
- mix between salt and fresh, and that, to interfere with
- 38 the Goolwa channel and to join the island to the

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- mainland will effect women's fertility and or destroy
 women's spirituality, not a shred of evidence to support
 that, is there.
 CONTINUED

- 1 A. If you take it that far and if you take the first part
- 2 if you take the first part about waters and salt
- water/fresh water, there are indications that that salt water/fresh water dichotomy was important.
- Q. I want you to take it that far first of all and answer that question.
- 7 A. Well, no.
- 8 Q. Now, to return, in fairness, to what you were saying about meeting of waters, it is common.
- 10 A. I am commenting generally on the water I suppose. Water
- appears to have various significances to people within
- the initiation ceremony for men, they cleanse themselves
- in the water to destroy all the Narambi sacredness of
- themselves and the objects they have used during initiation in water.
- 16 Q. I suggest we can go further and say that, there are many
- many tribes, or groups of tribes, across the world, who
- attach some significance to where fresh and salt water
- meet in estuarian conditions and it has some relevance and importance to their culture.
- 21 A. Certainly, yes.
- Q. None of it, to your knowledge, is secret or sacred or it might have a secret sacred component.
- A. I am not sure I can comment on the whole world in a sense.
- Q. Let's confine ourselves to Aboriginal Australia,to your knowledge.
- 28 A. I don't think I could even comment on all of Aboriginal 29 Australia.
- 30 Q. The Murray.
- 31 A. I don't know of any secret sacred significance to that,
- the Lower Murray, in the ethnographical literature of course.
- 34 Q. Apart from your research into the ethnography, I think
- you only rely upon your own discussions with
- 36 Ngarrindjeri women whom you have had dealings with, to
- support the view that, this vital and important secret
- sacred knowledge, being secret sacred women's business,

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- 1 might have survived. They are the two planks on which you rest your thesis, are they not.
- 3 A. Yes, that's an important one of the planks I think.
- 4 Q. Your dealings with women Ngarrindjeri women and -
- 5 èp-p-p-

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- early on in their field work careers, I think the fact
- 3 Q. Inexperience in other words.
- 4 A. Yes, experience.
- 5 Q. Or lack of it.
- 6 A. It was very early on in their careers, so they hadn't
- had a broad perspective of the sorts of questions to ask, the approaches to take to particular issues.
- 9 O. I want to identify -
- 10 A. That is one.
- 11 Q. On the basis that you say the Berndts may have missed
- out on even having any hint of this important secret
- sacred women's business, which is now being asserted,
- first it is, the limited number of their informants.
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. Second is their inexperience.
- 17 A. That would be a small element in it I think.
- 18 Q. Anything else.
- 19 A. I think the theoretical slant that they took into the
- 20 field with them would have had an impact.
- 21 Q. The biased approach.
- A. Everyone has a biased approach. Everyone works within their own period.
- 24 Q. A particular biased approach.
- 25 A. Yes.
- 26 Q. Anything else.
- 27 A. I think there is an indication that their main female
- 28 informant was largely providing them with information
- about songs, and didn't appear to be as committed to the
- task of imparting knowledge as their male informant.
- 31 Q. You agree that that is speculation on your part.
- 32 A. Not entirely. I think there is some evidence there.
- 33 Q. No evidence at all. You can't argue from the fact that
- she didn't provide information of her initiation songs
- to a proposition that she was reticent about providing.
- It may be the case.
- 37 A. Catherine Berndt characterised it in that way.
- 38 Q. It may be her reticence, but it may be her lack of

- l memory.
- A. She certainly was described, by everybody I have heard, as being and by the Berndts themselves as being an extremely lively woman for her age and I don't -
- 5 Q. You have said what you -
- A. That is a very well recognised story in the Ngarrindjeri
 community, just how lively Pinkie Mack or Margaret Mack
 was for her age at different times.
- 9 COMSR
- 10 Q. Do you deduce from that, that the fact that, say, 60 years after she might have learnt these stories, the songs, that she is unable to record them in.
- 13 A. I would be surprised that she wouldn't have anything to offer on it at all.
- 15 XXN
- 16 Q. The second -
- 17 A. I also have the other point, in terms of just specific
- pieces of information, in that, the Berndts record a song that was sung in the pre initiation ceremony
- from Albert Karloan, which basically starts off I think,
- 21 Parti Winamai' something like that. Now,
- they argue that, both Albert Karloan and Pinkie Mack
- 23 didn't know the significance or meaning of that
- particular song and I have certainly come across the
- song myself and recorded versions of it from old
- women from the region. They were able to talk about the
- significance of it. And Pinkie Mack sung that song on a
- number of occasions throughout her life. It was one of
- 29 her favourite songs. She sang it at the re-enactment
- of the Sturt ceremony at Point McLeay in 1950 something.
- 31 It is just there is something I have come across myself
- and I have obtained information.
- 33 Q. You said that p.28, it is evidence Pinkie Mack or Albert
- 34 Karloan deliberately withheld information from the
- 35 Berndts. From that you go on to argue that it is
- therefore possible that they withheld, from the Berndts,
- information of the sort that is being represented as
- being the secret sacred women's business that we now

- are addressing in this Commission. Is that right.
- A. Yes, basically, that's right.
- Q. But, you see, that is why I come back to my question about it being a quantum leap. It is one thing to hold
- 5 back on a song, about one aspect of initiation. What we
- 6 have here, if one assumes that Albert Karloan and Pinkie
- 7 Mack held back on information they had, and in
- 8 particular Pinkie Mack, is information about the cosmos,
- 9 and the cosmological significance of the Murray Mouth,
- 10 Hindmarsh Island and the surrounding area, which was so
- 11 important to women, that any interference with it would
- 12 destroy the Ngarrindjeri nation as a whole, by affecting
- 13 the reproduction. It is an enormous corpus of
- 14 information.
- A. Maybe that's why they didn't divulge that information. 15
- 16 If it is that important and that significant, well - and
- 17 women's information was kept away from men, then perhaps
- 18 that is why Pinkie Mack wasn't talking much about
- 19 women's perspectives of dreaming and those sorts
- 20 of areas. And Albert Karloan was providing more 21
 - information than her.
- 22 Q. The fact that this information is so supreme, so 23 significant to women, you say is another factor as to 24 why it was never recorded.
- 25 A. Well, it could be.
- Q. I mean, you appreciate, do you not, that if this secret 26 27 sacred information is anything like what it is claimed
 - to be in the media, it would require the Berndt and
- 28
- 29 Berndt book to have another half a dozen chapters
- 30 written into it, to present anything like a balanced
- 31 picture of Ngarrindjeri life, wouldn't it.
- 32 A. I am not sure how much detail there is, but certainly
- 33 there would be major additions. But, I mean, also,
- 34 Catherine Berndt argues herself, that in terms of having
- 35 secret women's information revealed to her in other
- 36 regions, it took a considerable period of time and
- 37 trust, longer than the period she was able to work
- 38 specifically with the people like Pinkie Mack, and she

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she said that she really had to work by herself and be

2 identified just with the women.

- Q. I am not putting to you that it is not possible that
- something may have been overlooked in the study of the
- 5 Ngarrindjeri culture. All I am putting to you is, as we
- 6 heard from previous evidence before the Commission, that
- 7 this is one of the most investigated groups of
- 8 Aboriginal people in Australia. But that -
- 9 A. No, it is not really what was put. It was put that this
- is one of the most heavily documented groups in Southern
- 11 Australia. It is very different because -
- 12 Q. Do you agree with that.
- 13 A. Well, I think it is one.
- 14 MISS NELSON: With what?
- Q. One of the most heavily documented groups in SouthernAustralia.
- 17 A. Certainly in terms of the cultures in Southern
- Australia, there is more recorded perhaps than other
- 19 cultures in Southern Australia, certainly not when you
- 20 talk about the Central Australian region or Arnhem Land
- or that part of the country. It doesn't even come close.
- 23 Q. The next ethnographical source that you pray in aid of
- your thesis is Dr Alison Brookman. Having heard her
- Evidence, do you still rely on it.
- 26 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 27 MISS NELSON: This has already been put to the witness
- 28 through counsel assisting the Commission. It is not
- 29 necessary for Mr Abbott to go over it again.
- 30 A. I was interested in her evidence though.
- 31 XXN
- 32 Q. You then deal with Professor Faye Gale. That has
- already been put to you by counsel assisting.
- 34 A. One point with -
- 35 Q. I am going on to the next in interest of time. I don't
- 36 have unlimited time.
- 37 A. I think this is an important point to make.
- 38 Q. Your counsel will be able to ask you.

- 1 A. Dr Clarke, you have mentioned, at p.24, you, in essence dismiss his work, on the basis that he has ignored the importance of gender in his ethnographical researches.
- A. I don't say I dismiss it, but I criticize it for that.
- Q. And you say that, because it appears to you, that he
 ignored the importance of gender, in his investigations
 and in his field work, that provides a reason why he was
 unable to capture any hint of this important and
- 9 cosmologically significant information.
- 10 A. Yes, that's possibly true.
- 11 Q. You then, after providing a section on what you say is
- your interpretation, what is really nothing more than
- your personal view about the Berndts' work, that section in your statement is it.
- 15 A. That section of interpretation of the evidence.
- Q. The section that runs from p.25 3.2.2 `my interpretation of this evidence.'
- 18 A. Yes and I related to some other material in terms of that.
- Q. It is basically you say, these are some of the
 significant things in the Berndts' book which you
 think -
- A. It is a very important course, there is no doubt about that.
- Q. What you have done there is take some material from theBerndts' book and say `these references provide some
- support' at least in your eyes `for your thesis.'
- Namely, it is a possibility that this secret sacred
- women's business has existed, in essence, from time in
- memorial, certainly in the last 200 years.
- 31 A. Sure, okay.
- 32 COMSR: I think the witness has covered that has
- 33 he not?
- 34 XXN
- 35 Q. Can I just ask you then, about your personal
- 36 experiences, your personal experiences that you have
- detailed. I suggest it is clearly what one would
- describe as women's business, not secret sacred women's

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- 1 business.
- 2 A. No, certainly the experiences I have had only given
- me glimpses of a situation where women aren't prepared to talk about particular topics to me.
- 5 Q. To a man.
- 6 A. And to men, yes.
- 7 Q. That doesn't provide a basis for the existence of secret
- 8 sacred women's business, it merely reinforces the well 9 known fact, that women, of just about any culture, are
- 9 known fact, that women, of just about any culture, are often reticent about talking about certain topics to
- men, doesn't it.
- 12 A. I think this is specific experiences with the
- 13 Ngarrindjeri people. That's the way I am looking at it
- and their beliefs and practices.
- 15 Q. I won't debate it. I will leave it there.
- 16 p-p-p- ·"'

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- 1 COMSR: Do you in particular wish to get from
- this witness his understanding, because these lines of
- 3 genealogy have been discussed quite frequently
- 4 throughout.
- 5 MR ABBOTT: Yes, I do. I won't spent much more
- 6 time.
- 7 XXN
- 8 Q. You've named the other informants to be the daughter of
- 9 Pinkie Mack and Auntie Rose, whom you know to be Rose 10 Kropinyeri.
- 11 A. Doreen Kartinyeri's mother's elder sister, I think.
- 12 Q. Dr Fergie has claimed that three other chosen people,
- chosen women, had this knowledge, or some of this, or
- most of it, or all of it, we don't know what distinction
- she makes, and you're aware that those persons are
- 16 Connie Roberts.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. Maggie Jacobs.
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. And Edith Rigney.
- 21 A. Yes.
- Q. Have you addressed any thought to how it could be thatthey were the four chosen people.
- 24 OBJECTION Ms Pyke objects.
- 25 MS PYKE: If they have been referred to as
- 26 `chosen', can you point me to where in Dr Fergie's
- 27 report she refers to that fact, that Dr Fergie's says
- 28 they are chosen people?
- 29 MR ABBOTT: They are the only women and they are the

- 30
- 31 MS PYKE:
- 32
- ones that have had it since puberty.

 IS PYKE: That's different from being `chosen', I have no objection if Mr Abbott says that they have had the knowledge since puberty, that's a different concept 33 34 completely.
- 35 XXN
- 36
- Q. In view of Ms Pyke's objection, I will say the same thing, but without using the word `chosen'. I ask you 37
- to assume that Dr Fergie claims that she was told that, 38

- 1 of the Ngarrindjeri women whom she had spoken to or
- 2 with, it was asserted that only four had any of this
- 3 secret sacred knowledge, but that those four, Doreen
- Kartinyeri, Connie Roberts, Maggie Jacobs and Edith 5 Rigney, had had it since their puberty.
- 6 A. Within that group of women that we're talking about?
- 7 Q. Yes.
- 8 A. I can comment on Connie Roberts to start with.
- 9 Q. Just pausing there, I invite you to assume that that's
- 10 what Dr Fergie says. Have you assessed or thought about
- 11 how it might be that those four, and only those four of
- 12 that group of 34, had that information.
- 13 A. Yes, I've certainly thought about the particular
- 14 individuals. I can't really comment on Edith Rigney
- because I'm not as aware of her life history, but for 15
- 16 instance Connie Roberts, I've been hoping to interview
- 17 Connie Roberts in detail for years, because people have
- 18 been telling me, people like Marjorie Koolmatrie, Auntie
- 19 Maggie Jacobs, a number of people, that she is a person
- 20 who knows a lot of songs, language, traditions of
- 21 Ngarrindjeri people, and I've been pursuing that history
- 22 through her, the camps that she used to live at say, for 23 instance, on the Coorong.
- Q. You know that she spent a lot of time in the Riverland. A. Yes. 24
- 25
- 26 Q. That she left Raukkan at an early age.
- 27 A. She was actually more involved in the Coorong area. She
- 28 was born, I think, on Rabbit Island, I think. For
- 29 instance, she was living at Meningie One Mile camp, and
- 30 she actually spent a lot of time travelling around the
- 31 Ngarrindjeri country and outside of it, and wasn't
- 32 really a person who spent much time on missions as far
- 33 as I know, but she certainly recognises, as I said -
- 34 Q. Do you see that as significant, because that is one of
- 35 the other arguments that's put forward.
- 36 A. I think that is potentially significant.
- Q. That is that those who were not on the mission might 37
- have been favoured to be not chosen, but selected for 38

- this information.
- A. Yes. I don't fully follow that argument, but in terms of Connie Roberts, I think I've had enough indications
- put to me that she has a lot of information that others
- 5 don't in relation to traditions, and I've certainly
- 6 myself been keen to interview her for a number of years,
- 7 and haven't quite had the opportunity.
- 8 Q. You've said that.
- 9 A. Sure.
- 10 Q. We have dealt with Edith Rigney, we've dealt with Connie Roberts. Maggie Jacobs, you know that she spent most of
- her life out of the State.
- 13 A. Most? I don't know about most of her life, I think.
- 14 Q. A significant proportion.
- A. A significant proportion, but she spent her years up to around about the age of 20, 21 at Point McLeay for instance, to start with.
- 18 COMSR
- 19 Q. Having been through all of that, are you able to say whether or not you can discern any reason why that
- 21 particular group of women might have the knowledge, and
- others of a similar age not have that knowledge.
- 23 A. Well I think, as I've said with Connie Roberts, I've
- certainly heard that she has more knowledge than others,
- and that might have been because of the fact that she
- was travelling around a lot, living in camps away from
- 27 the mission, it may have been the knowledge of her
- 28 particular family, but I think, I think the majority -
- it appears to me that the reasons why people have
- information and don't have information are fairly
- 31 complex, and relate to a series of things, chance, who
- your ansestors are, who your mother and father is, where
- you are at particular times, the interest you take in
- the past, I think that's an important one. Listening to
- 35 the evidence given in the commission, it's been fairly
- evident that a number of people who have given evidence
- have been very clear that when they were younger, they
- were certainly looking towards living in the wider

- 1 community, they were interested in getting on with their
- 2 lives at the time, they didn't talk to their older
- 3 people about their traditions and culture, and that
- those topics weren't raised. Now people like Connie
- 5 Roberts, I think, has always had an interest in the
- 6 past, the same with Doreen Kartinyeri, and those are the
- 7 sorts of people who I think might have more of an
- 8 opportunity of receiving information, but I think it's a
- 9 range of possibilities. I don't think there is one
- 10 answer to that.
- 11
- 12 Q. I'm asking whether you can point out any single factor
- that, in your view, is common to each of those four 13
- women that would provide an explanation as to why they 14
- 15 have, or their claim that they have this information
- 16 should be accepted, when others have equal seniority,
- 17 experience, and say nothing whatever about it.
- 18 A. I think I've just answered that.
- Miss Nelson objects. 19 **OBJECTION**
- It's been put in various forms, and the 20 MISS NELSON:
- 21 witness has given his reasons, I don't think he can take
- 22 it any further.
- 23 XXN
- Q. You know Dulcie Wilson. A. Yes. 24
- 25
- 26 Q. She has taken an interest in her Ngarrindjeri background 27 all of her life.
- 28 A. I think she's been interested in her history, yes.
- 29 Q. I suggest that she has taken far more interest in her
- 30 Ngarrindjeri heritage consistently over the years than
- 31 Doreen Kartinyeri has.
- 32 A. I wouldn't agree with that conclusion. I think not far
- 33 more at all, no.
- 34 Q. You are aware, are you not, that Doreen Kartinyeri left
- 35 before puberty.
- 36 MISS NELSON: Left where?
- 37 XXN
- 38 Q. Left Raukkan.

- 1 A. Initially, yes. She was back again fairly soon
- 2 afterwards at different times.
- 3 Q. She went to some institution, presumably called
- institutions in those days, Fullarton Girls Home, where
- 5 she remained for a number of years.
- 6 A. She did.
- 7 Q. Returning on holidays to Raukkan.
- 8 A. Yes. She also worked at Point McLeay in her teens and
- 9 lived there.
- 10 Q. As with many of the other women who say that they knew nothing of this.
- 12 A. Certainly, but Doreen emphasises one of her sources as
- being someone who lived at Point Pearce, and that's
- where she raised her family as a woman.
- 15 COMSR: We have pretty well canvassed this
- ground with a number of witnesses.
- 17 MR ABBOTT: We have.
- 18 XXN
- 19 Q. Looking at Exhibit 210, would you go to p.67. You were
- aware of this article in 1992.
- 21 A. Actually I wasn't, no.
- 22 Q. When were you first aware of it.
- 23 A. I was actually first aware of it when it was raised in
- the commission, I have to say.
- 25 Q. You're not aware, in some respects, of a very similar
- claim being made in respect of the Onkaparinga estuary,
- and what is at least reported in the media as being part
- of the claim that is made in respect of Hindmarsh
- 29 Island.
- 30 A. I'm certainly aware of this type of issue and that area
- being associated with it as a woman's site has been
- discussed in the Kaurna community for quite a while.
- 33 Q. You know Mr Lewis O'Brien well.
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. In this period, that is in 1992, you were working, I
- think, at the South Austalian Underdale Campus, were you
- 37 not.
- 38 A. Part of, let me see, part of 1992 I was.

- 1 Q. Was Mr Draper there, or Dr Draper.
- 2 A. No.
- 3 Q. Was he there at some stage when you were there.
- 4 A. No, he wasn't.
- Q. You have not mentioned in your evidence Mrs BettyFisher. Have you had any contact with her.
- 7 A. I think I've had a couple of occasions to speak to her
- 8 since this commission started, when she came in.
- 9 Q. But not outside this commission.
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. You have heard her evidence.
- 12 A. Quite a bit of it, I haven't heard.
- 13 MISS NELSON: Some of it, because a lot of it was in
- 14 closed session.
- 15 XXN
- 16 Q. You've heard most of what was said in open session.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. I take it you'd want to inspect the hard evidence,
- 19 namely her notebook and transcript -
- 20 A. It would be very interesting to see.
- 21 Q. before passing any opinion on the validity of her claims.
- 23 A. Yes. I mean it's hard for me to make a conclusive
- statement on that at all.
- 25 Q. Hard for anyone really.
- 26 A. Well, other than the evidence she has presented, I mean
- you can only go as far as what she has said.
- 28 COMSR
- 29 Q. Why do you require some evidence, some hard evidence to
- back up what she has said before you're prepared to give it any weight.
- 32 A. I'm only saying that I wouldn't make a conclusive
- 33 statement. I could make some comments on her evidence,
- certainly, but I don't think I could be conclusive. It
- would be far more valuable to see the original document,
- I think, than hear the actual contents.
- 37 XXN
- 38 Q. You haven't mentioned it so you haven't given it any

- 1 weight.
- A. This was prepared long before.
- Q. I know, but you have produced additional sources and mentioned addition matters.
- 5 A. Just a couple.
- 6 Q. You don't hold your thesis over Betty Fisher's evidence.
- A. No, not really, I don't know enough about it. I
- 8 certainly would think that the person she spoke to was a
- 9 very senior woman, and the evidence I have heard hasn't
- 10 contained any major errors of accuracy or anything that
- would make me think that it was totally implausible.
- There is not enough for me to really comment.
- 13 Q. One of the other aspects -
- 14 A. I haven't had access to the major parts of that evidence.
- 16 COMSR
- Q. So on what you've heard, you haven't referred to it because you think it would be unsafe, really.
- 19 A. Given that I haven't heard the main parts of the evidence.
- 21 Q. You only know her claim in a general way.
- 22 A. I mean in terms of hearing her speak about the
- 23 interview, and knowing that perhaps she knew Gladys
- 24 Elphick very well, for instance people have talked about
- 25 that issue, I can make comments about the -
- Q. I'm not asking you to make comments, but on what you've heard, you haven't really taken it into account.
- 28 A. Well, not in my statement, and not really now.
- Q. Is there some reason why you would take into account anyone else's claim that wasn't backed up by hard
- 31 evidence.
- 32 A. I'm not discounting her evidence at all. I'm just
- saying that I haven't heard all the evidence she was
- presenting, and I can certainly make comments on what I
- have heard, and I'm not let's put it this way,
- everything I've heard seems to suggest that she did know
- 37 the person she said she did know, and the fact that she
- 38 knew Gladys Elphick very well meant that she probably

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1	had	l access to	o the l	knowle	edge tl	hat G	ranny l	Koomi	had	on t	he

- 2 3
- basis of trust there, which is a question that people have asked. They say that, 'Why would somebody suddenly talk to someone very quickly on first meeting', but I think with an introduction of that sort of standing,
- 5
- it's a possibility.

 Q. I wasn't really putting to you an examination of her evidence, but her evidence such as it is.

 A. It's very interesting evidence, but again -

- 10 CONTINÚED

- 1 Q. No doubt it is, but such as her evidence is, you haven't
- 2 thrown it into the balance in coming to your
- 3 conclusions.
- 4 A. It adds a little bit to it, because I wasn't privy to
- 5 the main sort of crux of the evidence.
- 6 MISS NELSON: I think the difficulty with this line of
- 7 examination is the fact that Mr Hemming was excluded
- 8 from the courtroom when a lot of that evidence was
- 9 given, as indeed was Mr Abbott.
- 10 COMSR: Yes.
- 11 MR ABBOTT: Only you and the female counsel know
- whether we missed anything.
- 13 COMSR: Yes, that may well have been evidence
- taken on the basis of the old authorities.
- 15 MISS NELSON: Yes, it was.
- 16 COMSR: Which might raise some arguable
- 17 question.
- 18 XXN
- 19 Q. I want to ask you about another thread in your thesis.
- To admit the possibility, as you do, of the existence of
- secret sacred women's business of the type we are
- concerned with in this commission, and its existence
- handed down from woman to woman over the last couple of
- 24 hundred years, does that predicate that men must have
- 25 known at least of the existence of there being secret
- sacred women's business referrable to Hindmarsh Island.
- A. There may have been times in that history when they did have some indication -
- 29 Q. No, it doesn't predicate, from what you know.
- 30 A. It depends from when you are talking about. We are
- 31 saying that now we have got people arguing at the
- moment that it can't be revealed to women and in those
- sort of context, but there may have been different
- circumstances 150 years ago.
- 35 Q. Maybe, but that is another possibility. I am asking, on
- the basis of your knowledge, and your knowledge of other
- 37 Aboriginal cultures, isn't one thing at least fairly
- constant, and that is, that even in Aboriginal societies

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- 1 where there was secret sacred women's business which was
- 2 site related, it was essential that the men knew at
- 3 least the general location of that site, so that they
- wouldn't defile it, go into it, or could avoid it at the 5
- appropriate time.
- 6 A. I'm not sure how much prohibition there is in terms of
- 7 the sites that are related. It is a very broad region 8 you are talking about. I don't think that all
- 9 restricted knowledge about particular areas has to
- 10 relate specifically to sites that then exclude access.
- 11 So from that perspective I'm -
- 12 Q. Let us get back to the nub of the issue. Do you accept
- 13 as a proposition that, at least at some point in time in
- 14 the evolution of this tradition, men had to know about
- 15 it, at least the generality of it, had to know of the
- 16 existence of this secret sacred women's business.
- 17 A. Men would have known that there was secret sacred 18 women's business that the women had, and maybe very 19 general realms at one stage.
- 20 Q. Attached to Hindmarsh Island. They would have to know 21 that, wouldn't they, that it was referrable to Hindmarsh 22 Island and not Granite Island.
- 23 A. Possibly. Although, it may have been a regional thing
- 24 that they knew about. They knew of a different
- 25 perspective that the women may have had on a particular
- 26 area, but that may have been at a time when the culture
- 27 was functioning as it was prior to European contact or 28 earlier on.
- 29 Q. Does it concern you, in the sense of shake your faith in 30 your theory, that no hint of men knowing anything about
- 31 the existence of women's secret sacred site related
- 32 business occurs in any of the ethnography that is
- 33 referrable to the Ngarrindjeri people.
- 34 A. I think that's - it certainly is - it has an impact on
- 35 how I approach the issue. It certainly does have an
- 36 effect and it does have - it is an important point if
- 37 that's the case, but I think what I do is look at, I
- 38 guess, evidence and reasons as to why that may be the

- 1 case. When I look at the Berndt book, and particularly
- 2 I see that there are some major aspects that are
- 3 recorded, like women's initiations, that we haven't any
- 4 information about in terms of the knowledge that was
- 5 associated, they're the sorts of bits of evidence that I
- 6 would put up to suggest that this is possible that that
- sort of knowledge hasn't been recorded in the ethnographies.
- 9 Q. If we are talking about site related business, in the
 10 example you just postulate, the men would have to know
 11 generally the location of the initiation site to avoid
 12 it.
- 13 A. In the Berndts book they talk about women having -
- 14 Q. Is that not so.
- 15 A. In some parts of Australia, and in the Berndts book,
- there seems to be an indication that it is not
- 17 necessarily permanent initiation grounds. That those
- places become sacred and secret during the time and then
- perhaps revert back. It is not clear exactly in that case.
- 21 Q. Let us take that model, a moveable initiation ground.
- 22 MISS NELSON: It is not moveable. That is not what 23 the witness is saying. It is only sacred and secret
- 24 when the initiation ceremony takes place.
- 25 XXN
- Q. Sacred and secret place at the time. The men would have to know at the time.
- A. Yes, they did, and the Berndts record that, that with the women's initiations they went to a particular place
- and the men didn't go near, they were excluded from it.
- Q. This secret sacred women's business appears to apply 365
 days of the year to Hindmarsh Island and its surrounds.
- 33 MISS NELSON: I am not sure that that is a fair
- question. It may be an assumption that Mr Abbott has
- made, but I am aware that that allegation has been put.
- 36 XXN
- 37 Q. I invite you to assume that the secret sacred women's
- business applies to Hindmarsh Island and its surrounds

- 365 days of the year.
- A. Yes.
- Q. If that were the case, accepting that assumption, the men would have to know at least the generality, and go 5 this far, that Hindmarsh Island was secret and sacred to

6

13

- A. Maybe the knowledge see, you are jumping from place to 8 knowledge of place, and that's different.
- 9 Q. I ask it again. If secret sacred women's business of 10 the type that we are discussing in this Royal Commission 11 existed with reference to Hindmarsh Island, the men 12 would have to have known of the existence of secret
- sacred knowledge and Hindmarsh Island. 14 A. I don't - I wouldn't go quite that far. I would say 15 that I am not aware of the - I don't know enough about 16
 - what's being claimed by the women as women's knowledge,
- 17 and if they're talking about a whole region and
- 18 interpretation of that region from a woman's
- 19 perspective, that may well be just a women's perspective 20 of the region that they keep to themselves.
- 21 Q. And don't tell the men.
- 22 A. Men have interpretations of areas for themselves. I 23 mean, if it is secret sacred maybe they don't tell them.
- 24 Q. This is the secret of the universe, this is the cosmos, 25 and I invite you to assume that any interference of the 26
- type that this bridge presents it is alleged will 27 destroy the reproductive faculties of all Ngarrindjeri
- 28 women. It is that type of secret sacred women's
- 29 business, site related, we are dealing with. If it was
- 30 to that order, men would have had to have known that
- 31 there was something serious.
- 32 A. Men weren't planning to build bridges -
- 33 Q. Something serious and sacred in relation to Hindmarsh
- 34 Island, wouldn't they, insofar as women were concerned.
- 35 **OBJECTION** Ms Nelson objects.
- 36 MISS NELSON: I don't understand it to be exclusive to
- the island. Mr Abbott has to decide what he is putting. 37
- 38 I thought what he was originally suggesting was the

- linking of the island with the mainland was the
- 2 disturbance. Now he is saying it is the island which is
- 3 secret and sacred, therefore, the men must have known
- 4 about the island. I really do think, to get a helpful answer, that needs to be clarified.
- 6 MR ABBOTT: I have clarified it, I am confining it to the island.
- 8 XXN
- 9 A. I just don't have that interpretation or knowledge of 10 the implications of the so called women's business, as 11 you put it.
- 12 Q. It boils down to this, you really can't assist us as to whether it is possible or likely that men would have to have known about or known of the fact, if it be a fact, that Hindmarsh Island was a secret sacred place for
- women. You can't help us as to whether that is even a possibility.
- A. It is a bit hard for me to comment, given the amount of information. It may have been from different times. It is a possibility.
- Q. You have accepted so many other things as possibilities.
 I wonder why you won't accept that.
- A. As I have said, I think it could be a possibility, but it depends on the period you are talking about. There may have been change in the beliefs, the interruption of European invasion, in a sense, and the impact that has had on the ways that people restrict knowledge.
- Q. But if you bring that into the equation, you have to make similar qualifications to the handing down of the women's business, don't you.
- 31 A. Certainly.
- Q. But the women's side of the tradition, if we accept the proponent women, their knowledge has survived, but the
- men's knowledge of the existence of it has apparently
- 35 vanished.
- 36 A. Apparently.
- 37 Q. Yes.
- 38 A. I mean, I don't know if it has. I haven't conducted

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- field work on that, and I haven't had a chance to really investigate that myself, that question.
- Q. As far as we can tell, it has apparently vanished and you would expect it -
- 5 A. Well, I don't know.
- 6 COMSR: That is the same question, isn't it.
- 7 MR ABBOTT: Yes.
- 8 XXN
- Q. You have referred to your notes. Have you made any notes of your discussions with Doreen Kartinyeri, apart from that is, with reference to secret sacred women's business and the Hindmarsh Island Bridge matter.
- A. I have got some notes from early this year which relate to a conversation where she was talking about the sources of her information.
- 16 Q. Where are they.
- 17 A. I have copies of those at home. They were typed up 18 notes. In terms of this earlier period, the notes I 19 have for this - that I presented, I was keeping more 20 regular notes because I was doing field work on

21 particular sites. I haven't been -

Q. I am not talking about the field work. I am talking
 about from 1994 onwards when you had contact with Doreen
 Kartinyeri, and with reference to the Hindmarsh Island

25 Bridge matter.

- A. I think I have got at least one set of notes, but not for that early period -I don't think I have got anything -
- Q. Have you produced that one set of notes for counsel assisting.
- A. No, I haven't. At this stage, I mean, this is this year
 and it might even be no, it was before the commission
 I think had started, yes. It was probably March.
- 34 Q. Can you produce them.
- 35 A. Yes, yes.
- 36 Q. Does your counsel have a copy of them.
- 37 A. No, no. I think it was the time when Doreen Kartinyeri
- 38 came to was being congratulated for her just before

- she was being congratulated for her honorary doctorate. 2
 - That was the time. It was just a general conversation.
- Q. About the women's business and its relationship to Hindmarsh Island.
- 5 A. No, it wasn't very specific. I think it was more - I 6 think it may have mentioned Mundoo Island, it may have 7 mentioned Hindmarsh Island, and it may have mentioned 8 sources, but only in a very basic way.
- Q. Would you produce those notes tomorrow morning. 9

À. Yes. 10

- 11 MISS NELSON: On that note, I think I should perhaps
- 12 interject. Counsel assisting are well aware that I have
- 13 a longstanding commitment on a case interstate tomorrow
- and for the rest of the week. It has always been my 14
- 15 position, and I have got an undertaking from counsel
- 16 assisting, that, in the event that Mr Hemming's evidence
- 17 did not conclude today, he would not be obliged to
- 18 resume until I could return, which is Monday at the 19 earliest.
- COMSR: 20 I wasn't aware of that, unfortunately, 21 or if I was. I had forgotten.
- 22 MISS NELSON: It is difficult, I know. I don't say
- 23 this critically, but I think I was the first person to
- 24 cross-examine the first witness in this commission, and
- 25 I resumed it six weeks later, but events are such that
- 26 it has really made it very difficult for everyone.
- 27 Mr Abbott, have you got very much longer COMSR: 28 to go with your cross-examination?
- 29 MR ABBOTT: No, but I have also let counsel
- 30 assisting know that I am not available on Monday.
- 31 COMSR: Are you able to finish your examination
- before 5 o'clock? 32
- 33 **CONTINUED**

- 1 MR ABBOTT: I doubt it.
- 2 COMSR: What areas do you have to go?
- 3 MR ABBOTT: I want to ask about the letter that he
- 4 typed.
- 5 COMSR: That has been covered pretty well.
- 6 MR ABBOTT: Yes.
- 7 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 8 MISS NELSON: I would object to Mr Abbott taking that
- 9 any further, because it is not as though counsel
- assisting approached his examination of Mr Hemming as
- examination-in-chief. It really was cross-examination
- on that topic.
- 13 MR ABBOTT: I seek permission to ask a couple of
- questions on that topic. I emphasise only a couple of
- 15 questions.
- 16 COMSR: If it is not a matter that has already
- been covered by counsel assisting.
- 18 MR ABBOTT: No, it is not.
- 19 XXN
- 20 Q. Looking at MFI 204, the letter, you said you typed it on your computer.
- 22 A. No, I said I typed it on Francesca Alberts's computer is
- where I typed it up, because I didn't have an office. I
- don't have an office, or I didn't have an office in the
- area, at the time.
- 26 Q. I thought I heard you say it was on your computer.
- 27 À. No.
- 28 OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
- 29 MISS NELSON: No. he didn't.
- 30 XXN
- 31 Q. Do you know whether it is able to be retrieved from that
- 32 computer.
- 33 A. I'm not sure, to tell you the truth. I don't know
- 34 whether it was saved or not. I printed it out via the
- network connection to Margaret Amon's computer. So, I
- am not sure.
- 37 Q. I am just wondering whether you told anyone what it was
- filed under.

- 1 A. I am not sure that I saved it. I think I just typed it
- 2 out and it was printed.
- 3 Q. You may have saved it.
- 4 A. It might be, yes. It might be worth having a look.
- 5 MR ABBOTT: I am wondering whether counsel assisting 6 should look.
- 7 WITNESS: Sure I can show you, if you want to have
- 8 a look.
- 9 XXN
- 10 Q. In any event, did you see a copy of this letter after you had finished typing.
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. What were the circumstances in which you saw it.
- 14 A. It was printed out and I got it.
- 15 Q. Doreen signed it.
- 16 A. Yes.
- 17 Q. I don't know want to go step-by-step, but what I really
- want to know is where did the letter end up when you
- 19 last saw it.
- 20 A. Margaret Amon a day or two later told me that it had
- 21 gone through and she had put it in my pigeonhole in the
- museum and I said to her basically it wasn't my letter,
- it was Doreen's. And I transferred it into Doreen's
- pigeonhole. So, that's where the fax and the letter is,
- with Doreen.
- 26 Q. So, the fax header sheet or whatever and the letter
- 27 itself -
- 28 A. I think they were stapled together, yes.
- 29 Q. To your knowledge, it was eventually returned internally
- in the museum at least to a position where it is likely
- 31 that Doreen Kartinyeri got it.
- 32 A. Yes.
- 33 Q. And you have never seen it since.
- 34 A. No, except when I came to the Commission and was shown
- 35 it.
- 36 Q. You have not told us of any discussion you had with
- Doreen about the claims she made in the letter.
- 38 A. No.

- Q. Did you have such a discussion.
- A. We certainly talked generally. I was, as I said before,
- 3 surprised that women's business was being mentioned.
- That was something completely new to me, particularly in
- 5 relation to that area. But even in general terms it
- 6 wasn't something that was discussed. It was a new thing
- 7 for me to hear. It was interesting. And it was
- 8 surprising. We talked about it, in that sense.
- 9 Q. There was no doubt about it that she was claiming in 10 this letter to know about women's business site-related 11 to Hindmarsh and Mundoo Islands.
- A. Yes. 12
- 13 Q. Did you ask her in what way women's business was
- 14 associated with Hindmarsh and Mundoo.
- A. No, I didn't actually. I asked her about the sources of 15
- 16 the information, but I know Doreen well enough to not
- 17 pry into things like that. And she made it very clear
- 18 she wasn't going to tell me, or couldn't tell me.
- Q. She has told Ray Martin. 19
- 20 A. That is, the detail she certainly didn't.
- 21 Q. She has given him some of the details and she has given
- 22 the newspaper reporters some of the details. Are you
- 23 telling us that she gave you no details.
- 24 A. All she told me was the existence of women's business
- 25 associated with that area and about the sources of where
- 26 she had got it from.
- 27 Q. She told you none of the detail at all.
- A. Not at that stage, no. 28
- 29 Q. Did she ever tell you any of the detail.
- 30 A. As I have said, I have got some notes on a conversation
- 31 this year, from not very long ago in a sense
- 32 comparatively.
- 33 Q. Apart from that discussion and you are bringing those
- 34 notes in.
- 35 A. Yes.
- 36 Q. Any other occasion when she has told you any of the
- detail associated with her claim of secret sacred 37
- 38 women's business and Hindmarsh and/or Mundoo Island.

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- A. No, I don't think so. Not in any more detail than that.
- In terms of the original.
- Q. That being the discussion you have got the notes of.
- A. Yes, from then on.
- 5 Q. You have, I suggest, followed some of the published utterances in the media.
- 7 A. More recently and certainly I have been through the 8 evidence in the Commission too and heard all sorts of

9 things basically.

- 10 Q. You are aware of what she said, if we are to accept what
- 11 the media say, on several occasions, that part of the
- 12 secret sacred women's business is the alleged
- 13 correspondence between an aerial view of this particular
- 14 area and women's reproductive organs.
- A. I think she said that in the media. I am not sure. 15
- 16 Q. She has never said that to you.
- 17 A. No, she hasn't.
- Q. Not even in this discussion you made the notes of. 18
- A. No, she didn't. She just -19
- 20 Q. As for Hindmarsh Island being a place where women went
- 21 to practice abortion or infanticide, did she ever
- 22 mention that to you.
- 23 A. No, I think Margaret Jacobs has mentioned that to me 24 since, yes.
- Q. But not Doreen Kartinyeri. 25
- 26 A. I don't think so. No, I am not certain about that. I
- am really just not certain about that. 27
- Q. As for the necessity for Hindmarsh Island to be 28
- 29 separated from the mainland and for that separation via
- 30 the river not to be intruded upon by anything like a 31 bridge and that such intrusion will result in the
- 32 spiritual and reproductive destruction of the
- 33 Ngarrindjeri women, have you heard of that claim made by 34 her.
- A. I have heard it through the media. 35
- Q. Has she made that to you.
- A. She certainly didn't make that in that time of the 37
- 38 letter and I don't recall her saying that since to me.

- Q. She made other claims to you or other general claims to you about this business that are in your notes.
- A. She has talked not necessarily in my notes. I have had general conversations that just relate to the significance that there is women's business that is important in that region.
- 7 Q. Anything further that she said about it. I mean, that is not very helpful.
- 9 A. No.
- 10 O. Just women's business in relation to that area.
- 11 A. As I said, I think in that conversation that I had I
- think it was just before she was being awarded her
- doctorate she did mention Mundoo Island and Hindmarsh
- Island. And I think she said one was men's and one was women's, but that's I think that's what's in there.
- women's, but that s I think that's what's
- 16 There is no great detail.
- 17 Q. And one was birth and one was death.
- 18 A. I don't I am not sure about that. I don't know, so -
- 19 COMSR
- 20 Q. Do you consider that, in your conversations with Dr
- 21 Kartinyeri, that anything you told her, I suppose
- 22 individually or collectively, was reasonably capable of
- being construed by her as an endorsement of her claim
- that there was women's business related to Hindmarsh Island.
- 26 A. I think that, as I say, later on I mentioned the Ronald
- 27 Berndt conversation. And I would think that she
- probably took some solace in the fact that there might
- have been a very generalised mention of female
- 30 significance to that region. But certainly not in I
- don't believe that it had an impact on how she viewed
- the region or her beliefs at all.
- 33 XXN
- Q. Tell me, has it ever crossed your mind that there, to
- put it mildly, is an amazing coincidence between Doreen
- 36 Kartinyeri's claim of secret sacred women's business and
- 37 the stage at which the battle to stop the bridge going
- 38 to Hindmarsh Island had reached.

1	OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
2 3	OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects. MISS NELSON: So what? What does it matter what he
3	answers? It is a matter of comment and no doubt Mr
4	Abbott will make it in due course.
5	MR ABBOTT: It matters quite a lot as to whether it
6	has crossed his mind, because it involves whether he has
7	considered and properly considered the other hypothesis.
8	Namely, that she is telling a pack of lies.
9	MISS NELSON: We have been down that path.
10	MR ABBOTT: I maintain my question. I want to know
11	whether he has considered the apparent coincidence
12	between the fight to stop the Hindmarsh bridge and the
13	time of Doreen Kartinyeri's revelation about secret
14	sacred women's business, with reference to his evidence.
15	COMSR: Mr Hemming has been sitting in this
16	Commission hearing and it would be, I suppose, very
17	unlikely that, by now, he hasn't noticed that the issue
18	has been raised. But I just don't see where that is
19	leading us.
20	MR ABBOTT: Could I refine the question?
21	QUESTION REPHRASED
22	XXN
23 24 25	Q. Have you considered that aspect with reference to coming
24	here today and giving evidence about the possibility
25	that you put forward as being a real possibility.
26	OBJECTION Miss Nelson objects.
27	MISS NELSON: I object to that question, because I
28	can't understand it and I bet the witness can't. And I
29 30 31	defy anyone else in this courtroom to understand it. Mr
30	Abbott has been on his feet for a along time. I think
31	he should reflect before he resumes his
32	cross-examination and get the question coherent.
33	COMSR: Mr Abbott, I am just trying to see where
34	we are going.
35	How much longer are you likely to be in
36	cross-examination?
37	MR ABBOTT: I have got a few more topics and I am
38	well-aware that, if this witness goes on to Monday, I

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1
      won't be able to ask him. And I am happy to leave it on
2
      this basis, that I would like an answer to the question
      I am now putting. That I will refine that question.
                      The question you are now putting you
    COMSR:
5
      have yet to formulate, is that what you are putting?
6
                         I think I can, with my last remaining
    MR ABBOTT:
      resources this afternoon, formulate it.
8
    QUESTION REPHRASED
9
    XXN
10
    Q. You have come along here today and put forward a view
11
       that there is a possibility that secret sacred women's
12
       business, of the type we are dealing with, has continued
13
       for the last couple of hundred years and has been passed
14
       down until - and it was only revealed, at least to your
       knowledge, in April 1994. In putting forward that view,
15
16
       have you considered the apparent coincidence between the
17
       revelation of that, of the existence of that knowledge
18
       to you and the stage at which the fight had reached to
19
       stop the Hindmarsh Island bridge.
20
    OBJECTION
                         Miss Nelson objects.
21
    MISS NELSON:
                          I object to that question. Really, it
22
       is exactly the same proposition that Mr Abbott has put
23
       this afternoon, which is 'Have you considered the
24
       possibility that Doreen Kartinyeri was making it up?'
25
          Now, simply because he has dressed it up in a
26
       different way doesn't make it mean anything different.
27
       He has been down that path and canvassed that and I
28
       maintain my objection.
29
          And, secondly, I object on the ground of relevance.
30
       It seems to me it is a matter for you. It is irrelevant
31
       what Mr Hemming thinks or considers in that respect.
32
                      Yes, what is the relevance?
    COMSR:
33
    MR ABBOTT:
                          The relevance is that this witness
34
       purports, in giving evidence of his view, to have
35
       considered all the matters that he regards as relevant
36
       to take into account before putting forward the view
37
       that he does put forward. I am asking whether he has
38
       considered and given any weight to that aspect. And I
```

1	submit it is relevant.					
2	MISS NELSON: He has answered that question. He said					
3	he regards Doreen Kartinyeri as a witness of truth, but					
4	he has also said he didn't give consideration to the					
4 5	possibility that it had been fabricated. So, I mean,					
6	what more can he say? All that Mr Abbott is seeking to					
7	do is to put the question in a different way.					
8	COMSR: Yes, Mr Abbott, I suppose, in the long					
9	run, these will be issues of an assessment of credit as					
10	much as anything.					
11	MR ABBOTT: I regret to say that my learned friend					
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17	will discuss with Mr Smith, I think, as to whether					
18	someone else - it maybe that -					
19	COMSR: Miss Nelson, you won't be available					
20	tomorrow until Monday?					
21	MISS NELSON: Until Monday morning.					
22						
23	on Monday?					
24	MR ABBOTT: I am not available on Monday.					
	MR SMITH: What about the balance of next week?					
26	CONTINUED					

MST 53U

1	MR ABBOTT: I am available Thursday, Friday and
_	Saturday. I would have thought we should be able to get
2 3	through a couple more witnesses in that time.
4	COMSR: No doubt.
5	MR SMITH: Perhaps we shouldn't sort this out in
6	the hearing room. The Commission can't just go on
7	suiting everybody. We have got to wind up.
8	COMSR: I was anticipating proceeding straight
9	on with the witness, but I wasn't aware of the
0	situation. What do we have in mind for tomorrow?
1	MR SMITH: I will have to speak to my learned
2	friends about the programme.
3	COMSR: The best I can do is adjourn at the
14	present time.
5	MR SMITH: Before you do, Dr Draper is scheduled
6	for tomorrow, on the basis that I am hopeful he will be
7	concluded by Friday to return to Queensland.
8	COMSR: Any problems with that?
9	MR SMITH: There can't be any problems with that. MR STEELE: The only problem is he has to leave to
20	MR STEELE: The only problem is he has to leave to
21	go back to Queensland Friday night.
22 23 24 25	MR SMITH: We don't want to be forced to bring him
23	back.
24	I propose tendering the documents relating to his
25	evidence now, so people can have those overnight.
26	COMSR: Who is implicated - I mean, who has an
27	interest in his evidence, which parties?
28	MR SMITH: Just about everybody. In any event, to
29	save argument about it, everyone is going to get a
30	copy of his material, then they can argue their right to
31	question Dr Draper when their turn comes. I tender it
32	so that it goes into the record straight away for
33	protection of the witness.
34	COMSR: You are tendering it through Dr Draper?
35	MR SMITH: I will just tender it now from the bar
36	table.
37	COMSR: The contents will presumably have to be
22	kent. Is this subject to a suppression order?

MST 53U

1	MR SMITH: These are matters that should be subject
2 3	to the utmost confidentiality, in accordance with the
	undertakings in the normal way.
4	COMSR: They are not to be released.
5	MR SMITH: I just alert counsel to that. Certainly
6	not to be released to anybody other than counsel.
7	MR MEYER: It is suppressed until such time as he
8	gives his evidence.
9	MR SMITH: I tender the of Dr Neil Draper and two
0	bundles of documents that are ancillary to the
11	statement.
12	COMSR: Before we start handing them out too
13	far, what is the nature of Dr Draper's evidence.
4	MR SMITH: It covers the entire field of this
15	affair, the Hindmarsh Island bridge dispute. It is
6	anthropological, archaeological.
7	COMSR: Counsel understands then, that the
8	material is subject to the utmost confidentiality under
9	those circumstances. Not to be copied nor distributed
20	to anyone else.
21	MR KENNY: Mr Tilmouth is coming along, I would
22	like to copy another copy for him or provide him with a
23	copy of it. We are not allowed to copy it?
23 24 25	MR ABBOTT: We will need to copy it. My instructing
25	solicitor will need to have a copy. I will need to have
26	a copy.
27	COMSR: We lose track then of a number of
28	copies.
29	MR ABBOTT: I am happy to abide by any restrictions
30	by counsel assisting.
31	COMSR: It will be material of this sort I will
32	want it to be returned after the hearing so it can be
33	disposed of.
34	MR ABBOTT: Can we leave it on the basis that
35	counsel assisting tell us what restrictions are to go on
36	it?
37	COMSR: That material will be admitted and
88	marked Exhibit 233. It will be the subject of a

4846

MST 53U

1	suppression order and the undertakings as to
2	confidentiality, required under the authorization of
3	s.35.
4	MR SMITH: There is a mixture of that requirement
5	and the ordering of confidentiality.
6	COMSR: That requirement involves a requirement
7	to return the material, that is why I want to know what
8	is happening in relation to any copies.
9	MR SMITH: We will speak to people that need to
10	supply a copy to other counsel for instance. So, we
11	will keep a track of that. There are two bundles of
12	documents and the statement, so there there are really,
13	perhaps you might mark the statement and then mark the
14	two bundles. One is a proofing document and the other
15	one is ancillary documents. If you mark it with one
16	number we will tidy it up.
17	COMSR: They are being admitted as a bundle at
18	this time.
19	MR SMITH: The statement could be the exhibit and
20	then if you could mark the two bundles, the proofing
21	document could be A and the bundle of ancillary
22	Documents B.
23	EXHIBIT 233 Statement of Dr Neil Draper, tendered
24	by Mr Smith. Admitted.
25	WITNESS STANDS DOWN.
26	ADJOURNED 5.06 P.M. TO THURSDAY 26 OCTOBER 1995 AT 9.30 A.M.