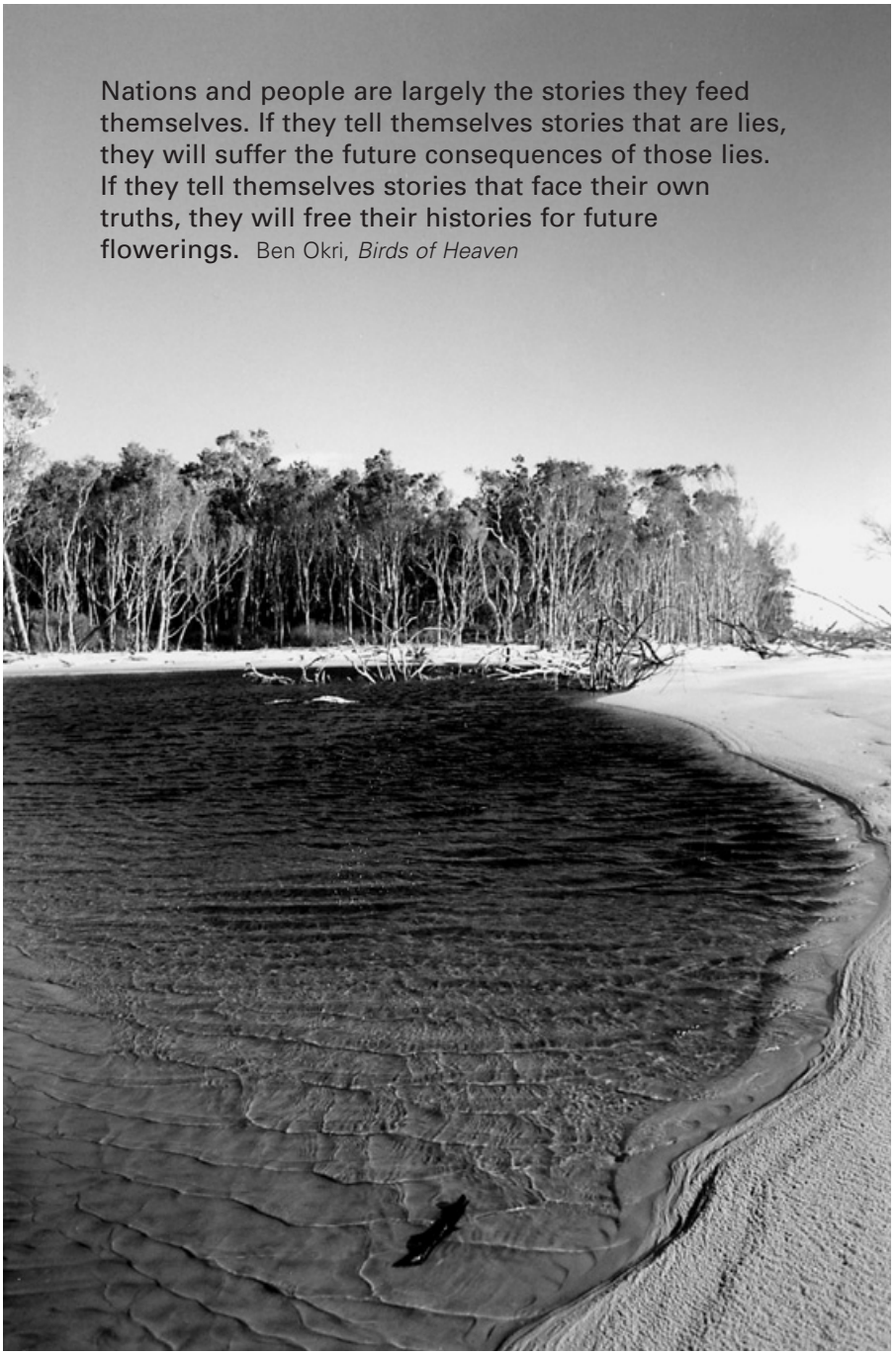
HISTORY LIFE AND TIMES

OF ROBERT ANDERSON GHEEBELUM, NGUGI, MULGUMPIN

Community and personal history of a Ngugi Elder of Mulgumpin in Quandamooka, South East Queensland, Australia.

Nations and people are largely the stories they feed themselves. If they tell themselves stories that are lies, they will suffer the future consequences of those lies. If they tell themselves stories that face their own truths, they will free their histories for future flowerings. Ben Okri, *Birds of Heaven*



History Life and Times of
Robert Anderson,
Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin

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Collecting the wild flowers on Mulgumpin and Minjerribah is a symbol of the continuum of family life and appreciation of the beauty of the land and flora.

CONTENTS

DEDICATION

Robert Anderson, Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin

Women have played a major part in my life. My Mother, Lydia Myee Tripcony, all my Aunties and my Grandmother, Mary Rose Tripcony, have been significant.

I often reflect on the days of my boyhood, eating at the common table at the One Mile on Minjerribah when I lived with my Grandmother, where meals were served with the Grannies present, smoking their pipes and speaking softly in language. Those images constantly revisit me and are the source of my strength.

During the full impact of what was happening, beginning with the colonial era - warfare, massacres, confiscation of the land, dispersal of families - somehow throughout all this they retained their capacity to endure, their elegance, serenity and dignity. In the midst of this overwhelming hardship this was remarkable and astounding.

Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal (right) with other Minjerribah Grannies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Robert Anderson, Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin

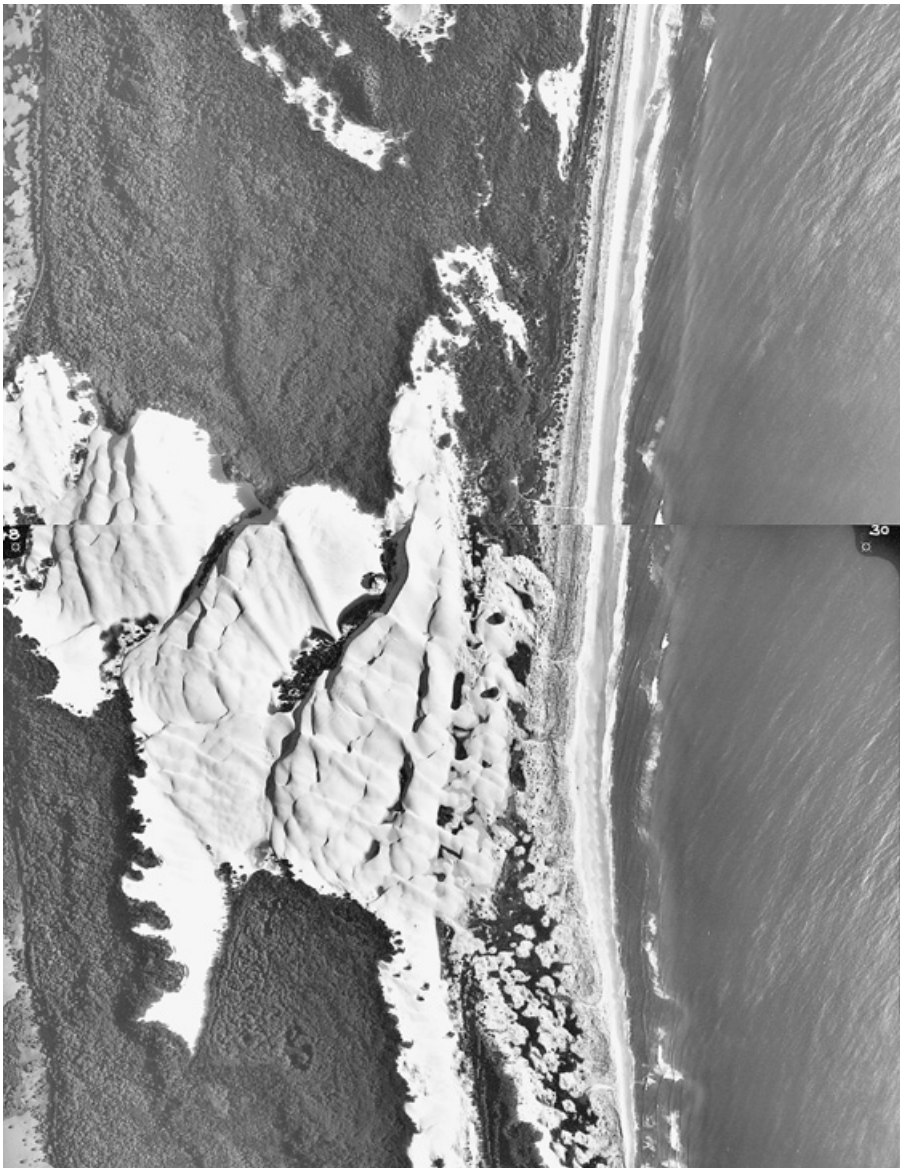
Ngugi, Mulgumpin

The vision of my country, the way I view or see my country, the way I talk or sing up my country, the way I talk of the stories of my country and talk about my Elders and Ancestors, this is my cultural heritage. The way I call their names as I walk the sacred places of my country and the way I remember their brave deeds on my land is my cultural heritage. My spiritual connection with the land is my cultural heritage. All these things are a part of my cultural heritage.

To walk my country, to gather the shell fish from the ocean beaches and the bay side beaches, is part of my cultural heritage. To see the changing nature of the flora with the seasons, to gather the wild flowers and to eat the berries and fruits of my country, reminds me of my mother and her connection to this my cultural heritage. To observe the birds, their migratory flight patterns, and nesting habitats, to understand how their presence fertilises, pollinates and regenerates the plant growth; how they herald the arrival of the deep-sea mullet, the whales and other sea inhabitants, for seasonal sustenance. This is the cultural heritage of my country.

To be with my family and community people walking the country together, making that strong spiritual connection with the land is my cultural heritage. To continue to walk the bora ground and practice my cultural rights and responsibilities, as well as acknowledge the importance of this continuation on my country, is my cultural heritage.

If we do not have access to our land, we are denied the right to maintain our practices that protect, preserve and nurture our land and our cultural heritage.



Above: “Lightning’s Playground” Mulgumpin
(Aerial photographs reproduced with the permission of Deptartment of Natural Resources and Mines Qld.)

In my country, like all of you, there is a story of Creation of Life. Mine is as important to me as yours is to you. So let me tell you my story as handed down to me from my Uncle Paul Tripcony.

Australian Aboriginal Legend of the Lightning's Playground, Creation Story

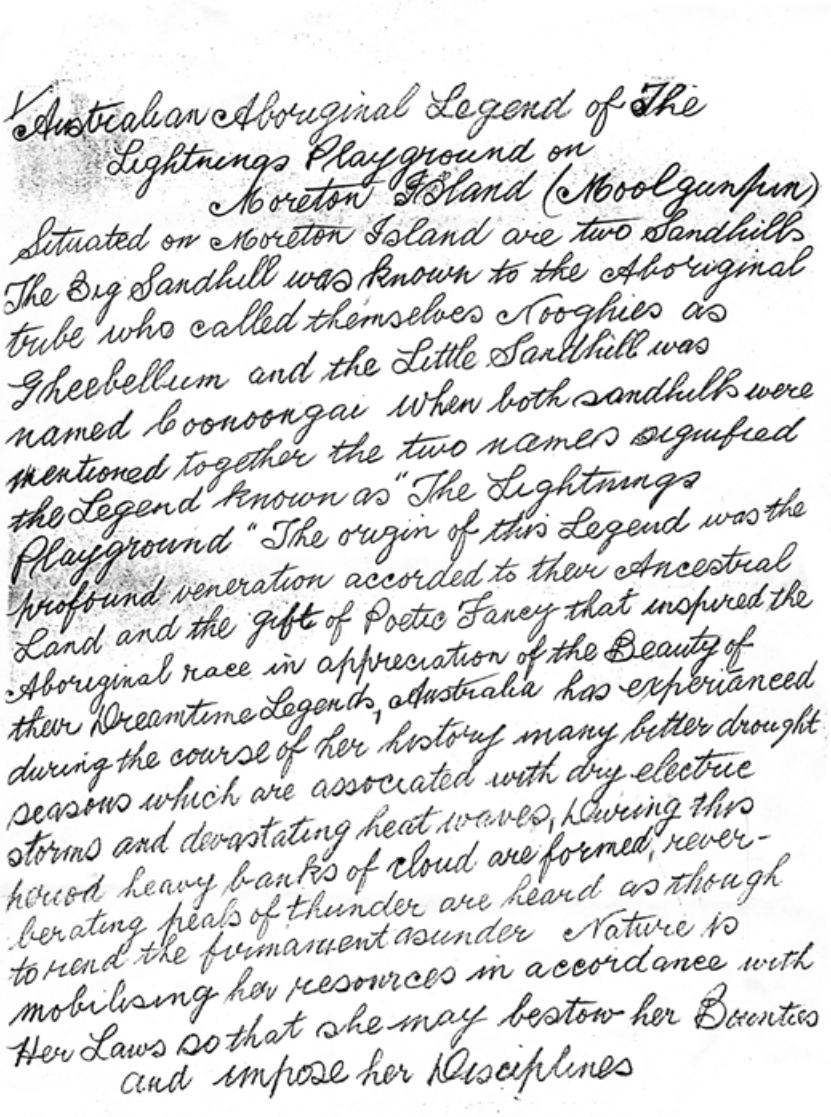
Situated on Mulgumpin[1], Moreton Island, are two Sandhills. The Big Sandhill was known to the Aboriginal tribe who called themselves Ngugi[2] as Gheebelum[3] and the Little Sandhill was named Coonungai[4]. When both Sandhills were mentioned together the two names signified the Legend known as "The Lightning's Playground."

The origin of this Legend was the profound veneration accorded to their Ancestral Land and the gift of Poetic Fancy that inspired the Aboriginal race in appreciation of the Beauty of their Dreamtime legends.

Australia has experienced during the course of her history many bitter drought seasons which are associated with dry electric storms and devastating heat waves. During this period, heavy banks of cloud are formed, reverberating peals of thunder are heard as though to rend the firmament asunder. Nature is mobilising her resources in accordance with Her Laws so that she may bestow her Bounties and impose her Disciplines and from the powerful vortex of this elemental force of nature are discharged and hurled the destructive and shattering detonation of the concentrated fury, a combination of creative and destroying faculties of Life, Death and Regeneration.

In Preparation for the transformation about to be disclosed and presented to our experience Sea laden breezes, wafted from the

[1] Also known as Moolgumpin or Moorgumpin
[2] Also Nooghies
[3] Also Gheebellum or Jebellum
[4] Also Coonoongai


Australian Aboriginal Legend of The
Lightnings Playground on
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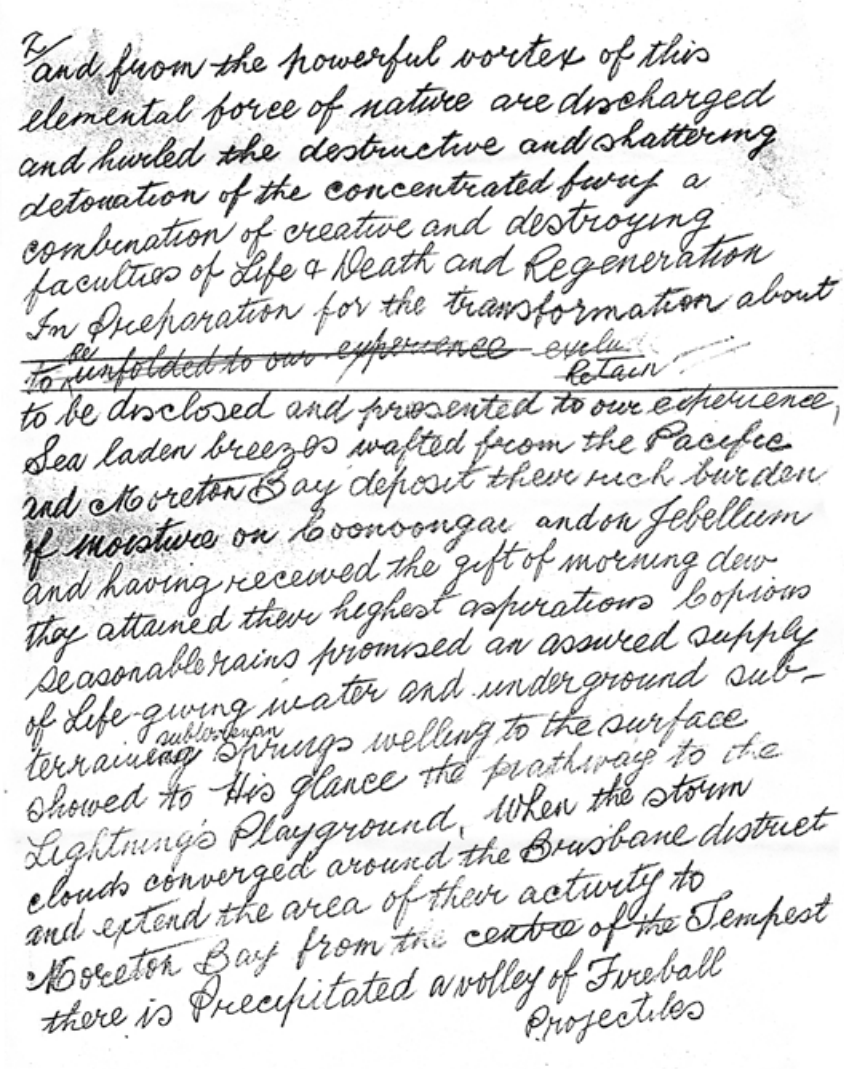
Above: Original version of the Legend of the Lightning's Playground in the hand of Paul Ambrose Tripcony born on Moongalba in 1901.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Sea laden breezes wafted from the Pacific
and Moreton Bay deposit their rich burden
of moisture on Coonoongar and on Jebellum
and having received the gift of morning dew
they attained their highest aspirations copious
Seasonable rains promised an assured supply
of Life-giving water and underground sub-
terranian sub-terran Springs welling to the surface
showed to His glance the pathway to the
Lightning's Playground, When the storm
clouds converged around the Brisbane district
and extend the area of their activity to
Moreton Bay from the centre of the Tempest
there is Precipitated a volley of Fireball
Projectiles

Above: Original version of the Legend of the Lightning's Playground indicating Uncle Paul Tripcony's emphasis of phrase.

Pacific and Moreton Bay, deposit their rich burden of moisture on Coonungai and on Gheebelum and having received the gift of morning dew they attained their highest aspirations. Copious seasonable rains promised an assured supply of Life giving water and underground subterranean springs welling to the surface showed to His glance the pathway to the Lightning's Playground.

When the storm clouds converged around the Brisbane district and extended the area of their activity to Moreton Bay from the centre of the Tempest, there is precipitated a volley of Fireball Projectiles associated with a detonating report and with Cosmic energy, directs its course to the crest of Gheebelum, impelled on its course from the point of discharge and the velocity attained by the mass of Creative substance embodied in the propulsion and dissemination of the powerful forces contained in Liberated Light.

This revelation of the potency of the Translucent Luminary presented by Nature's gifts, evokes the re-enactment of the Drama of the Eternal Dreamtime when children were conceived by the Father in his mind during a Lightning Sacramental Fire flash, whence they were enclosed in the Mother's body to complete the Life Cycle. The Shining Mirror like surface of Gheebelum attracts the affections and attentions of the evolving Majestic Celestial Incandescent Creator of Light and Life and in her Loveliness presents her bosom in Sublime Passion to his embrace.

This conflagration of Hallowed fire ricochet from Gheebelum to Coonungai to minister to by the Order of Destiny the restrained Passion of Her of whose utter Glowing but Etherealised form was translated to corporeal existence in the reposing body of Coonungai, perfumed.

The effect of the Heat of the contact with Lightning on the Glistening silvery damp sand is such that a liquefying action takes

place and an instant welding of Sand and water from the flame of a Lightning Stroke results in producing Lace-like Patterns resembling Branched Coral and Fern Leaf and similar imitations of natural objects and tracery forms and flower-like or floral and such, as would a Handi-Craftsman compose for his Repertoire treasury Storehouse at Command.

And it was this Movement of Thunder, Lightning, Fire, Sand and Water which caused the Aborigines to Observe, to Discuss and Invent the Legend of the Lightning's Playground of Gheebelum and Coonungai on the island of Moreton (Mulgumpin).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Christine Peacock

History, Life and Times of Robert Anderson, Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin, is a community and personal history of an Aboriginal elder of the Quandamooka area. The life experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander elders are varied and are many, and access to their knowledge is essential to the processes of continuing our traditions.

The domination of Indigenous lives and culture by outside influences is a legacy of colonisation. We are expected to accept without question the colonial version of history and to imitate the cultural style and structure within which it is recorded. This makes the way we create access to the sources of our own knowledge most important. The style and structure of **History, Life and Times** of Robert Anderson, Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin is therefore designed, not to confine us to a resurrection of history but through application of our own knowledge, progress to a common historical perspective which gives actuality to the past and clarity to the present.

The colonist version of **History** is re-examined in the first Chapter, to engage our awareness of the underlying historical and political questions concerning the object, tactics and systematic effects of colonialism. Tracing the path of our ancestors through that history offers a deeper appreciation of our strengths and an inventory of the processes of colonisation and decolonisation. The Chapter on **Life** is an insight into how Goori life changed amidst white society in the 1930s and 40s, and the propensity to maintain connections with land and culture. It is a personal history that expands the dimensions of our collective knowledge of Aboriginal society, challenging stereotypes that diminish and derogate our experiences and identity. **Times** offers a comprehensive dialogue by this prominent Elder which bridges generations. Robert Anderson, in speaking for himself, challenges colonist culture with a counter-definition of its own tenets. It provides a valuable lesson and a record for posterity.

There are many and varied European interpretations of relatively recent Quandamooka history, dating from 1779 with the beginning of the colonisation of the region. Research was conducted at the **Queensland State Library**, Brisbane and at the reference library at the **Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action**, Woolloongabba, Brisbane. **Sean Vogan**, descendant of the Bulsey family of Minjerribah, assisted with part of the research. A very limited search was done at **Queensland State Archives**. Family papers in Robert Anderson's possession were also made available.

Oral histories were gathered from **Robert Anderson**, son of **Lydia Anderson (nee Tripcony)**, grandson of **Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands/Tyrrell)** and great grandson of **Sydney Rollands (nee Winyeeaba Murriaba)**; brother **Tom Anderson**, and cousin **Penny Tripcony**, (who contributed her own written personal account). They are descendants of the **Ngugi Clan, of Mulgumpin**, in the **Quandamooka** area (Moreton Bay, South East Queensland,

Australia). Union colleague of Robert Anderson, **Hugh Hamilton**, was also invited to contribute. As a mark of respect, where possible, the traditional names of locations in the Quandamooka area are included in Chapter 1, History.

Over the last 20 years, excellent biographies and family histories written by indigenous people like Sarah Tyson of the Mimi family and Jeanie Bell about Aunty Celia Smith and the work of historians as thorough as Ros Kidd in *The Way We Civilise*, have brought to light the stark reality of our interaction with the Australian colonial regime. International historians with lucid and astute analysis of colonisation, racism and slavery, have also enhanced our understanding and appropriate quotes from such publications (refer Sources and Extracts) have been used throughout to juxtapose the Australian situation, acknowledging that over 200 million Indigenous people belong to countries which were colonised.

It has been a privilege to record and write critically to see what Bob Anderson's community and personal history has meant, what colonisation has been for Indigenous people and to share his views on that domain in which we now live. During the course of conversations with good friends (in particular Mary Graham and Jeanie Bell and my partner Carl Fisher) many other issues relevant to Indigenous society and history were identified. These also have been presented where possible.

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CHAPTER 1 HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

Edward Said's Palestinians, have no major literary works which document an uninterrupted account of life in their country. Indigenous people in Australia can relate to that predicament and at the same time to J.F. Ade Ajayi's and E.J. Alaboa's Africans who have a tradition of oral history formalised in mythology, art, ceremony, music and dance. These historians identify another common thread which weaves through the worlds of non-western peoples - the past, present and future is a continuous flow, and change an integral and accepted part of life.

Ajayi and Alaboa observed when documenting African history, that colonisation, with its social devastation and distortion of history, makes piecing together the aboriginal experience an emotional, frustrating and time consuming exercise. Moreover, it is deeply satisfying to readdress that history, to bridge the gap in our historical tradition and contribute our values and perspectives.
(A complete study, combining a genealogy, the volumes of work documenting colonisation and the scholarly sentiments of the colonial era, was unfortunately beyond the scope of this publication.)

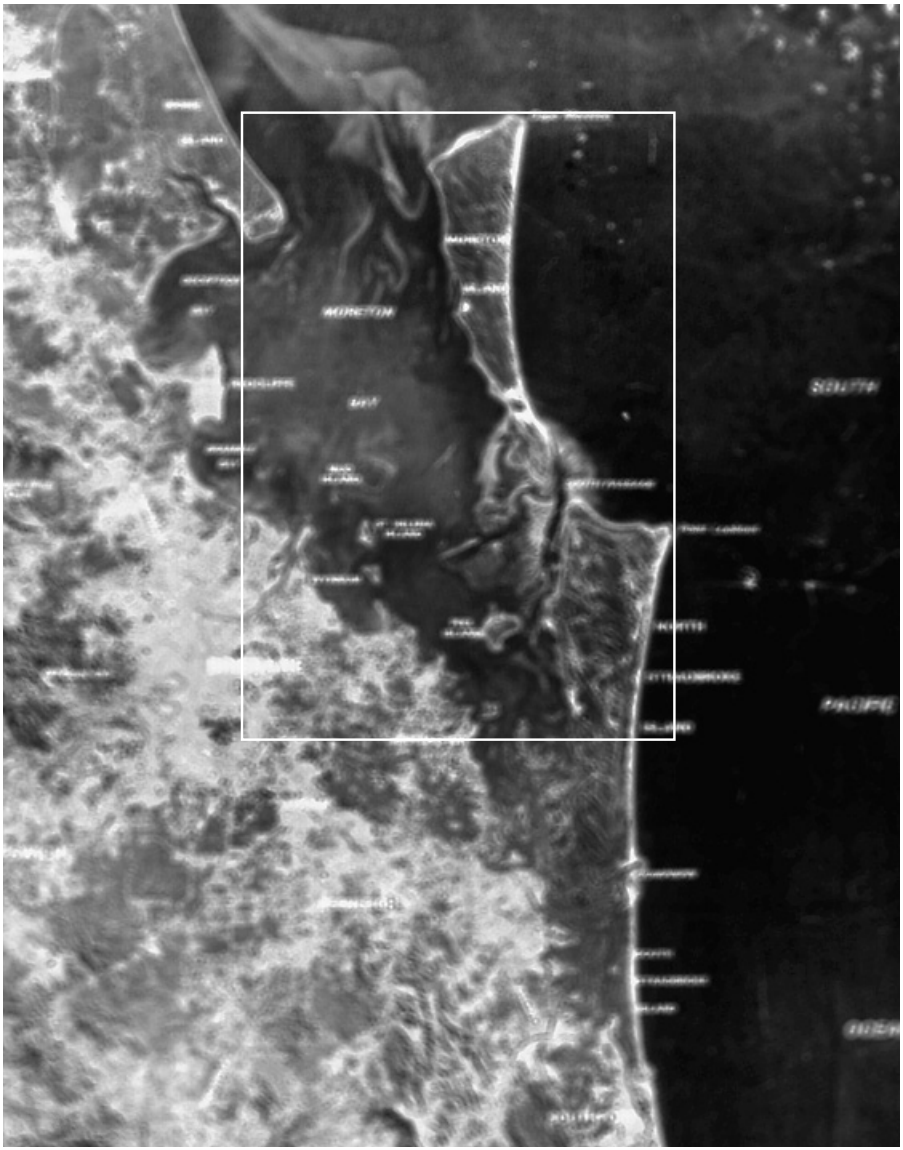
It is interesting to note how most popular and academic writing on Australian history does not account for how streamlined and effective the English doctrine of colonisation had become over many centuries of service. Tried and trusted imperialist policies, legislation and strategies brought invasion and the successful colonisation of America, Canada, Africa, India and China, following conquests closer to home in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Indeed many Australian colonists (financiers, military personnel, administrators, pioneers and settlers) had previous experience in countries

where indigenous societies, laws and cultures were similar to those violated here.

European political philosophy of that era, purporting the notion that, in Edward Said's words, "the non-European world was there to be claimed, occupied, ruled ... and made useful to Europe", set the benchmark for progress and shaped democratic civilisation and globalisation as we know it today. The question is (as Edward Said asks), "where are the roots and origins located in European cultural practices which give rise to the idea that native lives and rights are irrelevant" and what measures will bring about basic, concrete change?

Being outside the construct of colonialism, the aboriginal contribution to human and world history exposes the hidden face of colonial societies, clarifying that moral authority has become vested in indigenous people. Ultimately, if societies founded on corrupt and violent acts of colonisation, are to make the shift to a more legitimate form of civilisation, the indigenous contribution is crucial.

Christine Peacock



Satellite image of Quandamooka Region (Moreton Bay South East Queensland)

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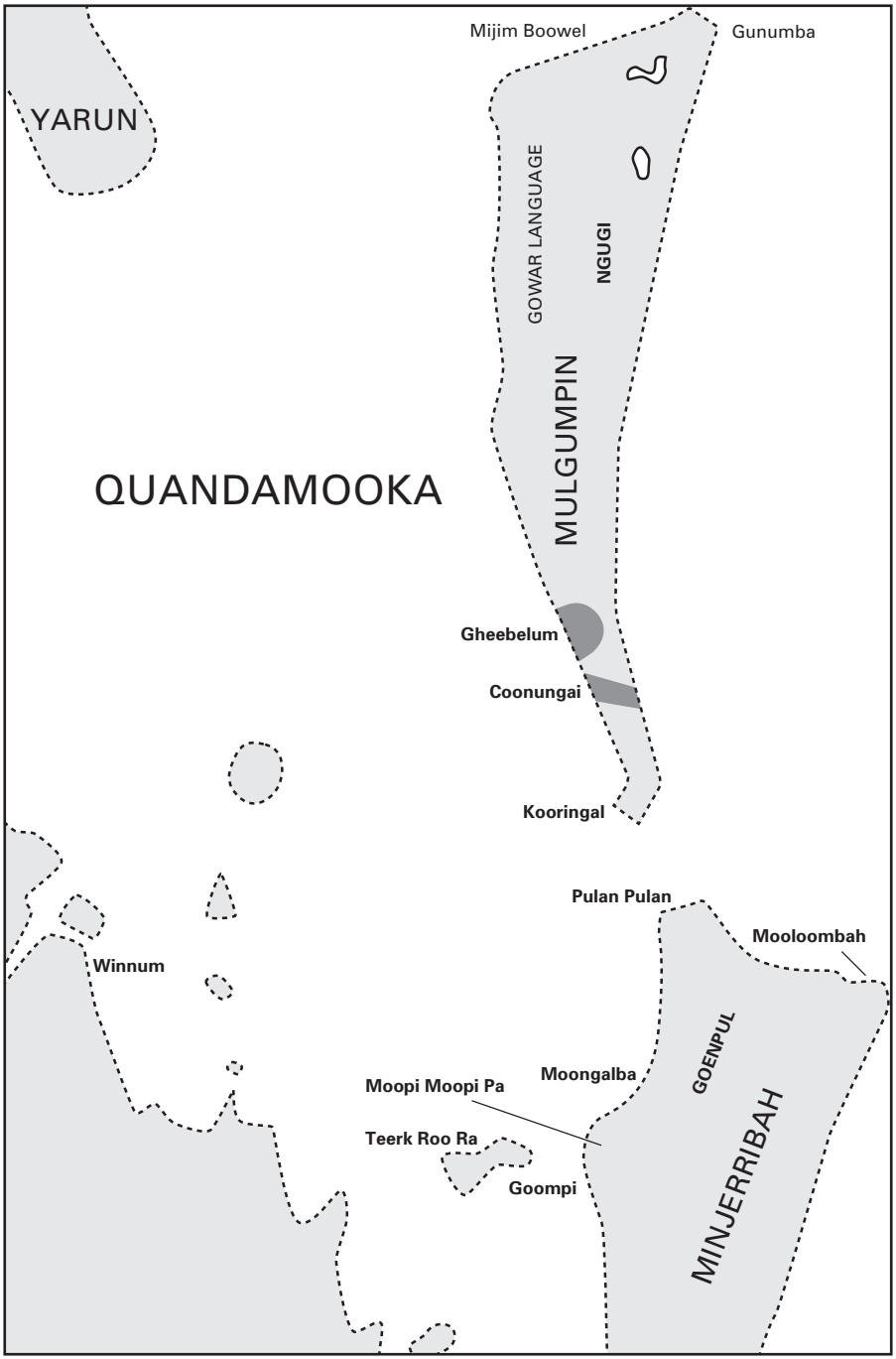

Mijim Boowel
Gunumba
YARUN
GOWAR LANGUAGE
NGUGI
MULGUMPIN
QUANDAMOOKA
Gheebelum
Coonungai
Kooringal
Pulan Pulan
Mooloombah
Winnum
GOENPUL
Moongalba
Moopi Moopi Pa
Teerk Roo Ra
Goompi
MINJERRIBAH

PART I ALWAYS WAS, ALWAYS WILL BE ...

1 BC - BEFORE COOK (A THUMBNAIL SKETCH)

Homes in the Quandamooka area, built close together on the sands above the beach, formed small villages all several miles apart, where clans of 15 to 20 people lived together in separate spaces. Ti-tree, honey, myrtle, and melaleuca wood was good for building very large huts with paper bark roofs, that could withstand storms.

Pathways were made across the islands connecting food sources, tool sites and quarries. Cooking was done in stone ovens and shell fish eaten formed solid middens. Fish traps and dams were built and beacon fires used to communicate across distances. These customs were part of Ngugi, Nunukul and Goenpul life for thousands of years.

Fish was the main source of food and quampie, eugarie, fruits, roots and nuts were also gathered. Goories would fish using the talobilla (striking the sea water with spears would attract the bottle-nosed dolphin to the shore driving the mullet before them into waiting nets) and hunt for dugong and turtle. Women skillfully weaved baskets from noongies (rushes) growing in the swamps.

Ngugi people on Mulgumpin (Moreton Island) were referred to as cungen-yungen, the place of the dugong. They spoke their own Gowar language. Different types of plants and animals existed on Mulgumpin. Dugong, oysters, crabs, fish and Gunumba (honey) and midgin berry fruit were plentiful. At Mijim Boowel (Cape Moreton) the only rocks on the island are found and tools were made there from rhyolite and other stone materials. Along with stones for grinding fern-root, they were traded in many places, especially the middle of the east coast. The detailed study of long-term history in

the Quandamooka area is found in J. G. Steel's *Aboriginal Pathways in South East Queensland and the Richmond River*.

Donna Ruska of Minjerribah (Stradbroke Island) relates (in *More than One Clan*) how Gurenphul/Kurenphul/Goenpul and Nunukul people visiting relatives or gathering for ceremony at bora rings and other sacred places and for corroboree, would walk from the south end of Minjerribah to canoe over to Yarun (Bribie Island) or to the Ngugi on Mulgumpin, on the turn of the tide.Quandamooka people travelled to the mainland for bunya gathering and people of the mainland would gather in the bay for the sea mullet season. A land bridge connected Minjerribah to Kombumerri country (Southport) and Goories also came in canoes to Minjerribah trading bunya for eugarie, amongst other things.

For over 50,000 years, small scale societies right across the country maintained a connection to land, water, sea, air, flora and fauna and inherent resources. Peter Whalley, in *An Introduction to the Aboriginal Social History of Moreton Bay South East Queensland 1799 - 1830* makes reference to large trade and ceremonial networks, extremely sophisticated systems of territorial and political affiliation, complex language patterns and intricate but flexible social relations, a way of life not within the realm of European understanding.

Dale Ruska of Minjerribah relates (in a video interview) that Goories have inherited knowledge of effective resource management, bush food harvesting times, fishing and hunting seasons etc. which come with a continuous relationship with land. Kinship lines throughout the country are still acknowledged, based on totems/skin/meat. The understanding and upholding of laws relating to boundaries and long term sustainability of resources for future generations of people, is central to Goories own education system. Pullen pullens (big fights) were used to bring justice where laws had been violated and full scale war was avoided by laws that ensured any member of a tribe

who had been wronged would be avenged. These practices in Aboriginal Natural Law existed in a time long before the introduction of human rights and conservation, and remain an integral part of Aboriginal society.

Robert Anderson explains (in a video recorded talk with students) that mourning rituals lasted three days and were followed by a move to another camping area during the sorry period. Tribal markings were used to show ownership of items. Politeness and kindness was central to social etiquette, while acts of selfishness or greediness were regarded with contempt. Goorie men of Quandamooka were considered extremely tall, lithe and graceful, with the kind of muscularity associated with Olympic athletes, and Goorie women superior in personal beauty.

The art of diplomacy was, and also remains, an integral part of both human values and political and social exchange in Aboriginal society. Most important to note is that records of diplomatic exchange between colonists and Goories are common place throughout the country. Mathew Flinders and his crew, in the cutter "Hope", were formally received on Minjerribah in 1802. He was accompanied by Bungaree, an Aboriginal man from Broken Bay in New South Wales, who mediated between British and Indigenous groups. Nunukul men showed these duggai/strangers where to provision themselves with fresh water, and performed a kangaroo corroboree for them. Flinders offered small trinkets in return. (The spot is remembered by Goories as "Hope Well".) In 1823, when three castaways in an open boat, adrift from Illawarra (or the Five Islands) in N.S.W., arrived on Mulgumpin they were formally received and treated kindly. Nunukul men ferried them across to Minjerribah in large canoes where Goories hunted and fished for them. In this way they were nursed back to health and then duly painted when they had no more clothes. Later they were instructed how to construct a canoe to carry them across to the mainland. Their stay lasted

39 days after which they were returned to Sydney by John Oxley. Lockyer, in 1825, noted the tolerance exercised by Nunukul toward two or three soldiers stationed at Amity, when Goories made the traditional offering of fish and stayed clear of the camp.

On the other side of the world a society with customs diametrically opposed to Aboriginal culture was aggressively and rapidly spreading across the seas. The following extracts provide interesting comparisons.

> ... time was characterised by the chaos of progress. Thus if civilisation rode on the wheel, a device that relies on stability for its smooth-running, civilisation was intrinsically unstable, at times powering ahead, at others in decline and decay.
>
> By contrast, in the land of the boomerang, a device that pivots erratically around an eccentric axis, there was little change or progress, but rigid stability*. Until the arrival of the wheel. And we modern Australians, all of us, are inheritors of that uncertain legacy of the wheel, whose values are often flimsy, superficial and devoid of nourishment. Our modern world relies on instability for its survival, because no two days can be the same, for the simple reason that progress is a function of constrained instability. Now ... the original Australians are compelled to subscribe to that paradigm.

(Writers note: *Aboriginal society is often mistakenly interpreted as static, with a total absence of historical development or change.)

(An extract from the views expressed by Graham Pearcey (his experience includes Science Editor for the Daily Telegraph, Associate Editor with Australian Geographic and Cotton Australia), talking on Robyn Williams' Radio National program Ockham's Razor, on the subject "The Wheel and the Boomerang". (The book *Guns, Germs and Steel* by Jared Diamond, awarded the Pulitzer Prize, deals with the subject in detail.)

In the early days of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, which was about the time free settlers were coming to the Australian colonies, factory hands, children included, worked 60 - 90 hours a week (Cohen & Eames 1982).

Because in the white Australian economic system all wealth is reckoned in terms of money, there are very few adults who do not have a continuing concern with 'making money' - or with how much money their spouse is making. This concern with making money, usually by selling goods or services, is an appropriate response to the necessity of earning a living within the framework of this particular economic system, but very often making money - more and more money - becomes an obsessive activity long after individuals have ensured that their basic needs will be met not only now but well into the future. Having enormous amounts of money makes one powerful and important.

In total contrast -

When the Aboriginal hunter failed to find food for himself, others would share some of theirs, but when the non-Aboriginal person hunting for a job is unable to bring in an income, he or she cannot expect that family or friends will automatically share what they have.

... reciprocity is fundamental and basic to the whole Aboriginal way of life as Berndt and Berndt write:
... there is in every community an arrangement of obligations which every growing child has to learn. In this network of duties and debts, rights and credits, all adults have commitment of one kind or another. Mostly, not invariably, these are based on kin relationships. All gifts and services are viewed as reciprocal This is basic to their economy ...Everything must be repaid, in kind or equivalent, within a certain period.

(Extracts from *Mathematics in a Cultural Context* by Pam Harris)

PART II BRITISH IMPERIALISM

1. OCCUPATIONAL STRATEGIES

> The founding of a nation, peopled with British subjects, required the depopulation of the original territory, entirely in the interests of territorial expansion and legitimisation of British Imperialism. Edward Said

In 1770 James Cook sailed along our eastern coast under instructions from the English Crown to chart new lands, primarily because Britain was engaged in fierce competition for new markets and resources to meet the needs of an industrial revolution. Upon his return to England, Joseph Banks, who documented their sightings and experiences of contact with indigenes, issued reports to various committees of the House of Commons. To the question "Have you any idea of the nature of the Government under which they (Aboriginals) live?", was recorded the reply, "None whatever, nor of their language." This scant advice served the intents and purposes of the Crown. It allowed application of the premise "terra nullius" - land belonging to no one - and subsequently the occupation of Aboriginal lands through covert invasion and the suppression of Aboriginal sovereignty.

A Naval Fleet was appropriately armed and manned in 1787, to initiate a substantial British colony in the southern hemisphere. Aboard the fleet was a human cargo of convicted felons, deported to serve the interests of the Crown. In 1788 Eora country was entered and renamed Port Jackson, Sydney Cove, New South Wales and a Governor, Phillip, was installed. Phillip was instructed to place New South Wales under British law and declare the colony "settled", rather than "conquered", acquitting the responsibility of the Crown to recognise native tribal law or ownership of land.

Those representatives of the English Crown, arriving suddenly and uninvited onto Eora shores, recorded the presence of a numerous Aboriginal population at "Port Jackson" (at least 1,500 Koories resident within a radius of ten miles). Through diplomatic exchange, they also bore witness to the customs of a sovereign people - tribal structures, government, laws, boundaries and languages, ceremonies, hunting and the benefits of land management (eg fire stick farming). The blueprint for the execution of British imperialist policy throughout Aboriginal lands was nevertheless unleashed without restraint.

Ten violent years later, surveys extended along the eastern coastline into Butchulla country (Hervey Bay) where American and South Sea whaling boats already marauded the seas. Flinders, who coined the name "Australia", also renamed Mooloomba on Minjerribah, "Point Lookout" and Mulgumpin, "Moreton Island" and so forth. Surveys, which resumed in the Quandamooka (Moreton Bay) region in 1822, furthered the claim to gradual extinguishment of Aboriginal sovereignty. Suppression of the freedom, autonomy and independence of the sovereign people followed suite.

"What do you want? Do you wish to kill me?" This clear communication by Ngugi people of Mulgumpin to three English castaways (aforementioned in Part 1), was recorded in 1823, indicating that by this time hostile relations between European and Aboriginal people had been cast. Returned to Sydney by John Oxley, these Englishmen could relay vital information about the density of the population (at least 12,000 Goories lived in the Quandamooka region at the time of colonisation) and about resources, weapons, movement, social structures, customs and practices.

The following year a military regiment with convicts moved into Quandamooka, to set up a colony at "Redcliffe, Moreton Bay". A guard and convicts were then assigned to Goompi (renamed

"Dunwich") on Minjerribah and soldiers were posted at Koumpee Pulan (renamed "Amity Point"). The presence of these duggai (strangers) was initially tolerated in accordance with Goori custom. They were presented with the customary offering of a daily catch of fresh fish, opening the way for diplomatic exchange. The occupation and expansion of the colony, directly violating Aboriginal law, is marked by an upsurge of violence around Quandamooka and into the mainland.

In defence mode, the colony moved out of the bay and up the Brisbane River in 1825. The South Passage had been surveyed and bouyed when, in 1827, the first ship of war H.M.S. "Rainbow", captained by the second son of the Earl of Stradbroke, entered the bay to be stationed at Moreton Bay. In the protected range of this fortification, construction of public works began on Minjerribah. At Koumpee Pulan a permanent pilot station was built to service increasing transportation and supply ships passing through the south passage. An outstation was needed at Goompi where smaller vessels could be loaded to take goods and people up the Brisbane River, because a sandbar at the mouth prevented larger ships from reaching the colony. By 1828 it was completed. It was surrounded by a 13 foot high brick wall with an underground passage built to connect the storage site to the living quarters. Equipped to deal with local Goori resistance, the occupation of the Quandamooka area was now formalised.

The object of these manoeuvres, to establish a colony with military support and convict labour, was of prime importance to economic development. Enterprising entities with the necessary capital were thus assisted to ruthlessly exploit and develop the region. Over the next 15 years, Goori confrontations intensified the wretched conditions at this isolated military and convict station.

Robert Anderson's Great Grandmother, Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal, Ngugi, was born on Mulgumpin in 1829 into an unprecedented era of hostilities and social havoc.

The Crown was confined to the jurisdiction of international law concerning the occupation of a "terra nullius". Full rights and responsibilities of British law were therefore to be duly extended to the Indigenous population and colony Commandants officially instructed to exist "in amity" with Indigenes. Reports from this era consequently omit details of numerous armed military manouvres allowed to occur against Indigenous people, the scale or mode of conflict and numbers killed in daily, random conflict or by massacre.

One report recorded an incident at Moongalba, an area between Goompi and Koumpee Pulan of special ritual and economic significance to the Nunukul. There, thirty Europeans were employed to strip and clear the area for a cotton plantation, precipitating a serious affront to which Goories would have determined an appropriate response. At this time, with only a dozen or so Europeans stationed on Minjerribah, military assaults were reinforced by other troops and constables. The official records make mention of conflict and the death of a soldier but not how, just five months later, the site was deserted or why a plan to move the penal station over to the Goompi military post was abandoned.

In another incident recorded in 1831, a convict was speared in the garden at the Goompi military post and storage depot, before the visiting Commandant. This signal to the appropriate authority, of opposition to the escalated occupation of Nunukul land, was no doubt regarded an act of audacious defiance, evoking accelerated military operations against Goories on Minjerribah and Mulgumpin.

Vicious tactics employed by aggressive forces armed with modern firearms, against resistance fighters bearing spears, nulla nullas,

boomerangs, stones, are described in two recorded incidents. Soldiers taking a Nunukul Turwan (an Elder of high regard) known for his display of independence in not accepting food or gifts from the military, held him in a small boat before shooting him at sea. Later he was decapitated by a convict hut keeper, who the Goories called Chooroong, and his head sent to the Colony Commandant as evidence they were dealing with troublesome Minjerribah blacks. Nunukul avenged with two attacks on the Pilot Station at Koumpee Pulan. The military responded, shooting anyone on sight at a fishing ground, and also with attacks to the south and west of Big Hill. Chooroong was dealt with later that year by Nunukul who waddied him to death near his hut.

The other incident occurred in 1832, on the south end of Mulgumpin at dawn. Surrounding a camp of Ngugi people on the banks of a fresh water lagoon, soldiers shot down as many as twenty people. **Hidden in the bushes, Winyeeaba Murriaba a child of three at this time, was one of the survivors.** (The event, one of countless military atrocities carried out across the country, is referred to by Robert Anderson as the great Mulgumpin massacre.)

Winyeeaba Murriaba and the remaining Ngugi were removed from Mulgumpin to Minjerribah. When she was eight years old the military outstation at Goompi, was officially recommended for closure but remained in use until 1837.

The colonial population was expanding with soldiers who had served in India, convicts from Sydney, sailors and colonists from throughout the Pacific region, Irish, Scots and German labourers, indentured labour from India, China and Melanesia. Resources on traditional land were heavily exploited by the growing population and for developing industries (whaling, dugong, pastoral, fishing, timber, lime). When forced to kill European domestic stock for survival, Goories were hunted down and killed.

Behind the lines of a clandestine war, there is no basis for negotiation and no acknowledgement of the existing regime of international law and order binding on all states. Condoned violence escalates atrocities that lead to the desired outcome. Any chances of good relations are eventually soured. Noam Chomsky

2. SUMMARY - UNRELINQUISHED SOVEREIGNTY

Colonisation - a concrete act of dispossession and exclusion
According to Emer de Vattel's *The Law of Nations*, the world of 1770 was either empty (collective societies living with the land) or civilised (oppressor societies on exploited lands); and empty lands were there to be taken possession of by a "higher, civilised" society. Useful to the econocracy of the industrial revolution, this premise, "terra nullius", extended to the British Crown the possibility of disguised invasion which would efficiently extirpate all rights inherent in Aboriginal sovereignty (the private and exclusive right to land, independence, autonomy and freedom). A strategy to usurp and gradually occupy the land and deal with the indigenous population in ways most expedient to achieve a state of civilisation, subsequently unfolded.

Technological superiority - armed forces, mass sea and land transport - and a convict labour force, assured and secured possession of Aboriginal lands and resources. Continuous acts of moral and psychological victimisation followed, serving to savage to the verge of devastation Aboriginal social and ceremonial networks and systems of territorial and political affiliation. Gradually dispersed and exiled from ancestoral lands to harbour in poverty in rural or urban fringe communities, subordinate to even the most oppressed

of the English class system, Goories were condemned to endure full thrust the injustice and abuse of imperialist oppression.

Banks and corporations backing the industrial revolution in Europe, were keen investors in a new colony which, in not recognising the rights in sovereignty of the indigenous population, was unencumbered by the restraints presented by Treaties. Likewise, migrants were attracted to the boundless opportunities made available by mining, pastoral, farming, logging ventures etc. with land grants, employment, positions in public office and places of esteem in the new society, assuring eager participation in the progression of development. The founding of the structure of society and key institutions (government, transport, banks, corporations and communications networks) needed to effectively exploit the natural resources that brought new wealth, was consequently underpinned by a culture of opportunism, in a colony created from the approbation of corruption and condoned violence.

The State enjoyed the complicity of the Church in propagating the notion that imperialism was a "civilizing Christian movement, masking crimes against humanity, which included the crushing tactic of recruitment or conscription of Indigenous men into the paid services of the occupying forces. Sanctioned armed warfare, massacre, random murder, dispersal and abuse, fused with a common belief in racial superiority, amounted to a tacit sentence of extermination on the Indigenous population. Under the illusion of humanitarian intervention this was eventually commuted to detention on small reserves of land with inadequate food sources, managed by protectors or missionaries, where death camp conditions emerged through an absence or neglect of resources, facilities and rations. The devastation of Goori independence ushered in dependence upon the new society and our gradual conversion, by coercion and paternalism, to an involuntary labour supply supporting the economic development of the colonisers.

Camouflaged by paternalism, notorious acts of legislation for the governance of Aboriginal people were then drafted and ratified by members of the new society elected to public office. Their denegrating perception of humanity, that Indigenous people were victims of sociological circumstances due to biological inferiority, has been diffused over the actuality of unrelinquished Aboriginal sovereignty, through popularist/official accounts of Australian history. It perpetuates unquestioning acceptance of, and defiant nationalistic pride in, a "settler" version of history and cultivates a warped logic that Indigenous people are the beneficiaries of a great civilizing democracy.

Consequently, Indigenous culture and knowledge and a timeless relationship with our land is blindly discounted as irrelevant due to a complex mix of paternalism and racism in modern Australian society. Also engendered is an absence of understanding of the extensive damage done to Aboriginal society. The prolonged effects on the people, of extermination, extreme violence, assimilation, integration and exploitation of homelands causing deprivation, arise from the invasion and occupation of our country. Further, while the denial of sovereignty and the refusal of reparation are seen to be justified, policies devised to improve the lives and affairs of Indigenous people will continue to be ineffectual.

Extreme distortions of the facts are absorbed by malleable memories to make the past more palatable and easily digestible. At the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games event, cleverly formulated exotic images were marketed to a global audience, projecting the debut of a New Nation with a benign colonial history, that developed an homogenous society with a unique, honest, amicable, multi-cultural people. This was followed in 2001 by popular domestic displays of sentimentalised frontier culture in the celebration of a "Centenary of Federation - achieved without war", to be later reinforced in a "Year of the Outback".

Counterpoising a disreputable history by conjuring a flattering self-image and projecting a specious good-natured national spirit, however, will not deflect world opinion, let alone opinion within our own region, from observations that Australian expressions of concern, or acts of valour, relating to the hostilities of other nations, (for example the invasion and independence of East Timor), are ironic and hypocritical and signal a serious lack of credibility.

World wide, within the short life of the new millennium, escalated global conflict has brought into sharper focus an alarmingly superficial regard for ethics (particularly in those nations with histories of colonialism). Within Australian society, it is primarily manifest in the absence of will to address the dilemma of unrelinquished sovereignty, which has a domino effect. It undermines the good intentions of the Reconciliation Movement, puts into question the processes of the Treaty Movement and condemns the foundations of the ambitious Republican Movement.

At the international level, Australia's wanting ethics are further exposed, by its disregard for the basic human rights and equality of increasing migratory populations and asylum seekers who, fleeing destitution or persecution in their countries, are seeking refuge in the societies of privileged New Nations. Indeed it is ironic that such contempt for refugees arises from the society of this Commonwealth country when it was their founding fathers who sailed uninvited into Aboriginal waters in 1770 and transgressed Aboriginal boundries in 1788 to assert their presence, not as orderly and legal migrants, but as aggressive usurpers.

Decolonisation - a concrete act of restoration of Sovereignty

In 1975 the United Nations ruled that the concept of "terra nullius" stood condemned, based on the case for the people of the Western Sahara. In the same year, the Commonwealth Racial Discrimination

Act, brought compliance with the provisions of the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. These events were instrumental in enforcing some change.

In 1992, as a result of an exacting 10 year action in the Queensland Supreme Court and subsequently the Australian High Court, the long-standing legal fiction that Australia was "terra nullius" was overturned. This action, Mabo and Others v. the State of Queensland sought restoration of native title to traditional lands on Mer (Murray Island) based on their continued exclusive possession of their Islands, through their own social and political organisation.

The recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' common law rights and interests in land and waters, according to their traditions, laws and customs, brought Australian legal practice into line with other common law countries. Over 800 years old, common law, originally founded on custom and tradition, is the British system of judge-made law, based on precedent. Ironically, this law places the onus of proof of title to land, which flows from the Crown, onto the dispossessed Indigenous population, upon whom the Crown can enact legislation which continues to eradicate Aboriginal social and traditional ties with land.

The Native Title Act which applies throughout Australia was subsequently passed by Federal Parliament in 1993. However, only the right to native title and protection of native title is recognised by the Act. According to Crown law, Native Title continues to exist only in areas where it has not been extinguished by government action and where Indigenous peoples have maintained their connection with their traditional land, under traditional law.

In 1999, a finding by the United Nations' "Committee to Eliminate Racial Discrimination" brought the Australian government into disrepute over its 1998 native title legislation amendments. Those

amendments to the Native Title Act (the 10 Point Plan) were found to discriminate against native title applicants and registered native title claimants, in favour of other parties. This Committee presents some degree of pressure that can be brought to bear on Australian governments, in the process of ensuring restoration and protection of Indigenous rights in legislation.

A report in *Land Rights Queensland* 3/2001, on the Conference on Racism and Indigenous People (Sydney 2/2001) informs: Work on the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, aimed at a universally agreed international standard, is progressing very slowly. It would not bind governments to anything, but can provide certain moral weight because it will have to be adopted by 180 countries. As acknowledgement and support of indigenous people to exercise the inalienable right to self-determination, is not supported by many governments in colonised countries, there needs to be a move toward a binding legal instrument such as a Convention.

Accentuating the Aboriginal code of resistance to and accommodation of European occupation, was the significant gain of public support for the Sydney Corroboree 2000 event and other Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation events across the country. The support reflected the transmogrification, to some extent, of Australian paternalism and created the opportunity to return public attention to the issue of a Treaty.

Equally important, given the increasing disclosures of high levels of opportunism and corruption cultivated within Australian society, is the need to arrive at a formula which will successfully determine both the appropriate people to provide the guiding light and the structures, that will realise the ultimate procedures required to restore Aboriginal sovereign status under international law.

In the final analysis, will the extensive damage to Indigenous lands, resources and economic and social development, and the grievous acts of violence and injustice committed against Aboriginal society, be redressed through no less than the gradual but complete transformation of Australian democratic society? As Edward Said poses in his statement about the view from the far right in his book *The Question of Palestine*:

> We have taken note of your complaints, but that is too bad; you were driven out (omelets can't be made without breaking eggs) but you left, after all; you are a backward... people and you ask for too much; if we give you an inch you will take a mile; we cannot admit that you exist, because we risk losing too much moral credibility on the world scene and worse, within our community; you must be content always with what we give you, which will never amount to anything at all really.

The following extract from *Modernising Relations Between Indigenous People and States* by Mary Graham (an Aboriginal philosopher from the Kombumerri people of the Gold Coast (neighbouring clan to the Quandamooka area), outlines the political legacy of colonisation.

> **War or Peace?**
> Points
> 1. Relations between states and Indigenous Peoples have reached a critical stage in development. After 500 years, physical subjugation is all but complete.
> 2. The passing of the period of subjugation does not mean an end to hostilities.
> 3. In Australia the 'frontier' situation was generally understood by Aboriginal people, soldiers, authorities, settlers, missionaries and others that there existed a war situation, albeit without any official declaration of war being announced.

4. War is declared, engagement in battle commences, combat dispositions change over time and place, the opposition is subdued, victory is won or lost and surrender is acknowledged. In Australia this is not clear. There was no finalisation of the combat period, there is no treaty and Aboriginal people still maintain they have not surrendered their sovereignty.

5. While the activity of conflict can be very unclear because of its volatility, the outcome of conflict is reasonably clear one way or another. While the majority of Aboriginal people in Australia may have mixed opinions about being in a state of war with White Australia, they agree that they and many of their families, relatives and friends do not live in peaceful relations with Western people or systems (law, government authorities - local, State and Federal, social)

   "In contemporary Australian society Aboriginal people lack both ideological and economic bases of power - they control neither things nor ideas. Whites control resources, production and distribution." C. Howe, 1982.

6. Does the acceptance of Western political regimes imply surrender? Are they, the regimes, really accepted or are they imposed and attempts to understand and utilise them to their full capacity obstructed?

7. To be under a state of complete bureaucratic, political, economic and administrative dependency (as in the quote above) is to be in a state of being occupied.

PART III OCCUPATION

1. FREE SETTLEMENT

> A civilised man, it was believed, could cultivate the land because it meant something to him; on it accordingly, he bred useful arts and crafts, he created, he accomplished, he built. For an uncivilized people, land was either farmed badly (i.e. inefficiently by Western standards) or it was left to rot. From this string of ideas, by which whole native societies, who lived on American, African, and Asian territories for centuries, were suddenly denied their right to live on land, came the great dispossessing movements of modern European colonialism and with them all the schemes for redeeming the land, resettling the natives, civilizing them, taming their savage customs and turning them into useful beings under European rule. ... land was there for European exploitation, because Europe understood the value of land in a way impossible for the natives. Edward Said

The Queen of England was petitioned to support the establishment of a representative parliament in New South Wales in 1841. The population of the colony was estimated at 10,000 free subjects possessing immensely valuable movable and immovable property. A new Constitutional Act was drafted in N.S.W. in 1843 with a Legislative Council of 54 members, 36 elected and 18 nominated by the Crown. Members were required to have an estate worth 2,000 pounds or a land income of 100 pounds. Legislation that formally sealed (and concealed) the disfranchisement of Goories, began in Queensland in 1856 with the founding of a parliament and was consolidated in 1901 with the federation of all states and the installation of a national constitution.

In 1839, when Winneaba Murriaba was 10 years old, convicts and the military were withdrawn from Brisbane. In 1842 the bay was formally opened up to "free settlement" with the "Commissioner for Crown Lands" instructed to "repress the predatory attacks of the natives and keep order among all classes". During 1840 to 1844 Aboriginal land was claimed for 17 pastoral stations and renamed the Darling Downs.

Intense and constant conflict took its toll, and the disease mortality rate multiplied. Aid was dispensed to Minjerribah in 1843, in the form of an Italian mission whose official objective was to save Aboriginal souls from unhealthy intercourse between women and the white pilots stationed at Amity Point. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, a witness to the horrendous situation there in 1845, proclaimed and lamented:

> ... the mode in which possession has been taken of their country: occupation by force, accompanied by murders, ill-treatment, ravishment of their women, in a word, to the conviction of their mind that the white man has come for his own advantage, without any regard for their rights ...
>
> The stain of blood is upon us - blood had been shed for otherwise than in self-defence - blood, in needless and wanton cruelty. It is said, even now, that as Europeans progress northwards, blood is so shed. Shall we protest against this?

After continuous rejection by Goories and a lack of supplies the Italian mission was closed in 1847.

In the prevailing circumstances, it is phenomenal that Aboriginal social ethics, embodied in Indigenous Natural Law, remained an unfailing tradition. In the south passage in 1847, the "Sovereign", which had sailed in heavy weather with no pilot on board, rolled

over and sank on a sand bank. Goories launched a pilot boat risking their lives to help rescue people from the ship as it was pounded by the sea. (There are reports of many similar incidents throughout Queensland.) Ten lives where saved and forty were lost. The dead were buried on the eastern beach of Mulgumpin. Directors of Steam Navigation awarded Goories with brass plates and dismissed the ship's captain.

Resistance to the occupation continued. Cattle were speared and raids mounted on crops and stores, seriously disturbing colonial developments in Moreton Bay. In response another tried and trusted tactic was dispatched. In 1848, a Native Police force was conscripted by administration agents to execute massacre operations, reduce the Goori population and arrest resistance. Resistance persisted however, sustained over a period of 25 years.

Ex-convicts and sailors from diverse cultural backgrounds (Mauritius, Philippines, Isle of France, Malaya, South Seas, China, England, Scotland, Ireland) fished the oceans and worked oyster beds with boat camps at Lytton, Amity and Bribie and others scattered throughout the Bay. Assisted migration to Moreton Bay was offered from 1848 to 1859 to increase the population and reduce the numbers concentrating in the Port Jackson region where there were established facilities but high unemployment.

Continuing occupation of Aboriginal clan lands brought trauma and grief as family members were lost, spiritual links and kinship lines were broken and food sources were ravaged. Devastation and destitution worsened as the colonial population increased. Continuing hostilities and massacres that took the lives of countless Aboriginal men, left Winyeeaba Murriaba at 18, other Aboriginal women and children completely vulnerable, subjugated by the invasive controls, attitudes and violence of the colonial regime.

Familiarity with Aboriginal society came with some form of union between European men and Aboriginal women. Such unions, part of the domination of Aboriginal society, also brought an exchange of skills and knowledge. Many Quandamooka people (the Borey, Campbell, Ruska, King and Enoch families) are descendants of unions such as Fernandez Gonzales (the "Manila" man) and his Nunukul wife; the Levinge, Ellis and Tripcony families are descendants of Ngugi, Winyeeaba Murriaba.

Registration of baptisms and burials commenced in 1829 and marriages in 1839. Births, deaths and marriages involving Aboriginal people were excluded from the records. The majority of the colonial population was poorly educated, therefore handwriting was difficult to read, different dialects meant names were spelt differently and foreign names written in many different ways. Paperwork for this reason was limited and many transactions remained oral. Aboriginal oral history continued to pass from generation to generation.

By 1850 on the southern end of Mulgumpin at Mijim Boowel a pilot station and dugong industry was operating. It was reported that Goories, were employed there for their skills and knowledge of the marine environment, but the prevailing conditions went unrecorded. Dugong netting was large scale due to its demand as a cure for lung disease. A number of factories boiled down the oil to fetch three guineas a gallon in England. A large oyster industry was in operation in the bay from the 1860s. The Moreton Bay Oyster Company and fisheries throughout Queensland benefited greatly from Aboriginal knowledge and expertise. A telegraph line was laid from Brisbane to Mijim Boowel via Cleveland and Minjerribah in 1864. One hundred people were observed in this location in 1870. **Winyeeaba Murriaba and her countrymen and woman endured the frenzy of this exploitation of their home lands and secured subsistence for the survival of their children.**

Goories camped on the fringes of small townships and around Kangaroo Point, on the north and south banks of the river, in Queen Street, and in Fortitude Valley. Kangaroo Point had few houses and several hotels quite close to each other. Mounted troopers drove Goories out of these centres each afternoon. During this period, what remained of kinship lines - traditional economic/trade, residential, ritual and marital - between Minjerribah, Mulgumpin and mainland clans, provided sanctuary for Goories who were kept on the move, around and out of their countries.

Mrs.Thomas Garcia Anderson (nee Elizabeth Kerr), was interviewed about the history of the East Brisbane area and reflects the dominant attitude of colonial society: At the blacks camp at Woolloongabba they were an inoffensive lot, but very surly.. and great thieves. As children, we would get sugar and other things from home in order to have an excuse to visit their camp, but our trouble was unrewarded for we seldom received more than a grunt. (An extract from an interview on the day of her Golden Jubilee, in a newspaper article dated 29/1/31.) Elizabeth Kerr migrated to Brisbane from Ireland as a child and married Thomas Garcia Anderson in 1884. Thomas Garcia Anderson lived in Kangaroo Point from 1854. He told of a story given to him by his mother, about his father, a pilot stationed at Mulgumpin, who 'died at the hands of blacks'. Thomas Anderson was employed in the shipping industry. (**Cecil Anderson, the son of Elizabeth and Thomas Garcia Anderson, is Robert Anderson's father.**)

Pastoralist squats, timber logging, mining and other industrial developments continued unabated. Spreading northward it incurred in its wake the growth of what was known as "killing fields". One such event was recorded on the 13th June 1864 near Kin Kin, Gubbi Gubbi/Kabi Kabi country (from *Tales of a Warrior*, Brett Green). Reporting, documenting or investigating atrocities against

Goories however, was not preferred procedure and a tacit policy of concealment and denial prevailed.

In the early stages, before the establishment of coastal townships, and in the face of Goori resistance, occupation expanded up and down the bay supported by traders using small cutters. The waterways remained the major lines of communication and transport until the development of rail networks in the 1880's. A Cobb and Co. mail coach service ran between Brisbane and Ipswich. Towns gradually developed on the coastline where regional industries had emerged to engage in an export economy. A potentially lucrative primary export industry in wool, as well as cattle, coal, and timber industries, had opened up.

Clearly, the colonies established by the military with convict labour and subsequently the missions/reserves by State and Church, had brought success. European investors were showing returns. (An in-depth study of the economic development of the colony can be found in Peter Whalley's *Introduction to Aboriginal Social History Moreton Bay S.E.Q. 1799 - 1830* and his references.)

Commercial fishing, begun on Minjerribah in the mid-nineteenth century with dugong and turtle hunting and oysters, was followed by the establishment of a fishing village at Koumpee Pulan in 1884. By this time, as in other regions, work relations (never void of exploitation) had developed between Goories and Europeans. In 1894 an occupational lease on ten square miles was granted at Mooloomba for a cattle run and later a fish cannery at Two Mile in 1908. Land sales by the government soon followed.

2. TRANSITIONS

During these turbulent times, **Winyeeaba Murriaba became Sydney Rollands**. Winyeeaba would have moved around the Quandamooka area and the mainland, with her countrymen and women and children, seeking refuge from the violence and devastation of their home lands, that came with occupation.

Sydney Rollands had four known children. Her son **Sam Rollands** who married **Mibu Brown**, (taken from Beaudesert to Moongalba); daughter, **Mary Rose Rollands** (Grandmother of Bob Anderson) who married **Thomas Tripcony Jnr**; son **Evelyn Ellis**; and son **Albert Levinge**, who married **Eva Graham** of the Kombumerri people on the Gold Coast. The family lines of Rollands and Ellis were difficult to trace.

The **Tripcony family** origins are in Cornwall England. Catherine Abercrombie Buchanan (Thomas Tripcony Snr's wife) came from St. Ninians in Scotland. Assisted by local Goories, the Tripcony family worked the oyster banks in Pumicestone Passage and owned one of the first licensed oyster banks, in front of Cowie Bank where they had acquired 300 acres of selected land. Tom Tripcony Jnr, who married Mary Rose Rollands (daughter of Winyeeaba Murriaba), took over Cowie Bank and ran cattle for a while as well as working the oyster banks scattered around Moreton Bay.

The **Levinge family** worked the oyster banks in Moreton Bay from 1860. They acquired land at Capembah Springs on Minjerribah for the Moreton Bay Oyster Co. (established in 1876) and set up residence there. Albert Levinge (son of Winyeeaba Murriaba) took over as manager of operations for the Moreton Bay Oyster Company. In 1916 he shifted his family to Currigee, a small oystering and fishing community overlooking the Broadwater on South Stradbroke Island. Currigee became the site for the annual

Goori community gathering (when it wasn't held at Amity) where they danced to the accordion and "weeping fig leaf" players. Albert's son, Pat, married Lillian Bostock of the Bunjalung people in northern New South Wales.

During the 1860s, German settlers on scattered farms and orchards on the Logan, were engaged in mixed economies, farming, small grazing, oystering and fishing. It is recorded that they were always glad to see the local people who brought fish, kangaroo tails, crabs or honey to barter for flour, sugar, tea or tobacco.

(Many detailed accounts of the lives of people of Minjerribah can be found in *A Century of Moreton Bay People* by Peter Ludlow.)

By the turn of the century depleting or destroyed fish stocks and food and material sources, further effected Aboriginal subsistence practices, forcing engagement, wherever possible, in the imposing capitalist/cash economy. As trade relations and resources were destroyed, Aboriginal people adjusted, compelled to increase dependence on European society and products.

Elegance, serenity and dignity and the capacity to endure, Sydney Rollands (nee) Winyeeaba Murriaba.

3. INSTITUTIONALISATION

Quarantine Station

In 1850, thirteen years after the closure of the military post, Goompi was proclaimed a Quarantine Station. The old Italian mission buildings were utilised for this purpose. All ships were directed there to spend time in quarantine, before being allowed to proceed up the river to Brisbane.

In August of the same year an epidemic of typhus fever was reported on the ship "Emigrant" which left England in April 1850 with over 270 people from England, Ireland and Scotland. It was first reported carrying typhus in May 1850 when off the coast of West Africa. Having been rejected at various ports along the way it arrived at Dunwich in August with 19 dead aboard. A total of 26 died and were buried in what became the Dunwich Cemetery.

Again, there are no records of the impact of this event and of the Quarantine Station on the Goorie population in Quandamooka, although in 1865 it was reported Goories served there on building works and as cleaners. The Quarantine Station was moved to Peel Island in 1870 where it became a lazaret (place for lepers) with a section for Aboriginal people transferred from North Queensland missions and reserves. In 1906 it was proclaimed a "multiracial" lazaret. Midwives from Myora Mission delivered the babies of lazaret inmates.

Benevolent Institution

The Benevolent Institution was established at Goompi in 1864 and officially opened in 1867 in the existing Quarantine Station buildings. It provided a home for the aging population of the colony, like Fernandez Gonzales who became an inmate in his old age. A large institution, with little funding causing bad conditions, it also housed

inebriates or younger people who were badly disabled, and later admitted people with leprosy. (Eighty-one patients were admitted from 1891.) It was overcrowded numbering 1016 in 1901.

Supplies were loaded and unloaded on the government steamer "Otter" which came from Brisbane. A small town was established to contain the Intitution's needs comprising a post office, with Commonwealth banking facilities, doctors rooms, government store, saddler, boot maker, tent repairer and paint shop, stables, mortuary and coffin making shop, joinery manned by a carpenter, blacksmiths, butcher shop, bakery, general store, huge kitchen and library. The Institution issued standard clothing and provided entertainment in Victoria Hall, opened in 1896. Inmates were buried in Dunwich Cemetery many in unmarked graves. "Even Tide" an old Air Force base in Sandgate received 768 inmates from the island when the Institution closed down in 1946.

(The detailed account of the Benevolent Institution is available from the North Stradbroke Island Historical Museum in the publication, *Historic North Stradbroke Island*.)

"Myora" mission on Moongalba

In 1871 the population count of the Brisbane colony was 18,180, in 1881 it was 37,000 and by 1891, it had reached 101,554.

In 1877 on the passage side of Yarun, a reserve was set-up for Goories dispossessed of land and home. It was intended to serve as a "retreat" from the vices of Brisbane, an "asylum" for the aged and a site to teach habits of providence and industry to break off wandering habits of the young. Used also to encourage private trading, it closed after two years when Goories refused to work there without pay. The Queensland government stopped supplying rations and re-gazetted the area for "free settlement".

Another was set-up in 1890 in Yarun passage and in November 1892 moved to the Quarantine Station on Chercroobal (Peel Island). There Goories were to wait to be moved to the new mission site. On the 26th November 1892, on fifty acres of land at Moongalba on Minjerribah, "Myora Mission" was proclaimed a "Reserve for Mission", signed but not sealed by Queen Victoria. The mission was not ready for occupation until May 1893. **At 64 years old, Winyeeaba Murriaba, her children and some of her grandchildren, became residents of Myora mission.**

Assimilation through institutionalisation, introducing formal enforcement of European cultural practices and values, began in October 1893. Myora mission was declared an industrial and reformatory school and a Mission Superintendent and Mission Matron duly appointed by the Queensland Aboriginal Protection Association. Their salary, along with regular rations, was provided by the Government.

In line with a policy to use Aboriginal labour for the cost-effectiveness of the missions, the elder boys and girls were detained and trained to be "made useful and profitable to the mission and to society" with punishment metered out to dissidents. In 1896, at the hands of the Matron (Marie Christensen), a child died at the Myora dormitory. The mission later ceased to be an industrial and reformatory school and the dormitories were closed. The children were then classified orphans, removed to Deebing Creek without provisions and a pittance of a penny a day allowed for food.

By 1905, 50 people were on Moongalba with more or less 48 permanent residents, including five South Pacific men married to local women. It was re-proclaimed a "Reserve for the use of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the State" changing its "for a mission" status. Regulations for maintaining discipline and good order upon

a reserve were also proclaimed that year. The mission came under the control of four Chief Protectors between 1897 and 1940.

As with the Quarantine Station, Aboriginal people on Minjerribah were a source of labour (and sourced labour for survival) at the Benevolent Institution. Benevolent Institution Medical Superintendents were in charge of the mission and official employers of Aboriginal labour from 1906 - 1917. The fish cannery, slaughter house and the Moreton Bay Oyster Company needed labour and there was also need for nursing assistants, domestics and fishermen on the island. Women living at Dunwich laundered for the Institution and Goories also provided the labour for maintenance work on the mission.

Schooling continued at Myora mission with the teachers, the only white residents, also supervising the mission. **Winyeeaba's/ Sydney Rolland's grandchildren attended at the Myora Mission School.**

When Myora mission closed in 1943 the ownership of the land at Moongalba transferred to the Benevolent Institution. Goories were moved to Moopi Moopi Pa (One Mile) and Goompi (Dunwich). In 1947 the Benevolent Institution was moved to Sandgate, taking with it all the amenities and leaving the island population without employment.

(The detailed account can be found in *Useful and Profitable; History and Race Relations at the Myora Aboriginal Mission, Stradbroke Island, Australia 1892 - 1940*, produced by Faith Walker for the Queensland Museum, Cultural Heritage Series I.)

Top right: Myora Mission, Moongalba, Minjerribah, 1891

Bottom right: Myora Mission School - Priscilla, Albert and Sylvia Tripcony were enrolled in 1899

Above: Benevolent Institution, Goompi, Minjerribah, 1890

Below: Goompi (Dunwich) as steamship comes in, Minjerribah, 1880

The Long Shadow of the Act

> The reserves and missions became a refuge, as well as a prison. The 'Kamp Commandant', the white manager, and the police kept the worst of the barbarians away. Then these concentration areas became home, offering the security of institutionalisation, dependency on food supply, a little medical attention and, above all peace from the madness and predictable hatred and unhappiness of white society. Kevin Gilbert

Extract from the Act: 4. Every person who is -

(a) an aboriginal inhabitant of Queensland,
(b) a half-caste who, at the commencement of the Act is living with an Aboriginal,
(c) a half-caste who, otherwise than as wife, or husband, or child, habitually lives or associates with Aboriginals,

shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of this Act.

Extermination, followed by assimilation and complete integration were component practices of British imperialist policy. In 1897 legislation of the Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act formalised total dominance of the lives of Aboriginal people by the Queensland government and its agencies. This legislation outlawed traditional rites and created reserves under the guise of "protective custody". Notably, it also formalised an appropriate infrastructure for detainment of the native population, providing assurance of internal security for settlers in an occupied territory.

Chief Protectors of Aboriginals were appointed (from 1897 to 1940) to devise assimilationist policies based on prevalent attitudes. These attitudes were derived from beliefs of racial superiority that "through their superior physical and intellectual force over the weaker race they (colonists) must command fear and respect

to advance humanity". Such notions met the psychological needs of a developing colony, which was 11,000 miles from home and totally alien to the cultures and societies of the southern hemisphere.

On Minjerribah, Aboriginal names and languages were not permitted to be used. A request to change the name of the mission site from Myora back to Moongalba, put to the Chief Protector of Aborigines, was denied. Basket weaving, corroborees and music were excluded from daily activities. However, traditional knowledge and beliefs were retained and continued to be practiced and passed on by Grannies like Sydney Rollands.

Government policies created castes, separating people through segregation and assimilation, and ensured Aborigines were isolated from other contact. Essentially, the Act served to continue enforced displacement of Goories that weakened sovereign claims to land and guaranteed a state of dependency. (Ironically that dependency has come to be regarded with contempt in Australian society.)

Extract from the Act: 22.5 The Director's Order Sufficient Authority.

> Any order issued by the Director for the removal of an Aboriginal to a reserve or from one reserve to another reserve shall be sufficient authority for any protector, or any person acting under the authority of the Director or a protector, or any officer of police to arrest such Aboriginal and to remove him to the reserve named in such order and for the superintendent or other person in charge to keep him there during the period directed by such order.

Although some Goories moved to the Island from the mainland, others, Mulinjalli, Gubbi Gubbi, Wakka Wakka and Butchulla people (e.g.), were removed from their homelands to Minjerribah, and to missions or reserves in other parts of the country. Likewise, Nunukul, Goenpul, and Ngugi were also removed from the island to other missions on the mainland.

In 1921 a mass infection of hookworm (which causes anaemia leading to physical and mental retardation) arose at Moongalba due to poor waste disposal facilities. Treatment was not provided and conditions were not improved and to speak up about such injustice risked removal far from family and home.

In 1924, 23 years before the mission was closed, several families were forced to move, sent to work on cattle stations etc, while others moved by choice to Wynnum.

Extract from the Act: 18 Guardianship and Adoption.

> (1) The Director shall be the legal guardian of every Aboriginal child in the State while such child is under the age of twenty-one years, notwithstanding that any parent or relative of such child is still living, and may exercise all or any powers of a guardian where, in his opinion, the parents or relatives are not exercising their own powers in the interests of the child.

Children on Myora mission were made to attend school (for a time living in dormitories one for girls and another for boys, in the care of a matron who imposed strict rules and punished severely those who broke them). Goori children living at Amity Point were also sent to school on the mission, staying for the week and returning home for weekends. In line with assimilationist policies, some of the fairer skinned children were made to attend the Dunwich School. Many vulnerable children, sent away to work on the mainland at the age of 14, were forced to work on cattle stations for ruthless employers. Others were removed to homes or orphanages.

Extract from the Act: 19

> (1) (b) No marriage between Aboriginals shall be celebrated without the permission of the protector of the district in which the parties to such marriage

reside or, if the parties reside in different districts the protector of the district in which the female resides.

(c) In the case of Aboriginals on a reserve, authority to so permit may be vested in the superintendent of the reserve.

Goories who married Europeans or who worked for the Benevolent Institution were exempt from living on the mission. Some, to be closer to work, were housed in tents at One Mile where there were no facilities for sanitation. In the 1930s at the One Mile there were 28 Aboriginal families living along the banks of a small creek. These Goories required a permit and were charged a fee to stay overnight with relatives on the mission.

Extract from the Act: 16 (1) Protector to Manage Property of Aboriginals.

The protector shall undertake the protection and management of the property of all Aboriginals in the district assigned to him and subject to the approval of the Director may (a) Take possession of, retain, sell or dispose of any property of an Aboriginal whether real or personal.

Children of 14 years, and adults (known as the Aboriginal gangs), either living on or off the mission, were employed by the Benevolent Institution, receiving a portion of rations as part of their wages for work in the various sections. Rations - flour, sugar, rice, condensed milk, jam, potatoes, onions - were delivered to the mission (firstly only as far as the One Mile) on Monday and Friday.

Wages were subject to levies paid into the Aboriginal Property Protection Account or Provident Fund (later Welfare Fund). Some of the funds were used for rations and maintenance costs on the mission. In 1944 after years of negotiations, award wages were paid to Goories working for the Institution on Minjerribah.

Abuses against humanity, inherent in the deeds of colonisation and subsequent legislation, are strategically concealed. As Edward Said points out in the following extract from his book *The Question of Palestine*:

> As Israel continued its colonization of the rest of Palestine, and as hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were ruled by military authorities, the Western liberal intelligentsia had little to say about Israeli exploitation of Palestinian children, or the way in which Palestinians working inside Israel were locked up in their places of work at night, or how torture was regularly used in interrogation, or how special laws applied only to Arabs and not to Jews in Israel and the Occupied Territories. On the contrary, it was respectable cant to speak about Israel's benign occupation, or to animadvert on the economic benefits to Palestinians of the Israeli occupation. Edward Said

The following extract from *Modernising Relations between Indigenous People and States* by Mary Graham outlines the impact of policies, arising from colonisation, on Aboriginal self-determination:-

> **Governance**
> Points:
> 1. Relations between states and Indigenous Peoples have reached a critical state in development. The period generally referred to as colonialist, roughly speaking the last 500 year, has come to an end, or is coming to an end.
>
> 2. The clearest example of colonialism and its logical outcome, is for the institutionalisation of dependency. This is the new phase coming in at the beginning of a new millenium. There are a lot of advantages for the state in keeping the Indigenous population in dependency and some disadvantages too.
>
> 3. A dependency relationship in varying forms and degrees currently exists between the states and Indigenous

Peoples, in both independent developing countries and in industrialised Western countries.

4. The classic modernisation paradigm, dominant in academic circles from around 1945 to 1965, supported the transfer of technology and the socio-political culture of the developed societies to the 'traditional' societies. Development was defined as economic growth.

   In many ways dependency is the antithesis of modernisation, but at the level of communication it is a continuation of it. Dependency theory argues that the prevailing conditions in the non-aligned world are not a stage in the evolution toward development, but the result of extant international structures. In other words, whereas the modernisation perspective holds that the causes of underdevelopment lay mainly within the developing nation, dependency theory postulates the reasons for underdevelopment are primarily external to the dependent society. (Jan Servaes)

5. For the state, the prioritisation of economic development over political development for the poor developing nations, is still important as long as the processes fall within a containment context.

6. For rich, Western nations with Indigenous peoples within, sovereignty issues are controlled by weak, outdated agreements/treaties or by the absence of treaties altogether (Australia). Economic development is as described above, only to an even more restricted degree.

7. The lack of appropriate, modern self-governance systems allows human rights abuses and community social problems to flourish.

8. However, the presence of appropriate, modern self-governance systems gives political power to Indigenous people and also supports economic development.

4. REGENERATION

Sydney Rollands was also well known in Brisbane, having nursed and attended many a baby for white women in the colony. She was one of the revered Grannies at Moongalba and was said to have become reclusive in her old age due to rheumatism.

Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal/Sydney Rollands passed on in 1917 at the age of 88 and was buried in Moongalba cemetery. She was survived by her own children Sam Rollands, Mary Rose Tripcony, Evelyn Ellis and Albert Levinge and grandchildren - Pat (Willliam), Dooley (Andrew), Albert, Evelyn, Ernest, Dorothy, John, Gilbert, Sam and Charlotte Levinge; John, Henry, Sydney, and Kitty Ellis; May, Charlotte, Anastasia, Lydia, Paul, Albert, Vincent, Pricilla, Veronica and Sylvia Tripcony.

Winyeeaba Murriaba/Sydney Rollands' son Sam Rollands, passed away in 1936 and is buried in Moongalba Cemetery near his mother. Later in life, daughter Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands) lived in a home built by her sons Paul and Vincent at the One Mile. She was laid to rest at Dunwich cemetery in March 1939. Son Albert Levinge died in 1953 and is buried in Dunwich Cemetery with wife Eva. Son Evelyn Ellis was also laid to rest in the Dunwich Cemetery.

5. CULTURAL HERITAGE

An uninterrupted connection to land, continuous identification with clan and respect for tradition, preserved a spirit of resistance on Minjerribah. This was reflected in innate cultural practice and the adaptation of the "civilising influences" of the State and Church, to the needs of their own society.

Dugong continued to be hunted and shared. The oil from boiling selected portions of the meat was sold as medicine. The meat preserved with coarse salt was also sold (the money used to maintain the boats, sails and nets.) Wild flowers - heather, boronia and swamp orchids - were gathered and sold at Dunwich by the Grannies and continue to be gathered to this day. Wild May was made into brush brooms.

Many people took up gardening vegetables (sweet potato, pumpkin, marrow, tomato, cucumber, radish, eschalot, choko), fruits (oranges, mulberry, peach, grape, fig, passionfruit, pineapple, pawpaw, mangoes, bananas, lemons and guavas), herbs (parsley, celery, mint, thyme), and tending fowl. They continued to gather eugarie at Ocean Beach and quampie during a big out tide, fish at the Black Beacon (where reef fish like schnapper, parrot, sweetlip, mowong were caught) and in the bay (bream, whiting, trevally, mackerel, flathead, perch, turrum, tarwhine etc.), harvest mullet and make fish nets. Bandicoot were trapped and dungals collected for the fires in winter. Noongies from the swamp were gathered for basket making. Clean, fresh water for the mission was taken from Moongalba Springs, Capembah Creek (marked by cypress trees planted when the Moreton Bay Oyster Co. bought land there).

Through the tradition of oystering, fishing and basket making, along with work in the Quarantine Station, Benevolent Institution and on the mainland, Goories adapted the new cash economy

to suit their customs. The situation induced a report on the level of independence Goories had maintained on Moongalba, from Chief Protector Roth. He also noted an objection to the enforced classification of their land as an "Aboriginal Reserve" (whereby every detail of their lives could be supervised by the Chief Protector of Aboriginals).

Goories attended the film nights in the Victoria Hall at the Benevolent Institution with the inmates and participated in the Amity Point picnic races held on the beach at low tide and later on the salt flat on the northern side of the swing basin. Archie Newfong was a Cup winner on "Stellarah" and Mabel Campbell won on "Blossom". Rounders and cricket were played and sometimes there were corroborees where traditional songs would be sung and stories told.

On some occasions big groups of people would walk or ride out to the Main Beach or the lakes, taking food for lunch. Fresh honey from the comb was collected and eaten there. Goories from Dunwich would join their relatives on the mission on weekends to tend the graves, clearing the leaves, placing fresh flowers and fixing the shells (gathered from a coral patch near the Black Beacon) put there by the Grannies.

The mission school became the social centre for the community. Sports days were held at the school break-up and a dance in the evening brought the Goories living at Dunwich in for a gathering at Moongalba. There were many dances organised at the mission school by the light of their hurricane lamps, where Sam Rollands (Grand Uncle of Robert Anderson) played concertina.

Sam Rollands was the mission policeman for several years. He was also employed by the Royal Queensland Yacht Club to tend the

lamp on the Black Beacon leading into the Moongalba passage. He netted dugong, tracing and tracking its movements (zungun) as well as filleted and boiled down its parts for oil. When he caught dugong, he would signal to the community by hoisting a flag on his boat Rona, causing people to come from Dunwich to gather at the mission to share the catch. Sam Rollands owned a couple of banks of his own and much of his time was spent in oystering.

Winyeeaba Murriaba/Sydney Rollands and other women were the midwives and nurses on the mission. Men from the mission served in WW1 and WW2 some losing their lives overseas. In 1922 the telephone office opened at Amity Point and in 1935 a launch service began from Brisbane to Amity Point, extending to Dunwich when the Institution closed. The Myora mission school closed in 1945 and the children were sent to the school at Goompi.

Myora mission was closed in 1943 and ownership of the land at Moongalba was transferred to the Benevolent Institution. Cliff Campbell (who was only nine) recalled: "In 1947 when the Benevolent Institution was closed and moved to Sandgate, it was Christmas time, and despite being left unemployed the remaining Aboriginal families got together and had a big bonfire and corroboree. There were only three dancers, Grandfather Peter, Katie Martin and Grandfather Mookum. The kids would mimic the actions of the dancers. This is the way the message of the dance was passed on from generation to generation".

(The detailed accounts of Myora Mission by the old mission residents can be found in *Moongalba - Myora Sitting Down Place* produced by Bernice Fischer.)

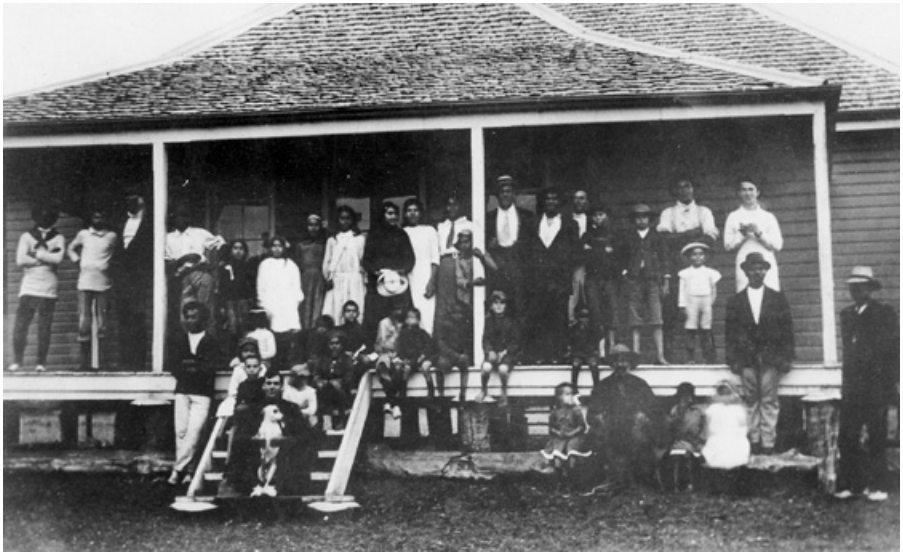
Sand mining began on the island in 1956 marking the beginning of another phase in the history of Minjerribah.

Left: Gravesite of Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal/Sydney Rollands Ngugi Mulgumpin 1829-1917 Moongalba Cemetery, Minjerribah

Below left: Myora Mission School - Getting ready for the Easter Dance at Moongalba

Right: Sam Rollands and friends on his boat Rona, Quandamooka

Below right: Sam Rollands (far left) and dugong hunters, Quandamooka. Photo courtesy of Isabell Chaplin, McLeay Island



In 1972 Moongalba was leased for the purposes of a cultural museum centre. A Deed of Grant in Trust was offered to the Quandamooka people in 1990 for the land at Moongalba but it was refused, preferring unalienable freehold title. The Quandamooka Lands Council was formed in 1990 and incorporated in 1991. The Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders Council formed in 1993.

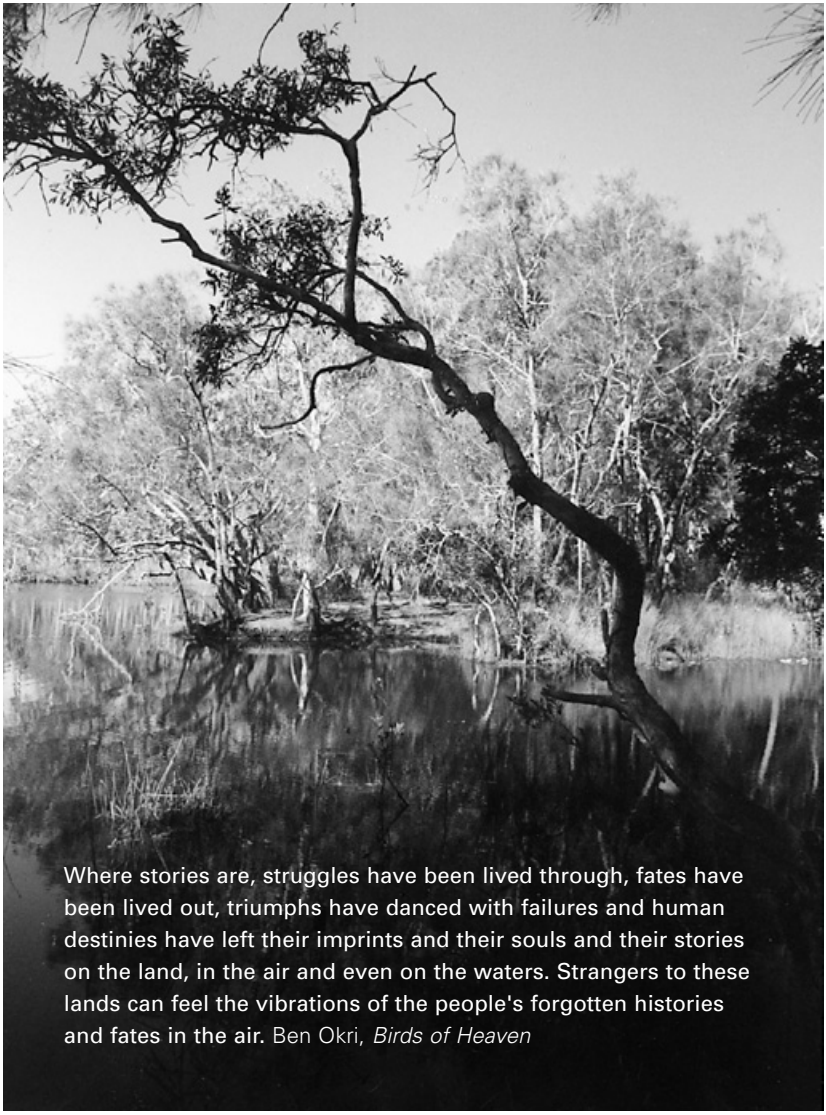
On the 29th of September, 1995 the National Native Title Tribunal accepted the Quandamooka Lands Council application for a determination of native title over an area as described in the application map. This led to the Quandamooka Land Council Aboriginal Corporation and Redland Shire Council Native Title Process Agreement on the 14th August 1997. The purpose of the Agreement was to record an understanding between parties as to a) the process leading to an Agreement on Native Title, b) subject matters for negotiation and c) principles underpinning the Process leading to an Agreement on Native Title. A Planning and Management Study for North Stradbroke Island proposed in July 1997 was part of the Agreement with Redlands Shire Council, pursuant to Local Government (Planning and Environment) Act 1990.

Donna Ruska, Gurenpul, Minjerribah, refers to Quandamooka as "the spirit for the Moreton Bay Region". Robert Anderson, Ngugi Mulgumpin, describes the principal aim of the Quandamooka Lands Council as "to have Aboriginal rights restored and acknowledged by the prevailing society and government. Those are the rights to be involved in the development of anything that occurs on the island or islands and anything that occurs in the waterways, that affects the lives and future of the place that Aboriginal people have responsibilities to. Those rights also include the airways, as the conveyor of the birds that in different areas help to pollinate and cross pollinate the flowers and plant life for regeneration of the cycles".

Black culture is not, as it appears, frozen into a system of defence mechanisms too rigid for change, but a living culture, capable of constant creation, keeping in step with the rhythms of change in the global society, of which it is not a marginal but a dialectical element. Roger Bastide, *The Black Experience of Colonialism and Imperialism*, from the book *Slavery Colonialism and Racism*.

Robert Anderson signs Quandamooka Aboriginal Lands Council Aboriginal Corporation, Native Title Process Agreement with Redlands Shire Council, 14.8.1997. Left of Robert: Irene Borey (sun glasses) and Ailsa Perry; background centre: Mayor Santa Giuliana (in profile); background right: Cliff Campbell (hand to spectacles).

CHAPTER 2 LIFE



Where stories are, struggles have been lived through, fates have been lived out, triumphs have danced with failures and human destinies have left their imprints and their souls and their stories on the land, in the air and even on the waters. Strangers to these lands can feel the vibrations of the people's forgotten histories and fates in the air. Ben Okri, *Birds of Heaven*

PART I NGUGI MULGUMPIN

1. A FAMILY DIARY

MATERNAL GREAT GRANDMOTHER

NAME: Winyeeaba Murriaba (succulent, delightful, delicious) Kingal (sweet, fragrant) Sydney Rollands

BORN: Mulgumpin - Ngugi. Lived Myora Mission, Moongalba, Minjerribah.

DATES: Circa 1829 - passed away 13/10/1917 buried Moongalba cemetery, Moongalba.

CHILDREN: SAM ROLLANDS
MARY ROSE ROLLANDS/TYRRELL
EVELYN PETER ELLIS
ALBERT LEVINGE

(Note: Full genealogy registered with land claim, Quandamooka Land Council.)

Great Granny Sydney Rollands, nee Winyeeaba Murriaba (succulent, delightful, delicious), Kingal (sweet fragrance), Ngugi, born Mulgumpin 1829.

MATERNAL GREAT GRANDFATHER

NAME: Rollands
BORN: unknown
DATES: unknown

PATERNAL GREAT GRANDFATHER

NAME: Thomas Anderson
BORN: unknown
DATES: unknown
CHILDREN: Thomas Garcia Anderson
A pilot stationed on Moreton Island, he navigated ships up the Brisbane River and back. It's said that he was killed by blackfellas.

PATERNAL GREAT GRANDMOTHER

NAME: Mary Brady
BORN: Ireland
DATES: unknown
Mary Brady married Archibald Kerr

MATERNAL GREAT GRANDFATHER

NAME: Thomas Martin Tripcony (Snr.)
BORN: Falmouth, Cornwall, England.
DATES: 19/5/1829 - passed away 26/8/1897

Back right: Great Grandfather Thomas Tripcony Snr
Back left: Constantine Tripcony
(centre unknown)
Front left: Andrew Tripcony,
Front right: Grandfather Thomas Tripcony Jnr. 1892.

Family history has it that the Tripconys ran the cutters in Cornwall when smuggling was common. Thomas had been a seaman in the Royal Navy and came to Australia in 1859. He went to the Victorian goldfields before moving to Brisbane in 1861 and in that year married Catherine Buchanan from St. Ninians in Scotland. In 1861 he acquired 300 acres of selected land, "Cowie Bank", on the mainland side of Pumicestone Passage between Glass House Mountain Creek and Hussey Creek. In 1874, assisted by local

Goories, he was one of the first to work his own licensed oyster bank, in front of Cowie Bank. Robert Anderson visited Church-Town in Cornwall to trace family in 1986.

MATERNAL GREAT GRANDMOTHER

NAME: Catherine Abercrombie TRIPCONY (nee Buchanan)
BORN: St Ninians, Scotland.
DATES: 1835 - passed away 23/2/1903 Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER

NAME: Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands)
BORN: Myora Mission, Moongalba, Minjerribah - also lived One Mile and Dunwich, Minjerribah
DATES: Born C1867, passed away 2/3/1939, buried Dunwich Cemetery

Mary Rose Rollands had two children and was also known as Mary Rose Tyrrell, before her marriage to Thomas Buchanan Abercrombie Alexander (Tom) Tripcony on 7th November 1903. Her sons Vincent and Paul built a home for Mary Rose at One Mile, Minjerribah. When it was later demolished, they built another in Dunwich. Vincent and Anastasia shared this home in their old age.

Robert Anderson recalls times when his Granny, Mary Rose, would stay with the family in East Brisbane, sitting out in the open yard on a squatters chair pointing at the stars and telling Goori stories about the cosmos. Granny Mary Rose died in 1939 in the same year as the outbreak of World War II.

CHILDREN:
(Born Myora Mission, Moongalba)

MAY
Born unknown. Married Tom Yates. They had two sons, Fred and Tom, who had grandchildren, Tom Jnr and one daughter. Passed away, date unknown.

CHARLOTTE
Born C1890. Charlotte was married briefly to a gentleman named Eisle but had no children. She was housekeeper for the writer, Thomas Welsby. She would make home brew in a galvanised wash tub when living at Amity, Toorbul Point and Bribie. Robert Anderson would stay with Aunt Charlotte at Bribie during the war years and after. He would take the steamboat "Koopa" from Circular Key across to Bribie. During the war the army had commandeered Hayles Boats to ferry people around the bay. When Charlotte passed away her ashes were cast to the Quandamooka seas.

ALBERT TRIPCONY
Born 1891. Albert did not marry or have children. He lived with his mother Mary Rose. On the 3rd May 1917, at the age of 26, Albert was killed in action serving in World War I in France and is buried there.

SYLVIA TRIPCONY
Born 1893. Sylvia married Albert Dwyer who ran the Sea Hawk boat trips on the Brisbane River and in Moreton Bay. They lived at Wendell St. Norman Park on the river bank. Sylvia had no children and passed away 15/7/1945. She was buried in the Dunwich cemetery and her husband Albert was buried by her side.

Right: Great Grandmother Catherine Abercrombie Tripcony (nee Buchanan)

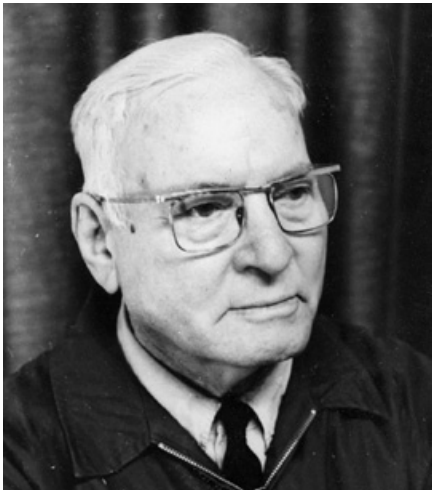
Left: Granny Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands) seated on Q.G. Steamer, "Otter" (note woven reed dilly bag)

Above right: Albert Tripcony 1914

Above far right: Ensign Vincent Joseph Tripcony

Below right: Paul Ambrose Tripcony

Below far right: Lydia Myee Tripcony



Above: Priscilla and Veronica Tripcony

Right: Anastasia and Paul Tripcony

PRISCILLA TRIPCONY

Born 25/3/1895. Priscilla was sent to Nudgee orphanage and into domestic service until she was 21. Priscilla was married for a short time to Jack Black. She lived at East Brisbane and worked as a domestic at the Mater Hospital. After her sister Veronica's death Priscilla cared for Veronica's children Pauline and Penny. Priscilla passed away on the 31/8/1988 and her ashes were cast to the seas of Quandamooka at Sandgate.

ENSIGN VINCENT JOSEPH TRIPCONY

Born 1899. Vincent did not marry or have children. He lived at Bell St. Kangaroo Point with his brother Paul and his sister Anastasia and worked at the Brisbane City Council as a steam roller driver. He served in France during World War I where he was wounded in the jaw and thigh.He lived at One Mile, Minjerribah in his mother's house, before his death on the 28th February 1975, and his ashes were buried in his mother's grave, at Dunwich cemetery.

LYDIA MYEE TRIPCONY

(Mother of Robert Anderson)

Born 14/12/1900 Couran Minjerribah.

Lydia was sent to Nudgee orphanage and into domestic service. She married Cecil Anderson. Lydia passed away 17/12/1960 and her ashes were cast into the bay waters of the Rainbow Channel, near Moongalba.

PAUL AMBROSE TRIPCONY

Born 1901. Paul did not marry or have children. He lived with his sister Anastasia and brother Vincent at Kangaroo Point. Paul worked at the Queensland Brewery before he was sacked due to an industrial dispute. He was Vice President of the Federated Liquor Union Qld. He worked as a motor roller driver for the Brisbane City Council after this. He lived at Lota on his own where he had a very rare collection of Australian books as well as stone artifacts

he had collected on Minjerribah. He knew the locations of the shell middens, the camping grounds of the old people for countless generations. (Presented to the University of Queensland.) His love and concern for his land was impressive and his great interest in documentation of Australian life, which accounts for his book collection, was regarded unusual for someone not formally educated. He guided some of the anthropological investigators to sites where they made fruitful digs. Paul passed away on the 12th August 1975 and his ashes were placed in his mother's grave, with his brother Vincent's ashes, at Dunwich cemetery.

VERONICA TRIPCONY

Born 10/9/1904. Veronica married Edgar Arthur Thrower, Captain of Qld Government steamer, Otter, which ran passengers and stores to the Benevolent Institution at Dunwich on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They had 3 children - Penny, Pauline and Edgar (Ted). Penny married Robert Maxwell and had two children Karina and Paul. Penny later married Les Bamblett from Victoria. Pauline married and had four children, Gail, Janine, Wendy and Andrew Mackay. Pauline is now Pauline Castles and lives on the Gold Coast. Ted married Coral Greig. They had two children, Kerry Anne and Lorelle. Ted is now deceased. After Veronica's sudden death from influenza on 26/7/1946 (the day of the Otter's last trip) children Pauline and Penny lived with Veronica's sister Priscilla Tripcony. Veronica's ashes were finally put to rest with Anastasia Tripcony, at the Dunwich cemetery in 1991.

ANASTASIA TRIPCONY

Born 11/11/1905. Anastasia did not marry or have children. Anastasia lived with brothers Paul and Vincent and was housekeeper for them at Bell St. Kangaroo Point. Anastasia also lived with Vincent at One Mile, Minjerribah before she passed away on the 22/3/1991. Anastasia is buried at Dunwich cemetary.

MATERNAL GRANDFATHER

NAME: Thomas Buchanan Abercrombie Alexander
(Tom Tripcony Jnr. (youngest son)
BORN: Toorbul Point or Cowie Bank
DATES: Born 7/8/1870, passed away 29/10/1958

Tom Tripcony grew up around Toorbul Point. He took over the family property "Cowie Bank" and ran cattle for a while. He continued to work the oyster banks scattered around Moreton Bay. His brother Andrew Buchanan Tripcony married Margaret Cochraine of Scotland and they ran the first store in Caloundra, with eight children. His older brother Constantine Tripcony, named after his grandfather, married Annie Greenhalgh. He was a JP and sub-inspector for Oystering in Moreton Bay and managed the Pacific Oyster Company at Southport Broadwater for some time. His sons are well established in the boat building business and still operate their business. Bob recalls during a holiday with Aunt Charlotte in 1949 how they chartered a boat to visit Tom Tripcony, at Cowie Bank.

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER

NAME: Elizabeth Anderson (nee Kerr)
BORN: Clones, County Monaghan, Ireland
(migrated to Australia on the "Conway"
grew up in Woolloongabba district.)
DATES: unknown

A trip to Clones County Monaghan Ireland, by Robert Anderson, in 1986, did not reveal any more about Elizabeth Kerr, as there seemed to be no remaining relatives. Elizabeth is remembered as a staunch Republican who refused to stand for the Royal Anthem.

CHILDREN:

ISABELLA
Married solicitor, William Kennedy. Their daughter Ann married the son of a prominent Brisbane builder. Isabella played piano in the pits for silent movies at the Gabba cricket ground.

JOANNA
Married Percival Cooper, a bookkeeper. Their daughter Patricia married an American serviceman. Joanna played violin in the pits for silent movies at the Gabba cricket ground.

THOMAS
Did not marry or have children. He was sent to England to join the Royal Navy to become a Marine Engineer.

ROBERT
Married but did not have children. He lived at Guilford in Sydney. Robert attended at the Agricultural College and became a wool classer working as manager in shearing sheds. (Robert Anderson spent some time with him.)

NITA
Did not marry or have children. She was a Triple Certificate Nursing Sister.

CECIL ANDERSON
(Father of Robert Anderson)
Married Lydia Tripcony. Cecil worked on the dry docks in Brisbane.

Grandmother Elizabeth Anderson (nee Kerr) and
Grandfather Captain Thomas Garcia Anderson

PATERNAL GRANDFATHER

NAME: Thomas Garcia Anderson
BORN: Mulgumpin
DATES: unknown

Thought to be the first white man born on Mulgumpin, Thomas Anderson worked for Harbours and Marine Dredging Service and later became a Master Mariner. Anderson Street Kangaroo Point is named after this family of strong Catholics.

MOTHER

NAME: Lydia Myee (special one) Anderson (nee Tripcony)
BORN: Couran, Minjerribah (during fish and oyster harvest) Lived on Myora Mission.
DATES: Born 14/12/1900, passed away 17/12/1960. Ashes cast to the Quandamooka waters directly off Myora mission in the Rainbow Channel.

Lydia Anderson (nee Tripcony) was gentle, tender and loving and not authoritative. She had a quiet strength and a capacity to endure. Her children responded to this with love and care for her, which extended to other mothers they knew. She would sing songs to Robert when he was small.

Around 1910, Lydia spent time in Nudgee orphanage and Red Hill Convent, as did some of her siblings. There was no income and only rations available at that time. Lydia moved to Kangaroo Point after her son Jellicoe was born. Jellico died when small and was buried on Minjerribah. Lydia met Charlie (Cecil) Anderson at Kangaroo Point. She was a single mother with one child Reg, at that time.

CHILDREN:

JELLICOE

Passed away in childhood and was buried in Moongalba Cemetery.

REG

Born 8/9/1919. Reg married Stella Johnson and their children were Vincent, Marshall, Ian and Katrina. The family moved to Mt. Isa but now live in South East Queensland. Reg worked as a shop assistant for T.C. Beirne a department store in the Valley. He served in World War II in the 2nd 12th Field Regiment in Nu Guinea where he lost an eye and was wounded in the chest and arm when shot. He returned to his job after the war. Reg passed away on Anzac Day 25/4/1988.

MARY

Born 9/12/1923. Mary was taken to an orphanage near Ipswich. She worked near Dalby. Mary married Tony Unger and their children were Judith, Alan, Majella, Gerald, Tony and Colleen. They were employed in share cropping at Rochdale, planting anything in season. Robert Anderson and his family would visit them on weekends. The family later moved to Mt. Gravatt and their children now live in various places (Alan in America and others around Brisbane, with Gerald remaining in the family home at Mt. Gravatt). Mary lives at a nursing home in Bracken Ridge, close to Majella.

TOM

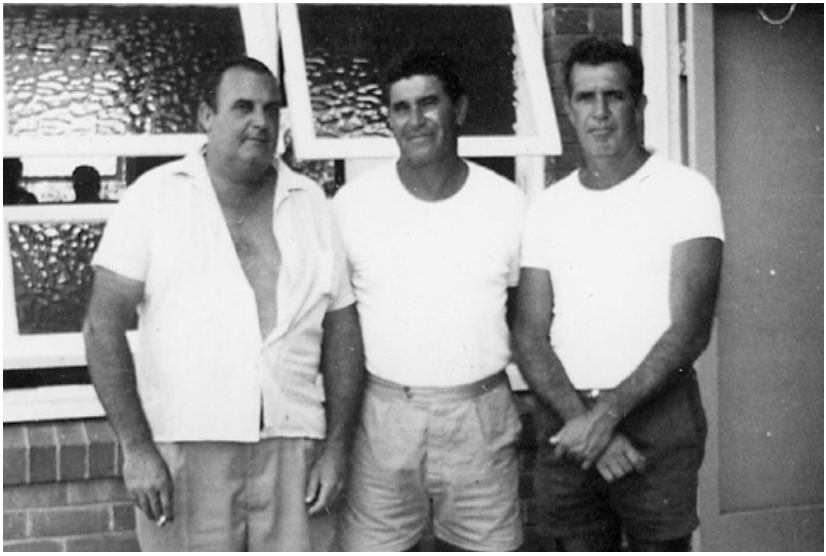
Born 11/6/1925. Tom did not marry or have children. Tom lived at East Brisbane with his mother Lydia. Robert Anderson remembers his brother Tom as a garrulous youth when they attended St. James school. Tom lives at Greenslopes.

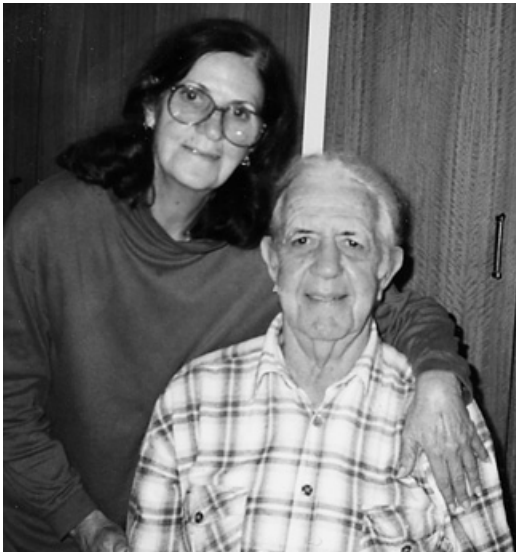
CHARLIE (BARNEY)

Born unknown. Charlie did not marry or have children. Charlie was part of the stolen generation, taken to the Margaret Marr home. He served in the 2nd Independent Co. Commandos in World War II and saw service in Timor, Nu Guinea and Borneo. After the war he worked on fishing trawlers in Tasmania and at Tooths Brewery in Sydney. He re-enlisted at the time of the war in Korea. A Sergeant in the Australian Army, Charlie passed away when serving in Malaysia. A letter written to Bob just before he died questioned the Australian presence in Malaysia where they were seeking independence and had developed a Communist philosophy. Charlie was posthumously decorated for heroism. The four brothers (Charlie, Reg, Tom and Bob) spent their first and last time all together before Charlie left for Malaysia.

Left: Robert Anderson, Jack Hogan (family friend) and Reg Anderson 1947

Below: Tom Anderson, cousin Gilbert Levinge and Robert Anderson Christmas, 1968





Above left: Charlie (Barney) Anderson

Above right: Mary Anderson

Right: Cecily and Robert Anderson, 31.7.1997

CECILY
Born 4/1/1928. Cecily did not marry or have children. She lived with her mother before moving to Sydney to work. She now lives in Coorparoo. Bob lived with Cecily for two years whilst waiting for a housing commission flat at Greenslopes.

ROBERT VINCENT (Gheebelum)
Born 31/7/1929 at Overend Street East Brisbane in the presence of Granny Mary Rose Tripcony. Robert married Isabella Miller and had two children - Paul living at Samford with 3 children, and Karen living at Caboolture with 3 children.

FATHER

NAME:	Cecil Anderson
BORN:	Kangaroo Point, Brisbane
DATES:	Born 12/10/1885, passed away 6/8/1955.

Cecil was the non-conformist in the Anderson family, rejecting any class prejudices to live the life he wanted. He had no regard for royalty.

Bob recalls, when the family lived at Overend Street, the children, looking forward to him coming home after work on the dry dock South Brisbane repairing ships, would go to meet him as he came down the street.

When a crane load fell and smashed his leg (Bob was quite young when this happened), the long term suffering resulted in his having to be institutionalised at Goodna Mental Institution Wolston Park. The accident created a great loss to the family.

Cecil Anderson was buried in the South Brisbane cemetery. His grave headstone states "A Republican".

PART II REMINISCING

1. TOM ANDERSON, NGUGI, MULGUMPIN

I remember when I was young and we'd spent some time on Stradbroke, there was an institution for the derelicts, all the old people and that. They had a big hall and the government boat, the "Otter", used to go down there a couple of times a week for the institution and it used to bring films down and they'd show them in the hall. In them days you could get in, just walk in, and see them, you know the real old movies, and we used to look forward to that. Bob and I would go with some of the other fellas that lived at One Mile and they'd walk up with hurricane lamps you know, because it was pretty dark, no electricity down at One Mile and Moongalba and them places.

I used to like going over there. In them days you could just throw your lines in and you could get all the fish you want. Course it's changed today but it was beaut, I used to like it over on Stradbroke Island. Well, you can see what it's like today, it's pretty popular, all the way through down there to Amity Point and Point Lookout. It's a great place Stradbroke Island.

I remember when we lived with my Granny, Mary Rose Tripcony, beside the Delaney's place, and the old Grannies from the island would gather there. They were pretty old those ladies, but they spoke well and everything like that. They could tell you when they looked at the sky if the rain was coming or if it was going to be cold and all that kind of thing. They were pretty interesting women to talk to, you know. I was only young, real young you know, but I used to listen to them and that. And of course we were never ever cheeky to them and we were brought up the right way and they liked us and we liked them. It didn't bother me they were great, lovely.

When the "Otter" used to come in, those women used to collect the wild boronia and they'd have these great bunches of boronia and people on the boat would buy them. The skipper on the boat, his name was Ted Thrower, was married to one of my Aunties, one of my mother's sisters. They used to live at East Brisbane at the back of where we went to school, Gresham Street. The "Otter" used to bring down all the supplies, you know meat and all that stuff. They had horses down there and they used to bring them up, and they'd have these horses pulling all the stuff, on like big trolleys with wheels on them. They'd unload off the Otter, all the cargo. It was for the institution, the inebriates' home.

The few people who lived on the island were mostly Aboriginals or descendants of Aboriginals. There's a big cemetery there where most of, well all of them, the Aunties and Uncles are all there and Granny Tripcony's there. I think my Great Grandmother, well they're all buried at Moongalba you know. Bob's going there when he passes on but I've willed my body to the university when I pass on. Might be something that they can use to help somebody else, I don't know but that's the way it goes. As I said before I liked Stradbroke Island, it's a great place. Reg is there, he's buried over there, he died with cancer.

When I was a boy we lived in Overend Street East Brisbane. Before we went to school, we went to the kindergarten and crèche on Ipswich Road Woolloongabba. Mum had to go out washing, she worked hard washing and ironing and that. She wouldn't get much, about five shillings or something like that, and she had to pay her fare on the tram and all those sorts of things.

My father he used to work on the dry dock at South Brisbane but he met with an accident and got smashed up and it effected him mentally and he had to be put away. So they sent him up there to the mental place. He wasn't stark raving mad or anything, it was

depression and they feared he could harm himself. He passed away there, got pneumonia or something, and was buried at South Brisbane. See the Andersons come from Kangaroo Point, my father's people, they were some of the settlers there. They had a street named after them down there too, Anderson Street.

The state used to come around and check on everything and Mum would get so much for each of us, which in them days wasn't much. Now, if you get hurt on the job you get lump sums of money but in them days there was none of that. People weren't even in unions and all that kind of stuff you know. Anyhow, she stuck by us and made sure we had a good education.

I went to the convent there and we were taught by the Good Samaritan Nuns until we got to a stage that we could either go to St. Lawrences or to St. James. The Andersons wanted us to go to St. James because our father went there when he was a lad and his brothers, my uncles, went there. So we went there but we went as far as scholarship that's all. I was off to work then.

I used to go around with Bob when we were children. There's four years difference between Bob and I. I used to love horses you know. Bob built a cart, but before that, a couple of doors up from us, there were some people there that used to have a cart and I used to say "Can we have a lend of your cart?" After a while Mum said, "Oh those people will get sick of you asking for a loan of their cart", and so that must have been when Bob said "I'll build something". Just down our street, Overend Street, if you walked right to the end, it ran right into Dodds bottle yard where Bob would take all the bottles. We used to go round with the cart. Bob used to go down and get the ice with it.

When I got my first push bike, I'd go and get it on the push bike. A push bike never cost much in them days and I went around and

seen a bloke in Roma Street; they used to be Ace Cycles. I said "I want to get a push bike but I haven't got money to put down on it" and he said, "Well, look, would you be able to pay five shillings a fortnight and pay it off that way?" I said "Yeah" because why I wanted the bike see, there was a bloke advertising out at Coorparoo, he wanted a couple of fellas with bikes to deliver newspapers to the houses, fold them up and throw them in the yard. And that's what I done for a while and of course it didn't take long to pay the push bike off and that was that. I thought it was great you know. But you had to do something because times were hard and everything like that and you couldn't be sitting around and that. We were pretty good lads, we never got into any trouble or anything like that, no police knocking on the doors.

We used to play cricket on the street (of course in them days you'd be lucky if you saw two cars in a week) and playing marbles on the street too with a ring round, and tops with the string on them, and all that kind of stuff. It was pretty rugged in those days, kids made their own fun but it was good clean fun. I reckon that we were pretty lucky that we had a good mother that stuck by us because if she didn't and we were split all up, we could have went anywhere.

When we played cricket, if we lost our cricket ball in the policeman's yard, you wouldn't go in there and he wouldn't throw them out to you. In them days the police, if you were playing up, they'd say, "Go on get home" and give you a boot in the backside. They're a bit different today but that bloke across the road was real nasty. I wouldn't do that, not to young kids.

Mum used to work at the Taxation Building and the Executive Building. All the towels that she had to wash there would be packed in a port. Mum said some of them fellas that worked in the office had no manners. They used to clean their shoes with them, put nugget on them and she would have to wash all these things.

Talk about hard, you know bringing them home on the tram, it was hard going but she wouldn't be denied. She would work to try and get a few bob because in them days it was desperation.

In our days, they used to have a big tin fence down at the Gabba Cricket Ground and the kids used to get in through the fence. Bob and I did it a couple of times collecting bottles. It used to be patrolled by mounted police and you had to wait for them to go round the corner on the horse and then go in. It was good fun. To pay to get in them days would be nothin. Sixpence or something to go in and see a test match. It was the days of Don Bradman.

In them days you could get a penny ice-cream, a real small scoop on a real small cone but you thought you were a king when you got that because you never got it very often. There was a soft drink fella at Woolloongabba his name was Durden Soft Drink and for Christmas Mum would say, "Bob take the cart and go down and get a dozen big bottles of soft drink", which in them days you got a dozen big bottles of soft drink for about three or four shillings and that was the only soft drink you had for the year. We used to get cherry, creaming soda, lemonade, sars and we had an ice box that you had to put blocks of ice in to keep it cool. They were good days. They were hard but they were good days.

We lived in a humble place but it was lovely and clean. My mother was a fanatic on cleanliness which is good. Hot suds in the toilet everyday. My sisters have taken after her too, and myself and Bob, we're all clean we don't live in dirty places. If your personal hygiene is clean you've got it made you can't get sickness. Bob and I slept in the back room where our father was before he got crook. I often wonder what would have happened if he had never met with that accident. We probably would have got out of there and got a bigger place as time went on. I have good memories of my father when he was well. He used to take me out to see one of his sisters, who

was married to a solicitor who lived at Coorparoo. We'd walk out there. He'd take me down to Kangaroo Point to see my Grandfather and Grandmother, his father and mother, and one of his sisters who was living there. The other brother was away, he was a wool classer. He was a tall man my father. He disciplined us, if he said no you couldn't go somewhere, he meant it.

Reg was the first to start on the horses. When he started I went along too but what really made me get interested in horses was a bloke I met where I was working. He came in there when the war was on and his name was George Moore. He was in the army, driving a Captain around. His mother had a corner shop down the Valley and things were hard to get and when he came in there and seen the manager and told him who he was, this manager knew that he was a fair jockey and said "Well, Tom will fix you up". So I got the association with him and he used to give these tips that he'd ride at Albion Park and they'd always win.

The war finished and he came in one day and he said "I'm going to Sydney to try my luck down there". He finished up riding for a fella called Tommy Smith and Smith and him became a household name, George Moore and T.J. Smith. He won all the jockey's premierships, never rode a Melbourne Cup winner. He's still alive too, George. I got interested in him and when he went to Sydney I said to my brother "No matter what he rides I'm going to back" and we got sick of backing winners. He rode more winners than he rode losers. So that's what really got me interested in horses.

My first job was in Wickham House. Mum got this job for me through a postman. They were after a message boy who would run messages for all these doctors. So Mum said "You'll have to get cleaned up and look your best and everything, nice ironed shirt." I went to see this doctor who owned the building and everything and he said "Yeah, when can you start?"

Right: Lydia Anderson with sons Robert and Tom

Below: Tom Anderson's 70th birthday party with Mrs. Vincent Anderson, sister Mary, and brother Robert with his grandchildren 1995

I used to take people up in the lift and clean the brass fittings. I did that for a couple of years and as soon as I got older and they had to give more money, they didn't want to pay more. One of the matrons up there had a son-in-law who was a traveller for Huttons and they wanted a junior. When I went to see the manager there, of all names his name was Anderson, no relation to me, and I got the job. That's where I met George Moore. The manager had a brother working there and his name was Tommy Anderson too and so I was Tom Jnr and he was Tom Snr.

This was before the war and while I was there I turned the age that you had to join up. I got a letter to join up and they told me there at Huttons that they'd give me a letter to give to the Manpower officers, because mother was dependent on me. The Manpower office also told me that I was working in a protected industry and that they would only call me if it got real real bad. Huttons used to supply the meat to the army, hams and all that and the Yanks used to come in there and get stuff, bacon and all the small goods. They were good quality small goods in those days and I got supplies to take home real cheap. I was about 16 when I started at Huttons and was there for five or six years.

I left there because we knew a solicitor, who Mum's cousin used to work for, who asked me if I'd like a job in a soft drink factory. That was Gardners and Sons Soft Drinks down the Valley. They made Kirks ginger ale. The solicitor worked for the young fella who owned Gardners. I got the job and worked there for about ten or eleven years in the soft drink factory. I learned how to make the syrup, work the machine, load trucks, then went out on the trucks delivering. During all this time I lived with my mother and sister Cecily.

When we left East Brisbane and went to Kennedy Terrace, Reg got married and Bob got married and then we left that place. Mum,

Cecily and I lived near the Catholic school in East Brisbane then. That was when Mum met with a sickness and soon after passed away. Cecily went away to Sydney and then I went out on my lonesome.

Bob was married and lived at Tarragindi. That's a photo of his daughter Karen on the shelf and that's Karen's son Toby with his wife. They got married a couple of years ago. That's Karen's three kids there, years back, Katey, Toby and Kegan. I had a lot to do with Bob's family. I watched those kids grow up and I'm very fond of those kids, the daughter Karen and son Paul. I see the grandchildren now too. I said to Bob, "Paul's got three children and Karen's got three, you've got six grand kiddies". He idolises them.

You know in the old days, girls could go to the local picture show by themselves and walk down the street at night time, never fear anything. You could leave your front door open, you could go to town and leave your own house all wide open. Most people used to shut the door to keep cats and dogs out. That was in the depression days. If a kid had a penny in his pocket he was rich. He could go in and get a packet of lollies or a packet of broken biscuits. A lot of kids today throw stuff away.

I used to strike Archie Newfong down the Eagle Farm race course. He used to like the horses too. They reckon he used to be a jockey in the old days down at Amity Point where they made their own fun. Arch was a pretty big bloke but in his early days he might have been all right. He's an old ex-soldier, he was in the war. We never met many people from the island over here but when we went over to the island, some of the people Bob and I went to school with, they still remembered us. More so they were there when Reg was buried over there.

Reg had four sons and a daughter. I keep contact with them on the phone. Cecily goes out to see Reg's oldest son at Newmarket. I keep in contact on the phone because I can't get around with these arthritis knees of mine. A lot of those people that we knew on the island, they're buried in that cemetery there. They were born there and they die there and that's where they finish.

I used to be in the Transport Union and the Liquor Trade Union. When I worked for the soft drink factory you come under what they call the Liquor Trade Union. That's barmen, people who work in breweries, soft drinks, all that kind of thing. I just had my ticket because I reckoned it was the right thing to do. If they were trying to do the wrong thing by you, you could say, "No, I'll go and see about this"; a drop in your wages and all that kind of stuff. When I worked at Huttons I was in the Storeman and Packers' Union there. Every job I had I was in the union.

I marched with them a few times. I remember I was up the front at the Vietnam Moratorium in the 70s and they had the big sign up in front. All us fellas that were in the front line were pretty big powerful looking blokes and all these police waiting for you. We held the line and were marching up Adelaide Street toward the city square when some of the protesters sat down on the road. Then the police began to march toward us, so the protest organisers got them standing up and moving again and we marched between the police, split their ranks, and without any problems we continued on into city square.

I was working at the post office. I got time off but they didn't know where I was. It was the P.M.G. then, in town. (Now Australia Post.) On both sides of it, was the two telephone exchanges and a lot of cleaners were wanted there and I was on the day shift. I used to look after the mail sorters, dining room, toilets, private letter boxes, and polish. A good job and I was there for a few years in the 70s.

Then they started getting contract cleaners in and last one on was first out the door and when it got to my turn I had to go. They just changed all the system, contract cleaners doing the lot. After that I didn't do anything more. I went on the dole but didn't pick up another job because of my age. Then I started to get things wrong with me and they put me on sickness benefit. In the end I got the aged pension through my doctor.

Bob was a carpenter and he was offered the job as Union Organiser. If there was any trouble they'd send Bob down and he told me about some of the cases, like when they were doing the T.N.G. building. The blokes were asked to walk from one section to another on a plank that wasn't wide enough, which was dangerous because they could drop three or four floors. When the blokes said that they weren't going to do it, they were told you'll get sacked if you don't. Bob was talking to the blokes and one of the bosses said, "Who are you? Get off the premises". Bob showed them who he was and told the boss if he could walk on the plank the blokes would. But the boss said, "I'm not walking on there", so the case was settled. On other occasions he would have to deal with insults from people who had not paid their union fees. He copped all that but he liked what he was doing.

I'll tell you one thing, he likes what he's doing now better than any other time I've seen him. He's pretty good for his age, the way he gets around and the way he talks. He's no fool Robert and political, he's got it bad. He never argued with the blokes. He often told me that he's been with people and arguing and everything and they'll say, "No Bob's right", and the other bloke will say, "No, no he's wrong." Bob just turns around and looks at them and says, "Well if you say it's right it must be right, hooray" and away he walks. He won't listen to them anymore.

Bob marched in all those labour day marches since he grew up, after he left school. Mum was always for the Labor Party. Mum says whenever you vote, vote Labor because Labor is the only government that's ever done anything for working class. Liberals is for the big man. Labor is not what it used to be, but I still vote Labor, you've got no alternative. I reckon myself that the Howard government will go out at the next election because of this petrol business and because of the G.S.T. I saw Malcolm Frazer on ABC TV and he's the opposite now. He says that something should be done for Indigenous people, which is right, but Howard won't turn around and say he's sorry. Bob was in all those Marches, he was on TV here in Brisbane and down south, he just loves doing that you know.

He's doing it for his old Mum and his old Gran and for the rights of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Island people. It's the same business. You only had to see in America how the Indians were treated, taking the land off them and the fighting, and the negroes in America. When the negroes were here in the war, they had to stay that side of the bridge and the others were allowed the other side and yet they were all in uniform fighting. Terrible thing for people, and because of their colour, people are treated like rubbish.

I remember there used to be a bloke walk past our place and he used to say coons, coons, niggers. Bob and I got sick of it. I said did you see that bloke Bob. Bob said, "Yeah, I won't forget his face." So Bob was coming home from work one day and he was walking behind him. This bloke turned round and he seen Bob and he started running and Bob got up to him and give a thump and he said, "I've let you off light. But" he says "wait until you run into me brother." I got into him one day and I walked straight up, I didn't say a word to him, I just went (gestures with a punch into his hand). I said "You know what that's for." He had been slurring my mother and us and spitting at my sisters.

That's crook, you come into the world the same way and people cannot help what colour they are. I've never gone around saying have a look at those greasy Greeks or Italians or anything. I don't say things like that, Chinamen, or, Negroes or something like that. But it's shocking you know the way that some people say, "Oh", you know, "look at that black b over there." Bob says that "you black so and so" is the worst thing you can say about anyone.

2. PENNY TRIPCONY, MULGUMPIN, NGUGI

Grandmother Mary Rose Tripcony:
Our grandmother, Mary Rose, died on 2 March 1939 - three years before I was born. My older sister, Pauline (ten years older than me) cannot remember a great deal, as she was only seven when Grandmother died. She recalls going to the Island often with our mother to visit Grandmother who lived at the One-Mile.

The place was beautiful then. At Myora the fresh spring water ran down to a good-sized natural pool near the sea where the kids used to swim. As a small child, like many others I was confused by the term Myora: I used to ask mother, "Are we going to 'Your-ora'?" On the track to the swimming hole from Grandmother's place there were lovely ferns and leafy areas where we could stop for a while in the cool. Much of this is gone now. That is why Pauline cannot bear to go back to the Island. She went there about eight years ago and was very upset at the destruction of the place. She sees this as the non-caring greed of both mining and tourist industries.

Pauline says she remembers the day of grandmother's funeral. Grandmother died in Brisbane, and the coffin was transported to the Island on the Kaboora. The coffin was placed on the prow of the vessel for the voyage. Pauline says it was a stormy day with strong winds and heavy rain. The trip across Moreton Bay was rough. When the Kaboora reached Dunwich, the coffin was placed on the funeral carriage and taken to the Dunwich Cemetery. Because it had been raining, there was water in the open grave. Pauline says she cried when the coffin was lowered, at the thought of Grandmother being placed in the water. Aunty Zilla (Priscilla) had recounted events of the day of Grandmother's funeral on many occasions. She would look into the distance with her large dark eyes filled with tears, and say 'On the day Mother was

buried, the heavens opened up and wept.' Aunt always referred to her parents as 'Mother' and 'Father': and all of us in the next generation referred to Aunty Zilla as just plain 'Aunt'.)

May and Charlotte:
From the little that I was told by Aunt, May and Charlotte were the two eldest in the family, and neither of them were the children of Grandfather Tom Tripcony. Neither Pauline nor I know dates of birth or death for May or Charlotte. Pauline says she remembers visiting Aunty Lotte with Mum, at Stradbroke, and at Bribie where she later lived. Pauline was only quite small at the time, and because all this took place before I was born, she was obviously less than ten years of age. (Therefore before 1942.) She says Aunty Lotte was a short, stocky, dark woman with frizzy hair, and different in appearance to the other aunts and uncles.

From copies I have of the old Myora/Dunwich School records, Charlotte Tripcony was enrolled at school on 28 September 1886, aged 6 years and 0 months; place of residence Myora; father an Oysterman; denomination RC.

The mystery of the name Tyrrell:
Pauline is of the same opinion as I am about the name Tyrrell, and we think our notion comes from Aunty Zilla's reminiscences. Grandmother was a Rollands (that's how Aunt spelt the name). We think the name Tyrrell may have some connection with the relationship that produced May and/or Charlotte – that it may have been either a formal marriage or a similar, but informal, arrangement.

You know our old people: such things were not openly spoken about when we were kids.

Aunty Priscilla (Zilla) Tripcony:
Priscilla Catherine was born 25 March 1895, at Southport. Like all of the other children she was a Roman Catholic – probably because Grandmother was RC, which in turn was because the Myora Mission was Catholic. Priscilla lived with Grandmother and siblings at Myora for most time. She also spent some time at the area known as "Tripcony Bight" on the shores of Pumicestone Passage, where Grandfather attended to his oyster-beds and caught crabs to sell to the markets in Brisbane. The family moved around with Grandfather when he was fishing, crabbing and oystering in other parts of Moreton Bay. That is why Aunt and her siblings were born in three areas around the Bay –Southport, Pumicestone Passage and Dunwich. It was at Dunwich, however, that they lived at The One Mile and were enrolled in school.

In 1946, my mother (Veronica Thrower, nee Tripcony) died suddenly - from a lethal strain of influenza that arrived in Australia with servicemen returning from World War 2 - leaving myself, older sister and brother. My godmother, Dad's sister (Aunty Millie) had two children still at home and an invalid husband to care for: she and other family members were reluctant to take in three children, so Dad considered placing us in an institution. Aunty Zilla Tripcony, however, said that no more children from our family would 'go into the homes', and took on the job of rearing my sister (Pauline, then 14 years of age), and me (soon to turn 4). She would not take my brother (Edgar, or Ted) who had turned 16 the year Mum died. Ted boarded with a family in Woolloongabba. That year, Pauline left school and started work in a men's clothing factory in the Valley. The arrangement with my father was that he was legal guardian of my sister and me, but Aunt was the carer. At that time, and for the next ten years, Aunt lived in Lisburn Street, East Brisbane.

My father, Edgar Thrower, was a merchant seaman. His work took him away from Brisbane for weeks at a time, so we did not see a

great deal of him. He was one of eleven children, and had been born in Gympie, where his parents had settled after migrating from England. For some years Dad had been the captain of the government supply ship 'Otter' that, until 1946, made regular trips from Brisbane to Dunwich, so he knew the Tripconys and other families on Stradbroke Island. Actually, it was on the day of the 'Otter's' last trip to Dunwich (26 July 1946) that Dad received the unexpected news of Mum's death.

During the time I lived with Aunt she continued to work as a domestic servant. For the first couple of years that I was with her, I used to go to her workplace with her during the school holidays, but had to sit quietly under the high-set large house while she did her chores. It was on these occasions that she gave me books to read – although her own reading skills were not well-developed. Thus my life-long interest in reading began. She also said that the family who employed her "had a good education", and that this was the key to being "a person of importance". There is no doubt that this lesson stayed with me, because many years later, as an adult, I returned to school and went on to complete university degrees, before taking up positions in Aboriginal education.

She often talked about being taken from Grandmother and placed in Nudgee Orphanage at some time, but we don't know when, or for how long. Some of the others were also at Nudgee Orphanage. (Aunt spoke of the nuns at Nudgee as very strict disciplinarians. She often told us, too, about bath time. She said that all the kids used the same bathwater. The white kids had their baths first, and then the black kids. Her comment was, 'Did they think the bloody black would come off and stain them, or something?' We heard that story many times.)

She was trained for domestic service, and sent to work at the Mater Miseracordiae Hospital (she always called it by its full name)

where she was bonded until she was 21. She said the work was hard – often she talked about scrubbing and polishing the floors until 'you could see your face in them' - and that she was required to work long hours. It was a live-in position, and she received some 'spending money' just enough money to buy small essentials and perhaps go to the cinema every now and then. After that I know she worked for several of the privileged families in and around Brisbane. She often talked of working for the McCallums who lived at New Farm. According to Aunt, John McCallum (senior – the father of actor John McCallum) owned Her Majesty's theatre in Queen Street. Old John McCallum would sometimes give Aunt a couple of free tickets to shows, and she would go to the theatre with one of her sisters on one of their nights off.

At some stage Aunt was married – to a fellow called Jack Black who by all reports was a bit of a dandy. Apparently the marriage lasted only about twelve months. Aunt never talked about this. We only heard about it from some of the other aunts and uncles.

Living with Aunt at that time was a man who we called Uncle Harry (Thompson). He was some twenty years Aunt's junior. Aunt had worked for Uncle Harry's family at some earlier time when he was quite young. I do not know what the relationship was between them, but there was gossip in the family and the neighbourhood about them. Uncle Harry continued to live with Aunt until he died – about five years before she did. She died at her home at Sandgate on 31 August 1988, aged 93. They had moved into a new house on the waterfront at Sandgate around 1956. Aunt took great pride in her garden which she always kept neat and tidy. From her kitchen and bedroom windows, Aunt could see Moreton Bay and Moreton Island (Mulgumpin) – this gave her great pleasure.

As an adult, I often visited Aunt at Sandgate during my holidays. Most days, in the late afternoon after the chores of the day

were done, Aunt would talk about various aspects of her life. What I remember most fondly are the stories of her young life on Stradbroke Island. She talked of the old people - the grannies who smoked their pipes, but knocked them out and put them in their skirt pockets if strangers were coming; the sign language that was used if they didn't want people to hear them; the women and children visiting Brown Lake, gathering wild-flowers, and swimming at the One-Mile and at the fresh swimming-hole just before the Myora Spring waters met the sea . She recalled gatherings on the seashore, and men dancing on the sand. Sometimes she would start to move her feet, copying the old dance steps. And most importantly, she taught me what little she knew of the old language.

She told me stories about some places on the Island, about her brothers, sisters and their families, her mother and father; and also that I must not forget who I am.

One thing I should say about Aunt. When she was in her mid to late thirties, she contracted an ailment that affected the skin pigment. Over her entire body, very large patches of her dark brown skin had changed to almost translucent white. She could not go out into the sun without her skin being covered - long sleeves, slacks, large-brimmed hat, etc, and had to use medicated soap for bathing. I haven't mentioned it because I was close to her from a very early age, and didn't really notice that she looked 'different' to most other people. I only realised as I got older and saw other people staring or heard their comments.

Grandfather (Tom Jnr) Tripcony:
From about 1950, nearly every fortnight Aunt, Uncle Harry, Pauline and I would head off in Uncle Harry's Austin A40 to visit Grandfather (Thomas Tripcony) at the old Tripcony property called Cowie Bank on the shores of Pumicestone Passage (just out from

Above right: Pauline Cassels (nee Thrower) and Penny Tripcony, 1996

Below right: Penny Tripcony, son Paul, Robert Maxwell and daughter, Karina, 1996

Above left: Veronica Thrower nee Tripcony, Dunwich, 1919
Above right: Edgar and Pauline Thrower on the "Otter", 1936

Left: Penny Tripcony, Brisbane, 1947

Beerburrum). It seemed such a long journey to me as a child. Now, cars are faster and the roads are wider, and the distance from here to Beerburrum seems much shorter.

On the occasion of our first visit to Grandfather's we approached the property cautiously. We had been told that he didn't welcome strangers – advice reinforced by the sign stating 'Trespassers will be prosecuted" at the gate to the property. From the gate, there were still several miles to travel via a winding track through the bush until reaching the cleared area near the shores of the Passage. Grandfather lived there alone, in what remained of the old homestead – a couple of weatherboard rooms with an iron roof, that leaned precariously against the brick fireplace and chimney. The kitchen was sparsely furnished, and often a large carpet-snake was curled up in the otherwise empty fireplace. There was no electricity and no mains water. There was a rain-water tank near the house, and Grandfather used kerosene lamps for lighting, and cooked either on a primus stove or on the old wood-burning stove.

Close by the house were mango trees and peach trees, from which we often had our fill when the fruit was in season. Also, growing in the bush nearby were wild plums and guavas. A little further away were the old cattle yards and a dam - from the time when the Tripconys had kept cattle – and the old boat sheds and slipways.

Grandfather Tripcony was of stocky build, and by the time I met him his white-grey hair was thinning, and he wore small metal-rimmed spectacles. Because he was often out in his punt attending to oyster-beds and crab-pots, he usually wore a short-sleeved shirt or singlet with trousers rolled up to just below his knees, and rarely any covering on his feet. He would stand to row the punt, always facing the direction he was going.

He told us stories of Aboriginal men and women on Bribie Island, who would sometimes swim across Pumicestone Passage to meet, talk, feast, and (occasionally) fight with mainland Aborigines, and then swim back to Bribie. To my child's mind, this demonstrated both great strength and fearlessness – the current in the channels between the sandbanks was strong, and I had seen sharks and stingrays in those waters.

From time to time Grandfather travelled in to Beerburrum to collect any mail and to stock-up on basic supplies, consisting mainly of bread, flour, sugar, tea, powdered milk, tinned beef or camp-pie, some vegetables, with perhaps some fruit, to supplement his seafood diet. He welcomed the stew or soup (and the occasional apple pie) Aunt used to make for him, together with the bread, eggs, honey, fruit and vegetables she would leave with him as we left to return to Brisbane. He continued to live at Cowie Bank until be became ill in 1957, then he moved to Aunt's at Sandgate, but died peacefully after only a few weeks there.

I left Aunt's care in 1954, stayed with my brother, sister-in-law and baby niece, for a short while in the house they rented in the new Housing Commission estate at Carina, and then lived with my sister in a flat (a half-house) she had rented for us in Albion.

My sister, Pauline, married at around that time, and became the mother of three daughters and a son – each of whom has two children, now. Ted (my brother) was the father of two daughters, worked for several years as a public servant, was later separated and divorced, and died suddenly after being injured at South Brisbane in January 1968, just before his 38th birthday.

Uncle Albert Tripcony:
I don't know a great deal about Uncle Bert; only that he was the eldest son, single, joined the Army on 11 February 1916 at age 23

years and 2 months, and was killed in action on 3 May 1917 at Villers-Bretonneux, France, where he lies in an unmarked grave. A commemorative plaque in the Dunwich Community Hall bears his name.

Aunty Sylvia Dyer:
Aunty Sylvia is another family member I don't know a great deal about. She passed away on 15 July 1945 – one year before my mother. I have a vague recollection of being a small child, holding the hand of an adult, while visiting an aunt who was ill in the Mater Hospital. My sister says that must have been Aunty Sylvia, and I would have been there with Mum. I recall just being able to see over the top of the bed, where a woman was lying on white sheets with a white cover over her – the white bed-linen made her skin and hair appear very dark. I also remember kissing the woman good-bye when we left.

Aunty Anastasia (Stasia), and Uncles Vincent and Paul Tripcony:
It was while I lived at Albion that I made contact with Aunty Stasia (Anastasia, the youngest of my mother's siblings), and her brothers, Uncles Vince and Paul. I went to Stradbroke Island on several occasions and stayed with Aunty Stasia, travelled around to various parts of the Island with Uncle Vince, and read some of Uncle Paul's books.

Like her sisters, Aunty Stasia had worked as a domestic servant, until moving in with her brothers Vincent and Paul, for whom she kept house in their small place at Dunwich. She did, however, continue to do some work as a domestic servant for some of the mining company people at the Island until she retired. After Uncle Paul moved to the mainland (Lota), she and Vincent stayed in the house at Dunwich. Uncle Vince, I don't remember a great deal about, except walking on the Island with him. One day,

as we walked, he said "Look there" and pointed to a particular stone which, on closer inspection, was a stone axe. The lesson, of course, was to always look where I was walking. He took the stone axe home to add to Uncle Paul's collection.

Uncle Vince had served in the first World War as a machine gunner. He joined the Army at the age of 16 years and 10 months (although he registered as being 18 years and 10 months), and in October 1918 was wounded in action, receiving injuries to his lower jaw and thigh.

Aunty Stasia continued to live in the house at Dunwich after Uncle Vince's death (28 Febuary 1975), until she was unable to care for herself. She spent the last few years of her life in a nursing home in Toowong, and passed away – the last of her generation of Tripconys – on 22 March 1991.

I saw Uncle Paul many times during my childhood. During the time that I attended East Brisbane State School, he worked for the Brisbane City Council and drove a steam-roller from the Council depot near the school in Stanley Street. Sometimes, if he was working on the road near the school, I talked to him at the fence during his tea-breaks. I was so proud that I had an uncle that drove a steam-roller!

Bob has most likely talked of Uncle Paul, who was a very interesting man. He gave us books for birthdays. Throughout much of his life, he recorded much about the families, the traditional language, and lifestyles of Aboriginal people of Stradbroke Island and Moreton Bay. He had also been the Secretary of the Liquour Trades Union at one time. He was a non-smoker and non-drinker, but spent a considerable amount of his earnings on collecting books on Australiana. He also collected political pamphlets, as well as Aboriginal artefacts that were found in and around Moreton Bay.

These collections he kept in his small house of Lota, where he resided for the last decade or so of his life. He died on 12 August 1975, leaving his collections to the University of Queensland, where his books and pamphlets are stored in the Fryer Library, and artefacts are in the Anthropology Museum.

Aunty Lydia Anderson:
During the years I was with Aunt, Bob's mother, sister and niece (Aunty Lydia, Cecily and Judy Anderson) moved from the cottage they had occupied for a number of years at Kennedy Terrace, East Brisbane, to a flat (part of an old large high house) at the other end of Lisburn Street, East Brisbane. I sometimes had to go to Aunty Lydia's with messages for Aunt. Living so close also meant that I saw Aunty Lydia fairly often.

Aunty Lydia was a large, dark-skinned woman. I recall, as a young child, hugging her. It was a good feeling - warm and comforting. Sometimes, if I had a cold or one of the illnesses of childhood, I stayed home from school. If Aunt had to be at work on those occasions, Aunty Lydia would visit me during the day, just to make sure that I was alright. If I'd eaten the lunch Aunt had left for me, Aunty Lydia used to laugh and say, "You're not too sick if you can eat!"

Another thing about Aunty Lydia: although a large woman at that time, she was very light on her feet. When she visited, we rarely heard her footsteps on the concrete path at the side of the house or on the stairs. She just arrived at the door.

I don't recall having a great deal of contact with Aunty Lydia's other children – for example, I have no recollection of her eldest daughter, Mary - with only a few exceptions. There are two highly probable reasons for this. First, my cousins were young adults, and Aunt had a strict rule that children should not be present when adults were talking (on such occasions I was usually relegated to the back yard).

Second, my cousins were Catholics and my father, a staunch Protestant and a member of the Masonic Lodge, was fiercely against either my sister or myself having too much contact with any Catholics. Thus, as first-cousins, we attended different schools (the Andersons at Catholic schools, and our family at East Brisbane State School), and we were not permitted to interact as much as we would have liked. (The suspicion with which Protestants and Catholics regarded one another was common at the time.)

For a short while after Aunty Lydia moved into her flat, Tom (one of Bob's older brothers) lived at Aunt's in a space set up for him under the house. Tom worked at a soft-drink bottling company in the Valley, and was able to bring home crates of soft-drink for very little cost. I thought this was wonderful! However, Tom and Aunt had 'a falling-out', so he moved to other accommodation.

Another of Bob's older brothers, Reg, worked at T.C. Beirne's store in the Valley. I recall Aunt talking with him at the store one day; and on another occasion, we visited Reg and his wife, Stella, at their flat in New Farm. Some time later, they moved to Mount Isa. Aunt always had very high regard for Reg and Stella.

There was another of Bob's brothers that I saw only once - Charles. He had been adopted at birth, lived in Sydney, and had somehow managed to find out about his family. He visited Aunt at the same time as he had come to Brisbane to see his mother, brothers and sisters. I remember him standing in Aunt's lounge room – a young, dark, handsome man in Army uniform. Shortly after his visit, he was posted to military duty in Malaya, and was killed in action.

However, the cousin I remember seeing most is Bob. Because he was a carpenter, Aunt asked him to build the garage at the back of her house in Lisburn Street. Sometimes, from a distance, I watched him sawing and hammering, and was nervous on his behalf

when he was working on the roof of the building. Also, with Aunt, I attended Bob's wedding at St Benedict's Catholic church in East Brisbane. I remember that Bob and his wife, Isabella, visited Aunt at Lisburn Street from time to time; and some months later I went with Aunt to visit Bob and Isabella where they lived right at the end of Kangaroo Point, under the bridge, and I saw their new baby daughter who was asleep in a cot.

I know that Bob and my brother, Ted, saw something of each other when they were teenagers – there was only six months difference between their ages - but I believe that was before Mum died. Bob tells how both of them marched down Queen Street beating kerosene tins with sticks when it was announced that the second World War had ended.

Retrospective thoughts:
These descriptions of my mother's family and related events are the simplistic recollections of a child. They have not been easy to write – the memories have opened a range of emotions that, in our day to day lives, we tend to push aside. However, now, with the knowledge and experience that comes with growing older, socialising, studying, raising a family and working, I believe I can read much more into the history, stories and lifestyles of the Tripcony family, and in the lessons I was taught as a child.

I had been curious about Aunt and her sisters being placed in Nudgee Orphanage, but I now know that in 1897 the Queensland government legislated that "the children of an Aboriginal mother…" were to be removed. I believe that Aunt's insistence that I dress neatly, go to church every Sunday, attend school regularly, and so on, may have been because she feared that I, too, might be removed to an institution. Her strictness and the punishments she meted out to me were no doubt a reflection of her own experiences at Nudgee.

Despite these things, however, Aunt reared me well. Both she and Uncle Paul Tripcony ensured that I had access to books, and took a genuine interest in my reading (although her own reading skills were not very well developed). They taught me to think,to observe, and to inquire. Most importantly, Aunt passed on to me some of the old knowledge so that I would know something of my heritage, of the culture that I was part, who I am, where I belong.

All of the latter, of course, was not to be spoken about publicly. Wider community attitudes towards Goories were overtly negative. Aunt was often left standing in crowded trams and buses while young white Australians were seated; and she often asked Uncle Harry (who was white) to go into certain shops for her. We also had some particularly vocal neighbours who often said things to Aunt, and one night when they had been drinking, threw empty beer bottles at the house, at the same time shouting about the 'black bitch' next door. I recall, too, that at school my cultural background must have been known, because when I achieved well, some teachers remarked that this was because I had a white father. Alternatively, on occasions when I was inattentive in class (usually talking to other students, or 'answering back' to teachers) it was often said to be because of 'the black in me'.

I usually followed the advice of my aunties about not telling anyone about my Aboriginality, but on one occasion, as a teenager, I confided in a boy (whom I thought was rather nice - and, who appeared to be interested in me). His attitude towards me changed immediately. I was deeply hurt, but it was a lesson learnt – I found out the hard way that it was not wise to talk to anyone outside of the family about Aboriginal matters. Public attitudes today are better than in those times. Many people, both Aboriginal and white Australians, have fought for change for more than half of the twentieth century, and with the reconciliation movement, the wave of change is spreading. Today, racism has not disappeared,

however. It continues to exist in sections of the wider community, but it has taken a different form. It is more subtle, more covert, than it was.

Aunt's belief that education was the key to greater things, she instilled in me. I never forgot this lesson: although I left school at year 10, I returned when I was 29 to complete my schooling and went on to complete a degree and a teaching qualification at University. My work since then has been in Aboriginal affairs generally, but focussing on education, at local, state and national levels…especially education for Aboriginal people and about Aboriginal cultures, lifestyles and issues. By this means I hope I am able to pass on the wealth of knowledge that has been given to me by the Tripconys, Ngugi people of Mulgumpin (Moreton Island) and Minjerribah (Stradbroke Island).

3. ROBERT ANDERSON, GHEEBELUM, NGUGI, MULGUMPIN

1929 - 1939 - Life in Childhood:
I remember beginning school at St. Benedicts Convent School, East Brisbane (now demolished), but soon after moving to Dunwich State School on the island. I was about six then. My brother Tom and I lived there with Granny Tripcony. Granny used to trap bandicoot outside the house and along with the fish, oysters and sand crabs, we enjoyed a delectable menu. I remember living next door to the Delaneys and being in the presence of the Grannies who would sit at a big common table to eat. This island environment felt so different to being in the suburb where we lived in Brisbane, to which we too soon returned.

We returned to St. Benedicts. Then I went to St. James on Boundary Street Fortitude Valley, where the lay teachers liked teaching. As Christian brothers they were more filling their obligation to their faith. We got the strap when homework wasn't done. Later I returned to St. Benedicts and at the age of 13, in 6th grade, finished school, not completing scholarship. I could read and write well.

I remember spending time employing myself by building a hand cart from a packing case using wheels and axle given to me by a family of boys who lived around the corner. I used the cart to collect wood shavings from the cabinet and furniture makers, Shearer & Brown on Logan Road and would trade it for horse manure at Lester Bros. stables East Brisbane. They scattered the wood shavings around the stables. Then I would sell the manure to gardeners for pocket money. I also used the cart to carry blocks of ice from Bottomly Bros. on Logan Road Woolloongabba for my and other families' ice chests, and from opposite the ice works, blocks of wood for the wood stoves. I also collected bottles to sell to the bottle yards F. Dodd and Sons, on Wellington Road.

Above: Granny Mary Rose Tripcony's home, One Mile, Minjerribah

Left: Mary (top left), Cecily (kneeling left) and Robert Anderson (kneeling right) with neighbours, Kennedy Tce, East Brisbane, war years, 1939 - 1945

Before heading off to school in the morning I would chop the wood for the fire, split the kindling wood and wash the dishes, then collect the raw fish from Stanley Street Fresh Food and Ice, and after, peel potatoes for Nellie McGarrie at the fish and chip shop on the corner of Wellington and Stanley Streets East Brisbane. After school I sold newspapers at the tram stop on Clarence Corner.

I spent time at home during the school holidays entertaining myself with a dictionary given by Aunty Charlotte when she was a domestic for the writer Tom Welsby. Being the only book, it helped me to read and spell and as well I practiced with the newspapers. I played cricket on the street with other kids, using kerosene tins for the wicket. The kids used to taunt us with "nigger nigger pull the trigger bang bang bang" or "Catholic dogs jump on frogs" when we were fighting. At other times we'd pick paspalin grass, tying the long leaves into knots and making it into lace work to hang from the clothes lines and the fences like lattice work.

There was a Miss Ullman, who was grim and foreboding, from the State Children's Department, who came in the school holidays to Overend Street to inspect our home (beds and bodies) for cleanliness. There was also a Police Sergeant living across the road who no doubt took note of any boisterous activity that could be reported. Many cricket balls were lost to that yard.

Electricity was not connected to the house initially so we used kerosene lamps. Some areas were sewered, but at night we would hear the dunny cans jostling on horse drawn carts, the steel rims on the cart wheels hitting against the tramlines, as they moved along Stanley Street out to Coorparoo. One toppled over one night creating great entertainment for the kids in the neighbourhood, as the fire brigade was called in to clean up.

Mum worked to keep us. She would be gone to do a morning shift when we woke up, and would be getting on the bus or tram for an afternoon shift as we came home from school. On weekends we'd see her, busy washing and ironing. I collected and returned the big ports of laundry that mum washed for the State Government offices in the city, which she also cleaned. I'd look after the boiler fire as they washed and took the water in buckets from the tubs to the drain. I recall once, running out the front door, just ahead of a bar of Ross's barilla soap, after giving Mum cheek while she was washing. The door caught the soap where it stuck firmly.

In the school holidays I'd have to stay in the yard while Mum was away at work. When I could, I'd sneak out and go to the salt water tidal baths at Mowbray Park for a swim. If we didn't have the penny to pay we swam in the river beside the baths, going half way out into the channel with the ships, rousing the concern of the seamen and giving them cheek. Mum gave us money for ice-cream if she had any spare pennies.

I remember our family home was plain and simple, greenish, dark coloured walls, with little glow off the lamp; a kitchen sideboard, wood stove, pictures of the family on the walls - the Anderson sisters Isabella and Joanna with their violin and piano. There was always a dilly bag hanging from a nail on the back and front doors and we kept chooks in the back yard. We mainly ate stews and chops, usually cooked by my sister Mary. My brother Tom and I slept in the back room where Dad used to be before he got sick. Mum and Cecily slept in the bedroom, Mary the lounge/dining room and Reg had the front verandah with the lattice blinds.

Around 1935 my sister Mary was sent to an orphanage in Ipswich. I remember her telling me about being tipped upside down and her head submerged in a bucket of water, as a form of punishment dished out there.

On Saturdays my brothers, Reg who was 10 to 12 years older than me and Tom who was 3 to 4 years older, listened to the races. They enjoyed a big interest in trainers, jockeys and race horses, and so Sundays were taken up discussing the race reports in the papers. Reg, in the absence of my father Cecil, took it upon himself to discipline us children, keeping us constantly busy with chores and dishing out harsh punishment as he considered necessary.

There were social poker games at Overend Street on Sunday nights. Mum would bake scones. This continued when we moved to Kennedy Terrace. The home in Overend Street was owned by Worshings and sold to Jorgensen the electrical contractor. It was demolished in 1939 when I was 10 years old. Then we moved half a mile away to Kennedy Terrace in East Brisbane

Looking back on that period of my life I feel most of my time was spent contributing to the life of my family.

The war years:
When war was declared on the 3/9/1939, there was a special edition of the "Telegraph" printed. The newspaper vendors came through the streets on foot, with their papers in push carts, crying out "war declared!". I was sleeping soundly at the time, and learned about it the next morning from my mother and Mary. At the picture show the news reels showed the development of what was happening in Europe and the manoeuvres of the British Expeditionary Force (B.E.F.).

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour on 7/12/41, the Americans were forced into the war. The Australian Infantry Divisions were sitting in the Middle East and Syria fighting the German Army and John Curtin argued that they should be withdrawn, as only the Australian Militia Forces were left in Australia to combat the Japanese Army when it invaded Malaysia

in 1942. Without sufficient troops to defend the country, people began to talk about evacuating the north and falling back to a line defence in Brisbane. The American General Douglas MacArthur was the Supreme Commander of the allied forces in the South Pacific.

This was a time that was quiet frightening to a 10 year old boy. Brisbane became a garrison city with air raid shelters constructed on Elizabeth and Ann Streets. Huge salt water mains from the Brisbane River ran through the main street to fight potential fires. Government buildings were sandbagged around the windows and entrances.

The Australian troops took over the Gabba Cricket Ground. Before breakfast the troops would go for a march down Kennedy Tce. where we lived and Mum would call out "Good on ya troops" or, good on ya Aussies or diggers. They'd answer "Good on ya Mum."

When the Americans arrived they commandeered any buildings they wanted including Somerville House at South Brisbane, the Hibernian Building Woolloongabba and Perry House in the city. MacArthur Chambers, is where his office was. Like Aboriginal people, black Americans were located on the south side of the city, with the same Brisbane City Council curfew by-law existing for Aborigines, applied to the Afro-Americans. The Carver Club, a rooming house opposite South Brisbane railway station, was where the Afro-Americans were housed when on recreation leave.

In 1945 when the Japanese surrendered, I was working on a house close to Clapham Junction railway yards. The sounds of many trains tooting, marking the end of the war, remains in my mind.

1940 - 1949 - The Life of a Young Man:
After 6th grade, when I was 13, I'd had enough of school and looked for work. I spent 2 weeks trying out work in a bakery and 2 weeks in a fruit shop. I then worked for 2 years at B.A.F.S. Chemist - 12 months at the store on the corner of Stanley and Hubert Street, Woolloongabba, sweeping, cleaning, taking messages, packing shelves and crushing ammonia and 12 months as a junior storeman at their central store, corner George and Talbot Street, in the city. I clearly remember the cleaner there, a unionist, Bob Burns from New Zealand, treating me well and teaching me useful things.

World War II finished in 1945 and my brother Reg returned home having been wounded in Nu Guinea. I made up my mind after I turned 15 that I would get an apprenticeship. Billy Sharp, a friend who also worked in the Chemist as a junior storeman, wanted to be a stone mason. I went to Barnes Bros., whose registered office was at Annerley, as an apprentice carpenter and joiner where I stayed for five years. I met Billy years later when he was on a stone masons' committee and still meet him at Union veteran functions.

The two Barnes Bros were from Tambo. They were a Catholic family of skilled workers. Through work I can say I learned discipline, a skill which allowed me equally shared responsibility and created a bond between myself and my employers. I became their only apprentice to complete my time. When my skills were evident in the finished product, I achieved the satisfaction of a job done efficiently and well. This was the standard I also sought later, for other workers when I was a union organiser. I enjoyed the routine of going to work each day and coming home in the evening. My sister Cecily would prepare the tea and then I would early to bed.

My apprenticeship job gave me Saturday mornings off which I would spend with Uncle Paul Tripcony, taking a ferry into Brisbane

to visit second hand bookshops with him. Uncle Paul also had knowledge, from the Grannies, of the galaxies and stars and the spirit Biami. He was interested in socialism and communism. He also had a great interest in Australian literature and writers who, in Republican style, sought to express Australia's independence from European imperialism and colonialism. Uncle Paul had a great influence over me and helped set within me a certain pattern of thought.

Boxing:
Boxing was always a popular sport and I took up training in the gymnasium in Stanley Street with Percy Jamieson, a trainer, who took boxing teams to Kilcoy, Redcliffe and Gympie. Amateur boxing tournaments took place at Deshon Street, Stones Corner. I was engaged in trial bouts at the Brisbane stadium on a Friday night which paid a few shillings and subsidised my low apprentice wages. It's a long hard game and it's brutal and when I say that I'm mindful of how much money Stadiums Limited made by matching black fellas against black fellas. One of the nights I had a fight down at the Brisbane Stadium, Dave Landers, who was Feather Weight Champion, was matched with Georgy Kapeen from New South Wales and there was a sadness because you could see black fellas didn't want to fight or hurt each other but somebody has to win see.

Dancing:
I also developed a great interest in dance tempo music, particularly that of Victor Sylvester, and took up dancing lessons at Wally Cheyne Dance Studio, at Wooloongabba, where later I also taught. I was awarded many medals for my dancing abilities.

Above: Employer Frank Barnes and Apprentice Robert Anderson 1948

Right: Robert Anderson, Kennedy Tce. East Brisbane 1946

Left: Charlie Anderson in uniform
Below: Isabella and Robert Anderson 1948

1950 - 1987 - an Active Life:
I generally use 1950 as a marker because I was married in 1950 and my various involvements were during my married life.

In 1952-53 I decided to take up judo as a hobby and as protection for my family. Like boxing, which was part of the growing up process, it served to develop a bit of confidence in yourself to deal with all sorts of situations; not being aggressive, but being able to defend yourself and your family from some of the racist comments and jibs that are visited on you and family.

Marriage, births and death:
I met Isabella Miller, in 1948, at the Cheyne Dancing Academy. We would travel on the tram together and I'd then walk her to her door. We married in St. Benedicts Church (it is still standing) on the 4th November 1950. Our wedding photos show Mum and her sister, Aunty Pricilla, looking very elegant. Mum and my sisters liked Isabella.

Mary and Alexander Miller were Scottish migrants who joined other Scottish and Welsh people (Burns and Caledonian Society) at the coalfields at Collinsville in Queensland. Isabella's mother, Mary (a member of the Communist Party), had some reservations about my colour; and Isabella's father, Alexander, was not impressed by my Catholic background. Isabella had no problems with my Aboriginality and in the process of growing up our children got to know Minjerribah and Mulgumpin when we visited.

My first child, Karen, was born on the 27th August 1951. This was a difficult birth and I remember how entering fatherhood was very special. We moved to Gavin Street Dorington then, to live with Isabella's sister Constance for about 12 months. My son Paul was born on the 20th August 1953 and we then moved to Barron St., Thompson Estate, near Stone's Corner, and later to, Tennerife.

We later moved to Monkton Street, Tarragindi, borrowing money from the Housing Commission to buy this home which my employer had a contract to build. Mum would visit us there with Tom and Cecily and we would all go out to Rochdale to my sister Mary and her family who were share cropping.

While living at Tarragindi, I received bad news. I was at the news stand on the corner of Queen and Edward Streets when I read a report about an Australian soldier killed in action in Malaysia. The soldier was my brother Charlie.

New Theatre:
I was in the process of learning a little about Australian folk music, and seeing some Australian poets work set to music was of interest to me. So I went along to see a play one Saturday afternoon at All Saints Hall. All Saints is gone now but it was on the corner of Ann and Wharf and Wickham Tce, in that area there. The name of the production was "Reedy River" which I found out was the story of the shearers' dispute in 1891. That also aroused my interest, being workers and trade unions, and I was enthralled with the production. It was marvellous.

So that developed my interest in New Theatre and the type of production that it was producing. New Theatre was an amateur theatre group, progressive thinkers was the term that some would use. They were interested in producing Australian plays, plays about particular happenings that were of interest to the working class movement. To my surprise it was pointed out to me that one of the performers in "Reedy River" was Jim Peterson who was an organiser of the Building Workers Industrial Union. That opened up my thinking on what trade unionists were about, not confined wholly and solely to industrial matters on the job, they were human beings like everybody else.

The parallel thoughts for expression and warmth for a lot of what was developing into the Australian culture was clearly expressed in a lot of productions that "New Theatre" did. "Rocket Range" was one done by Jim Crawford in 1955. I think he was an Englishman. Jim was high-lighting what was happening when the British started their atom bomb testing on rocket ranges out in Marralinga in the South Australia area. It was based on that and the dispossession and moving on of Aboriginal people off their traditional lands by the intrusions of all those military people. It was a very good story too. "Rocket Range" came up for mention in one of the competitions for theatre productions because it was very unusual, not a comedy farce and unique in its content. I was very pleased that I was able to perform with the very good people that were involved in it too. I was also involved in a light hearted play about river boats on the Murray and people travelling there and another dealing with the atom bomb tests in the South Pacific but my mind's starting to fade a little now.

Part of the Union:
After I finished my apprenticeship there was not enough work to keep me on at Barnes Bros. so I then took a job as a leading hand with builder, R.G. Bobbermien in the construction of housing commission homes at Camp Hill, Carina, Murraree and Inala. I also helped train the boss's son who suffered from vertigo.

Also in 1951 I joined the Building Workers Union (now Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union, C.F.M.E.U.) which didn't just confine itself to industrial matters but took up social issues on behalf of its members. When a wage increase campaign dispute arose, I left R.G. Bobbermien.

During this time Isabella and I rented a flat owned by Aunty Nita Anderson in Anderson Street, Kangaroo Point. Aunty Nita Anderson

was very good to my family. She also gave me documents with information about my Grandfather. When my Aunty passed away she ensured her estate was shared equally among all her nieces and nephews.

In later years, Isabella took a position as a clerical worker and then bookkeeper for the Communist Party on St. Paul's Terrace, Fortitude Valley as well as being involved in the Union's Women's Group. I then took a job at the Rocklea Markets with C.P. Hornick where I was elected Union Delegate. There was a health hazard and dreadful working conditions caused by the pans in the worker's toilets not being emptied regularly enough, leading me to advise the workers to use the employer's toilets instead, which soon changed the situation.

In 1963 I was elected job Union Organiser and the big issues then were long service leave, health and safety regulations (eg hard hats were only introduced in Queensland in 1957). My duties were to visit the job sites and ensure that award wages and conditions applied; that is, proper tool lock up and amenities provided (toilets, washing facilities, hot water, lunch rooms and first aid).

At Collinsville during the Power House dispute in 1967 I liaised with police and public officials on behalf of the strikers, taking my place on the picket line and monitoring the behaviour of the police and scab labour, as they were often bully boys for the management. The Collinsville people had helped vote the first and only Communist, Fred Patterson the member for Bowen, into Queensland parliament, so they were not going to give in and they won their fight (Queensland Colleries Employees' Union). A redistribution of the electoral boundaries was later used to depose Fred Patterson.

I attended at Bouganville, when C.S.R. first went in to mine copper, negotiating wages for Union members. Conditions for the local

Above: Robert, Isabella and Reg Anderson, Minjerribah, 1977

Below: Reg and Tom Anderson with nephew Paul Anderson

people were negotiated directly with them as unskilled labour and a special rate struck. Unions could exercise no jurisdiction over their conditions in Papua New Guinea as they'd struck the agreement with an Australian Union.

At home Goories were also exempt from Union membership where they were under the Act, controlled by the Department. Unions would raise the issues periodically to protest the inequality in Goories being excluded from the provisions of any award. Government legislation had to be changed and the Trade Union Movement supported any action taken by Aboriginal people, for example the Gurindji strike.

For a number of years, on the half year, members were asked for a voluntary contribution of two shillings and six pence to assist the Aboriginal rights struggle and it was well subscribed by the membership. I believe this indicated that members endorsed the Aboriginal Movement. These funds were set aside for Aboriginal organisations seeking financial support.

During the 1960s I was the official South East Queensland delegate from the B.W.I.U. on the Qld. Council for Advancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The Queensland Council was affiliated to the Federal Council (F.C.A.A.T.S.I.) which met annually in Canberra to consider policies and campaigns. One of the campaigns conducted was a street survey on Citizenship for Aboriginals prior to the Referendum in 1967 (at which I noted the presence of Special Branch surveillance). The 1967 Referendum changed the Australian Constitution to officially include Aboriginal people in the census and gave the Commonwealth Government the power to legislate for the betterment of all people including Aboriginal people. I stopped attending at the Federal Council annual meetings as the B.W.I.U. delegate, because my Union no longer wanted to meet the cost.

In 1971 the tour of the South African Springboks (rugby union team) triggered a lot of Union activity in the protest against apartheid. Union organisers targeted for strike action Ballymore Park, where the game was to be played. A State of Emergency was declared by the Bjelke Petersen Government and the game moved to the R.N.A. Exhibition Grounds. Maintenance workers there went on strike and the police cadets were called in to put up wire around the oval. 500 riot battens 27" long and 1.3/8" thick were being produced at Alice Street, Public Works Dept. workshop, and the publicity given to this action led to the Government withdrawing the order.

Also during this time, (there was a Liberal Federal Government) the Qld. Peace Committee organised through the Trade Union Movement for a delegation of North Vietnamese people to visit Australia to tell people what was happening in their country. I was minder and driver to this delegation which attracted organised opposition. People attempted to rush the vehicle but members of the peace movement protecting the delegation, stopped them. During the Whitlam led Labor Government, I was minder to the second North Vietnamese delegation, organised by the B.W.I.U. to visit various organisations and social gatherings. I was also driver for a special Women's Delegation visiting from North Vietnam and later to another delegation from North Korea.

Union organising was lonely work, spending a lot of time away from home, visiting sites and talking to men about their conditions. Union membership had begun to fluctuate due to the prosperity the industry had been experiencing. Disinterest in some unions was also caused by the organisers seeking members only for financial purposes and not providing proper services. When the building industry went into a serious decline in the late 1970s, the Union reduced staff and in 1978 myself and another Organiser had to go.

Above: Robert Anderson (left corner) at the picket during the Collinsville Power House Industrial dispute 1967

Above: Kevin Loughlin, Artie Stevens, Robert Anderson, Tom Chard, Coyne Ferguson and Jim Petersen, State Union Organisers, State Delegates Convention 1968

In 1979 I joined the Federated Ship Painters' and Dockers' Union, working on ship repairs for five years. I went off work on compo after twisting my back. I was later put on sickness benefit, then declared incapacitated and went on an invalid pension.

Throughout my union involvement I supported, and benefited from, the principle that those employed in a particular industry join together for the mutual benefit that flows from an organised work force and good conditions. Award wages were determined through elected officers of our unions, representing our cases to employer organisations and the Industrial Commission. All of this brought about a sense of belonging. Multi-story buildings and housing are living monuments to the workers who constructed them and the training of our young people through apprenticeships allows us to retain high standards and give them a discipline.

1985 - 1990 Transitions:
After enjoying many years of good relationship and after our children, Karen and Paul, had grown up and left home, Isabella and I parted, maintaining good communication. I moved into a flat in New Farm.

Travel:
My interest in my father's family origins set me on a course of tracking back. I wanted to pay respects to the family of his Grandmother, Elizabeth Kerr from Ireland, and to the family of Thomas Tripcony in Cornwall. I left New Farm to move in with my sister Cecily at Coorparoo until I flew to London in March 1987, where I stayed with a friend. A trip to Clones County Monaghan, Ireland, did not reveal any more about by father's mother, Elizabeth Kerr, as there seemed to be no remaining relatives. I also visited Cornwall but was unable to get lodgings in Churchtown due to a Festival.

A Community Elder:

After this I came home. I applied for a housing commission flat, where I now live, at Greenslopes. I was now beginning the latter years of my life with the experience and knowledge to make my contribution to the community as an Elder.

Extract from *No Application Forms* Robert Anderson's article, published in Queensland Community Arts Network, *Network News, Edition 2, 1998, Leaders and Elders*.

> Elders represent a wide area of responsibility today. These areas may include health, welfare, education, political and social areas such as rehabilitation. In the old days this was just the same, each group had responsibility for these issues in the community. Today Elders have experience in all these areas, through their life experience in their day to day jobs, as well as being members of councils, committees and organisations.
>
> Elders, from their own personal experience, make that contribution to the Elders group. The accumulative knowledge of the Elders becomes the foundation, the consolidation and the continuation of passing on of the knowledge. Elders set the protocols and behavioural patterns to be observed. The observance of protocols and correct behaviours either in the traditional or contemporary domain is paramount.
>
> Prior to the development of structured organisations, such as incorporated bodies, our elders had the responsibility of maintaining the balance of the community attending to the cultural and spiritual matters. They were the custodians of the lore and law.
>
> My personal experience is that one should wait until invited to become an Elder before putting oneself forward as such. I was invited to join the Brisbane Council of Elders and my own Quandamooka Elders Council after I had proven myself as a worthy person within the community.

Above left: Grandchildren back- Nardu, Meering, Thor and front Keegan, Katie and Toby with wife Jessica

Below left: Robert Anderson with Grandchildren Keegan, Toby, Meering, Thor, Katie and Nardu 1987

Right: Robert Anderson with son Paul and his wife Ann and their children Meering, Nardu and Thor on Hiroshima Day 1991

Right below: Daughter Karen Anderson with children Toby, baby Keegan and Katie

Below: Sea of Hands, Reconciliation event, Botanical Gardens

CHAPTER 3 TIMES

PART I INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

> Even the camp dwellers slowly entered the societies around them; the more fortunate went to universities, founded business, became professionals. But the fact of loss - even the commonly suppressed fact of loss - created an authentic community set apart from the host society.
> Edward Said

1. A PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

My first consciousness of the position of Indigenous people in Australian society, was the limitations of work available on the island, and the limited scope for any progression or elevation. What I'm talking about is, from the time that the Benevolent Institution was structured over there with the old people's home, the local Aboriginal community were the work force to maintain what had to be done, the basics on the island. That was the operating of the dairy and the piggery, and the unloading of cargoes from the government steamship that came down twice a week. So there were no progressive things there. There was a gang, one of the old Uncles there, the senior man of the Ruska family, he was the foreman, and that was the way things went along.

The other sector of employment, was the cutting of cord wood in behind the hills. That provided the fuel for the boilers that generated power on the island to light up the institution at Dunwich, all the wards and the infrastructure in there. So that was the workforce and there was no other industries there. There was no such thing

as any form of training for any other work. Being dray men on horse drawn drays, that was it.

The Myora Mission work force:
I think the institution would have been established there because of the mission, which provided an available cheap workforce to do all those menial tasks. The institution had its own workforce, that is the tradesmen from the Public Works Department as it was at that time. They would be the painters, plumbers and electricians and all those tradesmen that were critical to the maintenance of the whole of the structure there. There were never any provisions made for local people to enter into any training, or to have any sort of semi-classifications in anything at all.

People picked up skills by being around skilled people. The evidence there, of course, is that the community people built their own houses out at the One Mile with timber and galvanised iron and other materials there. They were well structured houses that withstood many generations. Some of the houses are still in existence, which is testament to their ability to put up structures that would last the distance. So they were pretty apt in picking up those basis skills.

Also, Uncle Dick Perry, (he would have been probably the first fellow over there to get a motor car) and his sons were able to service their motor cars as well as their fishing vehicles. It wasn't a problem to them at all and that has been the way. They've been able to pick up all those skills without any profession or training through any forms of apprenticeships at all.

Later, when the situation changed they were mostly the labour force or semi-skilled force for the institution, doing all those things. They were also conscious of what the value of their labour was and on many occasions they made representations to the department

to get an increase in their wages which was consistent with the other white workers that were employed by the government at the institution.

Dugong hunting, fishing and oyster picking:
The local Goories would have been involved in the dugong industry as far as catching them is concerned. There's a headstone over there for a fellow I think by the name of Frederick Stiller, who developed the dugong fishing industry; but that's a nonsense because people had been catching dugong since there's been dugong over there. It was just a matter of sharing. Without a doubt his labour force would have been local labour but I don't know that there's much in the records about who he would have employed.

In fact my mother's uncle was known as the dugong king over there. Sam Rollands, netted dugong and processed them, and I think a lot of the residue dugong oil the community was not using, he marketed to places like Taylor and Elliots who were the leading druggists in Brisbane at the time. So they were well aware of the marketing of those products.

Introducing a cash economy and industrialisation:
So the trade and commerce was already there, when we were introduced into the cash economy so to speak. Prior to that it was a subsistence economy where all the natural food resources were caught and shared amongst the people. So Quandamooka people were quick to adapt in what was needed and they were quick to adapt themselves in the skills that were needed to sustain their new industry. We were employed in the development of the oyster industry over there too.

I think in those days, around that period, the shift happened from sail over to motor vessels and again the local fisherman, and two particular families I'll mention, Campbells and Crouches, had their

own motor boats. They could service their own motor boats, their engines. They were apt in doing that, not a problem at all. They didn't have to take them anywhere to get them serviced.

The fish they'd catch in abundance when the mullet season was on, well they took them over to the markets at Wynnum. Money earned by the fishing industry didn't seem to upset or unbalance the community . It seemed that there was a fairly good balance but that was largely because the institution was there and men who weren't involved in the fishing industry as such, were getting a sort of a wage.

The other thing, with the other natural resource we spoke about, the oysters, well oysters were in abundance before occupation but when the occupiers came the area was cut up into oyster leases and women in particular were employed as oyster pickers over there. I'm not too sure what sort of a wage they'd be receiving but it wouldn't be much. What that did was shift the economy into a cash economy, rather than the traditional foods as sustenance. And the reality was that the Moreton Bay Oyster Company was reaping the cash benefits from the natural resource of food over there and the local Quandamooka people were getting next to nothing or nothing at all. I remember, from some of the talks with my Uncle, Paul Tripcony, that Moreton Bay Oysters finished up in the gold fields in Victoria during the gold rush, down there at Ballarat and Bendigo. Sent them down in fast clipper ships from the area, so again there, no benefit accrued to our people, from those who came in the big ships.

I might make mention that the Borey family were involved in oystering and Irene Borey, to me, is an authority on oysters and is a very good woman to talk about oysters and oyster culture and so on.

The Levinge family (blood relatives of mine) were working for the Moreton Bay Oyster Company, which was the white company that controlled all the oysters. They were living out at Big Hill, Capemba, in a house out there and worked the leases. What time the leases were surrendered or turned over I'm not sure, but when the Moreton Bay Oyster Company went defunct or surrendered their leases, well then the Levinge family were able to pick up those leases and work them.

The Levinge family were down at Currigee on South Minjerribah and they operated all the leases down there and also some of the family moved up to Boonaroo near Maryborough and they were operating most of the oyster leases in the Tin Can Bay area. I think there was some disease that went through the oysters and wiped most of them out, but I would say that there were at least three generations of the Levinge family that were involved in oyster cultivation and growing and pegging and marketing. I'm not quite sure, but I think there is still some of the family living at Boonaroo that do some fishing or oystering.

There was another attempt by another fellow, to set up a fish canning industry. Whether it got up or not I'm not quite sure but there's evidence of part of the fish canning processes, big cast iron boiling vats and I think some of the other equipment that was used for creating steam. It is still laying around North Hills, I think it's called, just out past the Two Mile, above where the Perry family have their houses. It's still laying about there I think, but I just don't know to what extent it was developed or how successful it was, but again the labour force would have been local labour on a mission rate or a low wage situation.

Under the Act:
Any property that belonged to Aboriginal people was covered by the provisions of the Act. The records indicate that the Chief Protector

of Aborigines had the island covered and although it never had the rigidity that caused the unsavoury things that happened in places like Cherbourg, or Palm Island, or Yarrabah, or Woorabinda, the Protector had the right to determine who went where and how and when. There was always that shadow of the Protector hanging over the community.

It has been a bit of a puzzle to me to see just how it was that people got access to capital. Whether it was the liberal attitude of bank managers that may have advanced moneys to the Campbell's or Crouches, I'm not quite sure. Those families would be able to tell what was the development of their economic base.

Integration:
One of the most graphic examples of integration is a photo of the Campbell family with three or four Campbell men with long flowing beards and their wives sitting in front of them, which tells the story just by looking at it. They came and settled over there and that integration was with the local women.

The same as with my own family, the Tripcony family, who migrated. The husband came from Cornwall and the wife from Scotland. They settled along Cowie Bank in the Pumicestone Passage. One of their sons, Tommy Tripcony was probably sailing down past the Myora Mission one day and saw a woman along the beach there, or along the foreshore probably picking oysters, and he waved and she waved back and they're my grandmother and grandfather. So that's how it happens, the integration.

Effects of integration and a cash economy:
What it does is create an imbalance as far as quality of life is concerned. If people are without the business acumen to move into business and accumulate money, or are quite happy to be a labour force when they are called upon, well then, there is an imbalance as

far as the spread of the economy is concerned. And that's what happens when you have a cash economy you see. You can hoard the cash in a draw somewhere and it won't go rotten like fish will or crabs will. It's there for all time and you've got a repository or a bank you can put it in and it will be there for all time and anytime you need it. But the traditional forms, when the food sources were available, well everybody shared in them. When there are costs involved in building, repairing and maintaining, whether it's motor cars or vessels or fishing nets or whatever, then it creates that imbalance where you've got to save up for a rainy day. There are all those things that impact on people and other things that people become aware of, and the others just miss out.

We have fringe dwellers in our own community that don't prosper as well as others for whatever reasons and we should look at that and say, well is it a good thing, how did it come about? When it is said people are lazy, or, as the Protector said many years ago, they haven't got the necessary ambition to enter into industry and do well for themselves, and so they are cast aside, we must look and see if that's exactly what we have done and are still doing.

I think the important thing that I saw happen was, so I'd imagine, from my mother's point of view, and my oldest brother (my father had been injured in an industrial accident, we never actually had a father in the house from my earliest recollections) it was critical for us not to live on the island. There were limited or no opportunities, not even marking time, just walking around in circles over there, there were no opportunities at all. So, I suppose the survival instinct was to get out and see what you could do outside of the place, as there was nothing going on the island at all.

Things were limited to the Institution, until sand mining developed, and there was also a bit of road work and some things like that.

But there was nothing substantive that would support a community that size, and once the Institution went there were no jobs for anyone. The dairy folded, the piggery folded, the employment of people for the Institution as labour and also in its many sources all collapsed. There was nothing. The government had just walked away and left everybody in it.

Social traditions, welfare and independence:
Listening to people talk, I think that when everybody was out on the Myora Mission/Moongalba they used to come in part of the way on the Dunwich side of North's Hill and the ration dray would go out there and they would be issued with their rations. I think there are some information sheets that show just how much was given per head and per family according to ages and so on, basics like sugar and flour and tea and stuff like that.

People still had their fishing and things like that and people still shared and looked after each other. I've never heard of anybody being without food or shelter over there, not at all. What I said before, I used that as a focal point, that people had to get away from the place in order to survive; and there was a survival instinct, that there was nothing there for them at all.

At East Brisbane, when I was very young, I just don't know what assistance was given amongst my own family. Whether the spread of any money from those working was in effect happening, I'm not quite sure. So I am unable to speak directly on that; but what I do know is it was sort of a hard grind, the circumstances we were in. I do remember on more than one occasion going down with my mother to cash in food coupons to get rations down at some of the places at Woolloongabba. It's a bit obscure you see, it's a fair while ago now and as a kid you don't place much importance on it because you think it's the norm actually.

I'd say once we were up and running, we worked out our own destiny. With that, brother Reg was working at TC Beirne (this was all before the war of course) and then brother Tom started working at an early age, brother Charlie had been grabbed years before and put into an institution so he wasn't about the place at all, and my elder sister Mary she was in an orphanage out at Ipswich for some time. So you know there was just the core of us at home, and provided that we were good citizens we were left to our own devices so to speak.

My mother was a very energetic woman and from the days of my childhood, that's before 1939 when the war started, she was always out doing other people's washing to pick up a few shillings, as it was then. Later she got the job of a lifetime working as a cleaner in the then Taxation Building, which is now Family Services, on the corner of George and Elizabeth Streets. So there was a steady income between what she was earning and what brother Reg was earning and then we started to move along a bit that way see. Once brother Tom also started working, and I also started working myself when I was 13, there was that cash economy coming in that helped to pay the rent and the electricity.

Political awareness:
It was always part of the household talk, politics, ever since I can remember. The family were Labor Party oriented so at the discussions around the table, references were made to what was happening; the Premier at the time, or local members, or what was happening federally. I'd hear that in any discussions that were happening at the time or when my Uncle Vincent or Uncle Paul came over to the house. As a school boy around elections time I'd go into the polling booths in the East Brisbane State School and my job was to take out all the Tory how to vote cards and leave the Labor Party ones in there. That was part of it, so you grow up with it. So political awareness, as well as awareness of being Goorie, was there from the word go.

I don't remember particular issues, although Uncle Paul, and Mum too, used to talk about Andrew Fisher, I think about the time of the introduction of child endowment. Andrew Fisher was one of the federal politicians and they used to refer to people as Andrew Fisherites rather than Laborites, so he must have had some significant role that he played in it.

There was limited knowledge about what was happening to Aboriginal people. It was never an issue in the papers because most of the Aboriginal people were on missions and reserves, interstate too. You didn't know much about them unless you had some connections with the government department that looked after them see, the Department of Native Affairs. But all that stuff people were very quiet on it, they didn't want to speak or arouse the attention of anybody in officialdom for fear that you would incur the displeasure of government.

2. POLITICAL ACTIVITY

I thought the way it had travelled, was that the Labor Party was the party of the working class. It was born of a fundamental principal of the Trade Union Movement, that is the right to negotiate, and that to me spelled equality. So I think about 1948 or 1949 I joined the East Brisbane branch of the Labor Party. I got married in 1950 and I was living down at Kangaroo Point for 12 months or so, and out at Dorrington. I never bothered transferring to either of those branches, although political discussion was always on the table.

My wife's family were coal miners from Collinsville up in North Queensland and most of them were involved in political organisations and the Communist Party in particular. I think her uncle, who was

the President of the Miners' Federation, was in the Queensland Colliers' Union. So again left wing politics were on the agenda and the question of Communism was the subject of discussion as well. My attitude toward Communism wasn't too good, being a Labor Party person and with what was happening at the time, in the late 40s and in particular the early 50s. I had a sort of dislike for Communists until I met a lot of them and started talking to them and started listening to what they were talking about. It wasn't all politics, it was about cultural things like theatre and books and publications such as that of enlightenment to people and encouraging people to write stories, to write novels and be involved in theatre. It was a totally different expression to what occurred in the Labor Party because nothing like that occurred in the Labor Party at all, no cultural activities. So that aroused my interest to listen a bit more intently to what Communists were saying and to those members of the Communist Party who were officials of the Building Workers' Union. And by listening to them, my attitude as to what Communists were all about started to change.

Political support for Aboriginal rights:
There was a lot of discussion, a lot of expression in regards to Aboriginal rights but it was rather mixed too, because I did find out that there were lots of Communists that didn't support black rights quite distinctively. So there's that variation in people's attitudes that they might have seen rights for workers as paramount but they didn't regard blacks as being workers or people. So they're some of the imbalances you have in all groups of people.

It seemed a bit of a contradiction, because the publications of the Communist Party, (that was the North Queensland Guardian, the Guardian which was a publication in south Queensland, as well as the national paper, the Tribune) were sort of forthright in their support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights; but as I said, those contradictions came down to individuals that were

sometimes people in high office in the Communist Party. It was quite an interesting observation in reality.

In the post war period, since 1945, there was the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, which was the national body. Some of that history is referred to in Joe McGuinness's book, "Alyandabu", where it gives you a sketch of the development of the Federal Council and what was happening in some local areas, and also of my very good friend Kath Walker, who later took the name of Oodgeroo Noonuckle.

The political turbulence that occurred after the war years, was sort of a watershed in the direction that the Labor Party and the working class of this country were to go, and they were sold down the drain by the federal Labor Party. If you look through the chronology of it, you can see that when "left wing thinking" it was called, was developing inside the Trade Union Movement, a counter move was made by the people on the right who, with the influence of the Catholic Church, set up the A.L.P. industrial groups to drive out Communists from the Trade Union Movement.

In those turbulent times Goories involved in political activity just had to do what they thought was the way to travel, but with that internal conflict inside the Labour Movement it had to be resolved before you could get a clear idea of who was going in what direction. The Federal Council provided that focus to bring it back on balance, that's my considered opinion, with the wonderful people who were involved there, apart from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, that kept pushing it forward and had some influence in different spheres of government. I'm just thinking, in particular, of the old fellow Gordon Bryant an old Presbyterian, who was the Vice President of F.C.A.A.T.S.I. He was concerned and occupied a lot of his time with the Federal Council movement. So bit by bit there were those gains that developed.

I think the campaign prior to the 1967 Referendum (that legalised Aboriginal citizenship) was critical to arousing the support of Australian people, in the main, to vote the way they did. It couldn't have been any better, if there hadn't been any fracturing inside the political movement or the Trade Union Movement, it couldn't have been any better. So, to me, it was saying that there was an awareness in mainstream Australia of the spirit of rights and justice.

The challenge went out to the union to support Aboriginal rights and it was there to a degree, amongst those that attended union meetings. Remember, at the time the Trade Union Movement was very very strong and throughout Queensland there are a number of branches of the Building Workers Industrial Union. So the membership were well informed on what the situation was, particularly those branches, say in Townsville or more so Cairns, who were there at the forefront to what was happening to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Those branches are on record as being very supportive of activities that would take Aboriginal people down the path of recognition and self-determination. They were the main stay of it and again they were all those, what you would call at various times, progressive thinking unions, left wing unions, those that were dubbed as Communist dominated. It was the membership of those unions, that were electing all those officials by secret postal ballot, so it wasn't a question of the unions dominating through some slight of hand trick. It was the total support that was given by the membership of the B.W.I.U.

When the proposition of a voluntary levy for Aboriginal advancement was put to the membership, it was very well subscribed. That gave the imprimatur then to the leadership of the unions, through its state management committee and its secretary, to make funding available for the Aboriginal movement, to assist those organisations

at that stage. That was born out in later years as when the tent embassy was first put up on the lawns outside the old Parliament House and pulled down. Representatives of the Aboriginal community in Brisbane visited my union rooms and were seeking support and funding to take a bus load of Aboriginal people and their supporters down to Canberra to re-erect the Tent Embassy. There was money made available to that and my secretary at the B.W.I.U. said that I'd be available to go down and participate in it. Such was the strength of the union for Indigenous rights, at that time, as well as for the rights of their own membership and workers on building sites. It was a real working class attitude towards what was a class issue, the question of people's rights and dignity.

However, It wasn't the purpose of the union to decide what was good for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. It was left to those groups to elect their own representatives. They were there to support in whatever fashion they could. I must say too a great tribute to Alex Macdonald who was the secretary of the Trades and Labour Council, at the time that I'm talking about when I joined the union in 1951. He was a Scotsman by nationality who'd humped his swag up from the southern states and settled in this country and a great supporter of Aboriginal rights. He was always going through the variations in the wage rates for station hands in the pastoral industry, from which Aboriginals were excluded and always noting and making a reference to the injustice that was there in the wages level, when the Aboriginal stockmen were under the Protection Act.

A national political philosophy:
In the last ten years in this country we have witnessed the rise of a One Nation Party to the point where it had gained many seats in the Queensland parliament. I'd say by and large that one reason is the demise of the Communist Party in Queensland, and another, is that changes in industry have diminished the workforce. In the maritime industry for instance, which was a font of great support

for Aboriginal and other workers' rights as well, those changes shifted the position of the workforce and disseminated those who were supporters of rights and justice for all.

Looking back over the course of many years, when the A.L.P. introduced their A.L.P. industrial groups, as they were called, to rout out Communist influence and Communist officials in Trade Union Movements, it put the Labor Party to the right, to the extreme right, of what it had been traditionally for many many years. That was part of the dispersal of good people inside the Trade Union Movement. The political philosophy changed with the demise of the Communist Party, it was a very contributing factor to that.

The way I view it at the moment is that there is no alternative political philosophy in this country, of which direction they're going in. You either get the Liberals or a limited response from Labor on the issues. It's more of the same and if there is a difference it is only minimal, that's the way I view it. I noticed that before the last federal elections, the leader of the Labor Party opposition, Kim Beazley, was quite guarded on the issue of native title, so that to me sends out signals that they're not fully convinced of what rights are there and the way they should be travelling with Indigenous rights.

Organising for progress:
By 1959 you had Advancement Councils in the various states, and in various regions in the state. I think proportionate representation came from the various groups throughout the state to form state representation, and that then comprised the elected leadership to F.C.A.A.T.S.I. I found it a very good forum and a very good organisation and, as I said, well supported by a cross section of people.

One of the interesting things, as a flow on from it, was that one of the young fellows from South Australia at the time, John Moriarty, many years later developed the Balarinji design and the Balarinji

design is on Qantas jets flying throughout the world. There are gains to be made about publicising the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people do exist in this country and that focus is upon them, but again, what's the happy ending?

I got involved in F.C.A.A.T.S.I. as an off shoot from union activity. That is also how I got involved with the Peace Movement. One of the warming things about peace activity was when on one occasion the federal secretary of the union, Pat Clancy, was challenged about the union's involvement in peace activity, peace and disarmament. He was challenged and asked what peace had to do with the business of the Trade Union Movement. He said peace is union business. That slogan emerged and was embraced by the Trade Union Movement, "peace was union business".

It was all very well to look after the interests of workers on the job sites, as far as wages and jobs conditions were concerned, which was very good, but all these things were fruitless if you were in a hostile environment or there was the possibilities of nuclear warfare. That was the actual position at the time, which flowed on from what was known as the cold war period, and the union embraced the call for peace and was long and hard involved in it. In fact, I think, on a couple of occasions, the union put to the membership a voluntary levy for peace activity. It was well subscribed to by the members throughout the state, which signalled to the officials of the union, that indeed peace was union business.

The Union Movement was always challenged by left wing unions, or communist dominated unions as they were called, during the period of the cold war and the intense move by right wing elements inside the Trade Union Movement. They set out to get rid of Communist officials, or what they called fellow travellers, or anybody who had left thinking that challenged the authority of the Menzies' government in particular.

The vehicle of peace was as such that, if you supported peace, people seemed to think that you were a Communist agent, that you were on side with the Soviet Union and you wanted this country to disarm because it would be easy picking for the Soviet Union to come in and occupy. All that hysteria was about at the time, and it was a critical stage, because with the aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the prospects of nuclear warfare were real. So the matter of peace was an imperative, and for good thinking unions to say peace was on the agenda.

In regard to progress and the peak Aboriginal organisation, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, (A.T.S.I.C.), I'd like to think that A.T.S.I.C. itself, all the Commissioners that is, the top structure of A.T.S.I.C., don't see themselves as the only representative voice of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander opinion in this nation. There're a number of things I for one don't agree with them on, for example whether individual voices are heard and how they are heard. I also wonder if it's in the back of the minds of all those Commissioners and Chairs of various regional councils, that we conduct ourselves in a way that there is no tier of command or status, and that all Aboriginal and Torres Strait people around the table are level in that regard. Also where is the position of Elders in regard to assisting the development of policies and philosophies on the direction that they go?

Who do they listen to that's what I am saying. Who do they listen to, themselves or each other? What's the spread of their information and connections back with the grass roots people, because that's always a tendency in a lot of societies to go that way, and they don't ask people any more, they start to tell them.

PART II INDIGENOUS SOCIETY AND THE AUSTRALIAN NATION

> ... this is not just a matter of will, it is also a matter of finding the right modality, the right mixtures of forces to harness, the right rhetoric and concepts by which to mobilize our people and our friends, the right goal to affirm, the right past to drop away from, the right future to fight for. Edward Said

1. THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The matter of economic development is a really hard one, because of the very nature of Capitalism itself. Its fiercely competitive nature really precludes us from being in the race at all. It's a real cut throat back stabbing society that's there, that doesn't give but takes all the time, so to survive you've got to have that killer instinct see. That's the way I see it.

People have got the potential to develop, and do and be anything they want, and do it greatly, with great dignity. However, if the pressures are on you for competition whose design it is to swallow you up or eradicate you, well then, there's not much sense in pursuing that. I'm not saying that our community people don't have the business acumen, because they've proven they have that in all facets and levels of society. I think lots of people don't want to be involved in it at all. They want to be gainfully employed, in a position to develop the skills that they want to apply, and make that contribution to the industry that they are serving. In that way they make their contribution to society generally, while maintaining their own status, inside their own communities.

The fundamental thing that I keep saying, is, which way does it go when we talk in terms of self-determination? What are we determining and what are we permitted to determine while we've got the constraints of white legislation? If it's going to be that way there'll be no fundamental shift. I raise this question all the time when I get an opportunity to speak widely. We've got to address the position which is that the only time there's going to be a fundamental change is when we've got the right to self-determination and, to me, that means separate nationhood. We've got to confront that issue to deal with it, because nothing is going to change. Until then we can talk in terms of whatever we want to. We're masters of our own destiny; but if we are, well then, that's the way we've got to travel.

Aboriginal independence:
Economic control, is a modern form of the Protection Act, where the Chief Protector has you under scrutiny all the time and he's got you economically bound. You've got to ply to rules that are there and if you don't, well then you get breached and you get put out of business. The matter of funding is limited. I see it as no different to a modern day innovation of the Protection Act, what do they say? A wolf in sheep's clothing, same thing eh?

I've expressed the opinion over many, many years (and it's the same expression that's been used by Elder people over the course of those years too), that we have a right to a percentage of the gross domestic produce (GDP) or the new wealth that has been created on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands and waters and that should be the order of the day. We don't want the lot but we want a reasonable remuneration for what wealth that's been created on these lands and waters and through our airways. Until that comes about well then nothing changes. That's where we get our economic capital to develop all our other industries, from that which is our right, our inherent right.

This would have to be an essential part of any Treaty. I don't use the word compensation. Compensation is another matter that particular groups might want to talk about because of unusual things that have happened on their lands or in their areas. Generally speaking, I think, the principle of it should be that we are entitled to a percentage of the new wealth that's been created with the natural resources, or any other resources that they bring in to be processed there, on our lands, waters and airways.

Aboriginal economic development in a globalised economy: There needs to be some specialised study on where economic development programs are progressing and dialogue with people to see what the potential is. It's one of those guessing games at times I suppose. The brochures can be nice and glossy but if there is nothing there that substantively progresses, well then it fails. But the principle thing is, what do the people want, what do the people see as important?

As a matter of fact we were out at Woorabinda recently and we had a good discussion there. I was pleased I was able to be out there. All the medical staff and representatives of the community were all sitting around the table together. To me that's the way to progress things, everybody's pooling information in there and what's important to the people, you get it from the sisters and all the doctors that are in charge there, right though to the grass roots people.

One of the things on the agenda out there is dogs. They want to know about the dogs, what's the future of the dogs out there and where do the dogs fit into the society? Some of them are lame and cripple or whatever. How do you deal with them and how many dogs should there be to each family? They are important issues to people.

They don't care about what's happened globally. They're not interested in that. That community is interested in what the population and future of dogs is going to be. It's a real issue to people, real people's issues, grass roots stuff, that sort of fly over the heads of those money barons. It's amazing but that's the reality of it.

It reminds me of a story from my old friend Senator George Georges, a wonderful bloke. A wonderful promoter of peace and international disarmament, who was on the World Peace Council. He was telling me that on one occasion, on one of his journeys, he was over in India or Pakistan, I think, and talking to people about the threat of hydrogen bombs and hydrogen warfare, nuclear warfare. He was going on at great length about that and these people said to him 'by gees you've got some problems, you've got some great problems there. But you'll have to excuse us now, we've got to walk this way five miles with our buckets to get water. We've got no water here. And when we've come back the five miles from that way,we've got to walk another four mile this way to see if there's any work available for us. But you do have problems.'

It's the same thing with the people out at Woorabinda. Dogs are on the agenda and it's part of their lifestyle and they have to resolve those things. Those things that are little to some, are important facets of life to others, so you have to make sure you listen to what the grass roots people are saying and don't be flying too high in the stratosphere all the time.

A Place on the world stage:
Much was made of the Olympic Games and I think that it was an opportunity to have dialogue with all the wonderful athletes and their support units that come out here during the period of the games. We can articulate what's happening here and make connections so that they can follow up and maintain those links,

and see what influences can be brought to bear through whatever process of interaction between governments is concerned, through ambassadors, or whoever the people are. Then when we talk in terms of globalisation, well that's globalisation of information and spirit of people, which is part of the process of broadening it out.

With regard to the exposure of Aboriginal issues that can be gained from such events, it depends again on what role the media's going to play. The media has always got a responsibility to report the truth, not interpret what they see but report the facts that are there. If they are moulding opinion, certainly they've got a responsibility as to whose opinions they are giving, as part of that process. They've got a major responsibility, the press, they always have, in reflecting what the viewpoint of the community is and they've got that responsibility to listen, listen broadly, and report what they're findings are.

There's a bit of a shift in what's reported in the press from time to time but I suppose I expect too much in this enlightened age. When we were approaching the new millennium and from everything that's developed from the Sydney harbour bridge walk, from the William Jolly bridge walk, from all the walks for Aboriginal Reconciliation that have taken place around the nation, I thought they should have a firm opinion in their mind on what they should be doing and what they should be reporting and focusing on and going along that pathway.

I would think that the advantage of the Olympics' exposure, is that it may give us a bit of a boost on the international scene in a number of quarters; like at the United Nations in Geneva where our representatives are doing the job of highlighting the disadvantages that still exist here. These efforts assist to form an opinion in people that are party to the United Nations. I think it's a sadness that the Federal government representatives don't recognise what people

in other nations are saying. Instead of questioning the authority or the status of the United Nations on discrimination, they should be recognising they're at fault and doing something about it.

The events that surrounded Cathy Freeman's involvement in the Olympics were also very good. The whole of the nation pretty well, with the exception of a few, were there to cheer Cathy on and I'm sure that again is the spirit there, latent in Australian people, in a lot of Australian people, and needs to be drawn out. Situations like that help them to make a choice. They've got to make a decision on where they stand. There's no neutrals in the situation where racism is concerned, there's no neutrals.

It was interesting to note the recent derogatory comments about Aboriginal people made by the Minister for Reconciliation, Phillip Ruddock, when he was overseas. They were the sort of outbursts you would expect from rabid racists, rather than a man of the status of Phillip Ruddock He's trying to be like King Kunute, he's deluding himself. King Kunute was one of those impressive kings who thought he had the power to control everything; but he had a remarkable lesson taught to him by his own self-delusion. He got a couple of his lackeys to take his throne down to the beach for the incoming tide and he put up his hands to the tide to stop. He failed.

Globalisation:
In relation to globalisation, the United States is a terrible nation to have control of the world, when they haven't resolved the matter of their own Indigenous people and the black Afro Americans who have got limited or no rights at all in the country. You can see from its relatively recent history, in the days of segregation, in 1950, and before that, 1945, during the war against Fascism, its treatment of black Americans and its treatment of Indigenous people. I'd best describe those aspects of the United States of America, as being Fascist. There's no difference between them and what the

Fascists did in Hitler's Germany and Europe to all sorts of people, no difference at all. And yet they are the ones touted to be the great leaders of the world. We are to believe it is saviour of the world, yes, but it does little for the impoverished white and most certainly black people in its own country. Its present interference in a lot of Latin America countries is a clear indicator of where its real interest lies.

Extract from *Guardian Weekly, Comment and Analysis, Letters 21-27/2000,* John McMurtry, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada:

> Human Rights Watch reports that the United States "economic miracle" has been wrung out of workers by a loss of labour rights, long-term jobs and employment benefits. Unfortunately, these are symptoms of a more general decline in the real US economy.
>
> The "Washington Consensus" is jettisoning its own human, social and environment capital for the short term competitive gains of corporate and financial investors. US divisions between rich and poor are growing rapidly, while middle-income debt loads are the highest in history.
>
> The US current account deficit with the world - the measure of how much it imports compared with what it exports - is poised to pass 5% of G.D.P., (Gross Domestic Product) the marker of an economy running on empty. The famous "low US employment" can be decoded as huge increases in temporary and starvation-wage jobs and a six times greater rate than western Europe of imprisoning people.
>
> American high growth figures largely stem from windfalls of offshore and portfolio money diverted from the Asian meltdown to the US, along with highly leveraged stock values and aggregate exchanges. But these figures do not represent real growth of the economy that people live from. Ever more, unearned money demand on people, social infrastructures and the environment may be masked as

> increases of G.D.P., but are in fact hollowing out the human, social and natural capital upon which the real economy depends.
>
> Notice that along with the rising floods of money demand in the US domestic market, are rapidly rising degradation of civil society; ground water, forests and fish stocks, and population health (the obesity rate has grown by 50% in less than a decade along with the increasing poverty of the bottom 60% of the population).
>
> The worst tragedy is that other societies are made to follow the US lead, in what is becoming increasingly evident as the failed global experiment of monetarism.

The impact of globalisation is being challenged with protest movements of young people, most recently in Melbourne and Prague, and it's most encouraging as it shows the awareness that's there amongst the people who are protesters, not only in this country but all over the world. There's that great understanding where people know what Capitalism has done in the past, what it is doing now and what plans it has for the future. The concentration of power into fewer hands means it needs to be challenged but again how do you deal with it in the final analysis? Those who have control of the wealth, control the armies and police forces but this is a people's movement that won't go away.

Promoting Aboriginal rights:
It is a matter of how you can capture the audience, and again if you haven't got the economic base to be independent then it limits what you can say. I watch the television here of a morning and there's a segment done by some little creep, his name escapes me at the moment, down in Sydney somewhere, that gives his opinion on a whole range of issues. Well unless you're in a position to influence the mind of those that occupy the middle ground of thought in Australia, it's bloody difficult.

It's difficult and then there's the regulations. Like with Murri Radio 4AAA Brisbane, if some of their programs, or their talk-backs, community expressions, become political, well then where does that leave them? They could find themselves being ostracised by all sorts of organisations and pressure would come to bear to bring them in line. Much the same as in the days of the Protectors, whereby anybody who spoke out against the establishment were regarded as "cheeky black fellas" and were sent to places like Palm Island or Woorabinda or up to Yarrabah; anywhere to get them away from the public gaze and public scrutiny where they couldn't speak up.

They are some of the things we must be aware of all the time and do our best to protect the right to have such organisations that provide an outlet to us to give the political opinion of the community. Along that line too is Land Rights Queensland which is the only political publication in Queensland that represents a view point of blacks in this state. It's very important and should be supported.

Spheres of Aboriginal influence:
I think everybody elected, or who is an elder in the community, which gives you some status as well and you don't have to be elected, or who is accepted and acknowledged as a voice or representative of community, should influence any people that they can.

As Chair of the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Advisory Board now, for example, I feel the various expertise and age range of the people on the Board, as well as the positions that those people have occupied and still occupy in the community, and they are representative voices of the community, has put us in a good position to be able to give quality advice to the Minister.

I feel that the information we send up to the Minister, by-passes the processes of government departments where the messages that are coming up from the ground might be stifled. They get lost if side tracked by people in part of the apparatus of the State itself. I've had the advantage on more than one occasion, where I've gone up to the Minister and been very direct in my comments to her, referring to some of the activities where I've perceived obstructions that were coming through sectors of the department. I said that they were trying to.... my words were that it was the subtleties of exclusion or something like that, yeah.

Looking over the responses, that have come from individual Ministers, there is more than a passing interest in what's happening and what needs to be done, and well, I think that they're in line to do that. They listen to the opinions that are cast by Aboriginal people, that includes Anna Bligh, that includes Judy Spence of course, and Matt Foley who's the Attorney General and Minister for Arts. He gave a direction to all his agencies, over the period of the last 18 months, that Reconciliation is on the agenda and it has got to apply itself to the process to make sure that Reconciliation is fully discussed and it's progressed. So there's this awareness that's consistently there.

Also the Minister for the Environment, Rod Welford, with the process of the Policy Council that he has there. I'm a representative on that from the Brisbane River Management Group, so the information coming from a perspective of Indigenous people is flowing in there and I think that the information is being taken up and acted on. As I said there's good will.

Steve Bredheur, the Minister for Transport, has introduced the use of Reconciliation plates on government cars and that is another thing that keeps raising the issue to the public gaze. I think it's more than just a passing interest otherwise they wouldn't be doing

those things. It shows some form of commitment that assists the dialogue along that course of Reconciliation.

These are all incremental things and when they tally them up, they are substantive. If you don't have a defeatist attitude, well then, you can see that there is progress being made; but, in the end, as I said, to where, and what is the conclusion? It gets back to Treaty and what does Treaty mean? Self-determination and separate nationhood, they're the big fundamental ones.

I think if there is a consistency in the political organisations that the governments belong to, then what their policies and principles are should be the measure to look at. The other important thing too, I think, is the whole of the machinery of the state itself because, you know I've always said and I've learned that from early political days, governments come and go but the apparatus of the state is always there.

We've got Director Generals and Senior Public Servants and they are the ones that keep the machinery of the state ticking over; and I ask what's their attitude toward these matters we've been talking about? Where do they fit in? What's their personal viewpoint in relation to Reconciliation and rights for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people? They're questions that are sort of untapped and you can't really get a gauge on.

I've always encouraged comment from government employees that I talk to in the process of the 10 Year Plan or business dealings with the Advisory Board. I value their opinion as people, and they make that contribution as they go along but to know what his or her personal opinion is on these matters, not as a government employee but as a person, I value it, I value it as workers. I've got great respect for people who work and they are workers, and I see them in that light, as well as public servants, not being a special group but as workers.

I've said on many occasions, I've got great confidence in workers to make decisions, good decisions, once they are supplied with all the information. That's been my experience for the years that I was in the building construction industry and then during the period I was a worker on the Brisbane water front as a ship painter and docker. If you supply people with all the information they'll soon find out what the levels are and where any injustice is and what needs to be done to correct it. That's through the basis of empowering people to make decisions on things that affect their lives. That's been my experience and where it goes from here well they're the big philosophic questions.

2. TREATY AND THE RECONCILIATION MOVEMENT

I think, from some of the thoughts expressed at Corroboree 2000, that we're regurgitating what's gone on in the past. There's got to be a Treaty and I've looked at some documents recently where there was a group of people, including the Prime Minister at the time Bob Hawke, that met at Barunga and they came up with the Barunga Agreement on Treaty. Well those are the sorts of things, those documents, which have got to be surfaced again for people to have a look at in this day and age. The document says that Bob Hawke said that there would be something in place by the end of 1988. Well he's no longer the Prime Minister of course, but the question of Treaty hasn't gone away.

I notice my good friend Evelyn Scott, Dr. Evelyn Scott, has raised the matter that the talk of Treaty might derail the Reconciliation process. Well, to me, the logical conclusion of the Reconciliation process must be a Treaty, or some form of document, that recognises our rights as a separate nation of people. And that

also applies to the people of the islands of the Torres Strait. While I'm talking about that, the Prime Minister is all the go for the independence of East Timor as a separate nation of people. Well to be consistent, what about applying that to Torres Strait Island people, who are a separate nation of people, salt water people, islander people. So it's always been on the agenda and, I think, if we don't sort of beat the drum about it and if we just leave it to our leaders, well then, the leaders might be sort of too far up the stratosphere to listen to the voices of what's happening down below.

All those indicators about Treaty are there from countries like Canada and New Zealand. Arrangements have been made with, I think, the Inuit and all those other people right up there in that arctic circle and I think right across to places like Norway too, and the Reindeer People I think they call them, in some parts of the old Soviet Union. Yes all those people are still existing and arrangements have been made by Treaties with them to return their rights, from those who have colonised and occupied. So it is happening and the thing about it is, it is not disrupting the economy of those countries.

A Treaty would be part of the process of recognition for us, but what is the bottom line that you sign off on? I've got my view point on that, I said it before. But how it comes down, what's going to be the accepted norm by the community itself, is wide and varied and holds a lot of fear. You know what happens at times too, if people are comfortable in their own situation, if they're economically comfortable, well they'll say don't rock the boat. We've got to rock the boat when those infant mortality rate figures remain as they are and the life expectancy in lots of areas is the level that it is. We've got to keep rocking the boat, otherwise we keep withering away and what doesn't get you by sickness, well then, there's a general absorption into mainstream society that's always on.

When we talk in terms of self-determination, what self-determination means to me is separate nationhood because nothing changes until that occurs. We're still a continuing appendage to the now extinct Protection Act. The Reconciliation Movement depends on how the powers that be, pick that up and deal with it. What they do with it is the problem and unless there are groups there to prod them along, well then, the good will and euphoria that developed from the day dissipates and nothing changes.

There is now the structuring of the new emerging body, Reconciliation Queensland that flows from the State Reconciliation Committee. If the Queensland government is prepared to support that financially, to get it rolling along, I'm sure more support will be picked up with local authorities who have local Reconciliation groups in their areas to do what has to be done where Reconciliation is needed. It's a matter of identifying what needs to be reconciled in those areas, but mostly it gets back to that fundamental question as to what's the ultimate in Reconciliation and that is full recognition for the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. That means self-determination and if it doesn't mean that, well then, it's empty.

Maintaining the impetus of the Reconciliation Movement:
When I see all the youngsters out at the Aboriginal and Islander Independent School, or over my way at the island community, or generally around the place, well you just know you've got a responsibility to provide something for them. As I said, our young people have had enough of more of the same, they want some guarantees, and all the wise people in their community, the elected representatives, should listen to the voices of those younger ones.

It's a bit of a concern, when we talk in terms of the national Reconciliation Movement, that at the end of 2000 the National

Council for Reconciliation dissolves. It's served its purpose, it was structured by both houses of parliament. It's documents on Reconciliation go back to both houses that structured it and it is a matter of what those august bodies do with them.

As far as the organisation itself is concerned, there seems to be a concern amongst state Reconciliation groups, that there could be, as the flow on from the National Council, an elite core of people who have gone somewhere, in Melbourne or Canberra or somewhere, to carry on Reconciliation, and it could be that, as far as representation from the states is concerned that's going to be limited. That's my understanding at the present time.

If you have a national Reconciliation body, then surely, it would seem to me, to call itself a national body, all states and the territory should be represented for starters. So there are concerns but we'll see how it progresses along those lines. I think they might say well, you know, we've made our contribution to the Reconciliation Movement, both houses have done their job and these are the documents and we'll all get on with living.

At the present time the transition is taking place from the State Reconciliation Committee, that was structured almost four years ago, to a body that's called Reconciliation Queensland. We'll have the structure set up and all the office bearers I think in November 2000 but as I've said to recent meetings of the State Reconciliation Committee, from my point of view, unless we've got the endorsement from all the local reconciliation groups that have been structured throughout the state over a period of the last three and a half years, it would be a bit presumptive and perhaps arrogant if we felt that the existing members of the State Reconciliation Committee automatically become Reconciliation Queensland.

I think the intent is to call a meeting in November of representatives of all existing local Reconciliation groups so when nominations are called for X amount of members to be the Reconciliation Queensland Committee, they are there to elect or be elected onto that body. If that's not done then it is not a true state body and what we'll be doing is exactly the same thing as we're seeing the national body doing, electing ourselves as being the chosen ones. If Reconciliation is to work with credence and to progress, it has got to work on the basis of what communities think from throughout the state.

It is the same with the idea of a Treaty. It's a matter of endorsing the principles, like a Declaration of Reconciliation, and then saying, 'Ok we've all agreed that this is what we want, now how do we get there?'

As far as any opportunities to progress our situation that may arise from globalisation, political pressure or economic assistance, that's a tough nut for me of course, not knowing what goes on in the minds of all those global people, and where the actual wealth is. I think we need to start from the home ground. It is essential that local authorities and city and shire councils throughout the state indicate their support for local Reconciliation groups to keep them on line.

The state government has made some sort of limited funding available, I think, just to move things along a bit, but there's nothing substantial. When I was talking to Minister Spence, she said that the federal government has some responsibility in Reconciliation too and they're waiting to see what they do. I said that it would be much better to lead by example and say, 'What the federal government wants to do with the money is their business but this is what the State of Queensland's commitment is towards Reconciliation. We're indicating that where we stand on it, is to

continue it'. It would be a much better approach than saying, if you do it I'll do it. Because if the federal government doesn't put in money, they're left in one of those crazy situations.

I do understand too that some of the feds were up knocking on the door to see how much money they can drain out of the state treasury to finance their organisation. So whether there's going to be anything left in the bin for Reconciliation Queensland I don't know. So there's all those vague things you've got to play with but the thing that I've always been on is to get away from the tall poppies syndrome and make sure that Reconciliation is a people's movement.

Native Title:
The win with the Wik people, just in this last couple of weeks, indicates how important legislation is in securing Aboriginal rights. Those things are certainly important and what is also important is just how it translates more broadly, what happens to consolidate it? What does it mean? What does it mean in essence? What I always say is, what's the hard currency that's associated with it? Is there a transfer of money that accompanies that, for the wealth that's been generated on their land? Is there going to be the payment of back rent for those who have occupied Wik land? If that's not accompanied by the judgement well then if your economic situation doesn't change, nothing changes see.

PART III COMPARABLE SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS

1. A UNION MOVEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Union involvement played a central role in yielding an opportunity to develop practical knowledge of the political patterns and perspectives underpinning institutions and structures in Australian society. The following account provides a context in which to fully appreciate Robert Anderson's union involvement and the evolvement of his political perspectives and knowledge.

My name's **Hugh Hamilton**, A.M. I was awarded an Order of Australia in 1992, in recognition of my work in the Trade Union Movement and for my contribution to the building and construction industry, in vocational training and workplace reform. I am married to Judith who also worked for the Trade Union Movement; although not with the union I was with, she worked as the personal assistant to the secretary of the Queensland Trades and Labour Council - now A.C.T.U. Qld. Judith was personal assistant to four secretaries, Alex Macdonald, Jack Egerton, Fred Whitby and Ray Dempsey. Judith and I have two children and five grandchildren.

We've known Bob Anderson for the best part of our married life, so we've been associated with Bob for about 45 years. Bob and I were both young men in the building and construction industry. We both served apprenticeships, we were both union orientated and we met at union meetings here in Brisbane. That's when I first came across Bob Anderson.

I've been a trade unionist all my life, joining the union in 1947 when I was 17 years of age. I am now 70 years of age and still a member

of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (C.F.M.E.U.), which is the union that Bob Anderson was a member of. The union has had a long history. Established in Brisbane in 1879 by George Shead, it became known as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and that was the name of the union when Bob and

Judy and Hugh Hamilton with Isabella and Robert Anderson Minjerribah 1976

myself first joined. In the 1940s the union became part of the Federal Building Workers' Industrial Union (B.W.I.U.). The connotations associated with the name B.W.I.U. gave it the building industry flavour, an industry orientated union, rather than a craft union and the view that the union, if united and a National Federation, would be stronger .

The B.W.I.U., lead by the officers of that union and the members, worked hard for many years with a degree of success to win the support of other building craft unions to join the B.W.I.U. The view was, and still is, that one big union serves the members better.

Now you can see with the B.W.I.U. transition to the C.F.M.E.U. which has just about been completed, that all unions operating in the building construction union are now part of the C.F.M.E.U., or most of them except for the A.W.U., the Electricians and the Plumbers. (Queensland is the only state in Australia where the Builders Labourers' Federation is not part of the C.F.M.E.U.)

I resigned from my full time positions in the trade union movement in 1987. I was still relatively young then and could have maintained those positions for a number of years but I felt that there was something about tenure of office, particularly with unionists, that they shouldn't hang on there too long, particularly if they're in the leading positions. I had been a full-time official for 20 years. You move out to give fresh blood a chance to use their initiatives and new innovative practices associated with the changes that are taking place in the industry and in the community.

Since 1987 I've maintained my links with the industry. I've been involved in skills training in the industry, having co-ordinated the construction training program at the Stanmore Power Station from 1990 - 1995. This on-the-job skills training program was a great success and saw up to 2000 construction workers get accredited recognition for their construction skills. Over the past six years I've been associated with the Building and Construction Industry Training Centre (C.T.C.) at Salisbury, where we are now training several hundred young workers and mature workers in the various skills associated with the building industry.

Part unions played in society:
In the early days of the unions it was easier to define the working class and the ruling class or the bosses and the workers. You worked for pretty low wages, on-site working conditions were terrible and living standards were pretty low but rising steadily. We're looking back now, at the period just after the second world

war and unions were well and truly on the move in the struggle to get higher wages and conditions. They were very progressive organisations in dealing with workers' working conditions, wages and amenities, first aid and safety and all of those sorts of things.

The Trade Union Movement during that period, from the second world war right up until the early 70s, flourished in the sense that they gained a significant amount of progress and improved living standards for the working people of this country. So it was easy to identify with the Trade Union Movement as they were getting good results for their members.

Bob became a full time official before I did. He was appointed a state organiser of the union back in 1963. I became an official in 1968. I was elected Queensland Branch Secretary of the B.W.I.U. in 1974. I had a vision as to where the Trade Union Movement should be travelling and I tried to inject that strategy throughout the whole of the Trade Union Movement but particularly amongst the members of my own union.

That strategy was that for the Trade Union Movement to survive, it had to be involved in the social and political issues of the day rather than just looking after the day to day problems of their members at the work place. Keeping in mind we're dealing with a period from 1974, massive strides had been made in working conditions and wage rates up to that period of time, and within the Trade Union Movement things were going national. The award system re wages, working conditions and many other regulations were becoming National Standards and not state, a situation that helped to shed some of our parochialism.

From then on a lot of the work with regards to improved wages, conditions and allowances and those things, were handled nationally so therefore the state organisations were not burdened

with those tasks - going to the Industrial Commission and arguing all those issues.

From the early 1970s we attempted to develop a cultural change amongst the membership, a new direction for the union that was predominantly focusing on bigger more global issues for the whole of the Trade Union Movement and the need to change the direction of government, state and federal.

For example, during the period from the late fifties right up until the time I retired, we had a coalition government in power. That coalition government at national level was very reactionary, and along with the Queensland state coalition government with Joh Bjelke Petersen as Premier, became even more reactionary. So the struggle became very bitter and if you can reflect back to that period, when Australia was involved in the Vietnam war, the country was divided, and we had the Moratorium Movement, that was the people's movement against the war. The union was very predominant in that, and so was Bob Anderson. We had a draft resisters organisation within the Trade Union Movement so we were counselling young men about what to do if they wanted to resist conscription.

I was nominally the Queensland treasurer of the Vietnam Moratorium Movement, which meant that position put a heavy load on the union, because we used the union's resources to help bring an end to the war. We dialogued with the members that we were doing the right thing in struggling against conscription and the Vietnam War. In hindsight, history has proved us to be correct.

Shortly after the Vietnam war, came the visit to Queensland by the Springboks (South African Rugby Union football team during the period of the apartheid regime). Bob Anderson was very predominant in the movement against the Springboks. They were

only in Brisbane for a few days but there were big demonstrations and violent ones.

Bjelke Petersen backed the Queensland police to do whatever they wanted. They did this and Premier Joh gave them an extra day's leave for the job well done. There was a pretty violent demonstration outside the Tower Mill Motel in Wickham Terrace at about 6.30 one Thursday evening. The police attacked demonstrators on the edge of a park opposite the motel. In the darkness of that park many of the demonstrators got beaten up.

The other struggles which the union also played a leading part in, was the right to march struggle. Bjelke Petersen put a ban on the right to march, put a ban on street meetings and designated only one place in Brisbane where you could have a public meeting. The B.W.I.U was the main force in trying to orientate the Trade Union Movement into becoming involved with these big issues of the day. We didn't have great success with some, because the unions were too conservative and the struggle, in the main, was left to the young people from the universities and the minor left political groups such as the International Socialists and Direct Action.

Impact on union support for social justice arising from the Gurindji strike against living conditions and wages at Wave Hill, and from the Aboriginal land rights movement:
Well I don't think it had an impact to any great degree. The Trade Union Movement's involvement with the Aboriginal cause in this country came much later. The more progressive people within the Trade Union Movement were pretty paternalistic to Aborigines, they were good to them, and nice to them, but in a paternalistic sense. In fact if we look back at the history of the union, and Bob Anderson whilst he was a member of the union, Bob's Aboriginality did not shine out to any great degree. That is a reflection on the historical process within the country and the Union Movement,

and it also reflects the measure of the union's attitude to and concern for the Aboriginal issue at that time.

There was an old lady in the Communist Party here in Brisbane, Daisy Macosotti I think her name was, who wrote a few books about the Aboriginal Movement in Queensland. She wrote a book about Weipa. The union was involved in that struggle because it effected us directly. What happened was, to build the bauxite mine site which union members eventually built, the people of Weipa were evacuated out of Weipa. We were involved in that to a degree, the union helping Daisy Macosotti to publish her pamphlet.

To a great degree the Trade Union Movement is still not involved in the struggle of the Aboriginal people for Reconciliation, equality and proper recognition. What that's due to, I don't really want to comment - only to say I don't think it's due to any racism or anything like that. I just think it's due to people getting their priorities mixed up and that's it.

The decline of the impact of the unions and what they stood for:
I think there are a lot of reasons for that decline. There are economic reasons within the country now that you can see. The new global economy has had a detrimental effect on the role of the trade unions. The thrust of the campaign by employers over the past decade is to get people onto contracts of employment rather than wages, in line with the down sizing of companies.

In this new environment, I'm not too sure of the survival of the building unions as a major force in the industry, as a large percentage of workers are now on contract, self-employed. When building apprentices conclude their apprenticeships and become tradesmen they've got to get a trade licence because it is just about becoming compulsory to be registered as a sub- contractor

whether you like it or not. So the building tradesmen of today are looked upon as a sort of cockroach contractor from the time they finish their apprenticeships. They enter a life where individuality and self-interest is the main motivation. I'm only commenting on matters that affect the building and construction industry as it's the one I know best.

The building industry has just about lost its tribalism - being a member of the team. Tribalism used to exist when workers were all employed by the same contractor. A decade ago big contractors like K.D. Morris, Pidgeons, Barclays and many others employed most of their workforce. Well now they don't employ anybody at the workplace. Contractors large and small in the building industry in this country, rely on the people who do the work at the work place to be self-employed contractors; a situation that creates conflict in the mind of the worker, and indeed the boss, about whether they should be members of the union. If the person doing the work at the work place is not self-employed, they are mostly employed by body hire companies or employment agencies and hired out to the contractor. Employment agencies don't encourage unionism, they don't encourage people to speak out about their rights or conditions and so on. So now, if they do, it's easier to tick them off and deny them employment.

It is a similar situation with apprentices. About 70% of apprentices in the industry are employed by a training agency and hired out to contractors on a needs basis, and throughout the apprenticeship, preparation is made for them to enter the world of subcontracting. Individualism is encouraged from the point of entry into the industry - a development that makes it hard for the unions to recruit members. If at the end of the youth's apprenticeship the goal is to be a subbie, it must beg the question, 'why be a member of the union?'

Another problem facing the Trade Union Movement is, it's business is still basically about looking after those people who are the members of their union and the members of their unions are diminishing. The Trade Union Movement does not place enough importance on helping the unemployed nor are they in the forefront of the great social, environmental and economic concerns of our time. Affiliation to a political party (leave it to the politicians) is no longer good enough. The unions must be seen to be part of these movements for change, which are continuous in Australian society.

These are some of the changes but there's also been the economic and technological changes that have impacted on the industry. New materials have come into our industry and new forms of technology, along with the reorganisation of the workplace and management. All that has had a major effect on the relationships between worker and worker, workers and management or their employers, and workers and the unions.

The Trade Union Movement, to be viable, has got to be very much out in front about the social political and economic issues in general, not just how it affects their members. It's too late for that. The global economy is not going to let them do that anyway nor will the exponential growth in communications. Information is global it belongs to anyone who has access to a TV or the Internet.

Meeting the challenge to employ strategies to ensure people were not just lost to the dole lines:
The impact of technology and the great changes that have taken place in the last 10 years, and the resistance of the Trade Union Movement to change, have affected the way the union has met that challenge. For example, the demarcation that prevailed within the Trade Union Movement - the ownership of work, the ownership of tools, the ownership of equipment by the union and their members - meant that if new bits of technology came into the

industry, a section of the Union Movement would grab it and say, that's mine, only my members can use it or do that task. These attitudes, hard line protectionism, are holding the unions and the enterprise back.

Industry was looking for more flexibility, they wanted more multiskilled workers. Whereas the more conservative Union Movement didn't want that because it would mean that members of other unions could do the tasks.

Looking back to when the Hawke/Keating government were supportive and promotional about enterprise bargaining (E.B.A.) and the need for changes in the work place, the Trade Union Movement, the unions, I believe, should have co-operated to a larger degree than what they did (instead of criticizing the Hawke government and really getting into Keating about those changes). The unions resisted enterprise bargaining because they had no faith in the workplace consultative committee to effect change at the workplace. They did not believe that an E.B.A. could protect wages and conditions. The unions were fearful of the threat to the centralised power base of the union and the threat to the award system. (Everybody to be treated the same.)

I make the point that I am not referring to certified agreements between an employee and employer. I am referring to workplace agreements. If you are in there on the ground, in the box seat sort of business, you've got a far better opportunity for bargaining than you'd have on the outside and many unions stayed on the outside of the E.B.A. experiment.

I notice that recently the Queensland Labor Government has legislated to revert back to centralised bargaining - the general award system. This is a strategy that may prove not to be correct in the long term, in my view. Whether you support Capitalism or not,

and most people do, we've got a Capitalist society in this country. There are other alternative economic models that have been tried throughout the world, like that in the Soviet Union, but they have all failed.

There is no alternative model on the horizon. We've got a system here which is Capitalist and which is democratic and I believe that's not going to change in the short term. That's going to be here for quite some time, so we've got to work within that framework to bring about immediate changes and wider long term changes within industry and society generally. To do that, I think the enterprises themselves must become efficient Australian enterprises and must be the best; not being the best means our living standards wither.

You've got to have innovative enterprises, that are efficient. They must have flexibility. People must be able to do a broad range of skills, not just focus on, this task or that task. There's a great number of employers who want to train their workers, to get their enterprises into what they call best practice mode; and that's a fact, they do want to do that. Capitalism has got to do that to survive; the enterprise has got to do that. In the process, some workers suffer because they get the sack; but if the unions are not represented at the enterprise, well they're not going to have any say in its direction.

I think it's a great tragedy that the Trade Union Movement is down to about 35% of the workforce and that 35%, the great majority of that, is from the public sector. If you had a look at just the private sector, as to how many people were in trade unions, it's rather small.

Problems with moving on:
I can only give my own observations about the reason for this. I think that within the Trade Union Movement it requires a fair

degree of courage, to come out and speak about things that are not relatively popular amongst other trade unionists, and which some may see as not the way forward.

For example the maritime dispute was the most crucial industrial dispute of recent times. I supported it. My wife and I gave donations, we were on the picket line, we supported them morally and argued for the strikers cause with friends and associates. But at the end of the day, the things that the water front employers wanted, in the main, that's what they got. The Patrick's Stevedores had to get it, the water front had to change. Some of those working conditions and elite types of privileges that existed within the water front, had to change. It has changed and I think it has changed for the better, for our nation.

The positive outcome for the union movement was the union survived and indeed a lot of people in this country saw it as a struggle for the survival of unionism. I think this was the main ingredient of such wide community support. In the process a number of workers were adversely affected, given redundancy payments which are probably spent in a couple of years. That means that the government has got to provide for alternative training programs, alternative employment programs, at a much higher level than what it's currently doing today so that alternative employment can be provided.

I think there's also a power base within many of the trade unions - people who look after their own little dunghill. The Trade Union Movement is not a monolithic organisation and there are power struggles that go on within unions, between unions and between state organisations and national organisations. There are also seats of power for various ideological reasons that people want to hang onto, that's always been there. Sometimes it's for the good, sometimes it's not.

I think wherever you look you see people being affected by change. It's all around us, restructuring, deregulation, job insecurity and redistribution of wealth away from the poor and the middle class to the rich. It is a world wide phenomenon of Capitalism. It's global Capitalism's business plan. The $64 question is how do you change this direction without changing the system? With great difficulty I would suggest but we must continue to struggle to get a more equal share of the country's wealth.

Union response to the globalisation of the economy:
It's not so strange that a large section of Trade Union Movements are so forceful in opposition to globalisation, as we recently saw at the World Economic Forum in Melbourne. I've always been against the multinationals and what they've done to workers through their imperialistic exploitation in third world countries, and in our own country where a great many of our resources are owned by companies with their decision making bodies in other countries.

You really can't track ownership down. Many of the national building companies in Australia are foreign owned. In fact big companies like Theiss, Leightons and John Holland Construction, which are the three major companies operating in Australia, are all owned by the same mother company. It is a German building and construction company, Hochtief, with headquarters in Essen, and with companies operating under different names here in Australia. Now that's only one example and you can multiply that dozens of times.

The Trade Union Movement set out on a path (back in the mid 70s to late 70s, culminating in the mid 80s) to develop super unions, the corporate giants of the Trade Union Movement. There was certainly a need for amalgamation of unions, because there were too many unions throughout Australia; and of course our union (C.F.M.E.U.) which started off as the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, was in the forefront of bringing about amalgamations in the building unions.

We brought together, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, plasterers, stone masons, painters and decorators and other building unions to form the industry union - B.W.I.U. Today the B.W.I.U. is known as the C.F.M.E.U. It is the major building and construction union throughout Australia. It is also the major mining union and the timber workers union. It is a super union. Bill Kelty's idea of super unions (and he used the phrase), which has connotations similar to globalisation, brought in the corporate aspect to the Trade Union Movement. I don't know how many unions there are in Australia now but certainly there are not as many as were there when I was in the Trade Union Movement.

The point I would like to make about super unions is that unions for decades campaigned for amalgamation of unions within a given industry, one industry unions. That didn't happen in Australia. What happened was political amalgamations and that's why you see the C.F.M.E.U. amalgamated with the miners union, because the miners union were a left wing union and our union (B.W.I.U.) was left wing. If you go through some of the other unions you'll see they amalgamated with other unions because of their right wing politics, others amalgamated because of their centre politics. So union amalgamation in this country was based on political and ideological issues rather than industrial unionism within a given industry. The plumbers union amalgamated with the telephone/ communication union and what's the common interest there other than politics, I don't know.

That's the reality and it's still got to be proven whether super unions are the correct path for unions in Australia but I think it entrenches the old right-v-left concept and helps to divide the unions and enshrines the factional system. I don't think, in the long term, that is a good thing for the advancement of the Trade Union Movement or the Workers' Movement in this country.

International networking:
The top echelon of the Trade Union Movement is not isolated from what goes on internationally in the Trade Union Movement. The World Federation of Trade Union Movements is still functioning. It was led mainly by the Soviet Union before its demise, and it is still a force in the international Trade Union Movement. Then there is the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which a lot of unions in Australia are affiliated with. There's been significant exchange of unionists from Australia visiting other countries and vice verse. It has been a characteristic of the movement for decades and is a good thing.

In Australia there's been an alliance with the Pacific Island nations, developed by the A.C.T.U. that's been going for about 25 years or more and I'm sure there's a great exchange of ideas and values as to how to improve the lot of the working people within the region. There's also been a close association with the leadership of the Australian Trade Union Movement and the Asian nations and a strong alliance with the British, Italian and Greek Trade Unions. Australian unions have made important contributions to workers of other countries.

Unions' role in challenging globalisation and support of protest movements:
The president of the A.C.T.U. was a speaker at the recent World Economic Forum in Melbourne and some of the A.C.T.U. officials picketed the casino as well. They were supporting the demonstrators because there was an alternative viewpoint to put forward to that which was coming out of the conference. They were also there to ensure that trade unionists were able to get to work at the casino and earn their livelihood. I think all that was good and some comments, that have come from the conference organisers, have supported the need for the demonstrators' views to be part of the debate.

I don't think people want to be dominated by global politics. I think at the end of the day it's going to be a bad thing. What stops globalisation I'm not sure. Once something gathers momentum it's pretty hard to stop and here we have the evolution of Capitalism into modern Capitalism. Karl Marx predicted this development and it's surprised me in recent times that Karl Marx is quoted by capitalist spokes people, who are saying well this bloke had a bit going for him you know, he analysed capitalist development and he predicted global Capitalism.

I think some things have just got to run their course. At this point in time, what is in place in the economic formation, is globalisation, and it is the centre piece of development. However, the inherent contradictions of capitalist society, that is the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces, along with all the positive changes that are taking place, will lead to a qualitative change somewhere down the track, which hopefully will be in the interests of the great majority of the people and not the small minority. Great movements of people change things. It's not always the case that things change for the best. We saw all the impoverishment in Germany in the 30s which lead to a big movement to the right and then the Nazis came to power. They came to power through appealing to the lowest common denominator.

We've seen in this country people supporting the rise of Hansonism in the state of Queensland because they are attracted to easy solutions. This resulted in the One Nation Party achieving 11 seats through the democratic process and therefore the right to be in the Queensland State Parliament. There was not a more conservative force in this country than when Bjelke Peterson came to power and besides being a conservative force, he was inarticulate, arrogant and ignorant. Yet the support that he had, because he appealed to the lowest common instinct in people, helped him survive for 20

years as leader of the government and nobody could tackle him. That lead to a situation where there was no separation of power because he controlled the police and the judiciary.

It does well to remember that during the days when Bob Anderson and I were struggling against the Vietnam War, against apartheid, for the right to march, and for Aborigines, the police force in this state could do anything. We were arrested many times. Meetings of the Communist Party, meetings of the Trade Union Movement were spied upon by A.S.I.O. and the Special Branch. These police had enormous power to do all sorts of things to various people in the community. You could be harassed, threatened and charged for nothing more than one's trade union activities, membership of the Communist Party or some other progressive organisation, and for just being outspoken against the government of the day.

Unions' role in political education:
I think that the great majority of people, they're thinkers, they're readers, and they're far better educated today than they ever were and there's a lot of good people out there. There's a lot of good people who live in my street, and I'm friends with most of them, but when you get talking to them about some of their ideas, including about Aborigines, oh it's terrible, absolutely dreadful! Yet they're supporters of the Labor Party and on other issues they're progressive but they haven't got a common thread that runs through life's values.

I can always recall that during the period we were out demonstrating, and Queenslanders did a lot of that in the 1970s, there was a common thread amongst demonstrators. You had a common cause with other demonstrators because you were united on issues. Whether it was about the environment, about blacks, the trade unionists, democratic rights or some other issue, you were participating in the demonstration because you had this vision.

You had an ideological position, some form of idealism about making the world a better place. I think that many people lack that in today's world.

In those days it was the Communist Party that injected into the Trade Union Movement, that sort of world outlook, the broader perspective was 'get involved in all of these issues'. Members of the Communist Party would come and see you and say 'hey look you should be involved in this or that issue' and on most issues they were right.

That type of grass roots alliance between the unions and social movements does not seem to be present in today's society. Yet the reality is that many of the social movements have wide public support, particularly the Aboriginal Movement in Australia. The organisations themselves, have recognition and have Federal funding. They've got their own leadership and they don't rely on resources and help from the unions. I think that's a good thing. It gets away from any paternalistic concepts. But at the end of the day the achievement of Reconciliation requires the broadest support of the Australian people and it's to be hoped that the unions are in the forefront of the struggle.

Extract: *Guardian Weekly*, *International News 21-27/9/2000*
"Global Rise in Anti-Union Violence" Seumas Milne

> The number of trade unionists killed for organising workers around the world was 140 last year, an increase of 17 on 1998, with torture, beatings and imprisonment also on the rise in an increasingly anti-union global environment, according to a survey by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U).
>
> Latin America is the world's most dangerous region for trade unionists, with 90 killed in 1999 because of union activity and the widespread jailing and torture of activists.

Columbia is the undisputed capital of anti-union terror with 69 assassinations, often by government-linked paramilitaries, bringing to 1,336 the number of unionists murdered in the country since 1991 - and hundreds kidnapped or forced into exile.

Among those murdered was Cesar Herrera Torreglosa, a leader of the agricultural workers' union, victim of a drive-by shooting last December. An organiser of banana workers, he had reported death threats to police, who took no action.

Killings of trade unionists during strikes and demonstrations took place in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Brazil, Argentina and Ecuador. Nearly 3,000 unionists were jailed in Latin America, and levels of exploitation are reported to be intensifying.

In Asia last year 33 members of the Nepalese Teachers' Union were murdered. A Turkish union leader died in police custody and another was assassinated; Indonesian union protests were broken up with beatings. In Burma the army shelled a village that was to host a union sponsored human rights event.

There was heavy anti-union repression across the continent, particularly in the export-processing zones used to attract foreign capital. Market reforms in China have given rise to strikes and protests, frequently broken up by force. In Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region, trade unions are banned.

In eastern Europe nine trade unionists were killed in 1999, including several in Russia. Disputes about unpaid wages and deteriorating working conditions attracted widespread violence against activists, as union rights were restricted.

In Africa the I.C.F.T.U. reports the death in prison of two teachers' leaders in Ethiopia last year, the beating of strikers in Kenya, the deaths of union leaders in Morocco and the torture of union activists in Togo.

2. MOVEMENTS TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE

Many organisations have aims and objectives which serve to bring about positive changes within the Australian social and political terrain. In Robert Anderson's experience these organisations both contribute to the social and political awareness of their members and receive contributions from their members that progress their policies and activities.

Queensland Conservation Council:
In the 1960s I was invited by people I knew in the Conservation Movement to attend their meetings. I've always been a conservationist so I took the advantage of doing that and I was on the executive of the Queensland Conservation Council for some time. The organisation was starting to totter a bit and on the basis of that I did not pursue my membership of the Council. I see that it is still doing good work and Imogen Zeethoven, I think she's the secretary or an officer, is on the television making some very good statements there. There's always the need for conservation and as a natural conservationist I was drawn to the organisation and the people in it.

Australian Peace Committee:
There's a natural flow on because you meet people, other union members who are members of various organisations and the Australian Peace Committee was one of those. When you talk in terms of the need for global disarmament, well it is natural that you would involve yourself in it, because as I said, peace is union business. Jack Sherrington is a very good friend of mine and he was the treasurer of the Queensland Peace Committee some years ago, when peace was a dirty word. In those days when you spoke of peace and you had to go to peace meetings, you wouldn't wear any good clothing for fear that you'd get spat on

or had dirt slung at you. In rallies there was a combined movement to thwart the peace movement. As I said before there was some suggestion that they were a communist front organisation.

It's the same stupid attitude that was abroad when the Chinese decided they'd had enough of foreign powers and kicked the invaders out and declared China a republic. The hue and cry around that time, was that they were going to invade this country and when it was pointed out they didn't have a flotilla of ships anyway, they thought they'd float down on bamboo rafts. Such was the ingrained opposition that white Australia had toward Asians. The Chinese haven't arrived in bulk as yet.

I also travelled to the Philippines for an International Seminar for Peace and Development, opposing foreign military bases, organised through Peace organisations. I also took part in demonstrations against Pine Gap in the Northern Territory and Nurrungar in South Australia, serving five days in jail that time, for refusing to pay a fine for trespassing on US bases.

In my own terms, I see conservation and peace as directly related to my culture. It means that my mind and my spirit are attuned to what I have to do to walk the land to nurture the land, and to keep it in the pristine condition that my forebears, my forefathers and mothers created for me. It's a great pleasure for me to go and walk my country with other members of my clan group, Ngugi people, to sing up the spirits of our ancestors. You can do that with the full freedom of spirit when there's no suggestion of invading forces or the nuclear holocaust or whatever's happening in other countries, visiting this country.

Australians for Reconciliation Committee (Queensland):
I seized on the opportunity to interest myself in Reconciliation to assist to progress it. I was elected Chairperson on the 13th

December 1996. It means different things to different people and there are different levels of expectancy amongst our community people and I can understand their attitude toward it.

One of the elder women over Bribie way, she did say at the Woodford festival, it might have been last year, she'll know when Reconciliation is working when their country is returned. That's the viewpoint of a number of people. Others say that because some of their families have been disadvantaged by being part of the stolen generation that they are really dispirited about it. They just don't seem to know how to address it, or to disperse the anger that they've got inside themselves. As you move along, you're going to encounter all that as you go.

I do notice that with the philosophy and the program that the Lord Mayor of Brisbane introduced, and that's the Bringing Them Home, (when we all marched into the city precincts, which was quite an outstanding, very sensitive and personal and emotional gathering for us all) that there are members of the stolen generation who have got no families at all. They've got no relatives, no families, yet I've noticed with some of the women that I've met in that situation, there is a great calmness on them. They're not angry, they're not vitriolic, they just conduct themselves with great calmness to get what they can out of life and contribute as they go along too. So there are those different facets on what life has done to people and how they are able to respond to it and develop something inside themselves, along with great dignity and calmness I might add.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Consultative Committee for the Queensland Museum Board of Trustees:
I was appointed by Joan Sheldon, when she was the Minister for the Arts under the Coalition Government. So I've been on that body since then. I have been the Chair of the Aboriginal Consultative Committee to the Queensland Museum and what the Queensland

Museum Board did, was invite me to sit in on their meetings (when I wasn't a member of the Board) as acknowledgment of the importance of the Consultative Committee. So I was sitting on Board meetings before I was actually appointed. That's something of the intent of the Board and the Chair of the Board and the Board members themselves.

Museums tell the stories of their area, of their state or whatever the area that is bound, and they are a depository of history and artefacts, memorabilia. The Queensland Museum, with the amount of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander material there, is a repository that Aboriginal communities can draw on to trace back some of their own history that's deposited in the Queensland Museum.

The policy that they developed over recent years, with the employment of Michael Aird as the senior curator of Aboriginal studies, allowed community people to access the museum to look at artefacts. Michael is also a very good and very professional photographer and he built up a library of photographs there. Community people throughout Queensland are now able to access photographs that they never knew existed of their loved ones. So with that development it shows good intent and progression along those lines. I've been over there on many occasions when there's been groups of 10, 20 people from different communities going through the photographs and the artefacts stored there.

The other matter too is the sensitive issue of human remains and grave goods there. Well the museum is doing everything that it can to assist communities to identify and deal with the matter of repatriation of that material; but you would understand because of its sensitive nature, that those are things that you can't rush. What the museum has done to make its statement is render all material in the museum accessible. They say there are no restrictions on it,

they will assist communities, that have got the right to have the material, to repatriate it back, but in the meantime the material will be looked after on their behalf until such times as they want to take it away.

My understanding is, from what I've heard from community people throughout Queensland, the museum is a good safe place to leave all that information, all that property, until you want it. I understand too that communities are prepared to take things out on loan and return them because it is a good place to leave your material. That says a lot. It's a changed situation because it's only in recent times that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would consider going anywhere near such places.

Murri Country Radio 4AAA, Brisbane Indigenous Media Association:
I was invited to fill a vacancy on the Board out there, I suppose eight years ago, so I've enjoyed my position there. It's a great thing, it's a great station. I've had the good opportunity to work with Rossi Watson when he was working out there and now Tiga Bayles. I watched with great interest when Rossi Watson was there, to study the personality of the man. He's done a tremendous job with the structuring of the station to get it up and running and he doesn't rest on his laurels. He's now on about, setting up a credit union, and I must compliment him too on what he's done with the Murri School. He is one of the great achievers Rossi. He doesn't say too much at times but he's always there. I'm sure that he will also succeed with his new venture.

A radio station is outstanding as a community function, not only for our community, it is a real warming thing for other people who like country and western music too. All the figures indicate that listeners to the radio station are growing in vast numbers and if you want to talk in terms of the Reconciliation process, it is great.

Tiga and the team went down to cover the Olympic Games and they went down to cover Corroboree 2000, so it says a lot for the capacity, the ability and the high level of professionalism they have out there to reach that level and status whereby they are in demand.

What I'd also like to say about it is, (I've said it to some people recently) when they talk in terms of community needs, Murri Radio 4AAA is as good as a visit from the doctor to your home. When people are feeling a bit poorly about themselves, particularly oldies that can't get around too much, all they do is switch on Murri Radio 4AAA, hear those wonderful people out there, their voices and the music coming across, and it's good, it's a real shot in the arm. It's the elixir of life itself. It gives them hope, and that's why when I've represented Triple A to the ATSIC Regional Council, I've always stated that Murri Radio is as equal in terms of funding as the health organisation. It keeps our community people spiritually healthy.

When you talk in terms of the Gympie muster, well Gympie's not got a very good reputation for its association with blacks over the last 200 years, so it does wonders up there to help bridge those gaps. There's also the other festival in Tamworth, so the input and the assistance that Triple A is able to give other broadcasters down there, marks it as being very professional and very helpful. There's something for everybody on Murri Radio 4 AAA and the many occasions I travel in taxis, the amount of cabbies that have got it on Triple A is remarkable and says wonders in itself.

It puts me in mind of New Theatre that I mentioned earlier. One of the people I was involved with there was Stan Arthur who was interested in Australian folk music and ballads and he and I were very good companions for years later. As we grew to know each other in New Theatre it was Stan's suggestion that we form the Brisbane Bush Music Club with the Bushwackers Band, and it

promoted all those wonderful songs that make reference to what was happening in the development years in this country.

Sadly, there were no songs that related to Aboriginal rights and struggle in that period but since then there's been a transformation in the amount of songs that are about, that detail what has gone on in the past, what's happening in the present and what's required of the future. I'm always enthralled when I hear Kevin Carmody. I don't hear enough of him as a matter of fact. He's a wonderful artist and to me he expresses the same spirit and passion and desire as I've heard performed by some of the Irish singers in days of Yore with their confrontation with the English when they occupied the emerald isle and their songs of resistance and struggle. Kevin Carmody expresses that.

New Theatre plays were good informative stuff to arouse social consciousness about a number of things that were happening in Australia, and in the South Pacific too, that could effect the lives and the future of everybody; most certainly when you talk in terms of atom bomb testing in the atolls of the South Pacific, that forever disrupted the lives of those independent nation states there. It is a tragedy that seems to have faded into obscurity and people should start asking questions now. What has happened to those people whose lives were disrupted by the atom bomb tests in Bikini Atoll and all those areas of the South Pacific and how much has it contributed to global warming? There are world wide ramifications.

The rocket range and the British atom bomb test at Marralinga and all of those things there, people should start revisiting them and find out just what the situation is for those people who were hunted off their traditional lands. Are their lands safe now in the year 2000 bordering on 2001? When I'm saying this I'm looking at a photo of myself with Nelson Mandella, Joe McGuiness and Yami Lester. Yami Lester finished up blind from those A-bomb tests

in his area, so it is stark testimony to the past, to what still has to be reconciled and to the fact that justice has to be served.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School:
I was invited to go on the school Board too. We used to meet up in Dornoch Tce. in part of a facility there that was owned by the Catholic Church. It seemed to me very unchristian and very uncatholic the attitude the church authorities displayed toward the school there. The kids had not a very good playground area and the Board had to meet under the house at the school. When those westerly winds used to blow through from across the St. Lucia flats and the Brisbane River it was pretty bloody chilly. We persevered and then the school was able to get accommodation in a school building over in Hale Street and that was much better. The surroundings were conducive for kids to learn and so that improved them no end.

When we had the Federal Minister Kemp come to visit us, we got the funding to buy the Acacia Ridge State School and that was like a dream come true to all those who were in at Grade 1 to get the school functioning. I notice too that the levels at the end of term exams are the equivalent or better than any of the private schools around Queensland. That says a lot. Kids will learn when they are in an environment that's conducive to learning.

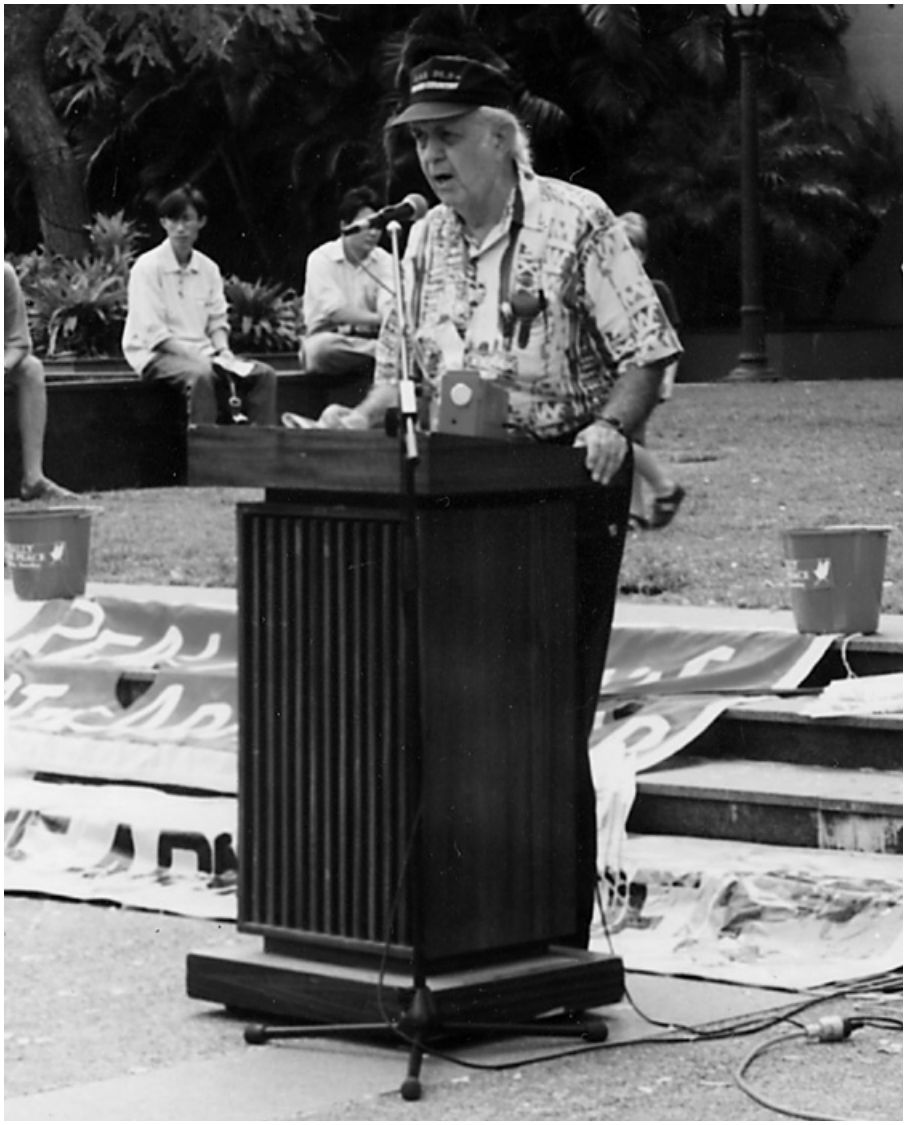
People might raise their eyebrows and say it's segregation. It's not segregation at all when you see all the denominational schools that are around the place that receive funding from government or governments, so it' s not segregation. To their credit Minister Kemp came up with the money, so he doesn't think it's segregation. We're about 2.5% of the national population so we've got rights to bring our kids up and tutor them in the same fashion as others have.

Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action:
I think it was in the Brisbane City Square (it was either a Palm Sunday peace rally or a Hiroshima day rally), when I was attracted to F.A.I.R.A. Bob Weatherall was invited in there to speak and it was the first time I'd seen Bob Weatherall as some people brought him over to where I was perched near the fountain and we met and spoke for the first time. Within a short space of time, because of some other rally pending, I was down at the F.A.I.R.A. office when it was at Wharf Street. I got talking to them about a number of things and then I kept visiting the office. They later got accomodation at Murri Mura at South Brisbane and I was a frequent visitor over there.

I got to know Bob better and found him an amazingly warm and wonderful bloke. Nothing was any trouble to him at all. He'd talk to people on the issues and he was a very good communicator. They rented a place up at St. Paul's Tce. and from there they moved to where they are now at Balaclava Street Woolloongabba. I was invited and elected onto the Management Committee of F.A.I.R.A. and I was an office bearer there for a lot of years.

Once I was down at Adelaide because I was going out to Nurrungar as a peace activist to protest at the American base at Nurrungar. There was something on, so I rang F.A.I.R.A. and said "I want to make some statement, is it OK if I say I'm a member of the board at F.A.I.R.A". They said "You can say you're the vice president, because we've elected you as vice president in your absence". So I was able to do that down there. I got on tremendously well with the mob there and what attracted me was that F.A.I.R.A was a political organisation. It was the only political voice that blacks had in Queensland, so that warmed me to the organisation and maintained the interest in F.A.I.R.A. that I still have.

Above: Nelson Mandella with Karen Flick, Bob Anderson, Joe McGuinness, Yami Lester, Barbara Flick and in front, Ben Moffat 24.10.1990. (Photograph courtesy of Barry McKinnon and News Limited.)



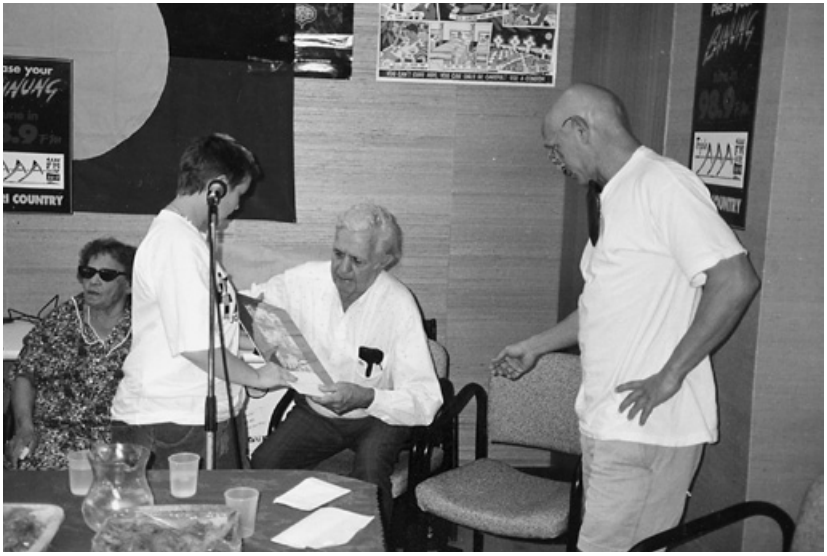
Above: Palm Sunday Peace Rally 1997

Above right: 4AAA Outside Broadcast Van

Below right: Rossi Watson (right), with Aunty Janie Arnold and Robert Anderson, Murri Country Radio 4AAA studio Brisbane

Above: Hand prints Corroboree 2000, Sydney


MURRI COUNTRY 98.9FM
Triple
4AAA
FM
98·9



Right: Open day, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School Highgate Hill, 1990

Below: Bob Weatherall (right) in action with camera, 1988

Top: 17/6/98, in class at the Murri School

Middle: Murri School Acacia Ridge

Bottom: School bus

At that time F.A.I.R.A. was getting out information to people on what the actual position for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders was in Queensland. The membership and the board members were from all over the state so it was able to give a good state expression on what was happening and what needed to be done. It encouraged the government of the day to deal with things that had been neglected for years. It had representatives from all different places and was a very good lobby group. James Taylor the goanna used to come down from Mt. Isa, an indication of how wide spread its representatives were. There was always an association with all the politicos around the state and Mick Miller was also involved.

I first met Mick Miller and Pat O'Shane during the time that I was an Organiser with the Builders Workers' Union. Mick was married to Patsy then and they were living under a place near the five ways in Cairns. Sometimes if I'm passing near that area I reflect on those formative years and people like them in education. They were the forerunners of the changes being brought about and it's to their credit the way they were persistent and insistent. I also had the opportunity of meeting Pat's mother, Gladys O'Shane, when she was in Brisbane on one occasion. It was the only occasion I did meet her and I found her to be a wonderful woman with a political mind and great warmth of personality.

As the years went by times changed and so did F.A.I.R.A.'s role and, to me, it was a disappointment. The attitude changed and it took on more the role of a watch dog which is not the role of a Land Councils' representative body. A governing committee should instruct and direct their employees to deal with things in the proper way, otherwise it fails in its obligation to deliver to the community the full benefits of the aims and objectives of the organisation.

Murriimage Community Video and Film Service, (established 1985), and the Indigenous Information Service 1990 - 1999:
I think the Indigenous Information Service, as a small grass roots organisation that makes facilities available to produce a record and espouse what the community is about, for sale or publication for whatever purposes, is a good organisation in itself. Such organisations, not being in the big league so to speak, can offer and give a service peculiar to their community.

Also information technologies, without a doubt, are playing a role in Aboriginal communities and will play a big role with globalisation. Our kids are as astute as anybody else's, and our young people are the same. They must have access to learn the techniques that are available and use them to do with them whatever they wish. Identifying themselves, their communities and hopes and aspirations makes a contribution to changes that are necessary in all spheres of life and living. This is not only in our own country, but in others too through the technological internet age.

There is a danger however that if you're not skilled up to the technology you get left behind and many people may be left behind. That also raises the matter of whether it's the right way to conduct that business which should be done in what you would call a traditional way. At this stage in history, old people, language people, like to do business in a certain way and that should be encouraged and they should be accorded that right.

Quandamooka Lands Council:
Quandamooka Lands Council was incorporated in 1991. I think it is remarkable what the community has achieved in such a short time in relation to our land rights, the progression of our land claim. The Aboriginal housing over there, the structure that they have in place and their ownership, I understand, of the Myora Caravan Park,

which is part of the old Myora Mission itself. So all those things are quite meaningful and I think they could have some other business interests. The community is going ahead very well.

The Quandamooka Lands Council's principle aim was to have our rights restored and acknowledged by the prevailing society and government. We are quite able to manage our own affairs and so on, and have a right to be involved in the development of anything that occurred on our island or islands and anything that occurs in our waterways that affect the lives and future of the place that we've got responsibilities to. Also our airways which are very important too as they are the conveyors of the birds with their passage of flight. The eating of seeds and fruits from different areas helps to pollinate and cross pollinate the flowers and plant life over there for regeneration of the cycles.

I'm always conscious that around Melbourne Cup time it means that the gum trees, the eucalyptus, are in flower over there and swarms of mountain parrot will fly over from the mainland to feast on the nuts and seeds from those trees and it means that the sea mullet are running too. So it's all those messages that you get from the different messengers that herald what's approaching. So all of those things were in place before white calendars and the Melbourne Cups and things like that. So we respond to our traditional messages and we know what's there see.

I understand also that the relationship with the Redlands Shire Council is good but not living over at the island, I'm not quite sure if there's been any shift in position by any individual members of the Redlands Council. Mayor Santa Giuliana had a strong committment and a strong association and warmth toward Quandamooka people. I think the Accord that was struck with the Quandamooka Lands Council and the Redlands Shire, to me, was quite good. It was quite descriptive and it was based on trust. I've always said that the

spirit of that document was what white fellas used to always pride themselves on years ago when I was growing up. What I'd hear was that a hand shake was as binding as any written legal document, so to me it was expressing that same expression. If that sustains itself on that level well then it augers well for everybody as everybody are beneficiaries to what happens.

In regard to the question of what's happening with the marine creatures it is a must. I think they're able to address it, but they're not enforcing, that's the damage that's done to turtles in particular by propellor blades. I understand there are some shielding methods around propellors that would avoid fatal damage to the turtles over there.

There are dugong herds there growing up as well but that situation could change if there is any measure of pollution in the bay. I do think that the Brisbane City Council over the course of the years has ceased industries along the river that create pollution to the area. I think that's pretty well in place. The Policy Council that meets on a regular basis in Brisbane is a composition of representatives of state government plus mayors from the catchment area where all waters flow in, that would be east of the ranges. That would mean Mayors from Ipswich, Caloundra, Brisbane and wherever, are involved in dialogue there to work co-operatively together to ensure that what flows into the bay, Quandamooka waters, is o.k. and not harmful because getting back to what I said before, if it harms one it harms all. Pollution does not discriminate.

The association with the dolphin as well, has always been there. The stories are told how the men would hit the sea bottom with their spears and that would alert the dolphins that they would like their assistance to shoal up the fish and drive them in shore. Around Amity Point in particular when they did that the men would go out with their tow row nets to harvest the fish and feed some

of their friends with the spoils. I dare say Ngugi people would do the same thing in the areas of Mulgumpin. My mother was born at a gathering place, Cooran, Burrin Minjerribah, South Straddie, at a fisherman's camp there. Very prestigous place now. They have a fancy name now, they call it Cooran Cove, very prestigous and big money to go and reside over there. I think Cooran Cove is owned or managed by Ron Clarke, the Olympic athlete.

Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders' Council:
The Elders Council was incorporated in 1993 and the relationship with the lands council is pretty good. At the last Quandamooka elections, Pat Iselin, who is an elder married to Margaret Iselin, who is the president of the Elders' council, is now the Chairperson of the Quandamooka Lands Council. Aunty Margaret is also on the lands council, plus Cliff Campbell and I think a couple of other elders. I am enthralled about the Elders themselves because it is the proper way to do business. The Elders Council should be the source of advice to the land council or councils in the area, or for any information on how to proceed with matters. Once that is clearly understood you get a better response and a better flow on what is necessary.

One of the disadvantages is that there are only three general meetings of the Elders Council a year so it takes on the format of a centralisation of authority into an executive committee. That's the whitefella way of doing business and I think it inhibits the quality of input. A much broader group of people and their life's experience is needed. That's the one thing that concerns me, it is not a broad representative view point and it is inconsistent of our philosophy, so we must thrive to get back to that as a matter of some urgency.

Queensland State Land Tribunal 1993:
Someone I know inside the Land Tribunal Office rang me up and said, "Did you see a notice in the paper on Saturday" and I said, "No

but I'll have a look" and it was calling for expressions of interest for people to become members of the State Land Tribunal. I put in an expression of interest and only sat on one land claim and that was the Simpson Desert claim that effected the lives of Wonkonguru Wonkamudla people, I think were the two groups out there. That claim went in and out of Birdsville for 10 days. I found it quite fascinating to meet the people of the area and to walk the country with them.

I felt quite honoured about that and to listen to their stories about their countries. In fact I think somebody said that one of the areas we went into with the white fellas on the tribunal, they were the first white people that had been in that area for 90 years. The last white fella in there prior to that was Giles the explorer. So when we talk in terms of distant areas well they are some parts of Australia that are distant and inaccessible and no value to lots of people, but most certainly of value to people who have got that traditional association and who know the stories of the area. I was absolutely fascinated.

I was also honoured by the people there, in that after a couple of days of sitting down at the hearing, it might have been the third morning, I walked over to where everybody was there gathered outside the hearing place and different people were calling me Tjilpi, "Good morning Tjilpi." A high rank of honour had been bestowed on me by the people and it made me feel very emotional. During the hearing I had to sit down with women and some of the things were sensitive information so it was a matter of trust how I conveyed that information to the Tribunal. It is also the respect we have for each other, people acting properly in the traditional sense. It is a great warming thing and a great sense of national pride and nationhood that we have never lost and still exchange.

Brisbane Council of Elders:
The purpose of the Brisbane Council of Elders was to talk about the rights and needs of the various people where the elders were resident. I'm the public officer of the Brisbane Council of Elders so I attend meetings when I'm able to and there's always a good attendance at meetings and a lot of business is covered.

Lately they've been doing a very good job on the C.D.E.P. programs, the cluster groups that the Brisbane Council of Elders are responsible for, and that in itself is a good structure. The C.D.E.P. programs assist to start promoting younger people and introduce them to work. How it is able to be progressed from there, I'm always hopeful will lead to long term employment for our young people, with some of the skills that they should be developing with the C.D.E.P. programs.

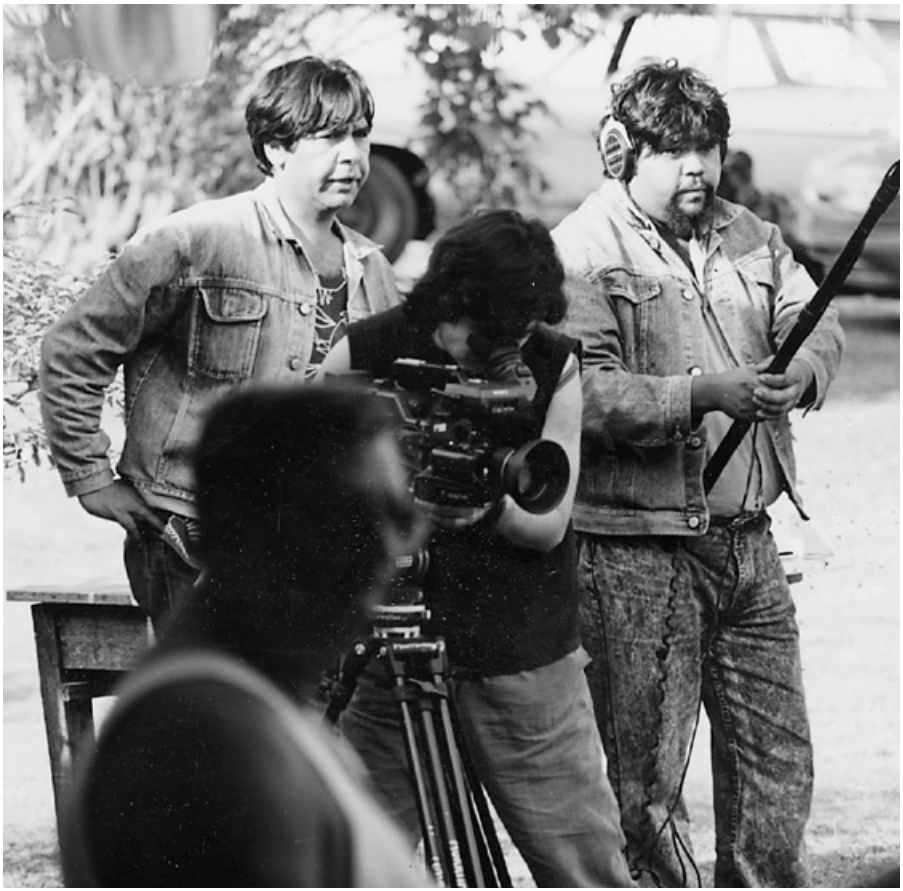
My understanding is that the Brisbane Council of Elders, under the presidency of Herb Bligh, is doing a good job in relation to those programs. So elders are playing their role at all levels and in a variation of things.

Official Visitor Queensland Corrective Services Commission (1992 - 1995):
Crime is, in the main, created by people who have particular needs. It depends on the magnitude of the crime before it leads to investigation into what the causes are. My own opinion is that crime starts when traditional structures are broken and people don't have control over their lives and their destiny. When it starts going awry it's generally associated with poverty. Crime is associated with poverty. There are others, of course, where people, because they are not very good people, commit crimes against each other that are terrible but in the main the offences that connect most of our people with judicial and corrective services, start with poverty, hopelessness and despair and have an historic context.

Corrective means they are correcting the offending behaviour of the person. Well firstly they have to understand what is needed, for our people who go into the prison system, to assist them to make any adjustments that are required and to assist rehabilitation. That's getting back to their cultural practices and a better understanding of them, their arts and cultural ways. I was mostly at Gwandalan for three years, which is a community correctional centre over at Woolloongabba. Most of the people, when they go to those places, are on their way out and phasing back into mainstream society and they sort of do what they have to do to fill in their time until they are out on the road.

What's required is in the custodial correction centres themselves. In there they must understand what created the behaviour in the first place and programs must be in place to assist them to correct offending behaviour. It was my understanding there that at that time there was little or nothing being done to assist rehabilitation. In fact, as by some freak of chance, I was appointed a temporary official visitor to Sir David Longland prison and during that period 12 of the men up there went on a 33 day hunger strike to draw attention to the failure of the state government to respond adequately to the recommendations in the Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. As a result of that action, structures were put in place that allowed them to start conducting their own classes, arts classes, and initially get people over the hump of being in maximum security prisons so that they wouldn't do themselves self-harm. As a result of that dispute an area was set aside for them to do their cultural practices.

However, with the development of programs, there you've got the superimposition of the apparatus of the state. One of our community people, a woman who is a programs officer, works with our fellas in there for suitable programs for them, art or whatever, but has a manager of programs who could override the programs



Top left: **Brisbane Council of Elders** - (Golden Oldies event 2000)

Front Row: Jessie Budby, Valda Coolwell, Phillys Dillon (Aunty Mulinjarlie), Clarice Watego; Back Row: Robert Anderson, Herb Bligh (Chairperson), Lorna Bligh, Emma Beard, Val Smith.

Bottom left: **Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders in Council** -

Front Row A. Day and Alex Iselin; Second Row: Cliff Campbell, Lyn Shipway, Merle Dippel, Gwen Robinson, Joan Hendrik; Third Row: Jessie Elliot, Ilene O'Laughlan, J. Anderson, Margaret Iselin, Mrs. Borey, Faye Mabb; Back Row: Ray King, Ivan Nott, Robert Anderson, Keith Borey, Pat Iselin

Above: **Murriimage 1989** - Carl Fisher (left), Jason Tilberoo and Christine Peacock (on camera).

officer. That manager of programs is a white woman, so again it destroys or disrupts a good flow to assist some normal behavioural pattern inside a prison.

I must say during the period of that 33 day hunger strike, other prisoners inside Sir David Longlands, and they weren't black fellas, on one or two occasions, took strike action to support the aims and objectives of our blokes to the extent that it infuriated the centre manager and he picked out two or three of our blokes and said they were the ring leaders creating this strike in the laundry. They were consequently put in the detention unit for a week. So it is pretty rough justice. There was a bit of loyalty, a bit of class consciousness you might say, between the fellas up there who took the action that they did.

Elders have a part to play in corrective services and it is a pretty sensitive role that they have to take and I haven't been yet with any of the elders groups with the visits they make. Part of the problem that effects us, I think, is the imposition of Christianity. I think it has failed our mob and unless they can make some connection with their own spirituality then the road is going to be very difficult because it creates that void where anything can happen and it does. Without something to draw on, you can become a danger to yourself.

A paradox of the situation was, I had at one time refused to pay a fine as a peace activist for trespass on the U.S. base at Pine Gap and I did four days in Sir David Longlands. So here I was sometime later being paid to visit, as an official visitor. I think, during my time in prison, if I had not had my own spirituality, Christianity wouldn't have helped me and I'm a spiritual person.

I've now also been appointed to the **Premier's Crime Prevention Committee** but it is yet to be convened.

Extract: *Sunday Sun*, Brisbane, Queensland 25/2/2000

Our Crime Rate Tops World List

Australia has a higher crime rate than most industrialised countries, including the United States, a global survey shows. More than one in four people - or 30% of the population - said they were victims of crime in 1999. This compared to 26% in England, 24% in Canada and 21% in the US.

Australia also led the list for violent crime, with 4.1% of people reporting they had been mugged, bashed or sexually assaulted.

And it was ahead of other countries in burglary reports at 3.9%

Portugal, Japan and Northern Ireland were the safest of the 17 counties surveyed by academics at Leiden University in the Netherlands.

Despite its high murder rate, the US was safer than parts of Europe and Canada.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board:
The A.T.S.I.A.B. is a flow on from the Indigenous Advisory Council that was structured by the Coalition Government when it was the government in Queensland. The man who was the Chairman of the I.A.C. was Uncle Neville Bonner, Senator Neville Bonner. When the I.A.C. faded away, the Labor Government coming into office, restructured it into the Indigenous Advisory Board and in 1999 I was appointed to the position of Chairman. To me it is a great honour and a privilege to sit in the same office as Neville Bonner, who I regard as my elder and also my friend, to continue the work that he has done and hopefully carry out my responsibilities with the same status and understanding as he did.

"Anything that affects the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people", that's our terms of reference, to sum it up in one sentence. It is in response to the Recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. That's the charter that we have and it's a good reference point always to get back to. If you want to use a gauge or see what's improved and what distance has been covered go back to the recommendations and see what the government is doing to implement those recommendations.

We have a committee of 12 people, six men, six women both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representation. When we meet, or in between meetings, they channel any concerns and information on what's happening out their way and what needs attending to. The Secretariat takes up those matters and they are raised with the relevant Ministers, and in particular our own Minister, Judy Spence.

Honorary Adviser to the Queensland Police Service on Indigenous Issues 8/12/1999:
The Queensland Police Service have two honorary advisers, one from the Aboriginal community and one from the Torres Strait Islander Community. Uncle Neville Bonner was the adviser prior to his demise and then the police service approached me and asked me would I like to act as Adviser to the Queensland Police Service on matters dealing with Aboriginal people.

I discussed the matter with other people and they said it was a good idea to have somebody who was able to communicate with the Queensland Police Service at a high level on matters that must be dealt with quickly, so I accepted that position. The position of Police Commissioner has changed hands recently and I met with the incumbent Police Commissioner, Bob Atkinson, on a couple of occasions for discussions prior to his installment. He comes highly recommended from Mrs. Rose Collis who is a senior Guguyalanji

woman and a member of the Advisory Board. He is well credentialed by such a woman and during the conversation that I've had with him, he's given me his private number, home number and also his mobile number and has said to me that any time that I want him he is available for any matters of urgency that must be dealt with. To me that indicates good intent.

There is a history of relationships with the community and police and it has been a bad one. I am hopeful the situation doesn't arise whereby I'll have to use the opportunity to contact the Commissioner because I hope that structures will be developed inside the Queensland Police Service, that will iron out any problems we've had in the past that have created unusual circumstances to say the least.

I am not sure of the tenure of office but if ever I feel I'm incompetent to deal adequately with the position I would tender my resignation. Also if the community advise me that I am not doing a service to the community I would tender my resignation.

The A.T.S.I.A.B. Charter, which is part of the Board's brief, is quite clear, "anything that affects the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people". Any position that I hold is interlocked and interwoven with my position on the Board so it sets up a communication network where you've got quick instant access to the people that you've got to talk to and who can act on it immediately.

Cultural Heritage Legislation:
When the draft bill was being promoted by the state government we thought that there were inadequacies. In our reading of it, that bill would strip our cultural heritage more than protect it. The substance of it was, the right for us to make decisions on what cultural heritage is, but they would be deciding what cultural heritage was, not us.

So I approached Minister Spence about it and said we felt that we wanted to have a community forum to discuss it. She agreed and put a considerable amount of dollars into it.

Next we talked at the Advisory Board, about working collaboratively with other organisations, the two key organisations that should be involved being Queensland Indigenous Working Group (Q.I.W.G) which have some representation from Chairs and Commissioners, elected representatives, and also the F.A.I.R.A corporation. So that's what we did, we worked collaboratively with them and had a very good forum at the Brisbane City Hall in April 2000 over a period of three days. A number of people from areas all over the state attended and had input into what they thought was needed in any cultural heritage legislation.

The end result was that some people organised a bark petition and the last day we walked down to parliament house to deliver that to the Premier who came away from the parliamentary sitting with Minister Spence and received the petition from our delegation. I thought it was quite good and showed due respect and acknowledgement to the group who represented the forum. I think the cultural heritage legislation has been set aside, there's nothing more happening with it, so we are hopeful that when the legislation is put in place it will meet what's needed to carry us through the ensuing years.

The other thing about it was, we felt subsequent to that, we wanted to travel the recommendations from the forum back to the communities who sent delegates, and equally as important to those who couldn't send delegates, to get final total input from community. That would be a statement, to the government, that represented the whole of the state. I wrote to the Premier and he thought that a better idea was that we be involved in the 10 year plan. And that's what we would do, so in the process of involving

ourselves in that, hopefully it will come out as a document that will sustain us for the ensuing years.

I'm not sure how cultural heritage stands on the international circuit, whether laws can be made that are binding on sovereign states so to speak. I think they might make recommendations but it has to be based on the good will of governments (but I might be wrong). I can't imagine any sovereign state relinquishing their rights or having them superimposed by some other body. In fact that is our argument, that we are having our rights eroded and other bodies are superimposing their rights, will and power over ours.

Also I don't know if cultural heritage is protected in the Race Relations Bill. It is part of the overall native title legislation. This government tries to separate them but they are inseparable. It's like trying to separate land from sea and air and fresh water, they are inseparable, but that's the way white fellas work at times.

Indigenous Justice Agreement:
One of the other good things that occurred too in recent times is the Indigenous Justice Agreement that was to be discussed by the government. (Possibly next year was the due date for that.) We approached Minister Spence and said that we thought it was a matter of some importance to the community. We thought if she could pluck it out of the Cabinet bag, the A.T.S.I.A.B. could travel it around communities to get some input. She would then have, before the end of the year, a document that would reflect the community view point and that they should introduce legislation based on those recommendations.

We are able to travel the concept to a number of areas in the state, Cunnamulla and Charleville, Brisbane, Roma, Townsville, Rockhampton, Cairns and Thursday Island so there's more than a smattering of information coming from that. We call it really good

solid information that can compile into documents which we send back to the government so that Cabinet can make a decision on how they want to go with it. What we're saying is that we're supplying the government with solid community input and information that they should work from. If they fail to do that and their failure creates circumstances that are injurious to any of our communities, then they'd have to put up with subsequent criticism.

U.N. World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racial Intollerance, Duban, South Africa 31/8/2001 - 7/9/2001:

It was well worth while attending this conference. It created a circumstance for grass roots people to interact and consolidate their understanding of the problems of other nations and develop communication links to strengthen our resolve to continue to combat all forms of racism and indifference. While some leaders chose to desert the conference, the strength of grass roots people was sufficient to carry on with the aims of the Conference.

> There should be neither surprise nor disappointment in the discovery that considerable resistance involved as its precondition some processes of culture change, of adaptation on the part of the slaves themselves. This is not an idle issue. The house slave who poisoned her master's family by putting ground glass in the food had first to become the family cook. The runaway slaves who created viable communities in the hinterlands of so many slave societies needed to learn techniques of cultivation in an alien environment. And the slaves who plotted armed revolt in the market place had first to produce for market and to gain permission to carry their product there.
> Sidney W. Mintz, "Toward an Afro-American History"

3. AWARDS

Following is a list of Awards made to Robert Anderson for his contributions to Social Justice and Community Development:

Queensland Premier's Award 1997:
Queensland Senior's Outstanding Service to the Community in a Voluntary Capacity

The Premier's Award was the first award I received and a surprise too because we don't sort of set out to receive awards because of what we do. It is a joy and a pleasure to work with the community. I suppose it is good to be acknowledged and what they are relating to in effect is the work I've done right across the communities over the course of the years, black or white or whatever, in the Peace Movement, Reconciliation process as Chair and in the Trade Union and Aboriginal Movements generally. Over 35 years I think it is. We're all conscious people you know, involving ourselves in doing what we do automatically, with community business. Identifying who we are is being community and being involved.

1998 N.A.I.D.O.C. Elder of the Year:
1998 N.A.I.D.O.C. South East Queensland Indigenous Person of the Year:

That was a double surprise. Again I suppose it is recognition, by my own community. They acknowledged what I've been involved in over the course of the years and still am, so I was really honoured about that. Again I felt very emotional. It was during N.A.I.D.O.C. week at the Brisbane City Hall that announcements were made. I had to go up on the stage twice to receive awards and I wasn't sure whether I was going to crack up or cheer.

Degree
Doctorate, Queensland University of Technology:
I was quite surprised and shocked about the Doctorate. The concept of me receiving a Doctorate is so far removed from my mind I just couldn't understand why I was receiving such a high honour.

When I say that, I am mindful of the time when I was a very young man doing my apprenticeship as a carpenter and I was working within the vicinity of the Queensland University. I had a view of the University, this great edifice of sandstone that was a great place of learning and it was with some awe that I used to look at it. Never by any stretch of the imagination did I think I would have any association with places of great learning.

Over the course of the years, changes have taken place and our Indigenous Units are now inside all universities. It shows that the only constant is change and when you analyse how change comes about, it is people who make change, and people who acknowledge what needs to be done, institute change. So it is quite remarkable to see all our wonderful people going to universities. I started work at the age of 13 with the education standard of a lad of 12, so to be received and acknowledged by one of these great places of learning with the limited education that I had, is not something that I would conceive in my own mind.

They were saying to me that the Central Technical College was the name of the Queensland University of Technology. (They must have seen some reference to me during my trade training at the Central Technical College.) They told me they did further research and travelled through some of my work and community involvement. They came up with the fact that, as far as they are aware, I am the only Aboriginal person who did the training down there (and if I am not the only one then I am certainly the oldest one having completed it in 1949), and completed the qualifications. Also all my

involvement was considered an education, so I am regarded as having completed the equivalent of any course that has been promoted or that any other people have done through structured university training.

As the citation says "having fulfilled all the conditions prescribed by the University, has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of the University". So I have fulfilled all the conditions prescribed by the University, so that means I qualify as a Doctor.

It has made me mindful of the times I sat and listened to elders when I have been allowed to. It was always something special and I always hark back to the time when I was living with my grandmother at the One Mile on Minjerribah and sitting around the common table and having the Grannies present all the time and serving meals and chatting away to each other in language. That is part of that substance, that spirit of those people that is there. It is not a commanding thing but it is sort of something that's there, some guiding spirit that tells you how you are to act and always be courteous to others.

I notice at community elders' meetings that it is not a process of saying, or determining, who's the eldest. You give respect to someone who is older than you, that all seems to automatically fall into place and everybody is treated with great respect. It seems to be an inner thing that makes you act that way. You never butt in when anybody else is speaking, there is great warmth and love and respect for each other, that's the only way I can phrase it. Well I experienced that from the years of my youth and boyhood. I've seen all those things happen so it's something that's inherent in you. It's sort of, the seed germinates and the flower develops its fragrance by what you learned from that, and that's the best way I could describe it, as the fragrance of those elders. Remarkable!

The Chancellor of the University was quite ecstatic about the Doctorate, you know, that they'd got me and I was some sort of unusual person; but it is reflective of all those things, that I am because of all these other things. Respect is the basis or the foundation of that education and the gaining of that knowledge and I say now, when I reflect on them, my spirit is refreshed, my spirit is nurtured, my spirit is nourished by all these things.

That's why it is necessary for our young people coming through the education system to be able to identify with their culture because if that develops a spiritual dimension inside them, they'll ask themselves what values are most important.

Education and knowledge was of prime importance to me when I was a lad and of course with the oral tradition the flow of information was pretty good. School wise, the basic elements of learning were simple arithmetic, reading and writing. They were the components and then you were pushed out into the big wide world. Education is still the key factor to understand and progress whatever you are doing and I am enthusiastic when I see the education levels that are developing, through our controlling of the education of our own people.

That's why I am so enthused at being involved at the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School for the years that I have and at the levels of education and standards that, at their ages, they are already achieving. If you are looking for comparable figures in other private schools in Queensland, our kids at the Murri school are equivalent or better in cases, so the school's fundamental processes of learning and opening minds are evident. What makes it the success that it is must be examined to indicate how successes will occur.

The intention of the school is to keep them on past the primary stage, if we have the facilities to take them onto higher learning, until they are ready to go into university. All the Indigenous Units that we have (whether it's the Griffith campuses, the Queensland University and other campuses) are indicative to me that we are in a position to serve well the interests of our youth (and aged learning too) to be able to equip them to do anything they want to do. I am quite enthusiastic about that because anything we want to be we can be, it is just a matter of our applying ourselves to the task and being industrious in it.

Again it is a great joy for me to see and be with all the youngsters. I had the great opportunity to be at the Greek Community Centre this year as part of the awarding of prizes to the achievers from the Griffith campuses and again I was quite enthralled by the ages of the various achievers out there which again is quite stimulating and of interest to me.

My experience has been too, if I use myself as a marker, that learning and education is a wonderful thing. It is a great interest not a burden once you get away from the curricula that you're set at the schools, which is dull and uninteresting. In my day at school, the only way you received encouragement to learn, to achieve, was through the use of lawyer canes or leather straps. It says a lot for the education system when you can only learn by threat of punishment.

The environment at the Murri school for example, is conducive to learning. There are no pressures. When I'm talking about pressures, I'm talking about racist pressures, it is as simple as that. Denominational schools have their chosen ones attending their schools for the same reason. They are not being harassed because they are Catholics, or Presbyterians or Church of England. They

are in an environment that is conducive to them learning, so the same thing should apply to our children. It is all about becoming good citizens and making your contribution to society and at the same time to our own community. That is something we do and we have not stopped doing that over the past 200 years.

If the teachers that were teaching me glimpsed the Murri school, then it would have been a transformation for them, and I say, light heartedly at times, that if the Murri school had been in existence when I was young, without a doubt I would have been either the Premier of Queensland or the Prime Minister.

Queenslander of the Year 2000
I was one of the five "Queensland Greats" award recipients in 2000.

Brisbane Citizen of the Year 2001
To mark the occasion, at a ceremony on the 26/1/2001 at the Brisbane City Hall, Lord Mayor Jim Soorley presented me with a map of Australia set in sterling silver and opal.

Opening New Parliament March 2001
I was invited to participate as first speaker in the opening of the new parliament on the 21st March 2001, following the Labor Party's return to office in a landslide election win.

Labour Day 5/2001
On Labour Day, May 7th 2001, in recognition of my 50th year involvement in the union movement, I headed the traditional celebratory march of solidarity, alongside the Labor Party's State Premier and other distinguished members of parliament and the union movement. I am an Honorary Member of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union.

O.A.M. - Order of Australia Medal 2001
Awarded 29th May 2001, in the General Division. The Governor General presented the Medal with his insignia, at an Investure at Government House on the 20th September, 2001. The award was recommended by the Minjerribah Mulgumpin Elders in Council.

The Centenary Medal January 2002
Awarded for distinguished service in promoting reconciliation in Queensland.

Griffith University Council 2002
Appointed to the Griffith University Council in 2002, I have continued my involvement with the University culminating in the conferral of an Honorary Doctorate in December, 2011.

Queensland Museum Medal 2004
Having chaired the inaugural Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Consultative Committee, I was appointed in 1996 to the Queensland Museum Board of Trustees and in December 2000 I was elected Deputy Chairman of the Queensland Museum Board of Trustees. In 2004, I was honoured to receive the Queensland Museum Medal for my contribution and understanding and appreciation of Indigenous and Australian cultural history and wildlife.

Life Member RQI Reconciliation Queensland 2005
I was elected Chair of the State Reconciliation Committee in 1996, the Queensland Organisation of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. The Reconciliation Council was structured as a recommendation from the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) 2005
Appointed Member

Brisbane Indigenous Media Association BIMA, Murri Radio 4AAA 2006
Appointed Patron and Life Member

40th Anniversary of the 1967 Referendum 2007
I was an invitee to the Commemoration of the 1967 referendum at Old Parliament House in Canberra in recognition of my involvement with the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI). Surviving members of FCAATSI, the national organisation that spearheaded the campaign for the referendum were the "honoured guests" of this celebration.

Irish Citizenship 2008
I completed research and documentation culminating in the presentation of my Irish Citizenship at the Queensland Irish Association, Tara House, Brisbane, on St Patrick's Day 2008 by the Irish Transport Minister, Noel Dempsey. Not long after, I was issued with my Irish passport.

In June 2008, on my Irish passport, I visited Ireland and the Birthplace of my Irish Grandmother at the town of Clones, County Monaghan.

A visit to Belfast, Northern Ireland highlighted an obvious and marked change in security from my earlier visit in the 1980's, indicating a cessation of violence and a reconciliation of involved parties.

Ngugi Cultural Centre on Mulgumpin, (Moreton Island) 2008
As a result of extensive and successful negotiations between Senior Men from Ngugi Lands Council and Queensland Parks and Wildlife, the Ngugi Cultural Centre on Mulgumpin, (Moreton Island) was completed. It is situated adjacent to the ceremonial Bora ground area at Eagers Creek.

Celebration of 80th Birthday 2009
On Sunday, 2nd August, I celebrated my 80th birthday with my partner, Cathy, family and friends at Tarragindi.

Dr Robert (Uncle Bob) Anderson Award 2010
In June, 2010, I was delighted to attend and make the presentation of the inaugural Queensland Council of Unions NAIDOC award called, the Dr Robert (Uncle Bob) Anderson Award to recognise an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander delegate who has made a substantial contribution to the union movement.

Mil Binnung Exhibition 2010-2011
The Mil Binnung Exhibition was launched at Redlands Museum by Attorney General, Cameron Dick MP in July, 2010 and in 2011 at North Stradbroke Island Heritage Museum.

Mil Binnung *is an exhibition exploring the cultural identity of the Ngugi People of Mulgumpin, Moreton Island through the life of Dr Robert V Anderson, known widely as Uncle Bob.*

Quandamooka People recognised as the Native Title holders of their Traditional Land and Seas known as Minjerribah, North Stradbroke Island 2011

On the 4th July 2011 at Dunwich Hall, Goompi, North Stradbroke Island, an historic hearing of the Federal Court of Australia recognised the Quandamooka People as the Native Title holders of their Traditional Land and Seas known as Minjerribah, North Stradbroke Island.

Quandamooka People are the descendants of the apical Ancestors:

Nellie/Lilly Kidgeree
Mary Indoole Compignie
Elizabeth Ruska
Charlie Moreton (Dandruba)
Sidney Rollands (Kingal/Winyeeaba)
Lillian Lyons (Dungoo)
King Billy Toompani
Juno (Gonzales)
Liza Jungerboi
Tommy Nuggin (Gendarieba)
Tilly
Kindarra

Who are the people of the sand and water, **Yooloo Burrabee**

Yooloo Burrabee acknowledges the profusion of lakes and streams that abound on our cultural estate and our seas that bestow their riches, sustain our lives and strengthen our spirits.

The Federal Court of Australia Hearing on the 4th July 2011 reflects the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

It affirms that Indigenous Peoples are equal to all other Peoples,
And recognises the right of all Peoples to be different.

To consider themselves different, and to be respected as such.

It affirms the right of Indigenous Peoples to exercise control over developments affecting them, their Lands, Territories, and Resources.

Enabling them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, their cultures, their traditions

And to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and their needs.

Left: Premier Anna Bligh congratulates Robert Anderson and the Quandamooka People, 4th July, 2011

Top right: Governor General of Queensland General Peter Arnison and Chairperson Jim Eliffe, International Year of Elder Persons - 1.10.1998

Below right: Original Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board (1999), from left back, Kevin Savage, Jacinta Elston, Bob Munn, Kerry Arabena, Wayne Connolly, Cheryl Buchanan, Richard Hoolihan, Rose Colless, Robert Anderson, Ruth Hegarty. (Present members not included - Alfred Lacey, Penny Tripcony, Henry Garnier)

Above: May Day Rally Cairns 1991

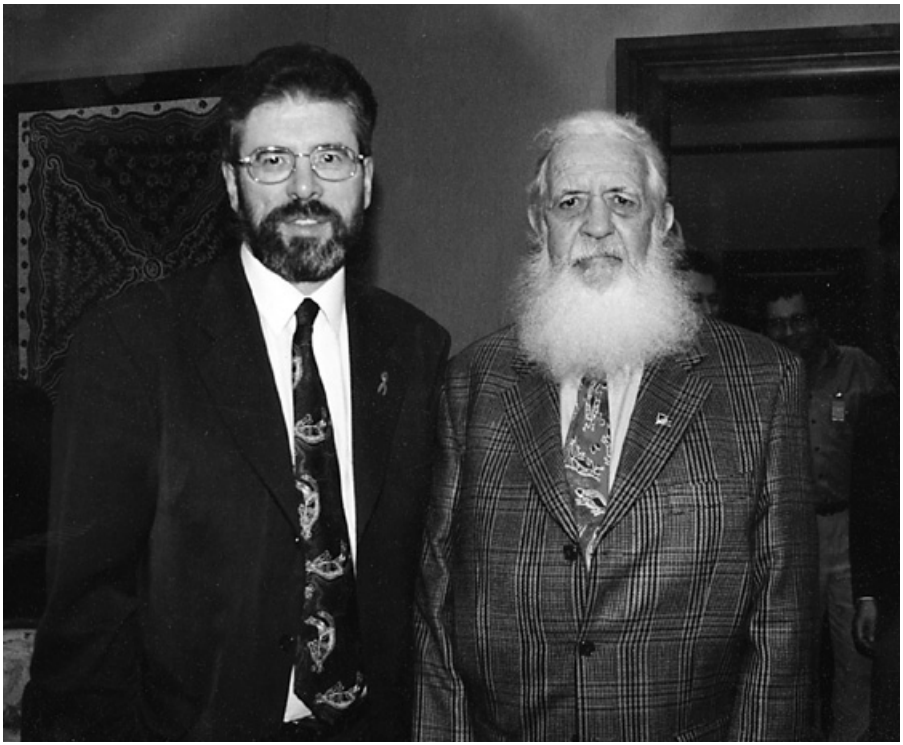
Left: Daughter Karen with Dad to receive Queensland Seniors, Premier's Award for Outstanding Service to Community and the State of Queensland 1997

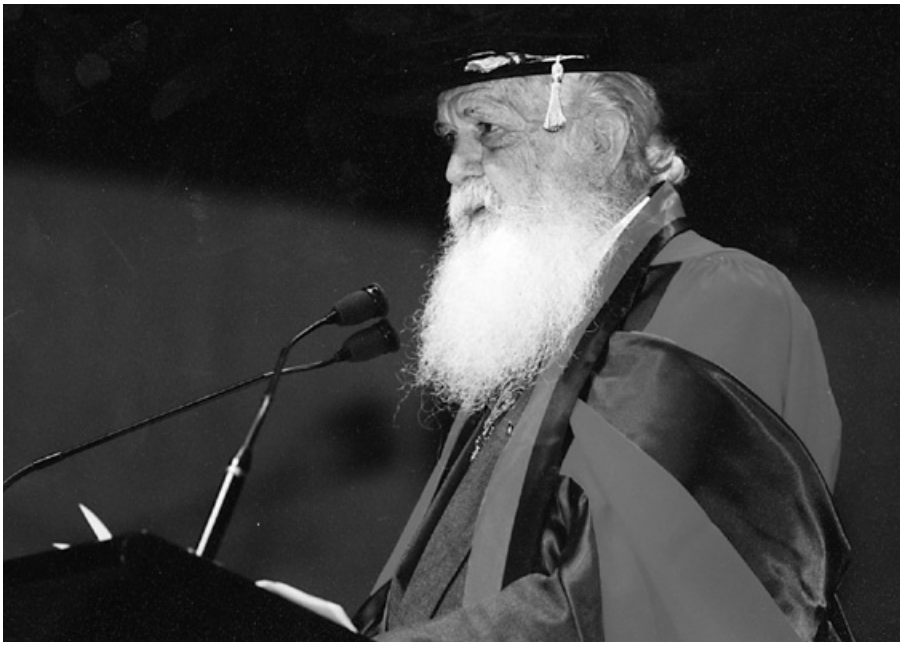
Top right: Robert Anderson at his Doctorate Graduation Ceremony Queensland University of Technology 2000

Bottom right: Conferral of Doctorate Queensland University of Technology. Robert Anderson and Cathy Boyle 2000.

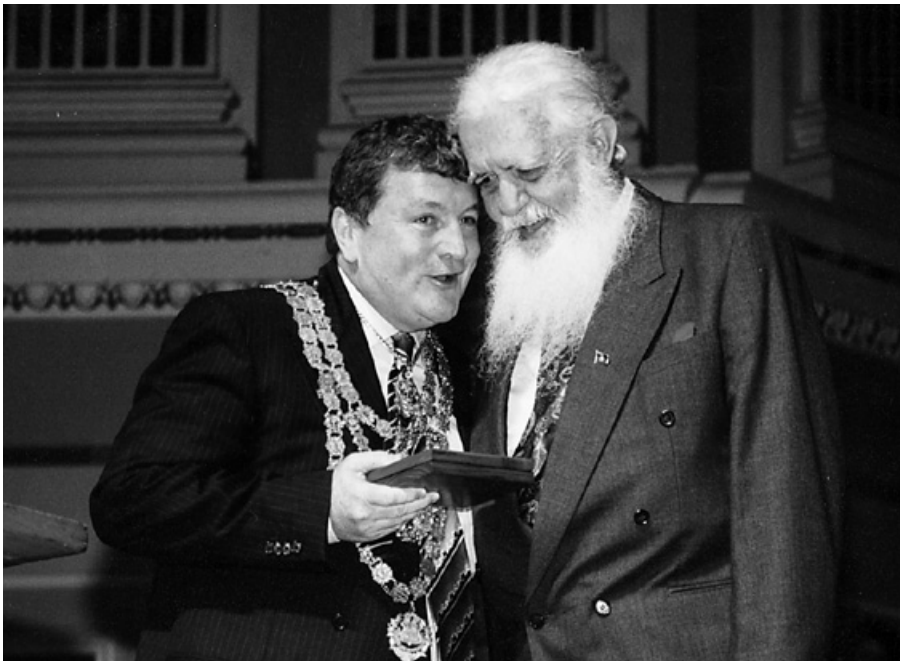
Left: Parliament House Qld, A&TSIAB discussions with Premier Beattie and Minister Spence 2000

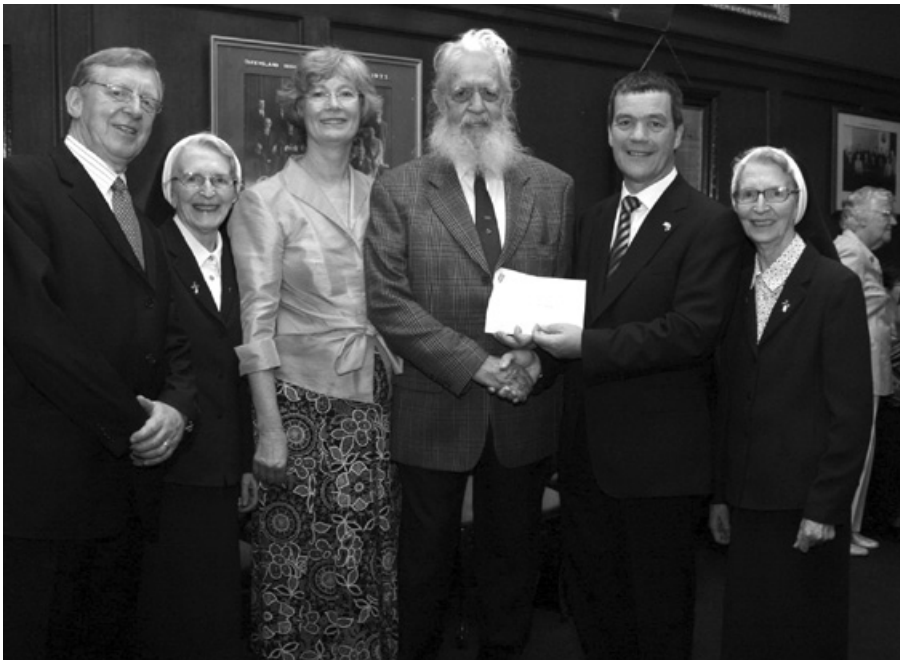
Below: Gerry Adams at Brisbane Lord Mayor's welcoming ceremony, meets Robert Anderson - 23.2.1999






QUT
Queensland University of Technology





Top left: Lord Mayor Jim Soorley presents Robert Anderson with Brisbane Citizen of the Year 2001 Award

Bottom left: 2002 Centenary Medal Presentation Government House Robert Anderson and Cathy Boyle

Above: Irish Citizenship Presentation, 17th March 2008. Irish Ambassador, Máirtín O'Fainín, Sr Angela Mary Doyle, Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Irish Transport Minister Noel Dempsey, Sr Nuala Doyle.

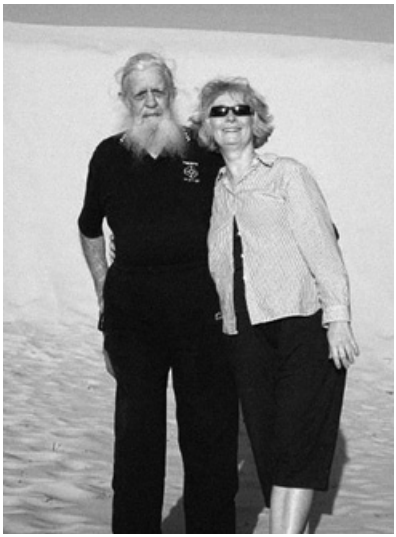
Right: 1967 Referendum Anniversary 2007. Cathy Boyle, Dr Thancoupie Fletcher, Bob Anderson

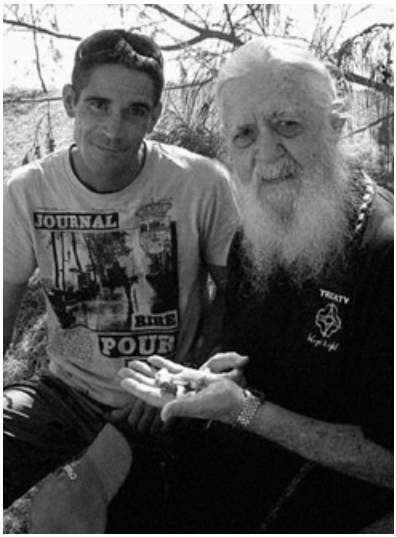
Top right: Colleen Ma'run Wall gives an Acknowledgement to Country and Kabi Blessing to Bob - Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Uncle Cliff Campbell and Colleen Ma'run Wall

Bottom right: Great grandchildren: Ava, Rhys and Mia

Above: Bob Anderson and Cathy Boyle celebrate Bob's 80th Birthday with 4 generations of family in 2009

Left: Bob Anderson at his 80th honouring his Aboriginal and Irish Bloodlines to Country

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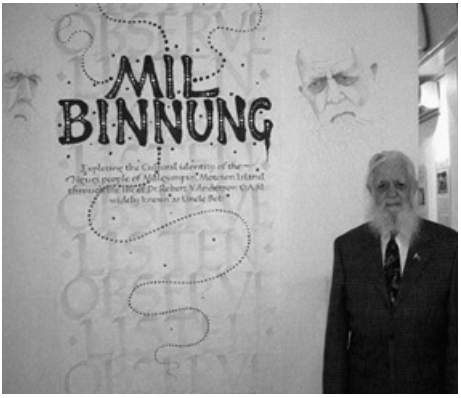
Top far left: Bob Anderson and Cathy Boyle at Gheebelum, the Big Sandhill, Mulgumpin, 2010

Top left: David Burns and Bob at midden site Mulgumpin

Left: Mil Binnung filming, Bob with Elisabeth Gondwee and Christine Dew

Above: Gheebelum Portrait created by local Artist Jo Kaspari, a centrepiece for the Mil Binnung Exhibition in 2010-2011.

Right: Bob Mil Binnung exhibition launch Redlands Museum 3rd July 2010




TO THE MEMORY
OF
BERT TRIPCONY,
KILLED IN ACTION
5TH MAY 1917

Above left: Native Title Recognition Day 4th July 2011. Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Vincent Anderson, Penny Tripcony and Paul Anderson below the plaque for Bert Tripcony killed in action on the 5th May 1917 in France.

Below left: Native Title Recognition Day 4th July 2011. Paul Anderson, Karen Rylance, Bob Anderson and Connie Millar outside Dunwich Hall, Goompi.

Above: Robert Anderson and partner, Cathy Boyle, on Mulgumpin walking Country

PART IV GOORI CHRONOLOGY

Before Time (est. 50,000 BC):

- population est. 3 - 5 million
- countries with distinct boundaries, cultural practices, languages kinship system
- code of natural hereditary law and enforcement (free of the vagaries of personal whim or influence)
- system of education
- scrupulous compliance with custom and political order (control of land and resources - created a stable order of society)
- stable, independent, political, society
- all the above indices of sovereignty

England at this Time:

- in another extreme state of social and economic upheaval
- industrial revolution financed by continuous exploits of imperialism (colonisation of Africa, America, Canada, China, India, S.E. Asia) - the key element in the development of a world capitalist economy
- aristocracies undermined
- exploitation of the labour of homeless peasantry
- emergence of gentry and merchants and new social relations within the class structure
- rise in poverty and crime, prison hulks fill the Thames
- state transformed to become regulatory body
- American war of independence - restricted profits for the Crown from development
- transportation ended to America
- other European countries also expanding through colonialisation
- England engaged in fierce competition for new markets and resources

- British empire seeks opportunities for further expansion
- British parliament consolidates support for new venture into the southern hemisphere 11,000 miles away.

1770	Eastern coastline of Aboriginal Lands charted by representatives of British crown.
1779	British government and parliament "House of Commons Committee on the Return of Felons" informed that the country was very thinly peopled.
1785	"Committee on Transportation" advised there were very few inhabitants and no available knowledge of existing government or language. Feasibility of settlement fabricated from this scant advice. The premise "terra nullius" applied to justify colonisation.
1787	First fleet armed, manned and carrying a human cargo of convicted felons prepares for departure.
1788	Governor Phillip occupies Eora country establishing a colony in "Sydney Cove". New South Wales (Australia) declared a settled colony rather than a conquered colony. Recognition of native tribal law and native title to land subsequently denied.
1788	Aboriginal population at Port Jackson found to be very numerous, at least 1500 Koories resident within a radius of ten miles.
1790s	Europeans witness all the norms of a sovereign people. Aboriginal tribal structures, government, laws, boundaries and languages, diplomatic exchanges and ceremonies, hunting and the benefits of land management (fire stick farming).
1799	Eastern coastline surveyed to Hervey Bay.
1800	American and South Sea whaling boats in the region.

1801	Pemulway led raids on the colony at Sydney. Others led various raids on the colonists. Aborigines were not regarded as patriots but as criminals breaking British law.
1802	British agent Mathew Flinders formally received on Minjerribah (Goories refer to the site as Hope Well).
1822	Further surveys conducted.
1823	Three British castaways arrive on Mulgumpin, kept for 39 days on Minjerribah. British agent Oxley conducts further surveys; takes castaways, who carry detailed information about Quandamooka area, back to Sydney.
1824	Supreme Court of NSW established.
1824	Legislative Council created - Governor made president.
1824	Colony organised at Redcliffe to assist development of region.
1824	Moreton Bay gradually populated by soldiers who had served in India, convicts from Sydney, sailors and settlers from throughout the Pacific region, Irish, Scots and German labourers, indentured labour from India, China, Melanesia.
1824	Convict and ex-convict labour assigned to work large properties to open up new areas.
1824	Military presence stationed at Goompi; soldiers stationed at Koumpee Pulan.
1825	South passage surveyed and buoyed.
1825	Colony moved up Brisbane River due to Aboriginal resistance. Remained exclusively a military station with convict labour for 15 years with 50 mile seclusion zone.
1827	Pilot station established at Koumpee Pulan with 2 soldiers and 4 sailors. Storage depot established at Goompi.

1827	Aboriginal resistance west of Moreton Bay settlement.
1827	Economic expansion begins - maize and other crops grown; stone quarried; land cleared; limestone station established at Ipswich, Redbank Plains.
1827	War ship "Rainbow" stationed in Quandamooka, captained by son of the Earl of Stradbroke.
1828	Legislative Council authorised to pass any laws not in conflict with laws of England.
1828	Outstation at Goompi established - military post with 13' high brick wall surround and underground passage connecting storage depot.
1828	Provocation - significant site, Moongalba, stripped for cotton plantation employing 30 Europeans. Only record of conflict -soldier speared by Nunukul. Cotton plantation abandoned 5 months later. Plan to move colony personnel to Goompi abandoned.
C1829	**Winyeeaba Murriaba, Ngugi, born Mulgumpin.**
1830	Brisbane colony - 100 convicts, 150 military personnel (very few women).
1831	Convict speared by Nunukul when colony Commandant visits Goompi.
1831	Nunukul turwan (elder) shot by soldiers; beheaded by convict, Chooroong. Head sent by soldiers to Commandant as evidence of their handling trouble on Minjerribah. Military action at Mooloomba, south then west of Big Hill; Chooroong waddied to death.
1831	Goompi outstation recommended for closure.
1832	Military action, massacre of 20 Ngugi, South end of Mulgumpin.
1832	**Winyeeaba Murriaba 3 years old, survived by hiding in bushes.**

1832	(Ex) Governor George Arthur writes to the Colonial Office explaining it was "a fatal error in the settlement of Van Diemen's Land that a treaty was not entered into with the natives... His Majesty's Government would have acquired a valuable possession, without the injurious consequences which have followed our occupation..."
1834	European scholars estimate Ausralian Aboriginal population as high as 5,000,000.
1834	John Batman attempts to effect a treaty with Aborigines in Victoria.
1835	Governor Arthur writes again to the Colonial Office advising "on the first occupation of the colony it was a great oversight that a treaty was not, at that time, made with the natives..." and "it will be impossible to prevent a long continued warfare in which the whites as well as the Aborigines, gradually becoming more and more inflamed as their mutual injuries accumulate, will destroy each other in detail." His advice and similar advice from others, was not included in colonial policy.
1836	Former Attorney-General of NSW Saxe-Bannister told a House of Commons Select Committee that "we ought forthwith to begin, at least, to reduce the laws and usage of the Aborigines, to language, print them and direct our courts of justice to respect those laws in proper cases." His advice was not included in colonial policy.
1837	Goompi military outstation closed.
1839	Convicts and military withdrawn.
1839	Government declared Moreton Bay open for free settlement.

1839	Resource raiding seriously depleted marine bounty of region. Under punishment of death Goories compelled to kill domestic stock to live.
1840 - 1844	17 pastoral stations established on Aboriginal lands - Darling Downs.
1841	Queen petitioned for a representative parliament to be established.
1842	10,000 free subjects with immensely valuable movable and immovable property.
1842	Petition for representative legislature.
1843	First Minjerribah mission opened by Italian catholics.
1843	New Constitutional Act proposed - Legislative Council 54 members - 36 elected, 18 nominated by the crown. (Members required to have an estate worth 2,000 pounds or a land income of 100 pounds.)
1845	Possession taken of land north of Moreton Bay colony - central Queensland.
1847	Italian mission closed.
1847	Goorie crew of pilot boat rescue 10 people from Sovereign ship wreck Moreton Bay.
1847	Parliamentary Select Committee in Britain reports genocide occurring in Australia.
1848	Native Police established under Commissioner for Crown Lands, Colonial Secretary for Qld.
1848	Possession taken of land in Cape York.
1850	Mijim Boowel Mulgumpin pilot station established.
1850	Dugong industry based at southern end of island. Dugong oil trade lucrative. Aboriginal people involved not only as labour but for skills and knowledge of marine environment.
1850	Commercial fishing on Minjerribah, dugong and turtle hunted.

1850	State of Victoria created. Power given to detach other colonies from NSW.
1850	Goompi proclaimed a quarantine station, outbreak of typhus.
1853	Preparation of draft constitution.
1853	2 legislative chambers established - Council and Assembly.
1856	New parliament - Constitution of Queensland, Governor representing her majesty.
1857	Widespread reprisals against many Aboriginal people following the killing of nine members of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank, south east Queensland.
1859	Wool exports creating capital, cattle, coal, timber industries developing - Ipswich economic centre.
1860	Oyster industry established.
1860	Farms and orchards developed southern islands of the bay. Aboriginal people bartered bush foods for flour, sugar, tea, tobacco
1861	Select Committee of Queensland Legislative Assembly appointed to inquire into the Native Police and how far it may be practicable to improve the present condition of the Aborigines of the colony.
1864	Telegraph station Brisbane to Mijim Boowel via Cleveland and Minjerribah.
1864	Native Police under Commissioner for Police
1864	Killing fields, common sights throughout Queensland, not reported to government authorities or settlement officials.
1865	Industrial and Reformatories Schools Act (Qld) - authorised removal of any child born of Aboriginal or half-caste mothers. (Jails used this act to accommodate young offenders.)

1867	Benevolent Institution established in Goompi Quarantine station.
1867	Discovery of huge gold deposits at Gympie.
1867	Population growth accelerated. Rail and communication networks followed, financed by massive overseas investment.
C1867	**Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands/Tyrrell) born Minjerribah**
1870	Quarantine Station moved from Goompi to Peel Island.
1873	Bogimbah Mission established Frazer Is. - first mission - used as a herding place.
1874	Aboriginal Commission began to consider reserving land for Aboriginals dispossessed of land.
1875	Dept. Public Lands administered minimal funds for unofficial reserves.
1876	Moreton Bay Oyster Co. formed. By 1890 employing more than 200 men, some Aboriginals with own leases and income.
1876	Royal Commission into the improvement of conditions of the Aborigines of Queensland.
1877	Reserve gazetted passage side of Yarun as 'a retreat from vices of Brisbane, asylum for aged, to break off wandering habits of young, teach them habits of providence and industry, encourage private trading'.
1879	Yarun reserve closed as Goories would not work there without pay.
1879	Orphanages Act authorised confinement of deserted or neglected children and hiring out for domestic or farm service.
1880	"The Queenslander" newspaper reports on trade between colonists of Aboriginal people and widespread government sanctioned police atrocities.

1884	Fishing village established at Koupee Pulan.
1884	Native Labourers Protection Act enacted to protect natives against "black birding".
1885	Colonial Secretary takes over reserve funds, providing land and financial assistance to churches.
1889	Privy Council decision in Cooper -v- Stuart, Australia 'practically uninhabited' in 1788.
1890	Third formation reserve Yarun passage, Goories from Mulgumpin and Minjerribah moved there.
1890	Anthropological Society of Australasia founded.
1891 - 1906	81 patients with leprosy in lazaret within Benevolent Institution.
1891	Brisbane European population 101,554.
1892	Goories from Yarun passage mission moved to Peel Island Quarantine Station. 15 acres proclaimed reserve at Moongalba for Myora Mission.
1893	Myora Mission declared an Industry and Reformatory School. Goories moved from Peel Is to Moongalba.
1894	Occupational lease for 10 sq.ml cattle run and later fish cannery at Two Mile.
1894	Government agreed to cover costs of Aboriginal people hospitalised. (Many still turned away or housed in outlying sheds.)
1896	Child beaten to death by Myora Mission matron. School closed, children moved to Deebing Creek reserve industrial school.
1897	Aboriginals Protection and Prevention of the Sale of Opium Act - to control social, sexual and labour relations with Aborigines. Traditional rites outlawed, reserves established, removals to reserves legalised, work permits. Protectorates established - wards of the state, separation into castes. Assimilation and segregation policies developed.

1898	Local Protectorates appointed - exercise unlimited power over Aboriginal lives.
1900	**Lydia Myee Anderson (nee Tripcony) born Couran, Minjerribah.**
1900	Native police disbanded.
1901	Amendment to Aboriginals Protection Act to counter prevalent sexual abuses of girl children (some as young as six) and assaults on adopted females. Minimum wage introduced for all Aboriginal labour to counter abuses. (If paid at all, well below those paid to Europeans.)
1901	Federation of Australian States, Australian Constitution came into effect but Aboriginal affairs remains a state responsibility.
1901	Nearly 70 Aboriginal domestics working around Brisbane, wages banked into accounts by protectress who is later sacked for defrauding the savings accounts.
1902	Aboriginals Protection Property Account opened in Cooktown to counter avoidance of payment of wages by employers. Unpaid wages deposited, to be passed on to worker or relatives. Funds later found to have been misappropriated by government.
1904	Fish cannery lease at two mile.
1904	Aboriginal wages paid directly to local Protectors who acted as bankers.
1904	System of thumbprints introduced to endorse withdrawals to counter fraud by employers and protectors.
1905	50 people counted at Myora Mission on Moongalba.
1905	Home Office sets up trust account to handle received wages.

1905	All Aboriginal female wages paid to Protectors, males optional.
1905	No checks done to ensure any money received by workers or correct postings made to accounts. (This negligence continued to as late as 1965.)
1906	Benevolent Institution superintendent put in charge of Myora Mission.
1906	Goorie labour used at Peel Is. Quarantine Station and Benevolent Institution - paid rations. Goorie labour also used in Oyster Co. and fish cannery.
1911	Aboriginal population grew by 3.2 per cent, double that of non-Aboriginal population.
1914 - 1918	First World War - Vincent and Albert Tripcony and other Indigenous people served their country in this war.
1916	Inmates in Benevolent Institution reported in poor conditions.
1917	**Winyeeaba Murriaba passed away - buried Moongalba Cemetery.** Albert Tripcony killed in action in France.
1919	Aboriginal Provident Fund - wages levied for relief for workers and their dependents when in need or unemployed - misappropriated and used for development of settlements and missions where those living on missions and settlements were already taxed for these purposes.
1919	Men on settlements, without outside employment, required to work at least 24 hours per week to qualify for rations for themselves and families.
1919	Aboriginal pastoral workers minimum wage regulated at 2/3 of white rate.
1921	Mass infection of hookworm (produces anaemia leading to physical and mental retardation) at

	Moongalba due to poor waste disposal facilities. Infection remained untreated and conditions unimproved.
1922	Telephone office opened at Amity Point.
1922	Public service commissioner's inquiry exposed misappropriation by the government of both Property Account and Provident Fund. Money used to cover government costs.
1923	Levies on Aboriginal workers wages illegally used for investment and interest pocketed by government to cover departmental shortfalls.
1924	Some Goories forced off the Myora mission; some sent to work cattle stations; some moved to Wynnum.
1925	State annual surveys of Goori population, caste, activity and location began, accumulated on Federal files.
1929	**Robert Vincent Anderson born East Brisbane.**
1929	Government seeks to confiscate half trust funds to cover budgetary cut backs during onset of worldwide depression. (Between 1925 - 35 funds used to cover deficits in government funding.)
1930	Funds illegally drawn from Provident Fund to cover deficit in government allocations and laundered through treasury trust account, Aboriginal standing account, which was limited to purchases for and profits from settlement retail stores.
1932	95 Protectorates throughout Qld, wide spread corruption reported, no controls in place.
1934	Amendment to Aboriginals Protection Act to widen scope of official guardianship and intervention.
1935	Hayles open launch service Brisbane to Amity Point.

1936	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander pearling industry workers strike. Succeeded in winning concessions from Queensland Govt.
1937	Inaugural National Welfare Conference - policies for dealing with Aboriginals at which resolutions were passed on the Destiny of the Race; Uniformity of Legislation; Education and Employment; Supervision of Full Blood Natives; Racial Problems; Definition of Native; Financial Assistance from the Commonwealth; Corporal Punishment; Police Officers and Protectors; Female Protectors; Chaining of Natives; Courts for Native Affairs; Compellability of Witnesses; Intoxicating Liquor; Opium Dross; Pensions and Maternity Allowances; Return of Natives to Home State; Government Subsidy of Missions; Control of Mission Activities by Government; Composition of Future Conferences.
1938	Willliam Ferguson and Jack Patten organise first "day of mourning" (150 years of occupation).
1939	**Mary Rose Tripcony passed away - buried Dunwich Cemetery.**
1939 - 1945	Second World War - Charlie and Reg Anderson and many other Indigenous people served their country in this war.
1939	Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Act legislated Chief Protector control over all Aboriginal children under the age of 21 and exemption from the Act by assimilation.
1939	Chief Protector changed to Director Native Affairs.
1940	Federal Child Endowment introduced - bulk payments went to Queensland Govt, only a portion passed onto mothers. Corresponding deductions made to grants to missions.

1941	Investigation into operations of department revealed extensive negligence, malpractice and Director "required to retire".
1943	Aboriginal Welfare Fund created - legitimised customary diversion of trust monies to cover development costs of missions and settlements. Allowed pooling of levies and taxes on Aboriginal earnings towards "providing benefits to Aboriginals generally". All revenue from Aboriginal earnings and enterprises targeted for Aboriginal development.
1945	Myora mission school closed. Children sent to Goompi.
1945	Aboriginal strike - Pilbara region cattle station workers.
1947	Benevolent Institution Minjerribah closed. Moved to "Eventide" at Sandgate. Goories left unemployed. Mission closed - no more government responsibility. Goories moved to One Mile and Dunwich.
1948	Chief Protector denounced government pilfering of Welfare Fund, declaring considerable amount of expenditure should legally be covered by the government.
1948	St Patricks Day - National Coalminers and Transport workers strike. Police bashed picketers marching from the Trade Hall Brisbane. Labor government in power under Ned Hanlon introduced anti-picketing laws.
1949	Pindan movement established for Aboriginal mining workers.
1950 - 1953	Korean War - almost 500,000 South Koreans, and an unknown number of North Koreans, died as a result of the war. Indigenous people served their country in this war.

1952	Presbyterian missions so short-funded forced to apply child endowment revenue for administration costs and to feed starving adults and children.
1954	Federal Child Endowment funds poached by Queensland Govt. for capital ventures.
1955	Announcement of Commonwealth Government's Policy with respect to Aborigines in the Northern Territory by Hon J. McEwen.
1956	Sand mining begins on Minjerribah.
1956	Large sums of Aboriginal savings illegally invested in Commonwealth Stock.
1956	Aboriginal regulations amended allowing government to offer Aboriginal savings for development of white regional hospitals in Queensland.
1956	Overcrowding on government settlements - huts accomodating over 15 people - and defective amenities.
1957	Welfare Fund continued to be used to cover government costs.
1958	Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines formed. Renamed in 1964 to include Torres Strait Islanders.
1959	Queensland Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Advancement League formed. Declaration of Rights issued demanding ownership of lands, free, secular education and an end to discriminatory practices in wage rates and other matters.
1959	Investments of Aboriginal savings totalled 622,000 pounds. Funds continued to be diverted to substitute state expenditure rather than improve Aboriginal living conditions.

1960	Introduction of wider Commonwealth pensions greatly increased Aboriginal savings account balances and therefore trust moneys handled by Department.
1960	No release of controls over Aboriginal savings accounts to allow individuals to use their savings to improve their own living standards. Thousands of Aboriginal families reduced to desperate poverty.
1960	Fatal epidemic of gastroenteritis from overflowing drains and unsafe drinking water at Woorabinda Mission.
1961 - 1975	Vietnam War. Indigenous people served their country in this war.
1963	Forced eviction of Aboriginal people from Mapoon by Qld Government. Their own savings extracted from mission fund to develop Bamaga to which they were forcibly transported.
1963	Freedom Riders organised by Charles Perkins through country towns in NSW.
1965	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs Act.
1966	Gurindji people walk off Wave Hill station as a protest against intolerable living conditions and inadequate wages. Petition addressed to the Governor asking for title to some 1300 square kilometres of their tribal land. It was rejected. Aborigines could only gain title to land under the same system as whites.
1966	Levies ceased on Aboriginal earnings which financed Provident and Welfare Funds. All savings passbooks surrendered to account holders. Government maintained control of all child endowment for children under five on government settlements.

1967	Commonwealth Referendum. Aborigines were from this time to be included in the census. Commonwealth Parliament gains power to legislate Aboriginal affairs. Council for Aboriginal Affairs established.
1968	Internal Qld government records reveal $1.4m of Aboriginal savings invested to generate revenue. Nearly half went to various Queensland regional hospitals.
1968	Commonwealth funding received to improve Aboriginal housing in Queensland, pooled into Welfare Fund to mask expenditure of funds by state.
1971	Aboriginal flag design - Harold Thomas
1971	Aborigines Act and Torres Strait Islanders Act. Repeal of Section 4 of Vagrants, Gaming and other Offences Act which had formerly made it an offence for a 'person, not being an Aboriginal native, to wander or lodge in company with an Aboriginal native'.
1971	Yirrkala claim to ownership of land rejected by N.T. Supreme Court.
1971	Noonkenbah station workers walk off.
1971	Establishment of Aboriginal Legal Service, Sydney.
1972	Establishment of Aboriginal Tent Embassy, grounds of Parliament House Canberra.
1972	Outstation/homeland movement gains momentum.
1972	First Federal Cabinet Minister for Aboriginal Affairs appointed, creating Department of Aboriginal Affairs. States decline to hand over Aboriginal affairs to Commonwealth.
1972	Hopevale - one nursing sister and eight beds for population of over 500 people.
1972	Endemic ill health (eg salmonella hookworm diarrhoea scabies) and gross overcrowding and lack

	of amenities (eg baths sinks hot water clean drinking water) reported Woorabinda, Lockhardt, Yarrabah, Palm Is. missions.
1972	Welfare fund diversion to wages, to meet Commonwealth demand that legal wage rates be paid community workers. Community work forces slashed and maintenance programs aborted bringing essential services into crisis.
1973	National Aboriginal Consultative Committee approved by Cabinet and elections held.
1973	Aboriginals Affairs Act (arrangements with States).
1975	Racial Discrimination Act - anti-discrimination statute, binding state and federal governments, enacted to implement the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in Australian law.
1975	World Council of Indigenous People established.
1975	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Act, Queensland (discriminatory laws).
1975	Indonesian invasion of East Timor, 7.12.1975.
1976	Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act.
1976	Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976-78.
1977	National Aboriginal Conference established by Federal Government to provide a forum for the expression of Aboriginal views.
1977	First land claim to crown land, hearing at Borroloola commences.
1978	Mornington Is. de-reserved and placed under Local Government Management.
1978	Additional commonwealth funds for rent assistance merged through Welfare Fund.
1979	Makarrata or treaty negotiations commenced by National Aboriginal Conference.

1979	Aboriginal Development Commission established, taking over economic development functions from Dept. Aboriginal Affairs.
1979	Conciliation and Arbitration Commission judgment authorises payment of award wages for Aborigines employed in Queensland communities.
1980	Pitjantjatjara people in South Australia granted rights to land.
1981	World Congress of Indigenous Peoples meeting in Australia extends solidarity.
1982	Deeds of Grant in Trust, Land Act Amendment Act.
1982	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations established.
1982	Commonwealth Games - Aboriginal protests in Brisbane.
1982	Petition presented to Queen Elizabeth by Charles Perkins on behalf of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, showing how Acts discriminate and seeking amendment.
1983	NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act - 7.5% of land taxes paid to Aboriginal Land Councils or Trusts for economic base.
1984	Community Services Act - Torres Strait and Community Service Act - Aboriginal, passed.
1985	National Aboriginal Conference dissolved.
1987	Royal Commission of Enquiry into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. (Ended 1990 - 339 recommendations, one police officer fined $50, cost $30million)
1988	Celebration of Bi-centenary of occupation. Aboriginal Protestors joined by many Australians, Sydney.
1988	Expo staged Brisbane. Aboriginal Protests Brisbane.
1989	Aboriginal Provisional Government launched.

1990	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission formed by Commonwealth legislation.
1990	Audit shows up to $133m Commonwealth/State Housing Agreement money passed through Welfare Fund. Related to expenditure, 'surplus' to state shown at $3.6m 1980 - 84 and $7.88m 1985-90.
1990	Gulf War - Iraq claims Kuwait.
1991	Queensland Land Bill introduced.
1991	Quandamooka Lands Council incorporated.
1991	Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation established by Federal Parliament.
1991	Australian Republican Movement formed.
1992	Mabo -v- State of Queensland High Court Judgement declares common law of Australia recognises native title. Concept of terra nullius overturned. In accordance with 1975 Racial Discrimination Act, native title must be treated equally before the law, with other titles that flow from the Crown.
1993	Native Title Act enacted to provide for the recognition and protection of native title to the extent recognised by the common law of Australia.
1993	United Nations Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, completed. Now in preparation for acceptance. Scheduled for 2004.
1993	Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders Council incorporated.
1995	National Native Title Tribunal accepts Quandamooka Lands Council application for a determination of Native Title.
1996	Wik case High Court decision - native title rights continue to co-exist on pastoral leases but in a conflict pastoralists rights prevail.

1996	Pauline Hanson, leader of One Nation Party elected to the Senate as an independent initiating organised attacks against Aboriginal rights.
1997	Quandamooka Lands Council Aboriginal Corporation and Redland Shire Council Native Title Process Agreement.
1997	One Nation Party elected in 11 seats in Queensland.
1998	Amendments to Native Title Act - 10 point plan - discriminates against native title applicants and registered claimants in favour of other parties.
1998	Constitutional Convention - whether or not Australia should become a republic.
1999	Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation consults on National Document for Reconciliation.
1999	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board launched, Queensland. Membership (6 men, 6 women) appointed from elders, and local government, education, health, community service and business sectors from throughout the state.
1999	Referendum 1) to alter the Constitution to insert a preamble to highlight the unifying values, achievements and aspirations shared at the beginning of the second century of nationhood. Referendum 2) for the change from the Monarchy to an Australian as Head of State - Republic. Resulted in 55% no vote.
1999	80% of East Timor population voted for independence from Indonesia.
2000	Corroboree 2000 - Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation successfully organises massive marches throughout the country.

2000	Treaty movement launched.
2000	Olympic games staged in Sydney. Aboriginal athlete Cathy Freeman lights the flame and wins gold medal before global television audience.
2000	Tent Embassy reinstated in Sydney for duration of Olympic Games.
2001	Brand new millennium.
2001	Celebration of Centenary of Federation across the nation.
2001	Peace talks for Agreement negotiations between Palestine and Israel degenerate into violent conflict.
2001	11th September, unprecedented attacks on the United States of America. World Trade Centre in New York and Military Headquarters at the Pentagon in Washington hit by commercial aeroplanes commandeered for use as bombs, marks global economic and social crisis.
2001	Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government of 54 countries with a common history of colonisation, in Brisbane Queensland Australia, where Aboriginal people have never relinquished sovereignty, is deferred.

PILLARS OF SOCIETY BY KEV CARMODY

The pillars of society
Cruise down the road each day;
They got the economic wherewithall
We can't afford to pay
They got numbered bank accounts
Their system assures they win
They exploit the population we on the outside lookin' in

CHORUS
Them pillars of society
Drive us like a tool
To them that cool

They drive Mercedes Benz and Porsches
Live Rolls Royce gilt-edged lives
You can tell the affluent effluent
By the status symbols that they drive
When you on the dole queue
They tell you to your face
You a bludger on their system
And a blight on the human race

They grace the social pages
Always make the news
At the church on Sunday
They crowd in the front pews
There's a hierachy of dominance
With the power at the top
If you think you've found the magic key
You'll find they've changed the locks

Walkin' down the freeway
On their dotted line
We'd like to make decisions
But they won't allow the time
It's said religion is the opium
I say the media's the cocaine
24 hours of propaganda
druggin' my poor brain

They confer titles of status and dominance
On their progeny and their class
"sir" – "Your honour" –
"Your Grace" - "Your Highness" –
We're made to polish
And lick their……brass
But you my friend can be like them
If you have their million dollar fee
But you'll find their system's designed
To keep us in line
And walkin' on our knees

Kev Carmody

SOURCES AND EXTRACTS

PRELUDE:

1) EXTRACT: BEN OKRI "Birds of Heaven" Phonix Orion Books Ltd, England, 1996

INTRODUCTION:

7) EXTRACT: Address by ROBERT ANDERSON, Chairperson, Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board, to the Statewide Cultural Heritage Forum, Ithaca Room, City Hall, Brisbane,11 April 2000.

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34) EXTRACT: EDWARD SAID "The Question of Palestine" Vintage, 1992.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

Cover) Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal; Mary Rose Tripcony (nee Rollands); Lydia Anderson (nee Tripcony) and Robert Anderson - ©Bob Anderson, family photograph. Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock.

1) Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock.

3) Wildflowers of Mulgumpin, John Oxley Library Neg. No.170520

6) Grannies of Minjerribah, Bob Anderson family photograph.

8) Aerial photograph Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Dept. Natural Resources Queensland Beach Protection Authority, Tweed Heads to Urangan, QAP 5648, Run 10 Frames 30 and 32, 23/4/99.

10-11) Original version of the Legend of the Lightning's Playground in the hand of Paul Ambrose Tripcony born on Moongalba in 1901.

18) Moreton Regional Satellite Map, produced by Dept. Mapping and Surveying 17/4/1983. Copyright ©Commonwealth of Australia 17/4/1983 Landsat TM satellite image acquired by the Australian Centre for Remote Sensing (ACRES), a business unit of AUSLIG, Australia's National Mapping Agency. www.auslig.gov.au.

19) Illustration - Map of Quandamooka, legend for Satellite Map.

45) Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal/Sydney Rollands, Bob Anderson family photograph. (Photographs of Aboriginals in domestic service were altered to resemble lighter skinned people because that symbolised higher social standing.)

50) Benevolent Institution, Goompi, Minjerribah (Stradbroke Is), 1890, John Oxley Library Neg.No.101339

50) Goompi (Dunwich) Jetty 1880, John Oxley Library Neg. No.24107

51) Myora Mission site, Moongalba, Minjerribah, 1891, John Oxley Library Neg.No.24089

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58) Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock.

62) Grave site Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal/Sydney Rollands, Copyright (c)North Stradbroke Is. Historical Museum Association Incorp.

62) Myora Mission School, Moongalba, Minjerribah, The University of Queensland Library Fryer Library, Papers of Paul Tripcony UQFL122, Box 3, PTO20-group.

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63) Sam Rollands and Dugong Hunters McLeay Island, courtesy Isabell Chaplin, McLeay Island, family photograph.

65) Robert Anderson signs Quandamoka Land Council Aboriginal Corporation and Redland Shire Council Native Title Process Agreement on the 14th August 1997. Bob Anderson family photograph.

66) Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock.

67) Sydney Rollands/Winyeeaba Murriaba Kingal, Bob Anderson family photograph. (Photographs of Aboriginals in domestic service were altered to resemble lighter skinned people because that symbolised higher social standing.)

69) Thomas Martin, Constantine, Andrew, Thomas Buchanan Abercrombie Alexander Tripcony, Dept. Primary Industries collection, Plate 19, G.S. Smith "The Queensland Oyster Fishery" D.P.I. publication.

72) Catherine Abercrombie Tripcony, Bob Anderson family photograph.

72) Mary Rose Tripcony, seated on the steamer "Otter", Bob Anderson family photograph.

73) Albert Tripcony 1914, Bob Anderson family photograph.

73) Ensign Vincent Joseph Tripcony, Bob Anderson family photograph.

73) Paul Ambrose Tripcony, Bob Anderson family photograph.

73) Lydia Myee Anderson (nee Tripcony), Bob Anderson family photograph.

74) Priscilla and Veronica Tripcony, (date unknown) Penny Tripcony family photograph.

74) Paul and Anastasia Tripcony, Bob Anderson family photograph.

79) Elizabeth Anderson (nee Kerr) and Thomas Garcia Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

82) Bob and Reg Anderson with family friend Jack Hogan, 1947, Bob Anderson family photograph.

82) Tom Anderson, Gilbert Levinge and Robert Anderson, Xmas 1968, Bob Anderson family photograph.

83) Mary Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

83) Cecily and Robert Anderson 31/7/1997, Bob Anderson family photograph.

83) Charlie (Barney) Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

91) Lydia Anderson with Tom and Robert Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

91) Tom Anderson's 70th birthday party with Mrs. Vincent Anderson, Mary Anderson, Robert Anderson and grandchildren, Bob Anderson family photograph.

104) Veronica Thrower, nee Tripcony, Dunwich 1919, Bob Anderson family photograph.

104) Edgar and Pauline Thrower, on the "Otter" 1936, Penny Tripcony family photograph.

104) Penny Tripcony, Brisbane 1947, Penny Tripcony family photograph.

105) Pauline Cassels (nee Thrower) and Penny Tripcony 1996, Penny Tripcony family photograph.

105) Penny Tripcony, son Paul, Robert Maxwell, and daughter Karina, 1996, Penny Tripcony family photograph.

116) Granny Tripcony's home, One Mile, Minjerribah, Bob Anderson family photograph.

116) Mary, Cecily and Robert Anderson with neighbours, Kennedy Street East Brisbane, 1939 - 45, Bob Anderson family photograph.

123) Robert Anderson and Frank Barnes, 1948, Bob Anderson family photograph.

123) Robert Anderson, Kennedy Tce, East Brisbane, 1946, Bob Anderson family photograph.

124) Charlie (Barney) Anderson 1948, Bob Anderson family photograph.

124) Isabella and Robert Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

129) Robert, Isabella and Reg Anderson, Minjerribah 1977, Bob Anderson family photograph.

129) Reg, Paul and Robert Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

132) Collinsville picket line, Power House dispute, 1967, Bob Anderson family photograph.

133) Kevin Loughlin, Artie Stevens, Robert Anderson, Tom Chard, Coyne Ferguson and Jim Petersen, State Union Organisers, 1968, Bob Anderson family photograph.

136) Robert Anderson's grandchildren Nardu, Meering, Thor, Keegan, Katie and Toby with wife Jessica, Bob Anderson family photograph.

136) Robert Anderson with grandchildren Keegan, Toby, Meering, Thor, Katie and Nardu, 1987, Bob Anderson family photograph.

137) Robert Anderson, Sea of Hands, Botanical Gardens, ©Jo-Anne Driessens.

137) Robert Anderson, Paul and Ann Anderson with children Meering, Nardu and Thor, Hiroshima Day King George Square Brisbane, 1991, Robert Anderson family photograph.

137) Karen Anderson with children, Toby, Keegan and Katie, Bob Anderson family photograph.

173) Hugh and Judy Hamilton with Isabella and Robert Anderson Minjerribah, 1976, Bob Anderson family photograph.

200) Nelson Mandella with Karen Flick, Bob Anderson, Joe McGuinness, Yami Lester, Barbara Flick and Ben Moffat 1990. (Photograph courtesy of Barry McKinnon and News Limited.)

201) Robert Anderson at Palm Sunday Peace Rally 1997, Bob Anderson family photograph.

202) Hand prints Corroboree 2000, Sydney June. ©National Indigenous Radio Service, Brisbane.

203) 4AAA Brisbane Indigenous Radio Station outside broadcast van, Copyright ©Brisbane Indigenous Media Association Inc.

203) Ross Watson 4AAA Brisbane Indigenous Radio Station, ©Brisbane Indigenous Media Association Inc.

204) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School, Dornoch Tce., Highgate Hill 1990, video image ©Murriimage Community Video and Film Service.

204) Bob Weatherall, Bicentennial protest march Brisbane 1988, ©Murriimage Community Video and Film Service.

205) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School, Acacia Ridge exterior, video image, ©Murriimage Community Video and Film Service.

205) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School, Acacia Ridge, class and exterior video images 17/6/98 ©Murriimage Community Video and Film Service.

205) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Independent School bus

214) Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders in Council, ©Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders in Council.

214) Brisbane Council of Elders, ©Brisbane Council of Elders.

215) Murriimage crew on location 1989. ©Murriimage Community Video and Film Service.

233) Premier Anna Bligh congratulates Robert Anderson and the Quandamooka People, 4th July, 2011

234) May Day Rally Cairns, 1991, Bob Anderson family photograph.

234) Robert Anderson with daughter Karen at Premier's Awards ceremony for Queensland Seniors 1997, Bob Anderson family photograph.

235) Governor General of Queensland General Arnison with Jim Illiffe International Year of Elder Persons 1/10/1998, Bob Anderson family photograph.

235) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board 1999, ©Department Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy, Queensland.

236) Queensland Premier Peter Beattie and Minister Judy Spence with Robert Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph. (Photographer David Peacock)

236) Gerry Adams at Brisbane Lord Mayor's welcoming ceremony meets Robert Anderson 23/2/1999, Bob Anderson family photograph.

237) Robert Anderson, Doctorate Graduation Ceremony, 2000, Queensland University of Technology, ©University of Technology.

237) Robert Anderson and partner, Cathy Boyle, Doctorate Graduation Ceremony, 2000, Queensland University of Technology, ©University

238) Brisbane Citizen of the Year Award Ceremony 2000, ©Brisbane City Council.

238) 2002 Centenary Medal Presentation Government HouseRobert Anderson and Cathy Boyle ©Stephen Henry Photographs

239) Irish Citizenship Presentation, 17th March 2008. Irish Ambassador,Máirtín O'Fainín, Sr AngelaMary Doyle, Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Irish Transport Minister Noel Dempsey, Sr Nuala Doyle. ©Rene Marcel.

239) 1967 Referendum Anniversary 2007, Canberra - CathyBoyle, Dr Thancoupie Fletcher, Robert Anderson, Bob Anderson family photograph.

240) Bob Anderson and Cathy Boyle celebrate Bob's 80th Birthday with 4 generations of family in 2009, Bob Anderson family photograph.

240) Bob Anderson at his 80th honouring his Aboriginal and Irish Bloodlines to Country, Bob Anderson family photograph.

241) Colleen Ma'run Wall gives an Acknowledgement to Country and Kabi Blessing to Bob - Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Uncle Cliff Campbell and Colleen Ma'run Wall, Bob Anderson family photograph.

241) Great grandchildren: Ava, Rhys and Mia, Bob Anderson family photograph.

242) Bob Anderson and Cathy Boyle at Gheebelum, the Big Sandhill, Mulgumpin, 2010, Bob Anderson family photograph.

242) David Burns and Bob at midden site Mulgumpin, 2010, Bob Anderson family photograph.

242) Mil Binnung filming, Bob with Elisabeth Gondwee and Christine Dew, 2010, Bob Anderson family photograph.

243) Gheebelum Portrait created by local Artist JoKaspari, a centrepiece for the Mil Binnung Exhibition in 2010-2011.

243) Bob Mil Binnung exhibition launch Redlands Museum, 3rd July 2010, Bob Anderson family photograph.

244) Native Title Recognition Day 4th July 2011. Cathy Boyle, Bob Anderson, Vincent Anderson, Penny Tripcony and Paul Anderson below the plaque for Bert Tripcony killed in action on the 5th May 1917 in France, Bob Anderson family photograph.

244) Native Title Recognition Day 4th July 2011. Paul Anderson, Karen Rylance, Bob Anderson and Connie Millar outside Dunwich Hall, Goompi, Bob Anderson family photograph.

245) Robert Anderson and partner, Cathy Boyle, on Mulgumpin walking Country, Bob Anderson family photograph.

269) Kevin Carmody. (Photograph courtesy of Kevin Carmody.)

290) Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock.

Back Cover) Mulgumpin (Moreton Island). ©Photographer David Peacock

WRITER/RECORDIST

Christine Peacock

I was born in Mareeba North Queensland in 1951. My Mother is Eva Salam, whose family comes from the village of Isem on the eastern island of Erub (Darnley) in the Torres Strait. I grew up in the Quandamooka region at Redcliffe, where we attended primary and secondary schools.

I trained as a theatre performer, producer and director both in Sydney and London (U.K.). I worked in community theatre in England during the 1970s and returned to Australia in 1980. I took up a Television Producer traineeship with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in Sydney in 1983 and when completed, accepted an invitation to develop video production in the Brisbane Indigenous community.

I am one of the principal members of Murriimage Community Video and Film Service established in 1985 and serve on the Board of Directors of Uniikup Productions Ltd. incorporated in 1994. Murriimage is a trading name of Uniikup Productions Ltd, which is dedicated to the development and promotion of a unique indigenous screen culture, and for which I have written, produced and directed many information videos and documentaries.

My partner Carl Fisher and I live with our children in Gubbi Gubbi/ Kabi Kabi country near Gympie. Carl is a camera operator, sound recordist and video editor and we have worked together in the South East Queensland Indigenous community for over 15 years. Carl Fisher is descendent of Gungaloo, Birria of the Birri Gubba and Gubbi Gubbi/Kabi Kabi peoples.

I first met Bob Anderson in 1991 when he became a member, and subsequently President, of the Indigenous Information Service Association Inc. Murriimage Community Video and Film Service was the trading name of the Indigenous Information Service from 1992 to 1999 and Bob collaborated in the development of the business of the organisation during that period.

We enjoyed an affinity which was due to a common background, where during my childhood my family was influenced by the Union and Communist Movements and were close observers of developments in Australian politics. I also grew up within the peculiar environment created by a union of Indigenous and Australian parentage. (I was born two weeks before Bob's daughter Karen.)

When the grant was approved to document this personal and community history, it became a natural course of events that I worked with Bob on this project. At first I intended to write a script for a video documentary but given the restrictions of production funding, it was decided that initially we should publish a book ourselves to ensure the work received an audience.

The challenge and satisfaction of practising the disciplines involved in research and writing, hopefully, is passed on, through the publication, for the enjoyment, personal development and education of family, community and society as a whole. Most of all, listening to and yarning with our Elders is immensely enjoyable and educational, as well as a great privilege and an honour.

So while being visible in terms of maintaining their rights to exist as an Aboriginal nation, they must also remain invisible so as to escape the stereotyping and stigmatising that goes on when Aboriginal people do things that other people do. Because of the colour of their skin, because of their need to portray an image that is beneficial to them as a nation of people, then they need to use a diverse method to achieve this. They become actors in fact. They are able to act in numerous ways. They portray different images in different ways. With writing, we find that the same situation occurs. When Aboriginal people write they write in a style. They're able to adopt various styles of writing so that what they really want to write about is there. It's hidden. It's contained within their writing, if one can go through the subterfuge, the camouflage that they use when they're writing. Bruce McGuinness "The Politics of Aboriginal Literature" in "Aboriginal Writing Today" AIAS 1985

HISTORY LIFE AND TIMES of Robert Anderson, Gheebelum, Ngugi, Mulgumpin, is a community and personal history of an Aboriginal elder of the Quandamooka area. The life experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander elders are varied and are many and access to their knowledge is essential to the process of continuing our traditions.