

NOTE ON PARTICIPANTS

A number of women joined EM for this interview. They arranged with me and with EM to sit in because they wanted “to hear about the old days”. At times during the interview there were six or seven of these listeners. While EM was speaking, various women ceased being merely listeners and occasionally interjected or asked questions. These speakers are noted in the text below. JU and DM who were also interviewed independently, were in this group and both ask EM questions. DM particularly becomes involved in some detail in the latter half of this interview.

2 This is what I’ll talk about. [**Yes**]. When the missionaries first came they built dormitories. They were for the young women and they young men. The first missionary, who came, when I was a little girl, was Reverend Dyer. Mr Dyer was a minister, and he and Mrs Dyer came. At that time we were living at Arrkuluk, where the Tamarind Tree is (now). All the other people who were living there have since passed away. I’ll talk about them so you can write this down on paper, is that okay? Get a pen and write their names. Some of these people have passed away, those old people who were the first mob to live in the dormitories. This was when Mr Dyer was here, they were living there: you write these names down. [**Okay give the names.**] I’ll tell you the names of the women. [**Okay, go ahead when you want.**] Write down the names of these women who were living there in the early days, when I was only very young. Hannah, she was a bit bigger than me. See, these were staying there: I’ll name them: Old C___, Old M___ - A___’s mother’s mother. She and her older sister and H___ had the same father. I’m talking about that other Ngalkodjok - they had the one father. She and Old M___ C___ and Old N___. [[EM and SE discuss pronunciation of this name.]] That’s D___’s sister - her bigger sister. Another one was Y___. [**Y___?**] Yes.

3 They stayed (in the dormitories) here when I was very young. And that’s where we lived. I saw them there when we had come down (into Kunbarllanjnja) in Reverend Dyer’s time. There were a lot of them staying there. They built the dormitory, they built it for them. Well, I saw them when my father brought me in from out there in the bush. This was when I was small that we came down into town. We came here to Kunbarllanjnja and that’s when I saw those people. So I joined in with them and we

all stayed in those dormitories. I came and we stayed there. We stayed there in those dormitories.

4 Now the other missionaries, and that man Dick Harris with his mob, they were the second lot, the new ones, after the first lot from Mr Dyer's time. Reverend Dyer he brought the Bible. They're the ones who used to camp there, all right, and then later on, after that, Dick Harris's time, when we were staying there, well we were a different group. Listen, I'll tell you their names: D___'s mother, Ngalkangila. Old N___. M___, she was a tiny little girl, and she used to stay with me and L___ - Old L___, N___. Yes. R___, G___'s mum, [*Ngalkodjok?*] Yoh, Ngalkodjok, we were there together, and also P___, J___'s mother.

5 SE: *Is it okay if these youngsters come and listen to you? What are they coming for?* [[Group of three middle aged women arrive having earlier arranged to listen in to EM's interview. Discussion as they organize themselves. EM then asks me to read the list of names she has given (para 4 above) so she can decide where to recommence. SE reads names.]]

6 And another one, Old D___, your mother's mother, who was Old J___'s wife. [*Yes*] And what's her name, G___'s mum, that Ngalwakadj M___. She was called M___. [*M___?*] Yoh. M___. And M___, her big sister. They were sisters, both with the same mother. [[Sound of listeners group organizing themselves]].

7 SE: *Two Ngalwakadj sisters?*

8 Yes, They called the same lady mother.

9 SE: [[Talking to group listening to EM.]] *I'm taping her talking about past history, when missionaries first came, I mean when people lived in the dormitories.* [[Talking to EM, but she thought I had included the listeners who are all significantly younger than her.]] ***You didn't all stay there together?***

10 No. Well, they'd already closed them down (by that time). They'd closed them way back. They changed their mind. Maybe the mothers or fathers were saying,

maybe they said, “Hey, don’t lock them up!” That’s what they said. “Don’t lock them in those buildings. They’re not prisoners.” They said that at the start. After that they did it. Those were our mothers, including your mother [[Talking to SE]], who stayed there with us. Well, we stayed there in the dormitories. That’s where we stayed. And they locked us in. We had church – Oh, in the evenings we had prayer meetings and we had some songs - a Singalong. We would pray and then go to sleep. This was in Dick Harris’s time. Those kids were only small, but I was big and P___, we were the biggest. Old D___ too. That was her name, that Ngalngarridj.

11 SE: They didn’t lock you in at night?

12 At night they used to lock us in, and in the daytime we used to go to school. Then at night they would lock us in. We had had our prayers outside. We would close our eyes and they would pray for us, and they would lock us in. At six o’clock in the morning they would open the door and get us outside. I don’t know if maybe our fathers had said, “Don’t lock up those kids. No.” Some of them said that. They argued with Dick Harris, who was very strict. He was a Nabulanj, and he used to talk Kunwinjku. Yes, well he didn’t speak it very well, like you, but a little bit. He used to say to them, “You’re tough, so I’m tough.” He used to say that, Dick Harris, he said that to them, “I’m cheeky.”

13 SE: And what about the young men?

14 It was the same for the young men. They had their own separate dormitory. And they lived there the same way, the young men, and they had prayers. They were there with them, and Dick Harris used to talk to them. Mrs Harris was there with us, his wife.

15 Then I went off, myself, Ngalkangila, Old P___ and D___, Old D___ your grandmother. We all grew up and got married. Ngalkangila and I went to Yikarradaki. We went up there [Mm.] I married your father, Nakodjok. I grew up, married, and we went to Yikarradaki - you know that place? [Yes, I know the place.] Then that Ngalkangila had a baby and her husband, Old P___ who used to be a

stockman, he was working here, he worked at the stockyards. That was M___'s husband.

16 [[Question from one of the listening group (JU)]: ***Were they married in the Church?***

17 No, that's not what happened. One man, that Kabo man, Old H___'s brother, they got married in church. I went out bush, and Old P___ and I both got married in the bush, and we went together. She married that Nangarridj Namanilakarr. We were married out there in the bush, that's where we went. Nakangila and Ngalngarridj took us there. We went to Yikarradaki, and we took pack horses for our stuff. We didn't ride. We went up there north.

18 So the kids lived there in the dormitories. The later on, maybe they were saying, "Don't lock up our children, because we want...", they were telling him, to Old Dick Harris. And he was saying, "You shouldn't have two wives." Dick Harris said to them. "They shouldn't have two wives. One man shouldn't have two wives." He was upset about this and was trying to stop them. "Only one woman a man should have, and any man only one wife, one wife. One wife each they should have." He was thinking in this different way. He only thought about Church way. That is what he said. And that has now continued on as you women [[EM speaking to the listening group of women]] were growing up, when you arrived on the scene.

19 We went and lived on our country, when you were living (here). I went north to Yikarradaki, I and Old P___ went. Then she gave birth to Nakodjok, Old J___, her own son, and I had Nangarridj. Yes, that's what we did.

20 We'd lived in the dormitories. And those ones who lived in the dormitories didn't go sniffing petrol, looking for petrol. And they didn't steal food, they didn't go looking to steal the Balanda's things. They didn't go around stealing things, stealing food, no, none of that. And they didn't break into houses. They just stayed home. We just lived there in the dormitories, and the only time they unlocked it was in the mornings. In fact, we had a drum if we wanted to use the toilet, we had a bucket or

drum there for us. There was a bucket of water and a toilet drum, there for us in the building. That's what we used.

21 Ngalkangila and Ngalwamud were only very little, about that tall. [[Indicates a small child's height with her hand.]] We were still carrying them around some of the time. They still depended on me and so we all stayed together. Your mother [[EM talking to DM]] and L___ weren't very small, but those other three were quite small. But they wouldn't go with their mother, they preferred me. [Laughter.]] They used to say to me, "Let's go hunting." "No, leave that. We'll stay here." Those three, Ngalkangila, Ngalwamud and Nakodjok just wanted me, so we stayed with those babies.

22 Yes, it was good, then. As for the young men, it was the same for them - they used to be locked in. They would come outside at six o'clock when they opened up. The same as they organized the water for us, a bucket of water, the young men did that too. And they didn't smoke - there wasn't much tobacco around. And they didn't go and break in to houses and steal things, like they do now. They go and steal now as they grow up. They used to just grow and then at that stage get married.

23 [[Unidentified listeners comments to EM]] ***And they used to teach us about Christianity.***

24 And they used to teach us about Christianity. Before we went to sleep, before that we prayed, sometimes putting our hands together, then we would go in and they would lock us up. We used to sleep anywhere inside the dormitory. They would open us and they used to say then, just like now, "Don't smoke tobacco." We say that now to them. And that Ngalngarridj was there too with that first mob in Reverend Dyer's time. They are the ones whose names I've mentioned. I've outlived them all. They were those topline Nabarrkid mob. You look at their names just there. [[Referring to the list I'd written earlier.]]

25 When I was a kid only about so high, I got lost. I was only little - this high. [[Indicates with her hand.]] At that time I got lost. I was walking along the road, on the Red Lily road. I nearly got lost. [***SE: When you were small?***] I was little. This

big. [[Indicates a small child's height with her hand.]] Well I went...this was in Mr Dyer's time and he prayed for me. I went to sleep but not just to sleep, I had a dream, maybe something had taken me there. I was asleep but I saw this, what was it, a dingo. When I was on the way back, I was looking for my mother and father. There, at whatsitsname, here at that place Mirrey where all the people are buried. Mirrey. Where that big Mandey tree was, that has died. Just past where all the graves are. My father was there, where we were camping, with our mother. I went there and got dinner.

26 We went and got dinner, we brought it out, they used to give it to us on a plate. We used to get meat and bread. There was a big crowd there, eh? That was a mob there of us - the first mob, and the others, the second mob. We were here with a lot of Balanda here with us too. Mr Bligh was with us at that time, Mr Taylor, and who else, oh, I mentioned that Nabulanj before. There was Mr Campbell, that whatshisname, Mr Ivan. Mr Campbell, whatshisname, I never actually saw all these, but they used to tell me about them. I was living there in the bush. H___ used to see them and she knew who they were. That old man was still alive with her then, her father, that old Namardumardu man, who fathered her. She was here in Oenpelli. H___ used to stay here. She was only small.

27 Everyone has forgotten about that business. No one knows the story, only us grey-haired mob, no one else knows about what it was like when we were living in the dormitories and working in the gardens. Now wait on, there was a rice field just there, we used to see rice right along there, bananas, mangoes, they used to have coconuts, and they had bamboo planted. That bamboo was there but it's all disappeared now. That garden field was there, [*SE: Just close by?*] yes, down the bottom, right along. Rice was there. It looked like grass but it was rice. In the wet season they used scatter the seeds and leave it. When it came up we used to cut it and put it in a heap and bring it here. We used it when there was no other food. Then they would give us rice.

28 Then later something else arrived – money - we hadn't just get it in our hands – so I got a job. I worked at the hospital. I worked there at that little building, the old dispensary we had, that little building. We used to work there and people would

come. Yes, that building was there where the Tamarind is, it used to be there. There where the tamarind is. [[Listeners discuss location of old hospital building, mainly inaudible.]]

29 SE: *Didn't it burn down?*

30 No, this was the little building, (the fire) was later on. We only had a small building. Yes, now who was there? Miss Quilp and Miss Sharon we had. Miss Sharon, what did she do? She was a teacher. Also Miss Sharpe - I used to work with her. She was an American lady, Miss Sharpe. Miss Quilp and I used to do the same job together. And those, whatsanames, the stockmen came. A stockman turned up, and got all the boys together - your father's mob. [[Speaking to JiNg]] Your mob he got, that Burlarldja clan brother, and they went to the stockyards and they were working there. Who was that? [[Unidentified listener: *Mr Chantrell.*] Mr Chantrell. He and Mr Greigson. But, and Mr Chantrell...Mr Greigson was there, and Mr Chantrell arrived. His wife too, and she was really huge. We called her Ngالبangardi. Yes. After that two more stockmen came, first one, then another.

31 We used to look after a big garden and lots of goats. [*SE: Nanikud?*] Nanikud. We kept goats and chickens. And I used to milk the, whatsaname, goats. Early in the morning we would go and milk. Two women, yes. [*SE: I've never tasted it.*] Listen Nabulanj, we didn't drink tea, and we didn't give tea to children to drink. [Listener: *That's right.*] We just drank milk. [Listener: *Only milk.*] Yes, we would line up. Recess time: "Line up kids!"

32 SE: *And where there many goats?*

36 Yes, there were lots of goats. They used to be out on the plains and the old people used to look after them. My grandmother, that old lady. She used to mind goats. That old lady and another girl, [Listener: *Ngalkamarrang*] another Ngalkamarrang who was my grandmother - they minded the goats. That old lady was alive back then. [[EM asks listeners about SE's relationship to the lady being discussed.]] What would he call her? [DM: *Doydoy.*] You would've called her Doydoy. [[EM, Talking to the other women listening.]] You would have called her Kankinj. She called her

Djedjeh. I called her Kakkak. And that other lady, [DM: *He calls her Morlah.*] Your Morlah, Ngalkamarrang. Yes, Morlah, that's what you Nabulanj would call that Ngalkamarrang. And I called her Kakkak.[SE: *My Morlah?*] Yes. Morlah. [[EM talking to listeners about SE.]] It's Nabulanj's close Ngalkamarrang. So, they looked after the goats, that old lady, and my mother used to work on the rice. She would cook it for supper, and we used to eat rice. Yes, we were eating rice, and when you were growing up we all ate rice. They used to cook supper, and there was a kitchen there, a really big kitchen just here. [DM: *Where the pilot lives, that's where you used to thresh out the seeds.*] Well, we used to put it there and thresh it, and it would stay there. The husks would just go anywhere. We would beat it and beat it, and we separated the clean seeds. [DM: *And you used to put some in a drum.*]

37 Yes. And we used to have a lot of garden produce - pumpkin and everything. We used to tend that garden, right along there, that way. [SE: *Did they water it with a pipe there?*] Yes, there was a pipe underground there, and the engine. [SE: *Yes, I know, I saw that engine.*] There in the old engine shed. [SE: *By the time I came it was wrecked.*] Yes, by the time you came it was wrecked. Yes, and we had really good jobs, and we did good work. Mr Wilson arrived and he used to teach us how to look after the garden. [Listener: *He used to be a farmer.*] Well he became a farmer, that Nakangila. He taught that old man from Kumarrinbang. So we just used to work, me and that Ngalkodjok. We and all those Marrkolidjban girls used to help each other. Ngalkodjok too.

38 [[Generally inaudible discussion among EM and listeners about Mr Harris.]]

39 Yes, now listen, Wilfred and Jim Harris, David, Jim Harris, Barbara, Stephen, that's right, Stephen. Stephen...David was the eldest, then Wilfred and Barbara was the sister. [Listener: *Stephen?*] Stephen, that's right, Stephen. And David was the first. Then Stephen, Wilfred, Barbara. Dick was the younger brother, he was their father. Yes he was their father. Jim Harris was Dick's brother. Yes, that's right. Then Jim Harris. [[Generally inaudible discussion among listeners goes on in background.]] Yes, it was Dick Harris who was father of all of them. Yes, that's right. Now listen, the younger brother was John Harris's father. He just had the one boy. They brought him here when he was little, but then they left. After he had that

one son, he died. That timber work killed him, at Roper. He was cutting a tree with a saw and the tree killed him. That younger brother was a Christian man. He grew up here. He used to talk hard to them, go crook at them here, maybe he was angry with them, that younger brother. Dick Harris was good. He had his kids here, and they were all good. He didn't get angry at them or talk roughly to them.

40 DM: *Who was that one who used to whip them, that whatshisname that used to punish us?* [Eh?] *Who used to whip them? Who was that one who got really tough?*

41 Oh, that's who you mean. Johnson. Now who was it that caned us (exc)? We used to run away from him. [[Listeners making inaudible comments.]] We would run away and stay somewhere. We used to get sick and tired of always staying in the dormitory. That time when we ran away our mothers and fathers who were there said, "Hey, where have all those kids gone?" We had bundled up our clothes and things that night: "Let's go! Let's hide our things." So we hid our swags, that Ngalkangila too, your mother [[EM talking to listener.]] We got our swags ready for later, after we all had supper. "Kids," she (Mrs Harris) said to us, "Come and eat your supper. Have a wash and come and we will pray. Then we can lock you in. [Listener: *"Have a sleep"*.] So have a good sleep ready for school tomorrow." We should normally have gone to sleep, perhaps having got tired. But we really had missed school (this time). We did run away that once. We ran away. We were all there, and they said to me, "Hey!" G___'s mother said to me, that Ngalkakadj, "Let's go." "Where are we going?" Now, you know D___'s sister. Yes, that's right. D___ missed out on this, but her sister M___ was with us. So off we went – G___, M___ - oh, not G___, I said her name by mistake, but it was her mother, M___. M___, a long time after this she married that Nangarridj named R___. She married that Nakurnumbidj clan man. Now listen, that Kunak man was brother of D___, they had the one father. And it was D___ who was G___'s father. They were all alive then our old people. So we went. We tied up our clothes and put them somewhere. When it was dark enough, that was it, off we went. There through Arrkuluk. It was *Kurnumeleng*, in the wet season - you know what I mean? Oh, no, not *Kurnumeleng*. We went that one time, that way.

42 So he stopped them having tobacco - Mum and Dad, our fathers and mothers who were raising us. Dick Harris stopped their tobacco. He told them, "You won't be smoking tobacco. I won't give any on payday." "What? And won't there be any food?" "You go and look for them." That's what he told them. We had gone and we were getting bottlebrush flowers - *mankuybuk* they are called. We were collecting *mankuybuk*.

43 [[Tape turned over and restarted from this point. NOT rewound to start.]]

44 We went to Red Lily and camped there, and then came back. We camped there at Red Lilly near that one little hill. We stayed there until sunrise. Then my father, that old Narranek clan man, N___ and D___ both call him Mawah. He came with old Ngalbulanj. She and that [] Nawakadj turned up together and they said to us, "Why are you kids carrying your swags? Where have you been camping? You'd better come us and we'll all go." We had been there long enough to be hungry. "Let's go back home to your mothers. They've got food there." "No, because if we go they'll punish us. They'll punish us, so no way, leave us alone," we said.

45 Well, he (Mr Johnson) went and got a cane for us, by cutting some bamboo, and he hit us with it. He locked us in the dormitory and gave us a caning. So we came back, and when we arrived he gave the tobacco to our mothers and fathers. He gave it out to them. So they had a smoke and they were happy. Well, those old people were dying for a smoke. Those people had asked us at Kunngarrewarlk, when they were bringing us back from Red Lily, they had brought us there. They said, "You mob come back. They've kept the tobacco from us those Balanda." "Oh really! Okay, let's go." "They won't hit you" they told us, but they were tricking us. They misled us when they said they wouldn't hit us. He really did hit us with the cane. That bamboo that used to be there, they cut a bit of that. That man Johnson caned us. He locked us in, that was that. The caning cut our lower and upper legs because the whatsaname, cane was splitting. So he punished us, and that was that. He locked us up like we were in prison. [[Laughs]] He wouldn't give us any water. "Just wait", he said, "Have a sleep. Rest. Then after that I'll give you some." That's what he said to us. He gave us a hard time - that was hard punishment. Well, we had been silly that one time when we ran away. That's when we went and camped in the bush.

46 All right, well, in their turn, our fathers and mothers changed their mind. They said, “No more of this. They’re not going to live in that building. If they do they might run away.” They said that to that Balanda. “So is it all right if we look after them?” But they spoilt them. They spoilt them so that they were doing bad things - they would go along and steal, things like that. But earlier on, when we had lived in the dormitory, everything was okay. [[Listeners: *Yes*]] Yes, that’s what we did. We ran away and he withheld their tobacco, that Nabulanj, Dick Harris. He told them, “I won’t give you tobacco unless you find those kids. You bring them here. Then, okay, I’ll give you tobacco.” So he gave them the tobacco and that was okay. So that’s what I’ve been telling you from the old days.

47 SE: *You (pl) didn’t have any alcohol?*

48 That’s right. There was no alcohol then, Morlah. No grog. We just worked in the garden. [[Listener: *Yes.*]] We were working in the garden. E___ and her brother grew up, [[Listeners: Mostly inaudible discussion about the garden.]]and they used to go to school. There used to be rice fields there, bananas - everything, all kinds - mango, whatever, watermelon. They made the gardens, and we planted them - it was pretty big.

49 [[Brief discussion among EM and listeners about some personal issues. Not transcribed.]]

50 [[EM speaking to SE]] I’ve told you all about it, Nabulanj.

51 SE: *And, you know with Balanda, some Balanda say, “Oh, missionaries have made trouble for Bininj. Missionaries have caused them trouble since they came in.” What do you think about that?*

52 They just about do everything, anything. It’s good.

53 [[JiNg speaking to EM]] : ***“Its not right” you should say. Those missionaries were good, and they used to teach us good things, and about Christianity.***

54 EM: Yes.

55 SE: Yes, some Balanda for instance will point the finger at me and say, “Oh, you’ve ruined Aboriginal people.”

56 EM: Mm. It was a good thing. It was good when back at the start they got us and taught us Christianity, when we stayed in that dormitory, it was good.

57 DM: You didn’t get married too early then did you?

58 EM: We didn’t get married too early, no. They just used to go along, get older and then they would go ahead.

59 Listener: **Some got married in the Church.**

60 JiNg: **And they didn’t have two wives.**

61 EM: They didn’t have two wives, only one. Nowadays they want more women.
[Listeners: **Yes, that’s the truth.**]

62 SE: And women didn’t want that “two wife” arrangement?

63 [Listener: **That’s right.**]

64 EM: **No they didn’t want that.** [JiNg: **The missionaries didn’t like it.**] **The missionaries stopped them.**

65 SE: What about the women? What did they say?

66 They said that was good, that was enough. It was good to have only one wife each. [Listener: **Yes.**] And that was the right thing they used to do, Morlah. When they were young and we used to stay in the dormitory. All right, then later on we were brought out of the dormitories. Some of us went and got husbands. It was the

right time for us to get husbands. Ngalkangila and I were both taken (to the bush).[Listener: *You grew up with her.*] Yes, we had grown up together. That other old Ngalkangila took us both. Old M___ took us both. And Old P___, he knew that Christian business here. He used to preach, that old man. He knew the Christian message that old man - Nangarridj and old M___ too. [Listeners: *Talk about her!*] And also Old J___. [Listeners: *Talk about that old man.*] Nangarridj? [Listeners: *Yes.*] N___ he was called, that was his name. N___, that Nangarridj. [JiNg: *Where was his country?*] Warradjbak. Eh? No, it was Amurdak. [SE: *Is this the same man who was called “Kodjarrang”?*] [JiNg: *No, that’s another man.*] N___ was all he was called. His country was Amurdak.[JiNg: *And Amurdak was his language.*] Yes, Amurdak was his language, and Amurdak country.

67 JiNg: [[Speaking to SE.]] *Make a note of that country name.* [SE: *Yes, I know.*] [[JiNg to EM.]] *Talk about Christmas time.* [EM: Yes, yes.] *Talk about when they used to kill the* [EM: All right.] *bullocks.*

68 Oh yes, yes. I’ve finished talking about the dormitories, so I’ll talk about what happened when a child was born, and after he was born, they used to have a party. They used to kill one bullock for him. Yes, they used to kill a bullock for that baby - those Balanda missionaries. “Yes”, he would say, “You kill the bullock so they can eat that feast. Its for the new born child.” All right. They would bring out one bag of flour, sugar was brought out, tobacco was brought out for them, and whichever of blanket, sheet or cloth. They would get that, the mother and father. [[Listeners go on discussing this in the background, mainly unclear on tape.]]

69 SE: What about the feast/party?

70 A party with a bullock, cooked in an earth oven, [Listeners: *and you all ate it.*] and we all used to eat it. [SE: *All in together?*] Yes. We used to give it to others, and we all shared - Arrkuluk, Middle Camp, Arrkuluk, Banyan. Banyan, yes, about half the people lived there. And some of them were really Nabarrkiharrkid people, although some had already died by then. That Old N___, he was alive then. He was still here. He was a good man. He was still alive, that Nawamud. This was his country here. [SE: *Yes.*] He was D___’s father, and also had J___, A___ and H___

And who was that youngest boy? Oh, no, he's different, he's Namirarr - those other two are both Mirarr. D___ and those, J___ and H___, they are Marndjurlngunj clan, that's theirs. And that one who died, your Kakkali [[EM speaking to SE]].

71 That's what they used to do, and at Christmas, Morlah, every Christmas, they used to cut down a Christmas tree. They would chop down a Christmas tree and hang things on it after dark, [Listeners: *Yes, at night.*] and Father Christmas would arrive [Listeners: *Yes, at night.*] at night. Someone would say, "He's coming, [Listener: *"Sing, sing!"*]" so sing!" Okay, we would sing some Christmas Hymns -all those old people who have passed away - for example, H___'s mother, my aunty and my two sisters. Those aunties, and those Ngalkangila women, and that other woman, N___, R___'s mother.

72 [[Interruption: Discussion between EM and listeners about the need to go to the bank before it closes this afternoon. One lady leaves. EM doesn't need to go.]]

73 Hang on, I'll finish this. What was I talking about? [Listeners: *Christmas.*] They cut down a Christmas tree. That was good! They hung it with everything, including lollies hanging there. And in dishes too. And there was a Father Christmas - sometimes Aboriginal sometimes Balanda. [*SE Dressed up?*] Dressed up, yes. And he used to throw the lollies, he would throw them and they would chase them and collect them - they would run and get them those kids, and eat them. And the men used to dance too, they would do an Aboriginal dance. [*SE: Was this kunborrk?*] Yes, it was a *kunborrk*. Yes they danced, and the women too. We used to go inside the Church on the morning after Christmas Eve. We used to go in and fill up the whole Church. We all crowded in and filled it. [Listener: *where the Church used to be?*] Yes, that building was there, that building, well, they all went in, children, young people, and didn't we get dressed in clothes, you know? We just wrapped ourselves up in whatsaname, [Listeners: *Djulu.*] *Djulu*, red cloth, worn like this. Yes, the men wrapped themselves this way, and the women wore dresses [Listeners: *All in white.*] all in white. We women used to dress up [Listener: *Green or red.*] with green and red, the women, the old people. They used to sew, Old E___ - N___'s daughter. She and D___ had the one father. E___ K___ she was called. K___ was her Aboriginal name. [*SE: K___?*] K___. [*SE: But her Balanda name was E___.*]

E___ was her Balanda name. [SE: *Old N___'s wife?*] No, no. He was her father. [SE: *Her father?*] Yes. N___ had her and then later, what's his name, D___ afterwards. And you write down the boys' names: N___, [SE: *N___?*] N___, [SE: *N___?*] N___ was his Balanda name, Balanda. [SE: *N___?*] N___! [SE: *N___, oh, yes, yes.*] N___, N___, N___. That's him, and the other one W___, they were her brothers. E___'s brothers. Those two boys, and another one, the youngest, the last boy was named M___. [SE: *M___?*] M___ He was the last boy. [SE: *And D___?*] And later D___ was born when N___ got his second wife. The first wife had died – E___'s mother. So those were E___'s brothers. So Do___ and the others were born to his second wife, Ngalkodjok. They were hers.

74 SE: *Okay, hang on. I'll ask you another question [Go ahead] about something different. When you lived in the dormitories, the girls and boys were in separate buildings, so you didn't mix together?*

75 No. We didn't mix together. [SE: *So...*] It was all separate. [SE: *The young men didn't chase them?*]

76 They didn't chase them. No. [DM: *Only at school you were mixed together.*] Yes, school was the only place we mixed. School, and when we used to get out and we would go and play a bit. They used to give us a little ball.

77 SE: *Did you go out on the weekends?*

78 Yes, the weekends. We would go on the weekends sometimes. [JiNg: *It was the teachers who would take them.*] Yes, the teacher used to take us too. We used to play and they would tell us, "No, don't let the boys..." they used to say to us. That Balanda who was there. [[Listener's comment, unclear.]] Yes, they took them separately. Then in holiday time, too. Holiday time, we would go to Red Lily - all the girls. Old R___ used to take us. My sister, that old lady -and also that old man, what's his name? Nakodjok from Mandedjkadjang country - from your country you two [[Talking to listeners.]] Nakodjok, the eldest son in his family, old man M___. [SE: *M___?*] My sister used to be married to him. [SE: *Nakodjok?*] Yes, Nakodjok. N___'s father, the youngest of those fathers. Hang on, no, the eldest. He married my

sister Old R___, Morlah, who lives at Jabiru. That was his first wife. His first wife. Well, they used to take us to Red Lily and went we would go and look at that Red Lily. Nakodjok would shoot some geese. We went with that Balanda lady, what was her name? Sister [], no not her, she used to give out medicine and so did Mrs Harris, Dick Harris's wife. What did they give us? They used to take here to Red Lily and we camped where the rocks are, we used to camp there. Nearly all us girls went and my sister and her husband, Nakodjok. We stayed there and had a holiday. If the boys wanted their turn to go, some men took them.

79 SE: What about the road, was it there then?

80 Yes, there was a road, going right up to []. But we used to along it on foot. The road was there but is was just a track. [DM: *And the horses...*] Yes, we had horses. [DM: *Buffalo.*] Buffalo, horses. The buffalo maybe hadn't come...they only came a while ago, the buffalo. Yes, somebody brought them. He brought maybe one bull, I know. [[Discussion among listeners, not clearly audible.]] The buffalo we haven't always had, Morlah. I know of one old man who brought us pigs. He brought male and female pigs. We didn't have any pigs either. [SE: *Now they've become very numerous.*] Yes. He brought them to us and showed us there where the Tamarind tree is, when we used to live in the dormitory. He brought them in a bag. And he brought some bush eggs too, magpie goose eggs. Maybe we (kids) didn't know about eggs either. [SE: *Really?*]

81 He brought them to us, Nakangila Namirarr brought them, that old man, Nakangila, Namirarr. He was called, you know, maybe that Namirarr [] hang on, maybe I've just forgotten that old man's name. His country was Mankole, Mankole country, whatsaname, Manlarrh. That old man came from Manlarrh country. You would have called him Mamam. He brought it with him from, when he came, and here, we hadn't known about it, we didn't have any pigs. [DM: *Or buffalo?*] Buffalo, no. There were still no buffalo here. [SE: *Hadn't you seen buffalo?*] That's right, we didn't see them. We were just here, but, there at [] way, there were some few buffalo. A long way out. Yes, a few, but not in many places. But at whatsit, out Nabarlek way, there were some.

82 SE: At the outstations?

83 [] Yes, buffalo were there at the outstations. But we didn't have many buffalo. [SE: *Were there buildings at the outstations?*] No. No buildings. [DM: *But they used paperbark...*] But we used to make bark shelters. [DM: *Bark.*] And some paperbark trees too, Mamam [[Talking to DM]] whatever anyone wanted. Like, [SE: *Kudjekbinj?*] Yes, Marrkolidjban. [SE: *Mamardawerre?*] Ma...Marrkolidjban, that belonged to other people who were held together by Nakamarrang N___ who was boss of that country. He, L___'s husband's grandfather. [DM: *Grandfather.*] Yes, he would have called him Kakkak. He was in charge and Old [], his brother, were both in charge there. And Old D___, their daughter. I know that old man used to be in charge of all the Marrkolidjban mob. Some have died but the children are still there. N___ and what's his name? [Listener comment, inaudible.] L___ well they know this story now, I've told them some of it. N___ was L___'s father, my cousin. [Listener: *Is that what you call him?*] Yes. I know all that area of theirs, Marrkolidjban, where that old man was their boss when they lived there. Over that further side, they lived there. He took them to live there. And we taught them to put fish traps in the water.

84 Fish traps. [Listener: inaudible.] Yes. They []. There was no weed in the water, only sand. [DM: *With clear water.*] And we collected mussels. [SE: *Where was this?*] Right here! At the billabong. [SE: *Really?*] We would collect mussels, and lily stems. But without...there was no weed, and no saltwater crocodiles. [DM: *And the water was clean.*] Always clean, yes. And all that seaweed, kunbalak. The other water put that there. [DM: *Buffalo...*] Yes, buffalo came in, and with their feet all that seaweed. And now the water is dirty. Now no one swims there because there's lots of crocodiles. [SE: *It was clear water?*] Yes, clear water, it was really clean here. And they used to use the fish traps every afternoon, every dinner time. They would call out, "Come on!" The people who lived at Arrkuluk, this area, and those who lived there. [] Nawamud used to be in charge of them. [Listener: inaudible.] That old man, N___. MmMm. He was in charge of that Marrkolidjban mob.

85 SE: That's it. Morlah? [Yes.] **And this whatsit** [Its running out?] **It's running out, so thank you!**

TAPE OFF