Resisting the captured image: how Gwoja Tjungurrayi, 'One Pound Jimmy', escaped the 'Stone Age'

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A cultural courtesy

The language used in this story is quoted directly from tourism marketing material. These tourism images and the language used to create them are important historical records. They both reflect and help shape attitudes and aspirations. Some of these images are now considered unacceptable. My purpose is to highlight historical sensibilities. By referring to them I seek to critique rather than endorse their usage.

Aboriginal readers are warned that this paper includes names and images of deceased persons. I thank Gabriel Possum and Isobel Hagan for kindly granting their permission to reproduce images of their grandfather, Gwoja Tjungurrayi.

Figure 5.1: 'Definitive' Commonwealth stamp 1950.

Design Nicholas Freeman, Freeman Design Partners.

Figure 5.2: Bamboro-Kain 1839.

Navy Art Gallery, Naval Historical Centre, Washington DC, [detail, image reversed].

Figure 5.3: Photograph of Gwoja Tjungurrayi 1935.

Walkabout, September 1950 cover [detail]. Reproduced with permission from Tjungurrayi's granddaughters Gabriel Possum and Isobel Hagan.

A snapshot

A chance encounter took place in the remote, rocky desert-scape east of Alice Springs sometime in the 1930s between an ambitious young tourism executive from Melbourne and a young Warlpiri-Anmatyerre man.¹ The Melbourne man was touring Australia by car, searching for spectacular pictures and adventure stories for a new tourism magazine. The Aboriginal man was walking south to a large ceremonial gathering of clans with a senior companion. The tourism executive, Charles Holmes, could not believe his good fortune when a young, fit and handsome man named Jimmy appeared unexpectedly before him, naked, carrying a woomera, a spear and a boomerang. He immediately drew a mental link between the books he had been reading and the man he was looking at. Holmes was overcome by the belief that the man named Jimmy was the most magnificent specimen of Aboriginal manhood, a living example of Baldwin Spencer's 'Stone-Age' man and Charles Pickering's 'wild' 'original' hunter all rolled into one.² He felt compelled to capture Jimmy's image on film and instructed his cameraman to snap a series of photographs. The camera shutter whirled as the photographer launched into action, stage-managing poses, expressions and settings and freezing for posterity scores of static portraits and action shots. During the following 30 years these captured images played a significant role in the definition of Australian Aboriginality. Holmes later admitted he had used them repeatedly to present Jimmy as a 'symbol of a vanishing race'.³ These images also enmeshed both men in a complicated relationship, an understanding of which provides a rare insight into the dynamics of Australian race relations and the power of tourism as an agent of social control and change.

Figure 5.4: Indian Detour on The Chief, 1929 Grand Canyon Line, Santa Fe Railroad.

Reproduced with permission from Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway Company, Texas.

Introduction

Representations of Indigenous people have long been used to promote tourism to remote regions by colonising powers. The Santa Fe railroad's romanticisation of Native Americans or 'Indians' and its glorification of western expansion are legendary (Fig 5.4).⁴ Pictures of Indigenous Australians or 'Aborigines' have been likewise used for tourism marketing purposes. Even before the first train rattled through Heavitree Gap into Alice Springs in 1929, tourism interests

created images to entice travellers to the 'Dead Heart',⁵ which the government had earmarked for speedy development. This story reveals how Gwoja Tjungurrayi or Jimmy escaped from a narrow definition of Aboriginality imposed on him by tourism image-makers like Holmes, which identified him as the remnant of a vanishing 'Stone-Age' race. It shows how he developed relationships, created an environment and took advantage of unusual opportunities to produce counter-images and create a new understanding of Aboriginality.

This paper begins by surveying Holmes' use of the captured images of Tjungurrayi to render Central Australia into a tourist site/sight and make it attractive to three target market groups by educating them to see and relate to place and people in particular ways while they were there. It then draws a biographical sketch of Tjungurrayi and sets his lived experiences against the stereotypical views promoted by Holmes. The story concludes with a saga of a stamp, in which Tjungurrayi's identity and life were revealed to tourists, and a series of articles generated by a new regime of image-makers. These latter writers included Tjungurrayi in their production of images to create a new understanding of Aboriginality.

The birth of Central Australian tourism

The earliest tourism marketing campaigns for Central Australia drew inspiration from Charles Holmes' *We Find Australia*,⁶ Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen's *Arunta: A study of a Stone Age People*⁷ and Charles Pickering's *Races of Man*.⁸ The newly established Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) drew from these literary sources and compiled a vast image bank, which it referred to, exhibited and made available to travel writers and advertisers.

Shortly after Holmes commenced his management of ANTA,⁹ he toured Australia with a photographer to survey tourist sights and collect interesting stories for the association's forthcoming tourism magazine, *Walkabout*. Holmes published an account of his adventures in *We Find Australia* the following year.¹⁰ This book provides invaluable insights into the mind of the man who steered Australia's most powerful tourism image-making institution for thirty years.

Holmes presented himself as a prophetic publicity man hunting for stories about settler Australians who had shaped the destiny of the new nation. His hero was John Macarthur, the man he claimed 'blew the trumpet ... on this country's capacity to grow wool'.¹¹ *We Find Australia* described a modern industrious white race conquering primeval land, wrestling it into a promised land and replacing 'Stone-Age' savagery with British civilisation. He presented the inland as the 'Real Australia' where the wealth of the nation was being discovered and developed, and the period as the 'breaking of a new dawn'.¹²

Holmes supported the principle of 'White Australia'. He sought to foster the belief that the Australian population was already 97% white British stock and the 'effacement' of the remaining 62,000 'full-bloods' or 'wild savages' was assured.¹³ His chapter "'Stone-Age" People' divided settlers and 'the Aruntas' into two separate groups inhabiting two distinct worlds: one 'modern', the other 'primitive'.¹⁴ The book promoted two distinct types of masculinity: white 'manliness' which was progressive, courageous and virile, and brutish Aboriginal hunter-warriorship which was innately 'childish', warlike, monstrous, purposeless and moribund. Echoing Baldwin Spencer, Holmes identified 'blacks' as archaic, static subjects who were incapable of change, and vanishing scientific curiosities that were worth studying before they died out.¹⁵

Whilst this was Holmes' dominant view of Aboriginality, he occasionally slipped into a contradictory position by evoking romantic literature and describing 'primitive' Aboriginal men as the virile remnants of a 'wild' 'original hunter state'. This was the case when he revived a description coined by Charles Pickering in 1851.¹⁶ Holmes quoted Pickering verbatim to describe Jimmy as 'the finest model' of 'human proportions I have ever met', combining 'perfect symmetry, activity and strength' with a head like 'the antique bust of a philosopher'.¹⁷ His cameraman, Roy Dunstan, likewise framed his photographic images of Jimmy in conventional eighteenth century romantic language. A striking resemblance exists between a Dunstan photograph (Fig 5.3) and a sketch of 'Bamboro-Kain of the Newcastle Tribe', the man Pickering identified as the ideal Australian Aboriginal (Fig 5.2).¹⁸

The language of tourism

We Find Australia exemplifies Dann's claim that tourism marketing professionals have created a distinctive language that glorifies modernity, promotion and consumerism.¹⁹ So too did a Commonwealth Railway's poster designed by the talented graphic artist, Percy Trompf.²⁰ This applied the Santa Fe railway aesthetic (Fig 5.5) to Central Australia and replaced 'Indians' of North American pueblos with 'Arunta' men (Fig 5.6). Trompf likewise contrasted modern, energetic white explorer-travellers with 'primitive' 'native' men. He assigned a set of formulaic positions and postures to the groups. Colonial figures and their modern conveyance occupied centre stage and were orientated towards the right to symbolise the future. Aboriginal men were relegated to servile positions, diminished in scale and located towards the rear to represent the past.

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Figure 5.5: (L): Indian-Detours 1920s Santa Fe Railroad/Harveycars.

Reproduced with permission from Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway Company, Texas.

Figure 5.6: (R): Poster: Winter Tours to Central Australia.

Percy Trompf, 1930, Commonwealth Railways, National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an21530848.

Such were tourism representations of Central Australia when ANTA launched *Walkabout* in November 1934. During the next quarter century, Holmes used captured images of Jimmy to promote ANTA's corporate goals. In the process Jimmy became a celebrity and a symbol for Australian colonisation, modernisation and Aboriginality.

Before Holmes catapulted Jimmy into international fame, however, he cast him in a position of national infamy whilst seeking to educate tourists to see the inland from three overlapping perspectives. Drawing upon the language of tourism, I have called these the 'Imperial', the 'pioneer' and the 'anthropological' tourist gazes.²¹

The 'Imperial' tourist gaze

The first way of seeing constructed by Holmes promoted an 'Imperial' tourist gaze. This celebrated British discovery and territorial annexation. Holmes mobilised a range of writers to associate the inland with a history of exploration, danger and the mastery of a hostile wasteland, and to identify explorers as heroic trailblazers: the founding fathers of the nation. Through image juxtaposition, writers promoted belief in settler and Indigenous Australian alterity, or difference, and demonised the Aboriginal men encountered by explorers during expeditions.

Holmes used photographs of Jimmy to illustrate a major series on inland exploration by Russell Clark²² and Frank Clune. This ingeniously reinscribed the Leichhardt,²³ Kennedy,²⁴ and Burke and Wills²⁵ 'tragedies' of thirst, tortured agony and failure as glorious, intrepid and purposeful successes. Articles never named or individualised Jimmy. Rather, they promoted the idea that he typified all 'natives' who had interacted with explorers through time and space. Despite having connections to particular clans and country, Jimmy was said to be the same as any Aboriginal man encountered by explorers between Lake Eyre and Arnhem Land during the previous century.

This series presented the inland as an unknown, uninhabited and untracked wilderness. Authors organised explorer action into a theme of 'to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield', and a sequence of clashes against natural obstacles. This included Aboriginal men. Clark used a language of violence, sacrifice and domination to describe explorers hacking their way across the continent, being speared by Aboriginal men and giving way only to death.

Interaction with Aboriginal men and natural terrains was described in adversarial terms. Clark compared jagged mountain peaks to the sharpened teeth of savages and divided Aboriginal people into two categories: 'semi-civilised' allies like Kennedy's faithful guide Jacky Jacky and 'primitive' tribal enemies. The latter were presented as either wandering marauders or treacherous cowards. Holmes used images of Jimmy that emphasised his weaponry and watchful, defensive positioning. Captions identified him as either a passive element of the natural environment: 'The Aboriginal ... as ... seen by early explorers' (Fig 5.7),²⁶ or as an active foe: 'as primitive today as were the natives who slew Kennedy' (Fig 5.8).²⁷

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Figure 5.7: 'The Aboriginal ... as ... seen by early explorers'.

Walkabout, January 1936. Photo Roy Dunstan.

Figure 5.8: 'As primitive today as were the natives who slew Kennedy'.

Walkabout, March 1936.

Images of Jimmy functioned as a foil to add lustre to explorer action. This literary device has been called the construction of 'cultural distance' or Indigenous alterity.²⁸ In tourism literature it worked to simultaneously glorify explorers and deride Aboriginal people. Holmes used photographs of Jimmy to perpetuate a stereotype of the 'ignoble savage'. In so doing, he presented twentieth century Aboriginal men as brutish elements of malevolent nature, marauding, treacherous foes and aimless roamers in a virginal and available inland. This 'Imperial' gaze selectively ignored contemporary knowledge about Aboriginal connections to land. For example, anthropologists Donald Thomson and Norman Tindale were revealing that complex networks of travel routes existed throughout the continent for intertribal ceremonial and trade purposes. They showed that clans were connected to ancestral territories within which they ranged and camped according to customary laws.²⁹ Ignoring this work suggests that *Walkabout* may have encouraged their writers to present an understanding that privileged stereotypes rather than Aboriginal ways of mapping and occupying the land.

The 'pioneer' tourist gaze

ANTA was equally strategic in its use of Jimmy's image to construct a 'pioneer' tourist gaze. This associated Central Australia with colonial development, modern civilisation and bewildered 'primitive natives'. Whilst the 1930s has been identified as a time when Alice Springs still had one foot planted in the 'bad old days of the frontier' and another in 'the beginning of modernity',³⁰ *Walkabout* reflects a government determination to jettison the frontier associations by granting tax exemptions to primary producers and additional lands for leasehold.³¹

Holmes mobilised writers to educate tourists to view modern development as national 'progress'. Each contributed stories about battles waged and won by inland pioneers to convert a dead wasteland into a productive promised land, and a disorientated 'Stone-Age' race into useful workers. Holmes used images of Jimmy to construct this gaze. This included a full-length portrait of Jimmy,³² which was quickly appropriated and used by other fledgling tourism entrepreneurs.³³

This portrait was influenced by both an eighteenth century European painterly tradition and a pre-existing set of stereotypical poses of Aboriginal warrior-hunters (see Fig 5.7). Dunstan adopted the language of a sub-genre of portraiture developed to portray Indigenous peoples throughout the New World. Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of Omai has been identified by London's Royal Academy as its exemplar of this sub-genre because it embodied the idea of the 'noble savage', fused classical sculptural and romantic painterly aesthetics, and influenced generations of image-makers.³⁴ This included William Blake,³⁵ who was one of the first artists to apply this neo-classical style to the representation of Indigenous Australians (Fig 5.9). This genre also influenced anthropologists including Baldwin Spencer and his partner in science, Frank Gillen. Spencer had undertaken formal drawing classes at the Manchester school of art.³⁶ He modelled portraits of Aboriginal warrior-hunters on a set of four stereotypical poses that were in circulation among scientific groups from the 1880s.³⁷ These were popularised in public lantern lectures and publications from the 1890s (Fig 5.10).³⁸

Dunstan's photographs of Jimmy often appeared with obscure captions. One simply stated 'Aborigines examining a motor-car' (Fig 5.11).³⁹ In these instances a range of stimuli influence reader interpretation. These include proximate stories and personal preconceptions. This issue of *Walkabout* featured an article on the problems and possibilities of developing Central Australia.⁴⁰ Its author discussed labour options and called for intelligent economic planning rather than whimsical, outdated optimism.⁴¹ He concluded 'coolie labour' was 'inappropriate', tribal Aboriginal men were unreliable and modern scientific methods would enable white men to compete for international markets. One interpretation of the

combination of image, caption and narrative is that *Walkabout* sought to present Jimmy as an itinerant, unreliable worker and modernity as a purely Anglo-Australian preserve.

Figure 5.9: (L): 'A Family of New South Wales' 1792 by William Blake (1757-1827) after sketch by Governor Phillip Gidley King (1758-1808).

From John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*, London, 1793, etching and engraving (NGV 40), P8-1974, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, (detail).

Figure 5.10: (R): 'Arunta Man', FJ Gillen 1896.⁴²

South Australian Museum Archives. Reproduced in *Aboriginal Australia Arts and Culture Centre* 2003: 1, [image reversed].

Figure 5.11: (L): 'Aborigines examining a motor car'.

Walkabout, February 1937.

Figure 5.12: (R): 'Go North to Adventure! By TAA Jetliner'.

Stylised poster by Warner 1958, National Archives of Australia, M2459.

The positioning of people from pre-modern societies alongside symbols of modern 'civilisation' is a ploy common to tourism image-makers. Their juxtaposition of 'primitivity' and 'modernity' provides tourists with a measure for 'western' progress. Here are three striking examples. Firstly, TAA used a stylised image of Jimmy looking at an aeroplane flying over Uluru to promote it as a tourist site where tourists could see 'Stone-Age' men gazing awestruck at modern technology (Fig 5.12). Secondly, a lavish book celebrating South Australia's centenary drew on ANTA's image-bank to glorify the achievements of a 'Great White Nation'.⁴³ A portrait of Jimmy appeared adjacent to a map of the Australian continent on the title page. It was coloured solid black. This montage of black man and black map symbolised the point from which white colonisation began: a blank slate waiting to be inscribed by an industrious colonising people.

Finally, Holmes ran Jimmy's portrait on the cover of *Walkabout* to mark the progress made by settler Australians during the first fifty years of federation.⁴⁴

Holmes first published Jimmy's portrait on *Walkabout's* cover in 1936.⁴⁵ Tourist interpretation of his uncaptioned picture may have been conditioned by contemporary publications on 'pioneer conquest' and 'the Aboriginal problem' by Ursula McConnel.⁴⁶ She identified herself as a university trained social 'scientist' who was using her professional knowledge to advance colonisation by managing the development of Aboriginal capabilities and helping bewildered 'primitive' people rise to a higher level of civilisation.⁴⁷ Within the context of intense ideological ferment and debate about Australian race relations, McConnel advocated the use of 'intelligent control' rather than violent repression, which she stated, had provoked murderous Aboriginal discontent and inhibited colonisation. She presented Aboriginal people as incapable of self-directed change and valuable in chiefly scientific and labour terms.

Photographs of Jimmy were regularly used to promote the interlinked goals of inland development and Aboriginal 'reconstruction'. These included the Aboriginal program at the newly established Haast Bluff reserve to convert subsistence food gatherers into surplus economy food producers.⁴⁸ Local government patrol officer VC Hall described how he had 'arrested' 'the drift' of disorientated tribespeople between white settlements, missions and cattle stations; and 'broken' 'passive resistance' campaigns led by 'tribal' elders. He presented Aboriginal capitulation as enlightened acceptance and progress in the governance of Aboriginal people. An image of Jimmy was used to illustrate the new category of hunter-producer. It identified him as a 'fine hunter' who was 'still a man': able to engage with the modern economy and free to go 'back to nature' when he wished to do so.

McConnel and Hall had vested interests in 'reconstruction'. Both presented Jimmy as a symbol — or successful product — of their respective professions. Holmes' use of the image of Jimmy may be seen as an attempt to quieten humanitarian protest against 'reconstruction' and to belie other interpretations. These included authoritarian regimes seeking to break the spirit of Aboriginal people and Aboriginal elders capitulating because they were dependent on settler society for their survival.

A comparison of official articles and commercial advertisements provides another insight into the racial inequities and contradictions of tourism marketing. For example *Walkabout* and tourism entrepreneurs used images of Jimmy to serve opposite ends. Whilst *Walkabout* endorsed patrol officers' attempts to muster Aboriginal people onto reserves and curb their freedom of movement, Ansett Travel Services and Bond's Motor Service told tourists they could 'Go Walkabout anywhere' to see tribespeople in their 'natural surroundings'.⁴⁹ This included restricted areas like the Haast Bluff ration depot.

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Figure 5.13: 'Aborigines Seeking Food and Knowledge'.

ANTA, Australian Scene, 1955.

Holmes later used images of Jimmy for contrasting ends in two lavish annual publications. Both reported on Australian social policy. One presented Jimmy as a failure rather than a success of assimilation policies. It used a montage to set Jimmy and his companion disappearing into the distance against Aboriginal children looking forwards within a modern classroom (Fig 5.13).⁵⁰ The other conflated Aboriginal depopulation with inadequacy.⁵¹ Aboriginal people lacked, it argued, capacities to adjust to new 'social and moral codes'. It is possible to identify three categories of Aboriginality in this article: those who belonged to the past (tribespeople with 'forlorn attitudes' resigned to 'extinction'); those who were useful in the present (workers); and those who were being prepared for the future (educated, assimilated children). This montage can be interpreted as an attempt by Holmes to condition tourists to see men like Jimmy as innately incapacitated, static remnants of an archaic culture who accepted their own demise.

This official 'pioneer' tourist gaze did not receive universal support from tourism image-makers. Both nature-writer Charles Barrett⁵² and tourism entrepreneur AG (Bert) Bond used images of Jimmy to challenge the ideas fostered in *Walkabout*. They romanticised Aboriginal primitivism and identified 'tribal' Aborigines as an integral part of wild nature rather than a culture positioned at the bottom-most rung of human civilisation. Barrett drew on Spencer and Gillen to promote the inland as 'another world' where nature remained 'unspoilt' by progress. He identified this world as 'Larapinta Land', associated it with 'cultural purity' and divided Aboriginal people into two groups: 'authentic' 'Stone-Age' Aborigines and partially 'civilised' 'natives' who were 'spoilt' because they wore clothing and looked 'grotesque'. Barrett denigrated the corroborees Aboriginal people staged for tourists and contrasted them with the sacred ceremonies formerly witnessed by Spencer and Gillen, classifying the former as 'entertainment' and the latter as 'authentic' cultural rituals or the 'real thing'.⁵³ The emergence of this alternative viewpoint suggested a 'naturalist' tourist gaze was gaining momentum in opposition to the developmentalism fostered by the 'pioneer' tourist gaze.

Both Barrett and Bond encouraged tourists to visit the Haast Bluff reserve to see 'ancient' Aborigines in their natural hunting grounds and take photographs whilst they were there.⁵⁴ They sought to educate tourists to see reserves as tourist sites where they could study warrior-hunters moving 'quietly through the scrub' carrying spears, boomerangs and shields, practising 'Stone-Age' customs and performing 'weird corroborees' in 'ochre, pipeclay and ... feathers'. A full-page advertisement for *Walkabout* magazine appeared adjacent to Barrett's article. It featured an uncaptioned full-length portrait of Jimmy. This juxtaposition of image and romantic narrative of Aboriginal primitivism, can be interpreted as an attempt by Barrett to associate Jimmy with the idea of the

pristine 'noble savage' and to encourage tourists to travel to 'Larapinta Land' to see Aboriginal people living harmoniously within nature far beyond the reach of modern conditions.

The 'anthropological' tourist gaze

McConnel's publications reflected a philosophical shift in the governance of Aboriginal people and a controversial development in anthropological practice. She represented the viewpoint held by 'functional' anthropologists. They believed 'uncivilised' Aboriginal people should be absorbed into Anglo-Australian society, whereas their more 'traditional' counterparts argued that 'primitive' Aborigines were a 'wonder of the world' and should be preserved in reserves for scientific research.

Both standpoints were accommodated in the resolutions of the 1937 Aboriginal Welfare Conference. They were predominantly based on a new set of assumptions that Aboriginal people could be 'elevated' to 'white standards', the Aboriginal 'race' could be 'absorbed' into the dominant white population, and Aboriginality should be expunged. Whilst the conference proceedings assigned to three categories of Aboriginal people the 'destiny' of 'elevation' within white society,⁵⁵ it prescribed 'Uncivilised Full-Bloods' should be preserved for 'sentimental reasons' and 'scientific study'.⁵⁶ This exception reinforced a similar recommendation made by Baldwin Spencer a generation earlier.⁵⁷ Holmes reinvigorated Spencer's ideas to promote an 'anthropological' tourist gaze.

Spencer's biographer, John Mulvaney, has stated that his viewpoint as a biologist and anthropologist was shaped by his 'crude evolutionary bias' and staunchly traditionalist anthropologist interests.⁵⁸ This combination of scientific theory and professional preference led to extraordinary contradictions. For example, social Darwinism shaped Spencer's identification of Aborigines as a monolithic 'Stone-Age' race determined by a set of static social structures and beliefs. He attributed Aboriginal cultural change to external pressure rather than internal dynamism, and believed this incapacity to adapt would result in Aboriginal extinction. His professional interest, however, led to his valorisation of 'pristine' Aboriginality and his dismissal of voluntary Aboriginal adoption of new influences as racial 'degeneration'.⁵⁹ Spencer held the doctrines of progress and utilitarianism to be a totally European preserve.

Spencer's ideas had a powerful impact on tourism image-makers. His public lectures were celebrated Melbourne entertainments and his *Arunta: A study of a Stone Age People* was recommended reading for travelling men of science during the heyday of scientific field research.⁶⁰ These ideas however did not go unchallenged. Professor JW Gregory argued that these 'old' ideas 'must be abandoned' and identified Aborigines as a race in flux and a 'specialised adaptation' to challenging desert conditions.⁶¹ Gregory's respect for a

pre-modern society's capacity to sustain itself in a harsh environment, however, held no appeal for Holmes. He sought to educate tourists to appreciate the government's ideal of modern science remaking Central Australia into a wealth-producing region suitable for Anglo-Australian colonisation and civilisation. He mobilised Spencer's ideas to produce an 'anthropological' tourist gaze that presented desert Aborigines as Australia's equivalent to European 'Stone-Age' cavemen. Whilst he occasionally slipped into contradiction, Holmes predominantly used images of Jimmy to present a viewpoint contrary to romantic naturalism and primitivism.

Walkabout articles identified Aborigines as the 'lowest' and earliest form of mankind that was closer to brutes than human beings.⁶² Articles by Philip Crosbie Morrison⁶³ and William Charnley⁶⁴ included echoes of maritime explorer William Dampier⁶⁵ and anthropologists Spencer and Gillen.⁶⁶ They drew links between desert Aborigines and European 'Stone-Age' men of 200,000 years ago,⁶⁷ and itemised their incapacities from a modern Eurocentric perspective. Both claimed 'Stone-Age' Aborigines did not work metals like Europeans, nor wear clothes, build homes, worship, display inventiveness or cultivate the soil.⁶⁸ Crosbie Morrison also disparaged Aboriginal cultural practices — including initiation rites to manhood like scarification and teeth knocking — as savage, blood-curdling self-mutilations.⁶⁹ Holmes used three uncaptioned photographs of Jimmy to illustrate these articles. In so doing, he implied Jimmy was a living remnant of a barbaric 'Stone-Age' race that lacked any capacity to adapt to modern conditions.

Holmes also drew on Spencer's evolutionary thinking to create a sense of urgency and stimulate tourist demand. He stressed that isolated, 'full-blooded' Aborigines were in limited supply and urged tourists to travel to see them before they disappeared.⁷⁰ This was not, however, a new practice. The Santa Fe railway had made similar claims to entice tourists to the American west to view Native Americans.⁷¹ Further, both the American railway and Holmes shared a common problem. Whilst their publications romanticised development, both had vested interests in the preservation of 'primitive' peoples and their traditions because they were valuable tourism 'products'. This was one of the many contradictions of Holmes' position. Another was the imperative to simultaneously promote the official ideal of assimilation and meet tourists' preferences for 'primitive' culture. Holmes wove his way through these complexities by mobilising Spencer's claim that Australian Aborigines were the world's last surviving remnants of a Stone-Age race to promote tribal Aboriginality as a distinctively Australian tourist attraction with a limited product lifecycle. This 'anthropological' tourist gaze encouraged tourists to divide Aboriginal people into two polarised groups: 'authentic' Aborigines who were 'full-blooded', 'primitive', 'tribal' men like

Jimmy;⁷² and their 'inauthentic' counterparts who were so-called 'detribalised', 'mixed-blooded' and 'semi-civilised' 'degenerates'.

All of these travel writers used images of Jimmy over an extended period to glorify British exploration, colonial development and Aboriginal 'reconstruction', as well as to either romanticise or disparage Indigenous men. As a general rule they promoted belief in Aboriginal alterity. This solidified social barriers by dividing settlers and Aborigines into two imaginary polarised worlds: modernity and primitivity. Three overlapping tourist gazes used images of him to typecast or symbolise 'tribal' Aboriginal men as being either murderous adversaries of explorers; unreliable and incapable workers who were of no value to a pioneering nation; majestic vanishing hunters who were part of wild nature; or barbaric remnants of an archaic culture who posed a problem to a modern civilised nation. All of these characterisations were part of a pre-existing set of images of Indigenous people that had circulated throughout European colonies from the eighteenth century⁷³ and within all levels of Australian society from the earliest days of colonisation.⁷⁴ Whilst travel writers did not create them, it is clear they evoked and reinvigorated a range of colonial discourses and stereotypes to promote tourism to the inland.

Gwoja Tjungurrayi: the man behind the image

Such were the stories of Jimmy as told by tourism image-makers. We might well ask, however, how do these relate to the life lived by the man whose images were captured by Holmes and Dunstan. This question is not easily answered. Vivien Johnson's work with Jimmy's — or more correctly Gwoja Tjungurrayi's — adoptive son, the well-known Western Desert artist Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, provides a helpful starting point.⁷⁵ The following biographical sketch of Tjungurrayi's life has been compiled from many tiny morsels of information gleaned from a broad range of published, archival and oral sources.

Displacement and massacre

Tjungurrayi was born into a Warlpiri-Anmatyerre descent group a decade before pastoralists began to 'lease' vast runs of his ancestral country, take possession of scarce water supplies, and develop herds that depleted native vegetation and drove away native game. The timing and location of Tjungurrayi's birth remain unclear.⁷⁶ Most probably he was born during the 1890s at or near a large rockhole soakage known as Ngarlu to Anmatyerre, or Red Hill to English speakers.⁷⁷ Even though this was in Anmatyerre country, Tjungurrayi had a Warlpiri skin name and strong affiliations with Warlpiri country. He therefore had crossover connections with Warlpiri and Anmatyerre clans and country.⁷⁸

His birthplace lies at the heart of Tjungurrayi's ancestral estate, approximately 200 kilometres north-west of Alice Springs. The latter ranges from Central Mount

Wedge in the south, through Napperby to Coniston in the north-east, and north-west through Mount Denison to just above Yuendumu (Fig 5.14).⁷⁹ This inheritance was based on a Tjungurrayi/Tjapaltjarri patrilineal system that incorporated Tjungurrayi into a richly interwoven system of custodianship. This spiritual, economic and social system bestowed upon him a range of custodial rights and ritual obligations with 28 sites in the region, each of which was associated with historical or mythological events and travels of the Tjukurrpa, or 'Dreaming'.⁸⁰

Figure 5.14: Tjungurrayi's Ancestral Estate.

Based on Carto Tech Services, Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri's Estate, Art Gallery of South Australia, and Vivien Johnson (2003: 21-2), redrawn by G.Hunt.

The usual form of address in Western Desert society is by skin name, or one of eight kinship subsection names.⁸¹ Gwoja's skin name of 'Tjungurrayi' was determined by the names of his parents. It in turn determined the skin(s) he should marry and those of his children. His given name of 'Gwoja' was an old orthography and an Arrernte word for 'water'.⁸² This was possibly because Tjungurrayi's personal 'totem'⁸³ was the water spirit and his principal sacred site was Watulpunya, a water Tjukurrpa site near Central Mount Wedge.

During the late nineteenth century, however, pastoralists increasingly encroached upon, and pastoral leases began to re-territorialise Tjungurrayi's ancestral country (Fig 5.15). This fuelled animosities between the two groups of people. The 1920s drought intensified competition between cattle, pastoralists and Anmatyerre for precious supplies of water and food. This sometimes led to violent relationships. Accounts differ about the murder of the white dingo trapper Frederick Brooks at Brooks' Soak or Yurrkuru in 1928 by a local Aboriginal man known as 'Bull frog'. It is now generally accepted that a punitive expedition comprising many local pastoralists,⁸⁴ authorised by the local government resident⁸⁵ and led by Mounted Constable Murray, resulted in the massacre of many Aboriginal men, women and children near Coniston. This was one of many skirmishes when Warlpiri-Anmatyerre were shot while resisting arrest⁸⁶ and scenes of death now called 'the killing times'.⁸⁷ All this contributed to the decimation and migration of Anmatyerre-Warlpiri groups.⁸⁸

Figure 5.15: Pastoral Holdings re-territorialise Ancestral Country.

Based on Carto Tech Services, Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri's Estate, Art Gallery of South Australia, and Vivien Johnson (2003: 36), redrawn by G.Hunt.

Explanations also differ for Tjungurrayi's experiences during the 'killing times'. One claimed his father was taken prisoner by Constable Murray, escaped and fled with his family to the Arltunga region east of Alice Springs.⁸⁹ Another

described Tjungurrayi 'worm[ing] his way out from among the dead and dying' at Yurrkuru to 'narrowly escape death from a hail of rifle fire poured at him by whites'.⁹⁰ Clifford Possum's oral account of his father's capture and evasion records that a mounted policeman arrested and chained him up before 'carry him 'round to show'm every soakage. They leave him ... tied up on a tree, big chain ... they put leg chain too ... Then everybody go out and shoot all the people ... They come back and see him — nothing! This chain he broke'm with a big rock and he take off ... to mine ...'.⁹¹ We know from official inquiries that Tjungurrayi was not the perpetrator of the killing. It is possible that this oral account describes Tjungurrayi being transferred to Alice Springs for questioning. It documents that Tjungurrayi escaped the killings, fled to the Arltunga region and avoided capture.⁹² Tjungurrayi was therefore a survivor of a traumatic 'killing time' that decimated Anmatyerre-Warlpiri clans and a man violently displaced from his ancestral country.

Tjungurrayi's real encounters with 'trail blazers' were sharply different to those attributed to him by travel writers. *Walkabout's* representation of him as a marauding foe was totally misrepresentative of his lived experience as a violated, seemingly non-offensive, dispossessed Warlpiri-Anmatyerre man.

Survival and adjustment

An Alice Springs newspaperman, Alan Wauchope, marvelled at Tjungurrayi's ability to 'bury' this traumatic experience 'deeply within himself', and work 'amicably and well for whites'.⁹³ Tjungurrayi's behaviour may suggest he decided selective cooperation rather than retaliation would help to ensure his survival and ongoing presence in Warlpiri-Anmatyerre lands. Fragmentary comments reveal Tjungurrayi 'proved himself' as a good worker in three fledgling industries between the 1920s and 1950s.

It is not apparent if Holmes knew Tjungurrayi was a miner when they met. Tjungurrayi worked for several years in the Arltunga goldfields and the eastern Harts Range mica mines,⁹⁴ earning a reputation as a hard worker and 'good miner'.⁹⁵

After this period of asylum in distant Alyawerre country, Tjungurrayi spent most of his life working for pastoralists within or near his ancestral country, including at Napperby,⁹⁶ Hamilton Downs⁹⁷ and Mount Wedge stations.⁹⁸ During the mid-1930s, Tjungurrayi settled on Napperby station,⁹⁹ joined an extended family group, and met and married Long Rose Nangala in the late 1930s. His wife was a widowed Warlpiri woman, a mother of three children and an adoptive mother to two more who were orphaned during the 'killing times'.¹⁰⁰ Through his marriage, Tjungurrayi became the adoptive father of four sons and one daughter ranging from three to ten years old.

He then worked a hard and dangerous life as a stockman and station hand for twenty years, mustering, branding and driving cattle, sinking bores and helping pastoralists develop their cattle leases into vast empires. Aboriginal men like Tjungurrayi played an essential role in the development of the Central Australian cattle industry. They were a cheap source of labour, being paid primarily 'in kind' or with essential goods that were necessary for their survival rather than cash wages.¹⁰¹ For long hours of hard toil he received a yearly issue of cotton working clothes, a weekly ration of flour, tea and sugar and occasional pieces of butchered bullock.

The pattern of Tjungurrayi's life as a working family man during the cattle season, and a traditional custodian who fulfilled his ritual obligations during the off-season, came to an abrupt halt shortly after his marriage. His family was involuntarily 'centralised' into a new government reserve at Jay Creek in Northern Arrernte country, after a change to the system of governance for Aboriginal people. Tjungurrayi's son Clifford Possum likened this enforced upheaval of people from every station and sojourn to the 'mustering' of cattle and 'imprisonment' by VC Hall, the patrol officer with 'Native Welfare'.¹⁰² Tjungurrayi had to readjust once more to dramatically changed conditions to provide for his family and maintain connections to Warlpiri-Anmatyerre country.

He took advantage of new opportunities at Jay Creek, by adapting his traditional skills and knowledge to the needs of the tourism industry, and engaging in the cash economy. Scientists and tourists passed through Jay Creek en route to Hermannsburg mission and its resident pastor, FW Albrecht, encouraged Aborigines to make artefacts for sale to tourists.¹⁰³ This included a range of plaques, coat hangers and carvings. Albrecht also hired camels and supplied Aboriginal camelmen as guides.¹⁰⁴ Tjungurrayi carved and sold wooden artefacts to tourists.¹⁰⁵

Clifford Possum has recorded that his father created a niche for himself as a guide for 'Aboriginal enthusiasts' even before the family moved to Jay Creek. He remembered people like TGH Strehlow¹⁰⁶ asking his father to guide him after hearing of his 'encyclopedic knowledge' of his 'Dreaming' country. He described his father 'working as a show'm-round-countries', being asked to explain 'what this one [Dreaming] mean?', and 'show'm round every ... place' including Mt Wedge so people could 'take picture'.¹⁰⁷

Figure 5.16: 'A mark of respect'.

Harney 1957, cover.

References in Strehlow's diary¹⁰⁸ and Albrecht's biography¹⁰⁹ suggest Tjungurrayi may have accompanied them through Warlpiri, Anmatyerre and Alyawerre country during the 1930s. Unfortunately Albrecht did not name the men who accompanied him to Central Mount Wedge in 1936, but historian Dick Kimber suggests it may have been Tjungurrayi who guided him.¹¹⁰ We know from diaries that Tjungurrayi was a regular visitor at Strehlow's field camp near Arltunga in 1935. It is probable Tjungurrayi assisted Strehlow during the period when he witnessed many 'totemic acts' and 'made himself' professionally.¹¹¹

A range of leading scholars and writers sought out Tjungurrayi during the next two decades to gain access to his 'unsurpassed' knowledge of Warlpiri-Anmatyerre country.¹¹² This included Charles Mountford and Bill Harney. Both these men featured images of Tjungurrayi on the covers of their publications as a mark of their respect and gratitude for his guidance and generosity in sharing his ancestral knowledge (Fig 5.16).¹¹³ Mountford has identified the men who guided him as 'possess[ing] great dignity', 'proven integrity' and 'profound philosophical knowledge'.¹¹⁴

Transmission of knowledge to the next generation

Working within the pastoralist and tourism industries enabled Tjungurrayi to fulfil a personal compulsion. He was one of the few living keepers of 'totemic' sites and caretakers for the 'Dead-fella Dreaming' upon whom the responsibility to pass on knowledge to future generations weighed heavily. His life was largely dominated by the drive to pass on the Law in its perfect form.¹¹⁵

After the 'absorption' policy was adopted in 1937 and whilst assimilative institutions were discrediting Aboriginal practices, knowledge and authority, Tjungurrayi sought to transmit ancestral knowledge to the next generation. Johnson acknowledges the crucial role Tjungurrayi played in the education of his sons in 'totemic landscapes' and 'Dreamings'. She describes Tjungurrayi telling stories to his sons around the evening campfire about his daily travels with anthropologists and recounting the names and 'Dreamings' associated with his 'totemic landscape'. Johnson explains that his job as a 'show'm round countries' enabled him to pass on his knowledge of country and Law to his sons, and demonstrate to them how they could earn respect from settler society for competence in their own culture.¹¹⁶ This had significant implications for the revival of desert culture after three of Tjungurrayi's sons became leading figures in the Western Desert art movement which defied assimilative forces and adapted the visual language of Warlpiri-Anmatyerre culture to new expressive forms (Fig 5.17).¹¹⁷

Tjungurrayi's real response to colonial development was dramatically different to that portrayed by travel writers. Stories in *Walkabout* identifying him as a dysfunctional inhibitor of development were grossly misrepresentative of his

lived experience. Tjungurrayi repeatedly adapted to changed circumstances. He broke down cultural barriers by firstly developing a reputation as a hard and effective worker in three industries, and secondly building respectful working relations with non-Indigenous knowledge-makers to promote a more realistic understanding of Aboriginality.

Unwanted celebrity?

Whilst Tjungurrayi lived his complex life, Holmes continued his unrestricted and uninformed use of his photographs. This situation changed abruptly in the early 1950s however, after Holmes was instrumental in having one of his portraits mass-produced on a stamp and Tjungurrayi was inadvertently catapulted into an international symbol of Australian Aboriginality.

Figure 5.17: Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri with daughters, Gabriella and Michelle (left to right).

Photograph: Peter Los 1989, (reproduced with permission from Los and Johnson 2003: 143).

On 14 August 1950, the postal authorities released two 'definitive' Australian stamps featuring a stylised image of Tjungurrayi. They were in circulation for 16 years until 1966. This resulted in the sale and worldwide dissemination of 99 million portraits of Tjungurrayi. Newspaperman Alan Wauchope marvelled at the response to the stamps by international philatelists.¹¹⁸ For example, Malcolm MacGregor¹¹⁹ was determined to 'hunt' down and gain an autographed stamp

Resisting the captured image: how Gwoja Tjungurrayi, 'One Pound Jimmy', escaped the 'Stone Age'

from the unnamed man whose head adorned the latest addition to his vast stamp collection. He enlisted Holmes in his search.

Tjungurrayi, however, had other ideas. Thus began a four-year stamp saga in *Walkabout* during which Tjungurrayi's name and personal circumstances were first revealed to tourists.

Figure 5.18: 'The most publicised [A]boriginal in Australia'.

Walkabout, September 1950, cover and p. 9.

One month after the stamp release, Holmes re-ran Tjungurrayi's photograph on the cover (Fig 5.18) and advised tourists he was trying to locate Jimmy and send him a gift to commemorate his appearance on a stamp. Holmes also outlined the details of their first and only meeting, recounted his first impressions of the statuesque Aboriginal man, provided a biographical sketch and attributed a personalised identity to Jimmy. With lasting echoes of Pickering, Holmes described 'Jimmy' as a 'fine...specimen of [A]boriginal manhood ... [t]all and lithe, with a particularly well-developed torso, broad forehead, strong features and the superb carriage of the unspoiled primitive native'.¹²⁰ The article identified him as a 'member of the Wailbri [sic] tribe' with a 'group name of Djungarai' [sic] (Tjungurrayi), and an anglicised name of 'One Pound Jimmy'. Holmes also referred to Jimmy's terrifying ordeal in the Coniston Massacre, typifying him as a living 'reminder of a black page in the history of native affairs' rather than a remnant of a 'vanishing race'. Given the governance orientation of this biography, it is probable Les Penhall, the local patrol officer responsible for the location of Jimmy, was the source of this information.

Holmes also asserted a form of intellectual ownership over Jimmy by advising readers ANTA was the copyright holder of his images. The issue of legal right became a burning one after Holmes and *Walkabout* subscribers discovered 'One Pound Jimmy' statues were being made, sold and displayed without ANTA's approval,¹²¹ and publications failed to acknowledge ANTA's role in the discovery and promotion of 'its' Aboriginal celebrity.¹²²

Holmes kept tourists updated on the status of the hunt for Jimmy and MacGregor's stamp collecting quest. A triumphant article finally announced 'One Pound Jimmy' had been 'located'. Its details must have surprised readers familiar with former representations of him. Holmes advised tourists that Jimmy was 'nowadays' a gardener on a cattle station, a husband and a father. He illustrated this article with a cropped version of a fresh photograph taken by Penhall of a much older Jimmy standing naked in a pose reminiscent of the one used to portray him as the classical native warrior (Fig 5.19).¹²³ An uncropped copy of this photograph has recently been found in the Smithsonian archives in Washington DC. It suggests Penhall may have asked Jimmy to strip to the waist for the photograph to assist tourist recognition and comparison with the stamp portrait (Fig 5.20). Despite the reference to Jimmy's work on a cattle station, it is clear Holmes reworked this photograph for publication, removing any evidence of Jimmy's clothing and engagement with contemporary pastoral life (Fig 5.19). Further, whilst Holmes used Jimmy's international celebrity as the basis for his observation that 'One Pound Jimmy' had finally 'emerged from the Stone-Age' into modernity, his cropping of the image accentuated his nudity and scarification — or 'primitive' qualities — and reinvigorated the eighteenth century conventions embodied in Dunstan's original images.

Figure 5.19: (L): Cropped image of 'One Pound Jimmy'.

Walkabout, December 1951.

Figure 5.20: (R): Uncropped photograph taken by Penhall and sent to MacGregor by Holmes.

Smithsonian Institution, 1951-4.

The themes of game hunting, specimen collection and conquest permeated an article by the stamp collector Malcolm MacGregor.¹²⁴ He identified himself as a 'hunter of big game' who collected signatures of living 'notables' holding 'positions of power and authority' and some 'unusual items'. The American philatelist explained his decision to include 'One Pound Jimmy' was due to his 'magnificent' physical appearance rather than his honourable deeds. MacGregor stressed the difficulty of his hunt, acknowledged Jimmy's attempts to avoid him and identified his quarry as a 'wary native' who had suspected there was 'trouble afoot', decided he 'wanted nothing of it' and 'gone bush'. Further, he applauded those who helped him 'secure' his autographed stamp, expressing admiration for Holmes' 'discovery' and Penhall's capture of Jimmy. Holmes illustrated this article with a photograph of MacGregor's prized new collectible: a thumb-printed set of 'One Pound Jimmy' stamps (Fig 5.21). This quest however, inadvertently set in chain a series of events that led to *Walkabout's* production of a new way of seeing Tjungurrayi and Aboriginality.

Figure 5.21: 'Latest addition to MacGregor's stamp collection'.

Walkabout, September 1950.

Holmes: discoverer or myth-maker?

The meeting

A contradiction unfolded during the stamp saga, which raises questions about Holmes' 'chance encounter' with Tjungurrayi. In September 1950 Holmes advised he had met Jimmy in 1935. After the stamps had created an international sensation and Jimmy became an icon of the quintessential 'authentic' Australian Aborigine, Holmes and MacGregor settled on a common meeting date of 1931. This was used in many local and international publications.¹²⁵ This modification may appear like an insignificant lapse of memory or slip of the pen. The reason, however, may lie elsewhere.

Strehlow's records provide a valuable clue. A footnote made by the linguist in Woritarinja's genealogy — also known as Jim Utjeba or 'Goggle-eye' — identifies him as Tjungurrayi's older companion in tourism photographs (Fig 5.22). Strehlow claims Dunstan took these photographs near his camp at Arltunga on 14 July 1935.¹²⁶ His diary records interaction between the man 'connected with ANTA', the 'official photographer' and Aboriginal men. It describes the arrival of a 'party' of 'tourists' in a Bond Tours' lorry and their 'demands' that Strehlow organise a photo session of 'natives posing at the Rock Holes' and a corroboree for the following day. Despite his indignation at being treated like the so-called

'cheap proprietor of a cheap monkey-show', Strehlow persuaded an older man named 'Jim' (probably Jim Utjeba) to organise the men to perform for the tourists and Dunstan's camera.¹²⁷ Many of these photographs now form part of the collection of the State Library of Victoria.¹²⁸

Figure 5.22: Hale River men Tjeria and Woritarinja (left and right), TGH Strehlow (centre), Arltunga, 1935.

Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs 05572.

It appears Holmes preferred his readers to believe he encountered Jimmy under less contrived circumstances and revised the date to suggest Tjungurrayi was the 'Jimmy' he described in his *We Find Australia* of 1932. During his 1931 travels to gather stories and images for *Walkabout*, Holmes had preconceived ideas of 'authentic' Aboriginality and searched for living specimens of Pickering's 'wild' 'original' hunter and Spencer's 'Stone-Age' man. These ideas were tainted from the beginning and Holmes' use of Tjungurrayi's images perpetuated this flawed preconception. We may never know the truth about the meeting between Holmes and Jimmy. The contradictory explanations offered by Holmes and Strehlow raise important questions: why did Holmes permit 1931 to become the accepted date of their meeting when Dunstan started working for *Walkabout* in March 1935 and Bill Howieson¹²⁹ was the photographer who accompanied Holmes during the travels recorded in *We Find Australia*.¹³⁰

The name

Writers have long meditated on the origin and meaning of Tjungurrayi's anglicised name. Holmes stated that Jimmy 'rejoiced' under the name 'One Pound Jimmy' when he captured his images.¹³¹ Johnson suggests Tjungurrayi may have adopted this name in an attempt at anonymity, given that he was wanted by the police after his escape from custody following the Coniston massacre.¹³² Holmes' claim is questionable. Tjungurrayi's biographical information appears to have been supplied to Holmes later, during the stamp saga by Les Penhall from Native Affairs. 'One Pound Jimmy' is the racy kind of language Holmes liked to use. I believe he would have used it in publications before 1950 had he known it.

Also questionable are the suggestions made by newspaper, biographical and obituary writers that this name was bestowed on Tjungurrayi because he asked for the standard rate of one pound sterling for odd jobs or single handicrafts. Given this was equivalent to a week's accommodation at Hermannsburg,¹³³ two months work as a stockman in the Napperby area,¹³⁴ or four weeks 'regulation wages' for companion/camel-man/guiding work for anthropologists,¹³⁵ it is unlikely Tjungurrayi would have asked for or been given one pound for a single job he performed or a single carving he sold.¹³⁶ For example, *The Sun Travel Book* confirms that two shillings was the 'standard price for boomerangs, womeras [sic], and pitchies' at Jay Creek.¹³⁷

Amadio and Kimber offer another solution. They suggest this name was given to Tjungurrayi during the stamp saga.¹³⁸ This is also misleading because evidence records that this name was used much earlier. Clifford Possum states he addressed his father as 'One Pound Jim' from early childhood and Strehlow's diary identifies him by this anglicised name in September 1935.

There is another possibility. It is not clear if Tjungurrayi assisted Strehlow as a 'camelboy', 'informant' or guide during the periods he was not required elsewhere for mining or pastoral work. It is probable Tjungurrayi witnessed or heard about an incident that occurred at Strehlow's camp on 18 August 1935 when respected elders were held to ransom by Strehlow for their cultural knowledge. A diary entry describes Strehlow withholding 'speech stew' from hungry, elderly men for 24 hours during a drought because they would not give him songs when he wanted them. Even though Strehlow's Aboriginal camel-man 'broke down' and 'pleaded' for the hungry men, they remained unfed until Strehlow 'acquired' his 'sacred songs'.¹³⁹

It is possible that this experience, like the Coniston massacre, provided Tjungurrayi with a hard lesson. Given that he had a record of overcoming adversity and turning negative events into positive outcomes, Tjungurrayi may have vowed never to let himself be exploited like this and placed an exceptionally

high price on his time and capabilities when travelling scientists were arriving and his expertise was in demand. This may have been an attempt by Tjungurrayi to negotiate a degree of economic autonomy through the commodification of his culture, during which he could at least set the terms and price.

Collaboration and escape

During the stamp saga a new image-making regime was gaining prominence in *Walkabout*. This group of writers and photographers was united in a belief that relationships with Aboriginal people were a necessary component of more respectful and realistic representational practices.¹⁴⁰ They sought to convince tourists that Aboriginal people were not 'naked, howling savages' eking out a dull and brutal existence,¹⁴¹ but a 'cultured and courageous people, living in harmony with their environment and with a spiritual and moral way of life that the Western world could well envy'.¹⁴² The contributions of Bill Harney¹⁴³ and Ainslie Roberts¹⁴⁴ combined to discredit earlier representations of Tjungurrayi and promote a new understanding of him. They identified Tjungurrayi as an extraordinary man who was capable of leading a complicated life and juggling multiple identities. These included the celebrity 'commemorated on a stamp', a cattleman, a cultural intermediary, a Warlpiri-Anmatyerre lawman/custodian, and a committed family man. Harney incorporated Tjungurrayi's personal voice and standpoint into *Walkabout* for the first time, and Roberts presented him pictorially as he wished to be seen.

Both Bill Harney's *Life Among the Aborigines* and Charles Mountford's¹⁴⁵ journal — documenting an anthropological expedition undertaken with Roberts and guided by Tjungurrayi — record an awareness of Tjungurrayi's commitment to his cultural inheritance and desire to assert his lawman/custodian identity.¹⁴⁶ These men promoted the idea of human mutuality rather than racial alterity and Harney in particular, sought to reverse the former *Walkabout* focus on Aboriginal difference and inferiority. Two of his articles sought to show how Tjungurrayi was working with settler Australians to overcome shared concerns and advance common aims and interests.

Harney described his travels with 'Djugadi' [sic] (Tjungurrayi) near Central Mount Wedge in a writing style that was new to *Walkabout*. He told stories of cooperative cohabitation rather than the segregation of two discrete worlds and organised them into two major themes: the resolution of the common problem of accessing water resources, and the belief systems used by both groups to explain the origins, rituals and taboos associated with them. Harney gave equal measure to rationales used by desert 'blackfellows' and pastoralists: Tjungurrayi's explanation of rainbow serpents, culture heroes, rituals and visitation rites was interwoven with geographic explanations given by Bill Waudby, the station lessee. Harney demonstrated Tjungurrayi and Waudby were conversant with

each other's logic, and explained both combined to form one chapter in the book of humanity dealing with the means to survive in arid conditions.

Both Harney and Roberts first hooked tourist attention by highlighting the fact that Tjungurrayi was the man known as 'the head on the stamp'. It is also possible these references to the stamp saga were an editorial flourish by Holmes himself.¹⁴⁷

Harney outlined how Warlpiri men, including Tjungurrayi, used 'traditional' knowledge of country to help Waudby 'open up' Central Mount Wedge for pastoralism. He recounted how they had eventually led Waudby to their sacred wells after acting 'dumb' for months with statements like 'nothing water longa this land', and had only revealed them after they were satisfied Waudby was a worthy recipient of the knowledge. Harney described Waudby and Warlpiri working together digging wells, sinking bores and erecting windmills to establish cattle runs and the homestead. He identified Tjungurrayi as Waudby's valued gardener who cared for the precious lawn and garden-beds in challenging desert conditions.

Harney highlighted Tjungurrayi's acumen in acting as an agent of understanding between two cultural groups. He described him resolving cross-cultural misunderstandings, grounding new relations on positive footings by making appropriate introductions, and translating English into Warlpiri and vice versa for people living on the station and travelling through it.

Both writers acknowledged Tjungurrayi's skills as a custodian of knowledge and teacher who could make sense of a 'place of misunderstanding'. Harney drew on Tjungurrayi's teachings to explain how desert men located native soaks, sank wells, maintained ritual relationships that bound them to their country, interpreted the sound of wind droning around Mount Wedge as the 'singing of a ritual chant of the Dreamtime' by the 'Earth Mother', and read landmarks as symbols of the ancestral creation figures. These included Kumalba (Emu Springs) as a 'dreaming place' that commemorated the 'legend of the Buk Buk owl', Mount Wedge as a 'symbol of the culture hero' 'Kurinya', and engraved circles on flat sandstones at Kumalba as symbols of women's breasts. Harney explained how Tjungurrayi taught him to imagine 'scenes of ochred black men grinding spears for hunting, chanting their [Kumalba] ... song, and rubbing hands over the symbolic circles of the women's dreaming'. Further, he included the following English translation of a chant used by Warlpiri to teach young males about women's business: 'a woman's breast is like the Witaraga tree that grows on the hill'.¹⁴⁸ In so doing, Harney used Tjungurrayi's lore to educate tourists to see Aboriginal men as sensual rather than brutish beings and Warlpiri practices as a '[f]ar cry from the old days of cave-man getting his girl with a knotted club'.¹⁴⁹

Harney identified Tjungurrayi as a senior lawman committed to the continuity of tribal law and introduced tourists to the Warlpiri philosophy of custodianship. He recalled Tjungurrayi's statement that 'true ritual [was] the will to live' and

explained his stories set out how 'desert blackmen' should use the things 'nature or tribal heroes' placed on ancestral lands for them in a disciplined and orderly fashion that was both life sustaining and respectful of all living things. Harney identified contemporary Warlpiri station life as a continuation of traditional ways, in that it sought to both maintain ancestral culture and devise survival strategies to cope with changed circumstances. Further, Harney relayed the despair experienced by Tjungurrayi when new conditions prevented him from living according to 'true tribal law', and sacred sites were desecrated by cattle or reduced to 'just nothing'.¹⁵⁰ It is possible the latter reference was Tjungurrayi's response to a trend amongst young Warlpiri men to reject the mores of desertmen, resist tribal authority and adopt modern cowboy culture.

Finally, writers presented Tjungurrayi as a family man with cross-cultural family networks. Harney described the 'chanting of contented natives' coming from the 'Aboriginal camp at night'. This was unusual given Barry Hill's observation that 'many station owners' had, by this time, 'banned the old ceremonies'.¹⁵¹ Roberts however introduced a further note of loss and despair. He described Tjungurrayi as a grieving father seeking solace from his extended Warlpiri-Anmatyerre family in the desert for sorry business after his daughter Joyce died of pneumonia.¹⁵² This occurred after Harney recorded Waudby's baby son 'Jim' being taught the bush lore of desert people. References to Tjungurrayi's constant proximity to the homestead garden and Waudby's choice of his son's name, suggest that Tjungurrayi may have been the boy's namesake and teacher, plus a member of his employer's extended family network.

While Harney's articles reflect a shift in *Walkabout's* image-making practices, it is evident there were still constraints on what writers could say. A comparison of Harney's accounts of Tjungurrayi published in *Walkabout* and elsewhere suggest that either Holmes or Harney deemed some issues were unprintable in the former. This includes Harney's discussion of Indigenous elders' selective acceptance and rejection of attempts to assimilate them. For example his London published *Life Among the Aborigines* explained that attempts by Native Affairs to re-settle Warlpiri in modern houses were met with Warlpiri preferences for 'grass-thatched shelters among the bushes'. It also recounted struggles between colonial missionaries and Pintupi over the education of their children. Harney described how Pintupi elders were thwarting missionary attempts to teach their children 'hackneyed' Arrernte on mission stations by ensuring they learned Pintupi from family networks and English in government rather than mission schools. Harney told tourists that elders had decided this would best ensure their children gained an understanding of the colonising culture.¹⁵³ In his commercially published book — rather than in government-supported tourism literature — Harney felt free to describe Tjungurrayi translating Pintupi songs sung by desertmen as they travelled from Areyonga mission to the Yuendumu

government settlement via Mount Wedge station. Tjungurrayi relayed the happiness both he and Pintupi experienced in the knowledge that these chants were reinvigorating Pintupi language and their cultural connections to ancestral homelands.

Figure 5.23: 'One Pound' Jimmy and 'Old Billy'.

Walkabout May 1958. Reproduced with permission of the artist's son, Rhys Roberts.

After Holmes retired in 1957, *Walkabout* published a letter and photograph submitted by Roberts.¹⁵⁴ His contribution departed from the conventions embodied in the images captured by Dunstan and mobilised by Holmes to reinvigorate old ideas of Aboriginality. This contested the former presentation of Tjungurrayi as a 'Stone-Age' man (Fig 5.23). Gone were the classical warrior-hunter pose, the faraway look and the suggestion of Aboriginal extinction, the boomerang, the spear and the woomera, the pristine natural environment and the nakedness. Roberts' photograph presented him as a Warlpiri cattleman in a cowboy shirt, gazing intently at the camera. He was laughing energetically in the presence of a friend. His mouth was wide open revealing a gap between his front teeth, which was possibly the outcome of a tooth removal ritual and a marker of his passage to manhood. In sending this photograph to *Walkabout*, Roberts sought to re-educate tourists about Tjungurrayi's complex identity. He presented him as an aging black man who had adapted to station

life, maintained his connections to country and family networks, and advanced through levels of Warlpiri manhood.

Conclusion

There is still much to learn about the life of Tjungurrayi. This includes his possible participation in three cultural movements. Firstly, there is evidence to suggest he may have played a role in an Aboriginal resistance movement to revive native law that began in the Kimberleys and arrived in Central Australia near Mount Wedge whilst Jimmy worked there.¹⁵⁵ Secondly, we know from Clifford Possum's life stories that Tjungurrayi's family knew Albert Namatjira at Jay Creek and was familiar with the European style of landscape painting this Arrernte artist had learnt from Rex Battarbee. Jimmy's influence on his artist sons — three of whom participated in an alternative Indigenous arts movement at Papunya — is yet to be considered. After all, Mountford and Roberts encouraged Tjungurrayi to sketch on paper his 'totemic landscapes' from an aerial viewpoint. This provided Tjungurrayi with a means other than travelling and guiding to maintain, diffuse and promote respect for Western Desert cultural knowledge. Finally, Tjungurrayi or 'One Pound Jimmy' was a harbinger of Aboriginal economic independence through participation in Aboriginal cultural tourism. These concerns, however, are beyond the scope of this enquiry and beckon further work.

Holmes mobilised travel writers to guide the choices of tourists and educate them in particular ways of seeing Aboriginality, cross-cultural contact, and connections to land. Their articles used images of Tjungurrayi to support their claims. These narratives did not reflect Tjungurrayi's lived reality or personal qualities until the 1950s. They constricted understandings of Aboriginality to a narrow European idea of 'primitive' man. Holmes used these images to present desert men as 'Stone Age people' doomed to extinction. This legitimated dispossession and soothed troubled consciences. Image-making was a powerful form of self-justification for colonisation.

Tourism image-makers created three overlapping tourist gazes. Each shaped tourism rituals. They directed tourists to seek out 'Stone-Age' men, capture their likeness in photographs and display them upon their return home. This created a vicious circle. Aboriginal men became entrapped by a stereotype when tourists asked them to pose, take off their clothes, and act like a 'Stone-Age' man just like 'One Pound Jimmy'.

Despite this institutional power, Jimmy managed to challenge this myth and escape from its confines by developing relationships with a new regime of image-makers. The combined efforts of Harney, Roberts, Mountford and Tjungurrayi destabilised cultural barriers. They disproved the idea of 'two polarised worlds', promoted human mutuality rather than racial alterity,

produced counter-images that fostered respect for desert culture and tribal law, and created a complex identity for Tjungurrayi.

Tjungurrayi moved from a disempowered to an empowered position. He was able to influence how he was presented to mostly Anglo-Australian tourists and some Aboriginal people. Holmes shifted from having unrestricted use of his photographs to being constrained by counter-images produced by Tjungurrayi in collaboration with others. Shortly after Tjungurrayi's passing on 28 March 1965, Roberts reworked his photograph into a painting for the cover of *The Dreamtime Book* (Fig 5.24).¹⁵⁶ This was possibly a response to the *Walkabout* cover. It commemorated the life of Tjungurrayi and asserted the ongoing presence of his spirit force in Warlpiri-Anmatyerre country. It shows him as a water spirit calling water to the earth to give life and renewal to a parched country, a thirsty people and all living things. This is a far cry from Holmes' presentation of him as a passive 'Stone-Age' man who willingly accepted his own extinction and dispossession.

Figure 5.24: 'Mamaragan, the Thunder-man'.

The Dreamtime Book, cover, 1973 [detail]. Reproduced with permission from the artist's son, Rhys Roberts.

The relationship between Tjungurrayi and Holmes provides many insights. The young tourism executive brought to his work a desire to present stories about Anglo-Australian pioneers shaping the destiny of a new white nation and a set of misconceptions about Aboriginal people. These revealed more about the aims and fears of his colonising culture than the people he claimed to represent. They

blinded Holmes to the individual circumstances and lived experiences of men like Tjungurrayi. This is not a purely theoretical matter because images educate tourists how to see and relate to others. Images create effects. In this instance, they reinforced negative stereotypes of Aboriginal men and fostered a belief in British superiority/Indigenous inferiority when tourists were first being encouraged to travel to the inland. This limited tourists' capacity to imagine how to relate to Aboriginal people while they were there.

Tourism is a powerful agent of social change and identity construction. Whilst the extent to which travel images determine tourist attitudes and behaviour is a topic of much debate, it is generally accepted images do exercise intellectual force. Tourism image-makers hold positions of power in contemporary society. This story is one from which we can draw lessons and inspiration. It reveals the dangers associated with the indiscriminate combination of ideas and photographs drawn from tourism image-banks. It also shows how cross-cultural collaboration produced images to foster new ways of seeing that incorporated Tjungurrayi's lived experiences, preferred identities, alternative rationale and contribution to the history of Central Australian cohabitation.

Figure 5.25: Roy Dunstan, photographer as he preferred to be seen.

Smithsonian Institution, 1951-4 [detail].

Figure 5.26: Charles H Holmes as he wanted to be identified.

Smithsonian Institution 1951-4.

Figure 5.27: Woritarinja and Tjungurrayi as never portrayed by Holmes.

[detail, cropped to respect cultural markings of the men], Roy Dunstan, 1936-1938, 'Two Old Aboriginal Hunters with Weapons', Australian Aborigines at the Devil's Marbles area north of Alice Springs, Northern Territory, Charles Weetman collection, State Library of Victoria, H92.342/215, <<http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/b/2/6/doc/b26630.shtml>>

A postscript

The legacy of the relationship between Holmes and Tjungurrayi lives on. Ever since Holmes first published Tjungurrayi's portrait in *Walkabout*, official institutions have adopted it for their own instrumental and transformative purposes. For example, the Aborigines Welfare Board (NSW) used a stylised version of it on the masthead of their monthly magazine, *Dawn* (Fig 5.28).¹⁵⁷ This was published for an Aboriginal readership as part of the Commonwealth government's policy of Aboriginal 'uplift', assimilation and 'progress'. This began the process of using Tjungurrayi's image to encourage Aboriginal people to give up their 'old' ways and embrace 'new' 'tasks and responsibilities' within Anglo-Australian society. It also marked the beginning of the reception and re-appropriation of his image by Aboriginal people for new effects. For example, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies has recently digitalised and re-published *Dawn* in an electronic format on DVD.¹⁵⁸ This reinterprets the practices of the 'welfare' regime as 'patronising', 'paternalistic' and 'authoritarian'. It also seeks to provide Aboriginal people with a valuable resource to re-trace their family histories and promote pride in

Aboriginal survival and identity. The progeny of Charles Holmes and Gwoja Tjungurrayi continues to shape race relations in unexpected forms.

Figure 5.28: Tjungurrayi on *Dawn*'s masthead, *Dawn* magazine cover, 1952 and *Dawn* digitised DVD cover, 2004.

Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Holmes 1951; MacGregor 1954: 29.
- ² Spencer and Gillen 1927; Pickering 1851: 139.
- ³ Holmes 1950.
- ⁴ See generally Dilworth 1996.
- ⁵ Gregory 1909.
- ⁶ Holmes 1932.
- ⁷ Spencer and Gillen 1927. The preferred spelling for 'Arunta' is now Arrernte.
- ⁸ Pickering 1851.
- ⁹ Holmes was the son of British parents and a recently returned AIF captain from the Great War. He left his position as Chairman of Victorian Railways Betterment and Publicity Board to establish ANTA in 1928/29.
- ¹⁰ Holmes 1932.
- ¹¹ Holmes 1932: 153.
- ¹² Holmes 1932: 29.

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- ¹³ Holmes 1932: 87, 131-2, 206-7.
- ¹⁴ Holmes 1932: 118-132.
- ¹⁵ Holmes 1932: 122-3.
- ¹⁶ The medical doctor and naturalist Charles Pickering accompanied an American scientific exploring expedition to Sydney in the 1830s (Pickering 1851: 139).
- ¹⁷ Holmes 1932: 125; Holmes 1951; MacGregor 1954: 29.
- ¹⁸ Agate 1839.
- ¹⁹ See Dann 1996.
- ²⁰ Butler 1993: 19.
- ²¹ See Urry 1990.
- ²² Clark also published under the pen name of Gilbert Anstruther.
- ²³ Clark 1936a.
- ²⁴ Clark 1936b.
- ²⁵ Clune 1938.
- ²⁶ Clark 1936a: 12.
- ²⁷ Clark 1936b: 21.
- ²⁸ Edwards 1992: 9.
- ²⁹ Thomson 1934; Tindale 1937; Jones 1995.
- ³⁰ Kimber in Hill 2002: 284.
- ³¹ Johnson 2003: 35.
- ³² Dunstan 1936a.
- ³³ This included bus operators AA Withers of Pioneer Tours and Len Tuit of Tuit's Overland Tours, as well as aerial operator Trans Australia Airlines. See Pioneer Tourist Bureau 1938 and Pioneer Tours 1948; Tuit's Overland Tours 1949; TAA 1958.
- ³⁴ The Tahitian prince, Omai, returned to England with Lieutenant James Cook. The portrait by Reynolds is in a private collection, see image at <<http://www.tate.org.uk/britain/exhibitions/reynolds/roomguide8.shtm>>.
- ³⁵ The prominent English poet, William Blake, was an engraver and book illustrator, trained at the Royal Academy.
- ³⁶ Mulvaney and Calaby 1985.
- ³⁷ Personal communication, Dick Kimber, Alice Springs, 22 March 2004.
- ³⁸ Mulvaney and Calaby 1985: 181; Vanderwal 1982; Spencer and Gillen 1899; Spencer and Gillen 1912; Spencer and Gillen 1927.
- ³⁹ Anonymous 1937.
- ⁴⁰ Haines 1937.
- ⁴¹ For an influential literary work that inspired some of this optimism see Brady 1918.
- ⁴² Identification of photograph, personal communication, John Mulvaney, Canberra, 16 March 2004 and Philip Jones, South Australian Museum, Adelaide, 2 April 2004.
- ⁴³ Tennent and Hay 1945.
- ⁴⁴ ANTA 1950.
- ⁴⁵ Dunstan 1936b.
- ⁴⁶ Ursula McConnel was then employed by the new Anthropological Research Fund of the Australian National Research Council.
- ⁴⁷ McConnel 1936a, 1936b, 1936c.
- ⁴⁸ Hall 1948.
- ⁴⁹ Ansett Travel Services 1949; Bond Motor Service 1946.
- ⁵⁰ ANTA 1955: 58-9.
- ⁵¹ ANTA 1956: 51.
- ⁵² Charles Barrett authored the *Sun [newspaper] Travel Books* and was a natural history journalist for *The Herald [Melbourne]*.
- ⁵³ Barrett 1939: 3.

⁵⁴ Bond Motor Service 1946; Barrett 1939:3.

⁵⁵ These categories included children of 'Mixed Bloods', 'Detribalised Full Bloods', and 'Semi-Civilised Full-Bloods' living in tribal areas (excluding pastoral workers) who would receive 'benevolent supervision on reserves' whilst being elevated to white standards (Commonwealth of Australia 1939).

⁵⁶ See Commonwealth of Australia 1939.

⁵⁷ In his then capacity of special advisor to the Commonwealth government for Northern Territory Aboriginal policy, Spencer prescribed two destinies for Aboriginal people: town workers/'cultural degenerates', landless charity cases/'Wandering Outcasts', and pastoral/'Useful Workers' would be 'phased out' when 'white settlers took up the land'; and 'Vanishing Wild Natives' would be segregated and preserved on reserves. Underlying Spencer's recommendation was the assumption that Aborigines would always be rejected by white society. Whilst he did not explain the expression 'phased out', it has evolutionary overtones of racial extinction. See Spencer 1913.

⁵⁸ Mulvaney and Calaby 1985: x, 206.

⁵⁹ Mulvaney and Calaby 1985: 212.

⁶⁰ See recommended reading in British Association for the Advancement of Science 1929.

⁶¹ Gregory 1909: 202-8.

⁶² See Charnley 1947; Crosbie Morrison 1940.

⁶³ Nature-writer Crosbie Morrison was a recipient of the Baldwin Spencer prize for practical zoology.

⁶⁴ Charnley became a professional writer of popular frontier adventure stories after sustaining an injury at work at the Kalgoorlie goldmines. See Charnley 1930-1934.

⁶⁵ Charnley 1947: 30.

⁶⁶ Charnley 1947: 30; Crosbie Morrison 1940: 52.

⁶⁷ Crosbie Morrison 1940: 52.

⁶⁸ Compare Charnley 1947: 30 and Crosbie Morrison 1940: 51 with Spencer and Gillen 1912: 6-7.

⁶⁹ Crosbie Morrison 1940: 52.

⁷⁰ Holmes 1932: 122, 125 and 131-2.

⁷¹ Dilworth 1996: 51-65.

⁷² Holmes 1950.

⁷³ Ellingson 2001.

⁷⁴ Woolmington 1973: 4-59.

⁷⁵ Johnson 1994, 2002, 2003.

⁷⁶ By the time Johnson completed her 2003 book, she had learnt additional information about Clifford Possum's life and family. This publication corrected an earlier assumption made by Johnson that Tjungurrayi was Clifford Possum's biological father. It is unclear whether Clifford Possum was referring to his biological or adoptive father when he stated his 'father' was born at Ngarlu in 1895. See Johnson 1994: 42-4; Art Gallery of South Australia 2003: 5; and revisions in Johnson 2003: 34 and 212. Personal communication, Vivien Johnson, Sydney, 3 March 2006. For another less likely suggestion relating to Tjungurrayi's birth see Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66.

⁷⁷ Tjungurrayi's authority in land and law knowledge for this country suggests he had a birth connection to it.

⁷⁸ Personal communication, Dick Kimber and Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 8 March 2004.

⁷⁹ Johnson 1994, 2002, 2003.

⁸⁰ 'Dreaming' is a variation on the term 'dreamtime' which was coined by Frank Gillen in 1894, introduced into the British anthropological canon by Baldwin Spencer in 1896 and popularised by Australian writer Langloh Parker in 1904. See Wolfe 1991.

⁸¹ Johnson 2003: 16.

⁸² Personal communication, Dick Kimber and Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 8 March 2004.

⁸³ The term 'totemic' was first used in North America to explain the connection Native Americans had with their land. See Schoolcraft 1847: 79. The word was first transmitted to Australia and used to explain Aboriginal relationships with their ancestral land in Spencer 1904.

⁸⁴ Kreczmanski and Stanislawski-Birnberg 2002: 13-14.

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- ⁸⁵ Henson 1992: 38.
- ⁸⁶ Hill 2002: 153.
- ⁸⁷ Sullivan 2002.
- ⁸⁸ Amadio and Kimber 1988: 59-63.
- ⁸⁹ Loos 1996.
- ⁹⁰ Wauchope 1965.
- ⁹¹ Johnson 2003: 34.
- ⁹² Personal communication, Dick Kimber and Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 8 March 2004.
- ⁹³ Wauchope 1965.
- ⁹⁴ Personal communication, Dick Kimber and Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 8 March 2004.
- ⁹⁵ Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66.
- ⁹⁶ Loos 1996; Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66.
- ⁹⁷ Wauchope 1965; Loos 1996; Johnson 2003: 35.
- ⁹⁸ Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66; Harney 1952; Mountford 1956.
- ⁹⁹ Loos 1996.
- ¹⁰⁰ Long Rose Nangala was the mother of Clifford Upamburra (Possum) Tjapaltjarri, Immanuel Rutjinana Tjapaltjarri and Lily Tjapaltjarri and adoptive mother to Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri and Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri.
- ¹⁰¹ Anthony 2004: 129.
- ¹⁰² Johnson 1994: 19.
- ¹⁰³ Isaacs 2000: 31.
- ¹⁰⁴ Henson 1992: 78.
- ¹⁰⁵ Loos 1996.
- ¹⁰⁶ The then newly graduated linguist TGH Strehlow was an avid collector of Aboriginal sacred songs and artefacts.
- ¹⁰⁷ Johnson 1994: 16-17.
- ¹⁰⁸ Hill 2002: 168-70; personal communication, Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 19 March 2004.
- ¹⁰⁹ Henson 1992: 101.
- ¹¹⁰ Personal communication, Dick Kimber and Michael Cawthorn, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 8 March 2004.
- ¹¹¹ Hill 2002: 149-50.
- ¹¹² Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66; Loos 1996.
- ¹¹³ Harney 1957: cover; Roberts and Mountford 1973: cover.
- ¹¹⁴ Mountford 1967: 1.
- ¹¹⁵ Amadio and Kimber 1988: 59-60.
- ¹¹⁶ Johnson 2003: 17-18, 28; 2002.
- ¹¹⁷ They were Clifford Upamburra (Possum) Tjapaltjarri, Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri and Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri.
- ¹¹⁸ Wauchope 1965.
- ¹¹⁹ MacGregor was a senior partner in the New York office of the American public accounting firm Peat, Marwick, Mitchell.
- ¹²⁰ Holmes 1950.
- ¹²¹ Holmes 1952.
- ¹²² McInnes 1953.
- ¹²³ Holmes 1951.
- ¹²⁴ MacGregor 1954.
- ¹²⁵ See media clippings in Smithsonian 1951-4.
- ¹²⁶ Strehlow c1950.

- 127 Strehlow 1935.
- 128 State Library of Victoria 2006. 'Pictures Catalogue' by 'Artist/Creator' Roy Dunstan, <<http://www.slv.vic.gov.au>>, accessed 19 September 2007.
- 129 Howieson was a 'committed pictorialist' and exhibiting member of the Melbourne Camera Circle and Victorian Salon of Photography. Personal communication, Alan Elliott, Archivist, Melbourne Camera Club, 22 October 2004.
- 130 See acknowledgement of Howieson's contribution in Holmes 1933, opposite preface.
- 131 Holmes 1950.
- 132 Johnson 2003: 45.
- 133 Commonwealth Railways 1938.
- 134 Johnson 1994: 23.
- 135 Hill 2002: 151.
- 136 Wauchope 1965; MacGregor 1954: 30; Loos 1996; Anonymous 1965a.
- 137 Barrett 1939.
- 138 Amadio and Kimber 1988: 66.
- 139 Hill 2002: 168.
- 140 See Harney 1950, 1952, 1953.
- 141 Spencer and Gillen 1912: 6.
- 142 Weathersbee 1979: 49.
- 143 Bill Harney was a former Native Affairs patrol officer, advisor to scientific/anthropological expeditions led by Charles Mountford and AP Elkin, and a writer of popular works on Aboriginal life and cross-cultural encounters.
- 144 Ainslie Roberts was an internationally acclaimed photographer who left a career in advertising to foster respect for Aboriginal culture through painting the 'Dreamtime'. He collaborated with Charles Mountford on a number of publications.
- 145 Charles Mountford was an ethnologist, photographer/film-maker and leader of ten expeditions to Central Australia. He had close working relationships with Roberts and Harney, having conducted fieldwork with both of them on numerous occasions.
- 146 Harney 1957; Mountford 1956.
- 147 Harney 1952; Roberts 1958.
- 148 Harney 1952: 20.
- 149 Harney 1953: 42.
- 150 Harney 1952: 20.
- 151 Hill 2002: 167.
- 152 Roberts 1958.
- 153 Harney 1957: 214, 216.
- 154 Roberts 1958.
- 155 See Wilson 1954.
- 156 Roberts and Mountford 1973.
- 157 NSW Aborigines Welfare Board 1952.
- 158 AIATSIS 2004.