

**INTERVIEW WITH EDNA JESSOP/ZIGENBINE**

**Recorded 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2000**

**Transcript Updated 15 December 2009.**

**Timecode matches tape 01\_BC\_DV**

**Topics are in Bold**

I = Interviewer

R = Respondent

**So this is Tape 1 of the Film of the Research Shoot for Channels of History. Its 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2000, Trish FitzSimons recording, camera Erica Addis on camera. This is DAT Tape 1 and it's Camera Tape 1. DAT Tape 1 will cover Camera Tapes 1 and 2. And it's going to be an interview with Edna Jessop/Zigenbine.**

I Tell me what your name was when you were born and where you were born and when. Just so we get the facts straight.

R **00:00:34:00** Well, I was born in Thargomindah in the bottom end of Queensland and my name was Edna Zigenbine then. My Mum and Dad were Zigenbines. Harry and Ruby Zigenbine their name was. Now I'm Edna Jessop. I don't know what ...

I So Zigenbine, is that a Polish name? What's its history?

R **00:01:01:00** Oh, I think it's got a bit of Polish and German. German, I think, mainly. German, I think Dad was German.

I Do you think your Dad had been born in Germany?

R **00:01:11:00** No, my Dad was born in Charters Towers and Mum was born in Sydney but Mum's got a bit of Polish in her, I think. **[Hammistead??]** is Polish, I think.

I So how had your parents landed up in Thargomindah?

R **Droving**

**00:01:34:22** Well they met in Hughenden. Dad was working in Hughenden and Mum was working at the hospital in Cloncurry. She was wardsmaid there. And they met there and they got married and then they went droving, and they were droving for Sidney Kidman, and that's how they ended up down south. Dad was droving for Sidney Kidman and some of us

were born down there. Me and Cathy, both sisters, we were both born in Thargomindah and Eileen was born in Marree but the other boys, I think they started to come back ... one was born in Towers, I think.

### **Childbirth**

Oh, they were born everywhere. Andy was born in the bush. One brother. And my sister, last sister, she was born in the bush. 00:02:31:10

I So when you say you were born at Thargomindah, do you know any details of that? Like, in a hospital or with a midwife at home, or ...?

R 00:02:38:21 No, in hospital, I think. I don't know. I never, ever found out off my Mum. But no, in hospital, I think.

I And what year was that?

R It must have been 1926. That's my birthdate, 1926.

I And so what do you reckon is your earliest memory, Edna?

### **R Education**

Oh, I don't know. We remembered a bit about Dajarra when I went to school there. I started to go to school there but I never got out of A-B-C. And then Dad shifted us down to a place down near, down the out in . He left us there for a while.

I What's that place? I can't catch that name.

R [Butry??] Siding it was. The common, between Dajarra and Duchess. He left us there for a long time and he was still droving. And we used to just spell our horses there at a common there. Spell our plant there. And then in 1942 we went to Wave Hill. Started droving for Lord Vestey droving out that way.

I So that was, you were in your mid-twenties then?

### **R Droving: Women and Work**

Oh, no, when we first went out I was only ... I wasn't 16 the first trip we come in with. I turned 16 at Moorestone the first load of cattle we brought in. We ... then he kept droving for old Vestey then for a good long time,

anyway, a few years. But me and Dad, we drove, we drove for Banka Banka, we drove for Western Australia, we took one mob from Western Australia in, brought them in to Dajarra. That was the second last mob Dad done, he was sick, poor old fella.

I And so while you were a child, Edna, you Mum was having kids along the way. Would she stay in town while your Dad droved, or would your Mum travel with your Dad?

R Mum went with Dad all the time, travelling with Dad. I suppose she stayed in hospital long enough, for a couple of days, I suppose, but she reared all us kids on the road, in the bush. We were all reared in the bush.

I So what do you think, like if you were to just bring up in your mind, a day in your mother's life. Say, when you were five or six, what do you think that day would have looked like? Because it's got a whole rhythm to it, droving, that I think those of us who haven't done it don't really understand and I'd love you to tell me about what the rhythm of life on the road would have been when you were a kid.

R **Droving/Childbirth**

00:05:25:05 Well, I don't remember that much about the rhythm. I was a little toddler but Mum used to have to do the cooking and on the road, you're out in the bush, eh? And you've got a tent, that's all. You've got to rig a tent up to sleep in. Mum used to. But we were always, you know, out in the bush, well I suppose we'd done our ... Mum done our washing and everything. You had to do it all in the bush and just from day to day, you're just travelling all the time, with cattle. Or if you wasn't travelling with cattle, you were travelling with a plant, going back to get cattle, but you're on the move all the time.

I When you talk about 'plant', what do you mean? I don't understand what droving plant is, actually.

R Well, it's a mob of horses. Well, I'll say. We had 60 head of horses, we had, my Dad had a wagonette, Cobb & Co. That was when we were little fellas.

And that was when we were down south, down the bottom end of Queensland, he had this Cobb & Co. coach and then when we left to go to the Territory we had a rubber-tyred cart and we had about 60 head of horses, but if you've got a cart you don't need so many packs but if you haven't got a cart you need a lot of packs.

I By 'packs', you mean pack horses?

R Packs. Yes, pack horses. Well, when we had a cart, we had about 12 packs, I suppose, and we still had the packs because there were so many of us, we had to carry the gear. But we always had round about the 12 or 14 packs and when we didn't have the cart well it was still the same, you know, we always had the packs to carry our gear in. The swags and tucker and stuff.

I So was your Mum looking after you kids and cooking for everybody else on the road? Like, the other drovers?

R For the men, yes, what Dad had working for him, yes. There was, Mum used to do the cooking.

I So what sort of time do you reckon your Mum would have got up in the morning when you were on the road?

R **Women and Work – Cooking**

00:07:48:14 Well, the cook had to get up at 4 o'clock. The cook and horse tailer got up at 4 o'clock. The cook had to cook the breakfast and about 5 o'clock you'd call the rest of the men and they had their breakfast and took the cattle off camp.

I And what would breakfast consist of?

R Oh, I suppose a stew or steak and eggs. I don't know, we never had any eggs. We just had steak and gravy. Mum used to cook steak and gravy or make a stew or curry or something like that. That's all.

I Would you have milk when you were on the road?

R Oh, we had only powdered milk. Powdered milk in tins. Oh, we always had plenty of tucker. Plenty of meat. We used to kill our own bullocks. But we always had plenty of tucker but we never had any ... we very seldom had butter. We had butter sometimes. You'd come to a store and we'd get butter but you'd run out through the bloody, along the road you'd run out and go without.

I Do you ever remember being hungry?

R Oh, I don't think so. Not really hungry. Never were, we were always ... we seemed to have always have plenty of tucker and stuff. Mum and Dad were pretty good.

I So your parents, your father would have owned all these horses and this plant?

R Yeah, Dad owned them all.

I He would have borrowed money from a bank or ...?

R **Pastoral Industry: Droving, Shooting.**

Oh, no, no. I don't think so. No. He gets it from when he was droving. He got money from droving cattle. When we ... for a few years we used to kangaroo shoot when there was no cattle, when Dad finished droving. Him and my brothers, the eldest brothers, used to go kangaroo shooting till the next year when the droving started again, we'd go droving again.

I So what time of the year would the droving happen in?

R 00:09:53:00 Oh, this time now. Winter time. Cold. In the cold weather, because it's better for the cattle. In the cold weather.

I So then your Dad would spend the summertime shooting 'roos.

R Yeah.

I And did you ever take part in that at all, Edna?

R Kangaroo shooting? Oh, we used to do a little bit. We used to have to ... they made us do all the hard work. We used to have to clean all the hides and peg them out and everything like that, mainly. That's what we used to have to do. The brother, Jack, he was a good shot. Dad was a good shot and they used to do most of the shooting. They used to do it all, I suppose, but oh we used to do a little bit but we didn't do much. We had to clean the hides and peg them out.

I Was it like you were expected to start working at a very young age, Edna, or did you spend a lot of your childhood playing?

R **Education, Work: Leatherwork**

Oh, we had a lot of play. We would spend a lot of time playing because we didn't have any bloody schooling. We didn't have school to go to. We had a fair bit of play. But, I don't know, we used to ... it was pretty hard when you had cattle on the road, but it was a pretty easy life otherwise. Not much to do but when I grew up, when I got going I learnt to do leather work and I used to, me and Dad used to do all our own saddles and packs up, counter line them, make all our gear up until next year, ready for the road again.

I So what sort of things would you and your Dad make up?

R Oh, well, you'd counter line the saddles and packs and any broken bridles, and make hobbles, and get everything ready, and make our own hobbles. Neck straps and stuff for the horses.

I So that would be leather work and metal work together?

R Oh, no, it would be all leather work. Mainly leather work. Fixing hobbles and fixing packs up, or broken chains. You might have had to fix a broken hobble chain up with a link or something, but that's all.

I And the leather work, would it be leather that came from the cattle you were droving or did you, you'd buy the leather? Like, where did the leather come from?

R 00:12:17:14 Oh, we used to have to buy it. Buy the leather. Buy the sides of leather. Dad used to get it in sides, sides of harness leather from the shops. I don't know where he got it from but he got it, I suppose all the shops used to carry it them days because there were so many drovers, and had to keep leather on all the time. Have plenty of leather in their shops.

I And, Edna, it sounds like you and your Dad, because you were one of eight kids, weren't you?

R Mmmm.

I Were you and your Dad especially close?

R **Father/Daughter**

Oh, we were, I suppose, in the finish of our life we were because Cathy went away and married and Eileen was married and we were pretty close at the finish, in the last few years, me and Dad was.

I Your Dad was sick from when you were quite young, was he?

R Oh, no, he only started getting sick in ... he had a bad fall coming down with a mob of [Elroy??] cows and fell over with him on watch one night, galloping. And he started to get sick, oh, oh I just forget when he started to get sick. I know he was pretty crook in 1950. He was very, very crook then. It must have been in the forties he started getting crook. The old injury just starts coming back to him. In 1950 was when he was very bad and in 1952 he done one more mob and then that was it, no more, he couldn't do any more. He had, I don't know what was wrong with him. He had a busted kidney and had a kidney taken out and he was in a pretty bad way. He used to suffer bad.

I So did you start to take over your Dad's responsibilities as he started to get sick?

R **Droving**

Yeah. I knew what to do. I always learnt what to do but ... knew I had to do it, it was just the worry of doing things but I knew how to do things, but I just

had to ... oh, you'd just take over, I suppose, it's just a thing that comes to you and you've got to do it, and you've got to do it. And you go.

I And was it you, Edna, because you were the eldest, or because you were very close to your father?

R 00:14:49:23 No, I wasn't the eldest. There was six older than me but they'd left Dad. Jack had left, Jack my second eldest brother, he had his own plant, and the oldest brother, he just went away, he didn't have any plant but he just went away. And Eileen, the eldest girl, she got married and then Cathy got married. And then there was only me and Dad and Andy, the brother younger than me, and Mum give it up in, I don't know what year Mum give it up, but in 1950 they were ... oh, I don't know, I was working in Tennant Creek. Me and my brother Joe, he wanted to get away from Dad and he worked with a carpenter, and I went down to Tennant Creek, and I got a job at the hospital there. And in 1950 Dad rang me up and asked me would I come back. So I went back to him and then I stayed with him and then in 1952, and then I got married then and poor old Dad was in hospital all the time. I got married and then me and my husband took the plant over.

I So you would have been, what, 24, 25?

R Mmmm, I suppose about that. About that.

I So where did you meet your husband, Edna?

R In Winton. In Winton. We were doing a mob of Banker Bankers in there, me and Dad, in 1952.

I I don't understand what 'banker bankers' are. What's that?

R That was the name of the station. That was the name of the station. Banker Banker.

I And whereabouts is Banker Banker?

R Out in the Territory, up from Tennant Creek. Between Tennant Creek and Newcastle Waters, on the side there. Oh, a bit off the bitumen there, it is.



But Bedford, it's away out in Western Australia, Bedford. The 1950 mob we took from out there.

I So all this droving from Western Australia and Northern Territory to Queensland, what was that about? Like, why did you have to bring the stock to Queensland from Western Australia?

R **Droving – Process / Pastoral Industry**

00:17:25:15 Well, them days they didn't have road trains much, eh? They didn't have many road trains them days and it's just sort of come in in the late ... oh I don't know when the road trains started to come in, in the sixties I think, they were coming in and then the droving sort of went away. Took over the droving. There was no road trains in them days. There might have been a few, but not many.

I And so you were bringing the cows from Western Australia. Would they get ... where would the cows actually ...?

R Bullocks, they weren't cows. They were bullocks. They were bullocks, they weren't cows.

I Right. And where would the bullocks get slaughtered?

R Well, I don't know, in the meatworks, I suppose. They went down, we trucked them in Dajarra and that was the Bedford mob, and we trucked them in Dajarra. A hell of a lot of cattle got trucked in Dajarra, all of Vestey, I think they just went down to the meatworks. I don't know where they went, what meatworks they were killed in, but they went down to the meatworks and got killed. I don't know which one, though, mate I don't know.

I So it was usually Dajarra would be the end of your droving trips?

R Yeah, we trucked a lot of cattle in Dajarra and when we started droving for Lord Vestey, we used to bring a mob in from Wave Hill, take them into Moorestone, up near Camooweal, and then get a mob of fats from there into Dajarra and truck them.

I And what's a 'fat', Edna?

R Bullocks are fat bullocks. When they're fat. When they spell them, you know, and get fat.

I So before you start droving them?

R **Pastoral Industry**

Mmmm. Yeah, when they're the best ... well, when they're on the station they pick out the best cattle that they can, you know, the fattest bullocks, and they make a mob up. And, say, if I brought a mob in, I might bring a mob in this year and they'd let them go, spell them, and next year they'd be fresh and fat and they'd send them on the road again for fats. To the meatworks for fats. Called them 'fats'.

I Was the droving always about bringing the cows from the station to the railhead so they could be slaughtered, or were you sometimes, like for Vestey's or Kidman, moving the bullocks from one property to another?

R **Droving – Pastoral Companies**

00:19:54:05 No, no. That was done a bit on the station. Yeah, that was done a bit. You might bring a mob in. I don't know, we never done it but ... we used to do it from Wave Hill. We'd bring a mob from Wave Hill and we'd put them on Moorestone. Moorestone's another station that belonged to Vestey's. And they'd leave them there, let them go there and spell them and then probably next year or the year after, when them bullocks got fat, they'd send them to Dajarra and truck them and they'd go on to the meatworks then. Truck them and they'd go down to the meatworks. Where, I don't know where they went, but we used to just put them on the train and ... By the time they walked from Wave Hill, the poor old buggers were always poor and tired. So they'd leave them spell for a while.

I How about you? How long a spell would you get between droving trips? Because you must have been pretty tired at the end of those trips, too.

R Oh, yeah. You get used to it. Get used to it. The old horses get a bit tired but ... oh, well, we'd have, say we delivered before Christmas, we'd have till next year before we'd start again. Oh, we'd have a few months, I suppose.

I So over the hottest time of the year, you'd rest.

R Yeah.

I And that's when ... how old do you think you would have been when your Mum stopped going on the track?

R **History**

Oh, I was already in my twenties when Mum stopped droving. It must have been in ... I just don't know because I wasn't interested in times and dates them years. I just ... times and dates. I know, it must have been in ... I've got my other date up there, I should have got it out, I suppose, but I think it was 1946 or something, and Mum and I went down to Tennant Creek for a while but she gave it away, oh I don't know love, I just can't remember what year what she give it away.

I Don't worry about that. That doesn't matter at all. While we're just talking sort of about dates, did the depression, I mean you would have been a child all during the depression, and there was a bad drought, too, wasn't there, in the late twenties?

R 00:22:18:00 Yeah. There was. We were down at [Butry??] then, when the depression was on, because we used to see lots of old, lots of people, lots of bagmen we used to call them, poor buggers, then. Bagmen. And we used to have to dig for water and everything. We had no water, local water, we used to have to dig for it. Dig soaks in the river.

I Because there was a drought on at the same time as the depression?

R Mmmm. Yeah. Well, I suppose it would have been, might have been too. Yeah. But it was a drought anyway. And when the drought come, we used to always have to dig for water. Dig soaks for water, water the horses.

- I So how would you know where to dig, Edna?
- R Oh, I don't know, you'd just sort of work it out when you get into a river. Work it out where you think water's pretty close. You seemed to work it out. You seemed to know. I don't know. You'd pick a place where there's not much sand, or something, I don't know how we used to do it.
- I Can you get good water out of a soak like that or is it always pretty dusty?
- R Oh, yeah. No, beautiful water. Beautiful clear water, out of a sandy creek you can. Out of a sandy creek it's beautiful water. Beautiful and clear. But we never had much. When we lived ... Dad always stayed at [Butry??] and we never had any bloody luxuries. We never had a house to live in, we only had tents and ...
- I How many tents would your family of 10 have lived in in [Butry??]?
- R Oh (laughs). I don't know, only a couple, I suppose. A couple or three. We had one big tarpaulin. We used to get under that. We had beds and things.
- I What were your beds made from?
- R Oh, I don't know. I think Dad ... I think we did have a couple of beds there. Dad must have got them from somewhere, I don't know where, but we had a couple. Some of us had beds. Some of us had swags. Just lay on the ground. Didn't have any mattress, you don't need them when you're a kid anyway, really.
- I And, Edna, I think I said in my letter that I talked to Isabel Tarrago. Do you remember Topsy Hansen?
- R Oh, actually, I don't know. A lot of women come and talk to me. I can't remember names.
- I Topsy Hansen's an Aboriginal woman that was the station cook at Glen Ormiston for a long time.
- R **Race Relations/Edna and Topsy**

00:25:05:07 Yeah, well I don't remember that at all. We drove for Glen Ormiston, me and my husband drove for Glen Ormiston, not my father. My father never, not in my day, he never took Glen Ormiston cattle. But me and my husband drove for Glen Ormiston cattle and we took fats. But I don't understand that letter because I can't ... I can understand the letter but I can't understand where she reckoned we wanted tucker because we always had our own tucker. Unless we wanted a bag of ... we might have wanted a bag of sugar or something like that, but I can't see .. because when you go, when we went for a mob of cattle we always had plenty of tucker because you fill your packs up before you went to get a mob of cattle and cattle. The only thing you want off the station might be, you might want a bag of flour or bloody a bit of meat or something. It might have been meat I wanted. I might have asked a bloke for meat.

I See, it was Isabel who told me this story, Edna, is about ... oh, she's 48, so she herself doesn't remember this but it was her mother, Topsy Hansen, who was the Aboriginal woman that was the station cook at Glen Ormiston.

R **Class**

Yeah, it might have been meat. It might have been meat. I might have wanted meat off them because sometimes you go to a station and when we used to go to a station, we'd want meat. Because if you didn't get meat off them, you'd have to kill a bullock and then you'd have to kill one of theirs and then you'd get in trouble by killing it, until you got delivery of your own mob. Once you got your own mob you were right, you had them to kill when you wanted meat. But that's the only thing I can see I wanted off them was meat. I might have wanted meat off them and they wouldn't give them to you. It's something they wouldn't do, either. Station people wouldn't give it to you.

I What would they say?

R Oh, you're bloody lousy, I suppose. Reckon they never had it, or something. But you only wanted meat if you were going for a mob of cattle. You

wouldn't want meat once you got on the road with a mob of cattle because you had your own meat.

I So it would be when you were waiting to collect your mob?

R 00:27:26:00 Yeah. It must have been when we were waiting to collect the mob that I asked them. It must have been meat. It wouldn't have been anything else, I don't think. But we would have had plenty of tucker.

I Did you work a lot with Aboriginal people, Edna?

R **Droving/ Race Relations**

We always had Aboriginal people with us, on the road and droving, out in the Territory. Old blackfellas, poor old fellas. But I liked them. We used to like them. We used to call them lubras, the old gins, but I never found anything wrong with them in them days. It's only today they've got too much bloody white blood in them today, that's why they think they're good. But the old blackfellas, they're good old fellas. We always had them on the road with us.

I So would you have Aboriginal women on the road with you as well?

R No, not Aboriginal women. We only had boys. Black boys, we used to call them. We always had them on the road, with the Territory mob anyway.

I Did you ever run across Ruby De Satge on the road?

R Yeah, I knew Ruby.

I Because she was an Aboriginal woman that droved, wasn't she?

R Yeah. She was a good woman. She was a good woman, a good hard worker. She's dead now, poor old thing.

I Yeah, she died just very recently, didn't she?

R Mmmm.

I So when you had Aboriginal boys on your droving team, were they paid wages the same as the other drovers, or how did that work?

R **Aboriginal Wages**

They weren't paid as much money, poor buggers. We fed them. We always fed them, give them clothes, and looked after them there, but the law them days was that when you finished with the boys you wrote a cheque out for them and you give it to the policeman, or whoever, policeman at wherever we were, at the town, and they'd take their share out of it. I don't know what they used to do, but they'd take money out of it and then give the poor old blackfella just a couple of dollars. I don't know how much they got but they didn't get much but ... I don't know how it worked them days, really. It shouldn't have been done like that but that's the way they used to do it. We always looked after our old boys.

I And were they separated out in the droving group at all or were you all together?

R 00:29:58:10 No, they were separated because they were dirty. They never used to wash and they had their own camp. They had their little camp over from us a little bit and used to make their own fire. Had their own swags. We used to feed them and cut their tucker off, always cut their tucker off for them.

## **SIDE 2**

R But they were fed well, our boys were, anyway. Some of them might have had it hard but our old fellas never. What we ate, they ate. Everything we ate, they ate. Sweets, if we had sweets, they'd have it.

I What sort of sweets would you have on the road?

R Oh, I don't know. We used to make roly-poly, jam roly-polies, plum puddings and dough boys and oh, lots of things. Good tucker, always had good tucker. Make steamed puddings and stuff like that.

I Did you ever run across Bill Gorringer on the road? He was droving for Kidman down the southern part of the Channel Country.

R        No, I wouldn't have. No, I would have been too young to remember that. I would have been too young to remember that. I don't remember much when we were down that country. I remember only when we come back up.

I        So, Edna, you were often the only woman or almost the only woman on the road?

## R Driving/Women

Oh, no, there were a lot of women on the road. A lot of women worked with their husbands and a lot of women in them days, I think, worked with their husbands. Cooked and everything like that. But how I come to get, is when I took the plant over. I seemed to be the only boss woman in charge of a mob of cattle. That's how they started with me. Because I don't think there was any boss or drover women as they call them. But I was in charge, more or less in charge of a mob, you know. If you had a droving plant and you'd put me in charge of it, well that's what Dad done, he put me in charge of his plant and I had to take over the plant till he come back. And that's how they started all these stories about me.

I      What were those stories?

R 00:32:35:19 Oh, all them write-ups they put in about me, because ... there was a fellow at Newcastle Waters, the postman at Newcastle Waters started it all.

I      Tell me about some of those write-ups.

## R Droving/Gender Relations

Oh, my dear, they started in 1950 when I brought the cattle in, when Dad got sick in the middle of the                      there. There was a hawker bloke come to us one night, Mr ah, oh what is it, I can't remember his name, Top Springers, he had a store out in Top Spring and he was coming in and I asked him would he take Dad to hospital. Dad was bleeding – he used to bleed



from his penis and he used to have to block himself up with cotton wool to stop himself from bleeding – and I asked him to take Dad away for me, bring him into Newcastle. Well, that just left us in the middle of the and I just took over the plant. It just come naturally. I had my own brother cooking and I had three blackfellas, another bloke, then when we got there you had one blackfella pissed off and left me, so we were just a bit short-handed then but we got along and Dad come back to us then a few weeks later.

I And did you ever get much comment, you said there was a number of articles, but on the road, on the job, how was being a woman as a boss drover different than being a man and what kind of reaction to it did you get? You were a young woman, too, weren't you?

R I don't think there was any reaction. There was just ... I don't think there was any different reaction. The men just kept on working as the way they go, they know what to do, you don't have to tell them. You don't have to tell a man once he gets on the road to go and catch his horse or go out to the cattle. If he's laying down sleeping, you kick him and get him out but there's just natural, you just go along and ... I just had broken in, everything was ... everybody knew what to do. I had two old blackfellas and they were two bloody old fellas. They stayed with me. I don't know, I don't think there was much difference really, but I suppose if ... I didn't find anything different anyway, I just went on. I knew where to get the cattle through so we just, it's just a thing you've got to do.

I Did you feel like you had to, in some way, act like a man or dress like a man to do a man's job? Was there any of that sort of feeling?

R **Gender Relations/Boss Women**

00:35:27:10 No. We always dressed like a man anyway but it didn't make any difference to the way I felt. Only you get worried about things, I suppose. That's all, I only got a bit worried but I never, nothing ...

I What do you remember worrying about in the early days when you were boss driving?

R Oh, well, you worry about bloody men walking, leaving you, and you've got 1550 bullocks on the bloody road and walking, and you've got a plant of horses and you've got no men, it's a bit hard but I don't think I thought of that thing. I don't think I thought of these sort of things. I think I just went on, doing my work from day to day. I never, I don't think I thought of anything really. I just can't remember that much. One blackfella, I was a bit wild about him walking away but apart from ... the others, I used to have a few fights with my brother Andy but we were always fighting, me and him.

I Was he your younger brother or your older brother?

R No, he was a couple of years younger than me but, oh he was alright, poor bugger, but he used to just do things that used to make me wild sometimes.

I Like what? What would you and Andy fight about?

R Well, we might fight about, we had a couple of fights over not camping where I told him to camp and, you know, things like that. If I told him to camp over there, he'd camp over there, just do things that I didn't ...

00:37:05:15

I So was that about you establishing your authority as 'I'm the boss'?

R Yeah, I think that probably might have been what the problem was.