point of view that draws heavily from official reports and administrative documents. His sympathy for the Australian Official Representative, Harold Hull, is very evident, although I think he is a little hard on Hasluck.

The last Cocos history before my own was by Pauline Bunce, whose experience as a schoolteacher in the Territory in 1982-3 and 1987-8 gave her an understanding of the community that I have drawn upon time after time. Pauline came to the "orang pulu" through their language, and obtained a deeper insight into the way of thinking of the elders than any outsider had ever done before. Her account of Cocos history is anecdotal and of most value in its sensitivity to Home Island perceptions of events.

It became apparent quite early in my research that it was impossible to bring the Cocos Malays to the centre of the stage using the English-language sources alone, so I embarked on the task of finding Cocos Malay source-material. My duties as a member of the Department of Territories had given me the opportunity to meet Cocos Malays in Canberra and in the Islands. It was clear that if I wanted a deeper insight into the culture of the "orang pulu", I would have to come to grips with their language.

In 1983, Tony Lapsley, who had served for some years on Cocos, wrote a thesis on Cocos Malay syntax for his M.A. (Monash University), and this proved an excellent start. After I commenced formal studies in Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia, it became obvious that Cocos Malay, whilst having the same roots, was in some respects different from modern Indonesian and Malay. So I approached the acquisition of the language in a way that served my cultural and historical interests. I began making transcripts of tapes in Cocos Malay that had been recorded in 1982 and 1983 by Pauline Bunce and in 1985 by Ade Taiwo and Pak Jamil (Ibrahim bin Not). The speakers were Cocos Malay elders, and the subjects were as simple as "my working life" or as complex as the origins of the "orang pulu" and the various Cocos dances that have evolved in the Islands. With the assistances of bilingual friends on Cocos, particularly Pauline Bunce, I began to build up a corpus of Cocos Malay oral history transcripts, until I was sufficiently confident to be able to make my own recordings (in Cocos Malay) both on Home Island and in Western Australia on subjects that related to the period of the thesis. I had in fact, "created my own documents".

While this activity was going on, I found increasing value in placing Cocos history in an anthropological context, in an attempt to come to grips with the inner meaning of the events narrated in the tapes. The narratives and modes of expression in the tapes reflected the thought processes of Cocos Malay "nenek" who were young men at the time my thesis commences (1930), who lived through the events of "Taim Perang", who saw the return of Nyonya, and who knew what life was like under Nek Keegan and Tuan John. For the Cocos Malay, as for "orang putih", the past serves the present, and I found it necessary to allow for a "reconstruction" factor by the narrators as
they saw the past in the light of the present and the events that intervened. There were religious constraints that made it difficult for mainland Islamicized Cocos Malays to come to terms with past social practices on Home Island (well-documented at the time, and freely admitted by the older generation of Home Islanders), but inimical to the newer Muslim identity adopted by mainland Cocos Malays.

As has been noted in other societies, Cocos oral history accounts are less accurate for dates and numbers than for names and relationships and (allowing for some dramatization and hindsight) perceptions of past events. There is a very real sense in which Nek Bika and Nek Renja (two of my major sources) are the 'official' Home Island channel of communication of the whole past of Cocos. This role is accepted by the entire community, although I found that a small amount of inaccurate information (emanating from Clunies-Ross sources of last century) had crept into Cocos tradition. Pauline Bunce, who had been working through the School tapes for her Bicentennial book about Cocos, was an invaluable source of contact with the "nene" on points of linguistic and cultural detail. Her short booklet Cocos Malay Culture (1987) and her major work The Cocos (Keeling) Islands (1988), which I read in draft and to which I contributed a number of suggestions, proved very helpful.

Through the efforts of my wife, I obtained a complete copy of the taped reminiscences of Roderick MacLean, British Administrator of Cocos in 1950-51, from the Singapore National Archives Oral History Department. MacLean learnt "Bahasa Cocos" and was drawn into the life of the Cocos Malays in the last stages of the migrations to Borneo, just before Tuan John took up the reins of authority on Home Island. His accounts of Kampong life are vivid, perceptive and utterly absorbing. After leaving Cocos, MacLean spent the rest of his career in the Singapore and Malaysian Civil Services and became an unofficial advocate for Cocos Malays in Singapore and Sabah. His affection for them was never blind, a quality not always achieved by Europeans coming into contact with the "orang pulu".

Pat Linford, who had lived on Cocos in 1975-77, wrote an account of her experiences in Coconut Revolution, a vivid and absorbing work that sees Cocos events from the vantage point of Government House (her husband was Administrator). Pat also brought her own humanity and intelligence to the task of describing the sometimes very painful conflicts in Home Island in that period. Her writing is fresh and a joy to read.

The last major source of material became available quite late in my research. John Clunies-Ross, who had settled in Perth late in 1985, gave permission for the bulk of the family's historical records to be removed to the Reid Library at the University of Western Australia for preservation and access to bona fide researchers. For one exciting week, I spent every moment I could in examining the materials. I found original birth, death and marriage records going back to the middle of last century; I examined a list of all persons who migrated
from the Islands from 1948 to 1951; I read original files created by the British Military Administration and the post-War Civil Administration and left in the hands of the Clunies-Ross family; and I read the correspondence of Rose Clunies-Ross and Singapore Government officials from "Taim Susah". These records contain detailed information about the economy of the Estate up to the Second World War, then the economic records become patchy during the Military Administration. From around 1952, when Tuan John took over the running of the Estate, economic records are virtually absent. The life of the Kampong from the early years of this century was glimpsed through the Punishment Book and the Imarat Record of Decisions.

My backgound reading included many of the classic works about Malay culture, in an attempt to place the Cocos Malays within the wider Malay world. Quite often I came across references to practices among nineteenth-century Malays that were identical with Home Island customs in the thesis period and today. Cocos Malay community beliefs include pre-Islamic elements, mainstream Malay customs, Javanese rituals, local superstitions and practices adopted under Clunies-Ross influence. But at the core, the people are Malays of a type that reflects and reiterates their special identity as "orang pulu". My hope is that the younger generation of Home Islanders will in the future take up the opportunity to write their own accounts of the history and culture of their people, and add to the growing body of work about the Islands.
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PLACES OF ORIGIN OF COCOS MALAYS

Malacca - Place of purchase by, or gift to, Alexander Hare c.1805-1815
Santam* - Place of origin or recruitment of indentured labourers c.1860-1908

*Indicated with an asterisk in the map.
ILLUSTRATION 4.
COCOS-BORN AND BANTAMESE

1898 INHABITANTS OF CHRISTMAS ISLAND. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN DURING THE FIRST VISIT BY C.W. ANDREWS TO CHRISTMAS ISLAND.

Source: British Museum (Natural History)

Thirteen Bantamese men (10 seated on ground, 4 standing at right).
Cocos-born woman at left, Cocos men seated on bench and standing.
European engineer, centre rear. Andrew Clunies-Ross standing right.
ILLUSTRATION 5
Home Island in 1930.

LAGOON

After map on p. 176, C.A. Gibson-Hill: 'Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands'
JMBRAS Vol. XX Part II. December 1947

A diagramatic representation of a house in the kampong on Home Island, with part of the wall and roof removed to show the internal structure. The supporting beams have been labelled with their local Malay names.


Photo taken by Alan de Groot of R.A.F., 1945

Home Island Museum
Home Island women and children looking at European child Noel Land, son of Captain of TSS Islander. Ship's wireless operator at left front. Mrs. Alex Bain, wife of Estate Secretary, standing right. Photo: Mrs. J.E. Land.
The woman is Lita binte Daheen, wife of Bynie bin Satar (NeK BiKa).

The children are Yet binte Bynie (b. 31/5/36) and BiKabin Bynie (b. 31/8/34).
C.A. Gibson-Hill: 'Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands'.
(Plate 6)
Photograph taken during a Home Island circumcision ceremony in 1941.
C.A. Gibson-Hill: 'Notes on the Cocos-Keling Islands'
(Plate 6)

Photograph taken at a Home Island wedding in 1941.
A wedding group on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, showing the bridegroom and bride and their mothers.


Photograph taken at a Home Island wedding in 1941.
ILLUSTRATION 14  GRAVE MARKERS

Shape of top represents head

close-cropped head  (male)

turtle-shell comb  (female)

Nek Botak's grave (c. 1900).
(originally wood, recently replaced by stone)

Female grave-marker (wood).

Male grave-marker (wood).

Male grave-marker (wood).

Home Island Grave-Markers

Explanatory comments by P. Bunce  9/10/85

23/8/88
ILLUSTRATION 15. MOSQUES

Plate 4

Exterior and interior views of one of the mosques on Pulo Selma, in the Cocos-Keling Islands.

Cocos Wayang Puppets.  Photograph: J. G. Hunt
Token coins in use on the Cocos-Keeling Islands in 1941. Some are shown obverse and some reverse. They all had the crest of the islands and the date 1910 on one side, and the name J. S. Clunies-Ross, with the date 1913 and their value, on the other. The values in the upper row are rupees 1, 2 and 5, in the lower cents 50, 25, 10 and 5, in each case reading from left to right.


p.162 C.A.Gibson-Hill: ‘Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands’
ILLUSTRATION 18. A CEYLONESI VISITOR

Photo: Captain Charles Morriss, 1941

Home Island Museum.
**Pulu Luar (Horsburgh I.)**
- Artillery Units: Feb 1941 - Feb 1942
- Ceylon Garrison Artillery
- Indian Army
- Ex-Sultan of Zulungar Musa Uddin and party, September 1945 - May 1946

**Pulu Tikus (Direction Island)**
- Admiral's Direction Finding Station
- Feb 1943 - May 1946
- Royal Navy
- Cable & Wireless
- Royal Indian Air Force, 216 Sqn., May 1946
- Indian Army Engineers, March 1945
- Royal Engineers, April 1945
- Indian Army: Signers, 638 Regt, 639 Regt
- Indian Army Artillery
- Royal Indian Air Force, 216 Sqn.

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- RAF Regiment, 2962 Sqn., April 1945 - May 1946
- 136 Sqn.
- Spitfires & Mosquitoes, October 1945
- 99 Sqn.
- Liberators
- 356 Sqn., July - November 1945
- British Army

**Pulu Keeling (Nik. Keeling)**
- Ceylon Light Infantry: Feb 1941 - 1943
- RAAF Meteorological Detachment, 1943 - 1944
- Royal Marines: Two patrols, Sept 1944 - March 1945
- US Army: Two men, Oct 1944
- East African Rifles, Oct 1944 - 1945
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- Royal Marines Platoon, Sept 1944 - March 1945

**Home Island**
- Indian Army Engineers, March 1945
- Royal Engineers, April 1945
- Indian Army Signers, 638 Regt
- Indian Army Artillery
- Royal Indian Air Force, 216 Sqn.
- British Army

**Pulu Alas (South Island)**
- 5th East African Rifles

**Airstrip SP 129**
- After NMP/58/044.1

**Miles Kilometres**

22/1/19
Indian Army Engineers clear the plantation for 'Sydney Highway', a road linking the West Island jetty and the airstrip, 1945. (Courtesy Imperial War Museum, London)
ILLUSTRATION 22. INSPECTING A SPITFIRE

p. 58 P. Bunce: The Cocos (Keeling) Islands.
Photo: Imperial War Museum, London.
ILLUSTRATION 23.
THE WEST ISLAND AIRSTRIP

p 58 P. Bunce: The Cocos (Keeling) Islands.
Photo: Imperial War Museum, London.
ILLUSTRATION 24. HOME ISLAND JETTY 1945

Home Island Museum.
QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH VISIT THE ATOLL
John Clunies-Ross, "King of the Cocos," is in the white suit.

ILLUSTRATION 26
MINISTER PEACOCK & TUAN JOHN
1972.

Photo: Australian Information Service.
ILLUSTRATION 27
COCOS DELEGATION AT CANBERRA AIRPORT, 1974.

Left to Right:
Dixon  Alpan  Lawler  Cree  Feyrel

Photo: Australian Information Service.
ILLUSTRATION 28
UN. VISIT 1974 : PUBLIC MEETING ON HOME ISLAND

Photo: Australian Information Service
ILLUSTRATION 29
DIXON, CREE AND TUAN JOHN AT 1974 U.N. MEETING ON HOME ISLAND.

Photo: Australian Information Service
ILLUSTRATION 31
MINISTER WITHERS AND TUAN JOHN
MEET THE PRESS, 1976

Photo: Australian Information Service
150th Anniversary
Keeling-Cocos Islands
Gold and Silver Coins

FIRST EVER ISSUE!

150 Rupees Coin
Gold 22 carat

25 Rupees Coin
Silver 925 fine

Limited Issue.
THE WORLD OF THE COCOS MALAYS

Negeri (Overseas)
- Singapore
- Borneo
- Java
- Christmas Island

Utan (Jungle)
- Horsburgh Island
- Direction Island

Darat (Mainland)
- West Island
- Home Island
- South Island

Australia

The United Nations (from 1973)