BOOK REVIEWS


As far as books are concerned Festschriften often form an ambiguous category: neither fish nor fowl; neither bird nor beast. Sometimes they consist of random essays concerned with a diverse range of subjects and presented in a manner as if the contributors have attempted to distance themselves from both the person honoured and their fellow authors. At other times the essays appear to have been forced to conform to a common interest either of the editor or to reflect the interests of the person to be honoured. But occasionally there are collections of essays in which the authors appear as individuals, pursuing their own interests while at the same time acknowledging the stimulus and support of the person honoured. So it is with this collection and the late W.E.H. Stanner could have wished no greater compliment.

The volume has an excellent introduction outlining Stanner’s life and work contributed by the editors and an extensive bibliography of Stanner’s writing compiled by Diane Barwick and Judith Wilson. Both are models of the kind of supportive material that should appear in a Festschrift but unfortunately is so often lacking. The bibliography contains 432 items presented in date order including published and unpublished writings each carefully cross referenced. The editors’ introduction is balanced and judicious. Stanner was a complex person whose career and interests were quite unlike those of many of his contemporaries in anthropology. His interests were broad and individual, his writings idiosyncratic and often abstruse. Rarely did he conform to prevailing trends or ideas. Instead he pursued his own interests, set his own academic aims and standards and wrote not only from a deep knowledge of human culture but also with a strong moral commitment to humanity. With style and wit he perhaps reached more deeply into the Aboriginal psyche than has any other anthropologist of non-Aboriginal descent and struggled long and hard to convey the Aboriginal sense of values and life in a rapidly changing world.

The volume contains eight papers, three on non-Aboriginal topics. These include a paper by Sir Raymond Firth on Tikopian humour, a discussion by Michael Young of the refusing of gifts during ceremonial exchanges in Kalauna, Goodenough Islands, Papua-New Guinea and finally a paper by Marie Reay on ritual among the Kuma of Highland New Guinea.

The remaining papers are perhaps of greater interest to readers of this journal. Jeremy Beckett re-examines one of the cults (German Wislin) that appeared before and during World War I in the Torres Strait area. Using earlier accounts and his later fieldwork he reveals how difficult it is for an anthropologist to reconstruct history from oral traditions, particularly when there is a reticence to discuss such matters. Ken Maddock examines Stanner’s suggestion that Aboriginal ritual involves aspects of sacrifice and, somewhat predictably, presents a more structuralist interpretation. However, he has some interesting things to say on the differences between van Gennep’s approach to the structure of ritual and the work of Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss on sacrifice and ritual. Stanner was fascinated by Durkheim’s attempts to understand Aboriginal religion even though he disagreed with Durkheim’s basic premises. Maddock unfortunately does not refer to this work.
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Harold Scheffler in a closely argued piece re-examines Meggitt's kinship material on the Warlpiri. Concentrating on kin classes he disagrees with Meggitt's analysis of the relationship of the kin categories with wider aspects of social structure although he ends by agreeing with Meggitt that kinship can only be fully understood as part of wider Aboriginal culture.

In quite a different style Nancy Williams provides a case study of Aboriginal decision making in the Northern Territory. She shows how complicated decisions are arrived at by people living in small, closely-knit communities and how different are the processes from the type of 'decisions' forced upon Aborigines by the bureaucratic representatives of the modernising industrial society of the Australian state. Williams manages to convey two of Stanner's concerns in this paper: his interest in life-as-action and his understanding of indigenous reactions to the modern world.

The longest paper in the book, and certainly the most detailed, is by Diane Barwick. In a brilliant piece of detective work she traces the life of a remarkable Victorian Aborigine, Louisa Strugnell Briggs. The paper reflects all that was so fine in Diane's work: her tremendous grasp of people, of period and of place; her control of sources and her sense of empathy with the Victorian Aborigines past and present; her scrupulous honesty and commitment to truth. The investigation takes the reader on a long and complex journey from the little-known world of the Bass Strait sealers to the gold-fields of Victoria and the Aboriginal stations of Coranderrk and Cumeroogunga. On the way all kinds of strange people are encountered and diverse scraps of information and obscure sources are pieced together until the reader arrives, exhausted but wiser, at some kind of resolution. Diane entitled her contribution: 'This most resolute lady: a biographical puzzle'; the first part of her title could also have been applied to Diane herself: a very resolute lady indeed.

There is much in this volume to interest the general and the specialist reader. I am sure it would have been a collection of which Stanner would have been proud.

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Judith Wright's book is, in her own words, an 'account of the campaign conducted by the Aboriginal Treaty Committee (ATC) between November 1978 and December 1983' (p.284). It is that, but is much more. It is a discourse, written simply and elegantly, on the unhappy relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples of Australia. The central theme is the occasion for and the need to bring these peoples together by a treaty between them.

This book is about the idea of a treaty, and in particular about the work of the ATC. This committee (listed at p.ix) combined the talents and energy of a number of non-Aboriginal Australians. Some, such as Judith Wright, Nugget Coombs, Charles Rowley and Bill Stanner, were able to look back at relations between the peoples of Australia over long lifetimes of reflection and experience.
The ATC grew out of an invitation by Dr Coombs to a number of his friends to consider 'general issues and principles' concerning 'reforms and benefits for Aborigines' (p.1). Chapter 1 explains the background to this invitation.

The modern period of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations began on a positive note with the changes to the Constitution brought about by the 1967 referendum. Aborigines were now recognised as members of the Australian community, and the Commonwealth was granted a plenary power to deal with matters relating to that membership. That potential has never been fully utilised, and shortly after the referendum there followed legal developments which revealed clearly that the terms on which the Aborigines might be said to be members of an Australian community were far from settled.

One such development was the decision in the *Gove Land Rights* case decided by Mr Justice Blackburn in the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory in 1971. In essence, the judge held that as a matter of law, and following precedent cases, the Australian colonies became such on the basis that they were 'settled' by English colonists, in territory which was 'practically unoccupied' and peacefully annexed' (as the Privy Council had put it in an 1886 case followed by Blackburn J.). This view of the basis of colonisation rejects the competing categories of colonisation by 'conquest' (such as occurred, for example, when Australian forces occupied German New Guinea in 1914), or by 'cession' from the local rulers (such as occurred, for example, when Cakobau purported to cede Fiji to the Crown in 1874).

Certain legal consequences followed the settled colony principle. One of these was applied in the *Gove* case; that upon colonisation the Aborigines did not retain in the lands they then occupied any proprietary interest which might have existed according to their own systems of law. (In contrast, if either of the other two bases for colonisation had been accepted, these interests would have continued to exist, although subsidiary to the law that the colonising power might have introduced).

Three other consequences also followed, (and their application may be seen in nineteenth century cases). These were, first, that the legal status of Aborigines has been defined by English law as modified by local statute. This formal equality before the law in some respects placed the Aborigines at a grave disadvantage in the legal system as may be seen in the application of the rule that only Christians could give evidence in the courts. (This rule allowed the killing of Aborigines to go mostly unpunished). On the other hand, this principle did not mean that colonial law might not differentiate in its treatment of Aborigines from other races, and of course the massive edifice of lawful discrimination erected in the latter nineteenth century was not (though not completely) dismantled until the second half of the twentieth. Secondly, the law applied to Aborigines both in their dealings with non-Aborigines and less obviously (from the point of view of the needs of the colonisers) in their dealings with each other. Thirdly, and allied to this last matter, Aboriginal dispute settlement procedures were not recognised by colonial law and their use would in many cases have been a breach of that law.

The events surrounding the *Gove* case and the reactions to it illustrate themes that have been central to debate.

First, the perception that the problem is a legal one to be solved through legal action in the courts, whether domestic or international. There has thus been, on the part of non-lawyers as much as lawyers, an occupation with legal doctrine and 'law-talk'.

Secondly, a recognition that the debate takes place within a distinct political economy. The land claimed by Aborigines is a valuable commodity for powerful pastoral and mining
interests. Resistance to Aboriginal claims has been in part by way of denying that Aborigines should have any particular place in the legal system.

Thirdly, governments, represented by both politicians and public servants, have played a largely reactive role in the unfolding of events.

Fourthly, in so far as the debate has been concerned with whether there might be a treaty, there has been a polarisation of attitudes between, on the one hand, Aboriginal spokespersons who claim that the government must recognise (or even restore) ‘sovereignty’ to the Aborigines and, on the other, government spokespersons who refuse to countenance negotiation on the basis that the Aborigines are not currently amenable to the law in the general way as other citizens.

Fifthly, however, there are many Aborigines who take the view that the debate is not primarily about a treaty but about more concrete matters such as land rights, education, health, housing, legal aid, the recognition of Aboriginal law, and generally about compensation for the loss of lands.

These several themes are apparent in the history subsequent to the Gove case which Judith Wright’s book recounts.

The central concern of the Yirrkala of the Gove Peninsula was of course to assert their ownership of their traditional lands. They lost the case, but that loss led eventually to the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976. Initiated by Whitlam and completed by Fraser, the Act created a framework for land claims in the Territory which is far more effective than the common law doctrines asserted in the Gove case could have been. As Judith Wright records, the underlying basis of the Gove case was also undermined by a resolution passed unanimously by the Senate on 20 February 1975 at the instance of Senator Bonner. ‘It called on the government to recognise that Aborigines had had “prior ownership” of “this entire nation” and should be compensated for their dispossession’ (p.31).

But Judith Wright argues that by 1976 the Australian government’s commitment to Aborigines had eroded in the face of opposition from mining companies and investors. To Nugget Coombs, Judith Wright, and the others of the about-to-be-formed ATC, there was a need ‘by some instrument that would be irrevocable’ to bind the Commonwealth ‘to honour its responsibility to legislate for and protect Aboriginal rights under the 1967 referendum mandate’ (p.28).

Chapter 2 elaborates the background up to Dr Coombs’s calls to his friends to form the Treaty Committee. There is here an account of conflicts in the ‘Uranium Province’ (Northern Territory), of the Fox inquiries, of the circumstances of the signing of the Ranger Agreement, and of the emergence of the Australian Mining Industry Council as a powerful lobby group working for mining interests and in opposition to Aboriginal claims.

In Chapter 3 Judith Wright turns to examine how it was that there was not from the beginning of colonisation any treaties with the Aboriginal peoples. This short account of the landmarks in the legal history is of course far from complete, but it captures the essential matters clearly. It reveals that Colonial Office officials, Governors, colonial officials and settlers were far from clear about just what status in the legal system the Aborigines did occupy. For some purposes they were aliens (and could be killed as enemy outside the protection of the law), for other purposes (to bring them within the authority of the courts) they were subjects. What is clear is the process described by Professor Stanner and quoted by Judith Wright: ‘meeting, sporadic violence, a general struggle, and the imposition of terms by the stronger — which always appeared wherever settlement went’ (p.60).
The legal history is taken up to the Coe case in 1979. The claim made in this case did not relate to any particular land, although it may have been aimed at the Ranger negotiations. The claim, by a non-traditional Aborigine purporting to act on behalf of ‘the Aboriginal people of Australia’, asserted the continuing sovereignty of those people over the lands of Australia, and relief against the deprivation of those lands. This litigation indicated how far some Aboriginal views on the legal position had shifted since the Gove case. Another such indication was the call by the National Aboriginal Conference for a treaty between the Aborigines and the Commonwealth government.

The group that formed the ATC saw that their role was to educate and stimulate the non-Aboriginal community to accept the notion of a treaty. At several points Judith Wright emphasises that their role was to be played in the non-Aboriginal community. The rest of the book is an account of the work of the Committee until the point where it began to be wound down following a conference at the Australian National University which brought together lawyers to canvass the options in both domestic and international law for a treaty. The landmarks of this work are recorded and their significance analysed, from Dr Coombs’ appearance on television, to Stewart Harris’s book It’s coming yet… to the ATC’s Newsletter. (The book is valuable indeed as a case study of how a small public-interest lobby group might function).

Intertwoven in this account is a history of the recent efforts of Aboriginal communities around Australia to assert their claims. There is thus recorded the work of the National Aboriginal Conference to propagate the concept of a Makarrata; the Noonkanbah episodes; the several ventures of Aborigines into international forums, such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples; the High Court decisions in the Koowarta case and the Franklin Dam case; and the work of the Senate Standing Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs on its reference to consider the feasibility of a Makarrata (see Two hundred years later, as the report of this Senate committee was entitled).

It emerges clearly from Judith Wright’s account that the Aboriginal communities are far from united in their objectives. This underlines the emphasis the author gives to the need to allow these communities the time and the resources to develop their capacity for self-management, out of which will grow an ability and a confidence to enter into a treaty.

Towards the end of its existence, the ATC came to be concerned to explore how international law might be a vehicle for challenge to the ‘settled colony’ principle in the International Court or in Australian courts, or be seen as a body of legal norms that supported the call for a treaty, or even as a means for requiring the Australian government to enter into a treaty. Judith Wright’s account reflects the fact that there is an amount of incoherence in just how the ATC and some of the Aboriginal groups thought that these lines of approach might be pursued. Are they complementary to one another, or alternatives?

Judith Wright appears to favour an approach suggested by a Canadian lawyer (Russell Barsh) who works for the Micmaq. This is that the Aborigines may be regarded as a ‘people’ (rather than as a minority), and that as such they have a right recognised by contemporary international law to choose how their right to self-determination should be exercised. That is, they might choose ‘what form of political association they wanted with the occupying powers’ (p.269). The choice might be for complete independence as a state, for some form of federal association, or for assimilation (see at p.268). Judith Wright is obviously attracted to this approach for that it renders irrelevant the many objections to solving the sovereignty
issue through domestic legal challenge. (There is an excellent summary of just what these objections are, which should give pause to those who seek to reverse the settled colony principle through the domestic legal regime).

The final chapter, written by Dr Coombs, is a frank statement of the obstacles ahead for the realisation of the treaty concept. The most basic issue is seen to be the difference in approach to sovereignty over the territory of Australia; some Aborigines argue that it remains vested in them, while the government argues that as a matter of fact and law it is not. The chapter praises Paul Coe's view expressed at the ANU conference in November 1983 (not 1984 as the book records) that the two parties might reserve their position on this issue while talking about how powers might be divided between the two (pp.299-300).

Beyond this matter, there are other obstacles: the opposition of powerful commercial interests; the division of power between Commonwealth and State governments; the lack of will on the part of politicians to attempt to lead public support; the prevailing legal view of the status of Aborigines; the lack of acknowledgment of an Aboriginal 'people'; argument about what form compensation to the Aborigines might take; and the lack of a tradition of representation in the Aboriginal communities.

But the final chapter concludes on a positive and practical note. Dr Coombs argues that by 1988 negotiations might begin for a treaty if a certain strategy was pursued: action to encourage Aboriginal self-management and decision making in their communities, and possibly local/regional government in some areas; an educational program to raise the level of European-Australian consciousness of the need for recognition of Aboriginal rights; an increase in Commonwealth power; joint study of issues of principle on which Aboriginal and European-Australian attitudes divide; and action to procure an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (pp.306-307).

The book concludes with a fair statement of just where the debate had reached by June 1985, when the manuscript appears to have been completed. It demonstrates that at that point the treaty idea was far from clearly completed.

At the time this review is written (September 1987) Prime Minister Hawke has, with a view to a Bicentennial settlement, attempted to place such a concept back on to the political agenda, although the politicians are more prone to favour talk of a ‘compact’ rather than a treaty.

Reaction to Mr Hawke’s proposal has revealed that in 1987 we are little closer to achieving a treaty. The only way ahead with Mr Hawke’s proposal is to see it as a starting point for the process outlined in this book. No progress will however be made beyond this point unless there is a full appreciation of the history of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships and of what a treaty might mean. This book is essential to such an understanding.

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For six months during 1983-84 Dr Coombs reviewed the role and operations of the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC) at the request of the federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. His report was tabled in Parliament in February 1985. The paper now published contains those parts of the report in which Coombs proposes a new statutory body to replace the NAC. These detailed organisational proposals are preceded by thirteen pages in which he discusses the differences between Aboriginal and White Australian modes of leadership and decision making, partly to explain the failure of the NAC and partly to validate the arrangements proposed for the congress that would replace it. The new proposals are to be seen as tentative, for Coombs recommends the calling of a national Aboriginal convention specifically to discuss and perhaps modify the constitution of the proposed Congress.

The sequence of an unsatisfactory Conference, to be followed by a constitutional Convention to establish a permanent Congress, highlights dramatically some of the inherent difficulties in achieving or maintaining a multi-cultural society. The present policy of multiculturalism, as applied to those ethnic groups that have established a conscious presence in Australia comparatively recently, appears to be to tolerate, and sometimes mildly to encourage, diversity in family and religious life, but to stop far short of providing separate political, legal and economic institutions. For Aborigines the policy goes much further and the encouragement of diversity is more positive. Most of the resources for the development of special social forms that take account of Aboriginal distinctiveness come, however, from the Commonwealth government rather than from Aborigines themselves; thus to a large extent the Commonwealth calls the tune. Furthermore the Commonwealth, even more than the States and the Northern Territory, is necessarily concerned with developing Australia-wide institutions, whereas Aboriginal praxis traditionally was, and largely remains, focused on local and inter-personal relations. Thus the problem is how to establish a forum where Aboriginal interests can be articulated in a national context, in which both Aborigines and non-Aborigines would have confidence, and which would not, by its very success, destroy that diversity it is designed to protect and express. For it is clear that the more Aboriginal individuals become effective advocates for Aboriginal interests in the wider society, the greater the likelihood that they will diverge from the ways of living and thinking of their more traditionally oriented compatriots.

Thus there is curious and endearing similarity between many of Coombs's proposals and those that were briefly but noisily and sometimes violently made by university and college students in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Students then, like Aborigines now and since time immemorial, were suspicious of elected or selected representatives who assumed plenipotentiary powers, and hence devised elaborate procedures for reporting back, for mandating and recalling, hoping to ensure that no poppy had a chance to grow tall. Coombs does not, of course, draw this parallel with student activism; it would hardly have helped his case with the Minister or Parliament to have done so. Nevertheless there is a parallelism to be seen in his proposals for open meetings, bars to re-election to office, and continual consultation of the electorate. His own involvement with students in the 1970s reinforces this impression.
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of history repeating itself.

This makes good sociological sense, for there are many aspects of what Evans-Pritchard once called 'ordered anarchy' to be found both in traditional Aboriginal society and in the Utopian and unfulfilled goals of the students of the 1970s. Yet we have to ask whether Coombs's good intentions and constitutional inventiveness are more likely to succeed than the posters and slogans of students in revolt fifteen years ago. Is the Congress, despite its constitutional safety devices, likely to escape Michel's iron law of oligarchy any more than did the now-defunct Conference? If it were to succeed, would this be at the cost of a profound change in Aboriginal society? Or should we view this change, whereby Aboriginal polity would become less parochial and slightly more hierarchical, as a boon rather than a bane? These are questions only Aborigines can answer, and they are unlikely all to agree on what answer to give. Meanwhile we should be grateful to Dr Coombs for suggesting a way out of the present doldrums.

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The recent alarming increase in the number of Aboriginal deaths in custody has once again focused considerable media and public attention on the complex issues surrounding the high levels of Aboriginal involvement in all facets of the Australian criminal justice system. Yet the reasons for this involvement are still poorly understood and attempts to develop and implement practical justice programs to redress the obvious disadvantages experienced by Aborigines have been few and far between. The volume under review makes a major contribution in this latter area because it brings together a collection of papers which focus on practical alternatives. The majority of these papers (some twenty in all) were presented at a three-day workshop convened in April-May 1985 by the Australian Institute of Criminology. Envisaged as the first in a series of such workshops, its aim was to be 'action-oriented'. In line with this, many of the papers presented describe new programs or schemes currently being implemented in Australia and overseas in the areas of policing and community self-regulation.

The volume is divided into five sections. Section 1, entitled 'The community', contains offerings by Shane Houston from the National Aboriginal and Islander Health Organisation, Craig Somerville from the Western Australian Aboriginal Legal Service, Roberta Sykes from the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, and Patricia Lowe, a clinical psychologist with the Broome Regional Prison in Western Australia. All have a common theme of self-determination: of returning to Aboriginal people power and control over their own future. The most important contribution to the first section (and perhaps one of the most important in the whole volume) is that from Roberta Sykes. Her ability to speak from personal experience and to approach the issues from an Aboriginal rather than a non-Aboriginal perspective, enables her to identify some fundamental concerns. The main points
which she makes — that Aborigines are the victims of a racist criminal justice system and that the solution for this will not be found within the Aboriginal community — are not new but they were forcefully and cogently argued. To date, much of the onus for Aboriginal involvement in the justice system has been placed on the Aboriginal ‘offender’ and on his or her community. Yet if the system itself is at fault, then the solutions needed to rectify Aboriginal disadvantage will be different from the ones normally proposed. In line with this, Sykes rejects those projects, such as the police aide schemes, which are designed to integrate Aborigines into the lowest levels of the justice hierarchy. She argues instead that Aborigines must be given positions of authority where they can have direct influence on policy and practice. The emphasis, then, is on giving Aborigines power to change the system and its ‘machinery of legal discrimination and oppression’ (p.25).

It is disappointing that most of the subsequent papers in this volume fail to adopt this system-focused perspective advocated by Sykes. This failure is particularly obvious in Section 11, simply entitled ‘Policing’. In line with the workshop’s emphasis on practical initiatives, the three contributors in this section focus on various schemes implemented to improve Aboriginal/police relations. Mark Pathe, from the South Australian Police Department, describes the establishment of a police aide scheme in the Pitjantjatjara lands, which was one of the recommendations of a project team set up in 1984 by the South Australian Commissioner of Police. In view of Sykes’s earlier criticisms of such schemes, Pathe’s assurances that ‘police aides will not be at the bottom rung of [the] police hierarchy [but] will be experts in their own right’ (p.45) sounds somewhat hollow. In the second paper, Bill Galvin describes the establishment and functions of the New South Wales Police Aboriginal Liaison Scheme, while in the final offering of this section, Lynn Roberts provides an honest and somewhat critical analysis of the Special Cabinet Committee on Aboriginal/Police Relations originally set up in Western Australia in 1974-75 following the now infamous Skull Creek incident. Of particular interest is her description of a method of self-policing developed by the Strelley community. Yet overall, this section is extremely disappointing. None of the contributions tackle the crucial and complex issues of police methods and practice — an area which is rapidly becoming a major research concern overseas, especially in the United Kingdom. Because police are located at the interface of the community and the justice system and have wide discretionary powers to determine who comes into the system and under what circumstances, an understanding of their role is of vital importance in understanding Aboriginal involvement in the criminal justice network. The lack of attention given to these issues in this volume is therefore disturbing.

Sections III and IV contain the real focal points of the workshop. Section III, entitled ‘Community regulation in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and Canada’, contains five papers which, as the section heading suggests, describe systems of self-regulation implemented within indigenous communities in overseas countries, with particular focus on Australia’s near neighbours. Again, emphasis is on practical initiatives with four of the five papers describing specific schemes currently in operation. Ambika Prasad, from the Fiji High Commission in Australia, describes the dismantling (in 1970) and the subsequent reinstatement (in 1980) of Fiji’s traditional village-based administrative system Peter Bayne details the establishment and operation of the village court system in Papua New Guinea which gives locally appointed magistrates, supported by village peace officers, the power to deal with matters likely to cause disturbances of the peace in the village. The community justice program operating in West Auckland, New Zealand, and the concomitant involvement of the
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Te Atatu Maori Tribunal or community court, is the subject matter of the third and fourth papers in this section, presented by Michael Brown (himself a Maori and Judge of the Henderson District Court in Auckland) and Kayleen Hazlehurst respectively. These four contributions provide a useful international perspective on the problems faced by indigenous groups, especially those with a history of domination by a colonial-based justice system, and the attempts now being made to redress some of the inequities through empowering, albeit in a limited sense, local administrative structures. Yet wisely, none of the papers recommend the application of these schemes to the Australian situation, recognising that what works for one community may be totally inappropriate for another.

The fifth and most thought-provoking paper in Section III makes no attempt to describe a specific program. Instead, Paul Havemann, from the University of Saskatchewan, presents a critical and well-balanced assessment of Canadian approaches to the problems of indigenous over-representation in the country’s justice system. The trends he describes and the questions he poses are equally applicable to Australia. For example, he questions whether the Canadian criminal justice code is a just system of laws for indigenous people and whether the justice system itself is a fair and effective mechanism to enforce such laws. He also refutes the popular assumption that minority group over-representation can be traced to these people’s ‘conspicuous criminality’ (p.126). Of crucial relevance, however, are his comments regarding the process of indigenisation versus accommodation. Indigenisation, which involves the recruitment of indigenous people into those sections of the justice system where there is frequent interaction with minority group members, has become the preferred policy in Canada at the expense of accommodation, that is, the establishment of autonomous agencies controlled by indigenous people themselves. Yet Havemann clearly sees accommodation as the only viable alternative. His paper contains important implications for Australia where a move towards indigenisation is already in evidence, as exemplified, for example, by the attempts currently being made to recruit Aborigines into state police forces.

The fourth section of the volume, ‘Community regulation in Australia’, contains six papers, three of which (those by Syddall, Davis and Coombs) were not presented at the workshop but are reprinted from other publications. The emphasis is on the implementation of programs at a community level which are designed to give people some input into those decision-making processes associated with the dispensation of justice and a measure of autonomy in the maintenance of order within their own community. The only paper in this section which does not have a specific Aboriginal focus is that by Wendy Faulkes. She describes the Community Justice Centre Scheme in New South Wales which uses mediation as a mechanism for settling disputes within families and between neighbours, fellow workers etc. It is also the only scheme of those described which operates within an urban environment. The remaining five contributions all focus on self-regulatory programs functioning within or proposed by Aboriginal communities living in rural or remote areas of Australia. For example, MacDonald describes indigenous courts which exist within reserve-based Aboriginal communities in Queensland to deal with breaches of by-laws ‘relating to the orderly government’ of the community (p.153). Syddall presents a highly personal description of his attempts as a white magistrate to improve the delivery of justice to traditionally-oriented Aborigines in the remote Kimberley region of Western Australia. He eventually played a major role in the formulation of the 1979 Aboriginal Communities Act, which allowed ‘Aboriginal communities to make rules to apply within community lands’ (p.168) in relation to such matters as anti-social behaviour, drunkenness, littering etc. In conjunction with this
came the appointment of Aboriginal justices of the peace who were empowered to deal with by-law breaches ‘in a community setting’ (p.169) under the supervision of white magistrates. At the time Syddall wrote the paper, the scheme had been introduced into five communities.

In a third paper, Davis describes the operation of the Northern Territory Aboriginal Community Justice Project which, according to Davis, aims to ‘accommodate . . . Aboriginal law and social control mechanisms within the present judicial system’ (p.187). At present limited to a pilot scheme on Elcho Island, one unique aspect of this project is the use of genealogical information to identify those kin who bear traditional responsibility for exercising specific social control over the offending individual. Once identified, such kin are included in pre-court discussions with the magistrate regarding the handling of the case and possible sentencing options. The intention, it seems, is to rely on traditional Aboriginal methods of social control to deal with breaches of European law.

Although the schemes described in these three papers are interesting, none encourage optimism that Aborigines are being re-invested with real decision-making autonomy, largely because in most instances it is still European-based laws which the Aborigines are being asked to implement. With respect to the Queensland scheme for example, the reader must seriously question whether the by-laws implemented by the Aboriginal Courts and which regulate social behaviour, hygiene, dog control etc., represent still further evidence of European intrusion into Aboriginal life. Similarly, although Syddall writes with enthusiasm and optimism about the Western Australian scheme, the accompanying paper by Hoddinott dispels much of this optimism by detailing the problems which the scheme has encountered during its relatively brief period of operation in selected Aboriginal communities. In particular, she describes the growing discontent among Aboriginal justices of the peace who, in effect, are being required to dispense a ‘foreign legal system’ within their own community.

It is the proposals put forward by the Yirrkala people of Arnhem Land as described by H.C. Coombs in the reprinted paper, which seems to come closest to returning real control to the community itself. One suspects that this is due, at least in part, to Coombs’s personal skills as a listener and recorder since it was his task to act as scribe and ‘cultural interpreter’ for the community in its attempts to define ‘a place for Aboriginal customary law within the Australian legal system’ (p.201). These proposals include the setting up of a Law Council to, among other tasks, formulate rules governing the maintenance of social order and to establish a community court to deal with breaches of these rules. Of unique importance is the inclusion of customary law within the list of ‘rules’ to be upheld and the decision that the composition of the community court will be flexible to allow members of the offender’s and the complainant’s family to sit on that court.

The fifth and final section of the volume, entitled ‘Future directions’, is mainly given over to Hazlehurst’s summary of the main issues covered by the workshop. Interestingly, some of these were not dealt with in the formal papers. This highlights the difficulty of judging the content of a workshop on the basis of the papers presented since it is often in the discussion periods that the most informative material and innovative ideas emerge. For this reason, it may be profitable in any future publications of this nature to include a discussion section at the end of each major group of papers so that the reader may gain some insight into participant reaction to the formally-presented material.

Although the issues covered by Hazlehurst are far-reaching, her main emphasis, like the workshop papers themselves, is on the Aboriginal community and its ‘response’ to offending. In Hazlehurst’s own words, ‘Case studies presented here . . . have strongly indicated that a
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community-oriented response system would not only have an impact on the offender it could progressively improve and give new purpose to the home environment' (p.228). Underlying this focus is a strong positivist assumption that the solution to the problem of Aboriginal over-representation in the judicial system lies, at least in part, in revamping and rebuilding community-based mechanisms of traditional problem solving and social control. Certainly, such an approach has merit. Yet it is not the only avenue of change which needs to be explored. As both Sykes and Havemann point out, the justice system itself must also become the focal point for detailed study and change since its inbuilt racism is also likely to be a major contributor to Aboriginal over-representation. It is this vital area which the volume largely ignores and which constitutes its greatest weakness. In line with this, many of the Aboriginal participants, according to Hazlehurst, considered that a more acceptable emphasis for future workshops would be that of 'criminal justice reform rather than Aboriginal criminality' (p.241).

Yet, despite this criticism, the volume makes a major contribution in disseminating information about those initiatives currently being undertaken in this country to redress some two hundred years of dominance by an essentially alien justice system. By providing a forum where those involved in the delivery of justice can exchange knowledge and ideas, Kayleen Hazlehurst and the Australian Institute of Criminology have fulfilled an important function.

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This unusual book is one of a series of specially commissioned volumes created to mark the bicentenary of European settlement in Australia. It represents the joint efforts of different specialists whose expertise extends over a wide range of disciplines. This diversity, both in terms of specialist expertise and also in the book’s format and different styles of writing is at once its greatest strength and weakness. This book has been lavishly produced in a modified magazine format that includes numerous colour plates ranging from the size of a postage stamp to one multi-page panoramic colour fold-out. It also has numerous inserted boxes containing odd bits of information running the gamut from diagrams of landform evolution to Aboriginal myths. The overall initial impression is that this volume was intended to provide 'something for everyone', from serious scholarship about Aborigines and early Australian history to semi-fictionalised 'gonzo journalism'. What will appeal in the volume to some readers will not appeal to others, and any reader looking for consistency or unity within the book as a whole may be disappointed. On the other hand, this book contains some excellent chapters and provides a good update on important aspects of Australian Aboriginal studies.

The first five chapters, which deal with prehistory and palaeoenvironments are especially
important, along with subsequent chapters on Tasmania, south-western Victoria, the south­
eastern highlands and special topics such as Aboriginal exchange networks which include sig­
nificant amounts of archaeological information. These chapters are among the best in the 
book and provide a compelling testimonial to the progress made in Australian archaeology 
over the last twenty-five years. The style and general level of detail offered in these chapters 
is well suited to communicating important regional discoveries in Australian prehistory and 
their ecological and geological context. The chapters on Australian prehistory in this book 
offer one of the best non-technical introductions to the subject published anywhere so far. 
Nothing like this could have been written around 1960, and this part of the volume stands as 
a tribute to the energy and attention to detail in Australian archaeology since then. The 
only question now is whether this level of productivity will continue for the next twenty- 
five years.

One theme of special interest in this section is the matter of long-distance exchanges of 
material objects like stone axes (hatchets), body decoration, canoes, ritual paraphernalia and 
other items, and the implications of these exchanges for contact and for social and genetic 
changes between and among Aboriginal societies. This includes outside influences by such 
non-Aboriginal societies as the Macassan trepang fisherman who made regular visits to the 
north coast of Australia prior to the period of European contact. These studies indicate a 
shift in emphasis within the field of Aboriginal studies away from the stereotype of Abo­
rigines as essentially conservative, internally-driven societies to a view of Aboriginal cultures 
as open systems with possibilities for rapid change under certain circumstances. The ability 
of archaeology to trace such contacts through the study of trade and transport of material 
objects is matched by proto-historical studies based strongly on archaeological evidence 
(such as that of the Macassans), which is emerging as an important new direction in Aus­
tralian archaeology.

The final two chapters in the book also offer good summaries of the period of European 
contact, providing, among other things, interesting contrasts between the ways different 
European ethnic groups, such as the Dutch and the English, viewed Australia (and particu­
larly the indigenous inhabitants of Australia). As in the field of archaeology, opportunities 
for analysis in Australian contact history abound. For example, one can infer quite different 
colonial 'policies' from the behaviour of the early Dutch explorers and the English who first 
came to Australia. These well-written and well-researched final chapters enhance this book 
and complement the historical themes developed by the archaeologists.

For this reviewer, the biggest disappointment arose in the ethnographic and ethnohistori­
ical chapters, although this, of course, is very much a matter of opinion. For anyone who 
enjoys uncontrolled descriptive ethnography, dressed up in several cases (the chapter on 
southeast Tasmania being a particularly egregious example) in a kind of fictionalised first­ 
person style, this part of the book will have special appeal. For example, after a visit by 
Europeans, we find this passage about the Tasmanians:

Two days later, the white bird had gone. 
The men argued about the strangers. 'Were they spirits?' If so, they were strange­
ly uncertain of their environment. They held clumps of soil in their hands as if 
they had strange properties and they blundered through the bush. 'If they are 
spirits of our ancestors', the deformed man argued, 'how have they forgotten 
how to live in the bush, why do they not wear red ochre, and why do they not 
sing?' (p.311).
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Perhaps. But this kind of invention certainly is at variance with other parts of the book. Indeed, within this same chapter the style shifts abruptly to a more descriptive and scholarly treatment of Tasmanian ethnohistory. Similar problems arise in the chapter on an Aranda ceremony where the reader has difficulty distinguishing actual behaviour, as noted through direct observation or informant testimony, and normative, idealised descriptions of ceremonial activities and beliefs. As with the Tasmanian chapter, there is valuable information here along with useful insights, but also some serious confusion. The chapters on Kaytej women and Mardjarra kinship are more coherent and offer insights into the contrast between real and ideal aspects of Aboriginal behaviour — a theme which Australian social anthropologists seem better able to deal with, at least in this volume, than ethnohistorians. Ethnohistory promises to become an important part of Australian Aboriginal studies, and some important contributions from it are already apparent in this volume. But the uneven quality of ethnohistorical research presented in this volume also indicates that this approach is just getting under way and has a long way to go before it can match the results of archaeological and ethnographic studies in Australia.

In the Introduction, the volume editors note the absence of any direct participation by Aborigines in the preparation of this book. They point out that 'Some potential Aboriginal contributors declined invitations to write because they considered that any bicentennial enterprise was necessarily a celebration of their people’s dispossession, extermination and degradation (p.xvi)'. Similar sentiments have often been expressed by Native Americans, who prefer to present their views on the European colonisation in the form of alternative history rather than in the context of the colonial point of view. It seems profoundly ironic to this reviewer that the very act of attempting to translate and appreciate the historical character of the indigenous peoples of Australia should fail in this case to incorporate their own strongly held views about their past and the effects of European contact on their past history and present experience. So the volume Australians to 1788 represents a sincere but ultimately biased view of Aboriginal culture history based upon inescapably pro-European assumptions and expectations. One cannot reasonably expect the descendants of what was left of an indigenous population to celebrate the dispossession and even genocide of their ancestors. It is unfortunate that one of the most serious attempts yet to produce a scholarly yet readable and accessible treatment of Australian Aboriginal culture history had to occur under these circumstances, without the benefit of that alternative view of history that only the Aborigines themselves could provide.

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Frontier, a sequel to the author’s The other side of the frontier, deals chiefly with the attitudes and behaviour of white settlers to the Australian Aborigines. He sketches out the generations of guerilla warfare, cites the evidence for white brutality, then goes on to discuss the
Euro-Australian preconceptions — religious, ideological and racist — that channelled the course of white-black history. He even pays white decency its due, however slight its influence. He devotes the final third of the book to the origins and course of the Aboriginal land rights controversy, pointing out legal dissimilarities between Australian law on the subject, on the one hand, and Canadian, United States and New Zealand law, on the other.

Professor Reynolds is not the disinterested academic historian, discoursing on the Medes and Persians, and this book is the product of deep outrage, as well as deep research. The former is the source of some of the book’s special strengths and of its weaknesses. His message is that what the Europeans did in Australia was ‘invade’ rather than ‘settle’ and that their inhumanity to the Aborigines matched the worst that Europeans did to native peoples in Siberia, North or South America. Mild books would not deliver this message effectively, and Reynolds’s Frontier, like its North American counterpart, Francis Jennings’s The invasion of America: Indians, colonialism and the cant of conquest, is a scholarly bellow of rage.

A justified bellow, without doubt, but bellowing is not always an effective way of expressing every nuance of fact and interpretation. Many of the subdivisions of the chapters of this book consist of a topic sentence of outrage followed by several pages of quotes and anecdotal material in support of the first sentence, that is, a drone of outrage. Soon the informed reader is convinced of the fact of white brutality and ethnocentrism and wants some analysis. Did the brutality and narrowness of attitude vary from time to time and place to place? What was the nature of the modus vivendi whites and blacks finally reached? Of course, it was a matter of setting up a caste relationship, but as Eugene Genovese and Gilberto Freyre have shown in their studies of masters and slaves in, respectively, the United States and Brazil, such relationships include all kinds of subtleties, which often have long range influence.

Outrage implies that those committing the outrages had a choice to do otherwise, a preconception that can divert a historian’s attention away from matters in which volition played little part. On page 190 Reynolds writes that perhaps the single most important element that the settlers brought with them from Britain was their Western and revolutionary concept of private property. If the history of the Aborigines is at all similar to that of Amerindians, Eskimos, and Maori and other indigenes of Pacific islands, the most important element the invaders brought with them was disease, a much more efficient killer of adult, child, foetus and embryo than musket or rifle or even starvation. Where disease reduced indigene numbers to a fraction of white numbers (as, for instance, in North America, Argentina and New Zealand), Neo-European societies now exist. Where it did not, though killing many, as in nations like Mexico, societies dominated by indigenes or people of mixed native and invader ancestry exist. Where it played only a limited role, as in South Africa, no amount of brutality has served to make the whites into a majority population. Disease played a major role in white-black relationships in Australia; and Noel Butlin has made a brave beginning on considering its effects in his book, Our original aggression. Professor Reynolds prefers a moralistic to an epidemiological approach, eschews statistics and barely mentions the subject of imported infections.

The weakness of any purely national history is lack of perspective. (The weakness of multi-national history is shallowness, but one thing at a time). If all is relative, then national history is perforce purblind. In the last two hundred years a palaeolithic people and an industrial people struggled to control the land of Australia. The latter, not surprisingly, won.
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How great were their sins in doing so? Were there any real possibilities of a co-operative rather than a competitive relationship between the two peoples? Can such a relationship be built now? Has such ever been created between conquerors and conquered at any time and in any place where the differences in their cultures and physical appearances were as great as they were between Aborigines and Euro-Australians? These are vital questions that cannot be considered fruitfully within the bounds of strictly Australian history. Professor Reynolds in his two frontier books has made an admirable start on telling the Aborigine-white story, making it possible for Australian historians to go on to the next step, anthropologically and quantitatively sophisticated analysis made with reference to indigene-invader histories of other societies. The effort to make such reference pays off in interesting and fruitful questions. For instance, as an American I am fascinated by the total lack of formal treaties between Aborigines and white government. Amerindian-white history in the United States is punctuated with scores of treaties which are source materials for constant litigation in our courts. Why such an extreme contrast, given that the cultures of the invaders in both cases were very similar? Why did not the native Australians utilise the many available horses and meet the invaders in the interior grasslands with fierce mounted resistance? Was this contrast an effect of time differentials? The warriors of the pampa had generations to produce equestrian cultures before the full Argentinian onslaught, the Aborigines only a few years.

Perhaps I should conclude by assessing Frontier not in terms of the book I wish Professor Reynolds had written (which probably cannot be written until the history profession digests his kind of book), but in terms of the task he set out for himself. He obviously wanted to produce an unimpeachably scholarly study showing white Australians exactly what white-Aborigine history has been like. (There certainly seems to be a need for such a study: Robert Hughes’s statement that the Aboriginal woman ‘was merely a root-grubbing, shell-gathering chattel, whose social assets were wiry arms, prehensile toes and a vagina’ (Fatal shore, p.16) is as naive as it is racist.) Yes, the Aborigines have survived, which is more than can be said of the Guanches, Arawacks and Beothuks, but that is more a matter of having a whole continent in which to disperse (‘skulk’ was probably the nineteenth-century word for this) than of white compassion.

The human species will need all the genetic and cultural variety it can muster to get through the next few generations alive, and Professor Reynolds suggests that we, the successful invaders, look at our histories with clear eyes and do all we can to preserve the surviving indigenes of Australia and, presumably, of all the old European empires. He has made his case splendidly. I pray that his books find a wide and attentive audience.

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In 1937 William Cooper, a retired shearer from Cumeroogunga, New South Wales, was seventy-six and living in Melbourne. He was to take his part in the Day of Mourning at Sydney, on 26 January 1938; and though he did not speak at the Aboriginal deputation to see the Prime Minister, J.A. Lyons (and the Minister for the Interior, J. McEwen) on 31 January, many of the Ten Points there formally presented were his views. He had expounded political aims for Aboriginal people — in particular, a full Department of Aboriginal Affairs and a representative in Federal Parliament — for nearly five years in his letters.

In Blood from a stone, Andrew Markus has selected and edited the original letters of William Cooper, written from Melbourne suburbs between September 1933 and March 1940. For any student of recent Aboriginal history, not only of Victoria but of the eastern states, this is an instructive collection. Cooper, born circa 1861, a Joti-Jota leader from the Murray and Goulburn Rivers district, had been spokesman for communities in central Victoria and western New South Wales. In 1933 he left Cumeroogunga for Melbourne, and became honorary secretary of the Australian Aborigines' League, a political gathering of the city's small Aboriginal population. He wrote a good letter. Of the fifty-three documents reprinted here, forty-one are his, mostly letters for Prime Ministers (Lyons to Menzies), or Ministers of the Interior, offering what were then new political ideas for racial tolerance.

Marcus has carefully chosen the documents to show Cooper's liberal policies for Federal government responsibility. (Until the 1967 referendum the states alone had authority.) A few speeches and articles by Shadrach James, Cooper's nephew, are quoted from newspapers and a Christian students' journal, 1929-30. From September 1933 to March 1934, Cooper sent circular letters to state ministers, asking them for permission to distribute a petition intended for King George V among Aboriginal people on reserves. It may be inferred that when these requests were ignored, Cooper was convinced that state governments were too negative. Most of the remaining letters in the book addressed the sympathies of the Federal Minister for the Interior, 1934-37, Thomas Paterson, once a Gippsland farmer.

Cooper was courteous and deferential in writing, occasionally personal in pressing upon the Minister's good nature, but consistent in argument. He was firm and persuasive. The State authorities had run repressive policies on the assumption that the dark people, for their own good, should be controlled in the interests of the employers, whether cattle men, orchardists or farmers. Cooper now proposed citizenship rights for all Aborigines, and political representatives to safeguard their interests.

The petition intended for King George circulated, and by 1935 had attracted 1814 signatures. The King was asked 'to do his utmost in taking suitable steps in preventing the extinction of the Aboriginal race, obtaining better conditions for all [and] . . . power to propose a Member of Parliament, to be chosen by my people to represent them in the Federal Parliament' (Document 5, letter: Cooper to the Victorian Board for the Protection of Aborigines). As Markus observed in the Introduction to the book, Cooper kept the petition as a tactic of last resort. He presented it to the Lyons Government in October 1937; then conceived the idea of the Day of Mourning on Australia Day (prior to the promised meeting with the Prime Minister), and found William Ferguson to organise it in Sydney.
While the letters clearly disclose Cooper's political and social ideas, well before their time, other documents show his influence on the Australian Aborigines' League. An AAL deputation to Paterson in February 1935 deplored the lack of citizen rights on reserves, requested Aboriginal political representatives, and called for a department in Canberra with a sympathetic secretary. (Sir Hubert Murray of Papua was the model.)

The League's constitution, accepted in February 1936, possibly owed its existence to the dedication of a new friend, the Victorian Railways official Arthur Burdeu who became the first AAL President. But the aims reflect ideals Cooper espoused. The AAL wished to preserve the old culture, and yet called for the 'uplift' of all people to full European culture. The (state) Chief Protectors at that time assumed that mixed-descent people were brighter than the 'primitive' folk; their regulations drew these distinctions. Cooper insisted from his Victorian experience that this was not true. There must be British nationality for all dark people.

Anticipating the Canberra conference of Ministers and Chief Protectors (April 1937), Cooper sent them a long letter of policies sought by the AAL. Aboriginal affairs should be federalised, or else the states should co-ordinate their efforts. Rich states would share costs with poor states. Whatever their 'caste', Aborigines should live independently, with land set aside for self-reliance and development. Cooper had an astonishing vision of social change, made possible not by rigid divisions of colour as the official philosophy ran then, but by degrees of a civilising progress, with no advantage of one class over another. Education and industry, both vocational and academic, would be the civilising agent. All 'approved' Aborigines would be entitled to social service benefits.

When the Protectors' conference plumped for two opposing social methods — in effect, apartheid for the 'primitives', assimilation for the 'near-whites' — Cooper despaired of real change, and lectured Paterson on the capacity of Aborigines to pick up civilisation: 'We want our yet uncultured brothers to get the uplift we have received, but we claim it should be done by plan.' He urged that North Australia be developed by Aborigines in preference to non-British Europeans, and he was well aware of Hitler's treatment of the Jews. He suspected that the Federal Government flirted with the restrictive policies of the United States, South Africa or Western Australia.

After successfully tackling Stevens, the New South Wales Premier, over the poor water-supply at Cumeroogunga, Cooper released the petition to Cabinet, and then announced the Day of Mourning. A fortnight later, just after Christmas Day 1937, he promoted a symbolic National Aborigines Day to all Christian denominations, asking them to touch the white conscience with special sermons on Aboriginal matters, on the Sunday near Australia Day. This was eventually arranged by the Chairman of the National Missionary Council of Australia, and the first such sermons began in January 1940. National Aborigines Day is Cooper's monument.

One appreciates Cooper's courage in lecturing the prime ministers, and in handling his daring social dreams with honesty and patience. He may not have had Patten's oratory, and Ferguson openly disagreed with his idea of a non-party political man in Parliament; but in writing these letters, he revealed his vision of a united and free Aboriginal people.

In arranging the documents and penning a perceptive Introduction, Markus deepens our understanding of Aboriginal history. In all details the book's presentation is excellent; but with much turning, the leaves of my review copy tended to lift out.

The broad introduction places Cooper's 1933-40 campaign in its context: towards the
close of a long, non-violent Aboriginal militant tradition of petitions and deputations. (On isolated reserves, there were occasional supportive strikes.) Markus traces this history, from the original (and successful) land claim in 1859 for the Coranderrk site near Healesville, then the Maloga Mission petitions of the Joti-Jota in the 1880s, to the deputations for civil rights: William and Norman Harris and Arthur Kickett (1906, 1928) in Perth and Charles Frederick Maynard (1925, 1929) in Sydney. The last major deputation was Ferguson’s, mainly of Cumeroogunga people, at Canberra in 1949.

Markus shows that Cooper’s general argument for the unity of the Aboriginal people came from his conviction that ‘distinctions on the basis of race were spurious’. On this point, Cooper was sure of his ground. A long life’s observation among Aboriginal families of southeastern Australia gave him sufficient proof to deny the truth of official racial policies.

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BOOK NOTES


Except for a new preface, this is a reprint of the 1975 volume, then titled *Exclusion, exploitation and extermination*. Raymond Evans and Kay Saunders write in their preface ‘it is reproduced here in its original form to stand as . . . a conscientious product of its time’. It is good to see it in print again, since it has a wealth of historical information about Queensland’s race relations and was one of the first of its kind. Those readers who have concentrated on European-Aboriginal relations will learn that these are reflected in European relations with both Chinese and Melanesians. All three non-European peoples were treated as virtual slaves, whose labour was exploited to increase the prosperity of the dominant masters. Whenever the ‘slaves’ showed resistance or independence, they were treated with the utmost brutality, even actual killing. When Aborigines killed Europeans, as at Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo, revenge took a toll of Aboriginal lives out of all proportion to the original murders.

Raymond Evans has written about the Aborigines, Kathryn Cronin about the Chinese, Kay Saunders about the blackbirded Melanesians. All three contributions include exhaustive lists of archival sources.


This issue is on *Anthropology and human rights*. It has interesting contributions by anthropologists well known in Australia, namely Roger Keesing, John Waiko and Barbara Glowczewski.

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