Reviews

_Fighting words, writing about race_ by Raymond Evans. xiv + 277 pp. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia [Brisbane], 1999 $29.95

Revisionist historians of Queensland have, since the 1960s, been spurned both for their reconstruction of Queensland history and for their writing into history of Aborigines. Raymond Evans is one such revisionist historian and has written the book _Fighting words, writing about race_ both as a defence of revisionism and as a narrative about 'race' consciousness. Evans, as he explains, came from Wales with his parents during the post World War II migration scheme. He grew up in Brisbane suburbs and gradually grew to both learn about and empathise with Aboriginal rejections of Australian prejudices and indifference towards themselves and about their observable customs, beliefs and exotic manners. The book is not, as Jackie Huggins would have us believe, about 'personal recollections' of a search for an understanding of the Aboriginal past. In contrast to that supposition, the book is a didactically and pedagogically structured text. In this review I look at the implicit and explicit criteria used by Evans to expound a historiographic theory for reconstructing a narrative in which non-whites ought to feature.

_Fighting words_ is implicitly a book on the sociology of non-whites in history. Raymond Evans uses criteria related to social history and sociology melded with ideas which may be described as structuralism and symbolic interactionism. Evans, in a book with four parts, aims to: convince the reader that a historical racial model has been neglected; that history has to have a moral overtone, that racial conflicts have the same causes and effects as gender and labour relations, with, finally, an epilogue that assumes that history has exposed Aborigines and others as victims and he has uncovered 'white guilt' which whites alone have to confront. The book is highly moralistic and uses 'race relations' as a method of reconstructing the symbolism of the past of 'the underdog (with Aborigines, Chinese and non-whites)' in largely Queensland history, and who have no biographies. The reader needs to be aware how Evans uses historical sociology as a way of convincing the reader of the authenticity of the point of view he wants them to share.

This book only fleetingly takes the reader into the hostilities created in Queensland's intellectual and political life from the 1950s to the present. Such people have had to confront a deeply ruralistic State that held (and still holds) deep racial and political beliefs on how societies ought to distribute their wealth and property, practice law and order and control their racial composition for a future imagined 'good society'. As such, Queensland intellectuals have been attacked, ridiculed and arrested for their attempts to revise the perceived truths nurtured by dominant Eurocentric views held in Queensland's white society. Raymond Evans represents many of these writers who have con-
ducted a radical revisionist perspective to give rise to new politico-historical and socioeconomic truths. In spite of the difficulties such writers face, their work must not remain inscrutable, and their views and methodologies have to be evaluated and scrutinised otherwise misconceptions lead to the reconstruction of myth rather than reality.

Apart from clearly delineating his own revisionist position, Evans' explicit criteria in writing this book are to relate to his reader how his own political consciousness was raised and how the discipline of history could be used to reconstruct, and narrate, the past from the perspective of 'race relations'. This means that he has used his historiography to place into his historical narrative what he considers as 'the excluded' (i.e. Aborigines — or, as he also refers to them, Indigenous people — Chinese, Afghans, Japanese and others). History, to Evans, is something which exists, as he declares, 'We were never lulled into complete ignorance...[because]...we knew of Aborigines if not about them'. This history, Evans justifies, is in the archives, and in other peoples' minds, and can be liberated by research. Evans' work shows great similarity to Frank Stevens' writings, but more acutely the history of the 'underdog', or inclusionism. Although Frank Stevens was not a symbolic interactionist, he saw, in the study of the Aboriginal past, questions relating to industrial relations and international labour laws. Evans also sees similarities between 'race' and other social structuring in which conflict emerges.

Not until the creation of modern sociology (from Compte, Saint Simone and Durkheim) can we say that race and ethnicity were the subject of empirical and descriptive interest to scholars. American sociology too, underlined the importance of race, as Evans points out from his personal experiences as a student of American studies, in producing important challenges for modern society and in particular, a concern of modern governments. The Aboriginal past, unlike what Evans and his epigones would have us all believe, is neither the history of 'race relations', nor is it the history of violence between whites, Chinese, Kanakas or Maccasans. Australian social history, like either Aboriginal or British history, is about 'coming to grips with the roots and unprecedented effects of capitalist commercialisation and industrialisation'.

Modern sociology provides the historian with a set of tools which highlight visionary and imaginative approaches. This is so, not only with old subjects such as 'nationalism' but also in modern emergent patterns, which have their origins in a social and historical context. The study of 'race' in history is one such subject. It is a relatively old subject, especially when we think of issues like slavery, prejudice against European Jews and more recently issues where modern states have segregated groups on the basis of their racial origin. In effect race has been of interest to historians but not as a subject having causal links to underlying forces such as capitalism, nationalism and revolution. Normally the subject of race has been something of an effect of capitalism, or earlier, as with Marx, the subject of the nature of the Roman slave state. But Evans, like his epigone Henry Reynolds, reminds the reader that Aborigines are historical victims. Society to Evans is a struggle that Aborigines have not been able to win due to their textual exclusion. But, in the true Hegelian sense 'social integration' is possible and history provides that stepping stone. Similarly, although implicitly, as western historians have both misrepresented and omitted Aborigines from the text, so the 'orientalist' critique applies in Australia as in Palestine.

In the essay 'The owl and the eagle', which forms a chapter in the book, we gain the clearest conceptualisation of Evans' implicit histories of 'exclusionism'. An unspeci-
fied 'colonialism' is the cause of 'race' conflict, he begins, 'at any given zone' but it is 'white colonisation'. Metaphors rooted in American histories of F. Turner are used to depict a no-go zone, like Churchill's homeric simile, the 'Iron Curtain', which for so long provided a western materialist view of Russia. Evans begins the essay by following the close of Queensland's transportation in 1839. Opponents to the migration of Chinese and Pacific Islanders to tropical plantations reacted in print. Reconstructions of these events have been disingenuous and so much so that 'one still finds a dominant historiography ... unmoved about the ongoing significance of the issue. Like Aborigines of 'Humpydung', or the first Asian indentured labourers ... race relations study often finds its impact muted by suppression, or else banished to the periphery — to its own 'coolie land of Gisher'. The writer attacks Crowley. Crowley tried to convey an empathy, but in Evans' view a latter reading revealed a lacking in contemporary strength when Evans wrote. Compare this, however, with the statement of Gordon Reid, writing seven years later, in his A nest of hornets (about frontier violence in central Queensland) that Black-White conflict on the frontier — that 'bitter and bloody contest' — was 'the fundamental event in Australian history following British annexation'.

Evans claims that these two statements make a startling contrast. He continues his underlying belief that history is most important when it is denied: again, his resort to Hegelian assumptions that redemption is possible with the acceptance of his point of view. He may certainly have added that he was using an unfair comparison of a teleological nature to gain his reader's acceptance.

Moreover, the history of the 'underdog paradigm' is more clearly seen when it comes in the most gruesome form. This is classical 'symbolic interactionism' because news is best portrayed in its most extreme, or reductionist form. This theoretical approach implies a social action theory, where society's past exists independently of its individuals (i.e. in the archives) and action is needed to get it out because the current reconstructors of the past misrepresent the perspective of appropriateness. Furthermore, 'dispersal and killing became the established method of dealing with the blacks in Queensland ... as it did to some extent elsewhere', according to Reid. 'The Killings [Reid claims]...continued long after there was a need for it; and the hatred of blacks remained long after the killing had stopped'. These claims are used all the time but are never catalogued in any comprehensive historical research. This interpretive reconstruction further confuses the reader to accept the vulgarised view of Black/White relations.

This chapter ends as it started, with implicit assumptions about historians and writers who misrepresent 'race relation' themes. For example, Evans claims that some writers downplay the 'significance of race relations' when they write about 'the intensity and quantity of race riots; the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal, Melanesian and Japanese women; the rape fears of the white community concerning black and Asian men.' But the notion of Aborigines as victims is only one way to portray 'the underdogs' — as people who can't speak for themselves.

In the chapter entitled 'The mogwi take mi-an-jin', Evans delivers bad news in the form of parallelism between invasions of Aborigines' living sites by the British and post World War II events. Evans complains that more should have been made of the find of a brass neck piece. He continues by emphasising a similarly important event to many in Queensland when a 1940 society celebrated the pastoralisation of the Darling Downs
with Aborigines brought in from Woodenbong (in New South Wales) to perform for the occasion. This is not so much an event of importance, but one of importance to Evans, who uses the celebration and peripheral 1940 knowledge to show his readers and the writers of the status quo how to write history properly. As a historiographic lesson, this chapter serves not only to highlight the deficient records of the time but it does so by indicating that Captain Fyans failed, in 1835, to report on a population size which was later assumed to be over 3000, in 1897. Incidentally, colonial censuses in Queensland of any kind did not begin until 1861. Aboriginal populations of Queensland were only estimated in 1881. This colonial count had its own problems of census-taking because the census was conducted from police returns, and neither the police nor State collectors had an idea about how to define an Aborigine, which I am sure would be a trite question to Evans. Historians can philosophise about how other colleagues and students should study topics selected by others, but historiography cannot select the questions historians ultimately ask themselves. Evans is rightly critical of both what and how historians do when they choose to reconstruct an event in the past. Nevertheless, Evans, like Reynolds and other writers he defends, has no monopoly on textual or epistemological correctness.

The selection of topics, the paucity of secondary and primary material on and by Aborigines, and information on their employment (by other than recognised writers with historical backgrounds such as Elkin, Gale and Berndt and Frank Hardy) are steeped in making assumptions based on myth and not verifiable sources. After the Queensland protection Act 1897, reporting becomes better. Most of problems Evans raises are the same as those of students who come to the issue of the Aboriginal or Chinese past in Australian history. They have massive preparation to do before designing their historical questions in tackling their chosen historic event. In spite of these difficulties, it was the British who surveyed the coastal regions and established a settlement at Moreton Bay, and thus began the incorporation of Aborigines into Australian history. However distasteful that might be to Queensland historians, it represents a starting point. In a similar way the British and European missionaries and settlers set up the relief and ration depots and ultimately the missions. The causes and effect of what happened, nevertheless, cannot simply be explained by ‘race relations’ alone, even though different races came face to face. Anthropologists argue that culture was more important than race, and this aspect has tended to dominate historical as well as modern political relations, otherwise we would know more about the paradoxes of Aboriginal identity.

Other historians argue that colonial government attitudes are far more important than race or violence, both of which sprang from causes already mentioned. The British set up the colonial administration, the penal colony and, following their disastrous experiences in Sydney Cove, Tasmania and Port Phillip, they might have been expected to have done a more humanitarian job of setting up better relations with local Aboriginal groups. That, given the dominance of the historical tide towards a rush for economic colonies and the surge towards late nineteenth century imperialism, it could not have been any different. Evans acknowledges that much of the Aboriginal past cannot and will not emerge, but that in itself is insufficient to promote historical ideologies such as adding to Aboriginal beliefs that their past is bound up in a history which totally lacks a linkage with the points I make above. This ‘false consciousness’, if you will, breeds forms of populist notions of ‘oral evidence’ being represented as authentic
historical sources. The epilogue crosses ground not already mentioned in the book but it rightly sees race relations as an alternative to ideas where the privileged are given dominance in reconstructing a past being replaced by 'Aboriginal stewardship over Aboriginal history', a truly unacceptable proposition, and one tried unsuccessfully by the Germans in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The coming of Europeans to Queensland has its origins in British history as a starting point and the effects of that cause involved Aborigines. Although Evans has already mentioned some anomalies in reconstructing the Aboriginal past, Aborigines have eluded many of the things most historians take for granted: Aborigines do not enter history easily other than as abstractions (i.e. as shadowy figures and without biographies, a mistake from which Evans suffers). Not until very recent times is there the barest information of a biographical nature that historians can use when reconstructing the Aboriginal past. Much of the information, as Evans points out, is scattered in government documents which Queensland historians do not catalogue. Few if any writings exist on topics chosen by Aborigines, and to impose good practices of today on previous historians is unfair. When data sources do exist it is rare for much of the sources to be aggregated material such as reports from Protectors and so on, and most events such as massacres are more myth than reality. Stories range far and wide for almost every Aborigine where every Aboriginal person has their own private massacre in their mind.

Even with some weaknesses covered, the book is produced for student purchase, with good bibliography displayed, footnoting and an index. These are all qualities that make the book a useful teaching text.

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Massacre myth, by Rod Moran, 262 pp with photographs. Access Press, Bassendean, Western Australia August 1999 $35

If a book could be judged by its cover, Massacre Myth would take the prize! The black cover with the words 'massacre myth' in yellow lettering outlined in red, suggesting dripping blood or melting figures, is a dramatic introduction to yet another version of the story about the killing of Aborigines near the Forrest River Mission in the East Kimberley in 1926.1 The cover and title suggest a horror story with more than a hint of fantasy, just as Moran would want his audience to read the event. Moran’s opening paragraph sets the tone of the book, drawing on language which conjures up images of hostile and wild Aborigines living in ‘Australia’s wild far north-west’. In it he sets the scene to discredit Reverend Ernest Gribble of Forrest River Mission, who publicly drew attention to the killings, and challenges the findings of Magistrate George T. Wood who,

1. Others who have written about this event include Randolph Stow, To the Islands, Penguin, 1958 and Neville Green, The Forrest River Massacres, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995. There have also been a number of articles on the topic in newspapers and magazines.
in 1927, undertook the Royal Commission of Inquiry into alleged Killing and Burning of Bodies of Aborigines in East Kimberley and into Police Methods when Effecting Arrests. Moran states that his interest in the topic developed after he met James St Jack, one of the police constables implicated in the killing, and later other members of the St Jack family who gave him access to James St Jack's memoirs and other material relating to the event. Massacre myth is clearly an attempt to redeem the policemen implicated in the killings.

The killing of groups of Aboriginal people which is now referred to as the 'Forrest River Massacre' followed the spearing of Frederick William Hay of Nulla Nulla cattle station in May 1926. The story is really a dreadful tale of blatant killing and burning of Aboriginal people within living memory. It is definitely not a fantasy, but a series of events which were subject of the Royal Commission which found

That in June, 1926, four aborigines met their death and their bodies were burned near Gotegotomerrie; and that three aborigines met their death and their bodies were burned at Mowerie; that the aborigines were at the time in the custody of Police Constables Regan and St Jack, assisted by Special Constables Patrick Bernard O'Leary and Richard John Jolly, accompanied by civilians Leopold Overheu and Daniel Murnane and trackers; that the aborigines met their death at the hands of one or more of those members of the police party, but there [was] not sufficient evidence before the Commission to establish definitely the actual perpetrator or perpetrators of the murders.

That four aborigines met their death and were burned near a place called Dala about the end of June, 1926, while in the custody of Constables Regan and St Jack, and that the only persons responsible for those deaths were Constables Regan and St Jack.²

The Royal Commission further found that Tommy, an aboriginal worker with Leopold Rupert Overheu at Nulla Nulla station, and who was a prime witness, was last seen in the company of Overheu and that the evidence before the Commission disclosed no proof that Tommy was killed by Overheu as it was alleged. Mr Wood, who conducted the Royal Commission, commented briefly on the practice of arming and supervision of armed native trackers.

What is of concern is not just Moran's role as apologist for the perpetrators of the killings, nor the way he discredits Reverend Ernest Gribble, the Aborigines of the Forrest River Mission and others who drew attention to the killings. It is Moran's role in perpetuating the myth that the killings did not occur, and the way in which he mounts his dubious argument to support this position. Moran's argument slips from the findings of the Royal Commission that at least eleven people met their deaths while in the custody of the police in at least three locations near Forrest River Mission, to the denial of the allegation that 'on some accounts, up to 300 people were systematically massacred'. He concludes:

The case has so many anomalies in it that, on the balance of probabilities when the evidence is thoroughly examined, the so-called Forrest River massacres did not exist.³

² Report of Royal Commission of Inquiry into alleged Killing and Burning of Bodies of Aborigines in East Kimberley, and into Police Methods when Effecting Arrests, p xv.
³ Report of Royal Commission, p xxxii.
The existence of anomalies in the available evidence alone cannot lead to a denial that the events did occur, or even that they could have occurred.

*Massacre myth* raises a number of significant historiographical questions. Whose story does it tell? For what purpose? Which version of the event or events are we to believe? What is the truth?

In preparing this review I revisited Green’s *Forrest River Massacre* and the Report of the Royal Commission in order to find some orientation through the jumble of ‘facts’. I also reviewed my own notes on references to killings of Aborigines and non-Aborigines from the initial contact period in the East Kimberley and environs (including the areas across the border with the Northern Territory, formerly South Australia) from the mid-1880s and around Roebourne from the mid-1860s. This was a sobering exercise. What I observed was a pattern of conflict entrenched in the encroachment of Europeans into these regions with their stock. The records from a variety of sources, including primary documents from the Colonial Secretary’s Office, Aborigines Department files and Police Department files, some of the earliest documentary evidence from these areas, show clearly that Europeans and their stock entered Aboriginal territory, appropriated the waterholes, desecrated the land and important places. Aboriginal people in their turn at first actively resisted and then adapted to the presence of Europeans. There is ample evidence that Aboriginal people continued to hunt and gather on their lands and soon included the cattle as a food source. It is encroachment on particular territory, cattle killing and conflicts over women that precipitated the confrontations and killings.

The documentary sources record the manner in which conflicts occurred when the police were involved in pursuing so called ‘native offenders’ who attacked and killed stock or people in what were described as ‘depredations’. The harshest reprisals against Aborigines followed the killing of a European. When this happened the police constables and their native assistants were joined by ‘special constables’ who were sworn in for the task of ‘hunting down’ and ‘dispersing’ the Aborigines. ‘Special constables’, who were engaged when the police needed additional assistance, had the authority to arrest and carry out police duties and, according to Marchant, were no more than ‘retaliatory gangs of settlers operating with the dubious sanctions of the law’. Native assistants engaged in this work were usually armed. This is precisely what happened after the spearing of William Elay at Nulla Nulla.

In 1886 or 1887, following the spearing of John Durack in the Ord River area, about 120 Aborigines were alleged to have been rounded up and a large number of men, women and children killed. The Commissioner of Police, after another European spearing in the region in 1888, instructed the Police ‘to disperse the collections of natives, many of whom are quite innocent of the murder if not the police may become the aggressors, and in the event of bloodshed, ugly questions may arise’. The historical record indicates that police and their native assistants regularly used firearms against Aboriginal people in the East Kimberley, contrary to official police instructions. In December 1922, A.O. Neville, Chief Protector of Aborigines in Perth, in a letter to the

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5. 18 August 1888, Commissioner of Police to Hon. Colonial Secretary, Acc 527, 2323/1888, Public Records Office of Western Australia.
Hon. Minister for the North-West, referred to the Police doing their duty ‘according to the time-honoured methods instilled into the Force from the earliest days of the State’s history’, that is, using armed native assistants to round up Aborigines in their camps. Neville registered his strong disapproval of these methods which he considered would ‘only antagonise These uncivilised people, force them to regard us as their enemies, and postpone our chance of making them law abiding, useful people for many years to come’. As late as 1935, even after the Wood Royal Commission of 1927, police in the East Kimberley were still using firearms to ‘quieten native camps’ when in pursuit of Aborigines wanted for questioning.

The killing of Aborigines in the events following the spearing of William Hay at Nulla Nulla must be seen within the context of the culture of violence in which the police and settlers lived in the ‘frontier-land’ of the East Kimberley. By 1926, the 40-year history of clashes between Aborigines and police would have entered into the folklore of the region and this is what the young police constables St Jack and Regan would have imbibed as part of the orientation to their work. The official position of the Police Department is documented in the evidence given by the Commissioner of Police to the Royal Commission on the Police methods in dealing with Aborigines, particularly in tracking and arresting suspected offenders.

Another aspect of the culture of violence is the secrecy or silence associated with the activity. While the police journals record some of the more blatant examples of apparently indiscriminate shooting of Aborigines, there are hints that that is not the whole picture. The silences in the texts need to be acknowledged and examined. Commenting on the evidence of Constables St Jack and Regan, Commissioner Wood commented stated:

[It] is not only interested evidence, but contains discrepancies that could not possibly have crept in had the journals they kept been truthful records of their movements. The question now arises — Could any reasonable man come to any conclusion other than that the murders of the natives and the burning of the bodies were the work of members of the police party?

The answer is quite clearly stated in the findings of the Royal Commission and denied by Moran.

Massacre myth is a poorly written yet disturbing book which should shake us out of our complacency as historians because it draws attention to the importance of veracity and transparency in the exercise of our discipline — Moran’s language and approach raise many questions for me about his motives for writing the book, and the truthfulness of his telling. Under the cover of investigative journalism Moran apparently sets out to deny a series of events — the killing and burning of Aboriginal people — which were acknowledged to have occurred. He also sets out to discredit the evidence of Aboriginal people and their supporters which, in the findings of the Royal Commission, was given more weight than the evidence of the policemen implicated in the killings.

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6. 15 December 1922, A.O. Neville, Chief Protector of Aborigines, Perth to The Hon. Minister for the North-West, Acc 653, 655/1922, Public Records Office of Western Australia.
This book reminds us yet again of the power of the written word and our responsibility in its use which Inga Clendinnen elegantly encapsulated in her work on the Holocaust narratives:

Historians take the large liberty of speaking for the dead, but we take this liberty under the rule of the discipline, and the rule is strict. There are many who would use the images of the Holocaust for their own purposes, some sinister, some trivial, all deforming. If the people of the past are to be given a life beyond their own, beyond the vagaries of fashion and of political exploitation — if these particular dead are not to be surrendered to those terrifying children the neo-Nazis, strutting in their stylish black, living in a fantastical history of their own invention — historians must receive and represent the actualities of past experience in accordance with our rule, with patience, scepticism and curiosity, and with whatever art we can muster — provided always that the art remains subject to our rule.

The enterprise is not impossible, merely quixotic. Historians are the foot soldiers in the slow business of understanding our species better, and thereby extending the role of reason and humanity in human affairs. We must do more than register guilt, or grief, or anger, or disgust, because neither reverence for those who suffer nor revulsion from those who inflict the suffering will help us overcome its power to paralyse, and to see it clearly.8

If anyone should want to read Massacre Myth, please remember to contextualise it — the events in their context and the book in its context.

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_Djabugay country_ is a brief yet thorough account of Aboriginal history in a region best known as an internationally desirable tourism destination, the Cairns–Atherton–Port Douglas triangle. Timothy Bottoms follows the Stanner and Reynolds tradition in viewing this history from the ‘other side of the frontier’, i.e. the Djabugay rather than the White Australian perspective. The social, historical and political relevance of this book is supported by a foreword by Djabugay elders and a preface by Noel Pearson, as well as an afterword by Henry Reynolds.

The history is presented in four chapters relating to significant eras in the transition from Djabugay homeland through dispossession and suppression to a revived sense of identity and pride and burgeoning self-determination. The first chapter, ‘Journeys of the Gurra-Gurra (Ancestors)’, illustrates the close link between a people, a country, spiritual life and social rules by reference to Djabugay ‘stories’ and their associated landmarks. The second chapter, ‘From Bama Bulmba to far north Queensland (1873–1912)’, describes the European intrusion and the gradual realisation that white people were ‘here to stay’. We get an impression of how every step of European progress in settlement, transport — particularly the Cairns–Kuranda railway — and

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land cultivation meant, to the Djabuganydji, destruction of homeland, food supplies and spiritual links. The third chapter, ‘Mission Days (1913–1962)’, paints a stark picture of dormitory life on Monamona mission, the loss of language and culture, and other far-reaching effects of the infamous ‘Aboriginals Protection Act’ in the interest of assimilation. However, the chapter also conveys a sense of community and achievement among the mission population, which is shattered when the mission is closed, leaving the Djabuganydji homeless on their own land. The last chapter, ‘This side of the railway tracks (1963–1997)’, relates the now largely successful fight to regain the right to reside on their land, to own their land, and to have safe and sanitary housing, in the face of apathetic or obstructive officialdom. The fight is supported by a growing new sense of community and attempts to revive the Djabugay language and culture, culminating in the acclaimed Tjapukai Dance Theatre.

This book is very thoroughly researched and copious quotes from newspapers, government records and oral history as well as photographs and maps piece together a documentary style history. Bottoms draws particular attention to the linguistic dispossession (p 18) of the Djabuganydji and uses both English and Djabugay place names. A glossary of relevant Djabugay words is provided, with a simple and accurate guide to their pronunciation.

Considering this meticulous approach it is puzzling that no more than one short paragraph (p 70) deals with a group of people who did not live on Monamona mission but ‘were living close to a traditional lifestyle, able to maintain the Stories and language’. This was to be the saviour, in many ways, of traditional knowledge of the Djabugay.’ These people were descendants of the survivors of a massacre (p 39), but we learn nothing about their apparently crucial role as guardians of Djabugay culture. This is particularly surprising as Gilpin Banning, the head of this group, was the main source of information for a grammar of the Djabugay language researched in the late 1970s. A manuscript of this grammar was used by Michael Quinn (referred to on p 93) for his Djabugay language lessons, but Bottoms does not mention this. Nevertheless, as an account of what might be termed ‘mainstream Djabugay’, this book is an important addition to our understanding of Aboriginal history.

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References


Reynolds, H. 1981. The other side of the frontier. James Cook University, Townsville.

Whilst engagement in sport is rightly known as a great leveller, in this book review I choose to focus on education as being an even more effective leveller indeed. But of course education is more than this. It also allows people to deal critically and creatively with reality and to discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. When the uneducated participate in learning programs, they come to a new awareness of self, have a new sense of dignity and are stirred by new hope.

The world famous educationalist Paulo Freire of Brazil contends that the illiterate are marginalised from the dominant society and are ‘submerged in a culture of silence of the dispossessed’. When they are educated they come to a new awareness of selfhood and begin to look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves. Often they take the initiative to change the society that denied them participation.

Paulo Freire further adds that lethargy and ignorance are the products of economic, social and political domination and of paternalism of which the dispossessed are victims. It became clear to him that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence. Clearly the experience of Aborigines is on a par with that of the dispossessed of whom Paulo Freire writes:

Cultural action through relevant learning programs and affirmative action became necessities if Aborigines were to cast off the shackles of the ‘culture of silence’ and to open the way to a new future. What forces shaped the future of Aboriginal education? The answer lies in the history of Aboriginal and white contact over the last two hundred years.

Although increasingly forced to adapt to Anglo-Celtic values, if they were to survive, Aborigines had a depressingly inadequate education, marked by inequality of opportunity and participation. The developmental patterns of Aboriginal education are characterised by four broad periods of government policies. These periods are identified successively as protection, segregation, assimilation and integration eras.

Throughout the periods of protection, segregation and assimilation very little effort was expended in the provision of adequate schooling for Aborigines and it was not until the late 1960s that concerted attempts were made to redress the many decades of neglect and apathy. At this time education research uncovered glaring problems, such as under-representation of Aboriginal children in secondary schools and over-representation in slow learner classes; non-attendance at school; later starting of schooling and earlier exit than their white counterparts; lack of knowledge and skills to compete with other Australians, and poorer prospects of employment. Aboriginal adults had little contact with schools, with over half the population aged forty-five or more having no education at all.

By 1968, most Aboriginal children in Australia were being educated at least to primary level in State schools staffed by qualified teachers with adequate educational facilities. In 1973, a national conference, ‘Teacher education in the Aboriginal context’, was held. It was the first time a significant number of Aborigines took the opportunity to present their views and proposals. This event was the catalyst to a new era in Aboriginal education. Teacher education courses in various institutions gave priority to Abo-
original education and white trainee teachers were educated about Aborigines and encouraged to facilitate change. Projects to train Aborigines as teachers and teacher aides were set up. By the mid 1970s, Aboriginal education was the fastest growing and most innovatory area in the whole field of education in Australia.

In the early 1970s, The National Aboriginal Education Committee and the State Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups were very influential in establishing programs. These programs were implemented by support and funding from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the Schools Commission and Commonwealth Education. Some of these programs were enclave support systems, pre-tertiary and bridging courses.

In her introductory chapter, Mary Ann Bin-Sallik aptly identifies the salient features of the thirteen stories of Aboriginal women and in her own words, though these women come from different backgrounds and experiences, and each chapter is unique to its author, there are many common threads running through their stories.

Mary Ann Bin-Sallik invited some 60 high-profile Aboriginal woman to contribute to this book. It is amazing that there were so many highly qualified women when one considers how recently improved educational opportunities for Indigenous Australians began to be introduced.

These women — with their stories of their individual journeys to reach their educational goals — took full advantage of the opportunities offered through special entry to university, enclave support programs and pre-tertiary and bridging courses which came into effect through the strenuous efforts of the National Aboriginal Education Committee and the State Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups in the early 1970s.

Their stories tell of their personal sacrifices, aspirations, and triumphs, assisted by the support of family and friends with an abundance of humour to help them along the way. These women are role models for the next generation of Aboriginal students who in turn will find the way made easier by these impressive trail-blazers.

This book is recommended as a motivational resource for schools, colleges and universities especially where Aboriginal students are enrolled.

Pearl Duncan


This book demonstrates aspects of the important relationship between the people of Wreck Bay, New South Wales, and their environment: this is illustrated delightfully by the story of Uncle Boekel and his strategy for removing bees from their hives, told on page 14. This theme is pursued further throughout the work through knowledge of plants.

The first 16 pages set the context for the botanical information to follow:

How to use the book (1 p)
Busy life at Wreck Bay, (6 pp)
People demonstrate their knowledge of the environment especially relating to fishing. Later in the book, they detail some connections between resources, for example ‘When
those [coastal bearded heath] berries come out, then it is time for the bream to come’ (p 41).

Childhood memories. (4 pp)
These snippets give a picture of the continuing but changing life conditions for people at Wreck Bay, including Uncle Boekel.

Map
A full-page regional map featuring the Booderee National Park might have included an insert showing the location of the region within Australia for the benefit of outsiders.

Primarily, this is an ethnobotanical resource book listing 15 year-round resources followed by seven for spring, six for summer, two for autumn and three for winter. A full page is given to each resource, featuring a primary colour photograph of the plant, common name, botanical name, brief notes on habitat and appearance as well as uses (food, medicine, dye, fibre, tool) listed under symbols (including toxic warnings). Another smaller photo shows a feature of the plant or its use. All photos are good quality and show the subject clearly. I especially like the snake whistles page and others where photos include a human presence.

Margin notes quoting indigenous local knowledge illustrate the people’s enjoyment and commitment to their resources; and school children’s black and white line drawings scattered throughout add vigour beyond a regular botanical text. For further reading six books are listed in the areas of botany and ethnobotany in southeastern Australia and about the Wreck Bay community.

Finally, the index to plants lists plants by both common and botanical names to aid those without specific botanical knowledge.

Without a doubt this book is a valuable resource for students and the general community who would like to add to their regional knowledge of indigenous culture.

Daphne Nash
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A group of Aboriginal men (and a boy) wrapped in substantial cloaks holding superbly crafted weapons illustrate the front cover of Continent of hunter-gatherers. The scene is not the conventional central Australian or Arnhem Land representation of Aboriginality; it emphasises solidarity, permanence, and material wealth, and stands for the view of Aboriginal Australia which is central to Lourandos’s work. On second glance, however, the picture is a photograph taken in the late 1850s; some of the men are wrapped in blankets, not possum skin, the edges are blurred and the background is ill defined, women are elsewhere and pieces of European clothing are visible at the cloak edges. The image is itself a construction of a world which we are initially to accept as present and unproblematic.
Continent of hunter-gatherers is both a conservative work and a self-styled radical one. It is radical in its desire to present ‘new perspectives’ and align itself with a ‘revisionist anthropology and archaeology of Australian Aborigines’ (p 1). It is conservative in its adherence to the idea of a singular Australian prehistory in the format of a large continent survey.

The work emphasises the complexity of hunter-gatherer social relations and their capacity to generate and regulate economic production. This is contrasted with traditional approaches which, Lourandos argues, emphasised ecological dependency, stability and egalitarian social organisation. It also varies from more conventional histories in its concentration on what it sees as the nature of hunter-gatherer societies and their evolutionary development; it is therefore much more programmatic than comparable continental surveys.

Beginning with a general overview of ‘hunter-gatherer variation in time and space’, including a chapter on Australian Aborigines, Lourandos argues strongly for the capacity of hunter-gatherer societies to achieve high levels of social and economic complexity through the uncoupling of technological capacity, population growth and environmental materiality from the prime movers of social change. In the early 1980s these arguments in concert with Thomas’s (1981) critique caused a major reassessment of the range of interpretative possibilities used in Australian archaeology. The ‘intensification debate’ reflected an interest in the reconstruction of social relations from a record which had until then, as the argument goes, tended to biogeographic or culture-historical explanations. Some twenty years later we can see that this ‘new’ approach is bedevilled by a problem which is often present in historical reconstructions of Aboriginality and the past, namely the reliance on the idea and construction of a ‘traditional’ or ‘pre-contact’ Aboriginal system. Unlike other disciplines which can argue the nature of this world in and out of existence via the close reading of the colonial texts, Australian archaeology seems unable to avoid the problem of past forms and their reflection of ‘Aboriginality’ as an essential historical and contemporary category.

Although acknowledging that anthropological and ethnographic accounts may be relatively late observations of societies already substantially changed by colonisation, Lourandos appears to assume that these observations, in all their varying contexts, are viewing the same thing: a unitary and pristine system. The use of contemporary anthropology for this purpose is necessarily selective but not unproblematic. For instance, while acknowledging the complexity of the role of women in contemporary Aboriginal society, Lourandos presents them as largely absent items of labour, exchange and possession, units in the games which ‘big men’ (p 35) play in their quest to control the processes of social production and reproduction. Even if more contemporary accounts are charting a recent change in the role of women in Aboriginal society, Lourandos’s model of gender relations requires greater justification as a feature of generalised Aboriginality than is offered in the work. The support of the model is dependent on the possibility of polygamous marriages among the Tiwi and relatively recent observations in Arnhem Land. The possibility of polygamy in a kinship system does not equal the actuality in practice, and as Keen’s (1982) work makes clear, is dependent on features of the clan structure and kinship which vary even between the Yolngu and their close neighbours the Gidjingali.
At a more theoretical level the problem with an account of prehistory which starts with an ethnographic world view is the curious irony that the archaeology is articulated with this ethnographic picture by dissolving its temporality into the timelessness of the ethnography. This suits the explicitly evolutionary and/or progressivist framework of much archaeological writing in Australia. As closure is approached the archaeology becomes the teleological development of the ethnographic record and the ethnography becomes a grab bag of analogies for the archaeology. The approach is self-fulfilling in that the further away we move from the perceived ‘richness’ of the ethnography, the less can be explained in its terms, demonstrating in an elegant inverse its significance as an end point. At the other end of this temporal extension Australian archaeology has filled the (Pleistocene) gaps by contrasting ‘nature’ as the original state with ‘culture’ (in the ethnography) as the end stage not ‘culture’ at various points along trajectories of transformational sequences as suggested by Williamson (1998: 147). An alternative approach would be to pull the relationship between both records apart, highlight the disjunctions, and hopefully open the possibility of alternatives which problematise progressivist narratives and static tableaus equally.

The main body of Continent of hunter-gatherers is a series of four extended regional studies (tropical north, arid and semi-arid, temperate southern Australia and Tasmania). Each is subdivided in turn into Pleistocene and Holocene sequences. On either side of these sections are chapters devoted to original settlement and chronology and artefacts and assemblages. Both these chapters, included to fit the conventions of the genre, are fairly conservative summaries of the record — Lourandos favours the radiocarbon chronology in the former and a typological approach in the latter.

What makes Continent of hunter-gatherers distinctive in its field is the attempt to designate the nature of Australian hunter-gatherer prehistory in terms of a series of socially determined ‘prime-movers’. One of the most disappointing aspects of the work is that the exact nature of these elements is not made clear. Terms like ‘socio-cultural’ or simply ‘cultural responses/changes/factors’ (p. 152) may be informative at a level of general theory but are less so for particular instances in the archaeological record. This is especially evident when arguments, as in this case, are made for a causal hierarchy between the primary elements of society/culture and the secondary economic, technological and demographic factors. Reminiscent of the systems theory popular in the archaeology of the 1970s, where black box units bearing labels like ‘technology’, ‘economy’ and ‘ideology’ were connected via cybernetic feedback loops, this approach can disguise weak or seemingly arbitrary sets of explanatory conjunctions behind the language of ‘systems’ relations. It is also disappointing that the opportunity is not taken to engage the persistent criticism that socially orientated approaches do not engage with the complexity of the archaeological record which substantially underdetermines the model (see Williamson 1998) nor with more contemporary discussions about knowledge systems and the disciplinary practices which support them.

The application of a single model across the totality of a continental archaeology is not an insignificant intellectual achievement and emphasises the fact that archaeology is also as much about interpretation as excavation. The result in Continent of hunter-gatherers is, unfortunately, an archaeology as exasperatingly totalising as the old-fashioned environmentalism and culture-history to which Lourandos’ approach is strongly responding. The programmatic nature of the work and the need to engage actively with
Lourandos's arguments, combined with its relatively limited exposition of the underly­ing evidence, make the work's appeal to a wider readership problematic.

In the final analysis we are left with the impression that the originality and achievement of Lourandos' arguments are either not well served by the format of a continental archaeology with its attendant constraints on detail and argument, or too well served by these limitations.

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References


*That's my country belonging to me*: Aboriginal land tenure and dispossession in nineteenth century western Victoria, by Ian D. Clark. xi +200 pp. paperback. Heritage Matters, Beaconsfield, Victoria, 1998 $35

This is a timely publication for it deals in great detail with the rich primary source material and the numerous secondary sources available regarding clan and tribal boundaries in western Victoria at a time when all Victorian Koori communities are seeking such information as they prepare native title claims or seek regional agreements.

*That's my country belonging to me* is in fact Clark’s previously unpublished PhD thesis, which was completed in 1992. He describes his work as a ‘historical geography of dispossession’, in which his aim was ‘to reconstruct Aboriginal tenure and dispossession ... [in] western Victoria’. Not since archaeologist Harry Lourandos's pioneering work along similar lines in the 1970s has there been academic research so strongly focused on identifying the western Victorian clans and establishing their spatial distribution. My study of frontier relations in the Western District which was undertaken contemporaneously with that of Clark’s necessitated investigation of clan composition, numbers and location, and the results are tabulated in *A distant field of murder*: Western District frontiers 1834–1848, Appendix 1. My interest, however, was more in obtaining this information as an aid to understanding the nature of frontier contact in the district. Clark made it a main focus of his work, the large number of maps he includes demonstrating how much greater is his knowledge of Aboriginal boundaries than that of any-
one who has gone before him. Clark states that while his work ‘may be seen as a companion to Lourandos’s work’, the scope of his study is ‘much wider’ and ‘exhibits important differences of opinion’. Both heavily depend on the journals and notebooks of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, George Augustus Robinson, who was ordered by Charles Joseph La Trobe, Superintendent of the Port Phillip District, to obtain information on the ‘number, location and disposition’ of the Western District Aborigines. On his leisurely journey across the district between March and August 1841, Robinson collected names of what he called tribes and sections, their size, names of members, age and gender composition, and as much detail as possible of the extent of territory. His information varies in quality and consistency, making it in many cases very difficult to be definite about Aboriginal spatial boundaries and the relationship between groups.

What distinguishes Clark’s work from that of any other researcher working on the human history of western Victoria is his extensive use of the findings of linguists regarding the Indigenous languages and dialects of the region as an aid to establishing tribal and clan boundaries. In this regard the result of his work has been far-reaching and significant, forcing a rewriting of history, changing the very names by which District residents, Koori and non-Koori alike, refer to Western District tribes. The Gunditjmara have become the Dhauwurd wurrung; the Jarcourt, the Djargurd wurrung; the Chaap wurrrong, the Djab wurrung; the Coligan, the Gulidjan.

The first half of Clark’s book is concerned with the reconstruction of western Victorian clan organisation. He ‘uncovers’ (his word) 249 clans (as opposed to Lourandos’s 170) and all but ten of these he has been able to place within the region’s ten language groups. As well he critiques Lourandos’s earlier reconstruction. He draws heavily on the notes of the Chief Protector yet George Augustus Robinson’s original list of clans submitted to La Trobe in 1842 — and collated from the same notes used by Lourandos and later Clark — has 151 sections only and this includes some repetition.

In the second half his aim was ‘to analyse the dispossession of the Aboriginal clans ... in the 1830s and 1840s by showing how clan organisation was affected by dispossession and consider how “traditional” spatial organisation shaped Aboriginal experiences of dispossession’. Where possible he profiles the experiences of particular clans but admits that it is beyond the scope of his study to reconstruct the geographies of dispossession in the region at the level of clan, tribe or ‘nation’. What he claims is that he has achieved ‘a quantification or a foundation on which historiography can proceed to construct dispossession at a clan, tribe or “national” scale’. He admits that knowledge of some clans and tribes is particularly rich, but of others it is scant. Using clans about which there is the most evidence, he shows how dispossession proceeded in these cases and the extent to which Aboriginal local organisation affected and shaped frontier relations.

He examines the evidence regarding such aspects as ‘Resistance to forced removal and relocation’, ‘Wanting to die in one’s own country’, ‘Ensuring a continuous association with land’, ‘The impact of “foreign” Aborigines in western Victoria’, and how Aborigines saw the invader — as ‘Ngammadjidj or foreign invader?’ Such research is particularly difficult given the scattered and fragmentary evidence. Two examples demonstrate how one can be led astray even after many years of careful research. In the section on the ‘Impact of “foreign” Aborigines in western Victoria’ Clark discusses the case of Sydney Bob who was assaulted, had his kidney fat removed and was left to die by
Aboriginal attackers at Woodford. Clark locates Woodford as near Warrnambool and states that the killing of Sydney Bob was to avenge the killing of one of the Woodford Aborigines by Sydney Bob. Police files, however, make it clear that the murder occurred on Woodford Station, much further west — nearest town Dartmoor. The clansmen involved were definitely not from a Warrnambool clan. Of more significance is the story of Bradbury. According to Clark, Bradbury was an Aborigine from Sydney who deserted his white employers and chose to live with local clans, leading them in their attacks on white people (Foster Fyans is given as the source). This is a case where the truth is stranger than fiction. I know of only one incident in which there is any mention of him being involved in an incident with Aborigines. In November 1842 the Portland Mercury described how a party travelling from Portland towards Port Fairy came across a group of Aborigines headed by Cold Morning. They disappeared after a shot was fired by Bradbury. In this incident Bradbury was not leading the Aborigines: he fired at the Aborigines. In fact no such incident occurred. A member of the group travelling to Port Fairy, Cecil Pybus Cooke, wrote to the newspaper to correct what had been written. No Aborigines had been seen by the party. After crossing the Fitzroy River, Bradbury had commenced loading his pistol which unfortunately had gone off, shattering his hand. Cooke suggested that Bradbury had made up the story of an Aboriginal attack ‘through fear of his master’s displeasure’. The actual relationship between Bradbury and local Aborigines was far more in keeping with the strong Aboriginal antag­onism towards those outside the clan, particularly those from a distance, which has been remarked on by many observers of Aboriginal behaviour. Local Aborigines murdered him in 1845, taking no pains to conceal the name of his murderer.

That's my country belonging to me: Aboriginal land tenure and dispossession in nineteenth century western Victoria is a significant study which should be read by all for whom it is important to know about Aboriginal boundaries in western Victoria.

Jan Critchett
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The portrait on the front cover of Is That You, Ruthie? reveals a vitality within Ruth Hegarty which sets her story apart from similar memoirs. Winner of the 1998 David Unaipon Award for unpublished Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander writers, Is That You, Ruthie? is both an engaging narrative and a valuable social history of Aboriginal children raised on missions last century.

Is that You, Ruthie? is the story of Ruth Hegarty’s life as a ‘dormitory girl’ on Queensland’s Cherbourg mission. In 1930 Ruth’s grandparents brought their family voluntarily to Cherbourg from Mitchell in southwest Queensland. Once on the mission, however, the family was split, the children sent to the dormitories and the parents
remaining in the mission camp. ‘Like a rag our family was torn into pieces’, Ruth’s mother later told her. As a baby, Ruth stayed with her mother, but once she reached school age they were separated, and Ruth grew up a Cherbourg ‘dormitory girl’ until 1951.

It is Ruth Hegarty’s warmth and positive outlook which define her story. She certainly does not shy away from the horrors of mission life, describing in detail the forced separation from her mother, the discipline, the humiliating treatment of the disabled, the physical violence and the sexual abuse. Yet she chooses not to lay blame:

We were fed, clothed, had a roof over our heads, but was that enough? Could this system ever take the place of loving, caring parents? It was a terrible thing to be torn away from the arms of a young mother, who knew that her hope of ever having anything to do with her child again was shattered at that moment. She had to pretend in her heart that this was best for her child, even while she carried around a heavy load of guilt.

Hegarty also draws out the positive memories of her childhood, such as outings, concerts, games, and friendships:

I suppose with the strict discipline that was always in place ... any sort of fun or mischief helped us to forget it for a time.

Ruth Hegarty dedicated *Is that you, Ruthie?* to the other Cherbourg ‘dormitory girls’, acknowledging that her story draws on their memories as well as her own. It remains, however, a personal memoir and not a history of Cherbourg mission. Where necessary, Hegarty relies on historian Thom Blake to provide historical detail. Her book adds to Aboriginal social history, giving valuable insights into the difficult paths many of the ‘dormitory girls’ were to take outside the institution, as well as the experiences which led many of these women to become community leaders. She also helps to elucidate her peers’ dependence on the ‘authorities’:

I see myself as a child who was held back by all the rules and restrictions ... Even after the mistakes we were glad to go back to the dormitory, it became a haven of protection for us. It was hard to break away from a place that kept us dependent on it, virtual prisoners.

Hegarty’s story differs from the typical memoir in that she does not tell her entire life story. Rather, she concentrates her sharp memories only on her time at Cherbourg mission and her experiences as a domestic servant. Hegarty satisfies the reader’s curiosity about her life after Cherbourg by weaving into her story insights about the impact of her childhood on later life. Her focused and richly detailed narrative complements a number of published life histories of her contemporaries, such as Rita Huggins’ *Auntie Rita* and Evelyn Crawford’s *Over my tracks*.

At just 141 pages this is a short book, written in a clear and unaffected style which would appeal to teenagers and adults alike. Indeed, *Is That You, Ruthie?* would make a valuable resource for students of Indigenous studies, providing teachers with an engaging tool for informing teenagers of one of the bleaker aspects of recent Australian history.

Melissa Lucashenko’s *Hard Yards* is a novel which might also appeal to some teenage readers. By comparison with Ruth Hegarty’s deeply personal and touching story, however, *Hard Yards* adds little to our understanding of contemporary Indigenous culture. Lucashenko won the 1998 Dobie Award for her first novel, *Steam Pigs*. Her second
novel, *Hard Yards*, is the story of Roo Glover, a street kid in Brisbane who mixes sporting success with extreme disadvantage and personal tragedy. Lucashenko relies on the gratuitous use of slang and obscenities, as well as contemporary issues such as black deaths in custody, to provoke interest in an otherwise implausible story.

Kerry McCallum

*Science and exploration in the Pacific: European voyages to the southern oceans in the eighteenth century*, edited by Margarette Lincoln. xix + 228 h.c., illus., bibliography, index. The Boydell Press in association with the National Maritime Museum, Suffolk, 1998 £35/$A60

This beautifully produced book is a disparate collection of 14 essays held together by their link with James Cook and occasioned by the 1997 Australia–Britain voyage of the replica *Endeavour*. The writing, for the most part, is highly professional and entertaining with a whiff of novelty reminiscent of the curio cabinets that sprang up in the wake of oceanic exploration. We are told that the book was the result of a conference held at the National Maritime Museum to explore the context and the consequences of Cook’s first voyage. With this in mind there is a curious parallelism between *Science and exploration* and a volume entitled *Pacific empires: essays in honour of Glyndwr Williams*, edited by Alan Frost and Jane Samson, published within a year of the former title by Melbourne University Press.

One cannot help wondering if the original conference outline was used for both books. Both feature articles by Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost. Indeed Frost’s article appears to be identical in both volumes with only the title changed and no cross-reference or acknowledgment. The inclusion of essays in both books on the missionary William Ellis is also curious and one suspects that the original planner in the Maritime Museum possibly had in mind the lesser known William Ellis, surgeon and draughtsman, who published an unauthorised account of Cook’s third voyage. Perhaps there are untapped records in the Board of Admiralty relating to that Ellis. Certainly the missionary is a significant figure in the story of Pacific ethnology though both the authors of the Ellis articles appear ignorant of some of the major work done in that field. Wayne Orchiston, who has written elsewhere on Australian Aboriginal astronomy, and Peter Gathercole, world authority on cultural artefacts, both have chapters drawing on their specialist expertise.

Two chapters are of particular Australian interest. Markman Ellis of London explores the representation of the kangaroo on the *Endeavour* voyage and how ‘the cool, “scientific” tone of empirical observation shows signs of stress or breakdown when the writer is confronted with the unknown’. One wonders if all the early reports refer to the same animal and if some descriptions may have been of wallabies. Even the animal not seen by Banks, but identified in retrospect as a large bat, may have been a wombat! But Ellis has at least acquainted himself with the literature on the local Aboriginal people in examining the naming of the kangaroo.

Aboriginal author Jackie Huggins is the final presenter in this distinguished company. Presumably because she was writing a paper for an English conference, and per-
haps an English audience at large, she chose to inform that audience of the present situation in Australia taking the story from terra nullius to Mabo and beyond. This story is only loosely connected to Cook and many of the generalisations are cries from the heart rather than historical realities. Racial discrimination and racial prejudice may be ‘phenomena of colonialism’ (p 199) in certain contexts but they are really the product of ignorance in whatever society. The colonial experience also taught people to live with one another and to respect alternative traditions. In many areas the worst discrimination and prejudice took place in the post-colonial period with the acceptance of pseudo-scientific theories of intelligence and aggressive assimilation policies.

In keeping with her desire to inculcate a moral lesson Huggins might well have developed the role of Cook’s responsibility in the breakdown of Aboriginal-European relationships. Evangelicals (not just John Wesley as in Neil Rennie’s piece, page 140) criticised Cook for not taking an interest in the moral welfare of indigenous people. The American Protestant missionaries in Hawaii likewise gave Cook a bad press, showing little concern for his death at the hands of Islanders. The LMS missionary Threlkeld and the English Quaker missionaries Backhouse and Walker blamed the ‘benevolent Captain Cook’ for setting a bad precedent in firing upon coastal Aborigines. This and chaplain Samuel Marsden’s negative attitude to ‘civilising’ Aboriginal children, they felt, were the two main reasons for the English settlers having a bad opinion of Aboriginal people.

Of course there is now a considerable literature on Aboriginal perceptions of Cook in myth, narrative and verse, an analysis of which would more aptly justify the ‘new anthropology’ in the title of the chapter in question than its present contents. Though there is really only one chapter of Aboriginal interest, the book has much to offer in a general way.

Niel Gunson
Australian National University


Yumba Days is the story of Herb’s childhood during the 1930s which he spent in the Yumba, an Aboriginal settlement in the sandhills on the outskirts of Cunnamulla, in Queensland. Herb’s ancestry was mixed, with his maternal grandmother belonging to the Kooma people and his grandfathers having an Irish and English background. He completed his manuscript for Yumba Days at the Australian Council studio in Paris after being selected for residency there in 1998. He is already well known as an author: this is his first book for young readers, but is engaging reading for all ages. His style is simple and direct, interspersed with anecdotes that bring him, his friends and family to life.

The kids talk in a way that modern kids could relate to; Herb’s mate, Gundi, didn’t want to be involved in arguments or fights:

‘I can’t fight! I’ve got this rare disease — one punch could kill me, mate. And I’ve got this crook heart — one hit and I’d be done for. Let’s play noughts and crosses or marbies instead. I can’t ever fight, true mate, real true.’
Despite a childhood spent in poverty, Wharton emerges as buoyant, optimistic and seldom bitter. When recalling the Yumba life, he writes:

Yet even the darkest days were always somehow overcome by hope, combined with the greatest gift of all against oppression — laughter. And education — that was my key to equality, justice, and deciding my own destiny. These things also gave me identity and strength. For if we had cried they would have been tears of blood that flooded the Warrego River.

The Warrego is Cunnamulla’s river.

From here the reader is introduced to the Wharton family’s two-roomed shack, made out of scraps of corrugated iron and bush timber with a dirt floor. The basic reality of it all emerged when Herb wrote his first letters and asked the older Murries what address to use. Their reply was blunt: ‘Who’s gonna write to you, boy? Just put “The Yumba, Cunnamulla” — we all know where it is.’

A strong feeling of community is reflected with the positives which that brings: ‘I can honestly say that during our childhood in the Yumba we were never, never bored.’ Music provided entertainment, with a communally-owned wind up gramophone, guitars and sticks or bones to provide a beat. Despite the difficult living conditions, Herb’s mother was a stickler for cleanliness: ‘Our place was always clean — not so much us boys.’ If Herb didn’t pass muster before school, his mother would stand him in a tub and scrub his legs with soap and mattress fibre. The vastly different perceptions of the white and black worlds surfaced when Herb’s sister, Hazel, was asked to describe the ‘interior decoration’ of her house for a school essay. Lost for words, she wrote nothing. She would have to stay in until she wrote something, said the teacher. Teacher and student stayed put until 5 o’clock, with nothing achieved. On a visit to Cunnamulla I had the privilege of meeting Hazel, herself an author, and today she would have no trouble in finding words to describe any situation.

The sandhills were Herb’s playground which he shared with friends, both black and white. One of them, John, a white kid, became an author and wrote Gough Whitlam’s biography. Herb looks at his own and John’s achievements and ‘wonders what the odds were in them far-off days that two of us kids from that dusty outback playground would grow up to have our books published.’

Not all meetings with white kids went so smoothly. Herb describes one encounter amongst the sandhills and hopbushes where he and his mates ambushed a party of intruders led by a big kid dubbed Moses. Moses’ followers fled, leaving him a virtual prisoner, surrounded by a few hopbushes that Herb’s mob set alight. Moses was finally released unscathed. For Herb, ‘perhaps the fight for land rights began then, for all us Murri kids were convinced we owned that big red hopbush hill ... come Monday morning we would be back in school learning more of his whitefella history, while he and most others like him ignored true Australian history.’

Herb was fortunate that he found school ‘an enlightening and entertaining experience’ most of the time and that both his parents realised the significance of education: ‘Mum always emphasised how important it was to learn to read and write. Like Dad, she was continually stressing the importance of learning and getting an education.’ Herb had ability and was one of three students in his class who got between 90% and 100% in their exams.
Learning about his culture and background came from his people. His Aunty Ivy and Uncle Bill would talk around a small campfire at the Yumba, telling the children about Aboriginal history and lore, of ‘How certain winds brought certain messages and how the appearance of certain birds had special significance.’ He learnt hunting and tracking skills from his relatives who were drovers and is thankful for the ‘privilege of learning from both worlds which balances out, I think, the inequality based on colour that belonged to the era of my growing up.’

He had great admiration for both parents. His Dad was a crack hunter and bush cook, which he needed to be to provide for 11 children. His mother, despite her lack of education, stood up to the two policemen who arrested his brother ‘who had been dobbed in by a disgruntled relative.’

He paints a poignant picture of dispossession, of one old, blind woman, removed from her traditional land, who came to the Yumba to live. The people helped her build a traditional gunyah where she passed the time chewing a mixture of burnt leaves and plug tobacco which she called pituri, ‘chanting softly in her tribal language.’ For Herb, childhood highlights included visits to the local cinema to watch cowboy films in segregated seats, and sampling rainbow cake from the local Greek cafe. At about fourteen, Herb was introduced to droving, where he realised part of his education was only really starting. He listened to a story of a cattle rush where four drovers were trampled to death; he was sacked for ‘asking one question too many’. He accepted this with equanimity because it was part of a pattern where being sacked was no real disgrace. He says ‘there were many good bosses that far outweighed the bad ones’, and despite disputes with bosses over the years he ‘remained mates with most of them.’ This includes the boss drover who came to blows with Herb. The boss called on his dog, Bluey, who came running to his master’s side only to take a piece out of his backside: ‘My bloody dog, he bit a piece outa me arse!’

Droving, especially when he was by himself, enabled Herb to feel at one with the country, to ponder its spiritual significance and think about the differences between Christian and Aboriginal Dreamtime interpretations. While admiring science and space exploration, he ‘was aware of how privileged we are to be a living part of mother earth’. This tied in with what he had learnt from his father: ‘And he used to impress on me the need to work in harmony with nature, always conserving mother earth for future generations. He deplored the way people seemed to want to own the earth instead of belonging to it, being a part of it.’

Returning to the everyday world, Herb recalls the resentment of having to carry an identification disk or dogtag and show it before being served a drink. In Queensland, some pubs served Aborigines, while others wouldn’t, but on his first visit to Bourke, New South Wales, his observation was: ‘Down there, everything seemed worse than it was at Cunnamulla for Aborigines’. Today Cunnamulla still has a more relaxed feel about it than Bourke. The one trade-off from such an incident was Herb’s realisation of the power of words, which he used to cutting effect on the publican. He told the publican that ‘he reminded me of his outside shithouse, ugly to look at and stinking inside, so I was grateful that he wouldn’t serve me.’

Herb Wharton has become a successful writer and has travelled overseas. In East Berlin, shortly after the Wall came down, he saw encampments which reminded him of Yumba, reinforcing for him the image of his home to which he had strong attachment,
and the message that discrimination and poverty are universal. He delighted in the sight of sheep corralled on a grassy square near the river in Dresden, Germany, and in the fact that they are used as mowers to reduce pollution. In Australia, he parallels his Dresden image with Parliament House, Canberra, which he likens to a homestead, while the High Court building is like a giant fodder silo. The surrounding beautiful green lawns are just asking to be trimmed by a mob of drought-hungry sheep from the outback. All that water spent on grass, just for decoration ...

He devotes his final chapter to his family history and thoughts of a large family reunion. He emphasises the importance of family links, of knowing about the past and of pride in his family, what it stands for and what it has survived.

Herb Wharton has written a book which is especially valuable for younger readers. It tells the story of an Aboriginal boy growing up to manhood and draws on a variety of experiences, alternately humorous, poignant, absorbing and sad. It is a thought-provoking book with its gentle, low-key approach. It is also an inspiring example of someone who kept thinking, asking questions, and took whatever opportunities were available to him and ran with them.

Judy Kelly
Canberra


Axel Poignant was one of the greatly gifted photographers of the twentieth century. His work with Aboriginal people is unparalleled. In this marvellous book Roslyn Poignant recreates Axel’s 1952 journey into Arnhem Land. Her re-creation of that journey is also a journey of encounter. Some of the people Axel lived with are still alive, and in Encounter they reflect upon those times, their memories today, and their perceptions of the events at the time. Furthermore, they reflect upon this photographic project and the value of remembrance.

Roslyn Poignant was the back-up person in Sydney while Axel was in Arnhem Land. She is the guiding genius of the current book in which she brings together a superb selection of the photos. She interweaves her own words and explanations, Axel’s words (from his diary, primarily), and the words of Lamilami and others with whom Axel lived and whose photographs are included in the book.

Axel hoped to be able to visit relatively uncontacted peoples. He had ‘somewhat idealised’ notions about “traditional” Aboriginal life’ (p. 47). As it turned out, many of the people he encountered were involved with Christianity. As Lamilami would later remember their time together: ‘At night we would sit around the fire, and all the people and all the little children would come and we would conduct a little service And then we would sit around and talk about the life of the Aboriginal people, and Axel Poignant used to write it down’ (p. 25).

Whilst there he photographed the daily life of hunting, cooking and sharing food, as well as the music and story telling of an evening. Then he because involved in cere-
mony. People were arriving, preparations being made, and Poignant was keeping notes in his diary, and photographing as appropriate.

The beautiful detail of the photos tell a story of Axel Poignant as well as of the Aboriginal people. His unhurried camera lingers in exquisite focus and never sentimentalises. Even photos that look like they ought to be sentimental simply are not. This must be due in part to the absolutely pure quality of his technique. But more than that, it must be due to his profound belief in the common humanity between himself and his hosts. I look at these photos and never once do I see people who are representative of the ideas, concepts, or longings of others. In the photos they are wholly and vividly themselves.

Poignant was decades ahead of the times, anthropologically. His venture was intersubjective from the start, as he hoped not only to document but also to engage — to ‘open himself deliberately to the experience, whatever the outcome. To photograph the people without asking them to do anything special’ (p. 50). And yet, Poignant also experienced the tension of needing to produce some marketable photos (p. 153). These tensions become most visible in some of the night-time photos. The lighting makes people look distant, in some of them they have the fixed look of people frozen in an intrusive moment. Axel was not wholly pleased with the process for a variety of technical reasons: ‘difficulty of focussing in the dark — everything and every dog knocks your lamp over or somebody sits right down in front of the lens — time and again I prepared for a shot for about 20 minutes and just as I was going to take it they would all get up and walk away’ (p. 155). This is field work as anthropologists know it, give or take a few technical details, and it highlights the tension of being there to witness the real life of the place and the people, and at the same time documenting what one is witnessing. Without documentation the project becomes self-indulgent; with documentation it is no longer what it would have been without the technological intrusions.

Poignant’s photography was not intended to tell a story, per se, and so the people of his encounter were not figures in a narrative, much less in an allegory. Like some contemporary anthropologists he positioned himself as witness (p. 50). I found some of the most compelling moments of the book in the dialogical exchanges. Roslyn sent back proofs of some of the photos, and people examined them with enormous interest and concentration (p. 51). Axel wrote to Roslyn: ‘To get these and the other prints was of very great benefit to me in my relations with the people up here. Every body seems so much more friendly and co-operative, and a great deal of the initial shyness has gone’ (p. 51).

Roslyn Poignant returned in 1992 and 1995 to work with the families involved in the original project. They discussed philosophical questions of history and remembrance. The photos raised these issue, and people responded with immense seriousness. Listen to Gordon Machbirrbirr:

Now today people are in a new generation. We are living in houses and wearing clothes and all that. But in old time people lived in our culture way, and now I am helping Ros to make this file which is the file we will call Baman, and I think in English [it is] the word we normally call the history of life life history’ (p. 1).

In contrast to the views of some indigenous people who would prefer to keep photos from the past out of the public eye, these people and their descendants chose to share their lives and histories twice over — first with Axel and later with Roslyn. On both
occasions the sharing was both intimate and extended. The encounters and exchanges were understood to extend beyond the immediate intersubjectivities and to be moving out into the world to connect with audiences of strangers. But at the same time, people engaged with meanings that move amongst themselves. The intersubjectivities are cross-generational and thus engage people in their deepest connections. To quote Gordon again: ‘and the photo is still there, so that when people look back at the parents that pass away their life is in that picture. What I am saying is, you could see, you could express your feelings and say, ‘Oh, that’s my father, you know.’ It’s like a life coming to you. Like you have your life coming back.’ (p. 2)

This is a powerful, beautiful and complex work. Its multiple voices, multiple time frames, and mutual reflexivities make for dense and demanding reading. It is unfortunate therefore that the text is extremely hard on the eyes. On the one hand this is a thoroughly enjoyable book, but on the other hand it is terribly exhausting. The photos, however, anchor all the texts, and their unflagging clarity and generosity are priceless gift. This is a book to keep returning to, each time thanking Roslyn, Axel, Lamilami and the rest of them.

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Having grown up in south west Victoria, in a region that Mitchell and his exploration expedition passed travelled through in 1836, it has been impossible to ignore the legacy of Mitchell. His expedition left a noticeable track in the ground and Powell (1969) has noted that for the first generation of western Victorian settlers this track became an object of veneration. Many squatters ‘overlanded’ into Port Phillip from Sydney by following these tracks (see Bride 1969: 262, 244, 328, 336). One squatter, Colin Campbell (n.d: 1) recalled that prospective colonizers often caught ‘Major Mitchell’s Australian fever’. Nineteenth century journalist Richard Bennett observed in 1887 that the term ‘Major Mitchelling’ had been added to ‘bush parlance’ to refer to travelling through sparsely-populated and scantily-stocked districts (Critchett 1984: 12).

In a critique of the political economic nature of Mitchell’s exploration, Robinson and York (1972: 1) considered that the task of the explorer was nothing short of a fore-runner of the squatter, and was to locate good pasture land in the interests of keeping. As such, the explorer was an ‘intelligence officer’. They considered Mitchell ‘epitomizes par excellence, the authorized role and function of the explorer and illustrates the close relationship between exploration and the ruling class (Robinson and York 1972: 5)’.

Some of Mitchell’s contemporaries were critical of aspects of his work. For example, his choice of names was not always welcomed. The editor of Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine (Vol. xv, Jan–June 1839) was hostile to the name ‘Glenelg River’:
They had at length come in sight of the river which they were to add to British discoveries and which is henceforth to remain the only trophy of the somnolent secretary for the colonies. We presume that with all his official considerations, the remarkable placidity, combined with the remarkable shallowness of his new discovery, may have involuntarily influenced the gallant Major in his giving it the name of Glenelg.

The editor was also particularly critical of Mitchell ‘distributing his new-found realm among his friends’, something he referred to as ‘bastard canonization’.

George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Port Phillip from 1839 until 1849, was another who was often critical of Mitchell. In the early years of his protectorship, Robinson travelled extensively throughout western Victoria and when he did so he travelled with Mitchell’s Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, and his map, in his knapsack (Rae-Ellis 1996: 189). Robinson also had a pack horse at his disposal that had been with Mitchell’s expeditions (Rae-Ellis 1996: 234).

On 21 February 1840, on the banks of the Loddon River, Robinson wrote the following entry in his private journal (see Clark 1998a).

The banks, or bergs, of the river, as Mitchell called them, are covered with grass it is true but so very thin as not to hide the ground. The Major’s Line runs through the width of this plain and it describes it in glowing terms, his usual practice. He came to a level plain resembling a park, hence we call it ‘Major Mitchell’s Park’. The banks of the river Loddon, which was on the E. side, are abrupt but covered with grass. And the river, he said, runs north among some hills, probably to water a country of a fine and interesting character. Now this is all fudge. Better the Major had not published such nonsense as it has occasioned an expenditure of time and money to numerous emigrants who have gone in search of this country of interesting character. The Major’s Eden is another specimen of his puff excellence; not yet located Eden, there it be. The same fate extends the greater part of his Australia Felix.

In the land Mitchell dubbed ‘Australia Felix’ there are some 50 cairns that commemorate his route and many placenames that bear testimony to his expedition. Poynter (1987) claimed at a workshop staged in Dunkeld in September in 1986 in celebration of Mitchell’s sesquicentenary, that ‘it is difficult to grow up in this part of Victoria wholly ignorant of Major Thomas Livingston Mitchell’. My own experiences attest to Poynter’s claim. In the primary school in Ararat that I attended in the late 1960s the school was divided into four sporting houses named in honour of various explorers: Mitchell, Sturt, and Flinders and an early colonist family: Henty. By chance, my older brother was in Mitchell house, so I was as well.

At the 1986 Dunkeld workshop, the late Manning Clark delivered a paper on Mitchell. In this address, Clark spoke on the ‘whole problem of Mitchell and the Australian Aborigine’. He agreed with Poynter that ‘Mitchell was a bundle of contradictions. He was somewhat ruthless to the Aborigines who molested his exploring parties, then he was overwhelmed with remorse and worried. At times, he was so ruthless that his behaviour was the subject of an official enquiry. Yet, that very same man knew the words of the British Colonial Office and he kept repeating them: that they were to treat the natives of New Holland with amity and kindness (Clark 1987: 99)’.

This brief sortie brings us to the fine study by DWA Baker. Whilst others, referred to earlier, have concerned themselves, in passing, with the issue of Mitchell and the Australian Aboriginal people, Baker’s study is the most thorough and detailed analysis
of this complex and controversial relationship. Rather than analyse Mitchell from the problematic that he was a precursor of invasion and destruction (the view taken by Robinson and York 1972), or the paradigm that he should be an object of veneration (the received dogma from the nineteenth century), he presents us with an analysis of Mitchell's relationships with indigenous peoples in Australia.

The expedition of most interest to this reviewer is Mitchell's 1836 journey through what is now western Victoria. Baker's study is broad, he has concerned himself with all of Mitchell's expeditions and it stands to reason that given his broad concerns, local studies may reveal detail that is not considered in such a broad sweep. For example my doctoral research on western Victoria was concerned with Mitchell's 'Australia Felix' expedition in so far as what it revealed about the impact of 'foreign' Aboriginal people in western Victoria, and local Aboriginal reactions to the intrusion of Mitchell's expedition (see Clark 1998b). With regards to the latter, Samuel Carter in August 1842, met some Jardwadjali people at his parents' 'North Brighton' run on the Wimmera River, adjoining present-day Horsham. Carter learned from them that they had seen Mitchell's tracks and were very frightened by them; they took the wheel tracks to be footprints of white men, and the bullock tracks as those of white women (Carter 1911). In July 1841, Chief Protector Robinson, when travelling through Djab wurrung country, came upon Mitchell's track and halted, asking his Djab wurrung companions if they knew who had made that 'road'. They replied, 'white man a long time ago and that black fellow too much frightened and plenty ran away'. Yabbee, aka Billy Hamilton, a Daung wurrung ngurungaeta (clan head), told Assistant Protector James Dredge of 'the dismay he and other blacks experienced when they first saw white men, which, indeed, took place where we are now, and must have been, I should think, Major Mitchell's party, who crossed the Goulburn at this place on their return eastward (Mitchellstown)', (Dredge Jnl 30/1/1840 in Clark 1999).

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This book was published exactly twenty years after Frank Stevens’s critical exploration of the economic role and conditions of Aboriginal labour in the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australian cattle industries. Stevens had a developing interest in why there should be observed similarities in the type of complaints made against Australian Aboriginal workers and Californian workers of different cultural and ethnic background. Admittedly, the backgrounds of the employees in both contexts differed from that of their Anglo-Saxon employers. But Stevens’s curiosity was aroused by the fact that in California workers and employers were essentially members of the same class. When he observed a similar phenomena in Australia he set out to investigate the nature of the ‘native policy’ with respect to indigenous employment in Northern Australia and the complaints made about the Aboriginal disposition and [in]capacity for labour. From observations and interviews he concluded:

That social, economic and political relationships between the two groups [Aboriginal and European peoples] took place in an atmosphere of prejudice as deep as any I had experienced in the United States [Stevens 1974: xii].

Stevens’s field conclusions led him to research the industrial conditions of Aboriginal employment in remote Northern Australia, including public exposure of the employment and living conditions Aboriginal people endured. He was aware that anthropologists had an established interest in the policy arena of colonial administration and indigenous labour relations. For example, in the 1940s the Berndts had made an anthropological study of the circumstances of Aboriginal workers on the Vestey pastoral holdings in the Northern Territory, although publication of the material was withheld for some years.

Since the publication of Stevens’s study, other researchers have published accounts detailing the experiences and conditions of Aboriginal life in the pastoral industry, Anne McGrath’s *Born in the Cattle* comes to mind particularly. Many of these
recent works have relied on accounts by Aborigines of their experiences, and have consequently publicised indigenous perspectives that have challenged notions of unremitting frontier conflict and the simplification of social relations.

May's book is a further important account of the context of Aboriginal lives in the frontier pastoral industry; in this case, in North Queensland. She draws on oral history to breathe life into her rigorous critique of how Aboriginal people became part of the cattle industry. But her study, based on her doctoral research, represents an important critical investigation of the structural incorporation of Aboriginal pastoral workers into the wider capitalist economy. In this respect, her study opens new paths for the systematic study of the economic contribution Aboriginal pastoral workers made. Indeed, a key contribution of May's study is the careful, rigorous and detailed exposure of how Aboriginal workers were systematically incorporated into the North Queensland pastoral industry. Their foundational role was, as she demonstrates, carefully and knowingly supported by other colonial institutions [such as missions and reserves] and specific industrial, social and racial policies.

May places her study in the context of contributions made by other scholars to the question of how indigenous workers became increasingly part of the new economic order. She summarises the kind of Marxist arguments about colonial relations of production used by other scholars to explore the contribution and incorporation of Aboriginal pastoral employees. Indeed, she baldly states that the Australian pastoral industry was possible largely because a poorly paid labour force supported it. But May is also keen to point out that unlike the pastoral industries in other northern states Queensland played a special role.

May is not, however, simply researching Aboriginal involvement in a frontier economy. More importantly perhaps she focuses on the North Queensland cattle industry in order to examine the 'process of articulation of Aboriginal people with the capitalist system in general and the Queensland cattle industry in particular' [May 1994: 3]. She writes,

From the beginning of the twentieth century, labour relations in Queensland became a highly complex issue, involving the State, mission officials, the labour movement and international capital to a greater extent than in other parts of northern Australia. Because of timing, Queensland played a crucial role in the shaping of social relations on the frontier: it was to Queensland that a large number of graziers turned, not only for their stock but for expertise, both black and white. By 1901 Queensland administrators believed that they were authorities in the use of Aboriginal labour [May 1994: 8].

This book is an absorbing and essential read. I highly recommend it to all those interested in Aboriginal lives and knowing the facts about the Aboriginal contribution to what is still considered an important, if largely symbolic, Australian industry. One of the reasons May has transformed her doctoral work into the present book must be the importance she sees of Queensland pastoral workers to the establishment and survival of the industry. Yet the historical perspective on the role of Aboriginal pastoral workers May argues, is ignored in current pastoralists' views which see Aboriginal native title and land claims generally as threatening to critical European economic interests in land.
A colleague at the same University, May is mindful of Henry Reynolds's historical research suggesting that frontier relations moved between confrontation and collaboration between indigenous and European peoples. Her study documents such tension in all its complexities. This is a work of immense importance and value.

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